

Capital, Value, and Exchange in the Old Occitan and Old French *Tenson*
(Including the *Partimen* and the *Jeu-Parti*)

Eric Matheis

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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation examines the genre of lyric debate poetry in Old Occitan and Old French known as the *tenson*. It evaluates the creation, performance, and diffusion of *tensons* from the perspective of capital—cultural, social, and economic capital. It views *tensons* as negotiations between poets for various types of capital. It also briefly uses game theory to analyze certain types of *tensons* as formal games.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction.....	1
1. Language and the terms of exchange in a <i>tenson</i>	4
2. The early <i>partimen</i> and <i>jeu-parti</i> , value, and capital	22
3. Overview of chapters	39
Chapter 1: Capital, Discourse, and Voice.....	47
1.1. Definition of the corpus and the genre.....	50
1.2. <i>Tenson</i> , <i>Canso/chanson</i> , and other genres of lyric	60
1.3. Historical origins and development	69
1.4. Previous scholarship on lyric and the <i>tenson</i>	76
1.5. Theoretical framework: capital, discourse, and voice	83
1.6. Poets and capital	94
1.7. Economic and social setting of troubadour and <i>trouvère</i> lyric	110
1.8. Lyric discourse and <i>fin'amor</i>	116
1.9. The practice of poetry and cultural capital	121
1.10. Voice and capital in the <i>tenson</i>	125
1.11. The compilation of <i>tensons</i> in the manuscript tradition.....	136
Chapter 2: Negotiation and Capital in the <i>Tenson</i>	150
2.1. <i>Tensons</i> concerning apprenticeship and cultural capital.....	152
2.2. <i>Tensons</i> between poets about patronage	160
2.3. Reputation, competition, and social capital: the case of Sordel	169
2.4. <i>Tensons</i> with patrons.....	184
2.5. Women speakers: patrons, <i>joglaresas</i> , and fictive voices	200

Chapter 3: Value, Evaluation, and Exchange in the <i>Partimen</i> and <i>Jeu-parti</i>	226
3.1. The nature of the game: exchange and the accumulation of capital	228
3.2. The <i>partimen/jeu-parti</i> as a game: chess and other contemporary models	239
3.3. Game theory, rewards, cake-cutting, and market exchange	252
3.4. The language of value and evaluation	264
3.5. Economic thinking and the <i>jeu-parti</i>	290
3.6. Marriage in the <i>partimens</i> and the <i>jeux-partis</i>	299
Conclusion	307
Index of Poets Cited.....	315
Works Cited	321
Appendix: Corpus of <i>Tensons</i>	338

LIST OF CHARTS AND DIAGRAMS

Table 1.1. <i>Tenzons</i> in Occitan <i>Chansonnier D</i>	146
Table 2.1. <i>Tenzons</i> and female voices	202
Table 2.2. Occitan <i>tenzons</i> with a female voice	206
Diagram 3.1. The <i>jeu-parti</i> as an extensive-form game	259
Appendix: Corpus of 201 Occitan <i>tenzons</i>	338
Appendix: <i>Chansonniers</i> and manuscripts containing Occitan <i>tenzons</i> (including <i>partimens</i>)	362
Appendix: Corpus of 202 French <i>tenzons</i>	364
Appendix: <i>Chansonniers</i> and manuscripts containing Occitan <i>tenzons</i> (including <i>partimens</i>)	389

Abbreviations used (see Works Cited for full citation)

COM Ricketts and Reed. *Concordance de l'Occitan médiéval (COM 2)*.

P.C. Pillet and Carstens. *Bibliographie der Troubadours*.

PSW Levy. *Provenzalisches Supplement-Wörterbuch*. 8 vols.

R (for “Raynaud”) Spanke, ed. *G. Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes*.

All citations from French *jeux-partis* are from Långfors, and noted by Spanke-Raynaud number (“R”) (see Appendix for page number in Långfors)

Letters or *sigla* of Occitan and French manuscript songbooks are listed in the Appendix (after the table of works in the corpus)

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Introduction

This study begins with two lyric debate poems, or *tensons*: “Bella, tant vos ai preiada” (P.C. 397,2), and “Jauseme, quel vos est semblant” (P.C. 178,1=167,30b). The two works were likely composed within about ten years of one another, in the period between the early 1180s and the early 1190s. At this time, troubadour lyric had been advancing for some eighty years,¹ and was coming into the period of its greatest productivity; it was also becoming more standardized and entering what can be seen, in retrospect, as its classical era (Gouiran; Paden, “System”; Chambers, *Versification* 156). By this point, lyric by known *trouvères* had been developing for at least a few decades.² The dialogue genre known as the *tenson* had existed in Occitan since at least 1137.³ Of the two *tensons* here, “Jauseme” is, intriguingly, half in Occitan and half in French, and may be among the earliest *tensons* that contains French-language dialogue.

These two *tensons* are close in date, and are bilingual—both being half in Occitan—although they differ in several respects. They originate from two different border areas into which Occitan lyric had spread: “Bella” hails from northern Italy and is half in Italian, and “Jauseme” comes from western France and is half in French. “Bella” is made up of a free discussion between two speakers, typical of the sort of open *tenson* that first originated in the Occitan tradition, and which would continue to be practiced in both Occitan and French. “Jauseme” is a very early example of a specialized type of *tenson* called a *partimen* or *joc partit* in Occitan, and called *jeu-parti* in French. In this type of work, the discussion is limited to a single question with two options. The first speaker formulates the question; the second speaker must select one of the choices and then argue for it, and subsequently the first speaker defends the remaining choice. Despite their differences, the two poems—one a simple *tenson* and the other a *partimen/jeu-parti*—may be connected by only a degree or two of separation. Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, one of the partners in “Bella,” may have participated in another *tenson* with

Gaucelm Faidit, who is a partner “Jauseme”; in addition, mutual acquaintances debated both men in other *tensons*.⁴

“Bella” and “Jauseme” illustrate the reasons why the *tenson* was so attractive to poets, patrons, and audiences of the time. Troubadours composed about two hundred *tensons*, and the *trouvères* about as many. In the two traditions, poets created works in the genre over a period of a hundred and fifty years, and across a large geographic area. Medieval compilers diligently collected them and copied *tensons* into manuscript songbooks, along with other types of Occitan and French lyric. Yet compared to the love songs that the troubadours and the *trouvères* created, the *tensons* are much less read and studied in modern times. Indeed, separated from their context, the dialogues in many of these works can appear to consist largely of peculiar exchanges of insults, or quibbling over minor distinctions of *fin’amor*, the code of love of lyric poetry. In this respect, “Bella” and “Jauseme” are somewhat unusual: because of their style and content, they may hold more appeal today than many other *tensons*. At the same time, they illustrate well some of the purposes the *tenson* likely served, and the meaning it held, in the environments in which it was composed and performed. Many of the same poets who composed the more esteemed love songs—the Occitan *canço* and the French *chanson d’amour* or *grand chant courtois*—also collaborated in *tensons*; they used the same vocabulary, *topoi*, and metrical structures. Audiences apparently appreciated both genres, though they may have done so for slightly different reasons. The *tenson* served in certain ways as a form of commentary on, or parody of, the love song; most Occitan *tensons*, and some French ones, even borrowed the melodies of previously existing love songs (the music for “Bella” and “Jauseme” is lost, along with any other sure indication of contrafacture). Instead of being poetic enactments of *fin’amor*, as the love songs are, the *tensons* are in many ways metapoetic reflections upon the code *fin’amor*. *Tensons* often delve into the

nature of this code, including its sexual motivation—as, they do in “Bella” and “Jauseme.” In the *tensons*, the poets also discuss other incentives for practicing poetry, such as prestige and material reward. However, the *tensons* are often more than mere descriptions of these various types of incentives. In these debates, troubadours and *trouvères* make claims regarding their status as poets, and negotiate the terms of their standing; they do this in the love songs and other genres as well, but do so especially clearly and directly in the *tensons*. The *tensons* are transactions—between poets, between poets and ladies, and between poets and patrons—that permit the accumulation of cultural, social, and economic capital.

1. Language and the terms of exchange in a *tenson*

The *tenson* “Bella, tant vos ai preiada” (P.C. 392,7), between Raimbaut de Vaqueiras and an unnamed *Domna* or “Lady,” is remarkable for several reasons. In the great majority of Occitan and French lyric, including the *tensons*, there is only a male voice, but here there is a female voice. In addition, the voice is in reply to a poet’s request for love. Although lyric, especially the love song, is typically addressed to women, women’s responses to love requests are rare. “Bella” is bilingual, in Old Occitan and a Genoese dialect (the stanzas in Genoese, incidentally, are among the earliest preserved lyric stanzas in vernacular Italian); bilingual or multilingual works are very rare in the Occitan and French lyric traditions. In addition to being in different languages, the voices are quite divergent: the male Occitan voice speaks in a courtly register to the Genoese woman, and seeks to win her over with the refined words of *fin’amor*; the *Genoesa*, speaking in her dialect, brusquely refuses his overtures, mocks his mannerisms, and claims not to understand his language. Several scholars have given attention to this *tenson*, notably Gaunt (“Sexual Difference”), Brugnolo (11-65), Rieger (*Trobairitz* 418-36), and Linskill (Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, *Poems* 98-107). As they have noted, it is a scathing, side-splitting satire of courtly

Domna gent' et essernida,
 gai' e pros e conoissenz, 30
 valla·m vostr'ensegnamenz,
 car jois e jovenz vos gida,
 cortesi' e prez e senz
 e toz bos captenemenz;
 per qe·us sui fidels amaire 35
 senes toz retenemenz,
 francs, humils e merceiaire,
 tant fort me destreing e·m venz
 vostr'amors, qe m'es plasenz,
 per qe sera chausimenz, 40
 s'eu sui vostre benvolenz
 e vostr'amics.

IV

[Domna]
 Iuiar, voi semellai mato,
 qe cotal razon tegnei;
 mal vignai e mal andei! 45
 Non avei sen per un gato,
 per qe trop me deschasei,
 qe mala cosa parei;
 ni no volio qesta cosa
 – si fossi fillo de rei. 50
 Credi voi que sia mosa?
 Mia fe, no m'averei!
 Si per m'amor ve chevei,
 oguano morrei de frei:
 tropo son de mala lei 55
 li Provenzal.

V

[Raimbaut]
 Domna, no·m siaz tant fera,
 qe no·s cove ni s'eschai;
 anz taing ben, si a vos plai,
 qe de mo sen vos enqera 60
 e qe·us am ab cor verai
 – e vos, qe·m gitez d'esmai
 q'eu vos sui hom e servire,
 car vei e conosc e sai,
 qant vostra beutat remire 65
 – fresca cum rosa en mai –
 q'el mont plus bella non sai,
 per qe·us am et amarai;
 e si bona fes mi trai
 sera pechaz. 70

VI

[Domna]

Iuiar, to proensalesco

– s’eu aia gauzo de mi –

non prezo un genoì.

No t’entend plui d’un Toesco

o Sardo o Barbari,

75

ni non ò cura de ti.

Voi t’acaveilar co mego?

Si lo sa lo meu mari,

mal plait averai con sego.

Bel messer, ver e’ve di:

80

no vollo questo lati;

fraello, zo ve afi.

Proenzal, va, mal vesti,

largaime star!

VII

[Raimbaut]

Domna, en estraing cossire

85

m’avez mes et en esmai;

mas enqera us preiarai

qe voillaz q’eu vos essai,

si cum Provenzals o fai,

qant es poiatz.

90

VIII

[Domna]

Iuiar, no serò con tego,

pos asi te cal de mi;

meill varà, per sant Martì,

s’andai a ser Opeti,

Que dar v’a fors’ un ronci,

95

car sei jujar.

(Rieger, *Trobairitz* 418-20)

I

[Raimbaut] Lady, I have so implored you, if it pleases you, that you might love me, that I have become your vassal, for you are worthy and educated, and you set the standard for all that is valuable and commendable, which is why your friendship delights me. And since you are courtly in all your deeds, my heart is set on you more than on any other lady of Genoa, and so it will be merciful if you love me. Then I will be better rewarded/ satisfied than if the city of the Genoese belonged to me, with all the wealth accumulated in it.

II

[Domna] *Joglar*, you aren’t courteous to ask me for *that*. I won’t have anything to do with you. Instead, I’d rather you were hanged! I won’t be your mistress. To be sure, I’ll cut you throat, wretched Provençal! I’ll give you this insult: “nasty

stupid shaved-head!” I will never love you, because I have a husband who is more handsome than you, this I know well. Go your way, brother! I have a better time with him!

III

[Raimbaut] Lady, you who are gracious, distinguished, joyous, worthy and discerning, may your instruction be of benefit to me, for joy and youth guide you, and courtliness and merit and all good conduct. It is because of this that I am your faithful suitor without any conditions, candid, humble and submissive, so mightily does your love constrain and vanquish me, so that is a delight to me. Therefore it will be an act of mercy if I become your follower and your lover.

IV

[Domna] *Joglar*, you appear insane, making speeches like this. A curse on you in your comings and goings! You don't have the sense of a cat, so you really are annoying to me, and you look a horrible mess. I don't want this thing, even if you were the son of a king. Do you think I am a fool? By my faith, you won't have me. If you pledge yourself to have my love, you will die of cold this year! The Provençals really do have bad customs!

V

[Raimbaut] Lady, do not be so cruel to me, for it is not fitting or proper. Rather it is right, if it pleases you, for me to court you with my wisdom and love you with a true heart, and that you relieve me from distress, since I am your vassal and servant. For I see and recognize and know, when I gaze upon your beauty, fresh a rose in May, that I do not know of a more beautiful lady in the world. That is why I love and will love you, and if true faith betrays me, it will be a sin.

VI

[Domna] *Joglar*, let me enjoy myself [so may I have joy of my person], I value your Provençal speech/ways less than a Genoese coin. I don't understand you any more than a German or Sardinian or Berber, nor do I care anything about you. Do you want to go riding with me? If my husband found out about this, you would have a bad disagreement with him. Fair sir, I tell you truly, I don't want this language; brother, this I assure you. Go away, badly dressed Provençal, and let me be!

VII

[Raimbaut] Lady, you have cast me into sorrowful thoughts and distress; but once more I will implore you to allow me to try you out, just as a Provençal does, when he is mounted/raised up.

VIII

[Domna] *Joglar*, I will not be with you, since you care about me in this way. It will be better if, for the feast of Saint Martin, you go to lord Obizzino; maybe he will give you a pack-horse, since you are a *joglar*.

(my translation, adapted from Gaunt, “Sexual” 299-300 and Linskill 101-2)

Formally, this *tenso* is a fairly typical representative of its genre. The poem is formed of repeating stanzas that all have the same metrical form. In Occitan, these metrical forms are

normally copied from ones used in the love songs (however the metrical form of “Bella” is unique in troubadour verse⁵). There are two short partial stanzas at the end, termed *tornadas* in Occitan (and *envois* in French). The voices alternate strictly stanza by stanza, and are thereby formally opposed, taking separate points of view, as is the case here. However, the divergent perspectives are underlined by a number of other differences, as Gaunt points out: differences in gender, in language, in register of speech, and in attitude towards courtly poetry.

The first partner, Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, is a prolific troubadour; the identity of the second partner, the *domna*, is unknown, but may correspond to a woman poet. Raimbaut was a troubadour who was not a noble amateur but a professional—a *joglar*, a term that is ordinarily rather neutral, but which can be derogatory, as it probably is coming from the *domna*. Raimbaut came from rather humble background in Provence, and traveled throughout Occitania and Italy, before one of his patrons eventually conferred knighthood upon him (Linskill 4-16). Around 1190, he was at the court of Marquis Obizzo II of Malaspina—likely the *Opeti* (54) to whom the *domna* refers (*Poems* 104), so this *tenso* dates to around this time. As for his persona in the *tenso*, it corresponds in some sense to the historical poet Raimbaut de Vaqueiras; like the real Raimbaut, he is a Provençal poet arrived in Italy, under the patronage of the Malaspina family (or seeking it). In his poetry, Raimbaut occasionally appears unsuccessful in his pursuit of women; in another *tenso*, “Ara·m digatz, Rambaut, si vos agrada,” (P.C. 15,1=392,1) Raimbaut’s interlocutor Albert Malaspina mocks Raimbaut: a lady whom Raimbaut loves has maligned him. As for Raimbaut’s partner in “Bella,” the Genoese *domna*, the only information available about her is found in the text of the *tenso*. She is from Genoa (9), and she is married (25, 78). Raimbaut calls her *domna*, or “lady,” but this may be part of the irony of the dialogue. Many researchers have argued that the *Genoesa* was a fictive voice invented by Raimbaut, a kind

of prosopopoeia, and indeed there are clear examples of this kind of created voice in other debate poems in the corpus. Setting aside often sexist arguments that cast doubt on female authorship, which appear in much early and even some recent scholarship,⁶ there is some justification for the idea that Raimbaut invented the *domna*'s Italian voice (see Linskill 104, Harvey and Paterson 1: 77). Raimbaut composed an unusual multilingual *descort* in Occitan, Genoese, French, Gascon, and Galician-Portuguese, "Eras quan vey verdeyar" (P.C. 392,4). Since Raimbaut authored this *descort*, he could have created both the Occitan and Genoese parts of "Bella." For the *tenson*, Raimbaut may have written the voice in Genoese dialect as a device to exhibit his poetic expertise. However, assuming that Raimbaut could have mastered the local linguistic subtleties enough to place them in dialogue (arguably a more difficult feat than in the case of the *descort*), there is the problem of the audience for which Raimbaut would have created his fictional and bad-mannered Genoese voice. As Gaunt remarks: "Occitan speakers are unlikely to have understood her part of the text, whilst Italian-speaking audiences could easily have been offended by a foreigner attempting to appropriate their language in this way" ("Sexual" 303). After weighing the arguments, Gaunt and Rieger assume for the sake of their respective analyses that the Genoese voice represents a real woman who took part in the composition and performance of the work.

I believe that the best candidate for the woman who composed and performed the role of the *domna* is a Genoese *joglaresa*. The voice of the Genoese woman shows affinities with those of women in several other *tensons* who mock their male interlocutors in an uncourtly manner. These female voices share many features with the men's voices who use the *jongleuresque* register—an uncourtly level of speech that is largely made up of insults, boasts, and coarse language. The male poets who use this register are not only *joglars* and *jongleurs*, however, but

also troubadours and lords. The women who performed insulting and derisive roles in *tensons* may have been ladies at court who employed *jongleuresque* language, just as lords did. Such uncourtly speech from a woman of rank may appear unacceptable, to judge by the standards of *fin'amor*, though it is not necessarily be ruled out. However, professional performers, the Occitan *joglareasas* and French *jongleresses* may have more easily filled the role, and would probably have been less constrained by rules of propriety (Coldwell; Rieger, "Beruf"; Faral 63-65; see Léglu, "Did"). It seems quite possible that Italian counterparts of the *joglareasas* were active in Genoa alongside the native Italian *jongleurs*. Italian *jongleurs* from Lombardy and Tuscany performed at a great feast of the city in 1217, very close to the date of "Bella" (Faral 95). Like their male counterparts, the *joglars* and the *jongleurs*, the *joglareasas* and *jongleresses* may have been associated with a type of insulting speech that is found in the *tensons*. And like the Genoese woman, many of these entertainers were married; one *joglarea* or "soldadera" mentioned in the Occitan *vidas* is described as married to the professional poet or "joglar" Gaucelm Faidit (Boutière and Schutz 167).⁷ Raimbaut may have recruited one of these local professional players in Genoa to write and perform this work, which would offer the simplest explanation for the genesis of the *domna*'s role.

One of the aspects of the Genoese woman's voice that Gaunt, Brugnolo, and Rieger have emphasized is the uncourtly, or anti-courtly, nature of her speech, which challenges lyric discourse and asks the audience to consider if that discourse is ultimately based on a male sexual demands. Raimbaut's language is standard lyric speech. As Brugnolo shows (34-39), if the *Genoesa*'s lines are omitted from the *tenson* and only Raimbaut's remain, they can read as an autonomous and perfectly sensible *canso* on their own (in part this is because he seems to barely respond to her in conversation). But the persona of the *domna* sees Raimbaut's elaborate

speech as a thinly disguised form of sexual solicitation, as she makes clear in her initial reply to Raimbaut: “Iuiar, voi no sei corteso / qe me chaideiai de zo, / qe niente no farò” ‘you aren’t courteous to ask me for *that*. I won’t have anything to do with you’ (15-17). Following Bec (*Burlesque*), both Gaunt and Rieger view the Genoese woman’s speech as a form of counter-text to Raimbaut’s Occitan courtly lyric; her voice speaks frankly of sex instead of using coded language to speak of desire. In a negative sense, her attacks can be seen as an unmasking of Raimbaut’s carefully constructed, but sexually motivated, performance, as Rieger suggests (*Trobairitz* 435-36).

The *domna* introduces language related to horses as part of this unmasking of Raimbaut’s discourse. Towards the end of “Bella,” the *domna* asks sarcastically “Voi t’acaveilar co mego?” ‘Do you want to go riding with me?’ (75), and she and Raimbaut develop the equine metaphor in subsequent verses. For both interlocutors, horses relate simultaneously to the three distinct domains: courtly language, sexual activity, and material reward. Gaunt points out that riding and sexual activity are commonly associated in lyric (“Sexual” 304). Horses are explicitly linked to sexuality, as well as monetary value, as far back as the first troubadour, Guillem de Peiteus. In the boastful song, or *gap*, “Companho, farai un vers tot covinen” (P.C. 183,3), Guillem brags about two women he keeps as mistresses, and portrays them as horses:

III
 Dos cavals ai a ma seilla ben e gen;
 Bon sen e artit per amras e valen,
 Mas no·ls puesc tener amdos
 Que l’uns l’autre no consen.
 IV
 Si·ls pogues adomesgar a mon talen,
 Ja no volgr’aillors mudar mon garnimen,
 Que meils for’encavalguatz
 De negun home viven.
 (10-15. Guillem de Peiteus, Bond 2)

III

I own two horses for my saddle in a good and noble manner; they are good and brave in battle and worthy, but I cannot keep them both, because one does not tolerate the other.

IV

If I could tame them to my liking, I would never want to take my equipment elsewhere, because I would be better mounted than any man alive.

(trans. Guillem de Peiteus, ed. Bond 2)

In this passage, Guillem describes being *encavalguatz* (15). Like *acavaleir* in “Bella,” *encavalguatz* is linked to horses, and thus associated with chivalry and *fin’amor*, as well as with (metaphorically) sexual relations. *Encavalguatz* (14) probably has a double meaning here: “provided with a horse” and “mounted, ridden.”

In another *gap*, “Compaigno, no pus mudar qu’eu no m’effrei” (P.C. 183,4), Guillem also uses equine figurative language to denote sex. In this instance, however, the horses are metaphors for men not women, and the amorous escapades are conceived from the lady’s point of view. Guillem argues that a lady should have a certain degree of liberty in love, for if she is restrained and kept away from worthy choices (chargers), she will end up buying whatever is available, however base or common (palfreys): “E si·l tenez a cartat lo bon conrei, / Adoba·s d’aquel que troba viron sei: / Si non pot aver caval, ela compra palafrei.” ‘If you keep good equipment from her by a high price, she will equip herself with whatever she finds around her: if she cannot have a charger, she will buy a palfrey’ (16-18. Guillem de Peiteus, ed. and trans. Bond 6-7). This example is significant because it demonstrates a lady taking the lead in matters of love, and this within the earliest works of any troubadour. The initiative is authored by Guillem, however, and not by the lady, and he describes it in a *gap*, not a love song. He narrates another case of female initiative in his outlandish “red cat” *gap*, “Farai un vers, pos mi sonelh” (P.C. 183,12). Women who take an active role in sexual pursuit clearly form one part of his *imaginaire littéraire*. However, there are various examples of later women troubadours and

trouvères who speak of women taking the lead in *fin' amor*, and several of these are considered in Chapter 1. Another significant aspect of the lady's choice of horses in "Compaigno" is that she buys them; horses are objects that can be bought. As the *Genoesa* in "Bella" suggests (95), horses are items of economic worth, and they enter into circuits of exchange, just as women and men enter into circuits of other kinds of exchange for sex and courtship.

Gaunt's reading means that the *Genoesa* not only rejects Raimbaut's advances, but also rejects being treated as a sexual object. Her suggestive question regarding horse riding finds a reply when Raimbaut finally speaks in her terms in his final verses: "qe voillaz q'eu vos essai, / si cum Provenzals o fai, / qant es poiatz" 'allow me to try you out, just as a Provençal does, when he is mounted/raised up' (87-90). However, her reply is that, since he is a *joglar*, he would be better off seeking a real horse from his patron, rather than begging for favors from her. While rebuffing Raimbaut's advances, she declares her own satisfaction with her husband (25-26), and affirms control over her own *gauzo* (72)—a word that indicates (here) not only self-satisfaction and a laugh at Raimbaut's expense, but also sexual gratification.

The most conspicuous difference of voices in this *tenso*, in terms of the lyric tradition, is the difference in language: Raimbaut's courtly Occitan poetic discourse or *lati*, and the Genoese woman's coarse Italian speech. Literary works composed in two or more Romance languages in texts during Middle Ages are not uncommon, and span a broad range of genres, periods, and geographical area. As Léglu has observed, narrative texts in Occitan, French, and Catalan (*Multilingualism*), seem to be especially common in zones of contact—in border regions, or within periods of transition or translation from one tradition to another (from Occitan to French or Catalan verse narrative, or from French to Occitan epic). She notes that contrasts of language are deployed in multiple ways that for various literary, religious, and

political aims, and that language difference sometimes aligns with gender difference (99-138), just as in the *tenson* “Bella, tant vos ai preiada.” Concerning bilingual Romance lyric works, Brugnolo has examined three works that are partly in Italian, Raimbaut’s “Bella,” Raimbaut’s multilingual *descort*, and a trilingual *descort* attributed to Dante, “Aï, faux ris,” in Italian, French, and Latin. Despite general trends of language use through the course of the Middle Ages, the bilingual and multilingual Romance works are quite diverse and composed in quite various circumstances, so that each needs to be evaluated in its own context. As Gaunt argues, it is unlikely that the contrast of languages in “Bella” has much to do with difference in nationality (unlike some of the later medieval texts that Léglu examines); instead it corresponds more closely to a distinction of gender and level of discourse. During this period of time, the choice of Occitan seems to have been made primarily for literary and artistic reasons. The Catalan troubadour Raimon Vidal de Besalú, in his early thirteenth-century poetry manual the *Razós de trobar*, states that while the French language is the better for romances and *pastourelles*, the Occitan language (specifically, the Limousin dialect) is better for lyric poetry, and that Occitan lyric has greater authority (*autoritat*) than lyric in any other language (6).

Concerning the use of Occitan language, authority, and level of discourse, Gaunt signals the key term *lati*, the word by which the *Genoesa* designates Raimbaut’s language and manner of speaking: “no vollo questo lati” ‘I don’t want this language’ (80). The Genoese word *lati* likely means “language” here, to judge by Romance cognates, although it might serve to indicate “Latin” in other contexts; the term may carry other connotations as well. Gaunt points out, for instance, that the Occitan word *latin* seems to indicate “a type of understanding which is metalinguistic and which automatically excludes some people” in some troubadour verse (“Sexual” 310). In this context, the Genoese woman’s use of *lati* could be translated as

“jargon.” It may carry the significance of a higher register of authoritative or educated speech: just as Occitan or Provençal verse (*lati*) was the language of a self-proclaimed elite class of performers who required training in their art, Latin was the language of clerical education, which was only accessible to a few. Furthermore, Latin was generally only accessible to men, as Ziolkowski points out in his study of Latin and women’s voices. He proposes that medieval male authors helped create the *topos* of the bawdy woman, and especially the bawdy old woman, partly based on the exclusion of women from knowledge of Latin, combined with various official misogynist views about women as overly sexual creatures. The bawdy woman speaks the vernacular because she cannot speak the prestige language; she speaks vulgarly because she is ruled by animal passions. Ziolkowski’s argument is of interest, for it presents a view of the counter-textual tradition of women’s speech within lyric, largely as a male-created voice, but one that women, such as the *Genoesa*, may have utilized. His argument also illustrates the attitude that many women might have had with regard to a prestige discourse such as Latin or poetic Occitan—both of them *lati* from the Genoese woman’s point of view.

Borders and zones of contact, such as where Raimbaut finds himself in Genoa, are places of stark contrast of language, *heteroglossia*, or other-languageness, to use the terminology of Bakhtin. Brugnolo emphasizes this aspect of heteroglossia at the heart of the lyric tradition—a tradition that Bakhtin claims is almost entirely monologic (286). There are several ways to understand heteroglossia in this *tenso*. First of all, Raimbaut’s speech finds itself on “foreign” soil—his discourse is in Genoa, and Raimbaut is perhaps at an unfamiliar court, surrounded by people who speak another everyday language from his own. In love lyric, direct confrontation of this sort almost never occurs within the text; but in the *tenso*, it is possible for it to occur—and indeed, the *tenso* is a much less monologic than the *canço* or the *grand chant courtois*. In

“Bella, tant vos ai preiada,” the heteroglossia is made extreme and comical. The voice that Raimbaut develops for himself carries a great deal of cultural capital, and normally can be exchanged for economic or social benefits. In some contexts of heteroglossia, where two languages participate in a conversation that comes to an agreement, both parties may benefit. When the heteroglossia is extreme, as here, Raimbaut’s language has no value, and no bargain can be made.

Stocks of capital and circuits of exchange function on three levels in this poem. It is only because the exchanges fail, and also because the voices are so different, that these operations are so clearly displayed. The first level consists of the interpersonal exchange between Raimbaut’s persona and the Genoese woman he attempts to woo, and involves courting, gender, and sex. The second level is linguistic: the exchange between speakers of two different languages. The third concerns the relationship of patronage between Raimbaut and Sir Obizzino. Significantly, all of these transactions are mediated by material payments or rewards, or described by metaphorical expressions for money or gifts. Raimbaut speaks of the first level, that of courtly personal exchange, in the first stanza. He uses the terminology of lyric poetry to propose to the *domna* the most fundamental relationship of exchange in *fin’amor*, that between a lover and his lady, in which the lover serves with the desire for a reward. There are several ways to consider this relation. First of all, there is the courtly terminology of service found in the text. This service is highly idealized, but may be related to genuine interactions between troubadours and *trouvères* and ladies at court. The lover serves a lady, and professes that he places himself at his lady’s disposition, without conditions, *senes toz retenemenz* (36). But in fact, troubadours and *trouvères* frequently expect, in exchange for their service, a “reward,” in Occitan *gazardo*, in French *guerredon*. Mercy—Occitan *merce* and French *merci*—while technically a kind of grace, is also

desired as a result of service, and can be conceived as part of the exchange. And in fact, the concept of “mercy” is very much tied to that of compensation and payment: it originally derives from the Latin *merces*, which meant “salary, wages, price” (the same root that gave rise to *merchant*), and then later “favor, gift”; by the High Middle Ages, it denoted, in both Occitan and French, “mercy, grace,” but also “a kind of tax, charge” (Cropp 174-77, 366-68, Dragonetti *Technique* 77-91; Levy, *PSW* 229-30; Godefroy 5: 252). Mercy is very much a payment in love service for Raimbaut: he compares the *merces* from the Genoese woman to the riches of Genoa, and states that would consider himself better satisfied or rewarded (*pagaz* 14) by the *merces* (10-14). Another manner of viewing such a courtly exchange is in terms of what each party might gain. The poet normally seeks social connections and social capital that the lady at court possesses (though not in this dialogue), while the lady normally seeks the praise and prestige that the poet can offer her, and the cultural contributions that he can bring to the court (again, not in this dialogue). Raimbaut uses various terms to praise his “*domna*,” but emphasizes above all social qualities that have to do with her worthiness and prestige, and alludes to various ways that he might have a share in her social value. She is worthy, “*pros*” (4), and is guided by merit (“*vos gida... prez*,” 32-33). There is probably no need to recall the close association with wealth and money shared by the terms *pros* and *prez* (and related terms in French); in lyric, the association is nearly always metaphorical, but it describes nonetheless circuits of exchange that operate in many ways like financial exchanges. Raimbaut declares of the *Genoesa*: “*tos bos prez autreiaz*” ‘you set the standard for all that is valuable and commendable’ (5). *Autreiar* could mean “grant” in the sense of “give,” but could also signify “authorize, make legal”: the troubadour looks to the lady as an authority to grant value, and confer some of that value upon him. Raimbaut also praises the lady’s social qualities, which are a kind of social capital that has value for her: she is,

for example, *enseignada* (4); but he also wishes for her social qualities to be of use to him: “valla·m vostr’ensegnamenz” (31)—the phrase is ambiguous, and could mean ‘may your learning be of use to me’ or ‘may your instruction (of me) be of value to me.’ In any case, the courtly relationship of *fin’amor* is very much a transaction in which both parties benefit: the poet takes some of the cultural capital that he has accumulated by learning his craft, and, in exchange for praising her publicly and helping promote courtly manners at her court, he hopes to accumulate some economic capital (money or other payment) and win some prestige and perhaps social connections. It is not at all coincidental, perhaps, in the context of the strategies of accumulation and circuits of exchange of *fin’amor*, that Raimbaut compares the benefit of *merces* from the Genoese woman (10) to the accumulation of wealth in Genoa: “ill ciutatz / – ab l’aver q’es aiostaz – / dels Genoes” ‘the city of the Genoese, with all the wealth accumulated in it’ (12-14). The other manner of viewing the circuit of exchange between Raimbaut and the Genoese woman, of course, is as a sexual transaction. As argued above, the Genoese woman views the lyric request for love as a thinly disguised solicitation for sex. Indeed, Raimbaut finally owns up at the end of the poem, in a rather crude fashion, that he desires sexual relations with her (88-90). Certainly, sexual favors are a declared goal of a wide variety of troubadours and *trouvères* over a long period of time, and *fin’amor* very frequently has a strong erotic component, as Lazar has shown in *Amour courtois et ‘fin’amors’*. The extent to which the erotic fixation of poets corresponded to real sexual liaisons is a matter of debate, and it seems to me that sexual relations between married women of rank and professional poets would have been quite rare. But the intensity of emotion and sexuality that is found in love lyric is certainly not lost on the *Genoesa*. She has no motivation to engage in an exchange with Raimbaut; the rituals of courtship are worthless, and the sex with him is of less value than what she can easily find

with her husband (27-28). In addition, Raimbaut has no rank, no wealth of which to speak, no social or economic resources that he might bring to a relationship—all of which she emphasizes by repeatedly designating him *joglar* and by criticizing his clothing (83).

The exchange between Raimbaut and the *Genoesa* takes place in two different languages, but numerous references by each interlocutor to remarks and expressions by the other one demonstrate that each one understands what the other is saying. However, each speaker also shows signs of refusal to accept the language of the other. In the first six stanzas, Raimbaut evades any real communication with the Genoese woman, and seems to ignore her opinions and her taunts (except in verses 56-57). The *Genoesa* claims to not understand Raimbaut's speech. In Stanza IV, she argues that Raimbaut appears to lack sense (43, 46), and in Stanza VI, she plainly states that she does not understand him at all, not any more than a German, a Sard, or a Berber (74-75). There is no point in common between the two discourses (Occitan lyric and Italian vernacular) that would permit them to have a discussion of any meaning or importance to her. She uses a monetary metaphor to emphasize her point of view: "to proensalesco...no prezo un genoi" 'I value your Provençal speech/ways/goods less than a Genoese coin' (71-73). It is as if the two speakers are at an exchange with merchandise priced according to two different currencies. Raimbaut comes to Genoa with his proposal in Occitan denomination, but the Genoese woman estimates it is worth very little in the local currency, and therefore she refuses any transaction with the speech he has to offer: "no vollo questo lati" (81).

Finally, there is the transaction between Raimbaut and his patron, *Ser Opeti*, to which the *Genoesa* alludes (94-96). The Genoese raises this question of patronage to redirect the sexual horse metaphors that she and Raimbaut had raised earlier (77, 88-90). She suggests that, instead of seeking a ride from her, Raimbaut should ask instead for a pack-horse from his patron. This

remark points to the two sources of reward available to the professional poet: first, the love of a lady, along with the prestige and social capital that she can offer; and second, the economic compensation, prestige, and social connections that a lord and patron can provide. In a poet's relationship with a lord, the motivations of each partner are in some ways similar to those in a poet's relation with a lady. The poet offers praise for the lord, propaganda for his political aims, and cultural prestige for his court; the poet gains economic payments (money, gifts—poets often mention clothing and horses in lyric), lodging, and occasionally appointments to a court posts. In both circuits of exchange, that with the lady and that with the lord, the horse in “Bella” is a figure of potential gain. The Genoese woman seems to not want to become a reward or commodity herself, and recommends that Raimbaut seek a different kind of payment instead from his sponsor, Obizzino.

Within this context of cultural and social capital, it is worthwhile asking what Raimbaut might have stood to gain from such a performance. His individual voice and persona, that of a mocked but cunning, poor *joglar*, was a way for him to distinguish himself from other troubadours, and to make a name for himself among other poets. It seems likely that “Bella” served mainly to entertain: by demonstrating his ingenuity and talent, he may have been able to earn money and prestige—in other words, economic and social capital. This work may indeed have helped him obtain a horse from Obizzo. Obizzo, meanwhile, would have benefited from the entertainment, but also from the cultural prestige of lyric poetry and the practice of *fin'amor* at his court—in other words, social capital.

2. The early *partimen* and *jeu-parti*, value, and capital

Another type of exchange that links poet and patron, to the mutual benefit of each, is seen in a *tenson* that is nearly contemporary to “Bella,” though slightly earlier. It is from the west of France, from the court of Count Geoffrey II of Brittany, and dates from the years of his reign, 1169-1186.⁸ Geoffrey exchanges this *tenson*, “Jauseme, quel vos est semblant” (P.C. 178,1=167,30b), with the troubadour Gaucelm Faidit. Gaucelm was a prolific poet who composed in various genres and participated in numerous *tensons*. Gaucelm shares certain traits with Raimbaut: like him, he was a professional troubadour; the two poets were close contemporaries, and frequented some of the same courts during the 1190s. Raimbaut de Vaqueiras may well have been “Raimbaut” who collaborated with Gaucelm in the *partimen* “Ara·m digatz, Gaucelm Faidit” (P.C. 388,4=167,8) (Guida, “Questioni” 270-73; Harvey and Paterson 3: 1060). In any case, Gaucelm Faidit and Raimbaut de Vaqueiras shared various *tenson* partners between them.⁹

Gaucelm’s partner in “Jauseme,” Count Geoffrey, is a great lord, a son of Henry II of England and a brother of Richard Lionheart. Like Raimbaut’s partner the *Genoesa*, Geoffrey does not speak Occitan, but French, with features of Poitevin dialect (Gaucelm Faidit, ed. Mouzat 389). Both “Bella” and “Jauseme” therefore feature two speakers distinguished by difference of social position (in the first case, gender and assimilation of courtliness; in the second, rank), and in both cases this difference is marked by the use of two distinct languages. But Geoffrey’s choice of language does not seem to stem from an unwillingness to communicate with his Occitan partner; Geoffrey may simply have been more comfortable using what was probably his native tongue, and as a lord, he exercises his prerogative to employ the language of his choosing. In fact, as this work shows, a mutually intelligible dialogue in the two languages is

possible (partly because Occitan and French lyric share a great deal of the lexicon of lyric poetry). And Geoffrey shows himself very much in agreement with Gaucelm about the principles of *fin' amor*. Geoffrey, by proposing a debate with an Occitan troubadour, is demonstrating that he has mastered the basic skills of poetic composition, and that he has learned the fundamentals of courtly manners and of *fin' amor*.

The *tenson* that Gaucelm and Geoffrey compose together is of a variety known as a *partimen* in Occitan, and *jeu-parti* in French. In a *partimen/jeu-parti*, the first speaker presents a topic of debate, and asks which of two options is preferable, or worthier. The second speaker must choose one option to defend, and the first speaker is left to support the other option. The speakers are consequently opposed by the structure of the *partimen*, since they must strive to prove the value of their arguments, and often resort to criticizing their opponent's judgment. The *partimen* "Jauseume" is of particular interest, as it may be the earliest Occitan *partimen*, and thus the earliest work of the *partimen/jeu-parti* type in the entire Occitan-French *tenson* corpus. But nothing in it marks it as especially early or primitive: the basic features of this sub-genre are already present, including its form, with six stanzas and two *tornadas* (only the customary naming of judges in the *tornadas* is lacking). The question would prove to be influential: it is repeated, with variations, throughout the Occitan and French corpus of *partimens* and *jeux-partis*.¹⁰ The Count of Brittany queries Gaucelm regarding a *fins amant*, a devotee of *fin' amor*: if, on going to bed, the lover's lady finally decides to grant him the favor of making love with him, should he do so at the beginning of their meeting, or at the end?

I
[Coms]
Jauseme, quel vos est semblant
que l'om doia mieus maintenir,
cant tan a conquis fins amant
q'ill en est venuz au jezir

e sa dame l'enora tant 5
qu'elle met sor lui le choizir
d'un dous fere penre em beizant
al comenser, o al partir?
Cens plus, dites vostre talant:
le quel pannrietz vos avant, 10
au conjé o a l'avenir?

II
[Gaucelm]
Senher coms de Bertagna, afan
no m'en chal aver ni consir
del penre, car ben es trian
cal val mais, qu'eu dic sens mentir 15
que·l primers far es ses enjan
et en autre pod om faillir.
Et, si·l drutz vai son joi tardan
pos sa domna l'en vol aizir,
no·m par n'aia volontat gran: 20
fols es e null sen no·ll deman
e deu s'en per dreich repentir.

III
[Coms]
Sertes, Jauseume, se m'es vis
vencutz serés de la tenson.
Cuant hom est bien d'amor espris 25
e l'om pot venir a laron
beizier a sa dame le vis,
les ieus, la boche e lo menton,
trop le tendroie per eschis
se li menbrot se d'ele non. 30
Vos ne fostes unquas amis,
que le plus mauves avez pris,
c'au cuonjé vaut mieus le bel don.

IV
[Gaucelm]
Senher, partit es et devis
d'amic com es et er e fo: 35
que, pos sa domn'a joi l'aiziss,
no·l deu metre en atendeson.
E, si tot m'avetz fort requis,
si ai ieu la meillor razum,
c'adoncs a om son joi conquis 40
et no·i pot aver faillizum
cant pren so que plus li abellis,
e pueis li baizar e·l douz ris
son, apres del faire, plus bon.

V

[Coms]

Jauseume, onques fine amor
ne vos ot jorn en son poeir. 45

Choizi avetz le sordeior,
tut s'en poen apercevoir.

Mout es de gran joia senhor
qui au counjé reit son voleir 50
cuant il s'en vet contra le jor
et nen i poet plus remanoir.

Per ce di je que la mellor
a sill qui sa joie gregnor
puet au duos partir recevoir. 55

VI

[Gaucelm]

Senher, jens a fin amador
ni a fin drud non vim aver
al partir de si donz dousor,
si tot vos auh so mantener. 60

Mas vos e ll'autre engannador,
cuant avetz pres vostre placer,
tenetzs mout a dousa sabor
lo cuomnjat; per qu'ieu del jazer
dic que druds deu son joi maior
penre al comensar sens paor, 65
e puois lo baizar e-l tener.

VII

[Coms]

Jauseume, vos dites folor,
que ma razuns, per droit d'amor,
deit plus que la vostra valoir.

[Gaucelm]

Senher cuoms, jes non ai paor 70
que nols am que sapça d'amor
aus vostra razuns mantener.

(Harvey and Paterson 2: 418-22)

I

[Coms] Gaucelm, which alternative do you think the more defensible, when a true lover has advanced so far as to reach the point of going to bed and his lady does him the honour of offering him the choice of kisses and sweet love-making either at the beginning or when he is about to depart? Tell me your preference without more ado – which would you rather choose: when he takes his leave or when he arrives?

II

[Gaucelm] Lord Count of Brittany, I find no cause for perplexity or deep

reflection in the choice, for it is evident which is preferable: I maintain without a word of a lie that to make love first is free of guile, whereas otherwise a man may be disappointed. And if the lover puts off his joy once his lady is willing to offer it to him, I do not think he can have great desire for it: he is a fool, and I do not expect to find any good sense in him, and it is right he should live to regret it.

III

[Coms] I am sure, Gaucelm, you will be defeated in the dispute. When a man is consumed with love and is able to come secretly and kiss his lady's face and eyes and mouth and chin, I would think him very backward [stingy] if he was mindful of anything but her. You were never a lover, since you have chosen the worse alternative, for it is when one takes one's leave that the fair gift is of most worth.

IV

[Gaucelm] Lord, it has been decided once and for all how a lover is and was and will be: once his lady offers him love's joy he ought not to keep her waiting. And though you have strongly attacked me I still have the better argument, for when a man takes what most pleases him he has obtained his joy and cannot be disappointed, and then, after the love-making, kisses and sweet smiles are all the better.

V

[Coms] Gaucelm, true love never had you in its power. You have made the worse choice, everyone can see that. The man who has his way with a woman at the moment of leave-taking is master of great joy when he goes off at daybreak and can stay no longer. That is why I say that the man who has the best of it is the one who can receive his greatest joy at the sweet moment of parting.

VI

[Gaucelm] Lord, we have never known a true suitor or a true lover to find delight in parting from his lady, even though that is what I hear you asserting. But you and other deceivers, when you have taken your pleasure, do find a very great delight in leave-taking. That is why, in the matter of love-making, I maintain that a lover should boldly take his greatest joy at the beginning, and afterwards the kissing and the embracing.

VII

[Coms] Gaucelm, what you say is foolishness, for my argument, by all the laws of love, must be stronger than yours.

VIII

[Gaucelm] Lord Count, I have no fear that anyone who knows about love will dare to support your argument.

(trans. Harvey and Paterson 2: 419-23)

The topic of this debate concerns one type of reward desired by the poet/lover: the sexual favors of the beloved lady. Although the poets often speak of a gift or compensation from their lady, they are almost always quite vague about its nature in the love songs. But in the *tenson*, and especially in the *partimen/jeu-parti*, they can be rather explicit. To a great extent, of course, the

ambiguity in the love songs has to do with the nature of *fin' amor*: the love song would be uncourtly if it made specific demands, and the poet would not be a true lover if he did not allow the lady the discretion of granting favors. The *partimen/jeu-parti* is not addressed to a particular lady; instead it is about a lady who is usually hypothetical. The debate does not therefore need to be as entirely courtly in its register, and poets may speak more openly about matters such as sex. Sex is a relatively frequent topic of *partimens* and *jeux-partis*, in one form or another, as it is in *tensons* in general. These dialogues reveal what are two sides of the same coin of *fin' amor*, as seen in the *tenson* “Bella, tant vos ai preiada”: courtly service and sexual desire.

The dynamics of the debate in a *partimen/jeu-parti* are somewhat different than in other types of *tenson*, however, as “Jauseme” illustrates. In “Bella,” the two partners engage in a kind of negotiation that involves, potentially, exchange of favors, gifts, goods, or patronage. In the specialized type of *tenson* that is the *partimen/jeu-parti*, the two partners do not represent their personal points of view so directly: because of the nature of the game and the arbitrary choice given to one participant, the arguments may not even correspond very directly to the either poet’s opinion. The two poets engage instead in a kind of comparison of their respective skill and knowledge, their cultural capital. The debate takes the form of a competition with an implied winner. Geoffrey confidently proclaims to Gaucelm: “vencutz serés de la tenson” ‘you will be defeated in the dispute’ (24). The contest entails the evaluation of the worth of the two sets of arguments according to the standards of *fin' amor*, and by extension, an assessment of the capital of each poet—not only cultural capital, but also social capital: for by participating and performing well, a poet can enhance his or her prestige and reputation. The exchange consists of a comparative evaluation, and so Geoffrey proclaims at the end of the end of the *partimen*: “ma razuns, per droit d’amor, / deit plus que la vostra valoir” ‘my argument, by all the laws of love,

must be stronger [be worth more] than yours' (68-69). The term *valoir* (and its Occitan equivalent, *valer*) occurs fairly often in *jeux-partis* and *partimens*, and indicates not only the notion of prevailing in debate, but also an idea of the greater merit of a poet's arguments ("cal val mais" 'which one is preferable/worth more,' 15), and by extension, the poet's personal skills and standing. *Valer/valoir*, through its meaning "to be worth, to be worthy, to be of value," is closely bound up with the poet's cultural and social capital. Each stanza is a turn in the game, or *jeu*, of the *jeu-parti* (or, equivalently, of the *joc* of the *joc partit*—as the *partimen* is sometimes called in Occitan), in which each participant attempts to score points, but also affirm or accumulate capital, which has a definite value.

The very questions debated customarily have to do with the activity of seeking and accumulating capital of one type of another, and involve reasoning or rationalization ("razuns," 69, 72) regarding the best, most effective, or most profitable manner of doing so. The most common topic of discussion in the *partimen/jeu-parti* is that of the courtly relationship between a lover and a lady, and the debate centers on a question of which of two lovers, ladies, situations or courses of action is most worthy, valuable, or profitable. The great majority of *partimens* and *jeux-partis* are variations on a few basic situations,¹¹ but perhaps the most frequent one concerns the question of whether a lover should serve patiently, or should expect, or ask for, favors from a lady. In these questions, the *partimen/jeu-parti*, like the *tenson* in general, sometimes shows itself very accommodating to the discussion of sex, a subject that is generally raised in a much more indirect manner, if at all, in the love songs. "Jauseme" expressly refers to making love ("un dous fere," 7), and so the topic of sex is rather open: the question debated not a lover's service versus a lady's favors, since the favors have already been granted. But many *partimens* and *jeux-partis* do not deal with sex, or even courtship. Regardless of the precise question, the standard of

judgment is, as a rule, *fin' amor*, the code of courtly conduct that the troubadours and *trouvères* often cite in their lyric. The debaters often state this standard explicitly, as they do in “Jauseme”: Geoffrey invokes “fine amor” (45), and the “droit d’amor” (68), and holds up the example of the “fins amant” (3), and Gaucelm points to the model of the “fin amador” (56). Although there is an appeal to a common code, in fact the debaters adduce various principles, ones that even appear contradictory, to support their arguments. Many of the oppositions in the debates, like the questions themselves, are repeated with relatively minor modifications. One of the most important of these oppositions concerns immediate versus deferred enjoyment, as is the case with “Jauseme,” wherein Gaucelm must choose between sex at the beginning, or at the end. This opposition regarding deferred pleasure occurs several other times in other *partimens* and *jeux-partis*,¹² perhaps because it encapsulates so well the question of strategizing the accumulation of capital.

In “Jauseme,” it is possible to interpret the arguments of both Gaucelm and Geoffrey as alternative strategies, related to different preferences regarding deferral of pleasure, for best capitalizing on the lady’s favors (although a different reading that is slightly less utilitarian, based on the lady’s reward as a *don* or gift (33), is examined below as well). Count Geoffrey’s request that Gaucelm choose is suggestive of the assessment of relative value in which the two are about to take part: “dites vostre talant: / le quel pannrietz vos avant, / au conjé o a l’avenir?” ‘Tell me your preference... which would you rather choose: when he takes his leave or when he arrives?’ (9-11). The word *talant* indicates, in ordinary usage, a thought or wish; in the context of Geoffrey’s demand, it can be adequately translated as “preference (regarding something).” Of course, *talant/talent* is a key term in courtly lyric that the troubadours and the *trouvères* use to describe their desire,¹³ so that the word may carry a connotation regarding love: “Gaucelm, speak

your desire.” Indeed, the *partimen* is concerned with sexual desire for a lady, and the way in which it is carried out. But other associations of the word *talant*, dealing with comparative value, may also be significant. The word derives from the ancient Greek term for a weight or measure. The idea of weight tilting a scale may have led to the common Old Occitan and Old French meanings of “disposition, decision, thought” (just as with the development of Latin *pensare*), though a different path may have led to the meaning “wish, will, desire” (Mombello 95-151; Andrieux-Reix 206-8). Gaucelm is, in fact, being asked to weigh two options when Geoffrey says “distes vostre talant.” In point of fact, the image of a balance recurs in several *partimens* and *jeux-partis*, at moments when decisions are being made.¹⁴ It is not inconceivable that the notion of value or worth might be involved with the word *talant* here as well. The meaning of “(unit of) weight” would probably be associated with money, since Biblical texts, which probably gave the most familiar example of the ancient measure, equate talents with monetary sums. Perhaps the most notable of these texts is the Parable of the Talents, recounted in different versions in Matthew and Luke. In it, a master entrusts three servants with talents, or quantities, of gold for safekeeping for a period of time; the master gives each servant a different amount according to his ability. Two servants invest their master’s money, make a profit, and return doubled amounts to him; the master praises them. The third servant hides the master’s funds in the ground, and returns an identical sum; the master castigates him. The Parable of the Talents may have contributed to the meaning of “talent” as “natural ability or gift”; this meaning is attested in the twelfth century in Latin (Andrieux-Reix 208), though it may have take this same signification only later in Occitan and French. The Biblically-derived notion of considering and making the best and most profitable decision, while perhaps not directly related to appearance of

talant at the moment when Gaucelm is asked to choose in the *partimen*, nonetheless summarizes quite well the comparative problem of value for its two debaters.

Gaucelm maintains that his choice of present enjoyment is, on balance, “worth more” (“*val mais*,” 15). Having sex at the beginning is better, because putting it off until the end runs the risk of not achieving one’s goal at all. In terms of what modern economics calls time preference, Gaucelm favors the lover who values present consumption more highly than future consumption, and displays a “high time preference” (in economic terms: see Section 3.5). This lover would rather not delay. An additional consideration related to time, although independent of time preference strictly speaking, is low confidence in the future, which argues for the present gratification, since the occasion for realizing future gratification may not occur. Arguing against delay of gratification, Gaucelm warns that “*pod om faillir*” ‘a man may be disappointed’ (16), suggesting that impotence may intervene before the end of the meeting with the lady. Doubt about the availability of a future good may condition time preference, especially in economies (monetary and otherwise) in which there is a great deal of uncertainty. Interestingly, whether they condition time preferences (as here) or not, male performance difficulties are a feature of several *tensons*, and figure among the anxieties of the sexual economy of *fin’amor* that male poets discuss.¹⁵ Geoffrey, on the other hand, argues for the lover with a low time-preference, who places a higher value of future consumption than Gaucelm. Geoffrey also makes claims regarding reward: the man who waits until just before leaving will keep a stronger impression of pleasure, and will retain a “*joie gregnor*” ‘greater reward’ (54).

Gaucelm and Geoffrey, however, do not reason solely on the basis of physical gratification. They also argue with reference to courtly behavior and social relationships. Gaucelm, for instance, claims that a desire to make love at the beginning is an indication of

sincere love (20), and that it is better for a lover to be frank in achieving his goals, instead of appearing deceptive and fleeing as soon as intercourse is concluded (16; 60-66). Geoffrey, in arguing for delay, cites the need for a lover to show he is cultivated and can please a lady first through kisses (26-30). Since both sets of arguments place importance on a lady's wishes and approval, they both imply an ongoing social relationship, including the trade of cultural and social capital, which is at all events is the situation of *fin'amor*.

It may seem paradoxical that, for Geoffrey and Gaucelm, there is little inconsistency between debating about sexual intercourse and citing the notion of *fin'amor* to support their cases. Certainly, the lyric code of behavior encases a certain contradiction, since behind precepts of courtly service, sex is a motivation (Lazar, *Amour*), but one that must be concealed or coded, and probably not ever acted upon. It is difficult to imagine a courtly environment in which the troubadours or *trouvères* composed or performed, and in which real acts of adulterous sex between men and high-ranking women (as opposed to acts that were desired, imagined, or sung about) were openly tolerated. References to sex can be found in lyric texts, including *cansos*, and date from the works of the very first troubadour, Guillem de Peiteus. In the love songs, however, the allusions are often indirect, concealed by wordplay or *senhals*. But such genres as the *tenson*, as well as parodic versions of the love song, offer the opportunity to speak more plainly about sexual desire.

At the same time, "Jauseme" poses, in a certain form, the question of deferral of sex, which is at the heart of the contradiction, within *fin'amor*, between courtly behavior and sex. *Fin'amor* infuses various court practices with sexual desire, but strictly controls them; any sexual reward is to be postponed indefinitely according to this standard of conduct. Therefore, when sex is featured in a question in a *partimen* or *jeu-parti*, it is sometimes as a part of love service (as in

“Jauseme”), but very commonly it is not, and may be opposed to love service entirely. This category of debates opposing service and sex includes questions such as: Can a lover ask for favors from a lady, or should he continue to serve her patiently? Should a lover continue to serve a lady when he has not obtained favors from her, or should he abandon her for another lady? In *partimens* and *jeux-partis* with such dilemmas, a poet replies either by arguing for immediate reward (the less “courtly” option), or by arguing for continued service (the more “courtly” option). In many of these works (considered in Chapter 3), the pleasure of immediate physical gratification is contrasted with the advantages of an enduring social relationship with a lady.

Opposed to the framework of capital accumulation and exchange outlined above is a different conception of interactions between lover and lady, based on generosity and a gift economy. This notion finds support in “Jauseme” in the use that Geoffrey and Gaucelm make of the words *don* (the “gift” of the lady’s favors 33), and *joi* and *joia/joie* (the “enjoyment” or “sexual gratification”—corresponding more or less to the various meanings of the modern French *jouir*—that the favor procures for the lover, 18, 36, 40, 49, 54, 64). Both the *don* and *joi/joie* have value for Geoffrey and Gaucelm, but these words suggest that this value is to be freely given and subsequently consumed or used up; the idea of capital, however, implies that value can be stockpiled and amassed, almost as one’s own property. The ethic of generosity and liberality (Occitan *largeza*, French *largece*) indeed forms a central tenet of *fin’amor*, and its importance poses a challenge to the notion that capital accumulation is at work in lyric. This ethic of generosity, and the notion of gift economy, are considered somewhat more in more detail in Sections 1.7 and 1.8, but a few points can be made here. First of all, the principles of generosity and gifts are evident in “Jauseme,” beyond its vocabulary. The *tenson* “Jauseme,” for instance, takes place between two men, and the woman in the question acts, in many senses, as a

gift object. For anthropologists such as Lévi-Strauss, the exchange of women is the primitive basis of social exchange. To a certain extent *fin'amor* can be understood as a kind of exchange between men: men primarily create it, and in it they address other men, at least as much as they address women. However, the principles of *fin'amor* allot power to the lady in the courtly relationship (even if this notion may be somewhat idealized); the lady in control acts in many ways like a generous lord who grants favors and rewards to reinforce social position. Her favors are a gift inasmuch as they are a reward for service, but she only grants them at her discretion, and as an act of liberality, not as part of a simple *quid pro quo*. Furthermore, the gift itself is consumed, as the word *joi* indicates: the sexual act is enjoyed, used up, and cannot be kept or retained as an asset or good. This is a fundamental property of a gift in a gift economy: it must not be personally retained as an object of economic worth. The dynamics of gift exchange do operate to some extent within the lover-lady relationship of *fin'amor*, and perhaps more importantly, a gift economy played an important role in the courts and urban settings in which the troubadours and *trouvères* composed and performed.

Nevertheless, it is possible to view various types capital exchange as connected to the gift economies of medieval social environments and of *fin'amor*, or as operating in tandem with them. First of all, it is important to understand that individuals engaged in gift economies with their own self-interest very much in mind. Great lords, for example, bestowed gifts and spent lavishly as part of their strategies of domination. And although objects in a gift economy often have relatively little economic value, they transmit other types of value that serve to maintain or make claims on the rank or status of the giver and the receiver. To this extent, gift-giving is profoundly implicated in the circuits of social capital—the exchanges, rituals, and ceremonies through which individuals and groups preserve power, rank, and status. The apparent generosity

involved in a typical lady-lover relationship in *fin'amor* can be seen as merely one type of social capital exchange. The *joï* is an additional type of compensation, emotional or erotic, one that likely had to do with interpersonal contact. It was partly made up of fantasy; it crossed the threshold of sexual intimacy, probably, only under exceptional circumstances. In addition, the lady's reward is not necessarily given out of grace: the poet expects it in return for service. He speaks often of his *gazardo* or *guerredon*, and protests when it is not forthcoming. As an indication of this conception of capital exchange, the troubadours and *trouvères* use language related to value, money, and trade (and especially so in the *tensons*), in order to describe metaphorically the nature of their social and literary exchanges at court. Some of this language is used in the "Bella, tant vos ai preiada" (the wealth of Genoa and the Genoese currency), but poets sometimes use it even more directly in describing the lover-lady relationship.

The above discussion of the "Jauseme" has concentrated on the relationship between the lover and the lady proposed in the *partimen*'s question, but the social exchange that actually takes place in the debate, and the one that involves movement of social and cultural capital, is that between Geoffrey and Gaucelm themselves. Geoffrey undoubtedly acted as Gaucelm's patron. Count Geoffrey was a very great lord of the Plantagenet family, whereas Gaucelm was a professional troubadour; Gaucelm addresses Geoffrey as "Senher," but Count Geoffrey simply uses Gaucelm's first name to speak to the troubadour. But the interaction between the two men is not a typical one between a patron and a professional poet. More often, the poet composes a lyric work and performs alone; the lord receives the reputation for sponsoring prestigious cultural activity, and may receive praise directly within verse (which would enhance the lord's social capital), while the poet parlays his knowledge of composition, his cultural capital, into social connections, favors, and material compensation (social and economic capital). However, in the

partimen “Jauseme,” Geoffrey, although not a professional troubadour, displays a desire to demonstrate his own cultural capital, his own expertise in *trobar* (the troubadours’ term for the art of composing); instead of receiving lyric, he creates it. In the debate, Geoffrey does not use his advantage of rank, but argues according to the same standard as Gaucelm, that of *fin’amor*. For Geoffrey, skill in poetry may have added to his own personal status to himself, satisfying his curiosity and interests. In any case, Geoffrey used the opportunity of Gaucelm’s presence at court to demonstrate and perhaps practice his own abilities. In this way, he would be trading some of his social capital (his rank) for cultural capital (expertise in composition). Debates between patrons or lords and professional poets make up a large share of Occitan *partimens*, and account for many French *jeux-partis* as well. On a few occasions, the higher-ranking partner uses his position to his advantage in making his or her case. In general, however, as in “Jauseme,” the two interlocutors in a *partimen* or *jeu-parti* debate the question as rough equals, differing mainly with regard to their expertise in the arts of poetry and love.

Count Geoffrey’s court occupies a central position in the early development of not only the Occitan *partimen*, but also the French *jeu-parti*. Geoffrey was the partner, with Gaucelm, of perhaps the first *partimen* in the Occitan corpus. Geoffrey was also a partner in the first wholly French *jeu-parti*, with Gace Brulé,¹⁶ “Gasse, par droit me respondez” (R 948). By a series of connections through other poets, these two works might be connected, more or less directly, to a long series of other *partimens* and *jeux-partis*. It is not surprising to find Geoffrey as a patron of troubadours and *trouvères*. His brother, Richard the Lionheart, composed verse, in French and perhaps in Occitan as well; Richard also exchanged *sirventes* with Dalfi d’Alvergne,¹⁷ who in turn was an important sponsor of *partimens* at his court, at a date only slightly later than Count Geoffrey’s poetic activity. Geoffrey, like Richard, was the son of Eleanor of Aquitaine, and was

thus part of a family celebrated for its sponsorship of literature, including lyric poetry. As Lejeune observes regarding Geoffrey and Eleanor's family: "Si les jeux-partis semblent donc naître, spontanément, à la même époque, dans la littérature occitane et dans celle d'oïl, c'est qu'ils naissent au même endroit: dans le sillage de la cour de Poitiers" (45). The *jeu-parti* or *partimen* may have existed before either of the works with Geoffrey. Regarding the *partimen*, there exists one between Guiraut de Borneill and King Alfonso II of Aragon, "Be·m plairia, Seingner En Reis" (P.C. 242,22=23,1a), which is possibly of an earlier date, though this is doubtful (Harvey and Paterson 2: 704). There are no *jeux-partis* or other *tensons* of similar age in French, but a French origin for the *partimen/jeu-parti* is still possible.

Concerning the French descent of the *jeu-parti*, it might well be connected to Gace Brulé and his activity at Count Geoffrey's court, as Lejeune surmised. In his song "Les oiselés de mon païs" (R 1579), Gace makes reference to a period of temporary refuge in Brittany, away from his native Champagne, and this may have been when he partnered with Geoffrey in the first recorded French *jeu-parti*. Gace spent most of his career in Champagne, whence he might have carried the *jeu-parti* to Brittany; in Champagne, his poetry may have served as a model for the young Count Thibaut de Champagne. The *Grandes Chroniques de France* claim that Thibaut took Gace's poems and "les fist escrire en sa sale à Provins et en celle de Troyes" 'had them written out in the great hall [in his residence] in Provins and in the one in Troyes' (4: 255).¹⁸ Thibaut, who was a rather frequent practitioner of the *jeu-parti*, could have transmitted this form of debate to Arras, where it flourished abundantly: the majority of extant *jeux-partis* originate from Arras. Thibaut debated Guillaume le Vinier, a canon in Arras who died there in 1245, in one work, "Sire, ne me celez mie" (R 1185); Guillaume's brother Gille is named also in this *jeu-parti*. There are, however, no records of Thibaut visiting Arras. It is possible that Thibaut or his court introduced

the *jeu-parti* to Arras merchants attending one of the great trade fairs in the Champagne, and that these merchants carried this type of lyric back home with them.

To be sure, these links leading from Count Geoffrey of Brittany on the French side, from Gace to Thibaut, and from Thibaut to Arras, are speculative. The connections leading from Geoffrey on the Occitan side are much more assured. There exist multiple pathways by which the *partimen* likely spread in Occitan lyric. Gaucelm, Count Geoffrey's partner, also co-authored *partimens* at the courts of Savaric de Malleo and Dalfi d'Alvergne (great lords usually allied with the Plantagenets), who were important patrons and partners of *partimens* featuring numerous other troubadours. Apart from these courts, Gaucelm may have composed a *partimen* with Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, and he participated in *partimens* with Aimeric de Peguillan and Elias d'Uisel; all three—Raimbaut, Aimeric, and Elias—were frequent partners in *partimens* with other troubadours. To put these links in perspective: Gaucelm and the patrons and troubadours connected to him through *partimens* (Savaric, Dalfi, Raimbaut, Aimeric, Elias) participated in turn with the great bulk of troubadours who took part in *partimens* in the prolific period from 1190 to 1230, including, among others, Uc de Saint Circ, Sordel, and Blacatz.

The *partimens* and *jeux-partis*, although they developed as a later variation of the *tenson*, became quite numerous. *Partimens* make up the greater part of extant Occitan *tensons*, and *jeux-partis* constitute the overwhelming majority of extant French *tensons*. These debate poems were cultivated for somewhat different audiences: most of the Occitan *partimens*, as well as the *jeux-partis* of Lorraine and by Thibaut de Champagne, were oriented toward an audience at court, while the *jeux-partis* of Arras were written for an urban setting in which merchants and financiers played an important role. Nonetheless, the form and content of the *partimen/jeu-parti*, including the very questions posed, retained a great deal of consistency over the period during

which the subgenre was practiced, up until the end of the activity of the troubadours and the *trouvères*. These debates clearly played an important role in allowing poets to display their cultural knowledge, build up their social and economic capital, enhance their status, and enable them in many cases to make a living.

3. Overview of chapters

Several features of the *tenson*, including the *partimen* and the *jeu-parti*, are evaluated in Chapter 1, especially its special role as a form of lyric for accumulating capital. I discuss the corpus for this study, which was established to investigate the nature of the *tenson*, and the various features that distinguish the genre from other types of lyric. There follows a discussion of literary antecedents that influenced the genre, including earlier debate poetry such as the Latin *conflictus*, as well as the *quaestio*, a type of pedagogical debate practiced in the schools. Regarding the history the *tenson*, the courts and urban environments are particularly important, as they served not only to transmit *tensons*, but also to shape the meaning and purpose that the genre held for poets, patrons, and audiences. This historical context is viewed from a perspective of cultural, social, economic, and symbolic capital that draws primarily on the work of Bourdieu, and, to a lesser extent, other scholarship (Bakhtin, critical discourse analysis). This theoretical framework is elaborated with reference to what is known about the practices of the troubadours and the *trouvères*, and the nature of the social and literary networks for which the poets wrote and performed. This framework is also developed based on the principles the poets espouse in their lyric, including the notions of *capdal* or capital, *fin'amor*, and the art of *trobar/trover*. Once the formal features of dialogue and debate are placed within a context of accumulation and exchange of cultural, social, and economic capital, they show that the *tenson* is a form of literature that relates especially to cultural knowledge and social prestige. These observations are valuable for

an understanding of the *tenson*, as well as for other types of troubadour and *trouvère* lyric, including the *canso* and the *chanson d'amour*. Such an assessment suggests, for example, that the relationship of *fin'amor* between the poet/lover and the lady is based to a large extent on a social transaction that enhances prestige for each partner, and that this relationship resembles in many ways that between the poet and the patron. And while the love songs are in appearance primarily occupied with the performance of *fin'amor*, they also constitute, just as much as the *tensons*, interventions by poets who are concerned with amassing various types of capital. At the end of the chapter, the manuscript transmission of the *tensons*, including the selection and organization of texts, is briefly examined. In the Occitan manuscript tradition, there is good reason to believe that Uc de Saint Circ, troubadour and author of *vidas* and *razos*, played an important role in assembling an early collection of Occitan *tensons* that was copied and modified by later compilers. This collection emphasized the interactions between poets and patrons, and presents them as exchanges in which both participants profit and accumulate capital of various kinds.

Chapters 2 and 3 deal with two different types of *tenson*, and the manner in which they constitute exchanges in which poets seek rewards and accrue various resources. Chapter 2 examines primarily what this study terms “open *tensons*” which, like “Bella,” are not the specialized type known as *partimens* or *jeux-partis*. I analyze two *tensons* in which poets accumulate cultural capital through apprenticeship, one from the troubadour tradition and one from that of the *trouvères*. I examine several *tensons* in which poets converse about patronage and its rewards. Poets competed for patronage and for relative prestige and reputation (or social capital), and sometimes took the opportunity to denigrate or slander one another; I take the case of *tensons* and other debate works against as an example of this kind of competition. I look at

tensons between patrons and poets. As the *tenson* “Jauseme” demonstrates, these are special kinds of transactions, as the patron and poet are seeking different types of reward, and come to the exchange with different stocks of capital. A similar kind of asymmetry exists in *tensons* between ladies and poets, especially since ladies often act as patrons in many ways, and I study *tensons* with a female voice at the end of the chapter. Throughout Chapter 2, I give attention to the manner in which poets utilize distinctive kinds of voice in dialogue in order to accrue capital, and I refer to the frequent use of a *jongleuresque* register in this context.

Chapter 3 is devoted to the *partimen* and the *jeu-parti*, in which the discussion is “closed,” or limited to the discussion of a two-part question set by the first speaker, as in “Jauseme.” In the *partimen/jeu-parti*, the poets do not stress differences of rank, status, or gender as much as they do in they do in open *tensons*. Instead, they claim status through a kind of competitive game, in which they attempt to demonstrate their expertise in lyric and their knowledge of *fin’ amor*. They thereby seek to affirm and accumulate cultural and social capital. As an extension of the concept of capital, the game can be analyzed in the terms of game theory, as a sort of transaction that brings payoffs or benefits to both partners, and allows them both to enhance their status, if they both play competitively. The poets themselves use vocabulary related not only to games, but also to money and commerce, as part of the debates in the *partimens* and *jeux-partis*. They use this lexicon to compare the value of their arguments, and by extension, the status they derive from the debate. They also use this terminology to describe, figuratively and sometimes literally, the manner in which they accumulate social and economic capital through their practice of lyric. The usage of monetary and commercial vocabulary is especially developed among the *trouvères* of Arras, many of whom were merchants and financiers; they use comparisons and types of reasoning that are almost economic in character,

involving time preference and deferral of pleasure in matters of *fin' amor*. The poets of Arras were also among the later poets to practice the *partimen/jeu-parti*, along with a few of the later *troubadours*; it is noteworthy that, in their debates, these two groups of poets sometimes consider *fin' amor* as compatible with marriage, which is almost never a view expressed in earlier lyric. This later poetry exhibits some of the features of the transformation of *fin' amor* into a discourse adapted for the use of somewhat larger segments of the population than earlier court-oriented lyric. And it was in large part in this modified form that the legacy of troubadour and *trouvère* poetry was to be passed down to future generations.

Notes to Introduction

¹ The earliest troubadour whose work survives is Guillem de Peiteus, who lived until 1126. Although his individual songs are difficult to date, he may have been creating poetry as early as 1102. Bond cites two chroniclers, Orderic Vitalis and William of Malmesbury, who report independently that William was composing and performing verse upon his return from the Crusades in Jerusalem in 1101-1102 (Guillem de Peiteus, ed. Bond 1).

² According to Nelson, the earliest anonymous *trouvère* song dates to 1146-47, and the earliest works by a known *trouvère* are two works by Chrétien de Troyes, which may be from as early as 1160 (255).

³ This is the likely year of composition of earliest dateable *tenson*, “Car vey fenir a tot dia” (P.C. 112,1=199,1), by Cercamon and Guillalmi (Harvey and Paterson 1: 250); see also discussion of this work in Section 2.2.

⁴ “Ara·m digatz, Gaucelm Faidit” (P.C. 388,4=167,8), by Gaucelm, may have been co-authored with Raimbaut de Vaqueiras; see also below, and note 7.

⁵ Frank 1:102; see also Appendix: Corpus of *Tensons*. Frank classifies the metrical structures of troubadour lyric; the corresponding repertory for *trouvère* lyric is Mölk.

⁶ See Chambers, “*Trobairitz*”; Zufferey, “*Tensons*”; Bec, “‘*Trobairitz*’.”

⁷ This reference may be in jest, since *soldadera* can be interpreted as a woman of loose morals, and the *vida* mocks Gaucelm in other places (Poe, “*Vidas*” 193)

⁸ For a discussion of the history of attribution and dating of this work, see Harvey and Paterson 2: 424. It is very likely that the debate was composed by Geoffrey II, Count of Brittany, and Gaucelm Faidit, although available evidence does leave some degree of uncertainty.

⁹ Perdigo, with Gaucelm in “Perdigons, vostre sen digaz” (P.C. 167,47=370,12) and with Raimbaut in “En Azemar, chazes de tres bars” (P.C. 392,15=4,1=3701,12a); and Albertet, with Gaucelm in “Gauselm Faidiz, eu vos deman” (P.C. 16,16=167,25), and probably with Raimbaut in “Albertet, dui pro cavalier” (P.C. 388,1=16,4) (Harvey and Paterson 3: 1052).

¹⁰ See note 11 below.

¹¹ Several scholars have classified the *partimens* and *jeux-partis* according to subject matter. For the *partimens*, see Harvey and Paterson xxxii-xxxix (this list includes other types of *tenson*), and Neumeister 195-209; for the *jeux-partis*, see Fiset 418-48.

¹² Among the *partimens* and *jeux-partis* that contain a very similar type of question related to sex and time preference (sooner versus later) are: “Seingner N’Imbert, digatz vostre escienza” (P.C. 236,8=250,1); “Seinher, qal penriasz vos” (P.C. 366,30); “Adan, s’il estoit ensi” (R 1026); “Gautiers de Formeseles, voir” (R 1822); “Amis, qui est li mieus vaillant” (R 365).

¹³ In Occitan lyric, the term is rather frequent, occurring 374 times according to *COM*; it

can occur by itself to mean “desire” or “wish,” or in fixed phrases such as *aver talent*, as in the only instance where Gaucelm Faidit uses it (in “Ar es lo montç vermellç et vertç” (P.C. 167,10)). *Talant/talent* is perhaps even more common in French lyric. Gace Brulé, for example, who exchanged verses with Geoffrey (see below), uses *talant/talent* 21 times. Most of these occurrences indicate a rather general meaning of “wish,” as in *avoir talent de* or *a son talent*, but many are in an abstract sense that seem to mean “desire” (Lavis and Stasse, *Gace* 313-14). Probably somewhat later (and well after the composition of “Jauseme”), Thibaut de Champagne employs the term 25 times, and his pattern of usage (fixed expression vs. abstraction) is similar (Lavis and Stasse, *Thibaut* 295). Notably, he allegorizes *talent* as desire in “Ausi conme unicorne sui” (R 2075):

Lors fu menez sanz raençon
 en la douce chartre en prison
 dont li pilier sont de talent
 Et li huis sont de biau veoir
 Et li anel de bon espoir.
 (14-18 Thibaut de Champagne, 102)

Then I was led without ransom into the sweet prison cell whose pillars are of desire, and doors of beautiful sight, and chains of fair hope.
 (Trans. Brahney, ed. Thibaut de Champagne 103)

¹⁴ “Amics Symon, si·us platz, vostra semblanza” (P.C. 282,1b=436,1a); “Bertran, lo joi de dompnas e d’amia” (P.C. 437,10=76); “Adan, si soit que me feme amés tant” (R 359). For further discussion, see Chapter 3.

¹⁵ Among the *partimens* and *jeux-partis* in which the subject of impotence is dealt with are “Joris, cil qe deziratz per amia” (P.C. 197,1b=277,1); “Jozi, diatz, vos qu’es homs entendens” (P.C. 144,1=277,2); “Rofin, diguatz m’ades de quors” (P.C. 249a,1=426,1); “Amic Privat” (P.C. 461,16); and “J’ain par amour de fin cuer sans partir” (R 1442). In “En Jaufrezet, si Dieus joi vos aduga” (P.C. 132,7a=419,2), Elias proposes in one choice to Jaufrezet, as a kind of performance enhancer, three jars of *eruga* (arugula or rocket), a plant widely believed in the Middle Ages to be an aphrodisiac (see Harvey and Paterson 1: 282). A dialogue on impotence is found in the somewhat risqué work “Ad un nostre Genoes” (P.C. 386,1+372,a1), which is a *cobla* exchange, not a *tenson*, despite the way it is edited in the only manuscript in which it appears, *Chansonnier C* (Jeanroy, “Le troubadour Pujol” 161). In it, Pujol addresses a certain Poestat, who may be Perceval Doria, who held the position of judge in Arles and Avignon (Harvey and Paterson 2: 836); however, given the subject of the piece, “Poestat” may represent “potency” personified:

[Pujol]
 Ad un nostre Genoes
 mandet l’autr’ier que vengues
 una dona, e·n prezes
 so que tostemps avia ques:
 e quan l’ac en sa cambra mes
 pencha la gensers qu’anc vis res,
 e·l demandet: “De tot quant es?”
 Et anc vas la dompna no·s fes:
 Poestat, jutjatz, qu’en fares?

[Poestat]
 Pujol, yeu dic, si·l plagues,
 de la dona qu'otra ves
 que re·l malastruc fezes,
 que hom qu'ama ben manhtas ves
 es per fin'amor sobrepres;
 si el s'esperdet, pogra bes
 esser per que sobramor fes,
 qu'ieu·m combatria enans ab tres
 que res a ma dompna quezes.
 (Jeanroy, "Le troubadour Pujol" 166)

[Pujol]

The other day a lady asked that one of our Genoese men come to her, and esteem what she had always sought. And when she had put him in her room, the noble lady, who must have never seen a thing, leaned forward and asked him: "Is that all (of it)?" And he didn't ever do it with the lady. Poestat, give your opinion, what do you make of this?

[Poestat]

Pujol, if it might please him, I say that, concerning the lady from the other day, he did something unfortunate with her. A man who loves well often (many times?) is overwhelmed by *fin'amor*. If he was troubled, it could well be because he had an excess of love. As for me, I would fight with three [men] instead of asking for something from my lady.

(my translation)

For a discussion of impotence in the Middle Ages, which had potential legal ramifications related to the validity of marriage, see J. Murray 137-40.

¹⁶ The authorship of both Geoffrey of Brittany and Gace Brulé is accepted by, among others: Gace Brulé, ed. Huet (vii-ix); Gace Brulé, ed. Petersen Dyggve (27-37), Lejeune (44). Långfors accepts the attribution to Geoffrey, but is reluctant to acknowledge Gace Brulé's participation (xv-xvi, 7).

An additional indication that Count Geoffrey hosted, and composed with, both Gaucelm Faidit and Gace Brulé is the intertextual connection between the poetry of Gace poetry and that of Gaucelm. Gaucelm adapted the music and words of one of Gace's works for one of his own songs, according to Rosenberg and Danon (xxv, cited in Nelson 259). Gace adapted freely from various Occitan models, since he was an early *trouvère* establishing a new tradition in the French language, but it is harder to explain Gaucelm imitating French lyric (since borrowing from French into Occitan is relatively uncommon)—unless Geoffrey's court provided him with a place to meet Gace, or become familiar with his poetry, and be perhaps be motivated to learn his work.

¹⁷ Richard's French-language "Dalfin, yeu vos voill derainier" (R 1274a; P.C. 420,1), is answered by Dalfi's Occitan "Reis, puois de mi chantatz" (P.C. 119,8).

¹⁸ This passage in the *Chroniques* in fact contains language that theoretically leaves room to understand that Gace and Thibaut exchanged verses with one other, perhaps even *jeux-partis*:

Et, pour ce que parfondes pensées engendrent mélancolie, ly fu-il loé d'aucuns sages hommes qu'il s'estudias en biaux sons de vielle et en doux chans delitables. Si fist entre luy [Thibaut] et Gace Brulé les plus belles chançons et les plus délitables et mélodieuses qui oncques fussent oïes en chançon né en vielle. Et les fist escrire en sa sale de Provins et en celle de Troyes, et sont appellés *Les Chançons au Roy de Navarre*. (254-55)

However, as Gace's editor Huet points out, "entre luy et Gace" might simply mean that the two poets wrote the best songs, though considered separately and not viewed as having composed jointly (ii-iv); "Les Chançons au Roy" probably indicates songs "of the King" instead of songs (from Gace) "to the King." There is no evidence of any poetry that Gace and Thibaut created together, and there is not even any certainty that the periods of activity of the older Gace and of the much younger Thibaut overlapped. Furthermore, there are reasons to have doubts concerning this section of the *Chroniques* concerning Thibaut. The passage immediately preceding it (254) appears rather fanciful: it describes an encounter during which Thibaut falls hopelessly in love with Blanche of Castille, which is purportedly the reason he became melancholy and began studying the art of singing in the first place.

On the other hand, in support of the account that Thibaut collected Gace's poetry, the songs of Gace directly follow those of Thibaut in many manuscripts, including:

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 846

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 24406

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. fr. 1050

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. Fr. 21677

Zagreb, Bibl. Metropol. MR 92

For some reason compilers linked their songs together. This manuscript tradition may have led to Gace's songs being misattributed to Thibaut, as happens when Dante, in *De vulgari eloquentia*, cites Gace's "Ire d'amour qui en mon cuer repaire" (R 171), but ascribes it to Thibaut.

Chapter 1

Capital, Discourse, and Voice

Qu'al meynhs s'ilh tot del sobreplus no·m val,
Tan n'ai d'onor que ben cobri·l capital.
At least, even if she does not help me to a surplus, I have so much honor from her,
I get back my capital.
(Aimeric de Peguillan, "Totz hom qui so blasma que deu lauzar" (P.C. 10,52), 48-49, trans. Shepard and Chambers, ed. Aimeric de Peguillan 240-42)

In one of his *cansos*, the troubadour Aimeric de Peguillan describes his relationship with his lady in a manner that encapsulates certain arguments of this chapter. If the lady does not give a "profit" of any validity to Aimeric ("no·m val"), at least he keeps his "capital." *Sobreplus* is a term for profit, and can stand for the benefits Aimeric expects from his lady; it is also a euphemistic term lyric poets use for sexual gratification. The two meanings indicate the different realms in which capital is at work within the lyric of troubadours and the *trouvères*.

The exchanges of various types of capital are key to understanding the role and importance of the *tenson* as a genre. The dialogue form of the *tenson* is somewhat unusual, and for the poets it must have taken some effort to come together to compose them. Yet *tensons* were a persistent feature for most of the period of the troubadours and of the *trouvères*, and were assiduously collected by manuscript compilers, which suggests that they were valuable to both their authors and to audiences. To some extent, this capital distinguishes the *tenson* from the love song—the Occitan *canso* and the French *chanson d'amour* or *grand chant courtois*—in which the libidinal economy of desire is central. In the *tenson*, poets more openly state their aims of accumulating capital and reaping the gains of it; the *tenson* is, in effect, a form of exchange that allows poets to realize such gains. Yet various economies of capital, in the form of cultural

knowledge, status, reputation, and wealth, underlie the love songs (and lyric in general), as Burgwinkle has shown eloquently in *Love for Sale*, which is primarily concerned with the life and work of the troubadour Uc de Saint Circ. An examination of capital within the *tenson*, then, is illuminating for the study of the love song, which is inextricably bound up with social, cultural, and material concerns.

Why did troubadours, and later, *trouvères*, engage in *tensons*? Many of the same poets who composed *cansos* and *chansons d'amour*, and other types of lyric, also created *tensons*. What could they accomplish by composing and performing a dialogue or debate song that they could not do as well with a love song, or other type of lyric work? I believe they did so primarily to accumulate cultural, social, and symbolic capital. These notions have been developed in modern times within the sociological work of Pierre Bourdieu, but they are preoccupations of the troubadours and *trouvères*; questions of status, prestige, exchange and payment are all prominent in their poetry, especially the *tensons*. Furthermore, as the citation by Aimeric suggests, the troubadours even elaborated a notion of *capdal* very similar to Bourdieu's concept of capital (Section 1.6). The poets developed a literary discourse and various types voice in order to accumulate capital, and the way in which they do so in the *tenson* is an instructive example of the workings of literary production.

The first few sections of this chapter (1.1-1.3) are concerned with the delimitation of the corpus of the *tensons* in Occitan and in French, and an examination of features that distinguish the *tenson* from other lyric genres. The next sections consists of a critical appraisal of the *tenson*, including a review of previous scholarship (1.4), an overview of the theoretical framework of this study, which includes the concepts of capital, discourse, and voice (1.5), followed by an examination of these concepts within the context of the lyric poetry (1.6-1.11).

1.1. Definition of the corpus and the genre

The *tenson* is a well-defined genre in both troubadour and *trouvère* lyric. The *tenson* in this form is only widespread in Occitan and French; the form developed to a limited extent Galician-Portuguese (Brandenberger, Díaz Corral), and there exists a continuation of the Occitan *tenson* in later Catalan poetry.¹ The Italian *tenzone* is a somewhat different form: entire poems are exchanged.

This study uses the term *tenson* for debate lyric in Occitan and in French in which the voices alternate in a regular manner, typically stanza by stanza, and in which all stanzas have the same metrical structure, and that are a minimum of three stanzas long.² All such works are by their nature debate poems, so that it is not necessary to include in the definition of the *tenson* any reference to content—except to exclude poems conventionally classified as *pastorelas* or *pastourelles*. *Pastorelas* and *pastourelles*, discussed briefly further below, do contain dialogue, but deal with a particular kind of encounter between a poet and a shepherdess in the countryside, and have a rather separate history as a genre. The conception of debate lyric was somewhat more fluid than modern conceptions of genre might suggest, and the formal definition of the *tenson* is accordingly kept as simple as possible to avoid splitting the analysis into overly rigid categories. Troubadour and *trouvère* lyric works that meet the above definition are listed in the Appendix.

The designation “*tenson*” is adopted as a compromise for the purposes of this study, the most generally applicable expression that might apply as a general name for all the types of debate lyric in both traditions. The specialized type of *tenson* in which the first speaker poses a dilemma or question with two choices will be called a *partimen* when referring to Occitan lyric (it was also known to the troubadours as *joc partit*), and *jeu-parti* when referring to French lyric

(it was occasionally known to the *trouvères* as a *parture*). When required, the unspecialized type of *tenson* without dilemma will be specified by the term “open *tenson*,” since the subject of debate is open. However, the term *tenson* by itself may refer to any type of debate lyric, open *tenson*, *partimen*, or *jeu-parti*, according to the context. The terms “open *tenson*,” “*partimen*,” and “*jeu-parti*” are mutually exclusive, but are not meant to denote strict categories, but variations or even tendencies within the *tenson*. These variations, and others, may overlap with one another. One of these variations is the fictive *tenson*, which is an open *tenson* or *partimen/jeu-parti* composed by a single author; cases of fictive *tensons* are not always self-evident, as demonstrated in the Introduction by “Bella, tant vos ai preiada” (which many scholars consider fictive, but which this study considers likely not fictive). Other variations include the *conselh*, an open *tenson* in which a poet asks for or seeks advice or counsel from another; and the *tornoïemen*, a *partimen* with three or more participants. These various types are noted in the Appendix; many of the designations, including *partimen* and *jeu-parti*, are a matter of judgment or opinion, and are to some degree provisional; in any case, such distinctions are not the focus of this study. One general remark that should be made at the beginning, however, concerns the overwhelming predominance of the *jeux-partis* in the French corpus, since it greatly influences all discussion of French debate lyric. Among 202 extant French *tensons*, there are 182 *jeux-partis*, versus 20 open *tensons*: 90% of all surviving French *tensons* are *jeux-partis*. The situation in the Occitan corpus is slightly more balanced, although the *partimens* also prevail: out of 197 extant works, there are 120 *partimens*, and 75 open *tensons*.

An examination of the evidence shows that there existed a systematic conception of a genre of debate lyric that corresponded to the *tenson* as defined above, among both the troubadours and the *trouvères*, although it did not always take a single name. If one were to seek

a single appellation, as for this study, “tenson” is probably the single best approximation—perhaps better adapted to Occitan than to French lyric, however. In both Old Occitan and Old French, the word *tenson* (often written *tenso* in Occitan) signifies “dispute, quarrel, argument, altercation.” In this meaning, not specialized to apply to a literary genre, it is very frequently encountered in both languages. For the troubadours, *tenson* could designate any type of debate lyric, *partimen* or open *tenson*. For the *trouvères*, *tenson* is only attested with open *tensons*; it is not clear if it would have applied to the *jeu-parti*. The terms *partimen*, *joc partit*, and *jeu-partit* have their own history, and originated outside of lyric, either in chess or in literature; this history is considered in Section 3.2.

In scholarship of Occitan lyric, the term *tenson* is well established, although not universally adopted, as a term for all types of debate lyric, including the *partimens*. In his 1888 study of debate lyric, Zenker proposed the conception of *tenson* “mit und ohne *joc partit*” ‘with and without *joc partit*’ (13). Jeanroy stated that for the troubadours “le terme *tenson* désignait le genre, [et] pouvait aussi désigner l’espèce” (285). However, in 1934, Jones took issue with Zenker and Jeanroy, and with little justification claimed that the “*tenson propre*” was a genre unto itself, set apart from the *partimen*. Jones may have been overstating his case to give an impressive introduction to his edition of several previously unedited *tensons*; in any case, his argument created lasting confusion. In 1975, Hagan, in *The Medieval Provençal Tenson*, offered a well-reasoned defense of the *tenson* as the general type of Occitan lyric debate, and catalogued a corpus of some 184 works, including *partimens* (65-80). Billy’s 1999 article on Occitan *tenson* also argues for the restoration of the term *tenson* as a general term for debate lyric, following Zenker and Jeanroy. Billy demonstrates that *tenson* was a general term used for all types of debate lyric during the period of activity of the troubadours. In addition, he asserts that the

troubadours only used the terms *partimen* or *joc partit* as technical terms, not as expressions of a type of poetic composition, and that it was only later, in the fourteenth century, that the expression *partimen* was used unambiguously as the name of a type of lyric work. Harvey and Paterson seem to prefer not to take a position on the debate: they adopt the title “*Tensos and Partimens*” for their 2010 edition of troubadour debate lyric, but avoid discussing generic terminology. However, their corpus of 157 works excludes a fairly large number of poems, including many of those which they suspect were not of dual authorship (including “*Bella, tant vos ai preiada*”), as well as obvious fictive debate poems (see their discussion xix-xxi). However, these types of poems form a continuous whole with *tensons* as a whole, and are not independent on of their own. The omission of these poems leaves them somewhat orphaned from the rest of the debates in Harvey and Paterson’s generally excellent edition.

For the Occitan tradition, there are several sorts of medieval testimony that, placed together, make it clear that “tenson” is the general term for debate lyric during the period of the troubadours, and that *partimen* was only applied in the fourteenth century, after their period of activity, as a name for the dilemmatic subtype that they practiced. These sorts of testimony are: 1. the poetry of the troubadours; 2. the *vidas* and *razos*, two types of short prose commentaries contemporary with troubadour lyric; 3. the manuscript songbooks; and 4. medieval manuals of poetry. First, in their verse, the troubadours use the term *tenson*, and do so within all types of debate lyric, open *tensons* and *partimens*. Therefore, the term “tenson” would seem to specify all types of debate lyric. However, when the poets use the term *tenson*, it is difficult to be certain if they are referring to their argumentation, or to a poetic genre; at the same time, it is not clear if *partimen* or *jeu-parti* is a word for the question debated, or the poem itself (Billy 240-43). Second, in the *vidas* and *razos*, which were contemporary with activity of the troubadours, the

expression *tenson* is found and plainly refers to debate lyric. The *vidas* are short prose biographies of the troubadours, and the *razos* are short prose explications of particular lyric poems; both are inserted in the manuscripts along with lyric works. In these texts, the term *tenson* clearly indicates a type of composition by the poets, not simply “tenson,” a discussion or dispute. The words *partimen* and *joc partit* are never found in the *vidas* and *razos*. Most importantly, the *vidas* and *razos* sometimes use *tenson* as a generic expression for particular *partimens* (Billy 268-69). Third, there is the evidence of the manuscripts, which dates from the mid-thirteenth to the mid-fourteenth century; they therefore overlap with the activity of the troubadours. In the manuscripts where *tensons* and *partimens* are gathered together in separate sections, the debate poems are grouped together indiscriminately, with open *tensons* interspersed at random with *partimens*. Moreover, all manuscripts with *tenson* sections use the term *tenson* as a heading, and include mostly *partimens*; the only exceptions are two songbooks from the fourteenth century, *E* (which has the heading “[tens]os e partimens”) and *N* (which has the heading “partimenz”). In manuscripts with separate *tenson* sections, individual *tensons* are sometimes rubricated; *tensons* are invariably designated *tenson*, whether the poem is an open *tenson* or a *partimen*. The only exception is a songbook from the fourteenth century, *C*, in which *partimen* is found as a rubric for individual debate poems.

Fourth, there is the evidence of the poetry manuals. The *Doctrina de compondre dictats*, from the thirteenth century, only mentions the *tenson* (Raimon Vidal 98). The *Leys d’Amors*, from the fourteenth century, is often cited for its definitions of the *tenson* and the *partimen*. The work contains a lengthy grammar and description of Occitan lyric, and exists in both a prose and a verse redaction. It seems to have been edited, and perhaps partly written, by Guilhem Molinier between 1328 and 1337, for the Consistori del Gai Saber. In 1323, a small group of *bourgeois*

from Toulouse had founded the Consistori, an academic and literary society, in order to revive and promote Occitan lyric, and to do so it awarded regular poetic prizes. The definitions from *Leys d'Amors* are relatively rich with detail, but problematic because of their late date and prescriptive nature. Among the description of genres, the entry for the *tenson* reads:

La diffinitios de tenso. Tensos es contrastz o debatz en lo qual cascus mante e razona alcun dig o alcun fag. Et aquest dictatz algunas velz procezih per novas rimadas et adonx pot haver .xx. o trenta cobblas may. et algunas vetz per coblas. et aquest conte de .vi. coblas a .x. am doas tornadas en lasquals devo jutge eligir. lequals difinisca lor plag. e lor tenso. El jutges per aquel meteysh compas de coblas. o per novas rimadas pot donar son jutiamen. Enpero per novas rimadas es huey may acostumat...

Encaras dizem que non es de necessitat ques haia so. enpero en aquel cas. ques faria al compas de vers, o de chanso. o dautre dictat quaver deia so. se pot cantar. en aquel vielh so. (*Flors* 1: 344)

The *tenson* is a discussion or a debate in which each one argues about and discusses some proposition or some action. This composition is sometimes based on *novas rimadas*, and then can have twenty or thirty stanzas or more; otherwise, it is based on stanzas, and in that case it has six to ten stanzas, with two *tornadas*, in which the speakers must choose a judge to conclude their plea and their *tenson*. The judge can give his decision in stanzas of the same metric form, or in *novas rimadas*; but in these times doing so in *novas rimadas* is more customary...

We say that it is not necessary for the *tenson* to have music. But in the event that it is constructed in the metric form of a *vers*, a *chanso*, of any other composition that previously had a melody, it can be sung to that older melody. (my translation)

The citation is important for recording an account of the *tenson*, even if it is some fifty years after the activity of the last troubadours. Some of the details correspond to troubadour lyric, such as the length of *tensons* composed with stanzas, and the naming of judges. Other details have nothing to do with the troubadours; they may have to do instead with fourteenth-century Occitan practices, or with standards that the Consistori del Gai Saber wished to promote. The notion of *tensons* constructed as *novas rimadas*, for example, is not found among the troubadours, though there is confirmation of this practice in the thirteenth century in French lyric. Rutebeuf's fictive

Desputaison de Charlot et du barbier is not listed in lyric repertoires, but it can be considered a kind of fictive *tenson*; it takes the form of a rhymed narrative, and is made up of a rather long suite of thirteen stanzas (Jeanroy, “Tenson” 451). The recording of actual judgments is also completely exceptional, and found in only three *tensons*.

Music and contrafacture are significant features of the *tenson* mentioned in the *Leys*. While the definition asserts that *tensons* need not be performed with music, undoubtedly *tensons* were sung during the era of the troubadours. The section regarding music begins with “dizem que” (we say that), which seems to reveal some disagreement about singing. For the poets of Toulouse in the fourteenth century, the *tenson* may have been performed without melody; but before then, by all indications, troubadour lyric was sung or accompanied by music. Troubadour music is rather poorly preserved, however, which means that there is little direct evidence regarding Occitan *tensons* and music. Only about ten percent of troubadour lyric survives with melodies; admittedly, the rate for *tensons* is far less, one and a half percent (three songs). One reason probably has to do with the fact that the only *tensons* to be transmitted with music are those with original meter and rhyme sounds. As it happens, the vast majority of Occitan *tensons* are created with the same meter and rhyme sounds as an existing song (usually a *canço* or *sirventes*). This supports the idea that *tensons* patterned on other songs were, as the *Leys* describes, performed to the same tune as those earlier songs. A few incontrovertible cases of borrowing or *contrafacta* between two troubadour poems are indicated by through musical notation or textual clues (“to be sung to the tune of...”), although none of these cases involves a *tenson*. Manuscript compilers simply may not have recorded melodies for *tensons* that were modeled upon older songs, if contrafacture was such a common practice.

In the *Leys*, the passage defining the *partimen* follows directly that for the *tenson*. The

most significant aspect of the description is that it creates the *partimen* as a genre, and elevates it to the same rank with the *tenson*, although peculiarly, it is also a virtual twin of the *tenson*.

Molinier appears boxed in by the structure of his manual: he wishes to devote a separate entry for the *partimen* and its special features, and therefore raises it to a position on a par with the *tenson*; at the same time, he is forced to recognize that the *partimen* is very much like the *tenson* without being able the type of relationship the *partimen* has with it. He even writes that people often misuse the terms *tenson* and *partimen*, exchanging one term for the other. However, despite his claim, the reverse—the “misuse” of *partimen* to describe an open *tenson*—is rather rare, since the only evidence of it from a pair of fourteenth-century manuscript rubrics.³

In addition to its description of special features of the *partimen*, the entry from the *Leys* contains several points of interest:

Diffinitios de partimen. Partimens es questios ques ha dos membres contraris. le quals es donatz ad autre per chاوزir. e per sostener cel que volra elegir. e pueysh cascus razona e soste lo membre de la questio. lo qual haura elegit. En totas las autras cauzas cant al compas, e cant al jutiamen. e cant al so. es semblans a tenso.

Diferensa pot hom pero vezer. entre tenso. e partimen. quar en tenso. cascus razona son propri fag. coma en plag. mas en partimen. razona hom lautre fag e lautru questio. jaciayssso que soen pauza hom partimen. per tenso. e tenso. per partimen. et aysso. per abuzio.

Encaras devetz saber que en aytals dictatz ques fan per diversas personas. oz en los quals hom fenh que sian diversas personas. pot hom uzar de diverses lengatges. coma en descort. E daytal dictatz son tensos. partimens. pastorelas. vergieras. ortolanas. monjas. vaquieras. et en ayssi de trops autres dictatz. (*Flors* 1: 344-46)

The *partimen* is a question that has two contrary sides, which is given to another person to choose and to defend the one he wants. Then each one discusses and defends the side of the question that has chosen. In all other things concerning metrical form, judgment, and music, the *partimen* is like the *tenson*.

It is possible to distinguish between a *tenson* and a *partimen*. In a *tenson*, each speaker discusses his own case as in a trial, but in a *partimen*, one discusses the case of another and the question of another. Despite this being so, people often use the word *partimen* in place of *tenson*, and *tenson* in place of *partimen*, by misuse of language.

You should keep in mind that in such compositions, which are created by different people, or in which one simulates different interlocutors, one can use different languages, as happens with the *descort*. In this category are *tensons*, *partimens*, *pastorelas*, *vergieras*, *ortolanas*, *monjas*, *vaquieras*, and many other similar kinds of compositions. (my translation)

Molinier raises the distinction here between real and fictive *tensons*. It seems illogical for him to do so at this point, at the end of the *partimen* section, instead of along with the open *tensons*, among which fictive *tensons* are more frequent—indeed, this suggests that Molinier is concluding a discussion of a organically unified but artificially divided genre of formed by the set “open *tensons* + *partimens*.” As an additional point, Molinier mentions the use of various languages in debate lyric, as in other types of dialogue genres. It is interesting that he places both fictive voices and foreign languages together here, since they correspond to what this study views as two of the most important types of dialogism found in the *tenson*. Molinier seems to be aware of the importance of these contrasting voices as a feature of debate lyric.

For French lyric, little research exists concerning the medieval conception of the *jeux-partis* and the *tensons*. Evidence is sparser; it comes from the poetry of the *trouvères*, and from the *chansonniers*. An assessment of this evidence supports the notion of a unified lyric genre, which, when it has a name, is called *jeu-parti* or *parture* (echoing Molinier’s assertion that some people call open *tensons* by the name of *partimens*). Also unlike the situation with Occitan lyric, the term *tenson* does not seem to be applied to *jeux-partis*, but only to open *tensons*. The only exception is made by Geoffrey of Brittany in what may be the very first recorded *jeu-parti*, “Jauseme, quel vos est semblant,” when he remarks “vencutz seres de la tenson” ‘you will be defeated in the dispute’ (v. 24, P.C. 178,1=167,30b) (it is also made in work that is half in Occitan and is also a *partimen*: see section 2 of Introduction above). After this work, the term *tenson* meaning “discussion, debate” (or perhaps “genre of poetry”) occurs only in two open

tensons, both of them fictive debates with Love: “Amours, je vous requier et pri” (R 1075), by Gillebert de Berneville, and the anonymous “Quant Amours vit que je li aloignoie” (R 1684). Thibaut de Champagne seems to be quite conscious of the distinction between the two types debate lyric. He proposes two debates to Philippe de Nanteuil: “Phelipe, je vos demant” (R 333 and 334): one is a *jeu-parti* (it is analyzed in Section 3.4), and one is a *tenson*. Oddly, they are among the very few songs recorded by Spanke that have precisely the same incipit. Given the importance of creating original combinations of words and music in medieval lyric, and the high degree of craftsmanship of Thibaut’s work, this is surely not a coincidence. Indeed, Thibaut seems to wish to demonstrate his ability to compose both types of debate lyric equally well. Interestingly, the open *tenson* that Thibaut composes, “Phelipe je vos demant (Ce qu’est)” (R 333), has the same metrical structure as an Occitan song, Raimon Jordan’s “Lo clar temps vei brunezir” (P.C. 404,4); it also is composed in *coblas doblas* (the rhyme sounds change every two stanzas), which is unusual for French debate lyric. Indeed, half of French open *tensons* are in *coblas doblas*, which may reveal an Occitan orientation that this type of dialogue had in French.

Within their verse, the *trouvères* use the terms *jeu-parti* and *parture* to describe the activity of the debate itself, and in at least one case, the genre. The expression *jeu-parti*, and related terms (such as *partir un jeu*) are rather frequent, but seem more to describe the discussion or argumentation, and may not designate a type lyric. The word *parture* is less frequent, and appears to be synonymous with *jeu-parti*. However, in one instance, *parture* clearly indicates a genre. Jehan de Grieviler speaks to Jehan de Bretel thus: “Princes del Pui, mout bien savés trouver, / Ce m’est avis, partures et chançons” (1-2, R 899) ‘Prince of the Puy, it seems to me that you know quite well how to compose *jeux-partis* and *chansons*’ (my translation). Grieviler

is referring not to the debate at hand, but to Bretel's skill with various sorts of lyric, including not only the *parture* (or *jeu-parti*), along with the *chanson* (or *grand chant courtois*).

Several *chansonniers* have sections devoted to *jeux-partis* and open *tensons* by various authors (*AIRZabc*), and mix them together indiscriminately with regard to type. When there is a title for them, the expression *parture* or *jeu-parti* is used; *tenson* is never found. Manuscript *a*, for instance, has the heading "partures" for its collection of *jeux-partis* and *tensons*; Manuscript *I* has "ieus partis." Within other songbooks, the title *partures* is used to describe the debate songs within the sections devoted to particular authors. The *jeux-partis* and *tensons* of Thibaut de Champagne are described as *partures* in songbook *T*, for instance; the *jeux-partis* and a *tenson* of Adam de la Halle are similarly designated as *partures* in *W*.

1.2. *Tenson*, *Canso/chanson*, and other genres of lyric

The preceding section alludes to the fact that the troubadour and *trouvère chansonniers* generally group *tensons* into sections. Manuscript compilers, like the authors of poetry manuals, demonstrated a strong awareness of the genre of debate lyric as distinct from other types of lyric poetry. The poets themselves also had an intimate knowledge of the system of genres, but of course this system was for them pragmatic and changing—even though lyric, after its initial development, was characterized by a relatively large degree of uniformity for a literary discourse. What was the relationship of the *tenson* to other types of lyric? This question is of great importance, because it is a manner of explaining the significance of the *tenson*. More than other types of lyric, the *tenson* allowed poets to more make explicit claims regarding status and reputation, and to negotiate exchanges favorable to accumulation of various types of capital.

Numerically, the *tenson* is one of the most important genres of lyric in both Occitan and

French. In terms of prestige and courtliness, the *tenson* occupies a moderately elevated position, below the *canso/chanson* (but with strong ties to it). The *tenson* holds a position distinctly above the “popularizing genres,” those genres that have relatively unrefined subject matter, or are tied to dance.

The 201 Occitan *tensons* in the corpus of this study make up 7.9% of the entire corpus of troubadour lyric—out of a total of 2,552 works counted by Paden (“System” 23). According to Paden, the *tenson* is the fourth most common type of lyric, after the *canso*, the *sirventes* (including the *sirventes* exchange), and the *cobla* (including the *cobla* exchange), which together account for 80% of all works (23). The 202 French *tensons* in the corpus constitute 9.1% of the 2,228 lyric works that I have enumerated in Spanke. This certainly makes them among the most frequent genres in French, after the *chanson d’amour*. The other types of works that are numerically frequent are different than the ones in Occitan: the *sirventes* is largely absent; very frequent, much more so than their Occitan counterparts, are the *pastourelle* and the *estampie*. In comparing the two traditions, a remarkable feature is the unique persistence, below the love song, of the *tenson*; all other genres vary in their frequency to a much greater extent. This suggests that the *tenson* performed an important and common function within both systems. As it happens, the role of the *tenson* can be best understood by examining the dominant place of the *canso/chanson*.

The *canso/chanson* was by all measures the most prestigious and highly regarded genre, according to indications from the troubadours and *trouvères*, contemporary witnesses and theoreticians, and manuscript compilers. The poets devoted a greater degree of skill and invention to composing works in this genre than to those in any other. As a rule, troubadours and *trouvères* produced a new melody for each new *canso* or *chanson*. They also generally found an

original combination of metrical structure and rhyme-sounds for each new *canso* or *chanson*, which the metrical repertoires of Frank (for Occitan lyric) and Mōlk (for French lyric) clearly demonstrate. It is indeed remarkable the extent to which the poets were able to avoid repeating older metrical patterns in inventing love songs, and shows that they were knowledgeable of the long tradition of songs before them, and devoted to the craft. The genre of the *canso/chanson* was practiced by professional performers, but also by the nobility, even royalty.

Medieval writers generally regarded the love song, the *canso* or *chanson*, as the most superior genre of lyric. Johannes de Grocheio, in his treatise on sacred and secular music *De musica*, designates *chansons* by Thibaut de Champagne (“Ausi conme unicorne sui” (R 2075)) and Chastelain de Coucy (“Quant li rossignols jolis” (R 1559)) as examples of the *cantus coronatus*, the most outstanding type of vernacular song. In Grocheio’s description, the *cantus coronatus* seems to indicate the most accomplished type of *chanson* (Page 196-201). Grocheio links this type of composition to the aristocracy, and states that it is “normally composed by kings and nobles and performed before the kings and princes of the earth so that it may move their souls to audacity and bravery, to magnanimity and liberality, which lead all things to a good order” (16). In *De vulgari eloquentia*, Dante praises love songs by Guiraut de Borneill and Thibaut de Champagne for their themes (I, IX), and cites the *cansos* and *chansons* of numerous Occitan and French poets as examples of the most noble *stylus tragicus* (II, VI).⁴ In Occitan poetry manuals such as the *Doctrina de compondre dictats* and the *Leys d’Amors* (mentioned above in 1.1) in which genres are described, *cansos* are discussed before all other genres.

Some other types of medieval testimony confirm the primary position of the *canso/chanson*. The larger Occitan manuscript *chansonniers*, for example, usually class lyric by genre, and nearly always place the *cansos* and *chanson* sections at the beginning, followed by

sections with other genres (usually one with *tensons*).⁵ The picture is not quite so clear for French manuscripts, because only *Chansonnier I* separates songs by genre—although this manuscript does place the *chansons* before other types of poetry.

Based on such evidence from the Middle Ages, Bec and Page analyze the genres of lyric according to hierarchical registers that have both aesthetic and sociological dimensions. For both scholars, the *canso/chanson* occupies a dominant or central place, and other genres, including the *tenson*, take subsidiary or peripheral position. Bec (*Lyrique*) theorizes genre primarily in terms of two registers: a *registre aristocratisant* and a *registre popularisant*, along with a third, intermediate register, a *jongleuresque* register. The aristocratizing register, associated with courtly values and *fin'amor*, finds particularly full expression in the *canso* and *chanson*. It also governs genres that are satellites of the *canso/chanson*, such as the *sirventes*, the *planh*, and the *tenson*. Bec does not expand upon the relation between the *tenson* and the love song. However, an indirect suggestion lies in his brief discussion of his notion of the *jongleuresque* register. For Bec, this register is a kind of mixed genre located between the aristocratizing and popularizing registers, and formed at the intersection between them. It is a “registre-pivot” (30) that originated in the role of the *jongleur* at the court. The *jongleur* was “cheville ouvrière de toute la production lyrique” (30) who performed both courtly and popular songs, and who of a socially intermediate status, subscribing to certain values of the aristocracy but often of rather modest origins. In fact, this is precisely the situation of the professional troubadours and *trouvères*, the authors of a large share of the *tensons*. These professional poets were indeed called *joglar*s or *jongleur*s (though Bec, in *Lyrique*, appears to make an overly rigid distinction between the terms troubadour/*trouvère* and *joglar/jongleur*, since the two overlapped: see Section 1.9 below). And while Bec does not point this out, the poets of *tensons* do make frequent use of a *jongleuresque*

register, through the use of insults, uncourtly speech, and references to gambling, food, and the human body; features of this register are examined in Section 2.1. Apart from the aristocratizing and jongleuresque register, the popularizing register is also relevant to the *tenson*, because poets occasionally make use of it. Poetic works of the popularizing register, in opposition to those of the aristocratizing register, are more often anonymous, and their subject is more often female. It is “popular” in that it is tied to folkloric or narrative themes, or to dance. The popularizing register is evident in the *tensons* that feature a female voice that is identifiably non-aristocratic, for example.

Page’s conception of “High Style” and “Low Style” has certain points in common with Bec’s notions of aristocratizing and popularizing registers, as each style is linked to distinct cultural and social roles. For Page, however, musical performance is a primary feature of the two different registers. Songs in the High Style, associated with the *canso* and the *chanson* (and to some extent other genres such as the *sirventes* and the *tenson*), is traditionally unaccompanied. By contrast, instruments are played for the performance of songs of the Low Style, a register that is associated with dance and popular music. In fact, Page says little regarding the *tenson* in particular. However, in the context of this discussion of lyric genres and the *tenson*, the question of music is pertinent.

As Bec argues, the *tenson* is subsidiary to the *canso/chanson*, and nowhere is this more evident than in the dependence of the Occitan *tenson* upon the *canso* for its metrical structure and its music. The Occitan *tenson*, unlike the *canso*, did not need to be composed with an original combination of metrical structure and rhyme-sounds, and as a rule was not. A great many *tensons* were created with the same combination as that of an older song, usually a *canso* (in some cases a *sirventes* or other type of lyric), as little research with Frank’s metrical repertory

shows. The numbers Frank assigns are listed for the *tensons* in the Appendix, although they are difficult to interpret without his repertory. With the *Répertoire*, it is possible to compare other songs, which share a similar metrical structure and identical rhyme-sounds. This is important, since a unique combination of meter and rhyme sounds is a hallmark of the *canso*, but is not a necessary or even common feature of the *tenso*; most *tensons* adopt the combined meter and rhyme-sounds of a previous work. In the *Répertoire*, the *partimen* between Sordel and Bertran d'Alamano, “Doas donas amon dos cavaiers” (437,11=76,7), is identified by the code 705:3. 705 corresponds to a particular metrical form (including variations, and all types of rhyme-sounds), and 3 identifies the unique case, within 705, of “Doas donas.” Also under the entry for 705 is Peirol’s “Mout m’entremis de chantar voluntiers” (P.C. 366,21), which has not only an identical metrical form, but also identical rhyme-sounds, and was almost certainly composed earlier (Harvey and Paterson 3: 1222, Peirol 3-17). The music exists for “Mout m’entremis,” and musical contrafacture in this case is quite plausible, especially considering the report of the *Leys d’amors* that *tensons* were sung to the melody of previous songs with identical meter. Not enough music is recorded for *tensons* in manuscripts to be able to demonstrate with certainty the practice of contrafacture, however; only three *tensons* have melodies notated. Musical notation and remarks within songs are good proof of contrafacture within the troubadour corpus,⁶ and of these cases one involves a *tenson*, Guiraut de Borneill’s “S’ie·us qier cosseill, bell’ami’ Alamanda” (P.C. 242,69)—although this *tenson* is a model, not an imitator. Bertran de Born takes the music of “Alamanda” (which is extant) for his *sirventes* “D’un sirventes no·m cal far loignor ganda” (80,13). Bertran states that he wishes to sing it “el son de N’Alamanda” “to the tune of ‘Lady Alamanda’” (25); as further confirmation, the two works share the same meter and rhyme-sounds. However, proven cases of *tensons* borrowing melodies, which are supported

by musical notation or internal textual indications, appear to be lacking. The indications are indirect; the evidence comes from common metrical structure (Marshall, “Pour l’étude”) or later secondhand testimony (the *Leys d’Amors*).

Another indirect clue to the practice of contrafacture in *tensons* comes from the unusual organization of debate lyric in Occitan *Chansonnier N*. Songbook *N* includes a section of *tensons* at its end; the manuscript entirely lacks musical notation, and none of the debates in it have survived with music in any form. However, melodic contrafacture can be inferred from the pairwise arrangement of songs in the section. Several works that are not *tensons* are included in the section, which is not uncommon, although most of the other *tenson* sections display much greater “strictness” in their selection of songs. The compiler has taken great care to place together pairs of works with identical metrical structures:

1. The *sirventes* exchange P.C. 192,4+209,2 followed by the *partimen* “Seigne·N Pons de Monlaur, per vos” (P.C. 142,3 =378,1)
2. “Amics n’Arnautz, cent dompnas d’aut paratge” (P.C. 184,1=25,1), followed by “Vos dos Gigelms, digaz vostre corage” (P.C. 413a,1=201,6 =201a,1)
3. The *canso* by Blacatz, “Lo belz douz tems me platz” (P.C. 97,6), followed by the *sirventes* exchange P.C. 254,1+97,1+254,2.

The last example (P.C. 97,6) points to the inclusion of a *canso* in a *tenson* section, which is quite anomalous; the reason, it seems, is that the compiler wished to show the manner in which songs borrow tunes from one another. The humorous *sirventes* that follows by Isnart d’Antravenas (254,1), composed in the same meter and with the same rhymes, may be in the same tune: he states that he wishes for other songs to be composed in the “sonet d’En Blacatz” (1), and may be referring to his own poem as well.

In French *tensons*, the practice of direct musical borrowing is not particularly widespread. A large share of French debate lyric is preserved with music, and most of this appears to be original. One *jeu-parti* is a *contrafactum* of a troubadour melody: “Amis, qui est li mieus

vaillant” (R 365), has the same melody as Bernart de Ventadorn’s “Can vei la lauzeta mover” (P.C. 70,43). But this borrows from a troubadour song, not a *trouvère* poem; and in any case, contrafacture in the French *tenson* may not be more common than in other genres of French lyric. Borrowing of metrical forms and rhyme-sounds is found in certain traditions of French *tensons*, particularly those by Thibaut de Champagne and the *trouvères* from Lorraine. These writers occasionally borrowed from Occitan models, but they set their songs to different music.

The content of the *tenson*, at least as much as its form, shows the dependence of the genre upon the *canso* and the *chanson*. The discussion of the great majority of *tensons* turns upon the code of love that the poets express in the love song, *fin’amor*. The *partimens* and *jeux-partis*, which constitute the great mass of the corpus, are usually debates of love casuistry, involving the situations found in the love songs, and judged by the values of *fin’amor* set out in the love songs. Many of the open *tensons* between poets are conversations involving advice or comfort regarding affairs of love. Historically and socially as well, the *tensons* functioned in many senses as a satellite to the *canso* and the *chanson*. The Occitan and French versions of the debate genre appeared many decades after the love songs, and took several decades more to flourish. The authors of *tensons* included men and women of quite varied rank and position; they included amateur nobles as well as professional poets. These professional poets in these *tensons* included troubadours and *trouvères* of high status, as well lower-status artists, such as many Occitan *joglars* for whom no other works are recorded. The *tenson*, and especially the *partimen* and *jeu-parti*, found particular favor in mercantile urban centers outside of the environment of the great lord’s court, which was the original and in many ways typical milieu of the *canso* and the *chanson*. The *partimen* was cultivated in Genoa in the middle of the thirteenth century, and the

jeu-parti was phenomenally successful among the patriciate of Arras throughout the thirteenth century.

The *tenson* bears some relation to other dialogue genres, from which it can be fairly easily distinguished; and in certain cases, authors of *tensons* may borrow from certain of these dialogue genres, such as the *pastorela/pastourelle*. In Occitan, *sirventes* exchanges and *cobla* exchanges resemble *tensons*. However, the *tenson* is a stanza-by-stanza exchange, whereas the other works consist of entire works, one in reply to another. Several scholars, including Jeanroy (*Poésie 2*: 248-50) and Köhler (*Trobadorlyrik* 17-55) even hypothesize that the *sirventes* exchange figured in the origins of the *tenson*. Certainly, the notion of “tenson” or debate was more fluid for the troubadours, especially in the earlier generations; even after the last troubadours had passed away, the compilers of songbooks continued to collect certain *sirventes* exchanges and *cobla* exchanges in the *tenson* sections of manuscripts. Other dialogue genres show a closer formal resemblance to the *tenson*. Perhaps the most notable is the *pastorela* or *pastourelle*, which consists of a stanza-by-stanza conversation between a male poet and a female shepherdess. There are important differences. First of all, the *pastorela/pastourelle* includes a narrative introduction in the first stanza, which is recounted from the first-person perspective of the male poet, typically setting the scene of the encounter. The work also is composed entirely by a male poet; unlike the case with many male-female *tensons*, there is no sign of co-authorship. Other genres also include narration and voices in dialogue, including the *chanson d’ami* and the *alba/aube*. These genres show a kinship with the fictive *tensons*, which also contain a narrative introduction. This is especially the case with fictive female-male debates, such as Raimon Escrivan’s “Senhors, l’autrier vi ses falhida” (P.C. 398,1), a burlesque *tenson* between a French

“Cata” or siege-engine and a Toulousain “Trabuquet” or trebuchet; it is close parody of Marcabru’s *pastorela* “L’autre jost’ una sebissa” (P.C. 293,30) (Vatteroni).

1.3. Historical origins and development

The *partimen* and *jeu-parti* are completely integrated into troubadour and troubadour lyric, sharing the musical and metrical forms and subject matter with the *canso/chanson d’amour* and other genres. At the same time, however, they can also be viewed as participating in a tradition of debate lyric that extends much further back, and is widespread throughout the Mediterranean region from antiquity. The essays collected by Reinink and Vanstiphou examine many of these ancient and medieval traditions, and Bec’s anthology *La joute poétique* gives a helpful sample of texts of these debate poems from different eras. The literary debate poems that were practiced in the centuries before the troubadour and *trouvère* lyric do not seem to be immediate precursors to the *tenson* in form or in content, although they likely influenced the genre to some degree. However, one type of debate poem that does merit consideration here is the *conflictus*, which is a form of medieval Latin literary debate between allegorical figures). As Stotz shows, the *conflictus* has its roots in pastoral poems of antiquity, notably Virgil’s *Eclogues*. The Carolingian Renaissance, with Alcuin’s *Conflictus veris et hiemis* (Dispute of Spring and Winter), is traditionally viewed as a crucible for the later development the medieval genre. A product of monastic and clerical communities, the *conflictus* was largely written in Latin through the twelfth century, the period of origin of troubadour and *trouvère* lyric (including the *tenson*). The form, subject matter, and register of the *conflictus* poems, as well as the nature of their allegorical or fictive speakers, is rather varied; but many aspects of them are found in troubadour and *trouvère* lyric, including the *tenson*. The *conflictus* in which deities or personifications take

part and offer judgment, such as widely diffused *Ecloga Theoduli*, undoubtedly influenced various fictive *tensons* with God and with Amors. Various *conflictus* poems which place parts of the human body in conversation, such as the twelfth-century *Visio Philiberti/Dialogus inter corpus et animam* (Dialogue between Body and Soul), or the *Disputatio inter cor et oculum*, a dispute between the Body and the Eye over which causes greater sin, may be related to fictive *tensons* involving interior dialogue or inanimate objects, such as Garin lo Brun's, "Nueyt e iorn suy en pessamen" (P.C. 163,1), or the anonymous "Amis, qui est li mieus vaillant" (R 365), examined in Section 2.5. The goliardic tone of two twelfth-century dialogues, the *Dialogus inter aquam et vinum* (Dialogue between Water and Wine) and the *Altercatio Ganimedis et Helene*, has a counterpart in some troubadour and *trouvère* poetry, including a few *tensons* in the *jongleuresque* register or others that include coarse humor. In the *Altercatio Phillidis et Florae*, two women argue over the worthiness of clerics versus knights in love; the identical subject of debate is found in many *tensons*. Many *conflictus* poems were translated or adapted into the vernacular; at the same time, many *conflictus*-type debates were written in the vernacular, especially beginning in the twelfth century. One of the more familiar today is perhaps the English *The Owl and the Nightingale*, which is probably from the thirteenth century. Like the Latin *Altercatio Phillidis et Florae* and many other *conflictus* poems, it contains a request for judgment, and shows the influence of scholastic debate (Stotz 172), just like the *partimens* and the *jeux-partis*.

In addition to the *conflictus*, another genre that may have served as a model for the *tenson*, and in particular the *partimen* and *jeu-parti*, is the *quaestio disputata*. The *quaestio* (plural *quaestiones*) is a type of pedagogical exercise that refers to a broad range of practices of textual analysis in the Middle Ages. They typically involved the formulation of questions about

authoritative texts—scripture, or legal, medical, or philosophical texts—and were followed by dialectical analysis and debate. The *quaestio* that was known as the *quaestio disputata* became widespread in the twelfth century, and unlike earlier types of *quaestiones*, was performed not as part of the general lectures, but as separate debates of their own. There are two main areas from which the *quaestiones disputatae* are reported from the twelfth century, which may have influenced the *partimens* and *jeux-partis*: the law schools of Bologna and the south of France, and the schools of theology and the arts of northern France.

The legal *quaestiones disputatae* from twelfth-century Bologna are of interest for several reasons: they are among the earliest recorded *quaestiones disputatae*; many of the legal cases in the *quaestiones* have to do with relations between women and men (just like the *partimens* and *jeux-partis*); and the law schools of Bologna, where these *quaestiones* originated, were closely tied to Occitania. The law schools of Bologna were perhaps the most important center for the medieval revival of civil law and the study of Roman jurisprudence. It was at Bologna that Gratian assembled the great monument of canon law, the *Decretum Gratiani*, at some time before 1150 according to Winroth. The earliest recorded collection of *quaestiones disputatae*, the *Stemma Bulgaricum*, also dates from around the same period. The collection is attributed to Bulgarus, a jurist active c. 1115–c. 1165, one of the four twelfth-century “Doctors of Bologna,” or “glossators.” The glossators used the ancient dialectical method of the gloss to harmonize contradictions of law and legal precedent (Lawn 3-4). The manuscript works of the glossators have come down to us, in many cases, arranged as lines of commentary in the margins of the primary legal documents in the middle of the page. The *quaestiones disputatae* in the *Stemma Bulgaricum* may be more than just commentary and exploration of hypothetical (and often contemporary) cases; they seem to be the reports of weekly pedagogical exercises, debates that

were held between students, and judged by the masters, which were part of legal instruction. The master formulates a *casus* or fictive case, which is argued by an *actor* and a *reus*, two students who take opposing sides; the master gives a *determinatio*, or solution, at the end (Kantorowicz 81). Kantorowicz comments upon and edits only five of these *quaestiones* from the *Stemma*. Two of these, interestingly, involve relations between women and men. In one, a woman dresses as a man to act as guarantor for the purchase of a horse from Titius: the question is whether Titius can sue her (since he thought she was a man, though legally speaking women could not give surety). In another, a woman named Seia, leaves jealous husband's house after he has whipped her; she returns after he has promised that he would not do so again under penalty, and he whips her again—the question is, can she sue him for the penalty? (Kantorowicz 83-85). Many of the *quaestiones* from the *Stemma* edited by other authors likewise deal with marriage or relations between a wife and husband,⁷ just as the *partimens* and *jeux-partis* usually concern a lover and a lady. Connected to this, of course, is the importance of marital relations in the compilation of canon law, which was certainly connected to the Church's increasing claim over the control of marriage: Gratian's *Decretum* specified that a woman's consent was necessary for union, and the Lateran Council in 1215 required that a prospective couple have a priest proclaim their announcement of marriage, so as to prohibit forbidden or clandestine marriages. This emphasis on a woman's consent in marriage, incidentally, may well have been associated in some way with the development of the ideology of courtly behavior (Gaunt, *Gender* 74-74, 120-21).

Bologna and the other law schools in Italy were closely connected with Occitania by the second third of the twelfth century, a period that closely antedates the first recorded *partimens*. At some point in the twelfth century, an abbot from Marseille noted that throngs of young men

were regularly leaving Provence for Italy to study law.⁸ Conversely, Italian doctors of law were coming across the Alps to teach in Occitania. Rogerius, a student of Bulgarus, came to teach in southern France, possibly as soon as 1162, and may have taught at Montpellier, Arles, or Saint-Gilles; Placentinus, who continued the writings of Rogerius, was established at Montpellier, and founded the school of law in the city, teaching from some time between 1166 and 1192 (Gouron, “Comment” 187; *Juristes* 3-4; Kantorowicz 125-27). The *quaestiones* of Rogerius and Placentinus are rather more literary than the questions of the *Stemma Bulgaricum*, and the figures who speak seem to represent more allegorical figures who represent laws, and not classroom students engaged in actual debate (Kantorowicz 181). Indeed it is difficult to gather much specific information about legal education in Occitania, and whether it included *quaestiones disputatae* (although it quite plausibly did so); as Gouron points out, after Placentinus’s death in 1192, there is a gap in documentation until the mid-thirteenth century (*Juristes* 4-9). Nonetheless, the dozens of new civil codes and consulships that arose in southern French cities from 1129 to 1220 necessitated an ever-growing work force trained in law. These legally educated men are attested in documents through titles such as *legista*, *legisperta*, and *magister (de legibus)* (Gouron “Diffusion”). Any formal instruction they received likely came from the schools in Italy or even closer by, in Occitania.

Quaestiones disputatae were also a part of education in theology in the schools of northern France. Such figures as Anselm of Canterbury and Abelard developed methods that would later be used in the *quaestio*. These twelfth-century philosophers used new techniques of analysis—often grouped together under the term *logica nova*—for textual inquiry and logical reasoning. The technical term *quaestio* in theology arises in the mid-twelfth century, and is incorporated into several types of exercises, the *quaestiones disputatae*. The earliest type, and

therefore one that seems most relevant to the *jeu-parti*, is the *disputa ordinaria*, which was held regularly in public. In this type of exercise, the master announced the subject; a bachelor, the *opponens*, argued against the thesis, and a *respondens*, another bachelor, countered the objections and pointed out their flaws. The master normally gave a *determinatio*, a summary or judgment. Originally, *disputata ordinaria* was closely tied to the *lectio* or lesson, but under the master Simon of Tournai, who taught c. 1165-1201, the *disputata* became an independent event; it is under Simon that the first record of an *opponens* is found (the earliest *respondens* is not recorded until around 1230). Matthew Paris writes that the disputations organized by Simon were so widely attended that the largest lecture hall could not contain the audience of students who came to attend. A second type of *quaestio disputata*, the *disputata de quolibet* or *quodlibeta*, developed somewhat later, sometime in the first half of the thirteenth century, being first recorded from the 1230s. In this type of exercise, the subject could be about anything, from theology to law to medicine, with the audience asking the question, and the master was not advised beforehand. The *quodlibeta* were not simple classroom exercises, but were genuine intellectual spectacles in which masters held forth on matters of interest at the time. Though they became widely known and popular, the *quodlibeta* were of a later date, and have less in common formally with the *jeu-parti*, than the *disputa ordinaria* (Lawn 6-17).

The dates of the first recorded *quaestiones disputatae* in both Bologna and Paris (1120s to 1160s) accord well with the dates of the first *partimens* and *jeux-partis* (1170s to 1180s). There are a number of striking similarities in form and function: both types of *quaestio disputata* are carried out by opposed debaters who are subject to a final *determinatio*, just as the *partimen/jeu-parti* is conducted by two adversaries who submit to a judgment at the end. The legal *quaestio disputata* features a hypothetical case, just like the typical *partimen/jeu-parti*.

Both are “glosses” on an existing corpus of knowledge. However, there is no evidence conclusively tying the scholastic exercise to the poetic debate. If there was borrowing, it seems most likely that it was the Occitan *partimen* that was inspired by the legal *quaestio disputata*. The *quaestio disputata*, as found in the *Stemma Bulgarica*, offers a particularly good model for the *partimen*. The ties between Italian jurisprudence and Occitania were very close, and Occitan *partimens* are frequent starting in the 1180s (French *jeux-partis* are just as early, but rather rare until later in the thirteenth century). Many Occitan troubadours were trained as clerics, and it is quite possible that some of them had direct experience with the *quaestiones disputatae* during their education. The schools may have served as an early place of transmission for poetry, and a crucible for new forms of lyric. Montpellier had faculty of law, for example, and Uc de Saint Circ attended school in Montpellier, where he became particularly fond of literature⁹—although the period of his earliest activity, the 1210s, occurred well after that of the first attested *partimens*. Less information is available regarding lives of the French *trouvères*, although some, including Adam de la Halle, are known to have studied as clerics, and may have also been exposed to the *quaestiones*, but all of these biographical cases greatly postdate the earliest *jeux-partis*. Unfortunately, it does not seem likely that the documentation to settle such a question, if it ever existed, has survived. But an influence from the *quaestiones disputatae* does not seem unreasonable, and indeed there are occasional references to legal matters in the *partimens* and *jeux-partis*, for example “Rofin, digatz m’ades de cors” (P.C. 249a,1=426,1) and “D’una don’ai auzit dir que s’es clamada” (P.C. 234,8), both examined in Section 2.5.¹⁰ At the same time, of course, scholastic debate was part of the intellectual spirit of the times, and formed part of the appeal of the oppositional debate of the *partimen* and the *jeu-parti*, regardless of whether they may have been formally inspired by the *quaestio disputata*.

1.4. Previous scholarship on lyric and the *tenson*

The aim of giving a formal description and history of the *tenson* is to understand what the genre must have signified, in order to understand the role it played in lyric discourse. There are several reasons that I have chosen this approach, which views the *tenson* as a form of lyric that poets produce in very specific social and literary environments, with very particular motivations. Most of these reasons are explained in the latter part of this chapter, starting with Section 1.5, but they also have to do with previous scholarship on lyric and the *tenson*, which is reviewed here.

I wished to avoid an approach that assumes either too great an autobiographical intention behind the poetry, or an overly formalistic view; critical views of the *tenson* more often tend toward the latter. Criticism of lyric has oscillated between autobiographical and formalistic perspectives over the centuries. Much earlier criticism of troubadour and *trouvère* lyric views it as the more or less direct expression of the author's experiences, sentiments, or ideas. This outlook was prevalent from the writings of the sixteenth century Provençal historian Jean de Nostredame through the revival of the study of troubadour and *trouvère* poetry in the nineteenth century. Later criticism, which can be found as early as Jeanroy (*Poésie* 2: 94), often views lyric as a formal exercise and recombination of given *topoi* and themes, with the song making little reference to the particular circumstances of the author or composer. This tendency became developed especially in the mid-twentieth century and under the influence of structuralism and of such works as Guette's seminal "La poésie formelle." Such a formalist approach can be found in the work of Zumthor and Dragonetti; it also informs twentieth-century genre studies, which have strongly influenced a great deal of modern scholarship on the *tenson*, such as that by Köhler and Neumeister. It does seem that the *tensons*, and in particular the *partimens* and the *jeux-partis*, are highly conventional in their form and in their topics. The *partimen/jeu-parti*, for instance, is

composed as a formal game. And against the autobiographical assumption, it is important to remember that lyric was entertainment (it has other roles, to be sure). Today we do not necessarily interpret songs as the direct reflection of the experience or feelings of a songwriter, and there is no reason to expect that medieval audiences had different expectations. On the other hand, lyric was not simply formal entertainment, because the poets were not creators isolated from their consumers of their songs: they were intimately connected with their audience, and with their ladies and patrons. To a great extent, I draw from the work of Kay (*Subjectivity*) and Zink (*Subjectivité*) in viewing songs as formally constrained but performative social acts. Each song adheres to strict rules of composition, but poets infuse them with very personal motivations, and each song relates to very specific individuals, places, and situations, which are named directly or indirectly. My aim, with the concepts of capital, discourse, and voice, is to analyze this performative activity.

Since many of the theoretical notions of this study are drawn from the field of sociology, it may help to compare them with Köhler's sociological analysis of lyric. I believe that Köhler is correct in observing that troubadour lyric was closely intertwined with the social divisions in court society. He emphasizes the close analogy between lord-vassal bond and *domna*-lover relationship, in their many details, and theorizes that *fin' amor* and courtly love service was calqued from feudal ritual. Köhler sees the drive behind this in the aspirations of knights and the minor aristocracy for influence and position at court. Despite a certain amount of social mobility, these aspirations are generally frustrated; as a kind of compensation, feudal ritual, along with the vocabulary, are transferred onto the *domna*, the lady:

Les termes que nous venons d'énumérer font toujours partie du vocabulaire courant dans leur signification juridique concrète, et cette signification est toujours présente à l'esprit des troubadours lorsqu'ils les emploient; mais, quand ils en usent pour parler d'amour et de courtoisie, ils les idéalisent, les moralisent,

les spiritualisent, pour dissimuler leur impuissance à maîtriser dans la vie les réalités qui répondent à ces notions. (“Observations” 34)

According to Köhler, this is acceptable to the lords of the courts, since this transference is a kind of escape valve for pent-up ambitions, which confers stability to the court. Duby, in “Dans la France du Nord,” formulates a very similar thesis regarding the unmarried knights at the courts of northern France. At the level of discourse, some sort of transference of aspirations seems to have taken place through lyric. The difficulty with Köhler and Duby’s analysis lies in their implied conceptions of ideology and discourse. They seem to assume that the relation between ideology and discourse on the one hand, and social position on the other, is relatively direct and uncomplicated. However, ideology and discourse do not correspond neatly to one group or another, and can serve various purposes (often opposed) at the same time. Köhler and Duby argue that the troubadours and *trouvères* are writing in the interest of a class of minor nobility who are seeking position and power at court, and who were beginning to identify as a distinct social group. The displacement of aspirations from the lord onto the lady, and their eroticization, for Köhler, has to do with the fact that many of the knights at the lord’s service at court are young and unmarried. The troubadours and the *joglars* are the spokesmen for these knights, and promote a new knightly ideal: alongside the earlier traditional ideal that glorifies war, a newer ideology of *fin’amor* which redirects unruly energy, harnesses libidinal drives to make the court a more orderly and environment. However, the evidence does not necessarily show that the troubadours wrote in the interest of the knights. They did, of course, support knightly values; but they can be seen supporting great lords also, and they sometimes supported the values of clerics, a profession in which many poets trained (Harvey, “Courtly” 16; Boutière and Schutz; Nelson, “Northern” 255). However one defines knights, it is certain that the troubadours express a broad range of opinions about their role and place in society, from Marcabru to Peire Vidal, Jaufre

Rudel to Bertran de Born, Folquet de Marseilla to Peire Cardenal. Once a discourse, such as *fin' amor*, has been constituted, it can be put to many different uses, and the poets, who were the ones using it, did so for their own benefit. They came from diverse origins—ranging from very humble extraction to very noble descent—and composed and performed for a broad spectrum of audiences. Certainly, the troubadours were constrained within certain limits, but they acted as agents to advance various interests, which may have included pleasing various segments of the court; at the same time, they also acted in their own interest, to promote their own careers by earning a living and augmenting their reputation. Although Köhler's basic mechanism of transference of ambition onto the lady using feudal metaphors is a brilliant observation, and seems correct, it is probably wrong to attribute its motivation to desire of minor nobles for integration into the political system; instead it appears as a desire for increased status at court (Kay *Subjectivity* 115), as well as the desire by poets for increased status, for their part, as cultural agents.

This study draws to some extent on previous scholarship on the *tenson*. Most work done on the *tenson* has consisted either of description and classification, or critical edition. An initial body of scholarship in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, mostly in German and some in French, was devoted to describing the genre and its different types, and tracing its history. For the troubadour lyric, this work includes studies by Knobloch, Selbach, and Zenker, and an article by Jeanroy, "La *tenson* provençale." For the French *tenson*, the scholarship has concentrated almost exclusively on the *jeu-parti*, for which Fiset offered the earliest major study. Apart from some historical observations, however, these studies have been largely superseded. Major editions of debate lyric better serve the purposes of description. In 1926, Långfors produced the *Recueil général des jeux-partis* for the *tensons* of the *trouvères* (Lavis and Stasse have also

produced a concordance to the *Recueil*, which is valuable, because there exists no French lyric concordance that is equivalent to the *Concordance de l'Occitan médiéval*). And in 2010, Harvey and Paterson published *The Troubadour Tensos and Partimens*. Of course, these two editions make possible more than just description. It is difficult to overstate their importance for any study of the *tenson* as a genre, or for that matter the study of any particular *tenson*. Before either collection was published, the various Occitan and French *tensos* were only found as texts in the numerous separate editions of different poets, or (if the author had not been edited, or was unknown) scattered in journal articles that often dated back more than a hundred years; all of these texts had widely varying critical apparatuses of varying quality. Both editions have left out numerous debate lyric poems defined as *tensos* in this study; Långfors neglects all open *tensos*, and Harvey and Paterson exclude all works they view as fictive. Nevertheless, Långfors, and especially Harvey and Paterson, have carried out a great deal of research on each of the works they have edited, and any scholar who examines *tensos* necessarily draws on their work.

The most important critical studies of the *tenson* of the last hundred years are those of Jones, Köhler, Neumeister, and Gally. Jones, Köhler, and Neumeister deal with troubadour debate lyric. Jones's rather brief study from 1934 is notable for promulgating the unfortunate notion of the Occitan *tenson* "proprement dite" (the *tenson* 'properly speaking') as a separate genre, parallel with the *partimen*. He does so in opposition to earlier scholarship, such as that of Zenker (10-16), and Jeanroy (285). Köhler theorizes, in a rather abstract manner, about the origins the varieties of the *tenson* in a chapter of his 1961 study *Trobadorlyrik und höfische Roman* (153-92, "Zur Entstehung des altprovenzalischen Streitgedichtes"), but his reflections there are not relevant to this study. More germane is his "Bravoure, savoir, richesse et amour dans les jeux-partis des troubadours," a short article in which takes his characteristic sociological

approach to analyze several Occitan *partimens*. He examines the manner in which poets in debate handle such principles as generosity, wealth, youth, bravery, and courtliness, and concludes that they demonstrate a sublimation of the warlike values of knighthood, which is a reflection of political shifts involving the needs of nobility to wage war, the Crusades, and the Church. As is often the case with Köhler, however, he identifies large-scale sociohistorical trends, but connects them with the texts he analyzes in only a very general way. Neumeister's 1969 study of the *partimen*, *Das Spiel mit der höfischen Liebe*, is partly a reaction to Köhler's sociological approach that views poets as expressing, in one form or another, the interests of various social groups vying for power and influence at court. Instead, Neumeister takes his inspiration from the structuralist perspective of Guiette (12), which views medieval lyric as primarily self-referential. The poetry consists primarily of the combination of a relatively few tropes and patterns, and the audience (according to this point of view) expected this, and not songs that referred to biographical or autobiographical events, authentic feelings and sentiments. As for the purpose of the *partimen*, Neumeister notes its formal resemblance to, and dependence upon, the Occitan *canço*, or love song. The *partimen* is a kind of *Spiel*, or game, with the values of courtly lyric, but detached from the meaning of these values. The genre gives poets the opportunity to compare and evaluate its various principles relative to one another, in a process of what he calls the "Relativierung der Wertfrage" 'relativization of the problem of values.' This process does not call any of these values into question, but simply plays with their various oppositions and sometimes their paradoxes (142-54). Neumeister points out that the structure of the *partimen* makes it so that the partners do not choose their own arguments, and he contends that the poets do not represent their own personal views. In one sense, Neumeister's conception is a useful correction to Köhler's idea, according to which poets articulate the interests of a social

group. But even given the restriction of the two-part question in the *partimen*, troubadours are sometimes able to represent personal views, as examples in Chapter 2 will show. In my view, Neumeister's formal conception of the *partimen* is overly rigid, and leaves the debate as an arbitrary set of oppositions with little meaning outside itself: the questions in the debates tend to be inherently irresolvable and paradoxical, arbitrary, even absurd, and the poets are disengaged from their subject matter (193-94). This leaves unexplained the motivations troubadours would have had for these numerous debates, and the reasons audiences would have enjoyed them. Nonetheless, several of Neumeister's ideas are very useful. His conception of the game involved in the *partimen*, for instance, with its methodical comparison of values, is part of the inspiration for the analysis of the *partimen/jeu-parti* in Chapter 3.

Michèle Gally's scholarship is the most important recent criticism on the *jeu-parti*. (*Jeux-partis* account for the overwhelming share of Old French *tensons*, and thus have always been the primary object of study for French debate works, usually to the exclusion of other types of *tenson*.) Gally's *Parler d'amour au puy d'Arras* is her most compendious treatment of the subject. Somewhat like Neumeister—although to a lesser degree—she is inclined to see the debate about love in the *jeux-partis* as highly stereotyped and abstract, with little direct reference to the lives of the authors or the society in which it was created. She also takes a somewhat post-structuralist approach in this respect (as opposed to the more structuralist point of view of Neumeister), when she writes about the genre: “Impuissant à éliminer, autant que la Chanson d'amour, ‘les effets de semblant et de faux semblant,’ le jeu-parti ne parvient pas à une compréhension des situations amoureuses, mais à la déconstruction du discours qui les énonce” (153). Such a conclusion seems justified in a few cases, for example in the work of Adam de la Halle (with its exuberant reversal of norms and its occasional delight in nonsense)—but does not

seem to apply to the corpus as a whole. In fact, Gally suggests in various parts of *Parler d'amour* that the practice of *jeux-partis* carried relatively straightforward social and cultural meaning for the poets of Arras. For the patrician elites among them, lyric represented cultural prestige (47-50), and the idea of love needed to be expressive and coherent enough for them to satisfy their social aims. One of the most valuable aspects of Gally's work is the historical context she gives to the practice of poetry of Arras, and in particular regarding the two key institutions that promoted lyric in the city, the Confrérie des jongleurs et bourgeois d'Arras and the Puy d'Arras. In this manner, Gally's study gives abundant evidence that the *jeu-parti* was an important vehicle through which both amateur poets and professionals accumulated prestige, and that this accumulation required that the poetry be of more than formal significance.

Both Neumeister and Gally are right to point out that troubadours and *trouvères* manipulated the elements of lyric discourse with a great deal of variety in the *partimens* and the *jeux-partis*, so that they did not "represent" the point of view of a particular social group, or even necessarily their own personal point of view. But at all times, the poets had their own interests to keep in mind: they need to make a living, and to maintain and enhance their reputation. This last set of factors informs the arguments the poets they make, even if personal motives and desires are normally forced to conform to abstract literary standards.

1.5. Theoretical framework: capital, discourse, and voice

The major concepts that will be used in this study are *cultural capital*, *economic capital*, and *social capital*. The sociologist Pierre Bourdieu develops these notions in his work, notably in *La Distinction: Critique sociale du jugement*. Bourdieu's theoretical conceptions are prefigured, in a sense, by similar ideas in the lyric of the troubadours, as Section 1.6 below shows. Several

literary scholars, including Taylor and Wanner, have already applied Bourdieu's thought to different medieval literary contexts. For Bourdieu, individuals and groups such as families are endowed with various resources that are not only financial in nature (*economic capital*), but also nonfinancial (*cultural capital, social capital*); all these types of capital can be accumulated, invested, or spent, and all are convertible, in theory, from one form to another. Bourdieu describes three types of *cultural capital*, of which mainly the first is relevant to this study: *embodied* cultural capital, "long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body" ("Forms" 47), such as knowledge, training, skills, and lifestyle. For the troubadours and *trouvères*, embodied cultural capital can be understood as an ability to compose lyric, knowledge of the themes and tropes of the poetry, and a comprehension of the code of *fin'amor*. Apart from embodied cultural capital, there is also *objectified* cultural capital, medieval examples of which might include manuscripts, books, and or any of various objects or instruments that encode ideas, texts, or theories. (Objectified cultural capital is not investigated in this study; however, the *chansonniers* are one obvious form of objectified cultural capital in literature of the Middle Ages.) *Institutional* cultural capital relates to formal educational qualifications. Of course, universities had recently come into their own, and at least one troubadour, Uc de Saint Circ, is reported to have studied in Montpellier. But the learning of troubadour and *trouvère* lyric was outside of formal institutions, although there existed some professional organizations, such as the Confrérie des jongleurs et bourgeois d'Arras. One characteristic of cultural capital which is particularly relevant to this study is its propensity to being transformed, at some point or another, into economic or social capital.

Closely related to cultural capital is Bourdieu's notion of *habitus*, which is a set of regularized habits and dispositions that are adopted, as if naturally, along with a certain form of

life, quite often through forms of training and accumulation of cultural capital (not necessarily in this manner, but this seems to be a particularly effective way to acquire them). As Bourdieu defines it, a *habitus* is a

système de dispositions durables et transposables, structures structurées disposées à fonctionner comme structures structurantes, c'est-à-dire en tant que principes générateurs et organisateurs de pratiques et de représentations qui peuvent être objectivement adaptées à leur but sans supposer la visée consciente de fins et la maîtrise expresse des opérations nécessaires pour les atteindre... (*Sens* 88-89)

In other words, the *habitus* is a kind of organizing matrix of action and thought, which operates mostly in the background. It orients individuals to obtain particular goals (in this case, the goal of accumulating the cultural capital that pertains to their profession), but it spares them the need of intentionally seeking these goals, or of concentrating on manipulating the environment around them to do so. *Habitus* forms attitudes of distinction that demarcate one's own group from other groups, and devalue, mock, or stigmatize the behavior and attitudes of various other groups. *Habitus* shapes allegedly innate or unaccountable properties of taste and common sense. The *habitus* is a part of the training that becomes second nature.

Economic capital consists of financial resources. Of the three forms of capital available to professional troubadours, it was certainly important: poets frequently refer to gifts and money from their patrons. But for medieval poets, it was rather scarce and of low value in comparison to the other two types of capital. Economic motivation was of a very different character in any case, because economic capital is not always separate as a form of resource, and the economic is not so separate a field (for example, from the political or the religious) as it is today. For amateur troubadours and *trouvères*, and especially great lords, economic assets were of great importance.

But feudal relations kept them from disposing of their wealth very freely, and created obligations and incentives regarding how and when economic capital could be kept and spent. Accumulation and savings for their own sake, for example, were not valued, while lavish consumption, generosity, and gifts, for instance, were encouraged as means to display and maintain power. On the other hand, many of the professional troubadours, as well as the amateur bourgeois *trouvères* of Arras, seem to have had had a different relationship with money, and been quite familiar with commercial concepts, and they developed complex financial metaphors to describe *fin'amor*. The Arras poets in particular, many of whom were merchants and financiers, show signs of what might be characterized as economic logic and reasoning in the argumentation of their *jeux-partis*.

Social capital refers to noneconomic assets that an individual has accumulated by virtue of his or her various social ties or membership in a group. A person's social capital consists of "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" ("Forms" 51). While cultural capital is of prime importance for troubadours and *trouvères*, especially those who are professionals, social capital is a key motivation for the literary networks in which the poets create and perform their poetry. These literary networks are not specialized for literature, for the most part, but are social groupings at courts and in urban areas that include lyric poetry as one of their activities. The entire system of social capital, according to Bourdieu, is mediated by exchange, just like economic and cultural capital, and the entities exchanged can take many forms:

This is done through the alchemy of *consecration*, the symbolic constitution produced by social institution (institution as relative—brother, sister, cousin, etc.—or as a knight, an heir, an elder, etc.) and endlessly reproduced in and through exchange (of gifts, words, women, etc.) which it encourages and which presupposes and produces mutual knowledge and recognition. ("Forms" 52)

As one type of object that is traded in these rites of consecration and reproduction of these institutions (“words”), lyric poems enter into the exchange and accumulation of social capital. And this is precisely where the troubadours and *trouvères* find a useful place in the court and urban social networks. The cultural capital that the poets may build up has little value outside of these environments, but takes on worth when members of the court or urban elite recognize it. At this point, the professional poet also participates social exchanges of the group, and can accumulate social capital of his own.

Symbolic capital is not, properly speaking, a type of capital at all, but capital that is misrecognized. Symbolic capital is converted from other types of capital. The holder of symbolic capital benefits from prestige and fame, but typically holds a disinterested attitude. From Bourdieu’s point of view, such an attitude is not irrational, for symbolic capital can in fact be reconverted back into social and economic capital (though it must do so in a disavowed manner). This form of artistic production is “neither a simple ideological mask nor a complete repudiation of economic interests” (Bourdieu, *Field* 76). Bourdieu describes it as the attitude of the artist—in this case, the poet—who formally renounces interest in accumulating economic or social capital. In the world of art, holders of symbolic capital occupy various positions within the artistic spectrum: the avant-garde, practitioners of art for art’s sake, and bohemians, among others. Medieval lyric poets who enjoyed a great amount of symbolic capital included Raimbaut d’Aurenga, the noble amateur and refined stylist (see Section 1.10), and Sordel, the unconventional professional poet known for his scandalous adventures (see Section 2.3).

Within lyric, a parallel *libidinal economy*¹¹ is certainly at work, as a work such as “Bella, tant vos ai preiada” demonstrates. Bourdieu’s sociological analysis of capital does not really take into account such factors (although his analysis of Flaubert’s *L’Éducation sentimentale*, cited

below, alludes to them). Nonetheless, the love of the troubadours the *trouvères* can be viewed as motivated by the accumulation of certain types of “capital” and by “profit” (*sobreplus/sorplus*, *gazanh/gaaing*). This economy could be conceived in various ways—in terms proposed by Lacan and Žižek, for instance.¹² The “libidinal economy” presented here is in some ways less well developed conceptually compared to the other economies (social, cultural, economic, and symbolic capital). This is not meant to imply a sociological or economic determinism (on the contrary, I am somewhat agnostic regarding the predominance of any single economy—desire, power, knowledge, wealth—within medieval lyric, or any sphere of discourse for that matter). It is only that love, desire, and sexuality encompasses enormous and complex area of lyric that has already been studied abundantly (more recently, for example, by Kay and Gaunt), and cannot be treated with any thoroughness within the confines of this study. Yet some aspects of libidinal economy are so closely intertwined with the other economies explored that they call for some consideration, and at the same time, the economy displays important homologies with the economies of capital. An important point of similarity is the notion of surplus (*sobreplus/sorplus*), which in the libidinal economy corresponds in many contexts to reward after delay, and is in opposition to immediate enjoyment (*gaug/joi/joie*). The way in which the language of these economies is closely associated with the language of the troubadours, and the manner in which the *fin’ amor* is associated with new forms of psychic experience and social control, is highly suggestive, but is the subject for another study.

The conceptions of *discourse* and *voice* are used in a particular manner in this study, and each draw separately from several critical traditions. *Discourse* is used mostly to designate *lyric discourse*. Discourse is a type of speech that is structured by particular regulations concerning its production, and customarily applies to a particular realm of existence (see Foucault, *Archéologie*

140-41). Various rules and conditions govern the form and content that speech must take for a speaker to claim it as a kind of discourse, and for it to be recognized by others as such. In the case of lyric discourse, a poet or any individual must construct his speech in a particular manner, with a melody and with a stanzaic structure and rhymes of a certain type, for it to be accepted as lyric. In addition, the speaker customarily uses the first-person voice, and the work has a particular conception of love as its theme. The set of such patterns used in lyric poetry is remarkably constant throughout the period of the activity of the troubadours and *trouvères*, which justifies a concept of a continuous *lyric discourse* at work in troubadour and *trouvère* verse.

The term discourse, when applied to lyric, has several implications beyond the composition of a song. First of all, the song is, potentially at least, a performative linguistic act (see Austin). When the song is performed and then recognized by an audience, that song is accorded the status as lyric (and the poet is accorded the status of troubadour or *trouvère*). More than that, however, the songs customarily constitute a request to court a lady, or a request for patronage from a lord, or sometimes both. The song is not simply an aesthetic utterance, but formal presentation of the poet's position and claims with respect to others at a public setting.

A second aspect of discourse is its ideological dimension. Partly because it is not merely speech, but speech involved in particular claims of position and prestige within a given social environment, a discourse will take as given a certain distribution of power and resources, and often tends to perpetuate that distribution. Lyric, inasmuch as it forms part of the ritual of court societies and urban elites and their exchanges of social capital, will uphold the hierarchical structures of those groups and justify and validate them. It is certainly no coincidence that the lyric, as pointed out above, adopts the vocabulary of feudal terminology, and that lyric was for a

long time composed primarily for audiences at courts. But discourse does not always successfully or faithfully reproduce relations, for several reasons. First of all, the discourse imposes a certain amount of independence, with its own rules and principles, from the exercise of power. Its strength in justifying a code of conduct, a social system, comes from a relative autonomy and a claim to certain universality, with an appeal to naturalness or reason that everyone supposedly possesses (but for which of course the discourse sets the standard). Yet the independence of the principles that oversee it means that in fact it can be used by various other individuals or groups than the ones who may have originally employed it, and for somewhat different ends. A discourse is a rather odd tool; perhaps originally a bricolage of heteroclitic linguistic parts, once assembled it is cohesive and conservative in structure, and may change surprisingly little over time in its vocabulary and themes. However, like certain anatomical structures in evolutionary biology (for example the tetrapod manus), it can retain its basic overall plan through time while becoming adapted to the quite divergent uses. But a discourse is often subject to various pressures, and is often a site of contention between competing groups who compete over the definition of its terms; one has only to look at modern political struggles in which the same expressions are fought over by opposing sides.¹³ In the case of lyric, different poets used the same discourse to accomplish rather different aims. They defined love in contrasting ways, and used lyric to support quite various ethical, moral, social and political agendas. They sometimes defined it to suit very personal and subjective motives. Another reason, however, that discourse does not necessarily reproduce particular power relations is that much of its ideological substance is diffuse and presented in abstract and general form, such as in ethical and moral principles, values, codes of conduct, ideas about common sense, even sayings and proverbs. In this way, this notion of discourse has much in common with the concept of

habitus. In fact, *habitus* is always accomplished through discourse: it is a discursive process. At the same time, a particular *habitus* may be associated with a particular discourse; certainly the *habitus* of the troubadour and *trouvère* is bound up with lyric discourse.

A third aspect of discourse related to its ideological dimension is its performativity. The concept of performativity, as developed for example by Butler, describes the manner in which social and individual roles are created and reinforced, and relations of power reproduced, by the repeated performance of various words, songs, costumes, ceremonies, and other signifying practices of discourse. In terms of lyric, performativity relates not only to the performer, but also just as importantly, to the audience as well. The code of lyric is a potent discursive practice in this regard, as it encodes power relations and roles of rank, status, and gender, and would continue to do so, under different guises, for centuries. Song, indeed, remains one of the most productively performative types of discourse in modern society.

Voice in this study is the voice of a discourse, and refers to the manner in which a meaningful utterance within a discourse is attributed to an individual or to a social group. In a more specific context, that of lyric discourse, *voice* refers to the distinctive manner of an author or performer. This study's concept of voice includes the "voice" of everyday usage (a sound produced through the mouth for speaking, singing, and other forms of communication)—but not human vocalization in a general undifferentiated sense, but rather in a very specific and localized sense: *voice* here is a voice that is recognizable as that of a known category of people or a particular individual. Voice also designates phenomena that may or may not be oral in nature, such as identity, grammatical voice, and style. In its most basic sense, the *voice* of a discourse can be found by asking the question "who is speaking?" The answer to this question will vary, and might include, in the kinds of cases examined for this study: a grammatical pronoun, a title

of respect, a persona in a poem or a narrative (named or otherwise), or a named and historically existing individual.

Voice is closely connected to both cultural capital and discourse. Voice is a way for an individual to distinguish himself or herself from other individuals in the process of accumulating cultural capital. It is a strategy that is characteristic of lyric discourse; not all forms of cultural capital accumulation are so focused on an individual persona with a voice. At the same time as voice expressed only through a discourse, however, it is also ideological, to a greater or lesser extent. Although this work recognizes the importance of class interests or social divisions in lyric, it does not follow Köhler in viewing poetry as relatively direct reflection of these interests and divisions. The point of view of study is inspired partly by the work of M. M. Bakhtin, and his understanding of the nuanced relationships between voice, discourse, and social life. The notions that Bakhtin develops that are relevant here are *monologism*, *dialogism*, and *heteroglossia*. For Bakhtin, monologism or applies to a literature in which one “language” or discourse dominates to the exclusion of all others. The work displays a consistent ideology in all its aspects: in the action it depicts, in the ideas and speech of its characters, in the vocabulary throughout. According to Bakhtin, epic, drama, and lyric poetry are characterized by the a single monologic world-view:

The language in a poetic work realizes itself as something about which there can be no doubt, something that cannot be disputed, something all-encompassing. Everything that the poet sees, understands, and thinks, he does through the eyes of a given language, in its inner forms, and there is nothing that might require, for its expression the help of any other alien language. (286)

Indeed, this kind of monologism does seem to describe some of the features of the discourse of the lyric poetry, including its specialized terminology and, in Occitan, its creation of a *koinê*; as Bakhtin notes, “It is noteworthy that the poet, should he not accept the given literary language,

will sooner resort to the artificial creation of a new language specifically for poetry than he will to the exploitation of actual available social dialects” (287). This monologism, which characterizes what Bakhtin designates “poetic” genres—epic, drama, lyric—of classical literature, is opposed to *dialogism*, which is a trait of mixed and bastardized genres, in particular the novel. *Dialogism* is the logical opposite of monologism, though it has a greater extension of meaning for Bakhtin. The concept indicates a dynamic in which all speech is made with reference to previous speech, and is in dialogue with it; in this manner, no *monologic* speech can really exist. This is not at odds, for Bakhtin, with his definition of epic and lyric poetry as monologic; the monologism of such literature only demonstrates that its language is sealed off from dialogue with the rest of the world. The rest of the world, instead, uses language dialogically, is characterized not by one language, but by *heteroglossia*, the existence of different types of speech, languages, and social voices, all of which are related in a dialogic manner. Among the types of alien speech that Bakhtin describes are social dialects, speech pertaining to the professions (lawyers, doctors, politicians, educators), and languages specific to social stratification—not only by class, but also by institution, or age group and generation (287-92). Although heteroglossia is generally excluded from lyric—and this does seem to be the nearly universal case for the love song—Bakhtin does admit to instances in which heteroglossia does appear poetic, but notes that “such possibilities are limited: a certain latitude for heteroglossia exists only in the ‘low’ poetic genres—in the satiric and comic genres and others” (287). What Bakhtin is discussing in this context is characters that are created by the author or composer (287), such as a fictive *tenson*. However, in all types of *tenson*, speakers take on a wide range of different kinds of voices, so that the *tenson* probably exhibits the greatest degree of heteroglossia of all the lyric genres.

The manner in which these various conceptions—cultural, social, economic, and symbolic capital, discourse, and voice—correspond to, and explain, lyric practice is explored in the following sections (1.7-1.11)

1.6. Poets and capital

The troubadours developed an explicit and rich notion of *capdal* “capital,” that bears an uncanny resemblance to Bourdieu’s notion of capital. They seem to have taken their idea, as Bourdieu did, from a concept that was originally economic in nature. There are undoubtedly historical reasons for this. The twelfth century, when troubadour lyric arose, was a period of vigorous commercial economic and commercial development. At the same time, the domain of economic experience was not as separate from other realms as it is in modern thought, so that it would not have been unusual to understand the accumulation and exchange of various kinds of resources (cultural, social, and economic) as homologous.

The words cognate with the English “capital,” Old Occitan *capdal* and Old French *chatel*, have a range of meanings that denote wealth, and also designate the principal in a loan or investment. In both traditions, the terms meaning “capital” occur in literary texts in both traditions. However, among the lyric poets, it is only the troubadours who develop the usage of the notion of capital (*capdal*), in order to express their relationships with one another, their patrons, and their audience, as Canettieri has shown. They also use the terms *gazan* “gain, advantage, profit” and *sobreplus* “profit” as part of the same metaphorical field. The *trouvères* utilize a similar lexicon of value and profit, including the term *sorplus*, and if they do not use the term *chatel*, they recognize and assume its functioning behind a system of service and reward. It is perhaps surprising that vocabulary related to the accumulation of wealth would be found in

lyric, given the importance of generosity in the ethos of courtly behavior. However, this vocabulary quite often has a positive value for the troubadours and *trouvères*.

The Occitan noun *capdal*, which is recorded also as *capital*, *cabdal*, *cabtal*, *chaptal* (COM), is given sparse notice by Levy in the *PSW*, but several meanings in the *Petit Dictionnaire*: “capital; cheptel; gain, profit” (64). Canettieri has examined the term *capdal* in a rather conceptual way, especially in connection with the *tenson* “Era·m platz, Guiraut de Borneill” (P.C. 389,10a=282,14) (see 1.10 below), but otherwise it has been little studied. While the troubadours do not use the word *capdal* to mean “cheptel,” they use it rather often to mean “capital, investment,” in both a literal and figurative sense; the signification of “reward, profit” is less common, perhaps because the troubadours usually use other words to denote this idea, including *gazan* “earnings, benefit, dividend, profit, interest,” and *sobreplus* “surplus, profit,” which are closely associated with the expression *capdal*. An examination of the verse of the troubadours, along with certain narrative passages from *COM*, suggests a refinement of the definition of *capdal*: “wealth, economic assets; merchandise, wholesale price; principal of a loan; investment; capital; reward; stock in trade.” The underlying notion that ties these meanings together is an idea of capital economic resources, which can be made productive by investment or lending; secondarily, the troubadours apply the idea of *capdal* to other types of resources, including those that correspond to cultural and social capital.

The primary meaning of “wealth, economic assets” is found in several lyric works, and corresponds fairly well to the basic notion of *economic capital* outlined in Section 1.5, inasmuch as it describes all kinds of financial and monetary assets. For the troubadours, economic *capdal* is desired as a source of personal security and for the social standing it offers—not as money, or for the goods it can buy. The acerbic Peire Vidal mentions *capdal* when regrets his past: a former

sponsor has provided poor compensation, and now he is now poor, old, and putting in a shameful appearance before all. His advice is to find sponsors to take care of material needs; serving without reward, he believes, means that “chaptals en sofranha,” literally, “economic resources will be deficient/suffer from it”:

Mout m'a tengut en greu lanha,
quar l'ai servid'en perdo;
e servirs ses gazardo
crei que chaptals en sofranha;
que vielhs, paubres, sofrachos,
venc entre ls rics, vergonhos:
Per qu'om deu sercar garena,
Ans que torn en decazensa.
(25-32 “Mout es bona terr' Espanha” (P.C. 364,28), Peire Vidal 222)

She (he) has kept me in great affliction, for I have served her (him) in vain; one gains nothing at all to serve without recompense; old, poor, and needy, I found myself shamed among the rich; therefore one should seek protection, before falling into poverty (trans. Fraser, ed., Peire Vidal 224).

A generation later, Peire Cardenal also speaks of the *capdal* he wished he had: “que s'ieu pogues viure de mon captal / ja non volgra sezer a lor fogal” (15-16) ‘And if I could live off my own wealth, I would not sit at their hearth’ (my translation) (“De sirventes faire no·m tueill” (P.C. 335,17), Peire Cardenal 303). An anonymous *cobla* (P.C. 461,139) advises the accumulation of *capdal* or wealth (3):

Hom deu gardar so, qe a gazainhat,
qe non o gast ni non o giet a mal;
car enaissi pot creisser son captal,
per q'er tengutz per pro e per senat.
Car qi no n'a, fort es petit presatz,
qan tot es bels, cortes et ensegnatz;
s'aver non a, pauc trobara d'amicx,
per q'es bons sens q'om s'esfors sia ricx.
(Kolsen, *Zwei* 21)

One should keep what he has gained, and not waste it or use it carelessly, for he can use it to increase his wealth—and if he does this he will be considered worthy and intelligent. For the one who does not have any of it is esteemed little, even if

he is handsome, courtly, and cultivated; if he does not have wealth, he will find few friends. Therefore it is common sense that one should try hard to be rich. (my translation)

The purpose of accumulating wealth is not to have wealth or goods themselves, according to this poet, but to attain esteem and a good social standing. Money leads to high social status: economic capital can be used to leverage social capital. This is very much in keeping with the strategies of various socially ambitious families—patricians, urban knights, ministerials—who used the surplus money from their positions to obtain a better social standing, and even rank, often through strategic marriages.

In the verse of the troubadours, *capdal* can be found with a range of more technical financial meanings, all of which are related to the idea of “capital,” a stock of money or goods advanced in order to turn a profit, through commerce, lending, or investment. *Capdal* may indicate commercial stock, merchandise, or the wholesale price that merchants pay. Commercial *capdal* figures in an anonymous *devninalh* or riddle-poem, “Sui e no suy” (P.C. 461,226), although it is of a paradoxical, imaginary sort: “e quan compri vil ni ven car / ie·n vey mon capital amermar” ‘and when I buy at a low price and sell at a high price, I see my capital diminish’ (7-8, Appel, *Provenzalische* 82; trans. Holmes 57). Bertran Carbonel refers to the wholesale value of his horse when, speaking to the animal, he threatens to sell it: “eu vos vendrai...mens de capital” ‘I will sell you at a loss’ (my translation) (v. 7-8 “Rocin, cen ves m’aves faih penedir” (P.C. 82,13) Bertran Carbonel 57). *Capdal* in a commercial sense is also found in Occitan narrative verse, especially in texts describing merchants: it indicates wholesale cost in *Breviari d’Amor* (vv. 17919, 18228, 18319), and stock of goods for sale in *Sermon* of Cerverí de Girona (v. 20).

Capdal may also indicate the capital or principal of a loan. In this sense, the troubadours always use it with the term *gazan*, which in this context signifies “interest.” Money-lending was a very ordinary part of life in the court and urban environments where troubadour (and *trouvère*) lyric was produced. Interest rates in Occitania were recorded, for instance, and ranged from 12 to 40 per cent (Paterson, *World* 156). Peire Pelissier uses the terms *capdal* and *gazan* to complain of a loan that Dalfi d’Alvergne has not repaid him, in the following *cobla* (353,1):

Al Dalfin man qu’estei dins son hostal
 E manje pro e·s gart d’esmagresir,
 C’om piez no sap a son amic gandar
 Quant n’ac tot trait lo gasaing e·l capdal;
 Remansut son li messatg’e·l correu,
 Que lonc temps a non vi carta ni breu;
 E nulls hom piechs so que ditz non aten,
 Mas joves es e castiara s’en.
 (Dalfi d’Alvergne 35).

“I send word to Dalfi: may he remain in his castle and eat plentifully and keep from growing thin, for no one knows how to avoid his friend more unworthily than he does, after he has taken all the interest and capital from him. The messengers and couriers have remained at home, for I have seen neither letter nor brief for a long time. No man ever keeps his promises more poorly, but he is young and he might mend his ways.” (my translation, adapted from Brackney, ed., Dalfi d’Alvergne 111).

Peire has advanced Dalfi a sum of money, with both capital and interest to be reimbursed. Once in possession of the borrowed funds, Dalfi has cut off all communication with Peire, and shut his door to him: let Dalfi use the money to eat well and get fat! *Capdal* and *gazan* “principal and interest” are found, in a figurative sense, in several religious works dealing with redemption and salvation. The troubadour Reforsat de Trets writes “En aisso pert lo gasaing e·l capital” ‘By this he loses the interest and the capital’ (v. 27, “En aquest son, qu’eu trop leugier e pla” (P.C. 418,1)). Similarly, the author of the verse narrative *Les sept joies de la vierge* writes that God “e·n cobre·l gasanh e·l capital” ‘recovers the interest and the capital’ (v. 286).

Capdal also signifies “investment,” and is more or less equivalent to the modern sense of the word “capital.” As with *capdal* “principal of a loan,” in this sense *capdal* is often accompanied by *gazan* or *sobreplus*, in this case “profit, dividend.” This meaning of *capdal* is well rooted in the Occitan society of time, which presented numerous opportunities for capital investment, from land speculation to placement in joint-stock ventures (Paterson, *World* 155). In his *canço* “Pus ma belha mal’amia” (P.C. 10,43), Aimeric de Peguillan speaks of his relationship to his lady as a form of *companhia* (8), a kind of unlimited partnership frequent in medieval commercial ventures. Laws and agreements governed the profits that were due to investors in such enterprises; senior partners might be entitled to greater earnings:

Pus ma belha mal’amia
 m’a mes de cent sospirs captal,
 a for de captalier lial
 los ai cregutz quascun dia
 d’un mil, per q’ueimais seria, 5
 sol qu’a lieys plagues, cominal,
 que los partissem per egual,
 qu’aissi-s tanh de companhia.

Pero, si n vol senhoria,
 ben es dregs, quar mais pot e val, 10
 et hie-l port tan d’amor coral
 que no n puese...
 (1-12 Aimeric de Peguillan 204)

After my fair and wicked love has committed to me more than one hundred sighs as a fund, like a faithful partner I have increased them every day by a thousand. Therefore, henceforth it should become common stock, if only she willed it so, in such a way that we might share them equally, for that is the law of partnerships. However, if she wants a senior partner’s share, that is quite right, for she has more power and riches (than I), and I love her so sincerely that I have no power in the matter... (trans. Shepard and Chambers, eds., Aimeric de Peguillan 206)

For Aimeric, both he and the lady place their “capital” in the relationship, and each is entitled to benefit. He cites the law governing commercial partnerships, which apportions dividends fairly, but acknowledges that she may have special rights as a senior partner. Indeed, in the traditional

partnership of courtly love, the *domna* retains the right of *senhoria* over the lover/poet. The relationship of *fin'amor* resembles a *companhia* a number of significant ways. Each partner brings a supply of capital to the partnership, and each hopes to receive benefits from the association. The poet/lover has the training and skill in *trobar*, or cultural capital; the lady has high rank and social standing. Through their friendship, he might receive the profits of economic patronage, enhanced recognition, and social ties, which he may be able to use to build his own stocks of economic and social capital. She can expect to receive dividends in the form of praise and enhanced reputation as a sponsor of poetry and promoter of refined conduct.

Aimeric develops the notion of *capdal* in another *canço*, “Totz hom qui so blasma que deu lauzar” (P.C. 10,52), which was cited at the beginning of this chapter. Aimeric adds the notion of profit to that of capital. For the word “profit,” however, he does not use the more general and common word *gazanh*, but the more precise term *sobreplus*, which has a double meaning:

Hieu am lieys trop, mas elha petit me,
Mas ades n'ai un conort que m reve,
Qu'al meynhs s'ilh tot del sobreplus no m val,
Tan n'ai d'onor que ben cobri'l capital.
(45-49, Aimeric de Peguillan 240)

I love her much; she loves me little; I have always a comfortable thought which pleases me—that at least, even if she does not help me to a surplus, I have so much honor [property] from her that I get back my capital. (trans. Shepard and Chambers, eds., Aimeric de Peguillan 242)

As explained in the introduction to this chapter, this brief passage, with its encounter between *capdal* and a sexually suggestive *sobreplus*, provides a significant and revealing glimpse of the workings of capital in the lyric of the troubadours. Upon first glance, according to their “proper” meanings of the words, the image is that of the mutual investment in the courtly relationship, as in the previous *canço* by Aimeric (“Pus ma belha mal'amia”). The lover's *capdal* can be viewed

in terms of cultural capital, from which he hopes to obtain a profit or *sobreplus*. In this poem, the lover does not receive any, although he is repaid in another way, with *onor*: the *onor* signifying primarily “honor” (though likely having the financial connotations of “landed property”). Upon second look, however, anyone familiar with troubadour or *trouvère* lyric will recognize *sobreplus* as the standard expression for the ultimate sexual favors that the poet seeks, and understand Aimeric’s reference quite clearly. The metaphor of *capdal* here refers, then, not only to the economies of cultural, social, and economic capital, but also to the libidinal economy of desire. The *sobreplus* corresponds not only to the economic and social dividends, but also to the wished-for erotic payoff. According to one notion of *fin’amor*, however, sexual gratification must be deferred, often virtually endlessly, and sublimated to some extent—or rather perhaps, taken “honorably” in another form and reinvested as cultural capital (poetic production), social capital (reputation and status), or economic capital (wealth).

It is possible to read the meaning of *capdal* as “profit” given by Levy (“gain, profit”) in a few verses by the troubadours, although in these cases the term might better be understood as “(financial) reward” (akin to the term *gazardo*). In a sense, this meaning of *capdal* as “reward” is only a special use of the meaning of *capdal* as “wealth, financial assets.” For example, in his *cobla* addressed to Peirol, “Peirol, pois vengutz es vas nos” (P.C. 97,8) Blacatz remarks: “vai tost, (et er rics tos chaptals), / vas la dompna q’ es bel’ e pros” ‘Go quickly (and rich will be your reward) towards the lady who is fair and worthy’ (2-3, trans. and ed. Aston, Peirol 140). In the religious poem “Jesus Critz per sa merce” (P.C. 74,6), Bertolome Zorzi comments upon the “sobrancier captal” ‘prideful reward’ (51, my translation) for sin.

The previous examples show *capdal* in its various financial significations, usually in its literal sense. The troubadours also understand *capdal* in a manner that is more akin to the

concepts of cultural and social capital. This understanding is present to some extent in Aimeric de Peguillan's notion of *capdal*, which is related to investment and partnership with the lady. However, other troubadours develop the idea of *capdal* in metaphorical ways that are not so closely tied to specific economic institutions or practices, and descriptive of a range of economic, cultural, and social resources. One such usage of *capdal* that sums up these meanings in a very basic manner is found in the *tenson* "Falco, en dire mal" (P.C. 192,2a=147,2). In this work, Gui de Cavaillo mocks the *joglar* Falco for having had his tongue cut out¹⁴ and being deprived of his *capdal*—the resources that permitted him to practice his profession: "Falco, vostre capital / perdetz can fos desfaytz" 'Falco, you lost your stock-in-trade when you were maimed' (49-50 ed. and trans. Harvey and Paterson 2: 458-459). Harvey and Paterson's translation "stock-in-trade" is felicitous, and applies to other instances of *capdal*, where a troubadour's stock-in-trade is not necessarily physical (even if the concept of *habitus* involves a certain physical capital accumulated in the body, through the training in usage of voice, gestures, and skills with musical instruments).

For the troubadour Cadenet, *capdal* seems to refer to a resource of any kind, economic or otherwise, in "Meravill me de tot fin amador" (P.C 106,16). In fact, his brief mention *capdal* corresponds more closely, overall, to the conception of capital put forward in Section 1.5. He mentions the notion of various types of *capdal* that an individual in a courtly environment might have, but asserts that one in particular, *pretz* or esteem, is most valuable: "qu'el mon non a tant avinen capital / cum pretz qui l'a, e pretz a cel qui val, / et ab amor pot hom esser valens." (25-27, Cadenet 30) 'For the person who has esteem does not have in the world any other such attractive capital, and the person who is valorous has esteem, and with love one can be valorous.' (my translation).

The troubadour Guiraut de Borneill uses the term *capdal* the most frequently (three times),¹⁵ and is probably the earliest to do so. Guiraut de Borneill's poetry was quite influential, and his stature was very high throughout the age of the troubadours,¹⁶ so that his use of the terms is worth examining in some detail. As it happens, the two works in which he mentions *capdal* are among his poems that have received the greatest amount of attention. Dante cites the *canço* "Si·m sentis fizels amics" (P.C. 242,72) in *De vulgari eloquentia* an exemplary for its treatment of love. More recently, Paterson, in *Troubadours and Eloquence*, cites the song as an example of Guiraut's practice of *trobar clus*, which involves a dense networks of words and images within texts (117-32); in the song, Guiraut speaks of "bos motz en fre / qui son tuit cargat e ple / d'uns estrayns sens naturals" 'words which are gentle on the rein, all loaded to the full with meanings foreign to them and yet fully theirs' (63-65, trans. Sharman, ed. Guiraut de Borneill 183-85). In this same *canço*, a few verses earlier, Guiraut uses the word *capdal* in a matter that is both "estraysns" and "naturals." The subject of the poem is the lack of reward for a lover who has served faithfully. Before coming to the notion of *capdal*, Guiraut discusses his reward failing to materialize in terms of a planted field that has been unproductive:

E quan no grana l'espics
 Si com pareis a la flor,
 Cuiatz que plas'al seynor?
 Ans l'en reis ir'e gensics
 E par que consire
 De l'an
 Enavan
 Cant sap e ve
 Que sos affars ne·il ave;
 Qu'ieu vi c'us iorns ferials
 M'era mieller c'us nadals.
 (12-22 Guiraut de Borneill 181)

And if the head of corn does not produce the fruit that the flower promises, do you suppose this pleases the lord? On the contrary, he grows more and more vexed and annoyed because of it and appears to reflect with concern on the

advancing year when he sees and knows that his prospects are failing; for it has been my experience that a work-day could bring me more pleasure than a Christmas day. (trans. Sharman, ed. Guiraut de Borneill 185)

Here the notion of reward or profit from the lady is illustrated in terms of a harvest from a field. It is worth pointing out that one of the terms for a planted field in Occitan is *gazanha*,¹⁷ which is also another term for interest of reward. The image of the crop and harvest, of course, is clearly economic. The idea of economic profit or payment may explain Guiraut's reference to the work-day (21) that he prefers to Christmas, since on such a day a harvest might be brought in, and laborers might receive their wages. Later on in the poem, Guiraut continues the economic metaphor, in his discussion of the lover's difficulty in accumulating *capdal* in a courtly relationship. Lovers are at the point of despair, to the point of killing themselves, according to Guiraut: "...als verais amics corals / no vai enan lor chaptals." 'true and sincere lovers have no other way of increasing their capital' (54-55 trans. Sharman 185). For Guiraut, *capdal* is distinct from the rewards from the lady: the rewards are reinvested into the capital. Guiraut is not specific regarding the components of this *capdal*; likely it includes erotic fulfillment, as well as various types of social and symbolic capital: status, prestige, and reputation. Guiraut mentions *capdal* in the sense of cultural, social, and symbolic capital in another work, the *tenson* "Era·m platz, Guiraut de Borneill" (P.C. 389,10a=282,14), which is discussed below in Section 1.10. In this case the referent of *capdal* is somewhat clearer: the professional position, status, and reputation corresponding to the practice of a particular kind of poetry.

Guiraut de Borneill's vegetative image of *capdal*— a stock accumulated through a relationship with the lady—is taken up in a slightly different manner by Guiraut Riquier a century later in "Ab lo temps agradiu gai" (P.C. 248,1):

Mas Mon Belh Deport amat
Dey sopleyar, qu'elh m'a mes

Captal on ai gazanhat
Saber, don giet branx e brotz
(16-19, Longobardi 28)

I must plead with my beloved Belh Deport, for she offered me capital from which
I have earned knowledge, and which put forth branch and shoot. (my translation)

Guiraut Riquier is somewhat more explicit than Guiraut de Borneill regarding the nature of the *capdal* he accumulates from the lady. This *capdal* produces *saber*, or knowledge: perhaps knowledge of a special kind pertaining to poets and lovers (cultural capital), or knowledge of courtly manners, a kind of *savoir-vivre* (social capital).

The term *gazan* “profit,” as shown in many of the examples above, is sometimes found in context with the notion of *capdal*, to express the financial idea of profit. The term *gazan*, and its related verb, *gazanhar*, very frequently occur alone in troubadour verse, but they more often have a very general meaning of “profit, benefit, advantage, reward,” with very little financial connotation or connection to the idea of capital. However, there are a few cases in which the terms *gazan*, *gazanha*, and *gazanhar*, are found independently of the term *capdal*, but carry an economic meaning and form part of the notion of capital. *Gazan* may denote financial profit, as it does for Albertet in the *tenso* “En Peire, dui pro cavallier” (P.C. 16,15=322,1), when he discusses the case of a lover who gains financial advantage from his personal association with his lady (46, Harvey and Paterson 1: 84) (this *tenso* is examined in detail in Chapter 3, section 3.1). *Gazanhar* “to profit” also occurs in a non-lyric work, one of the Occitan verse *Disticha Catonis* which encourages thrift and savings (it resembles very closely the anonymous *cobla* “Hom deu gardar so, qe a gazainhat” (P.C. 461,139) quoted above):

Se t ven bon'aventura
non escas de mesura,
antz rete e gazaina
per cho qe n'ot sofraina.
(449-50 Tobler 61)

If a good opportunity comes along to you, do not spend it ordinarily, but instead invest it and profit from it, so that you do not have hardship. (my translation)

Here, *retener* clearly has the financial sense of “invest” (see Harvey and Paterson 1: 86-87 note 12), and is the verb that corresponds to capital, since it is paired with the verb *gazanhar*, to profit (the two lexical terms, moreover, occur with the same meaning in the *tenso* cited above, “En Peire, dui pro cavallier”).

Gazanhar/gazanha expresses various types of relations to capital that obtain for the troubadours, between themselves, with their patrons, and with their ladies. It is, first of all, properly a term for monetary earnings; the *joglar* Granet complains that the troubadour Bertran d’Alamano, to whom he is apprenticed, takes too much of his “gazaing” or wages from him, in “De vos mi rancur, compaire” (P.C. 189.2=76.6) (see Section 2.1). The term may also designate the profit that results from exchanges or partnerships with patrons. Such is the meaning when Uc de Saint Circ (who comments frequently upon the utility of sponsors, both lords and ladies) employs it in his *sirventes* against Matfre Lanza, “Tant es de paubra acoindansa” (P.C. 457,38):

E fai malvaza gazaingna
Cel que s’amistat gazaingna:
Vils e vans
Es e de croia bargaingna.
(43-48 Uc de Saint Circ 85)

The one who wins his [Matfre’s] friendship gains a meager profit: he is vile and vain and of base dealings. (my translation)

The expression “bargaingna” is significant, as it models the poet-patron relationship on a financial exchange. *Gazanha* is also used as a term for the sexual profit from the exchange with the lady, in two rather bawdy lyric works. The first work, the satirical *sirventes* “Eras qan plou iverna” (P.C. 88,1), the benefits of the lady are described as “gazaingna,” and the exchange with her has the characteristics of a commercial bargain, as in the *sirventes* by Uc above. In “Eras,”

Bertran de Preissac takes a position in favor of older women, who unlike younger women do not try to sell themselves or haggle as if in a marketplace; instead “Lur compaingna es de gazaingna enanz que om s’o meira” ‘Their company brings its profits even before one has paid for it’ (49 Marshall “Jeunes” 334; my translation). *Gazanh* can similarly be understood as the physical rewards of the lady’s favors, a rough synonym of *sobreplus* (which is also a financial term for “profit”), for Guillem de Berguedan, in his *tenson* with Aimeric de Peguillan, “De Berguedan, d’estas doas razos” (P.C. 10,19=210,10). He puns on the meaning of “gazaing”—both “winning (at dice)” and the “profit/benefit” from the lady—when he says that he likes to get a payoff from both women and dice: “qe·l gazaing vuoill de dompnas e de datz” (14 Harvey and Paterson 1: 40).

Sobreplus “surplus, profit,” a synonym of *gazanh*, is another term that the troubadours use, euphemistically, to denote the sexual favors of the lady. Like a dividend in a business venture that is not guaranteed, the *sobreplus* is a motivation for the troubadour’s investment of time and effort. Aimeric clearly relates the sexual *sobreplus* to the poet’s investment of *capdal*. Apart from Aimeric’s poetry, the term *sobreplus* is found with clearly sexual connotations in the verse of two other poets: Sordel, in “Bel m’es ab motz leugiers a far” (P.C. 437,7) and Lanfranc Cigala, in “No sai si·m chant, pero eu n’ai voler” (P.C. 282,16).

In French, the most important cognate term for capital is *chatel* (*chateil*, *cheté*, *chetel*, *katel*),¹⁸ which indicates wealth or property (Godefroy 2: 89-90); the term is a rather ordinary. However, the *trouvères* do not seem to make much use of the word *chatel*,¹⁹ unlike the troubadours do with *capdal*. The absence may stem from the lexicon of the *trouvère* lyric, which as a whole is more limited, polished, and courtly compared to its troubadour equivalent. In addition, while *capdal* may have been a neutral term, on balance, in the courtly environments of

the South, the northern French *chatel* seems to have had negative connotations, related to avarice, commoners, pagans, and slavery (as in English *chattel*). It does not appear to be very frequent in French literary texts; among them is *Floire and Blanceflor*, in which *chatel* denotes the wholesale price paid by those who are selling Blanceflor to Muslim merchants (2290, p. 192). Chrétien de Troyes employs the word *chatel* twice in expressions meaning “principal and interest” in two different passages, one in *Yvain* and one in *Cligès*, to describe unforgiving and relentless combat in a tournament: the two knights pursue one another “in payment of principal and interest.” The negative references to capital and interest likely reflect bitterness over the high rates of interest (because of a high rate of default) charged to the nobility, who needed loans to finance the conspicuous consumption that maintained their status.

Chatel is found in a literal sense, as wealth that accounts for the prestige of an individual, in Gautier d’Arras’s *Eracle*. However, even here, *chatel* is specifically valued for being spent generously, not for being accumulated: “Mout bien emploie son chetel / Hom qui en bon leu le despent” (510-11, 1: 27); “Bien a emploié sen chetel / Li seneschauz, si com il dist.” (1010-11, 1: 53). The word *chatel* is used with some frequency in the rather encyclopedic *Roman de la Rose*, and indicates assets, patrimony, goods, or merchandise (2454, 2585, 5013, 5050, 8175). In one passage (10753-96) *chatel* is part of an extended comparison involving love, although the point seems to be that an amorous relationship cannot be conceived in terms of capital. In this passage, Jean de Meun contrasts the sale of a commercial asset—which can be sold back to recover investment and any gains (“revendre / et chatel ou gaaig reprendre,” 10755-56)—with the exchange of love between two individuals, in which one “buyer” of the “asset” of love may lose all capital and possibility of profit, no matter how great a sum has been invested.

The *trouvères* employ the term *sorplus* as a euphemism for the “profit” or reward of sexual favors, and in fact make much more frequent use of it than the troubadours do the term *sobreplus*. As examined in Section 3.5, it is found with this meaning in the *jeux-partis* five times (R 664, 691, 1042, 1513, 2129); in three of these instances, it is part of the question of debate itself. In one of these *jeux-partis*, “Cuvelier et vous, Ferri” (R 1042), Jehan Bretel and his interlocutors frame the question of the *sorplus* in economic and legal terms. In this poem, then, even without the term *chatel*, the Arras poets demonstrate a notion of capital working along with the *sorplus*.

This case is not unusual: the *trouvères*, in the *jeux-partis*, make very frequent use of a broad array of expressions related to wealth, money, value, markets, and exchange. With this vocabulary, they construct comparisons between economic models and social and personal relationships. Many of these comparisons are quite sophisticated, and are the main subject of Chapter 3. However, these comparisons are generally unlike the troubadour’s conception of capital, which is more personal and subjective; the economic examples of the *jeux-partis* are analytical, and bear on hypothetical situations that have little relevance to the lives of the speakers as poets. In an important sense, this also corresponds to the urban social environment of Arras, away from the court. The poets of Arras did indeed compete to accumulate cultural, social and symbolic capital, but they sought these types of capital through interactions with each other, within their circle, and not from exchanges with lordly patrons or ladies. The troubadours’ notion of capital investment and partnership with the lady is undoubtedly more of a literary convention for the *trouvères* of Arras, to be analyzed and commented upon. The apparent absence of powerful courtly ladies as patrons, incidentally, would account for the propensity of the poets in

the *jeux-partis* to transfer the relationship of *fin'amor* onto the relationship of marriage (See Section 3.5).

1.7. Economic and social setting of troubadour and *trouvère* lyric

Several economic and social trends, and certain features of the court and urban environments where lyric was produced, demonstrate the meaning that “capital” may have had for poets. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries were an era of strong economic expansion in France, along with Italy, the Low Countries, England, and Germany, marked by a great extension of commerce and a concentration of wealth in urban areas. A growth in income was associated with greater consumption by the nobility, who were able to divert surpluses from that expansion for their own benefit; they spent lavishly at court, and sponsored the performance of lyric poetry. Along with this expansion appeared limited opportunities for advancement for minor nobles and certain commoners; these two groups are of interest because their fortunes intersected at some points with those of the troubadours and *trouvères*.

The economic expansion, which began in the eleventh century and continued at full strength throughout the twelfth, can be gauged by the amount of new land cleared for cultivation (Duby, *Guerriers* 225-36) and the sustained increase in population. It was intimately associated with the consolidation of manorial and feudal systems of political, judicial, and economic control that were extended piecemeal, on a small scale, over the entire countryside. The lords and their families who exercised power extracted economic surplus from their local areas, which cumulatively added up to a great amount; but the burden, however heavy it must have been, still allowed for a sustained and vigorous economic growth; in many ways, the structures of

feudalism and the demands of the lords (both secular and ecclesiastical) acted as a stimulant on growth (Duby, *Guerriers* 200; Barthélemy 107).

Economic growth was associated with commercial development, including the transformation of ever-increasing areas into opportunities for profit. One sign of this is the transformation of the nature of feudal duties. Originally, beginning in the late tenth century, various duties were payable in goods, in money, or in services. Many lords came increasingly to prefer arrangements that allowed them to make a greater profit from their peasant-farmed holdings, and required cash payments; money rents, for example, became general in Picardy by the twelfth century (Spufford 241). While great landholders had most of their fields occupied by peasants who owed them various levies, they kept their best property to farm directly themselves, with their own hired labor, which produced a much greater rate of return (Duby, *Guerriers* 251-54). Great lords came increasingly to treat lands such as forests—previously kept mostly as hunting preserves—as financially valuable resources; in the twelfth century, both Count Henry I of Champagne and Count Philip I of Flanders regarded their timber as a cash crop (Spufford 245). The calculated economic management of forestry forms part of a twelfth-century lyric work by Guillem de Peiteus, “Companho, tant ai agutz d’avols conres” (P.C. 183,5). This work is more famous for its enunciation of the “lei del con,” in which sex is an endlessly renewable resource. The significance of this “law” here, however, and in the context of this study, is that it is based upon the economic productivity of the forest, and its capacity to generate a profit:

IV	
Pero dirai vos de con, cals es sa leis,	10
Com sel hom que mal n’a fai e peitz n’a pres:	
Si com outra res en merma, qui n pana, e cons en creis.	
V	
E sels qui no volran creire mos casteis	
An ho vezer pres lo bosc en un deveis:	15
Per un albre c’om hi tailla en i naison dos ho treis.	

VI

E quan lo bocx es taillatz, nais plus espes,
E·l senher no·n pert son comte no sos ses;
A revers planh hom la tala, si·l dampnatges no·i es ges.
(Guillem de Peiteus 10-12)

IV

But I will tell you about the cunt, what its nature is, as a man who has done bad things with it and taken worse from it. Although other things decrease, if someone steals from it, the cunt increases.

V

And those who do not want to heed my admonitions should go see it for themselves at a wood in a preserve: for each tree, which is cut down there, two or three grow up from it again.

VI

And when the wood is cut down, it grows back even thicker, and the lord does not lose his revenue or his income by it; the harvest is protested wrongly if there is no damage at all.

(my translation, adapted from Bond, ed. Guillem de Peiteus 11-13)

The harvesting of timber from his forest may be a new practice for Guillem, as he refers to it being protested, perhaps because it violated old custom; regarding duties and levies, lords were bound by customs that they could not always easily alter. Guillem points out, however, that there is no damage to the woods, since they renew themselves naturally. Of course, he is simply asserting his right to make use of his capital to make a profit. The vegetative image of capital, as a stock that sends up shoots or fruits as profit or harvest (*gazan*), which are compared to the benefits of the lady, is significant, and would be taken up later by Guiraut de Borneill and Guiraut Riquier (Section 1.6), and Jehan Bretel (Section 3.4). Also of importance is the notion of profit as sexual gratification, as is found with the *sobreplus* of Aimeric de Peguillan. However, there is an important difference from Aimeric's concept—apart from the more vulgar nature of the metaphor here—in that Guillem, as a great lord, disposes of the fruits of his capital freely. Aimeric, and other professional poets, must patiently wait for any dividends from his service to come their way, and must defer gratification.

The nobility spent much of their income on displays of wealth, including military equipment (much of which was for ceremony), clothing, furnishings, tournaments, and various spectacles and festivities at their courts (Duby, *Guerriers* 261-62; Spufford 249). Much of this activity was for entertainment, but it performed the vital functions in maintaining social bonds, and reproducing social capital and the relations of power. Gatherings at court permitted individuals and families to create and cement ties of solidarity, to forge alliances, to arrange marriages; a convincing exhibit of wealth could be traded in for valuable social bonds. Often, individuals paid for expensive displays at court for special occasions, simply to maintain their status in the eyes of their peers: a low-ranking knight might spend ruinous sums to equip himself for a single tournament, and spend much of the rest of his lifetime paying back the expense. In addition to paying for their own displays, spending on gifts was an important part of the economy at court. In a gift-giving society, as conceived by Mauss, gifts are given to create an obligation; the gift need have little value in itself, but symbolizes the bond that ties the recipient to the more powerful donor. Therefore, wealthy and authoritative individuals give in order to reinforce their rank or status, partly explaining the imperative of largesse in courtly culture. Several recent studies have demonstrated the dynamics of the gift economy in medieval society (Algazi et al., Cohen and de Jong, Cowell). However, the various expenses the nobles incurred often exceeded their income, and debt was a common lot, especially for the minor nobility (Duby 257-58), which may account for a certain resentment of lenders and the negative connotations of “capital and interest” and other financial terminology in courtly literature outside of lyric. Debt, however, was a necessary evil, since minor nobles needed to maintain a certain standard of living and hospitality to maintain their status; debts are an occasional subject of *tensons* and *cobla*

exchanges, often for humorous purposes, as in the *cobla* Gui d'Uisel directs to Eble d'Uisel, "N'Eble, pus endeptatz" (P.C. 194,16).

Commercial development was associated with an increase in trade and commerce, a greater circulation of money, and a concentration of wealth in the towns, all of which is in evidence in lyric poetry and especially the *tensons*. In the interest of commerce, regional lords fostered trade, guaranteeing the safe passage of merchants through their territories. They also exempted many of the towns from traditional duties; other taxes were still payable, and thus the overall rates of imposition on the towns were lower, with the growth of commerce, the revenues of the rulers were likely increased (Barthélemy 117). Money circulation increased, and Spufford discerns a revolution in the issuance of coinage beginning in the second half of the twelfth century (109-31). Various regional coins proliferated, and Europe became a multidenominational economy, with legal contracts eventually specifying denominations by specific currency. These different coins are among the articles that the *trouvères* utilize in their comparisons of value and worth in the *jeux-partis* (Section 3.4).

Within the feudal order, social stratification was quite rigid, although a limited amount of social mobility existed, which was aided by economic expansion. Individuals from two groups in particular endeavored, with relative degrees of success, to achieve status and power: the lower nobility, and the ministerials or non-noble functionaries. Each of these groups is of interest because their lives overlap with those of the troubadours and *trouvères* in certain ways. As discussed above, Köhler and Duby view the aspirations of the lower nobility as the motor force behind lyric desire. Indeed, the eleventh and twelfth centuries witnessed various arrangements and accommodations that the higher nobility reached with the lower nobles. A recruitment of a class of knights into the nobility seems to have taken place in the twelfth century. Up to the late

twelfth century, a *miles* or “knight” could come from any of different ranks, from commoners to lower and great nobility, and formed part the military force the regional lords kept at court. After the late twelfth century, however, the title of knight became restricted to the aristocracy (Barthélemy 134; see Paterson, *World* 84). Lords began to keep professional men for uses of combat; the court was increasingly restricted to men of greater rank and wealth. The petty noblemen who had served as knights at court came increasingly to occupy their own land year round, but less often as allods as previously, now more often as fiefs granted by the lord, with little independent power or authority. Barthélemy argues that, despite slight changes in the boundaries of the nobility, the same power structure continued throughout the period, with the greatest lords able to benefit from the economic surplus of the expansion, and the lower nobility continuing to occupy a marginal position (134-39).

The history of the ministerials is closely tied up with that of the poets of Arras. A “ministerial” is an agent, usually of common origin, hired by a lord for administrative tasks, and more directly subject to his control than a vassal. Many ministerials collected taxes and duties, or exercised local administrative functions, and their professional activities allowed them to amass personal financial capital. Certain ministerial families were often able to obtain positions of status and influence, which eventually provoked a negative attitude on the part of the nobility, which can be seen in the phenomenon of the *paysan parvenu* in courtly literature (Duby, *Guerriers* 287-88). The patriciates or ruling elites of the cities were among the most successful of the non-noble groups who gained power and wealth by acting as ministerials. The patriciate of Arras can trace its origins to service as ministerials to the Bishop; as early as the eleventh century, rich merchants eagerly sought available posts, as they exempted the holders from certain taxes (Duby, *Guerriers* 272). In 1194, Philip II granted Arras the status of commune, and

established the rule of the urban elites as aldermen. The urban patriciate was “bourgeois,” literally of the town, but distinguished itself from the common people, and it may be a mistake in many circumstances to view them as holding a “bourgeois” identity. Wealthy urban elites, in fact, show evidence of acting like nobles, for example in their donations to charities and religious foundations. In Arras, the bourgeois elites cultivated lyric poetry in the *Confrérie des jongleurs et bourgeois*. And while they practiced commerce by profession, elite bourgeois families invested heavily in landed wealth, much like the nobility, and married their children to individuals of rank when possible. Furthermore, as Duby remarks, “Ce qui anime à cette époque les progrès économiques, ce n’est pas encore l’accumulation d’un capital monétaire, c’est toujours l’accumulation du pouvoir, sur la terre et sur les hommes” (*Guerriers* 289). There were often limited opportunities for financial capital in the economy the Middle Ages; other types of capital brought greater benefits, and the urban elites converted their wealth to these types of capital when they could.

1.8. Lyric discourse and *fin’amor*

Lyric discourse and the code of *fin’amor* held a certain value for poets and other actors from the perspective of social, cultural, and economic capital. The code of *fin’amor* took shape at court, to suit its needs, and partly took the form of the social exchanges there. As a discourse, lyric took its substance from previously existing discourses, but these were adapted to suit new ends in the environment of the court. These earlier discourses may have included Arabic lyric (Denomy, Nykl, Menocal), Latin poetry, and popular folk tunes. Regarding the discourse’s orientation toward women, changes in Church doctrine may have been influential; these instituted a woman’s consent to marriage, and opposed the Church and the heads of noble families over

control over matrimony (Gaunt *Gender* 74-75).²⁰ Any of these models may have promoted the eroticism or the importance of the lady in lyric.

However, the single discourse that shaped lyric the most was court ritual: the gestures, formulas and verbal exchanges that were part of the reproduction of social capital of individuals and lineages at court. The extent to which lyric borrowed from feudal ceremony is remarkable. For example, Maria de Ventadorn, in a *tenson* examined in Section 2.5, states that “when he wants to beseech his lady, each and every lover will kneel and say with hands joined, ‘Lady: be willing that I serve you in humility as your vassal’” (trans. Harvey and Paterson 3: 935-37). It does seem clear that Köhler and Duby were correct in identifying the infusion of this feudal ritual with eroticism as one of the most significant features of lyric, and I believe they were correct in viewing this process as the result of the transference of ambitions—although I am not as certain as they are that they seem to be that lyric resulted from the aspirations of a single particular group such as the knights (seeking profit from their own capital); indeed it was the originality of the creators of lyric to have found a means of expression universal enough to speak to the aspirations of a broad array of individuals, including themselves, as poets seeking a place at court.

The focus on the lady can be viewed as a form of mimetic or triangular desire, in which the lady is the intermediary of exchanges in which men accumulate social capital. In the social rites of court society, women figure as gifts and objects of exchange between men (most emblematically, in marriage). For Lévi-Strauss, in fact, women are the primordial gift (Rubin; Gaunt, *Gender* 18). In medieval courts, objects of exchange and gift included, apart from women, land, horses, weapons, and garments and precious adornments, and these are also objects that are mentioned in lyric. Therefore, although its object is women, lyric is a form of speech

created by men and directed to other men (see Gaunt, *Gender* 135-58). Men did address women in love lyric, but they are called simply *domna* or *dame*, but they are without names, and without identifying characteristics, and these women do not reply. At the same time, in a love poem, it is much more common for a poet to address a named man than a named woman (see Cholakian 18). Lyric was able to portray the mimetic desire that formed part of social exchanges at court; at the same time, it also is the very form in which the poet/lover loves, since he loves the lady who is the wife of another. It is perhaps of interest that Bourdieu discusses mimetic or triangular desire within the context of the artist and the accumulation of capital, in his analysis (in *Les règles de l'art*) of Flaubert's *L'Éducation sentimentale*. As early as the time of the troubadours, this kind of desire furnished a basic schema for the life of an artist in the Western tradition, and important features of modern triangular/mimetic desire seem to have first taken form in troubadour and *trouvère* lyric.

The discourse of lyric provided the court with a measure of social control through regulation of behavior and codification of ideas regarding sexuality and gender. Within this highly homosocial society, control was facilitated partly through the fixing of ideas concerning sexuality and gender (see Aronstein). Lyric “naturalized” a specific type of heterosexuality; the extensive use of the *Natureingang* or nature setting in love poems can be understood as a sign of this. At the same time, homosexuality was stigmatized (see Section 2.3). Most importantly, *fin'amor* promoted a model of courtly service and deferral of gratification, as the troubadour's concepts of capital and profit illustrate, in place of a warrior ethos of immediate enjoyment. This model was never completely dominant, however, as the *tensons* demonstrate. Even in the name of *fin'amor*, poets often argue for taking satisfaction on the spot instead of deferring pleasure, as can be seen in “Jauseme, quel vos est semblant,” examined in the introduction. In addition, next

to the polite address of love lyric, there a bawdy and occasionally obscene register of poetry. The earliest troubadour, Guillem de Peiteus, makes use of this register, and some of the authors of the *tensons* do so as well; it is also in evidence in certain genres such as the French *pastourelle* (see Gravdal).

An example of the process in which a troubadour practiced the principles of *fin'amor* in order to accumulate various forms of capital can be found in the life of Uc de Saint Circ. Burgwinkle, in *Love for Sale*, examines Uc's works in the context of his attempts to improve his social position through his craft. In his poetry, Uc is unusually direct in his negotiations with patrons and ladies in his efforts to enhance his status. In a number of *cobla* exchanges and *cansos* involving the patrons the Count of Rodez (P.C. 457,33+185,3; 185,2a+457,33a) and the Viscount of Turenne (P.C. 460,1; 457,44+460,1a), either he or his interlocutor refers to Uc's desire for money or payment. Uc also expresses resentment of ungenerous patrons. (Burgwinkle 76-83). Uc is also capable of criticism, and in one song, "Longamen ai atenduda" (P.C. 457,18), expresses his irritation at his lady (Burgwinkle 51), and makes a veiled threat that credit can be taken away, perhaps through his songs:

Ai vista tal decazuda
Q'estava en ric resso
De valor e de faisso;
Car cella cui foldatz guida
Cuida esser enruiquida
Qand ve que siei faich menut
Intron en crim e en brut.
E poi domnna es dissenduda
Per blasme de faillimen,
No i a mais revenimen,
C'onors de loing la saluda;
Car de justa faillizo
Troba greu dompna perdo. (Uc de Saint Circ, ed. Jeanroy and Salverda de Grave 34-46)

I have seen such a one fall who had been greatly renowned for her worth and

appearance. For she who was guided by madness thinks she is enriched when she sees that her slightest deeds turn into accusations and rumors. Once a Lady has fallen from esteem due to blame over a failing, there is no coming back. Honor greets her from afar. For it is very difficult for a Lady to find pardon for a true failing. (trans. Burgwinkle 103)

A similarly somewhat instrumental view of Uc emerges from a *razo*, or prose commentary, about a song by Clara d'Anduza. Uc is, incidentally, responsible for writing many of the *razos* that exist, and may have written this one. He claims to have known and courted Clara²¹ in this *razo*, and though the narrative is somewhat involved, it sums up her relationship with Uc as follows:

[Uc] loved a Lady from Andutz whose name was Lady Clara. She was clever and learned, pleasant and beautiful. She had great desire for praise and to be heard about far and near and to have the friendship and intimacy of good ladies and noble men. Sir Uc knew about her desire and he knew just how to serve her in the way that she wanted... Lady Clara permitted Uc's beseechment and courting and she promised to give him pleasure in the rights of love. Sir Uc composed many good songs about her, beseeching her and praising her beauty and nobility. She rose in esteem on account of the songs that Sir Uc composed about her. Their love lasted for a long time and many times did they war and make peace along the way, as is the way of lovers in love. (trans. Burgwinkle 95)

To place this *razo* in context, the expressions concerning the "rights of love" and the "way of lovers in love" are highly conventional, and are found in virtually every *vida* or *razo* that deal with a poet and a lady. It is virtually impossible to tell, what, if anything, they imply about the closeness or the physicality of the relationship. What is notable, instead, is the attention the text gives to the esteem that Clara desired, and the way that Uc was able to meet the needs that Clara had, and to raise her in social standing through his songs. Uc was able to increase her social capital through his lyric compositions. Undoubtedly she offered him something in exchange: he may have been paid well, and she may have enhanced his social capital as well: he probably became more famous, and her "love," as a social act, may have consisted of access to privileged social circles. Uc may be have been slightly more mercenary than some poets, or presenting

himself as such; but the capital and the benefits of practicing poetry accumulate regardless of sincerity (even if one can measure sincerity reliably).

1.9. The practice of poetry and cultural capital

This cultural capital of the lyric poets was embodied in the knowledge and practice of a specific discourse, which is remarkable in having a name quite specific to it alone: *trobar* in Occitan,²² and *trover* in French. *Trobar/trover* include a skill at the art of composing, as well as a thorough familiarity with the tropes and themes of the tradition of lyric. In Occitan, the discourse involves the use of a literary *koinê*, a supra-regional language that is not the vernacular of any particular geographical area of Occitania. *Trover/trobar* includes a mastery of the precepts of courtly manners, of *fin'amor*, a code of conduct that underlies, implicitly and explicitly, lyric poetry. The practice of this art, then, involves not only literary craft, but also but social conduct. For Zumthor, in a parallel manner, song and love are inseparable in French lyric discourse, so that he constructs the equation *chanter = aimer*, according to which singing in the lyric mode and the loving in the manner of *fin'amor* mutually imply one another, to the point that one cannot sing a courtly song without this love, nor experience love without a knowledge of *trobar/trover* (205-18). The subjects of this discourse also have a name: they are the troubadours and the *trouvères*, the individuals who practice *trobar/trover*, the art of composition and a certain type of courtly behavior. The discourse has a long and continuous tradition built upon numerous interconnections (intertextual references in the poetry, poets and patrons who knew one another), which implies a corresponding tradition of practice and a *habitus*. This *habitus* existed for the purpose of accumulating and reproducing cultural capital.

Several types of individuals practiced troubadour and *trouvère* poetry, including the

tensons. Despite a diversity of backgrounds and lifestyles, they shared many elements of a *habitus* that gave them a similar outlook regarding literature and courtly conduct. Broadly speaking, there were two groups of troubadours and *trouvères*. First of all, there are the amateur poets, who did not draw direct economic profit from their work. This group includes great nobles, such as the first recorded troubadours, Guillem de Peiteus and Jaufre Rudel, and *tenson* participants Raimbaut d'Aurenga and Thibaut de Champagne; it also includes members of the urban elite of Arras, such as the rich merchant Jehan Bretel. Second, there are the professional poets, who probably gained at least some of their income as a result their compositions. Many of these poets, however, occupied administrative posts at court (Paterson, *World* 112-113; Aurell 236-37, 240). Many of them, for example, had clerical training that was valued for managerial and accounting tasks, and poetry may have been only a minor service provided to their patron.

A third type of individual who participated in the practice of lyric can be identified, the *joglar* (Occitan) and *jongleur* (French). In this study, these two terms will be used in their modern critical sense, to mean a professional performer of low status, who may have taken part in *tensons* but was not a composer of stature. In fact, in the Middle Ages these terms seem to have indicated a professional poet of any status. In most instances the words were not pejorative, although they could be. Faral claimed that the designation *joglar/jongleur* pertained only to the activity of performing, and *troubadour/trouvère* to the activity of composing (73-79). However, this is not exact, as Harvey has shown, at least concerning the term *joglar*, which was applied to very accomplished professional troubadours often in a matter-of-fact way (“Joglars”). At the same time, composing was a more prestigious activity than performing, so that calling a poet a simple *joglar/jongleur* could be an insult in certain contexts. Troubadours denigrate one another by accusing them of *joglaria*, “acting like a *joglar*.” Other evidence, however, does indicate that

the term *joglar* designated an individual who was only a performer, or a troubadour of low status. One later troubadour, Guiraut Riquier, is at pains to stress that he is not a *joglar* (Bossy, “Ins”). More specifically, an attendant to a troubadour may have been designated a *joglar*. Such *joglars* served troubadours in various capacities, for example as messengers to transmit songs. They may have been apprentices completing their training: some of these assistants later became troubadours in their own right (Paden, “Role”). One *tenson* between a troubadour, Bertran d’Alamano and a *joglar*, Granet, “De vos mi rancur, compaire” (P.C. 189.2=76.6), appears to refer to specific conditions of apprenticeship and service between the two men (see Section 2.1). Troubadours wrote *ensenhamens* or instructional poems to *joglars*, telling them how to become good entertainers at court, how they should perform and which texts they should memorize; on the other hand, one such work confirms that *joglars* could compose, just like troubadours (see Pirot 543-616).

One sign of a *habitus* is the profound knowledge that troubadours and *trouvères* display of previous lyric, and this involves a period of learning and practice. This knowledge is evident in several formal qualities of the songs. For love songs, for example, a new metrical combination (metrical pattern and rhyme words) is nearly always used. Occitan *tensons*, in the large majority of cases, borrow the metrical combination from a previous song. As centuries of commentators have recognized, and as Gruber has shown more thoroughly recently, composers make use of is an enormous amount of intertextual borrowing and references, including vocabulary, tropes, and entire verses. Another sign of a *habitus* can be found in an informal type of training, in the brief references to apprenticeship of *joglars* that are mentioned above. This training suggests that a long period of learning and performing songs written by others was an important pathway to become a professional troubadour. Troubadours also gave informal lessons to their patrons who

wished to learn the arts of poetry. In particular, the numerous *tensons* between patrons and poets offered the patrons opportunities for amateur lords to practice. Burgwinkle notes a song by the patron of the troubadour Uc de Saint Circ, Alberico da Romano, “Na Maria, pretz e fina valor” (P.C. 16a,2), which is closely modeled on a song by Uc (P.C. 457,22). He suggests that “Uc was Alberico’s teacher as well as his artist-in-residence, a role that other poets might have played at the courts for which they wrote” (60).

A *habitus* and a specialized discourse are generally associated not only with a specific sphere of activity, but also an institution or location. There are two types of location that fostered lyric production: networks at the court and networks at the city. Harvey offers a succinct description of an Occitan court:

This term could evoke a place or a series of places, for courts could be itinerant, especially in the case of great princes, who were obliged to travel their lands to govern and administer their subjects effectively... The composition of the court would have varied according to location and occasion; it could include local vassals and clerics, tenants, visitors, and, in baronial residences, the members of the lord’s family, ladies and their female companions, and other noble children (*noiriz*) whose upbringing had been entrusted to him. (“Courtly Culture” 11-12)

The primary functions of the courts were political, judicial, military, and economic. Lyric was only one of its activities, and though it functioned as entertainment, it also played a role in social and political exchanges (see above, Section 1.8).

Courts were centers of spending. They hired short-term entertainers and employed clerics (who also might contribute poetry) in longer-term administrative posts. Occitania and northern Italy, where the Occitan *tensons* were performed beginning in the late twelfth century, were among the regions that benefited earliest from this economic resurgence. Arras, by the mid-thirteenth century, which was the setting for the French *jeux-partis*, was among the most active mercantile centers of Europe. The networks along which lyric developed were well connected.

The number of courts in these networks was initially small, but they were closely connected in a number of ways. Poets traveled to the various courts of Occitania; and the courts were related through intermarriage. Several courts and centers were particularly important for the nurturing of the *tenson*; these include the courts of Geoffrey of Brittany (where the first Occitan *partimen* and the first French *jeu-parti* originated), Dalfi d'Alvergne, Thibaut de Champagne, as well as the city of Arras.

Arras hosted a particular set of institutions especially dedicated to poetry: the Puy d'Arras, an regular poetic competition, and the Confrérie des bourgeois et jongleurs d'Arras, a social and religious confraternity for poetry, to which many of the participants of the Puy belonged, and for which there exists a historically extensive necrology, which is edited by Berger (*Nécrologe*). Like the courts, the Arras poetic circle assembled both elite amateurs and professional poets.

1.10. Voice and capital in the *tenson*

Voice, defined as the attribution of discourse to an individual, is a prominent feature of lyric discourse. The voice of lyric includes the first-person “I” that speaks of intense emotional experiences, which tends to individualize the discourse. At the same time, there is the strong attachment of the name of an author or composer to each song. Not only did the troubadours and *trouvères* place their own names inside the texts of their verses, to ensure that their fame, but they composed their texts in such a way that they were not easy for others to modify (Van Vleck 79-194), almost a kind of copyright. Through these means, the poets attempted to appropriate the stream of rewards that accrued from their activity, which must have been profitable (in terms of social capital, as it seems doubtful they would have earned any future economic gains, at least

directly, from their work).

The *habitus* of lyric discourse encourages professional performers to find and develop a distinctive voice, to be able to be recognized and earn the benefits of social and economic capital. To some degree, the notion of voice here corresponds to style. In addition to differentiating themselves individually, poets sometimes classed themselves in schools of styles. Troubadours became attached to a number of different tendencies, such as *trobar clus*, *trobar ric*, and *trobar leu*. In terms of capital, these schools can be seen as sorts of marketing labels intended for different consumer segments. *Trobar leu*, for instance, which is easy to understand, is for a more general audience—those who do not wish to be challenged by formal contrivances or unusual vocabulary or syntax. The economic and social benefits come more easily, though the poet may not be as highly regarded for his effort. *Trobar clus*, on the other hand, is a difficult style, intended for a small and elite public who are initiated into the finer subtleties of troubadour verse and who alone are capable of fully appreciating this style (see Mölk; Bossy, “*Trobar*”). *Trobar clus* is an attempt to convert cultural capital into symbolic capital: it is a type of specialized aesthetic, a kind of troubadouresque “l’art pour l’art.”

The different types of benefits that accrue to these two styles, *trobar leu* and *trobar clus*, are clearly illustrated in the well-known *tenson* between Raimbaut d’Aurenga and Guiraut de Borneill, “Era·m platz, Guiraut de Borneill” (P.C. 389,10a=282,14). Raimbaut begins the discussion by saying that he has heard that Guiraut has been criticizing the *trobar clus*, and asks why Guiraut would defend a simple common style. Raimbaut was indeed one of the more prominent and consistent proponents of “difficult” *trobar clus* (Raimbaut d’Aurenga, ed. Pattison 51-52). Guiraut composed in multiple styles; in fact, like Raimbaut he composed in *trobar clus* (see Section 1.6), but also in *trobar leu* (Guiraut de Borneill, ed. Sharman 37-44),

which is the school he defends here.

I	
[Linhaure]	
Era·m platz, Guiraut de Borneill, que sapcha per c'anatz blasman trobar clus, ni per cal semblan. Aiso·m diguaz:	
si tan prezatx	5
so que vas totz es cominal; car adonx tug seraun egal.	
II	
[Guiraut]	
Senher Linhaure, no·m correill si quex troba a son talan; mas me eis vueill jutgar d'aitan	10
qu'es mais amatx chans e prezatx qui·l rai levet e venansal; e vos no m'o tornetz en mal.	
III	
[Linhaure]	
Guiraut, no vueill qu'en tal trepeill	15
torn mos trobars que·l alogan l'avol co·l bon e·l paue co·l gran. Ja per los fatx non er lauzatz,	
quar no conoison ni lur cal	20
so que plus quar es ni mais val.	
IV	
[Guiraut]	
Linhaure, s'ieu per aiso veil ni mon sejour torn en afan, sembla que·m dopte de mazan.	
A que trobatx	25
si no vas platz c'ades ho sapchon tal e cal? Que chans no port autre captal.	
V	
[Linhaure]	
Guiraut, sol que·l meils apareill	30
e digu'ades e·l tragu'enan, me no cal si tan no s'esperan, c'anc grans viutatz no fo denhtatz: per so prez'om mais aur que sal,	

e de chant es tot autretal. 35

VI

[Guiraut]

Linhaure, fort de bon conseil

es, fis amans contrarian,

e pero si'm val mais d'enfan

mos sos levatz

c'uns enraumatz 40

lo·m deissazec ni·m digua mal,

qe no·l deing ad home sesal.

VII

[Linhaure]

Guiraut, per sel ni per soleil

ni per la clardat que resplan,

no sai de que·ns anem parlan, 45

ni don fui natz—

si soi torbatz,

tan pres d'un fin joi natural!

Can d'als cansir no m'es coral.

VIII

[Guiraut]

Linhaure, si·m vira·l vermeill 50

de l'escut cela cui reblan,

que vueill dir 'a Dieu me coman'!

Cals fols pensatz

outracuidatz

me trais doptansa desleial! 55

No·m sove com mi fes comtal?

IX

[Linhaure]

Guiraut, greu m'es, per saint Marsal,

quar vas n'anatz de sai nadal.

X

[Guiraut]

Linhaure, que vas cart reial

m'en vauc ades rich'e cabal. 60

I

[Linhaure] Now I should like to know, Guiraut de Borneill, why you go around blaming the closed style of composition, and for what reason. Tell me this: do you have such a high regard for what is available to everyone? For then all will be equal.

II

[Guiraut] Lord Linhaure, I do not complain if everyone composes according to his taste; but for myself, I am inclined to judge this far, that a song is more liked and prized if it is made light and popular—and do not take me wrongly in this.

III

[Linhaure] Guiraut, I do not wish my composition to be so trampled on that the base and the good, the great and the small should have it for hire. It will not be praised by fools, for they do not know or care what is most precious or valuable.

IV

[Guiraut] Linhaure, if I lose sleep over this and make a hard task out of what should give me pleasure, it seems I am afraid of popular acclaim. Why compose a song if you do not wish everyone to get to know it straight away? For song brings no other capital.

V

[Linhaure] Guiraut, as long as I compose what is best and forthwith sing and bring it to people's attention, I do not care if it is not known very far and wide, for common fodder was never a great delicacy: this is why gold is more highly prized than salt, and it is just the same for song.

VI

[Guiraut] Linhaure, you are highly discerning when you argue against courtly lovers, and yet I prefer my tune to be sung high and clearly by a child than to have it garbled and badly delivered by some croaker, for I do not judge it fit for a mercenary dependent.

VII

[Linhaure] Guiraut, by sky and sun and light that shines, I have no idea what we have been talking about, nor from what parents I was born. I am so confused, so much am I captivated by a pure and natural joy! When I think of anything else this means nothing to me.

VIII

[Guiraut] Linhaure, the lady I serve so turns the crimson side of the shield towards me that I feel like saying 'I commend myself to God'! – What disloyal doubt drew me to such foolish, outrageous thoughts! Have I forgotten how she made me equal to a count?

IX

[Linhaure] By Saint Martial, Guiraut, I am sorry you are leaving here this side of Christmas.

X

[Guiraut] Linhaure, this is because I am now on my way to a rich and splendid royal court.

The most telling remark of all in the entire dialogue, in the context of capital accumulation and exchange, is Guiraut's statement that his song needs to be circulated, for "Que chans no port autre captal" 'For song brings no other capital' (28). Songs in the style of *trobar leu* are easy to understand because they are destined for a large audience. *Trobar leu* promotes a flow of cultural goods that can be viewed as "mass" circulation ("mass" in opposition to *trobar clus*, since

troubadour and *trouvère* lyric were likely relevant to a rather restricted segment of the entire medieval population). When Guiraut assesses the esteem or “price” of a song—how much it is *prezatz*—he looks at how well known it is: the more popular, the better (11-13). He prefers for a child, who is presumably not a specialist in troubadour lyric, to be able to sing his song with ease and transmit the song to others, than for a professional *joglar* to perform a song with difficult words and perhaps distort them (38-42). In this way, at least, the integrity of his cultural product remains intact, and his prestige is more secure.

Trobar clus is a refined mode of production intended for a niche market, an elite and informed public. To defend *trobar clus*, Raimbaut invokes the principle of the distinction that is at the heart of lyric production and the *habitus* of the lyric poet. Troubadours and *trouvères* are cultural elites, and scorn what is *vilain*, or vulgar: Raimbaut’s main reproach to Guiraut, when he opens the *tenson*, is that in placing a high price on *trobar leu* he disregards what is distinctive in lyric, and places it on the same level as the commonplace and vulgar (6-7). Raimbaut is apprehensive about his songs being misused and misunderstood by those outside the cultural elite, since his cultural products would lose their distinctiveness and their value (15-21). Raimbaut is quite opposed to the notion of *capdal*, which derives from the universe of money, commerce, and gain. He seems to criticize Guiraut’s strategy as venal, perhaps even cynical. One might compare this to the definition of the cynic of Oscar Wilde (a late Victorian paragon of symbolic capital): “A man who knows the price [*pretzar* 5, 12, 34] of everything [*venensal, cominal*], but the value but value of nothing [*plus quar es ni mais val* 21]” (Act 3, *Lady Windermere’s Fan*).

As a form of symbolic capital (instead of cultural capital), *trobar clus* renounces general popularity, as Guiraut remarks (24), and the vulgar sort of self-interest of market *capdal* and the

social and economic motivations exchange. Pertinent here is Bourdieu's description of symbolic capital: its "very functioning is defined by a 'refusal' of the 'commercial' which is in fact a collective disavowal of commercial interests and profits, the most 'anti-economic' and most visibly 'disinterested' behaviours, which in an 'economic' universe would be those most ruthlessly condemned" (*Field* 75). Yet, as Bourdieu goes on to comment, this disavowal is only a kind of bracketing or provisional deferral, for symbolic goods bring their own rewards. Even those artists who claim to renounce exchange and the market reap gains of some kind, such as social recognition. Raimbaut's strategy of accumulation is simply different than Guiraut's, not avowedly or overtly self-interested. This contradiction is illustrated in the most notable argument that Raimbaut utilizes to exemplify his position, the worth of gold and salt (34). This paradox is quite ancient; it was posed by Aristotle and was known to the medieval scholastic philosophers: why is something that is so useful so cheap, but something of little intrinsic usefulness so valuable (Gordon, "Aristotle"). Adam Smith immortalized this in the *Wealth of Nations* in what has become known as this diamond-water paradox:²³ "Nothing is more useful than water: but it will purchase scarce any thing; scarce any thing can be had in exchange for it. A diamond, on the contrary, has scarce any value in use; but a very great quantity of other goods may frequently be had in exchange for it" (43). Raimbaut here uses the example of gold and salt (34)—punning, of course, on his own name: the word for gold, "aur," stands in for his own name, "(Raimbaut d')Aurenga," implying he is of more value than the common salt of other troubadours. The core of Raimbaut's comparison, as Canettieri points out, is that fine goods are worthier because they are scarcer than common ones, and thus more desirable; and they must remain scarce in order to remain valuable. Canettieri draws parallels with other troubadours who oppose *caritatz* 'dearness' with *viltatz* 'cheapness' (83-85). It is important to remember that *viltatz* has a very

strong ethical and even moral connotation, especially in lyric discourse, which defines itself at its most fundamental level as a distinction from what is common, that which is *vilain*, that which is *viltatz*.

According to the dominant principles of lyric discourse, Raimbaut seems to have the better of the argument. Guiraut seems aware of his disadvantage and his inability to win the debate according to these terms: he is concessionary in his claims at several points (8-9, 14). He does, however, call attention to the fact that Raimbaut himself gains benefits from his poetry, and participates in circuits of exchanges, just as he does. In Stanza VI, Guiraut compares his mode of circulation of his songs with Raimbaut's. Guiraut would prefer a general public to have access to his songs, instead of them being confined to specialized performers who have a pecuniary interest in the affair: "qe no·l deing ad home sesal" 'for I do not judge it fit for a mercenary dependent' (42). Before this remark, Raimbaut had admitted that he was concerned about his poetry in the *trobar clus* style being misunderstood and devalued by a general circulation (18-22): evidently he is concerned with his own prestige and standing, and the rewards that come from creating lyric. Finally, the metaphor that he uses for his own voice and style of poetry, "aur," is indeed a substance that is not generally a commodity, and is of great value. But it is a substance that can be exchanged for other goods, as Smith points out, and that is its primary purpose: as a medium of exchange. Quite often, gold is retained for ritual or symbolic display, much like symbolic capital. But gold and gold objects (such as jewelry) are always kept because they are valuable, and in large part because, despite all protestations to the contrary, they can be converted in times of necessity into economic value. Symbolic capital, while it appears to function in its own noneconomic universe—and does have its own subsidiary types of markets of and laws—is still simply a form of capital that can be exchanged for social and economic capital

under certain conditions. These conditions are an express disavowal of interest, which must have a certain degree of sincerity to be effective, and which the consumer of such symbolic goods looks for and requires (Bourdieu, *Field* 75-76).

In any case, both *trobar clus* and *trobar leu* coexisted for a time during the history of troubadour lyric, even if *trobar clus* was a rather restricted kind of avant-garde that was had its day and then passed out of fashion. Its has retained its value, however, as many artistic productions invested with symbolic capital do, and its most ardent practitioners, such as Marcabru and Raimbaut d'Aurenga, are highly esteemed today; Guiraut de Borneill, though among the most highly regarded troubadours of his generation, is not among the most studied Occitan lyric poets of modern times. *Trobar leu* as a style did come to dominate troubadour lyric, and it is noteworthy that *trouvères* wrote exclusively in this style.

In the love songs, poets also use a personal voice or style—vocabulary, tropes, and *topoi*—in order to maximize the rewards coming to them. Marcabru, for example, developed his particular interpretation of *fin'amor* that was severely critical of adultery and misogynistic in many respects. Bernart de Ventadorn created a characteristic style based on a certain lexicon and themes of being betrayed by women and abandoning love. Thibaut de Champagne adopts a certain persona, that of the lover who is devoted and hopeless, but adds to it a curious aspect of immobility and resignation (Thibaut, ed. Brahney xvii-xxii). Moniot de Paris is somewhat less courtly in tone and incorporates formal elements of lower-register styles (O'Neill 135-36). The troubadours and *trouvères* not only create their own voices, but borrow phrases, tropes, *topoi*, and music from one another, giving rise to a rich dialogue inside lyric discourse (see Meneghetti)—even if all these types of voice remain within monologic discourse, according to the thinking of Bakhtin.

Other types of voice in lyric, especially the *tenson*, are more dialogic, in Bakhtin's mode of analysis. There are a few cases of fictive *tensons*, in which an author creates a voice, a kind of stylized parody or caricature of another troubadour. In Bakhtin's terms, they can be viewed as forms of what he terms *stylization*, which is a heteroglossic trait not proper to the lyric, but to the novel. Stylization is a kind of borrowed voice or style, "an artistic representation of another's linguistic style, an artistic image of another's language" (Bakhtin 362). Such is the case with a *tenson* with a pseudo-Bernart de Ventadorn (P.C. 70,32), in which the voice of Bernart was likely written as a pastiche of the original poet's style (see Section 2.1). There is the case of Rofin, who, if Harvey and Paterson are correct, may be a parody of a legal expert in "Rofin, diguatz m'ades de quors" (P.C. 249a,1=426,1) (see Section 2.5). Finally, stylization may be found in some of the voices of a few obscene male-female *tensons*, which in my view are not authored by two poets, and in which the female voice is a constructed representation of another's speech²⁴—in this case, the language of erotic or pornographic speech instead of a sociolect.

The voices of speakers who utilize a *jongleuresque* register are rather dialogic as well. This register of speech, discussed in Section 2.1, is often associated with *joglars* and *jongleurs*, and includes insults, boasts, and coarse language. It is conceivable that it may have had something to do with the real speech of the professional performers of court, who may have spoken in rough language and been openly critical of their superiors. But it also seems to be partly a Bakhtinian *stylization*, or depicted speech, that troubadours created as appropriate to them. For this *jongleuresque* register is found in the speech of many *joglars* in *tensons*, but is not particular to them, and troubadours and aristocratic patrons also use it. Instead, this *jongleuresque* register seems to represent a kind of speech appropriate to indicate antagonism or disrespect, especially towards a lower-status individual. But even if this type of speech was in

part a stylized register, it does not mean that that it was completely imposed on *jongleurs*; they may have seen it as a kind of voice expected of them, but only one of many, and one voice that was particularly apt to bring economic and social rewards if they sang in it.²⁵

The speech of patrons, like the speech of *joglars* and *jongleurs*, in many ways overlaps with that of troubadours and *trouvères*. Great lords who were accomplished poets, after all, were troubadours and *trouvères* just as much as professional poets, and competed with them for status in the profession. Some lords who were patrons, however, were only amateur poets, and did not really learn to compose love poetry, or at least have not left any behind, although they did exchange *tensons* with troubadours and *trouvères*. Their voices are individualized in a variety of ways: sometimes, these patrons make use of their position of power; sometimes, they make their voices similar to that of their troubadour interlocutors, Geoffrey does in the *tenson* “Jauseme, quel vos est semblant.” In various cases, patrons seem to adopt a voice that will bring them credit, or prestige—in other words, social capital. Participating in poetry is normally a strategy of accumulating cultural capital, but this may be only an intermediary step, with the aim of exchanging cultural capital for social capital.

Women’s voices are also included among those of troubadours and *trouvères*. Women troubadours—the *trobairitz*—and women *trouvères* were responsible for a small but significant portion of the output of love poetry in both traditions. Various scholars have debated the extent to which women’s voices in lyric poetry differ from those of men’s (and these debates are discussed in Section 2.5). To a great extent, women were confined, like all other poets, by the rather strictly defined roles and the values of lyric discourse and *fin’amor*. While women poets never call into question the basic dynamics of this relationship, they do use the discourse to their advantage, and express initiative at times, and show that they are not always mere objects of

desire, but subjects who can articulate desire in lyric. Some women's voices also utilize a *jongleuresque* tone, and belong to that register as well.

1.11. The compilation of *tensons* in the manuscript tradition

A final and fairly brief note will be made here of the manuscript tradition of the *tensons*, which furnishes information regarding the manner in which medieval audiences understood *tensons*, and the motivations and rewards authors may have had for composing and performing them. This kind of information is indirect, of course, but is still precious, given the small amount of evidence of any kind available regarding medieval composition and performance practice.

Since the *tensons* are generally detached from the love songs in the songbooks, and placed after them, this suggests that they can serve as a kind of gloss or appendix, a commentary or dictionary concerning the themes contained in the *cansos* and the *chansons d'amour*. In most cases, this kind of commentary appears as a dialogic explication of *fin'amor*. French songbook *I* (Oxford Bodleian Library Douce 308), for example, makes this clear by introducing the *jeux-partis* with a rather large opening miniature (f. 187r) of a trellised garden containing ten men and women paired off in conversation and displaying various gestures and attitudes (favorable and less favorable).²⁶

The Occitan compilation of *tensons* offers a fascinating history of textual transmission. A large part of the of the manuscript tradition of organization of *tensons* seems to trace back to a collection that, if I am correct, was first gathered by Uc de Saint Circ, and which presents a view of the *tenson* as the product of close collaboration between professional poets and patrons, and a mutual exchange in which both parties accumulate valuable capital. There is little doubt concerning the existence of this original collection—Gröber's and Pulsoni's "Ur-Buch"—which

served as the ancestor to the *tenson* collections in Occitan songbooks *A* and *D* (and in the now-lost section of *B*). A source collection most closely related to *D* served as the base for the “twin” songbooks *I* and *K*. In turn, an *IK*-like source served as a base for the ancestor text of *a* and *O*, which utilized a curious procedure of intercalating texts from an additional source at precise intervals in its compilation. This process of precise, regular intercalation is repeated in songbook *E*, then in turn *C*, then in *G*, and finally in *Q*. For those who are familiar with the theories of Gröber and Avalle concerning the relationships of troubadour manuscripts, these observations are not surprising. Nonetheless, the successive evolutionary developments of the *tenson* sections are relatively independent of the transformations of the main *canso* sections (which are the focus of the research of Gröber and Avalle, and to some extent of Zufferey); the two processes take place simultaneously.

The claim that Uc de Saint Circ collected and compiled the first book of *tensons* is requires some justification, and the proof is circumstantial, although abundant. Uc very likely collected *tensons* at various courts he visited. Uc’s travels can be surmised through his *vida*, which describes the courts that the poet visited, and his songs, some of which can be associated with various courts and dated. Significantly, the likely locations and dates of the *tensons* in *A*, *B*, and *D* closely correspond to the locations and dates of Uc’s travels. There is no such correspondence between the travels of any other troubadour and the *tensons* in *ABD*.

First, there is the evidence from Uc’s *vida*. The Occitan *vidas* are short, often formulaic, biographical texts, which accompany the lyric texts in the songbooks. Scholarly consensus now acknowledges Uc as the author of many, if not most, of the *vidas* (Burgwinkle 35). The *vida* for Uc is quite long; here is the version that occurs in *Chansonnier A* (the *vidas* are missing in *D*,²⁷ the manuscript probably most closely associated with Uc and his patron Alberico da Romano):

N'Ucs de Sain Circ si fo de Caersin, d'un borc que a nom Tegra. Fills fon d'un paubre vavassor que ac nom N'Arman de Sain Circ, per so qe·l castels don el fo si avia nom Sain Circ, q'es a pe de Santa Maria de Rocamaor, qe fo destruitz et derrochatz per gerra. Aqest N'Ucs si ac gran ren de fraires majors de se. Et volgron lo far clerc, e manderont lo ad escola a Monpeslier. E qand ill cuideron qu'el apreses letras, *el apres tensesos e cansos e vers e sirventes e coblas*, e·ls faitz e·ls ditz del valens homes que eron adoncs ni que eron estat denan; et ab aquest saber el s'en joglari. E·l coms de Rodes e·l vescoms de Torenna si·l leveron mout en la joglaria, ab las coblas et ab las tensesos que ill feiron ab lui. Lonc temps estet ab la comtessa de Benauges, e per lieis gazaignet l'amistat d'En Savaric de Malleon, lo cals lo mes en arnes et en raubas. Et estet lonc temps ab el en Peitieux et en las soas encontradas; e pois en Cataloigna et en Aragon et en Espaigna, ab lo bon rei N'Anfos de Lion et ab lo rei Peire d'Aragon; e pois en Proenssa, ab totz los baros, e pois en Lombardia et en la Marca Tervisana. E pres moiller en Tervisana gentil et bella. Gran ren apres del autrui saber e volontiers l'enseignet ad autrui. Chanssons fetz fort bonas e bons sos e bonas coblas. Mas anc no fo fort enamoratz, mas ben se saup feigner enamoratz; e mot saup ben a levar las soas dompnas e ben decazer. Et aqui son esriutas gran ren de las soas chanssos. (Pakscher and De Lollis 479; emphasis added)

Sir Uc de Saint Circ was from Quercy, from a town named Thégra. He was the son of a poor *vavasseur* named Armand de Saint Circ, because the castle where he was from was named Saint Circ, which is situated at the foot of Sainte-Marie de Rocamadour; the castle was destroyed and ruined by the war. This Uc had a great number of older brothers. They wanted to make a cleric of him, and they sent him to school in Montpellier. And when they thought he was learning letters, he was learning *tensesos* and *vers* and *sirventes* and *coblas*, and the deeds and sayings of the worthy men of that time and of times before; and with this knowledge he became a jongleur. And the count of Rodez and the viscount of Turenne raised him in the art of *jonglerie*, through the *coblas* and the *tensesos* that they exchanged with him. He stayed for a long time with the countess of Benauges, and through her he won the friendship of Savaric de Malleo, who gave him arms and clothing. And he stayed for a long time in Poitou and the area around it; and then he stayed in Catalonia and in Aragon and in Spain, with the good King Alfonso of Leon and with King Peter of Aragon; and then he stayed in Provence, with all its lords, and then in Lombardy and in the Marca Trevigiana. And in the Marca Trevigiana, he took a noble and beautiful wife. He gained much knowledge from others and gladly taught it to others. He composed very good songs and good music and good strophes. But he was never greatly in love, though he knew how to feign being in love; and he knew well how to elevate his ladies and how to humble them. And here are written many of his songs. (my translation)

The *vida* is of interest for a number of reasons. However, what is of concern here is the list of courts that he visited, where he could have exchanged *tensesos*, or witnessed and recorded them.

As a troubadour, observing and taking note was how he came to be acquainted with the craft initially, at school, and it seems to have been a propensity that he kept, as author of *vidas* and *razos*—and, if I am correct, of *tensons* as well.

Second, there is the evidence of the courts that Uc mentions in his poetry, and where he could have collected *tensons*. There is a close correspondence between the *tensons* in *D* and the courts he visited. He mentions the following patrons from Occitania, from his travels there in the period 1211-1219/1220: Savaric de Malleo; Guillerma de Benauges; Dalfi d'Alvergne and his wife, the Countess of Montferrand; Maria de Ventadorn; Raimon III, Viscount of Turenne (and brother of Maria de Ventadorn); Azalais d'Autier; Clara d'Anduza; Enric I, Count of Rodez; Raimon VII, Count of Toulouse, and his wife, Sancha; Guillem del Baus; and the Countess of Provence, Garsenda de Forcalquier (widow of Count Alfonso II and mother of Count Raimon Berenguer IV) and/or her daughter-in-law Beatrice of Savoy (wife of Raimon Berenguer IV). From 1220, he was exclusively in Italy, and he mentions the following patrons here: Ezzelino and Alberico da Romano; Rizzardo di San Bonifacio, Count of Verona, and his wife (for a short time) and sister of the da Romanos, Lady Cunizza; Conrado Malaspina, his daughter Selvaggia and his niece Maria d'Auramala; Emperor Frederick II; Azzo VII d'Este; Ardizzone da Vercellis of Padua; Donella of Brescia; Alais of Videnella; Lady Stazailla, from Treviso; Manfredi Lancia of Milan (Burgwinkle 50; Boutière and Schutz).

Third, there is the evidence of the *tensons* in the *Chansonniers A* and *D* (and the index of *B*). For the purposes of comparison, I have taken *D*, since this songbook is the earliest, with a copyist having signed a date of 1254. Listed separately in a footnote²⁸ are thirty-one works in the *D*'s *tenso* section, along with the dates and locations of composition (where known), and their probable relation to Uc de Saint Circ. Remarkably, a majority of works, seventeen, are either

partly composed by Uc, or can be traced to courts named in Uc's *vida*, or to courts Uc mentions in his poetry. Another four are from Provence and Spain, which Uc visited. This amounts to twenty-one out of thirty-one, or two-thirds; if only more complete information were available about the dates and locations of the other works, the proportion might be higher. Even more astonishing are the dates of the works, which correspond to Uc's departure for Italy.²⁹ All of the works that are from Occitania or Spain are from 1220 or before (a few works are impossible to date with precision). Most of the works from Italy date after 1220; two (numbers 508 and 515 in manuscript *D*) are from earlier—Uc may have located them there after his arrival.

Corroborating Uc's selection of these particular *tensons* is the admiration expressed in the *vidas* (which he probably wrote) for several patrons who figure prominently in the *tenson* collection. Most notable among these patrons are Savaric de Malleo and Dalfi d'Alvergne. Savaric de Malleo is at the head of the entire collection of *tensons* (the head of a collection is often a position of significance in many medieval manuscripts). The praise of Savaric in his *vida* is particularly fulsome; unusually, the *vida* is partly in the first person, as if the narrator (Uc?) feels the need to personally relate either a sincere admiration, or to demonstrate a powerful acquaintance. The *vida* concludes: "E dels sieus bons faichs se poria far un gran libre, qui lo volgues escrire, con d'aquellui que ac plus en si d'umelitat e de merce e de franquessa, e que mais fez de bons faichs d'ome qu'eu anc vis ne auzis, e plus n'avia voluntat de far" (Boutière and Schutz 220) 'And about his good deeds one could write a large book, whoever wanted to write it. For he possessed more humility and grace and sincerity and performed more good deeds than anyone I have every seen or heard of, and he had the desire to do even more' (trans. Egan 102). Dalfi's *vida* also gives him unusually high acclaim. Elsewhere, Uc, in his own *vida*, is said to have been raised by Dalfi in the art of *joglaria*, and Dalfi presumably gave him much

information about the art. Dalfi may have supplied Uc with stories about troubadours—such as information for the *vida* of Peire d’Alvergne (Boutière and Schutz 264)—as well as their texts (including their *tensons*).

Along with the *vidas*, a brief examination of the *tensons* makes clear one of Uc’s purposes in his compilation. A large number of them involve dialogues between troubadours and patrons. Uc depicts the *tenson* as a courtly art in which troubadours display their knowledge to their patrons, who reward the poets for their services. Uc may also be boasting of his personal acquaintance with the patrons in the collection.

Uc’s compilation of a collection of *tensons* would be quite in keeping with his collection and authorship of other closely related works. He is responsible for the compilation of the *Liber Alberici*, a collection of songs that was the source of one section of manuscript *D* (conventionally referred to as *D^a*); he authored many or most of the prose *vidas* and *razos*, and he is likely the author of the *Donatz Proenzals*, an Occitan grammar (Burgwinkle 136). It is difficult to overstate the importance of Uc in the history of troubadour lyric. As Burgwinkle notes: “As the ‘inventor’ (*trobador*) of what we now call the troubadour, through his critical and biographical writings, he is also responsible for some of the ideological trappings with which that figure has come to be associated” (34-35).

The other collections of *tenson* in songbooks have yet to be investigated. *I* and *K*, which constitute a rearrangement and enlargement of an *ABD*-like source, show evidence for favoring the works of Aimeric de Peguillan and Peirol, and for being produced for the Este family. *E* displays *joglars* more prominently than any earlier compilation. But these are only preliminary observations; the compilation of *tensons* in manuscripts certainly deserves further study.

It is important to recall that the *tensons* (like lyric songs in general) were mostly copied out after the era of the troubadours and the *trouvères*, so that it seems logical that compilers and audiences view these works as a kind of explication or gloss for courtly lyric. It was certainly not a foregone conclusion that *tensons*—or lyric songs in general, for that matter—would be collected and preserved as well as they are. It makes sense to view this work of compilation next to other activities that contextualized lyric poetry. Significantly, Uc de Saint Circ, along with compiling the first *tenson* songbook (if he did so), was also busy with writing *vidas* and *razos*, as well as the *Donatz Proenzals*, an Occitan grammar. A parallel effort is evident in French literature beginning in the thirteenth century, with the appearance of narrative works that incorporated selections of troubadour and *trouvère* lyric, either an ornamental accompaniment to the narration (*Le Roman de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dole*), or as source material for the fanciful biography of the author (*Le Roman du Châtelain de Coucy*) (Boulton, Butterfield, Paden “Old Occitan”). Just as the *tensons* were being compiled, these narrative texts attest to an intensive effort to understand, appropriate, and integrate lyric, perhaps in part because of its enormous cultural prestige, which the troubadours and *trouvères* had so successfully built up.

Notes to Chapter 1

¹ See Billy 274-74. The academic distinction between Catalan and Occitan lyric is largely one of convention. Lyric works by Catalan authors during the activity of Occitan troubadours, up to near the end of the thirteenth century, are generally classified along with Occitan lyric, and thus included in this study. From the fourteenth century, Catalan lyric is classified separately: see Parramon i Blasco. Occitan lyric after the thirteenth century is also inventoried separately: see Zufferey, *Bibliographie*.

² This standard is accepted by most important modern scholarship on the *tenson*, including all of the repertories, editions, and major studies, including those by Zenker, Pillet and Carstens, Frank, Bonnarel, Harvey and Paterson, Spanke, Fiset, Långfors, and Linker.

In the corpus, five works do not meet the criterion of length, but are included in the corpus (these are noted in the Appendix under Notes for the Occitan and French sections). Four Occitan *tensons* are completely lost, and known only from manuscript indices. From Occitan *Chansonniers B* and *R*, there are four lost works: “Bella dompna si·us plaz” (P.C. 15a,1), “Aimeric, cill que·us fai aman languir” (P.C. 27,1=9,2), “Guilhem de Mur...” (P.C. 248,35=226,6), and “Marques una partida·us fatz” (P.C. 248,54=296,3). In the French tradition, the single stanza “Gautier, jou tieng a grant folor” (R 1986 bis), is very likely a fragment from a *jeu-parti*. All such other short works are excluded from the corpus, but “Gautier” is included in Långfors’s edition, the standard reference and source for *jeux-partis*, and the omission of this single work from the corpus might, in this instance, cause more confusion than retaining it.

³ The rubrics I noted for open *tensons* are “partimentz” for P.C. 163,1 in *L* and “partimen” for P.C. 184,1 in *C*.

⁴ See Dragonetti (in particular 18-21) for a instructive explication of Dante’s conceptions regarding French lyric.

⁵ An exception is Occitan *Chansonnier T*. The first folios, 68v-88, are made up (mostly) of *tensons* and *coblas*; 89-110, by a collection of works by Peire Cardenal, and the rest by a collection of various *cansos*. However, *T* is not large or lavishly-produced songbook, nor does it appear to have any preconceived planned sections or structure (it begins on the verso of a folio).

⁶ Aubrey notes three cases of melodies, each of which is used for two different songs: P.C. 80,37 and 305,10, P.C. 242,51 and 335,7, and P.C. 335,49 and 404,11 (49). There are also cases in which poets allude to setting their songs to the music of a previously existing song. In addition to the two discussed below, there are two separate mentions of a *son de Gui*, which may or may not be connected, and may not even refer to music, since both seem primarily associated with a metrical structure, the alexandrine, and, more or less directly, the *chanson de geste*. Peire Bremon Ricas Novas mentions the *son* in his *cobla* “Un vers voill comenza el son de meser Gui” (P.C. 330,20), which is a reply to a *cobla* that Gui de Cavaillo wrote against him, “Avez auzit q’En Ricas Novas ditz de mi” (192,1). Peire Bremon copies the unusual 14-verse stanza structure, along with the *coblas* end in “Oi,” as in a *chanson de geste*, which likewise often uses

alexandrines. Uc de Saint Circ refers to this *son* in “Un sirventes vuelh far en aquest son d’En Gui” (457,42). There is no exact model in terms of both meter and rhyme for Uc’s song; Uc may be referring to the meter of the exchange between Gui de Cavaillo and Peire Bremon. However, with “Gui” Uc may be alluding instead, quite independently, to a *chanson de geste* (such as Gui de Nanteuil) which was much more habitually written in alexandrines than troubadour verse.

⁷ See Palmieri, *quaestiones* II, VII, XII, XCVIII, CXL, XCLVII. Kantorowicz edits only *quaestiones* from a previously unreported manuscript from the *Stemma Bulgaricum* tradition; other *quaestiones* from other manuscripts had already been edited in Latin by Patetta and Palmieri. The entire corpus, however, remains relatively inaccessible, and has received little commentary; Kantorowicz’s 1938 volume contains the best single description of it (81-85).

⁸ “Nunc autem qui per totam fere Italiam scolares et maxime Provinciales, necnon ipsius ordinis de quo sum, quamplures legibus catervatim studium adibentes incessanter conspicio” (Dufour et al. 529). Dufour et al. give reasons that the letter may originate in the 1120s, but it may date from as late as the 1180s.

⁹ Boutière and Schutz 239-43; see below on Uc, section 1.11.

¹⁰ For legal references, see also the fictive *tensons* of Monge de Montaudon (P.C. 305,7) and Bertran Carbonel (P.C. 82,14). The *partimens* and *jeux-partis* commonly cite a juridical-sounding “dreit/droit” or “lei/loi” pertaining to the debate: see P.C. 101.8a=290,2; P.C. 226,8=248,42; and R 596, R 692, R 1041, R 1075, R 1078, R 1543, and R 1678.

¹¹ Lyotard diffused the term and the concept of *libidinal economy* in his 1974 work, *Économie libidinale*. Lyotard’s work is somewhat polemical, and pertains to debates about Marxist theory and practice and psychoanalytic theory that were current in the late twentieth century. Although they do not really pertain to the present study directly, his arguments are of interest, as they parallel the efforts of Lacan and Žižek (see note 12 below) to analyze the discursive mediation between social control and political economy, on the one hand, and subjective experience, on the other, in ways more relevant to medieval literature.

¹² Particularly suggestive are Lacan’s notion of *plus-de-jouir* (in counterpart to capitalist *surplus value*) and Žižek’s use of *surplus jouissance* or *surplus enjoyment* (versus capitalist *surplus value*). For their interpretations of the *fin’amor* of the troubadours, see Lacan, *Séminaire* VII 167-84, and Žižek, *Metastases* 89-112.

¹³ This notion of discourse is indebted to Critical Discourse Analysis, as developed, for example, by Fairclough, and draws on Gramsci, Pêcheux, and Althusser.

¹⁴ This raises questions regarding the performance of this *tenson*, as Harvey and Paterson point out (2: 460): if Falco’s tongue really had been cut out, could he himself have performed the work?

¹⁵ In addition to the two examples below, Guiraut employs the term *capdal* in the meaning “cause,” in the expression *notre capdal*, literally “joint resources,” an extension of the

sense of “assets economic resources”:

E Dieus aienz
Ogan nostre captal
E·l nos enanz
Tan que Sarracin fer
Sofran perdaz e danz,
Tro veingn'al descazer. (75-81 Guiraut de Borneill 295)

“And may God henceforth smile upon our true cause and help us forward, so that the Saracens may suffer losses and injuries that will lead to their downfall.”
(trans. Sharman, ed. Guiraut de Borneill 296)

¹⁶ In his *vida* Guiraut de Borneill is called the “maestre dels trobadors” ‘the master of the troubadours’ the “meiller trobaire que negus d’aquels qu’eron estat denan ni foron apres lui” ‘the best troubadour among any of those who existed before him or who came after him’ (Boutière and Schutz 39, my translation); in *De vulgari eloquentia*, Dante singles him out as a poet of excellence (II, II). For discussion, see Sharman, ed. Guiraut de Borneill 44-46.

¹⁷ *Gazanha* is found in this meaning in the Canso d’Antioca: “ni mal pas ni gazanha, mas l’erba del prat” (462, *Canso d’Antioca* 220)

¹⁸ *Chatel* developed into the modern French “cheptel” (through the influence of the latin *capital*). Alongside *chatel* there exists the noun *capital*, denoting “principal on a debt” (Godefroy 8: 423), or “type of feudal rent” (Godefroy 1: 780), but *capital* appears to be rather uncommon in medieval texts.

¹⁹ In the absence of a comprehensive database for Old French lyric (a counterpart to COM), I checked the concordances by Lavis et al. for the *jeux-partis*, for Thibaut de Champagne, for Gace Brulé, and for Perrin d’Agincourt.

²⁰ There is no good evidence that conditions for women as a whole improved in either Occitania or northern France, despite these changes, or the depiction of women in courtly literature (Paterson *World* 220-228; Duby, “Women”).

²¹ See Burgwinkle 96-100 for a discussion of scholarship on this question.

²² The term *gai saber*, the “gay science,” is quite apt, although it was diffused after the period of the troubadours, by the Consistori del Gai Saber in the fourteenth century (see above, Section 1.1).

²³ Canettieri, in his article “Lo captals,” which comments “Era·m platz,” chooses an excerpt from one of Smith’s texts that involves gold and water (78), and Smith’s use of gold in the particular citation parallels Raimbaut’s text. But Smith explains the paradox of value most clearly in the passage from the *Wealth of Nations*, and this has become the classic statement of

the problem in the history of economics. Smith, incidentally, formulated the paradox in this manner in order to resolve it, and his resolution, by separating price from utility, was generally viewed as satisfactory up until the rise of theories of marginal utility in the late nineteenth century.

²⁴ For a study of this phenomenon in other genres of lyric, see Earnshaw.

²⁵ This might even be seen as an example of reappropriation of derogatory terms in discourse to reinvest them with positive value. See for example, Foucault's notion of "reverse discourse" (Foucault, *Histoire*), examples of language appropriation among African Americans (as examined for example by Gates, *Signifying*), among in the lesbian, gay, and transgender individuals (which is analyzed in the queer theory beginning in the late 1980s, as for example in Butler, *Bodies*).

²⁶ See Atchison 110.

²⁷ The history of this manuscript is extremely complex, including four different layers of texts compiled at different times. I hypothesize that the *vidas* were at one time included as a separate appendix (as occurs in some manuscripts, such as *P* and *R*), and later ablated; alternatively, the *vidas* survived as separately prepared document intended, but never used, for transcription inside the body of the lyric texts of *D*. The reason for this hypothesis is that the *vidas* occur the exact same order as the list of troubadours in *D* (with a few minor exceptions at the end) appended to another later manuscript, *E*. The *vidas* appended to *E* have absolutely no connection to the list of troubadours in *E*. The *vidas* from *D* must have circulated independently and eventually found their way to *E*.

²⁸ Table 1.1. *Tenzons in Occitan Chansonnier D*

Component number in <i>D</i>	P.C. number	Incipit from <i>D</i> (from Asperti)	Partners	Judges named	Connection with Uc	Place of origin and date (from Harvey and Paterson, unless noted)
495	432,2= 167,26= 449,1a	Gaucelm, tres jocs enamoratz	Savaric de Malleo, Gaucelm Faidit, Uc de la Bacalaria	<i>Gardacors</i> , Maria (de Ventadorn), Guillerma de Benauges	Savaric de Malleo	c. 1206, Poitou- Aquitaine, court of Savaric de Malleo
496	414,1= 261,1	Seign'en Jaufre, respondetz mi si-us platz	Rainaut de Pon, Jaufre de Pon	—	Savaric de Malleo	c. 1206, unknown, circle of Savaric de Malleo?
497	323,4= 70,2	Amics Bernartz de Ventadorn	Bernart de Ventadorn, Peire d'Alvergne	—	?	...1147-1170...
498	97,4= 388,3	En Raembaut, ses saben	Blacatz, Raimbaut	—	?	1195-1201?, court of Ademar of Poitiers?

499	119,6= 370,11	Perdigos, ses vassalatge	Dalfi d'Alvergne, Perdigo	Gaucelm Faidit	Dalfi d'Alvergne	mid-1190s, Montferrand (court of Dalfi d'Alvergne)
500	449,1= 91,1	Digatz, Bertran de San Felitz	Uc de la Bacalaria, Bertran de Saint Felitz	Tibors, Countess Beatrice (of Savoy)	Savaric de Malleo?	early years of 13th c., Occitania
501	167,47= 370,12	Perdigon, vostre sen digatz	Gaucelm Faidit, Perdigo	Dalfi d'Alvergne	Dalfi d'Alvergne	mid-1190s, Montferrand (court of Dalfi d'Alvergne)
502	231,3= 223,5	Magret, pojat m'es el cap	Guillem Magret, Guillem Rainol d'At	—	[Provence]	1209-1216, Provence
503	458,1= 417,1	Scometre us voill, Reculaire	Uguet, Reculaire	—	Uguet = Uc	1220-1230, Italy
504	163,1	Nuoich e iorn sui en pessamen	Garin lo Brun	—	?	Velay or Randonnat?, before 1156 (Boutière <i>Biog.</i> 299)
505	194,2= 136,1	Ara·m digatz vostre semblan	Gui d'Uisel, Elias d'Uisel	Margarita d'Albuisson		c. 1200, Limousin
506	184,1= 25,1	Amics n'Arnautz, cent dompnas d'aut paratge	Coms de Proensa, Arnaut	—	Raimon Berenguer	c. 1220, Aix-en- Provence (court of Raimon Berenguer), (Blasi x, 11)
507	202,13= 128,1	N'Eble, er chausetz la meillor	Guillem Ademar, Eble de Saignas (=Eble d'Uisel?)	—	?	c. 1200-1233, Limousin
508	15,1= 392,1	Ara·m digatz, Rambaut, si vos agrada	Albert Malaspina, Rambaut de Vaqueiras	—	?	1185-1205, Italy
509	70,32= 366,23	Peirol, com avetz tant estat	Bernart de Ventadorn (?), Peirol (?)	—	?	13th c., location unknown
510	366,29	Qant amors trobet partit	Peirol		Dalfi d'Alvergne	1188, Montferrand (court of Dalfi d'Alvergne) (Aston 21)

511	236,8= 250,1	Seigner n'Imbertz, digatz vostr' escienza	Guillem de la Tor, Imbert	—	[Da Romanos were patrons of both Guillem and Uc]	c. 1217-1225, Italy
512	16,16= 167,25	Gaucelm Faidit, eu vos deman	Albertet de Sestaro, Gaucelm Faidit	Countess of Angoulême	Dalfi d'Alvergne	1194-1195, Montferrand (court of Dalfi d'Alvergne)
513	97,7= 364,32	Peire Vidal, pois far m'ave tenson	Blacatz, Peire Vidal	—	[Provence]	1204? Aups, Provence?
514	236,12= 437,38	Us amics et un'amia	Guillem de la Tor, Sordel	Adalaide di Viadana, Cunizza da Romano	Rizzardo di San Bonifacio	1224-26, Verona (court of Rizzardo di San Bonifacio) (Blasi 72-73); compare Harvey and Paterson who date to 1213.
515	406,16= 83,1	Bertran, si fossetz tant gignos	Raimon de Miraval (Raimon de las Salas?), Bertran Folco d'Avigno	—	?	1216-1218, Italy
516	460,1= 457,14	En vostr'ais me farai vezer	Vescoms de Torena, Uc de Saint Circ	—	Viscount of Turenne	1205-1209/10, Limousin
517	457,33+185,3	Seign'en Coms, no·us cal esmaiar	Uc de Saint Circ, Coms de Rodez	—	Viscount of Turenne	1216-19, Limousin (Jeanroy and Salverda de Grave xii-xiv)
518	185,2= 457,24	N'Ugo, vostre semblan digatz	Certan (Coms de Rodez?), Uc de Saint Circ	Dalfi d'Alvergne, Maria de Ventadorn (different judges named in other mss.)	Count of Rodez	c. 1210, Poitou- Aquitaine
519	249,2= 367,1	D'una razo, Peironet, ai coratge	Guiraut de Salaignac, Peironet	(lady at) Pierrefeu, lady at Signes	?	1200-1254, Provence
520	295,1= 194,9	Gui d'Uisel, be·m pesa de vos	Maria de Ventadorn, Gui d'Uisel	—	Maria de Ventadorn	c. 1196-98, Limousin

521	167,44= 449,2	N'Uc de la Bacalaria	Gaucelm 37 , Uc de la Bacalaria	Maria de Ventadorn, Dalfi d'Alvergne	Maria de Ventadorn	c. 1206, Poitou-Aquitaine
522	448,1a= 119,1 = 448,1	Dalfins, respondez mi, si·us plaz	Baussan/Uc, Dalfi d'Alvergne	—	Dalfi d'Alvergne	c. 1200, Clermont (Brackney xxxv)
523	10,19= 210,10	De Berguedan d'estas doas razos	Aimeric de Peguillan, Guillem de Bergeudan	—	[Spain]	before 1192-1195, Spain
525	238,2= 388,2	En Raïmbaut, pro domna d'aut paratge	Guionet (Gui de Cavaillo?), Raimbaut	— (judges named only in other mss.)	[Provence]	1210-1229, Provence or Toulousain

²⁹ I follow Elizabeth Poe's insight regarding Uc's authorship of the *razos* in relationship to his arrival in Italy c. 1220 (“*L'Autr'escrit*”).

Chapter 2

Negotiation and Capital in the *Tenson*

This chapter concerns *tensons* in which the speakers participate in dialogue to discuss or negotiate their status, their monetary reward, or other type of compensation that can be interpreted as capital. This group of works corresponds mostly to the open *tensons* as defined in Section 1.1, although it includes several *partimens* as well. In most of the debates examined here, the speakers are of different social position, rank, or gender. They adopt different kinds of voices, and these may be affiliated with a social group, borrow from certain registers of speech, or be part of a personal style. The poets may use a particular voice as a strategy for accumulating capital—usually status—or obtaining earnings, such as money or gifts. The multiple dialogic voices of the open *tensons* are precious testimony from a broad and array of individuals who central to the creation of lyric, but whose presence is less perceptible in other genres (such as the *canço* and the *chanson d’amour*): *joglars* and *jongleurs*, patrons, women, clerks, and in one case, a Jew.¹

The *tensons* here represent various types of situations, each with a typical endowment of capital, and a type of compensation or advantage that a poet is seeking. Section 2.1 examines of two *tensons* that involve poets linked by a relation of apprenticeship or sponsorship, so that cultural capital (training) and social capital (status) are involved; in one case, the fees accruing to the master in the relationship are at issue, so that monetary capital is involved as well. Section 2.2 deals with *tensons* in which poets discuss patronage, so that these works concern earnings as well as social connections. The question of the poets’ relative prestige, a form of social capital, is the subject of Section 2.3. This section consists of an examination of a series of works attacking the troubadour Sordel, and is an example of the competition in which poets engaged in order to build up and manage their reputations and social capital. Section 2.4 studies *tensons* between male patrons and poets; in these works, the patrons are able to accumulate cultural capital, while

the poets receive economic compensation and social capital. Fictive *tensons* that feature a personification, such as God or Love, are a form of parody or satire of these patron-poet *tensons*, and are treated in Section 2.5. In Section 2.6, *tensons* with a female voice are examined. The women in dialogue include ladies who are patrons, and who perform in many ways like male patrons, accumulating cultural capital while dispensing social and economic favors; as well as, probably, *joglaresas* who perform to earn a living, and to gain some recognition.

2.1. *Tensons* concerning apprenticeship and cultural capital

The *tenson* “De vos mi rancur, compaire” (P.C. 189.2=76.6), between the troubadour Bertran d’Alamano and his *joglar* Granet, who were active in Provence in the mid-thirteenth century, involves a discussion of apprenticeship, fees, and cultural capital. It is also an example of a *tenson* that is completely in the *jongleuresque* register. The “*jongleuresque* register” has already been encountered in Section 1.2, in the discussion of Bec’s typology of lyric, although Bec does not describe his expression in detail. Since the term “*jongleuresque*” is employed throughout this chapter it will be defined here. It denotes a register of speech that includes insults, boasts, and coarse and uncourtly language, as well as references to gambling and prostitution, and more or less vulgar references to the human body. This meaning, which derives from the somewhat ill-defined Occitan term *joglaresc*, has been traditional in criticism since the late nineteenth century.² For the purposes of this study, *jongleuresque* will also include a related, though separate area of experience dealing with sensuality, immediate pleasure, and food, corresponding to what Zumthor calls the *registre de la bonne vie* (251-52). It is included here with the notion of *jongleuresque* for two reasons. First of all, *joglars* and *jongleurs* use it, often in the same works

with the more traditional kind of insulting register. Second, it is similarly non-courtly, because of its lack of refined taste, and because of its refusal to defer gratification.

Granet takes exception to Bertran's treatment of him, and catalogs about Bertran's shortcomings in offensive language; Bertran replies in similarly abusive terms:

I
[Granet]
De vos mi rancur, compaire
Em Bertram, qe non faiz be:
qe'us ai servit ses cor vaire
e nul profaiz no me·n ve.
E si no·m volez ben faire, 5
eu dirai de vos tal re
qe·us enoiera'n, so cre:
car sai trop de vostr'afaire.
[Bertran]
Granez, pas volez retraire
de me so qe vos cove, 10
eu pugnerai en desfaire
eho que vos si sabes be:
arloz es, plen de put aire,
q'eu te levei de nonre,
don de gras partir ab me 15
so qe dels altres pos traire.
[Granet]
Seigner, per qe'us celeria?
Flac es en cubitat gran
e·ls mals faills q'apres avia
so sabez c'ab vas estan. 20
Cant no·m tegron pro nul dia
ni·m feron mas anta e dan
e jocs no·n ai mais affan,
mon gazaing per qe·us partria?
[Bertran]
Descolloscenzha e ffolia 25
Granez, me dis en chantan,
e sabes qe anc nul dia
non te forfis, mas sel an
q'eu te mis en jugleria,
c'anavas als piez trotan. 30
E qar mon dreg te deman,
ar me dis tu villania.
[Granet]

VI

[Bertran] Granet, everyone is blaming me for never taking even a third of my rights, and I don't care if this is spelled out for you: for you understand my verses very well [...].

(trans. Harvey and Paterson 2: 439-41)

Their disagreement originates in the conditions of the apprenticeship between the two men. Granet is still in some kind of relationship of training or protection with Bertran, and is paid by him, and must share his earnings with him. Granet asserts that he has not profited from his training or gained significant cultural capital from it (3-4, 21-23), so it seems unfair to Granet that he should share his earnings with Bertran (24, 37). Much of the argument revolves around financial matters and job duties. Granet complains that Bertran does not pay him well (*ben faire* 2, 5), even though Bertran continues to ask him to carry out more tasks (36). Bertran, for his part, defends the terms apprenticeship. He claims that he has raised Granet up from nothing (14, 27); therefore it is only fair that Granet should remit him some of his earnings (15-16, 31). He claims that he has not even taken a third of what Granet owes him as an apprentice, and that he is criticized on account of this leniency (41-42).

Granet takes the opportunity to slander Bertran, and enter into a kind of competition over relative prestige and social capital, in an innuendo-laden manner that is reminiscent of the insulting *tensons* against Sordel in Section 2.3. Granet declares that he knows all about Bertran's dealings and habits. "Per qe us celeria?" 'Why would I hide it from you?' (17) he comments coyly, as if to emphasize what he is half-revealing through his words, "Flac es en cubitat gran" 'You're flabby in great lust [covetousness]' (18)—which may be an insult to the flabbiness of his body, or to his erectile functions (Harvey and Paterson 443). Directly following, almost as part of the same thought, Granet alludes to what he 'learned' or 'had' from Bertran; the description is vague, but the terms and the context are enough to suggest, as Harvey

and Paterson argue, homosexual practices or improprieties—or perhaps as well, gambling, or frequentation of prostitutes, both of which could have brought shameful and damaging consequences (1: 443-44). In fact, is not unusual to find the three activities (gambling, prostitution, homosexuality) named or suggested together in insults in *tensons* (see Section 2.3); accusing a male opponent of having engaged in one these activities, or a combination of them, was apparently a common way to malign or slur him.

Jonglerie, and perhaps patronage or apprenticeship, play a role in a series of *jeux-partis* between Jehan Bretel and Adam de la Halle, though works are in a much more amicable tone. Jehan was the elder and richer poet of the two, and could have acted as a sponsor to Adam. The two poets were both members of the Confrérie des jongleurs et bourgeois d'Arras, a mutual aid society, and both participated in the Puy d'Arras, a regular poetic competition. While membership lists exist for the Confrérie, there is not a great deal information regarding its functioning or that of the Puy d'Arras. Jehan Bretel was a rich bourgeois, an important landowner and merchant in Arras (Berger, *Littérature* 314; Ungureanu 115-16). He was named the Prince of the Puy d'Arras, which made him, in effect, a patron of the event. Only a very wealthy man like Bretel could hold such a post, since it likely involved the obligation to pay for festivities and prizes for poetry (Guy xxxix). Bretel was a prolific poet, composing love songs, as well as taking part in a large number of *jeux-partis* with many different partners. Adam de la Halle is much better known today than Bretel, mostly for his varied and stimulating literary production that stands quite apart from traditional courtly lyric. He studied as a cleric, and as he acknowledges in one of his *tensons* with Bretel, he abandoned his studies to marry the woman he loved. Adam was from a respectable background in Arras; he took up the life of a professional poet, a *jongleur*. Bretel likely acted as an informal patron, and seems to have commanded respect

from all members of the Puy as its Prince, to judge from the corpus of *jeux-partis*, and it is likely this respect carried over to the Confrérie. Adam unfailingly uses an honorific title alone in addressing Bretel, while Bretel addresses Adam only by his first name. Bretel and Adam exchanged fifteen *tensons*: fourteen *jeux-partis*, and one open *tenson*, which is the most interesting work. This *tenson*, “Adan, amis, mout savés bien vos roi” (R 1675) is unusual in several respects. It is by far the longest dialogue work in the entire corpus: it contains 20 stanzas. It is also autobiographical to an unusual extent. In connection with the question of patronage, what is most interesting is the manner in which Bretel appears to examine Adam as a kind of apprentice, while imitating the scholastic *quaestio* by employing its abstract questions: with “what,” “why,” “how.” Bretel asks him concerning his service of his “roi d’Amour” (1-2) or King of Love (The term *roi d’Amour* could refer to Bretel’s role as sponsor in an organization devoted to compositions of love, to whom Adam owes service): “Or me distes par amistiés, de coi / vous le servés ne pourcoi ne comment” ‘So tell me please with what you serve him, and why, and how?’ (3-4, Adam de la Halle). Adam answers competently, but Bretel is dissatisfied; Adam elucidates, and Bretel asks for further clarification. After Adam’s final reply, Bretel claims that Adam’s inexperience renders him incapable furnishing a completely satisfactory response.

Throughout the remainder of the long debate, the two poets articulate different notions of love; each poet attempts to enhance his prestige and reputation by demonstrating a superior mastery of *fin’amor*. Adam is a voice for youth, and argues that love is only for the young—the traditional courtly position—while Bretel, undoubtedly taking support from the mercantile urban context, is a voice for caution and experience in amorous affairs (73-88). Adam is ready to abandon his professional position for love, while Bretel (so Adam maintains) is tied to his wealth and position as a great financier:

Car pour Amours, je sai certainement,
ne guerpiriés a pieche vo argent!
Che fac jou clergie:
D'Amour doi savoir le vie,
se nus le set pour sentir asprement!
(108-112, Adam de la Halle 160)

I know with certainty that you would never give up your money for love. But me, I gave up the life of a cleric for this. I should know well the life of love, if anyone knows it from painful experience. (my translation, adapted from Badel, ed., Adam de la Halle 161)

Adam's voice adopts "bonne vie" aspect of the *jongleuresque* register, that which pertains spontaneous pleasure, and scorns responsibility and authority. Regardless, Bretel is an indulgent sponsor, and even mentions that he would like to advance Adam in his career, perhaps suggesting that he would gladly see him with a title in the Puy, adding that he has not said anything against such a move: "Adan, de vous vauroie faire un roy / Ne riens n'ai dit pour vostre empirement" 'Adam, I would like to make you a king, and I have not said anything to discredit you' (129-130). Bretel was probably not Adam's patron in any formal sense, but rather a kind of mentor or senior member of the Confrérie. Although Bretel may have treated him with favor, Adam asks for no rewards from Bretel, or speaks of any he has received from him. The relationship does not seem to be one of very direct dependence, as in the cases of the Occitan *tensons* between *joglars* and their troubadours and patrons.

In a series of fourteen *jeux-partis* with Bretel,³ Adam adopts a *jongleuresque* voice at times, and demonstrates a hedonistic inclination towards immediate pleasure, as opposed to Bretel's favoring the deferral of gratification. Bretel begins the debate in twelve of the *jeux-partis*; commencing the dialogue may have been a prerogative of his as Prince (and indeed Bretel poses the initial question in the majority of the *jeux-partis* with other partners as well). Most all of the fourteen *jeux-partis* can be viewed as an alternative between patient service and rapid

reward, and Jehan may have chosen these questions with Adam in mind. Since Jehan asks the question, Adam presumably argues as he pleases, and nearly always chooses the side of direct reward, bold initiative, and the favors of love despite humiliating or difficult circumstances. In one *jeu-parti*, for instance (R 1026), Bretel offers Adam a lady's favors in ten sessions in the course of a year; they may be spaced out evenly or placed together, and Adam chooses to take them right away. Adam consistently argues for audacity in a male lover's pursuit. Adam favors a suitor who is openly flirtatious and cajoling over one who is calm and cautious (R 1584); he prefers a man who boldly courts his lady, even at the risk of exposing her to scandal, over a timid lover (R 1066); and he even argues for a lover convincing his lady to sleep with him against her will (R 1584). Adam considers it advisable for a lover to seek another lady if one's present one is not forthcoming with rewards (R 494). Finally, he values love and sex so much that he will endure humiliation and grief to obtain it, including anxiety (R 1817), jealousy (R 2049), being with a woman with bad reputation (R 1094), and even having his lady ride on his back, as Aristotle did (R 277). In several of these *jeux-partis* that deal with the pleasures of love and sex, Adam makes mention of food, part of the *registre de la bonne vie*, and one of the themes that Gally mentions as one of the moderately subversive themes of the *jeux-partis* of Arras (132-34). This language may signal the *jongleuresque* register's lack of discerning "taste" with respect to the dominant lyric discourse, but it may also communicate the *jongleur's* gusto and enjoyment of life. To communicate his preference for taking love immediately, he uses the example of new wine:

Sire, onques ne m'abeli
 Vins c'on boire detrie
 Qui du tonnel ore issi,
 Car si savereux n'est mie;
 Tant sai bien de beverage.
 Tost prendres est en usage,

Et chascuns au prendre tent:

C'anchois prent ne s'en repent. (41-48, R 1026, Långfors CVIII 2: 35)

Sir, it has never pleased me to take the wine just out of the barrel and delay drinking it, for it does not taste as good. This much I know about drinking. Drinking quickly is the custom, and everyone comes forward to take. One who takes before does not regret it. (my translation, drawing from Badel, ed., Adam de la Halle 129)

He also alludes also to nettles, a common plant of the field that is usually rather unpalatable:

“Ortie qui mort, / Sachiés, tempre s'i amort.” ‘Who bites into a nettle, you can be sure, soon gets used to it’ (13-14, R 494, Långfors CXIV 2: 56). Adam speaks of the opportunistic pleasure of a hot meal: “On entre en une abbeïe / Pour mengier oés et caus flans.” ‘One enters an abbey to eat eggs and hot flans [tarts filled with eggs, milk, and cheese]’ (28-29, R 1798, Långfors CIX 2: 38). Adam seems to enjoy sex and food, but for that matter, all of the simple and familiar pleasures that are at hand. In one *jeu-parti* (R 1798, Långfors CIX 2: 37-40) Bretel asks him if he would be willing to stay in Arras all of his life, with enough to live on, and with only his lady, provided that he would be alone with her and never see anyone else, and would never leave the city. Adam answers yes.

2.2. *Tensons* between poets about patronage

When poets engage in dialogue in the *tenson*, they often discuss patrons and patronage. It is absolutely necessary that poets find sponsors to make a living from their lyric; their cultural capital can produce no profit otherwise. The subject of the earliest datable *tenson*,⁴ which is likely from the year 1137, is the problem of finding a patron. “Car vei fenir a tot dia” (P.C. 112,1=199,1), is between the troubadour Cercamon and the *joglar* Guillalmi, who may be in Cercamon’s service, since he calls him *maistre*, an unusual form of address in lyric. Cercamon commences the dialogue with a common lament about the state of the world, then tells Guillalmi

about his own unhappiness, in rather hyperbolic terms—the image of a dying swan about to end its life, without consolation. In fact, he is seeking solace from Guillalmi, who offers it, along with encouragement. This very early *tenson* can be considered an example of the *conselh*, the type of *tenson* in which one speaker seeks advice or comfort from another.

I	
[Cercamon]	
Car vey fenir a tot dia	
lo joi e·l cant e·l deport	
e no·m socor la clerzia,	
non puese mudar no·m cofort	
co fay, can conois sa mort,	5
lo signes, que bray e crida	
et muou son sonet per fort,	
c'ar li cove fenir sa vida	
e plus no·i a de conort.	
II	
[Guillalmi]	
Maïstre, si Dieus me valha,	10
ben dizetz so que cove;	
mas ja d'aiso no vos calha	
car li cldeal erc no vos fan be,	
car los bos temps ve, so cre,	
que auretz aital guazalha	15
que vos dara palafre	
o renda que mais vos valha,	
car lo coms de Peiteus ve.	
[Cercamon]	
Guillelmi, non pretz mealha	
so que·m dizes, per ma fe:	20
mais volria una calla	
estreg tener en man se	
no faria un polhe	
qu'estes en autrui sarralha,	
c'atendes la lor merce,	25
car saven, so cug, badalha	
qui s'aten a l'autrui be.	
IV	
[Guillalmi]	
Maïstre, gran benanansa	
podetz aver si sofretz.	
[Cercamon]	
Guillelmi, vostra vanansa	30

non crei si com vos me dizetz.

[Guillalmi]

Maïstre, car no·m crezetz?

Gran be vos venra de Fransa

si atendre lo voletz.

[Cercamon]

Guilhelmi, tal esperansa 35

vos don Dieus com vas m'ufretz.

V

[Guillalmi]

Maïstre, n'aiatz coratge

d'efan ni d'ome leugier.

[Cercamon]

Guillelmi, sabre bon guatge

vos creyria valontier. 40

[Guillalmi]

Maïstre, man bon destrier

an li home de paratge

per sufertar al derrier.

[Cercamon]

Guillelmi, fort...

... e sal vat e...

VI

[Guillalmi]

Maïstre, josta la brosta 45

vos pareis al test novel.

[Cercamon]

Guillelmi, ben par pauc vos costa

lo mieus ostals del castel.

[Guillalmi]

Maïstre, conte novel 50

aurem nos a Pantacosta

que·us pagara ben e bel.

[Cercamon]

Guillelmi, fols es qui·eus escota:

vos mi pagatz d'autrui borcel.

I

[Cercamon] Since I see joy and song and mirth ending forever and the clerics are of no avail to me, I cannot but comfort myself as the swan does when it knows the approach of death, for it must needs cry out and lament and under its song, since now it must end its life and there is no other consolation left.

II

[Guillalmi] Master, so help me God, what you say is right and proper. But do not worry that the clerics do you no favours, for good times, I am sure, are coming when you will have such company as will make you a palfrey or else

some regular handout of the kind you need most, for the count of Poitiers is coming.

III

[Cercamon] Guillelmi, by my faith, I do not give a halfpenny for what you are telling me: I would rather have a single quail clasped firmly to my chest than a chicken sitting in someone else's hen house so that I should await their tender mercies, for in my experience a man who looks for favours from others often waits in vain.

IV

[Guillalmi] Master you may have great good fortune if you are patient.

[Cercamon] Guillelmi, I do not believe your promise as you make it. [Guillalmi] Master, why do you not believe me? Great fortune will come to you from France if you will only wait for it. [Cercamon] Guillelmi, may God give you just such cause for hope as you are offering me.

V

[Guillalmi] Master, do not adopt the attitude of a child or a frivolous man.

[Cercamon] Guillelmi, I would willingly believe you on the strength of a good guarantee. [Guillalmi] Master, men of high degree have many a fine charger to support [others] in the end. [Cercamon] Guillelmi, [...].

VI

[Guillalmi] Master, that much is clear to you from the fresh shells near the leafy bough. [Cercamon] Guillelmi, what is clear is that you are little concerned about my lodging in the castle. [Guillalmi] Master, we shall have a new count at Whitsun who will pay you well and truly. [Cercamon] Guillelmi, a man is a fool to listen to you: you are paying me out of someone else's purse.

(trans. Harvey and Paterson 1: 247)

Guillalmi's reply reveals the reason for Cercamon's gloomy point of view, which has to do with professional livelihood and patronage (Stanza II). Critics have generally accepted Rajna's interpretation of the historical context: Cercamon has just lost a patron with the death of Duke Guillem IX of Aquitaine, also Guillem VIII of Poitiers (he in fact died in April 1137), though Guillalmi encourages him to have hope, since a new count of Poitiers is to be named (18) (Harvey and Paterson 1: 250). Furthermore, Guillalmi suggests another possible patron in the King of France, since the daughter of the recently deceased count, Eleanor of Aquitaine, is now engaged to King Louis VII of France: "Gran ben vos venra de Fransa / si atendre lo voletz" 'Great fortune will come to you from France if you will only wait for it' (33-34). Patronage, for Cercamon and Guillalmi in this work, is primarily about economic reward and basic security;

they are quite explicit regarding the terms of economic reward for the troubadour: housing (48-49) and horses or other handouts (16-17).

Cercamon may have arrived at the idea of a dialogue—perhaps the first one recorded in the corpus—as manner of advertising his need for a patron in a direct and frank manner, which would have been more perhaps difficult in a single-voiced lyric work. As for Guillalmi, it offered the *joglar* the opportunity to perform with a recognized troubadour, and to gain valuable prestige. At the same time, Cercamon may be mindful of his control over his *joglar*'s professional and economic life; his last remark to Guillalmi's advice is revealing: “you are paying me out of someone else's purse” (54): just as Cercamon is in charge of Guillalmi's financial affairs, he is also guarantor of the value of his words and his poetry.

In the *tenson* “Bertran, vos c'anar soliatz ab lairos” (P.C. 205,1=79,1a), the two *joglars* Guillem d'Augier Novella and Bertran d'Aurel argue about two different ways of earning a economic capital— soldiering and singing, both occupations in which of which a *joglar* might find himself (Aurell 122). Guillem asks Bertran whether he prefers the profession of thieving or that of that a *joglar*; by thieving he evidently refers derisively to Bertran's military service and his need to live off of the land. Bertran replies that singing for hire is not necessarily better:

[Bertran]
N' Augier, cascus mi par crois et enujos
e trac ne vos a guiren, qued ambedos
essages e retengues que·s tanh de vos,
que per esser chantaire
laises lansar e traire,
e jotglars pren aunitz dos
e sirvens es donaire.

[Guillem]
Bertran, mestier no m'azauta de sirven,
c'om l'espasa e l'eisorba e l'art e·l pen
e jotglar sercan baros e gaia gen
e vivon az onransa.
Bar, si aiso par mermansa,

tu t'en torna, si t'es gen,
a la lor benanansa! (8-21, Harvey and Paterson 2: 540)

[Bertran] Sir Augier, each seems to me to be unpleasant and despicable and I call on you as witness, since you tried both and chose the one that suits you, for you abandoned the sling and the bow to be a singer, and jongleurs take shameful gifts but sergeants are generous givers.

III

[Guillem] Bertran, I don't like a soldier's job, for men cut you up, poke your eyes out, burn and hang you, but jongleurs seek out barons and light-hearted people and live honourably. Sir, if this seems like famine to you, go back to their riches, if it suits you! (trans. Harvey and Paterson 541)

Here, as elsewhere, prestige and pecuniary interests, both forms of capital obtained from an employer, are foremost among the concerns of professional poets and performers.

Later professional poets are quite concerned with finding and keeping patrons. Guiraut Riquier, sometimes considered the "last" troubadour, expresses his anxieties about his status in many of his letters to his patrons. He takes part in two *tensons* that deal with his patrons. In "Guillem de Mur, que cuia far" (P.C. 248,37=226,4), Guiraut converses with Guillem de Mur about the King James I of Aragon, a prospective patron, and opportunities that he might offer. Guiraut begins the dialogue by wondering why the king gave him nothing at their last encounter in Montpellier, especially since Guiraut had made it plain that he was in need. Guillem suggests that they enlist as mercenaries for the king's campaigns in Murcia. Guiraut is not so sanguine about this plan:

Guilhem, le reys lay fay anar
selh que son d'armas coratjos,
e no·n es de mi ni de vos
fag d'armas ni de nulh joglar,
ni aras per sol alegrier
non la·ns vol, mas si el conquer,
cant er tornatz nos dara tant, so cre,
que·n serem ricx, per qu'eras no·ns don re. (17-24)

Guillem, the king is taking those who are brave fighters, but there is no question in this of deeds of arms from me or you or any minstrel, and neither does he want

us there just for entertainment now; but if he makes conquests, when he returns I think he will give us so much that we shall be rich, so it is better for him to give us nothing now. (trans. Harvey and Paterson 2: 779).

Guiraut is reluctant to enroll to fight for King James—not, presumably, out of cowardice, but because he believes the skills from which he can make the most profit are poetic, deriving from his cultural capital. He therefore prefers waiting for king to return from his wars in Spain, when he will be able to make use of a poet like Guiraut, to ask for the king’s patronage. Guiraut distinguishes himself from Guillem de Mur, his partner: both seek King James’s sponsorship, and while Guillem is ready to serve the king in any capacity, Guiraut states that he would rather hold out for the chance to compose poetry for him. Guiraut may thus be implying that his skills are beyond ordinary. In any case, however, the two poets are probably using the dialogue form to curry favor with King James, and either reaffirm or seek his patronage, which is the goal of many *tensons*.

A set of dialogues by Bernart de Ventadorn is examined here as being concerned about patronage. These dialogues, which deal with the *topos* of the “poet who has abandoned singing,” can be viewed as the situation of a poet who has no patron, male or female (and perhaps is looking for one). This *topos* by Bernart inspired many *tensons* in the century that followed. The schema proceeds as follows: the first poet in the dialogue asks the other why he has stopped singing; alternatively the first poet reports he has heard the other poet has stopped singing, and asks him to sing now. This topic is of importance not only for its wide resonance, but also because of what it says about troubadours and their use of voice and their motivation for singing. A poet who declares in a song that he has relinquished singing is a paradox. Of course the poet is singing; significantly, however, he is usually not singing for or about a lady or a patron. By stating that he has abandoned, or is about to abandon, singing, perhaps he is seeking better

opportunities for patronage. In dialogue, the poet who is called upon by another poet to ask why he does not sing, or who is requested to sing, has presumably arranged the topic with his partner; the dialogue would be a way of forming social ties with other poets in lieu of bonds with patrons. The cases in which male or female patrons request or command the silent poet to sing are similar, yet distinct: the poet is usually in the some kind of situation of difficulty, dissatisfaction, or rupture with ladies or patrons, but the patron in dialogue is making a request for a song from the poet, and in this way affirming personal, social, and literary bonds (see Section 2.6, “Gui d’Uicel, be·m peza de vos” (P.C. 295,1=194,9), and “N’Elyas Cairel, del amor” (P.C. 252,1=133,7))

Bernart seems to have been associated with the *topos* of the poet not singing, and this quite independently of his *tensons*. He communicates this idea in his most celebrated *canço*, “Can vei la lauzeta mover” (P.C. 70,34), in which he reports that he had once defended ladies, but that he is now abandoning them. The final *tornada*—which concludes “De chantar me gic e·m recre / e de joi e d’amor m’escon” ‘I forsake and renounce singing, and seek shelter from joy and love’ (59-69, ed. and trans. Nichols 167-68)—is not dedicated to a lady, as is customary, but directed to a messenger “Tristan,” who may be his fellow poet Raimbaut d’Aurenga (Pattison, ed., Raimbaut d’Aurenga 24-25); thus he expresses solidarity with a fellow troubadour even as he turns away from the courtship of women. Bernart’s dialogue partners may have known of his reputation for pessimism and his talk of deserting song. In one of the early *tensons* related to this topic of not singing, “Bernart del Ventadorn, del chan” (P.C. 286.1), Lemozi⁵ engages Bernart, observing his melancholy mood and asking how he is faring, echoing perhaps what “Tristan” might say in reply to “Can vei.” Bernart answers: “Lemozin, non puesc en chantan / respondre ni·i sai avenir: / mos cors mi vol de dol partir” ‘Lemozi, I can give you no answer in song, nor

can I manage to sing: my heart is about to break with grief' (7-9, ed. and trans. Harvey and Paterson 3: 922-23). Bernart states his inability to sing, though it is not quite the same declaring his relinquishment of singing.

A classic formulation of the *topos* occurs in another *tenson* in which Bernart participated, "Amics Bernartz de Ventedorn" (P.C. 323,4=70,2), probably with Peire d'Alvergne (Harvey and Paterson 3: 970). Peire begins the dialogue by asking Bernart about his lack of singing: "Amics Bernartz de Ventedorn, / cum vos podetz de chant sofrir / qand aissi auzetz esbaudir / lo rossignolet nuoc e jorn?" 'Friend Bernart de Ventadorn, how can you refrain from song when you hear the nightingale rejoices night and day? (1-3, Harvey and Paterson 3: 966-67). Bernart recounts his discontent with the customs of men and women; if the world were set up his way, he tells Peire, men would not go to seek women to court, but instead women would go seeking the men (22-28). Even though Bernart is not serious, of course, Peire seems astonished, and argues against him, perhaps to bring him back around to the proper and normative ways of *fin'amor* (29-35). Through the exchange of the *tenson*, and the expression of professional solidarity of sorts, Peire might be attempting to reintegrate Bernart into the circuits of exchange through which, he believes, a poet is may build up social capital and earn success: "Bernart, foudatz vos amena / car aissi vos partetz d'amor / per cui a hom pretz e valor" 'Bernart, it is foolishness which leads you thus to separate yourself from love, through which a man finds worth and repute' (43-45).

Another *tenson* with the topic of not singing, "Peirol, cum avetz tant estat" (P.C. 70,32), is attributed in several manuscripts to Bernart de Ventadorn, but is probably not by him at all, to judge by multiple criteria. Instead, as Marshall postulates, it is probably a much later creation, a pastiche of the texts of Bernart de Ventadorn and another poet; it could have been performed as a

kind of dramatized conversation of two famous troubadours of the past (“Dialogues”). There are several other *tensons* that are certainly fictive that also utilize the *topos* of the non-singing troubadour, notably the fictive *tensons* with Amors.

Apart from fictive *tensons*, Philippe de Nanteuil uses this device when he starts a *tenson* with Thibaut de Champagne:

Par Dieu, sire de Champaigne et de Brie,
Je me sui mult d’une riens merveilliez,
Que je voi bien que vous ne chantez mie,
Ainz estes pou jolis et renvoisiez;
Car me dites pour quoi vous le lessiez. (1-5, Thibaut de Champagne 169)

By God, lord of Champagne and of Brie, I’m quite astonished about something;
I’ve noticed that you no longer sing, and are rarely mirthful or gay; tell me why
you’ve renounced these things. (trans. Brahney, Thibaut de Champagne 217)

Thibaut, however, unlike Bernart of the other troubadours referred to above, is evidently in no need of patrons. If Thibaut had reasons to take up the subject of the non-singing poet, they would have been literary or personal.

2.3. Reputation, competition, and social capital: the case of Sordel

Troubadours often use *tensons* to establish their position with respect to rival troubadours. They can distinguish themselves by their social ties to their patrons, or by their style, as demonstrated by the *tenson* between Guiraut de Borneill and Raimbaut d’Aurenga (examined in Section 1.10). Troubadours also engage in confrontational dialogues in which they insult their opponents, making use of the *jongleuresque* register.⁶ In this manner, they attempt to improve their position in the informal hierarchy of poets. An interesting set of insult *tensons* is grouped around the troubadour Sordel, an Italian troubadour who spent the early part of his career in northern Italy, and was later at the court of the Count of Provence. He appears to have led an unconventional

life, which may account for some of the ridicule heaped on him in many *tensons*. At the same time, his life gave him a good deal of symbolic capital, as shown by the tales that grew up around him; one of the most celebrated incidents in his career is recounted in his *vida*:

E venc s'en a la cort del comte de San Bonifaci; e·l coms l'onret molt. E s'enamoret de la moiller del comte, a forma de solatz, et ella de lui. Et aven si que·l coms estet mal con los fraires d'ella, e si s'estraniet d'ella. E sier Icellis e sier Albrics, li fraire d'ella, si la feirent envolar al comte a sier Sordel; et s'en venc estar con lor en gran benanansa. (Boutière and Schutz 562)

He came to the court of the Count of San Bonifacio, and the count honored him greatly. He fell in love with the wife of the count, as a form of amusement, and she fell in love with him. But it came to pass that the count had a disagreement with her brothers, and so the count parted from her. And Lord Ezzelino and Lord Alberico, her brothers, had her abducted from the count by Sir Sordel. Then he went to stay with them with much happiness.

This sensational episode is in fact documented outside the lyric tradition. It involves Cunizza, the wife of Rizzardo di San Bonifacio, who was indeed taken back by her brothers, Ezzelino III and Alberico da Romano, with the help of Sordel, and which likely took place around 1226 (Boutière and Schutz 563-64, notes 5-6). A *tenson* between Sordel and the *joglar* Joan d'Albuzo likely dates to the period between the abduction of Cunizza and Sordel's departure from Italy, and Joan may be making reference to the famous abduction in the dialogue (Sordel 74). The work, while not between two troubadours, is also of interest because it displays clearly many of the insults that troubadours allude to more indirectly in other *tensons* with Sordel. Joan begins the dialogue by asking if certain rumors that he has heard are true: that he has taken, as a gift, that which belongs to other people—a very ambiguous and suggestive allegation:

[Joan]
– Digatz mi s'es vers zo c'om brui,
Sordel, q'en don prenetz l'altrui.
[Sordel]
– Joan, lo joi c'amors m'adui
de l'altrui moiller non refui.
[Joan]

– Sordel, paubertatz vos condui, 5
zo diz om, enjoglaria.
[Sordel]
– Joan, d’alre joglars non sui
mas de ben dir de m’amia.
II
[Joan]
– Pos joglars non es, com prezes,
Sordel, antan draps del marques? 10
[Sordel]
– Joan, eu non l’o prezi ges
mas per creisser joglar d’arnes.
[Joan]
– Sordel, tal joglar en cregues
q’eu sai qe us sec noig e dia.
[Sordel]
– Joan, per amor sui cortes 15
e donei, e n combatria.
III
[Joan]
– Sordel, de re no us vei donar,
mas eu s vei qerer e preiar.
[Sordel]
– Joan, molt enoios joglar
ha i en vos, no l vas puese celar. 20
[Joan]
– Sordel, e vostre mendigar
blasmon fort en Lumbardia.
[Sordel]
– Joan, no vos auz encolpar
d’enjan ni de fellonia?
IV
[Joan]
– Sordel, vos respondetz molt gen 25
a lei de joglar aprenen.
[Sordel]
– Joan, eu respoll avinen
s’es qi m’entenda d’avinen.
[Joan]
– Sordel, moiller trobatz truep len
e ges non sai per qe sia. 30
[Sordel]
– Joan, q’aicil en cui m’enten
m’am’e no i vueil compagnia.

I

– Tell me if what is being rumoured is true, Sordel, that you accept other people's belongings as gifts.

– Joan, I do not refuse the joy which love of another man's wife brings me.

– Sordel, poverty, they say, is bringing you to the life of a jongleur.

– Joan, I am not a jongleur in anything except in singing the praise of my beloved.

II

– Since you are not a jongleur, how is it, Sordel, that last year you accepted clothes from the marquis?

– Joan, I did not accept his gift for any other reason than to provide a jongleur with clothing.

– Sordel, the jongleur you provided for was, I am certain, one who is never out of your company night and day.

– Joan, it is because of love that I am courtly and give presents – and I would fight about this.

III

– Sordel, not once do I see you giving, since I always see you asking and begging.

– Joan, you are a very tiresome jongleur, I have to tell you.

– And your begging, Sordel, is sharply criticised in Lombardy.

– Joan, have I not heard you accused of deceitfulness and wickedness?

IV

– Sordel, you give a most noble answer, just like some fledgling jongleur.

– Joan, I give a polite answer to anyone who hears me politely.

– Sordel, you are taking a very long time to find a wife, and yet I have no idea why.

– Joan, it is because she on whom I have set my heart returns my love, and so I desire no [other] company.

(trans. Harvey and Paterson 2: 865-67)

Sordel replies that he does take the joy of another man's wife. But his answer is ambiguous:

“joy” can be very vaguely defined. In fact, Joan may be referring to a specific adventure of Sordel's, namely the abduction of Cunizza. Joan's accusation would then not be that he courted (and possibly slept with) a married lady—an act of which *fin'amor* tacitly approves—but instead that he violated the hospitality of his host and patron by helping to kidnap his wife. The next set of charges that Joan makes has to do with Sordel functioning as a *joglar*. This is the kind of allegation that would have inspired some unease, as many troubadours show a great concern to distinguish themselves from *joglars*. This apprehension was undoubtedly exacerbated by the great deal of competition for patronage in northern Italy in the first third of the thirteenth century

(Burgwinkle 54-55). Joan claims that Sordel's begging (presumably for work) is the cause of gossip in Italy (22), and in any case poverty is leading him into *joglaría*, the life or profession of a *joglar* (5-6). As evidence, he cites Sordel's acceptance of a gift of clothing—apparently the kind of payment appropriate to a *joglar* (9-10). Sordel admits he did accept the gift, but claims it was to give to a *joglar* in turn (11-12, 15-16). Joan's final indictment has to do with irregularities in his private life. He notes that he has taken a very long time to find a woman to marry, and that Joan has 'no idea why' (*ques non sai per qe sia*). This 'no idea' is somewhat ironic, for what is suggesting is that Sordel may have homosexual preferences. As Guida has shown in "Sulla tenzone tra Uget e Reculaire," this is an allegation that many other troubadours make about Sordel, through a great number of more or less veiled remarks. Among the behavior that they allege is a lack of interest in sex with women during courtship (114-16). Joan's comments along these lines at the end of the *tenson* do accord, in a way, with Sordel's abduction of Cunizza, which he mentions at the beginning of the poem: Sordel is guilty of stealing Cunizza, not for sleeping with a woman. They also accord with a curious detail included in the *vida* about Sordel. According to the text, he loves Cunizza "a forma de solatz" 'as a form of amusement'; the very fact that their love needs to be qualified in this way hints that, while there might have been a norm for some amount of physical intimacy or attraction, there was virtually none in this case. And indeed, Cunizza's brothers did trust Sordel to abduct her and bring her to them safely, which they could well do if Cunizza and Sordel had a nonsexual relationship.

Why would Sordel wish to participate in such a slanderous *tenson*? One explanation is that he did not have much choice. If he were indeed as poor as Joan suggests, he may have needed to accept any patron he could find, and agree to compose or perform the kinds of works that the patron demanded, including a *tenson* with a *joglar*. In that case, he may not have been

able to fully anticipate the questions that Joan would be asking him. Another explanation, though, probably has to do with Sordel's poetic persona, which is based in part on symbolic capital, a devotion to art and a disinterested attitude toward success. As can be seen in the various *tensons*, Sordel presents himself as a man who seeks adventure and not material possessions, who is not put off by poverty or many aspects of traditional morality.

Sordel is possibly the partner named Reculaire in the rather scurrilous *tenson* "Scometre·us vuoill, Reculaire" (P.C. 458,1=417,1). The partners Uguet and Reculaire have resisted certain identification, and the most convincing explanation has come from Guida ("Sulla tenzone") who views Uguet as Uc de Saint-Circ and Reculaire as Sordel. According to Guida, "Reculaire" could be a derogatory term for a homosexual, related to Occitan *cul* "rear end, ass" (109); Uc with this nickname would be reproducing the widespread rumors about Sordel's sexuality. In many ways, the identification fits, since the accusations that Uguet/Uc makes against Reculaire are the same ones that other troubadours and *joglars* make against Sordel. Furthermore, Uc de Saint-Circ ("Uguet") and Sordel were indeed rivals of sorts, as they were both seeking patrons in northern Italy in the 1220s—along with a number of other contemporary poets, of course. Uc and Sordel even had in common several patrons. Alberico da Romano, for instance, Cunizza's brother who lodged Sordel after the abduction, was also a major sponsor of Uc de Saint-Circ, although probably at a later period. Uc also passed through the court of San Bonifacio (where Sordel met and became acquainted with Cunizza), though he was not necessarily there at the same time as Sordel. In any case, whether or not they shared the same patrons, even simultaneously, they would have been in competition for resources at court. Uc de Saint-Circ is indeed rather inclined to invective by temperament—if indeed Uguet is Uc—and

begins by launching many of the same criticisms at Reculaire/Sordel as Joan had done with Sordel, namely poverty and deviant sexuality:

I
Scometre·us vuoill, Reculaire:
pais vestirs no·us dura gaire,
de paubretat etz confraire
als bons homes de Laun,
mas de fe no·n semblatz un,
que vas etz fols e jogaire
e de putans governaire. (1-7)

I
I am going to challenge you, Reculaire: since your clothing is wearing out, you belong in poverty to the confraternity of the good men of Lyon, but you do not seem to be one of them in matters of faith, for you are a fool, a gambler and a whoremaster. (Harvey and Paterson 3: 1267)

Some of Uguet's taunts are rather obscure; the good men of Lyon (4), for instance, are likely Waldensians, religious heretics who live in poverty, whom Reculaire/Sordel resembles except for their faith (Harvey and Paterson 3: 1268 note 6). Reculaire is a gambler, also, and a "putans governaire" 'whoremaster' (7). The exact implications of a 'manager of whores' are not clear, but they would implicate a person in very non-courtly sexual practices; a pimp, though, may have been expected to take care of customers seeking a man, so may agree with Guida's interpretation of the name Reculaire. Reculaire's reply to this defamation is rather moderated: he does not strongly attack Uguet, and defends himself in a relatively calm and reasoned manner. He makes a case for enjoying life, and he disdains material wealth, which is transitory (8-13). His poverty matters little to him, provided he can have the pleasure of gambling and drinking wine:

N'Uget, ben sai, s'ieu moria,
c'atretan en portaria
co·l plus rics reis q'el mon sia;
per q'ieu sec mas voluntatz
e jogui ab los tres datz

e prend ab los ponz paria
et ab bon vin, on q'ieu sia. (22-28)

Sir Uguet, I know well that if I died I should take [with me] the same amount as the richest king in the world; so I follow my desires and play with the three dice and keep company with the spots (on dice) and with good wine, wherever I may be. (Harvey and Paterson 3: 267)

Reculaire's philosophy gives him a distinctive voice in a social and literary world oriented toward acquisition (of power, fame, women, and wealth), which is a reason that he may choose to defend himself in the manner he does. He has a rather hedonistic outlook, though his tastes do not seem necessarily refined: he goes where his desires lead him (25). The summary of his activities (26-28) seems to read like a version of "wine, women and song," but wording is rather odd, even by the standards of troubadour verse. Often, troubadours use coded references in relation to their *domna*, whose identity must, by convention, be kept secret. Here, Reculaire may be communicating more or less secretly to others who might know the meaning of his words. "Jogui ab los tres dez" 'I play with the three dice' (26) could denote one of many dice games that are played with three dice, but the construction seems artificial and symbolic. While Harvey and Paterson note other occurrences of three dice, the meaning might have to do with the three dice that Guillem de Peiteus throws, and which seem to represent his genitals—two are square, and one is loaded—in a rather explicit game of love (*joc grossier*) in his "Ben vueill que sapchon li pluzor" (P.C. 183,2).⁷ As for the *ponz* 'points' that he keeps company with, they do make some sense as points on the dice; but Reculaire already mentioned the dice, so they likely represent something else entirely. If the *ponz* are something else, this would furthermore make a round trio of activities, as Harvey and Paterson note, and they raise the possibility that *ponz* may be a corruption of *putz* 'male prostitute.' On the other hand, *ponz* may simply be a term that is unknown to us today.

Sordel continued to write poetry after his arrival in Provence, where he was employed in an administrator for the Count of Provence Raimon Berenguer IV. This was apparently a period of relative stability and respectability in his career. Correspondingly, the one *tenson* in which he takes part that is likely from Provence, “En Sordel, e que·us es semblan” (344,3a=437,15), has a noticeably more amicable tone than the *tensons* from Italy. It is likely that he depended less on patronage for his poetry alone at the court in Aix-en-Provence, so that his *tensons* involve less competition. Even so, his reputation for lack of interest in sex with women seems to have followed him, and his interlocutor, Peire Guillem de Luzerna, raises it at one point in the dialogue. Peire starts off the discussion by asking Sordel about the countess of Provence, and telling him that he has come to Provence to become her lover. He is probably being ironic, however, for he states that about this matter “tug vaun dizen e gauban” ‘everybody is talking and joking’ (3). Indeed, Peire seems to be teasing Peire, for later on he declares:

III
 En Sordel, anc entendedor
 no sai vi mais d’aital color
 com vos es, qe l’autr’amador
 volo·l baizar e lo jazer,
 e vos metetz e non-caler
 so c’autres drutz volon aver.

III
 [Peire] Sir Sordel, I have never before seen here a suitor of your sort, for other lovers desire kissing and making love. But you are indifferent to what other lovers wish to have.

Sordel, throughout the dialogue, affirms that it is the countess’s company and honor that he seeks above all. He claims to defend, in this way, the name and the honor of the count. In reply to Peire’s playful taunts, Sordel reinforces his ties with his employer and patron. Sordel’s interlocutor, Peire, would seem to be attempting to enhance his reputation as an entertainer by poking fun at Sordel and rehearsing well-known rumors about him.

The troubadour Aimeric de Peguillan and Guillem Figueira take aim at Sordel and his sexual preferences indirectly in a *tenso*, “N’Aimeric, que·us par del pro Bertram d’Aurel” (P.C. 217,4c=10,36), but Aimeric attacks Sordel more directly in other works. Aimeric de Peguillan is one of a number of poets, including Sordel and Uc de Saint Circ, who were active in northern Italy in the 1120s and competing for patrons. Aimeric was particularly disparaging of these other poets at that time, as he explains in his *sirventes* “Li fol e·l put e·l fillol” (P.C. 10,32). In this work, he singles out Sordel, and ridicules his improvidence and his gambling habit. In a more pointed attack, Aimeric initiates an insulting *cobla* exchange with Sordel, “Anc al temps d’Artus ni d’ara” (P.C. 10,7a=437,3a). It may be obscene, depicting Sordel in a receptive sexual act:

Anc al temps d’Artus ni d’ara
 No crei qe hom vis
 Tan bel colp cum en las cris
 Pris Sordels d’un’ engrestara;
 E se·l colps non fo de mort, 5
 Sel qe·l penchenet n’ac tort;
 Mas el a·l cor tan umil e tan franc
 Q’el prend en patz toz colps pois no·i a sanc. (Aimeric de Peguillan 72)

I do not believe that a man ever saw, in Arthur’s time or in this age, such a fair stroke as Sordel took in his (pubic) hair from a narrow-necked flask. If the blow was not mortal, that was the fault of the man who combed/dandified him. But he has a heart so humble and so noble that he takes the blows calmly when there is no blood. (my translation, adapted from Shepard and Chambers)

Sordel does reply with a *cobla*, calling Aimeric old, with a twisted, emaciated body and a sad face. It is Aimeric’s *cobla* that is of interest here, however. It has a mock-epic tone: it places a very common, if not vulgar, contemporary event against the background of Arthurian legend (1), and extols Sordel for his grace and nobility (7). Of course his praise is ironic, for the *cobla* is an attack on Sordel. But the event Aimeric narrates seems curious, and surreal in a few of its elements: why would anyone hit a person in the hair with a flask? And the odd story does not seem to justify Sordel’s vehement reply. But Aimeric’s story becomes an unflattering portrayal

of a sexual encounter if just three words—*cris* (4), *engrestara* (4), and *penchenet* (6)—are understood in a particular manner. *Engrestara* (4) means “narrow-necked flask.” It is a word that is only found once in all records of Old Occitan, here in this *cobla* exchange. But as Chabaneau shows through Latin and Romance cognates, it almost certainly denotes a “fiolle à cou étroit” (“Sainte Marie Madeleine” 263, cited in Shepard and Chambers, 73, note 4). By its form, with a wide base and a long narrow neck, such a vessel could easily stand in for male genitalia. The *engrestara* strikes Sordel is in his *crins* (3). *Crin* may designate the hair of a horse (*La Chanson de Girart de Roussillon* v. 2433), or the hair on the head, as is usually the case in lyric. However, there is one case where it denotes pubic hair, in Montan’s obscene *tenson* “Eu veing vas vos, seingner, fauda levada” (P.C. 306,2 v. 20), and that may well be the case here. Finally, *penchenet* is a regular form of the verb *penchenar*, to comb. In the text, it is related to hair (*las crins*), and could describe the repetitive action that Sordel’s attacker (or partner) takes in the area of the hair. There is a possible pun on the word *penchenilh* “pubis.” Most likely, however, is a connection with the sense of *penchenar* that is found in the form *penchenat*, “combed,” denoting a man who, perhaps because he is well-groomed, is foolish, dandified, or effeminate (Levy, *PSW* 6: 204). Putting these otherwise unusual objects together with their new meanings, then, a man gives Sordel strokes with his flask-like object in Sordel’s lower hairy area, and this renders Sordel effeminate; but Sordel takes the blows peacefully and calmly, because he presumably enjoys them.

The *tenson* that Aimeric exchanges with Guillem Figueira, “N’Aimeric, que·us par,” seems at first to have little to do with Sordel, and to have nothing in common with the general criticisms of poverty and sexual irregularity directed against him. Guillem and Aimeric discuss instead two troubadours, Guillem del Dui-Frere and Bertran d’Aurel. But Sordel is also named in

this *tensons* as a teacher of Guillem del Dui-Frere. Sordel may indeed have known Guillem del Dui-Frere, if Guillem is the same as Guillem de la Tor,⁸ for Sordel exchanged *coblas* with Guillem de la Tor. Bertran d’Aurel, the third troubadour mentioned in the *tenson*, is traditionally identified with the *jongleur* Bertran who participated in an insulting *tenson*, “Bertran, c’anar soliatz ab lair os” (P.C. 205,1=79,1a) (Harvey and Paterson 2: 544). Aimeric de Peguillan and Guillem Figueira, the authors of the *tenson* “N’Aimeric,” were probably acquainted with Bertran d’Aurel, for the three of them participated (along with a certain Lantelm) in a four-part *cobla* exchange that is very likely earlier in date.⁹ This four-person *cobla* exchange, “Bertram d’Aurel, se moria” (P.C. 217,1b+10,13+79,1+280,1), is rather obscene in parts: Lantelm refers to his *vet* “penis” (the word, including its variant spellings, is extremely rare in Occitan verse, according to COM) and *lo con* “cunt,” though Aimeric speaks only of prostitutes and drunkards. The scabrous subject of that exchange, and the involvement of Aimeric, Guillem Figueira, and Bertran, is some clue that Aimeric and Guillem Figueira might be making similarly risqué remarks in the *tenson* “N’Aimeric, que·us par.”

Guillem Figueira begins the *tenson* by asking Aimeric his opinion about a “new game” between the “worthy” Bertran d’Aurel and Sir Guillem del Dui-Frere:

I
 [Guillem]
 N’Aimeric, que·us par del pro Bertram d’Aurel,
 c’a Breissa joget l’autrer d’un joc novel
 e dis doas vez eschah ab un coltel
 a·N Guillelm del Dui-Fraire, qe volc l’eschah desfaire;
 mas Bertramz levet del joc, can Guillelms cuidet traire. 5

II
 [Aimeric]
 Figera, Bertramz fetz be, car ses apel
 laise·l joc sobre·l maestre d’En Sordel;
 qe can trop monton revit, non es ges bel;
 e·l seus contrajogaire fora tost revidaire.
 Doncs fetz qe savis Bertramz, car ses dan s’en saup raire. 10

III

[Guillem]

N'Aimeric, bos jogaire fon Bertramz l'envidaire;
mas trop tost laisset l'envit qe Guillelms li volc faire.

IV

[Aimeric]

Figer', anc per lo fraire no fon del joc laissaire
Bertramz, enans per desdeing qe tan pugn'av' a traire.

I

[Guillem] Sir Aimeric, what do you think of the worthy Bertram d'Aurel, who at Brescia played a new game the other day? He said "Check" twice, with a knife, to Sir Guillem of the Two-Brothers, who wished to get out of check. But Bertran got up from the game when Guillem was about to make a move.

II

[Aimeric] Figueira, Bertram did well, since, without a call, he left the game to Sir Sordello's teacher, for it is not a fair thing when the overbids go too high. His opponent would then have quickly been an overbidder. Bertram acted wisely, for he got out of it without loss.

III

[Guillem] Sir Aimeric, Bertram the bidder was a good player; but he left too quickly the bid that Guillem wished to make to him.

IV

[Aimeric] Figueira, Bertram left the game not because of the brother, but through scorn when he (Guillem) insisted so on making a move. (trans. Shepard and Chambers 182-83)

Shepard and Chambers, the editors of the *tenso*, view it as a discussion about a chess game that turned violent. Indeed there is little doubt about the literal meaning. And chess did involve wagering in the Middle Ages (H. J. R. Murray 474-75), so that Aimeric and Guillem Figueira's use of betting terms is altogether reasonable. Nonetheless, Guillem Figueira, in the first stanza, lets on that he is being ironic. He employs *pro* "worthy" for a *joglar* (1), and the honorific *En* "Sir" (4) for a simple troubadour, and thus dignifies men are involved in a rather undignified incident (much like the case in Aimeric's mock-epic *cobla* above, to which this *tenso* bears a certain resemblance (see Shepard and Chambers 183)). He speaks of a *joc novel* "new game" (2), which may signify simply that Bertran and Guillem del Dui-Fraire started a game. But the use of the adjective *novel* is unusual, and implies that Guillem Figueira is speaking of a new and novel

game, and that the gaming terms describe an activity that will be a surprise to the audience. It does seem odd that the two troubadours would describe a simple chess game in such detail, and the accumulation of technical gaming expressions in Stanza II is difficult to explain. It is true that the poem is built partly on a repetition of various words, especially in the position of rhyme or internal rhyme (*traire, fraire, jogaire*), so that there may be some formal rationale. Even so, the frequency of obscure gaming terms hints at a metaphorical meaning. It is possible to construe the “game” described in the *tenson* as some sort of sexual encounter that Bertran initiated with Guillem del Dui-Fraire. It might be worthwhile to point out that this would not be the first *joc* in troubadour verse to metaphorically represent sex. Guillem de Peiteus, the first recorded troubadour, describes a *joc grossier* with a lady, in a *canço* cited earlier, “Ben vueill que sapchon li pluzor” (P.C. 183,2):

Mas ela·m dis un reprovier:
 “Don, vostres datz son menudier
 Ez ieu revit vos a doblier!”
 Fis m’ieu: “Qui·m dava Monpeslier
 Non er laisatz!”
 E levei un pauc son taulier
 Ab ams mos bratz.
 E quan l’aic levat lo taulier,
 Espeis los datz,
 E·ill dui foron cairat, vallier,
 E·l tertz plombatz.
 E fi·ls ben ferir al taulier
 E fon jogatz. (50-62 ed. Bond 26)

But she said to me in reproach: “My Lord, your dice are small, and I invite you again at doubled (stakes).” I answered: “Even if someone gave you Montpellier this wouldn’t be stopped!” And I raised her board a bit with both my arms. And when I had raised her board, I hurtled the dice; and two of them were well squared, valid, but the third was loaded. And I made them strike against the board, and (the game) was played. (trans. Bond 27)

The kind of game is somewhat different, since Guillem’s game seems to resemble backgammon.

But it is perhaps significant that several of the terms from this text reappear in the *tenson*

between Aimeric and Guillem Figueira, such as *jogar* (62) and *levar* (54, 56), and *revit* (52)—along with the likely double meaning *re-vit*, and word's being connected with increasing or enlarging.

Although the *tenson* depicts a game, an alternative account might go something like this: Bertran might have coerced Guillem with a knife, but *coltel* (3) could be a phallic metaphor. *Eschah* “check” (3, 4) may represent climax, which Bertran enjoys twice (3); at any rate, when Guillem extricates himself and wished to have a turn himself to *traire* “shoot,” Bertran gets up from the game (5). The fact that *traire* is in rhyme position in the last line of the stanza, a highly stressed position, would seem to give this otherwise rather general word a special significance. Shepard and Chambers quite adequately translate the terms *revit*, *revidaire*, *envit*, and *envidaire* as betting terms. But the series of words can also be understood to be based on a core of *vit/vid*, which is quite close (though not identical to) the term *v(i)et* “penis,” which is found in isolated locations in troubadour lyric.¹⁰ Although **vit* (as the base for *re-vit* and the other terms) is not found in COM or Levy,¹¹ it may well have been current, but not survived because of taboos operating in medieval writing. It is noteworthy that one of the few mentions of *vet* occurs precisely in an exchange with Aimeric and Guillem Figueira, and based on *vet*, *viet*, or **vit*, the gambling expressions could be puns, understood as *re-vit*, *re-vit-aire*, *en-vit*. Accordingly, when Bertran's *re-vits* go up too high, or mount too much (8), “it is not a fair thing,” for his co-player (Guillem) would be soon *re-vid-aire* himself (9). Aimeric, then, would be professing to praise Bertran for getting out of game before it got too heated up. Guillem Figueira disagrees: Bertran is a good *en-vid-aire* (11; compare modern French *enculeur*, “buggerer”), but he left Guillem unsatisfied, he left him with the *en-vit*, the “invitation” or, here, “in-penis[ing]” that he wished to

do to him (12). Aimeric retorts that Bertran left because he scorns Guillem's trying to *traire* "shoot" (14); perhaps Bertran only takes an active role and scorns taking a passive one.

Such a reading would be highly defamatory against Guillem del Dui-Frere and Bertran d'Aurel. It would make sense that they would associate Sordel with the two, since rumors about Sordel's homosexuality were circulating at the time; Aimeric notes that Guillem del Dui-Frere was Sordel's "maistre." It is difficult to know what to make of this comment. There is a slight possibility Sordel could have been apprenticed to this Guillem, if he is Guillem de la Tor; the two troubadours exchanged a *tenson*. Or Aimeric may be using "maistre" in a special and (here) slanderous sense, to imply a sexual relationship, either with Guillem de la Tor, or another Guillem (del Dui-Frere). "Maistre" does not usually seem to carry any special overtones in troubadour lyric, though in certain instances the *maistre-joglar* association may carry sexual overtones (especially in a homosocial context characterized by homosexual anxiety and in-group taunting), as in the *tenson* examined above, in Section 2.1, between Granet and Bertran d'Alamano, "De vos mi rancur, compaire" (P.C. 189.2=76.6). Guillem del Dui-Fraire as *maistre* or "teacher" would be the active counterpart to Sordel's passive *reculaire* (and Aimeric already insinuates Sordel's passivity in his *cobla* against him, when he says he takes blows in peace). At all events, Aimeric was a competitor and opponent of Sordel in other works, and this work seems one more derogatory context in which he places Sordel.

2.4. *Tensons* with patrons

The motivation for exchanging capital is probably clearest in the case of the *tensons* between a poet and a male lord who is the poet's patron. In most cases of patronage with either a male or female patron, one can theorize that the poet gives cultural capital and receives primarily

material support, or financial capital; and that the patron, man or woman, gives financial support and receives prestige at court, or social capital. According to this simplified patronage model, however, the lord-patron does not create poetry. In the *tenson*, the lord-patron quite specifically does create poetry, so that the rewards are somewhat more complex. The lord seeks not only the prestige of cultivating *fin' amor* at his court, but also a certain status for himself as a poet, in other words, cultural capital. The poet, through the *tenson*, may give the lord the opportunity to practice the art of poetry, and thus accumulate skill. The lord may use the *tenson* to assert his social position and reinforce his power in any of various ways, in some cases with respect to other individuals or groups. In the exchange, then, the lord may wish for his voice to sound like that of a poet, especially if he wishes to display his expertise in *fin' amor*, but he may also wish to keep a distinct voice as a lord and patron.

The interactions that bring together poets and patrons/lords in the *tensons* are often conditioned by the difference in status of the two partners in dialogue. The poets may be *joglers* or *jongleurs*, or instead well established troubadours or *trouvères* with a high reputation. The lords who are patrons, as discussed in this chapter, may be accomplished poets in their own right, such as Blacatz or Thibaut de Champagne, or they may be amateur versifiers.

During an early period of Occitan *tensons*, many patrons were eager to participate in dialogues with the troubadours. For the most part, these patrons were lords who welcomed the troubadours at their courts, but who did not otherwise become poets on their own, since they did not compose *cansos* or other songs that have survived. But they did learn enough to be able to exchange verses with troubadours in *tensons*. A good number of the earliest *tensons* that survive are dialogues between patrons and poets. Male patrons who served as partners in Occitan-language *tensons* in the period 1174-1210 include King Alfonso II of Aragon, Marquis Albert

Malaspina, Count Geoffrey Plantagenet of Brittany, Dalfi d'Alvergne, Viscount Raimon IV of Turenne, Savaric de Malleo, Blacatz, and Conon de Betune. These patrons were of very high rank (with the exception of Blacatz), and were from a wide geographic area, from Iberia, to Italy, to northern France. This group of poet-patrons was also responsible for originating and cultivating the *partimen*. Geoffrey and Gaucelm Faidit are partners in what is probably the earliest *partimen*, likely from the 1180s, “Jauseume, quel vos est semblant” (P.C. 178,1=167,30b) (Harvey and Paterson 2: 242). Geoffrey’s court seems to have been a center for the sub-genre, for this same Count Geoffrey is also a partner in what may be the earliest French language *jeu-parti*, with Gace Brulé, “Gasse, par droit me respondez” (R 948).

Most of the poet-patron *tensons* from this early period, in fact, are *partimens*. In general, the *partimens* are not as interesting as the open *tensons* regarding the dynamic of the interaction between the poets and the patrons; in the *partimen* the conversation is narrowly confined to a given question. But one *partimen* in particular is of interest: “Be·m plairia, Seingner En Reis” (P.C. 242,22=23,1a), between Guiraut de Borneill and King Alfonso II of Aragon. In this debate, Guiraut asks Alfonso if a lady should prefer him, a king, to a simple knight. He answers that ladies are attracted to wealthy men of rank: “Co·l te per seignor, / preza’l doncs menz per sa valor / ...que cel que val mais, e miels pren” ‘As she acknowledges him as lord, does she therefore have less esteem for his good qualities? People commonly say, in the proverbial phrase, that he who is wealthiest takes the best’ (28-32 trans. Harvey and Paterson). Guiraut instead makes the case that powerful men are not the best lovers, and that the art of *fin’amor*, of which troubadours are the experts and the practitioners, offers a way to honor a worthwhile lady better:

Seigner, mot pren gran mal dompneis
 can pert la cug’e·l bon esper,
 que trop val enan del jazer
 l’affars de fin entendedor.

Mas vas ric, car es plus maior,
demandas lo jazer premier,
e dompn'a-l cor sobre-leugier
c'ama scelui que no-i enten. (33-40, Harvey and Paterson 2: 702)

Lord, courting suffers greatly if it loses the uncertainties and the expectations, for the behaviour of a true suitor is of great importance before lovers go to bed. But you rich men, because you are of more exalted rank, demand to go to bed first; and yet a lady must have very shallow affections if she gives her love to a man who does not pay court to her. (trans. Harvey and Paterson 2: 703)

Courting a lady is pleasing to her, but Guiraut suggests it also separates out those women who are only after men because of their money or influence. Guiraut's main point, however, seems to be that the kind of love that Alfonso describes is of little merit, because it is easy and quick; love acquired through *fin'amor* is more honorable and worthy, since it requires skill and effort. Guiraut seems to exercise some influence over Alfonso, for in the next stanza Alfonso claims that he does not win over ladies by his wealth, but by his personal qualities alone, and he further states he does not change his affections once he has wooed a lady.

In this *tenson*, Alfonso demonstrates his literary abilities. Although he is quite open regarding the power he exercises, he shows interest in demonstrating knowledge of *fin'amor*, and the exchange with Guiraut likely helped Alfonso to pursue that interest, just as the *tenson* "Jauseume" helped Geoffrey II pursue his interest in poetry. King Alfonso builds up his cultural capital, and in exchange Guiraut benefits from royal patronage. The benefits to the troubadour can be seen in terms of the support he receives from the king, tangible and intangible, but also in terms of the enhanced reputation he enjoys for having served royalty.

Another *partimen*, this one from the court of Dalfi d'Alvergne, also deals with the question of lords and more lowly but courtly men. The subject continues the debate between Guiraut and Alfonso above, but Dalfi renders the opposition in starker terms:

Perdigons, ses vassallatge
vei cavalliers e baros
laiz e vilans e fellons,
e vei de vilan lignagge
homes cortes e chauzitz,
larcs e valenz et arditz.
Ar digatz, al vostre semblan,
cals d'aquest deu amar enan
domna, qan la destreing amors? (1-9, Harvey and Paterson 1: 265)

Perigee, I see knights and barons without knightly qualities, ugly, ignoble and wicked, and also men who are base-born but courtly and distinguished, generous, worthy and bold. Now tell me, which of these in your opinion ought a lady to love first when love constrains her? (trans. Harvey and Paterson 1: 266)

On one side, Dalfi places hereditary nobles and knights (*cavalliers e baros 2, lignagge 4*) who lack desirable social and courtly qualities; on the other, men with courtly manners (*cortes e chauzitz 5*), but who are of common ancestry. It is important to recall that *fin'amor* values nobility as an innate and inherently good quality, and respects power and rank. But worth and prestige, according to the code, can also come from courtliness and good manners, and this can be acquired without being born into high nobility, and regardless of rank. The opposition that Dalfi presents closely parallels that between nobles and knights (here, devoid of courtly manners), on the one hand, and the troubadours, on the other. It is interesting that the troubadour who replies, Perdigo, does not argue for the lowly born courtly men, but for the nobility and the knights. It is possible that Perdigo may have had personal sympathies for one group or another, or may simply have been attempting to please with his reply. But it is a reminder that troubadours had many different concerns to consider when composing, and the most important one in many cases may have been simply earning a living.

Lords participate in *tensons* not only with troubadours, but also with *joglars*. The debates between lords and *joglars* tend in most cases to adopt a *jongleuresque* tone. They also very often address the question of money. *Tensons* between them can be viewed, in some cases, as way for

joglars to negotiate a reward for their services. A request, direct or indirect, for payment, frequently features in a *joglar*'s remarks in a discussion with a lord. Such is the case with one *tenson* between Blacasset and his *joglar* Alexandre (P.C. 19,1=96,2). The text is from Klein's edition of 1886, which is the most recent; the translation is mine:

I

[Alexandre]

En Blacassetz, bon pretz e gran largueza
avez ab joi, a cui que plassa o pes,
quar ieu ho sai que no·us platz escarseza
. c'a mi dones dos palafres
enaissi com ieu vei Suria, 5
pero be·m platz, s'a vos plazia,
que ja nuill tems no·m dones vostr'aver
ab sol que·l mieu no voillatz retener.

II

[Blacasset]

Alexandres, s'anc mi prestetz, no·us peza
quar no·us paguei, ieu sai com ho faretz: 10
so c'avetz dig que·us dei ab gran largueza
er tot vostre sol de l'autre·m s'ostes;
e quar lo dons trop mais valia
que·l prestz, en mo cauzimen sia,
ho s'ieu rendes so c'aves dig per ver 15
qu'ieu vos donei, rendrai vos vostr'aver.

III

[Alexandre]

Si ab vos salvar mi podia
jamais ab autre non perdria
quar ieu no vueill, s'estiers puesc retener
mon bon amic perdre per mon aver. 20

IV

[Blacasset]

Ab mi vos salvares tot dia
que no perdres s'ieu no perdia
e podetz mi per amic retener
sol no voillatz so que·m prestetz aver. (Klein, "Der Troubadour Blacassetz" 10)

I

[Alexandre] Lord Blacasset, you are well esteemed and are generous and have joy, whomever it might please or bother, because I know that stinginess does not please you, ... that you give me two saddle horses, just like I see in Syria, but I

would like—if you it pleases you—that you never give me your any of your money, provided that you do not want to keep mine.

II

[Blacasset] Alexandre, if you have ever lent me anything, don't let it cause you trouble that I did not pay you back, I know what you'll do. What you've said that I owe you with great generosity will be all yours as long as you cancel the other [debt] for me. And since the gift is worth much more than the loan, let it be my choosing, or if I [don't?] give back what you have really said that I have given you, I will return your money to you.

III

[Alexandre] If I could remain safe with you I would not suffer loss with another, because I do not wish to lose my good friend because of my money, if instead I can keep him.

IV

[Blacasset] You will always be protected with me, for you would never suffer a loss unless I did. And you can keep me as a friend, provided that you do not wish to give me money.

The description of the forms of remuneration that the *joglar* Alexandre requests for his services, and of the debt that Blacasset owes him, are detailed. The *tenson* reads very much like a negotiation, and the *tornadas* a kind of contract that seals the reconciliation between patron and servant. Alexandre begins with a typical *jongleuresque* complaint of his lord's stinginess (3), but requests a horse, a customary payment for a troubadour, and perhaps *joglar* (4-5), in return for the sum that he has previously lent Blacasset (8). Although Alexandre has criticized him, Blacasset does not reciprocate with abuse, unlike the case with most patron-*joglar* dialogues. He actually agrees to Alexandre's request. After Alexandre requests it (17), Blacasset pledges his patronage and protection (21).

There are a number of *jongleuresque* debates between lords or patrons and *joglars* that are harshly insulting. A large share of these insulting *tensons*, in fact, involve dialogues in which there is a difference in rank and position between the two interlocutors. The lords or patrons would have used the *jongleuresque* register as a vehicle for entertainment and humor (see Fèvre). Insulting language would also be a means for them to demonstrate their control the various

individuals in their retinue, and take them on verbally. As confirmation of this, the lords do initiate the dialogue in many cases. However, in many instances, the *joglar*s seem to issue a challenge to the lord or patron. In at least one case the *joglar*'s invitations is polite; in others it is aggressive. The lord or patron, of course, could easily have refused such an appeal, but must have seen it as an opportunity to put the *joglar* in his place. These insult *tensons* thus offer the lords and patrons the means of affirming social and personal authority over their followers. In some cases, the *tenson* would have been a chance for the patron to demonstrate his capability as a versifier, and trade some of his social capital for cultural capital. For the *joglar*, this would have been a chance to author a work of his own, gain some recognition and prestige for it, and perhaps gain some financial reward: he would be trading his cultural capital for social and economic gain.

Many of these insulting works between patrons and *joglar*s are concentrated in, or tied to, Provence in the early thirteenth century. This could reflect a local tradition for abusive humor in this time period. But there is the possibility that it might have also to do with patterns of patronage in the area, as Aurell describes. Minor nobles desired to sponsor courtly poetry, but troubadours were becoming expensive for the budgets of small courts, and *joglar*s could fill their role, if needed. Unlike greater lords of earlier generations such as Dalfi d'Alvergne or Savaric de Malleo, who could dialogue with troubadours, pettier aristocrats may have only had *joglar*s with whom to interact. Indeed, one of the common criticisms that the *joglar*s fling at their interlocutors in these *tensons* is their impoverishment.

Four of these insulting *tensons* belong to what Harvey and Paterson characterize as a “category of pieces in which a low-born hack mocks one of his betters and is in turn ridiculed for having been crippled by judicial maiming” (1: 242). Although these works are in part humorous,

and may contain a certain element of slapstick, they are often quite cruel, and are reminders of the low regard and small amount of sympathy that *joglar*s and the less fortunate had in a courtly environment. In three of these *tensons*, the *joglar* addresses the patron or lord first, with a pointed criticism, only to be rather cruelly belittled. The *tenson* “Bonafos, yeu vos envit” (P.C. 111,1), between Cavaire and Bonafos, hails not from Provence, but from Auvergne. Although the *joglar* Cavaire starts on a somewhat neutral tone, the work degenerates into mutual vituperation, with Bonafos referring to his mutilated foot. The blind *joglar* Bonafe proposes two *tensons* to the Blacatz, lord of Aups, a minor noble but a celebrated friend of troubadours. In “Seigne·N Blacaz, poz per tot vos failh barata,” (P.C. 98,1=97,10), Bonafe begins by scorning Blacatz’s poverty and his political situation; in “Seingne·N Blacatz, talant ai que vos queira” (P.C. 98,2=97,11), he jokingly asks Blacatz for grants of land. In both works, Bonafe ridicules Blacatz for his troubles with the Templars and the Hospitallers; in the second work, Blacatz reminds Bonafe that he was blinded for stealing, and wished for people on the road to give him a kick. It is not the *joglar* who speaks first in “Falco, en dire mal” (192,2a=147,2), but Gui, very likely Gui de Cavaillo (Harvey and Paterson 2: 460), a petty lord and troubadour. Gui begins by telling Falco:

Falco, en dire mal
vey qu’es trop abrivatz
e fos ne causigatz
et portatz ne·l senhal. (1-4, Harvey and Paterson 2: 456).

Falco, see you have been too hasty in speaking ill and have been taught a lesson for it and are bearing the mark of it. (trans. Harvey and Paterson 2: 457)

Gui describes the mark he bears (4) as his mutilated tongue (though this does not quite make sense in the context of the performance of the work, if the maimed Falco and the performer are the same person). Falco criticizes Gui for his imbecility and his habit of robbery.

“Bernado, la jenser dona qu’esmyr” (P.C. 441,1=51,1), between a certain Tomas—who may be Thomas II of Savoy (Harvey and Paterson 3: 1238)—and a *joglar* Bernado, furnishes another example of an insult *tenso* between lord and *joglar*, this one not involving disfigurement. Thomas addresses Bernado in a courtly manner, but Bernado replies in a scolding and scornful manner; the remaining dialogue is largely mud-slinging, with Tomas calling the *joglar* not by his name, but by the appellation *mor de trueya* “pig-face.”

While insult *tensos* were common in Provence in the early thirteenth century, this milieu offers examples of two patron-*joglar* *tensos* that display a gentler sense of humor. One originates from the court Count Raimon Berenguer IV of Provence, who governed from 1215 to 1245. Raimon was himself an amateur poet, and composed two comic *tensos*, one in appearance fictive (but likely with a *joglar*), and one with Arnaut Catalan. In both works, Raimon assumes the qualities of a lord and master. The fictive *tenso* “Carn-et-ongla, de vos no·m voill partir” (P.C. 184,1=25,1), is with a horse, but as Poe argues, the *senhal* is probably the name for a *joglar*, for the dynamic between them is very much that of a patron and a singer at court who is seeking favors. Horses and clothing are, as she points out, among the most commonly mentioned items of payment accorded to troubadours and *joglars*. The horse’s name, Carn-et-ongla, or Flesh-and-nail, could be seen as a physical description the animal, made up of flesh and nail (or hoof). But the association of “carn” and “ongla,” which occurs elsewhere in Occitan lyric, usually indicates the closeness or inseparability of two things, as in Arnaut Daniel’s earlier and celebrated *canso* “Lo ferm voler qu’el cor m’intra” (P.C. 29,14) “de leis serai si con es charz e ongla” ‘I will be with her like flesh is to nail’ (17), and Raimon may be alluding to Arnaut’s poem.¹² The appellation thus indicates the closeness the Count professes to feel with the horse, as well as how he values it; and indeed, a good warhorse may have been at

least valuable to a count as a *joglar*. At the same time, treating a human *joglar* as a horse, a possession and a beast, is demeaning and comical, essential qualities of the *jongleuresque*. In any case, whether or not the *tenson* is fictive, it certainly can be read as the representation of a master and servant relationship; but in performance, it would only be effective if it were voiced by two performers, one acting as a lord, and one as a more lowly personage (costumed as a horse, perhaps, in more madcap stagings).

In starting the *tenson*, Count Raimon Berenguer probably chose the meter. As is generally the case with Occitan *tensons*, he takes the metrical structure from a previous song, in this case Guillem de Berguedan's "Un sirventes ai en cor a bastir" (P.C. 210,20), a somewhat older song. Unusually, he borrows not only the rhyme sounds, but also many of the rhyme words (*partir, Espaigna, compaigna, espert, pert*). Raimon may be attempting to demonstrate his knowledge of the troubadour tradition, with the imitation of Guillem (and the possible allusion to Arnaut's "Lo ferm voler"), and he may be trying to display his cultural capital in this manner.

I
 [Coms de Proensa]
 Carn-et-ongla, de vos no·m voill partir,
 tant vos trob ferm en plan et en montagna;
 e poira m'en qi·s volra escarnir,
 qu'eu no·s partrai ogan de ma compaigna
 ni negun temps, mentre qe guerra aia. 5
 Pro sabra d'art toz homs qe·us me sostraia;
 tant bon caval non sai ni tant espert,
 per qe m'er mal se ses armas vos pert.

II
 [Carn-et-ongla]
 Per Dieu, seigner, ben vos o dei grazir
 qe tan temetz qe vida me suffraigna, 10
 ni no pogra a nuill seignor venir,
 tant me plagues, quant hom m'aduis d'Espaigna.
 Pois me plagues, no cuit q'eu vos desplaia,
 c'anc, pois m'ages, eu no pris colp ni plaia,
 anz manci pro e·m ten om ben cubert, 15
 et er me mal se per aicho mi pert.

III

[Coms de Proensa]

Carn-et-ongla, vos ai e dompna gaia
e fort castel, cui qe pes o cui plaia,
per q'eu vos dic e us fatz saber en cert,
mais voill vivatz qe Gigo de Galpert.

20

IV

[Carn-et-ongla]

Per Dieu, seigner, aichos no m esglaia,
mas lo cairellz c'om ditz sobrefolzaia;
daquel ai eu gran paor e m n'espert,
per c'a Saint Marc lo volgra aver offert. (Appel, *Provenzalische* 133)

I

[Coms de Proensa] Flesh-and-nail, I do not want to part from you, so much do I find you firm on the plain and in the mountains. Whoever wishes to do so can scorn me for it, but I will not let you go from my company this year, or at any time, as long as there is war. A man would have to know plenty of tricks to take you away from me. I do not know such a good horse, nor one so skilled, which is why it would be bad for me if I were unarmed when I lost you [or: if I lost you without a fight]

II

[Carn-et-ongla] By God, my lord, I should thank you, since you fear so much that my life might end, and when I was brought from Spain I would not have been able to go to another lord who might have pleased me as much. Just as you pleased me, I don't believe that I displease you, and never, since you got me, have I taken a blow or a wound. Instead I eat a lot, and I am kept well covered, and because of that it would be bad for me if I were dismissed from your service [lit. if I got lost]

III

[Coms de Proensa] Flesh-and-nail, I have you and a merry lady, and a strong castle, regardless of whom it might bother or please. For this I tell you and inform you for certain, I want you to live longer than Guigo de Galpert.

IV

[Carn-et-ongla] By God, Sir, that does not alarm me, but the crossbow arrows do, for they say "let it fall on the fool!"¹³—these arrows I greatly fear, and flee from, which is why I would have wanted to make an offering to Saint Mark. (my translation, based on Poe, *Compilatio* 50-51)

At the same time as he is showing off his poetic skills, Raimon is asserting his role as supporter of Carn-et-ongla. He states his appreciation for the Carn-et-ongla's skills: "tant bon caval non sai ni tant espert" 'I do not know such a good horse, nor one so skilled' (7). In reply, the horse/*joglar* asserts that the count is a good lord, and declares that his basic material needs are

met. He ends his first stanza by saying “er me mal se per aicho mi pert” (16), literally, ‘it would be bad for me if I got lost.’ The verb *perdre*, however, is used in *tensons* between lords and *joglars* to denote the severing of a relationship of patronage,¹⁴ so the phrase might be translated “it would be bad for me if I were dismissed/sent away from your service.” The count, in response, wishes the longevity of Guigo de Galpert—perhaps a legendary figure (Chambers, *Proper* 146)—to Carn-et-ongla; the horse/*joglar* expresses fear of crossbows in battle, a reminder that *joglars* were at the command of their employers, and had to go to battle when needed. At the end, Carn-et-ongla is probably making an indirect plea for payment from Count Raimon, when he mentions an offering to Saint Mark, which, as Poe points out, is a pun on the marks used for currency (*Compilatio* 51 note 32). In this *jongleuresque* encounter, then the Count benefits from converting some of his immense social capital as a ruler into cultural capital as a poet (though perhaps not of the highest caliber). Throughout the exchange, he maintains his position as master over his interlocutor. The *joglar* gains by being able to perform a work not for the patron, but with him, which must have been a privilege—one that must have merited the supplemental remuneration that Carn-et-ongla seems to be requesting at the end of the *tenson*.

Count Raimon Berenguer participated in another *tenson* (P.C. 184,1), this time with a troubadour, Arnaut, most likely Arnaut Catalan (see Arnaut Catalan, x, 11). This dialogue is also comical, but the humor rather earthier. The count also begins the debate in this work as well:

Amicz N’Arnautz, cent dompnas d’aut paratge
van outramar e son a meia via
e non podon lai complir lor viatge,
ni sai tornar per nuilla ren que sia,
si non o fan per aital covinen
c’un pet fassatz que mova un tal ven
que las dompnas vadan a salvamen.
Far l’etz o non, que saber o volria? (1-8 Arnaut Catalan 45-56)

My friend Arnaut, a hundred ladies of high rank are going overseas. They are already halfway and cannot finish their journey, nor return from where they are, for anything in the world, unless they make such an agreement, that you produce a fart that creates such a wind that the ladies may come to a safe place. Will you do it or not? I would like to know. (my translation)

As before, Count Raimon—perhaps with Arnaut’s help or suggestion—closely models his verse on a well-known song. The work in question is “En Raïmbaut, pros dompna d’aut linhatge” (238.2=388.2). Although “En Raïmbaut” was very widely imitated, Raimon may be alluding to the song in order to show disdain for its author, Gui de Cavaillo, to “blow wind” on him.

Assuming that Gui was one of the authors, Harvey and Paterson note that it would have been written after Gui took away his allegiance from the counts of Provence, after the death, in 1210, of Count Alfonso II of Provence. After that date, Gui supported the counts of Toulouse, and continued to do so until 1229, the last date for which there is documentary evidence for him (Harvey and Paterson 2: 680; Guida, “Per la biografia” 189-205; Aurell 41-43). It is possible, then, that Count Raimon, who began to rule in 1215, was displeased at Gui’s abandonment of his service to Provence, and alludes to Gui’s poem partly in scorn, by composing a song that proposes a rather ill-mannered gesture. The Count may have, in this way, been able to accomplish certain political aims. In any case, this song is clearly intended as humor, a grotesque parody of the culture of *fin’amor*. Coarse humor of many varieties is very much a hallmark of the *tensons* linked to the court in Aix. Arnaut, of course, was apparently able to distinguish the taste of the court, and was motivated to take part in this work, and presumably was compensated accordingly.

Arnaut Catalan probably retained the idea of a man breaking wind to power sailing ships, and brought it with him to the court of Alfonso X of Castile to compose another *tenso* with the same subject, “Sinner, adars ye·us vein querer.” It is very likely that Alfonso composed this

tenson with Alfonso after the one with Raimon in Provence, because of Alfonso's much younger age (see d'Heur 133-35). The formal model for "Sinner" is another well-known poem, one of the most celebrated *cansos* in the entire troubadour repertory: Bernart de Ventadorn's "Can vei la lauzeta mover" (P.C. 70,43). The *tenson* not only has the same metrical structure, it also shares the same rhyme sounds (-er, -ai, -e, -on). Of course, it was probably sung to Bernart's famous melody, which would immediately remind listeners of the correspondence between the two works. Arnaut commences the dialogue, in Occitan. Alfonso must have been able to follow the Occitan, but he answers in Galician-Portuguese, while keeping the same rhyme sounds:

I	
[Arnaldo]	
Sinner, adars ye·us vein querer	
huun dom que·m donez si vos play,	
Que vul vostr'amiral eser	
en cela vostra mar d'alay.	
E sy o ffaz, en bona fe	5
c'a totas las naus que la ssom	
eu les faray tal vent de me	
que or anon totas amon.	
II	
[Senher]	
Dom Arnaldo, poys tal poder	
de vant'avedes, bem vos vay,	10
e dad' a vos devia seer	
aqueste dom. Mais degu eu: Ay!	
por que nunca tal dom deu Rey?	
Pero non quer eu galardom,	
mais pois vo-lo ja outroquey,	15
chamen vos almiral Sisom.	
III	
[Arnaldo]	
La dom vos dey molt merceyar	
e l'ondrat nom que m'avez mes,	
e d'aitam vos vul segurar	
qu'an faray huun ven tan cortes,	20
que mha dona qu'es la melhor	
del mond' e la plus avinent,	
fary passar a la dolçor	
del temps con filias altras cent.	

IV
 [Senher]
 Dom Arnaldo, fostes errar 25
 por passarades com batares
 vossa senhor a ultramar,
 que non cuyd'eu que i a tres
 no mundo de tam gram valor,
 e juro vos par sam Vincente 30
 que non é boon doneador
 quen esto fezer a çyente. (d'Heur 116-17)

I
 [Arnaldo] Sir, I come to you now to ask that you grant me a gift, if it pleases you. I wish to be your admiral on that sea of yours over there. And if you do this in good faith, I will break such a wind that all of the ships that are there will then go up [in full sail].

II
 [Senher] Sir Arnaud, since you have such power over the wind, it is well for you, and this gift should be given to you. But I say: Ah! Why did a King never give such a gift? I do not seek a reward. But since I have given it to you, let them call you Admiral *Sisom* ["Francolin"].

III
 [Arnaldo] I must thank you very much for the gift, and for the honored name that you have given me. For this, I want to assure you that I will make such a courtly wind that I will make my lady, who is the best and most graceful in the world, cross in fair weather with a hundred other young ladies.

IV
 [Senher] Sir Arnaud, you make a mistake in sending your lady across the sea with such a noise. I do not think there are three ladies in the world of such worth, and I swear by Saint Vincent that the man who does this deliberately is not a good lover. (my translation, based on d'Heur 116-17)

This song is in many ways a burlesque parody of Bernart's song. D'Heur has recorded various points at which "Sinner, adars ye·us vein querer" borrows words or phrases from "Can vei." The imitation may, however, may be a lampoon of Bernart de Ventadorn and his very courtly poetry, specifically by means of his name "Ventadorn," which can be understood punningly as "breaker of wind" (based on the noun *ventar* "to blow, make wind" plus the agentive suffix *-ador*). Bernart's own *canço* "Can la freid'aura venta" 'When the cold wind blows' (P.C. 70,37) is parodied by anonymous troubadour in "Quand lo petz del cul venta" 'when the fart blows from

the ass' (P.C. 461,202) (Gaunt "Obscene" 89). There may be other references to breaking wind in this work: "Sisom" (16), the title that Alfonso bestows upon Arnaut, is the name of a partridge-like bird, the francolin which, according to d'Heur, is reputed to "émettre constamment des flatulences" (123) (in fact this notion probably comes from the loud wing sounds the bird makes upon taking off in flight).

The most notable feature of the debate between Arnaut and Alfonso, however, is that it is bilingual. There are four bilingual *tensons* in the corpus of this study, and it is significant that three of them are between a troubadour and a great lord: the above *tenson*; the *partimen* between Geoffrey of Brittany and Gaucelm Faidit ("Jauseume, quel vos est semblant" (P.C. 178,1=167,30b)), examined in the Introduction; and a *partimen* between Conon de Betune and Raimbaut de Vaqueiras ("Seigner Coines, jois e pretz et amors" (P.C. 392,29=116,1)). The fourth bilingual *tenson* is the dialogue "Bella, tant vos ai preiada" (P.C. 392,7), also with Raimbaut de Vaqueiras as a partner, this time with a *domna*, considered in the Introduction. All of these works are the result of troubadours journeying outside of Occitania and making contact with individuals who did not speak Occitan. In the first three cases, the individuals are literate, but in another poetic tradition, and choose to keep their own language. As powerful nobles who in all likelihood acted as patrons or sponsors to their troubadour partners, they have the privilege of interacting with troubadours on their own terms; they are exceptional cases, and bilingual *tensons* are therefore rare. Other individuals who are not great lords, and who wish to practice troubadour poetry, must learn Occitan; poets from Italy, for example, began to do so in late twelfth century (the Bolognese troubadour Rambertino Buvaelli is an early example).

2.5. Women speakers: patrons, *joglaresas*, and fictive voices

The women who speak in *tensons* occupy a variety of positions: they are ladies and (probably) *joglaresas*, courtly and very non-courtly; some are fictive. The women poets, like the men, accumulate various types of capital, depending on their circumstances. However, they all have in common a particular role assigned to them in the libidinal economy: they are all desired. Men are not always desiring women, directly, in the *tensons*; but wherever a woman appears in a debate poem, she is the object of her interlocutor's desire. At the same time, the *tenson* gives women the opportunity to dialogically engage with, and even sometimes question, the poet/lover, and negotiate the terms of the courtly relationship.

There is, first of all, a close association between *tensons* and women: A very large proportion of women's lyric output is in the form of debate poetry. This is the case in both the Occitan and French traditions. The corpus of *tensons* for this study includes thirty-five *tensons* in Occitan or French with at least one female voice. Many if not most of these female voices seem to have been composed by women. Unlike the status of lord, troubadour or *trouvère*, or *joglar* or *jongleur* (all of which show innumerable gradations, are subject to change, and require some historical evaluation and judgment to assess), gender in lyric is for most purposes fixed. Partly for this reason, it is somewhat easier to determine the gender of a speaker a debate song, especially in the languages of Old Occitan and Old French.¹⁵

Table 2.1. *Tenzons* and female voices

		a. <i>Tenzons</i> (as defined by this study)	b. All lyric works	<i>Tenzons</i> as % of lyric works (a/b)
Troubadour lyric	Works with a female voice	22	47 (Rieger ¹⁶)	46.8%
	Works with any type of voice	201	2552 (Frank; Paden “System”)	7.9%
<i>Trouvère</i> lyric	Works with a female voice	13	40 (Doss-Quinby et al. ¹⁷)	32.5%
	Works with any type of voice	202	2228 (Spanke ¹⁸)	9.1%

A very large share of women’s voices that occur in lyric are found in *tenzons*. In Occitan lyric, the *tenzons* of this study’s corpus account for 7.9% of all lyric works, but account for 46.8%—almost half—of lyric works with a woman’s voice. For French lyric, the proportions are similar, with *tenzons* making up 9.1% of all lyric works (excluding motets and *rondeaux*, for purposes of comparison), but 32.5% all lyric works with a woman’s voice. There is the possibility that this trend represents a systematic bias of the manuscript tradition: compilers may have tended to record and preserve a greater proportion of men’s poetry compared that of women, or misattribute women’s poetry to men; if so, then (correctly attributed) women’s voices would have survived more frequently in *tenzons*, since women’s voices are usually paired with a male voice, which would help preserve them (Paterson, *World* 260-61). All the same, it seems probable that women had a predilection for the *tenson* over other genres; women may indeed have favored dialogue songs, and since the female-voiced dialogues in the chart above represent a broad range of authors, regions, and time periods, this preference, which is similar in both the

Occitan and French traditions, very likely reflects poetic practices. There are reasons that women may have been more inclined to create *tensons* rather than other genres. The Occitan moralist Amanieu de Sescas recommended “iocx partitz” as an appropriate activity for young ladies (Sansone 243). For adult noblewomen within the largely male-centered circuits of exchange, *tensons* may have been more suitable to perform than other types of lyric. Furthermore, the *tenson* would have a means to engage poets, and draw them to their courts. Bourgeois women in Arras who created poetry as amateurs did so for prestige— to increase their stock of cultural and social capital— but in an urban setting. And in the Occitan tradition, professional performers, the *joglasesas*, exercised their trade, much like the *joglars*..

This study largely accepts the work of Rieger, Bruckner et al., and Doss-Quinby et al., in supporting women’s authorship for works with a female voice, including the *tensons*. However, this study is concerned not only with the sex or gender of the author, but also with the gender of the voice, whichever kind of author (male or female) wrote it. The determination of the sex or gender of the author is of great importance in reading a medieval lyric poem. At the same time, both women and men who wrote in a woman’s voice (or a man’s voice) were conditioned by the same discursive codes and their construction of gender, although it is plausible that women and men used them slightly differently. At the same time, it seems likely to me that in the *tensons*, the a large part of female voices, and probably the majority, were authored by women. The *tensons* grouped together here under the title of “women’s voice” or “female voice” may seem to correspond to a certain notion of *féminité textuelle*, but this does not at all mean that this categorizations accept Bec’s *féminité textuelle*, which views the female voice as a largely fictional artifact of male-authored texts (“Trobairitz” 235-36). There is no general reason to believe that any of the female-voiced partners in *tensons*, even the anonymous ones, are

necessarily fictional, as much earlier criticism does. Instead, the interest in women's voices has to do with the manner in which individuals use voice in dialogue, as a means for differentiating themselves from others, and as a means for accumulating capital.

At the same time, there are a few female voices in Occitan *tensons* that were probably written by men. Several works contain a male-narrated introduction which encloses the female voice, which is a clear signal of a fictiveness—for example, Raimon Escrivan's "Senhors, l'autrier vi ses falhida" (P.C. 398,1), and Guillem de Saint Leidier's "D'una don'ai auzit dir que s'es clamada" (P.C. 234,8). Nonetheless, women may have performed the female voices in these works, and their contribution can be said to add a layer of authorship. Women, through their performance, may have modified lyric through their voice in other ways. Certainly, women performed songs written by men which were in a male grammatical voice—as in the fictional, though surely not atypical, example from the *Roman de la Violette* of women singing male-authored troubadour and *trouvère* songs. But did women ever do so from a woman's point of view, changing the pronouns? Did men perform lyric written by women in a man's voice? The manuscript tradition actually preserves traces of this kind performance practice: for a few dialogue poems, there exist two different versions in different manuscripts: one version is between two male speakers, and one version is between a female speaker and a male speaker.¹⁹

A good amount of scholarship has been devoted recently to women in Occitan and French lyric, and there are only a few observations to add here, concerning women as patrons, women speaking in an non-courtly or *jongleuresque* voice, and intertextual borrowing involving women's voices across texts. Rieger, Bruckner, Doss-Quinby, and Coldwell have helped to firmly establish women's authorship and performance of poetry in the Occitan and French lyric traditions. Some work has examined women's voices in lyric texts, in male-authored genres such

as the *pastourelle* (Gravdal; Zink, *Pastourelle*) or the *chanson de toile* (Zink, *Chansons*; *Moyen Âge* 134-150). However, women speakers in the *tensons* do not seem use the kinds of voices found in these genres. Work on lyric written by women is more pertinent for the *tenson*. Ferrante and Kay (“Derivation”) discern features of style that distinguish the *trobairitz* from the male troubadours. Bruckner, in studying the women authors of the *canço*, remarks on the resourcefulness of women’s arguments relating to *fin ’amor*: “Women poets consistently refer to themselves as *domna*, but they allow that designation a range of variation that exceeds the troubadours’ desire to fix her” (“Fictions” 877). This range, indeed, is borne out in the many variation of voices found in *tensons*. Noble women are both powerful nobles and patrons, on the one hand, and are female objects of male troubadour desire, on the other; as Kay has remarked, they are of “mixed” gender (*Subjectivity* 86), with the properties of the male lord and the female object of desire. In *tensons* with male poets, they negotiate these positions.

In the Occitan tradition, however, women’s voices are not only those of ladies; many adopt a *jongleuresque* register. This is the case with “Bella, tant vos ai preiada,” and with approximately half of the debate corpus with a female voice. Many of these works are fictional, but many of them very likely were not.

Below are the twenty-two Occitan *tensons* from this study’s corpus with a female voice. I have separated them into two groups: the first courtly; and the second non-courtly or *jongleuresque*, in which one or both partners speak in a coarse or obscene manner, or disparage or mock one another. Within these two groups, the works are listed in approximate chronological order:

Table 2.2 Occitan *tensons* with a female voice

P.C.	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Date
46,3= 389,6	“Amics, en gran cossirier”	<i>Domna</i> , Raimbaut d’Aurenga,	open <i>tenson</i> , <i>conselh</i>	c. 1168 (Pattison 42)
242,69= 12a,1	“S’ie·us quier conseill, bella amia Alamanda”	Guiraut de Borneill, Alamanda	open <i>tenson</i> , <i>conselh</i>	before 1183 (Harvey and Paterson 2: 714)
296,1a	“Domna, a vos me coman”	Marques, <i>Domna</i>	<i>coblas</i> <i>tensonadas</i>	1180-1206 (Rieger 363)
295,1= 194,9	“Gui d’Uicel, be·m peza de vos”	Maria de Ventadorn, Gui d’Uisel	<i>partimen</i>	c. 1196-98 (Harvey and Paterson 3: 938)
252,1= 133,7	“N’Elyas Cairel, del amor”	Isabella, Elias Cairel	open <i>tenson</i>	1204-1206 (Harvey and Paterson 2: 846)
372,4	“Bona domna, un conseil vos deman”	Pistoleta, <i>Domna</i>	open <i>tenson</i> , <i>conselh</i>	1205-1228 (Rieger 398)
10,23	“Domna, per vos estauc en greu turmen”	Aimeric de Peguillan, <i>Domna</i>	<i>coblas</i> <i>tensonadas</i>	1218-21 (Rieger 316)
409,3	“Donna, qar conoissenz’ e senz”	Raimon de las Salas, <i>Domna</i>	open <i>tenson</i> , <i>conselh</i>	Raimon attested 1224 (Rieger 449)
461,56	“Bona domna, tan vos ai fin coratge”	<i>Donzela</i> , <i>Domna</i>	open <i>tenson</i> , <i>conselh</i>	1200-1250 (Rieger 188)
87,1	“Bona dona, d’una re que·us deman”	Bertran del Pojet, <i>Domna</i>	open <i>tenson</i> , <i>conselh</i>	1230-35 (Rieger 330)
282,14= 200,1	“Na Guilielma, maint cavallier arratge”	Lanfranc Cigala, Guillelma de Rosers	<i>partimen</i>	1241-1258 (Harvey and Paterson 3: 910)
15a,1	“Bella dompna si·us plaz”	Albert de Bonet, <i>Dompna</i>	(lost)	(lost)

P.C.	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Date
Non-courtly <i>tensons</i>:				
234,8	“D’una don’ ai auzit dir que s’es clamada”	Guillem de Sant-Leidier (narrator), “Maritz”, “Molher”	fictive <i>tenson</i> , narration	1165-1195 (Rieger 469)
392,7	“Bella, tant vos ai preiada”	Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, <i>Domna</i>	open <i>tenson</i>	1190 (Linskill 99)
231,1	“Auzir cugei lo chant e·l crit e·l glat”	Guillem Rainol d’At, <i>Domna</i>	open <i>tenson</i>	Guillem Rainol, c. 1209-1216 (Harvey and Paterson 2: 626)
231,4	“Quant aug chantar lo gal sus en l’erbos”	Guillem Rainol d’At, <i>Domna</i>	open <i>tenson</i>	Guillem Rainol, c. 1209-1216 (Harvey and Paterson 2: 626)
398,1	“Senhors, l’autrier vi ses falhida”	Raimon Escrivan (narrator), “Cata”, “Trabuquet”	fictive <i>tenson</i> , narration	1218 (Vatteroni)
339,3	“Midons, cui fuy, deman del sieu cors gen”	Peire Duran, <i>Domna</i>	open <i>tenson</i>	1200-1250 (Rieger 378)
249a,1= 426,1	“Rofin, diguatz m’ades de quors”	Domna H, Rofin	<i>partimen</i>	after 1230-1241 (Harvey and Paterson 2: 838)
306,2	“Eu veing vas vos, Seingner, fauda levada”	Montan, <i>Dompna</i>	open <i>tenson</i>	c. 1250-75 (Rieger 373)
12,1= 108,1	“Na Carenza al bel cors avenenz”	Alaisina Yselda, Carenza	<i>partimen</i> , <i>conselh</i>	14th c. (Rieger 159)
269,1	“Un guerrier, per alegrar”	Johan de Pennas, <i>Gueriera</i>	open <i>tenson</i>	?

In the first group of works, the *tenson* that best illustrates the notions of capital, exchange, and profit, is “Gui d’Uisel, be·m peza de vos” (P.C. 295,1=194,9), between Maria de Ventadorn and Gui d’Uisel. It enjoyed wide popularity: of all the Occitan *tensons* with a female voice, it is the second most widely distributed in manuscripts (the most widely distributed is “S’ie·us quier conseil, bella amia Alamanda” (242,69=12a,1)). In “Gui d’Uisel,” Maria and Gui bargain over the terms of a courtly relationship, each endeavoring to profit from the partnership and accumulate various types of capital.

When Maria speaks in lyric, she is speaking in part as an important patron of troubadour lyric, and as an individual connected to the development of the *tenson*. She came from a prominent family of troubadour patrons in Limousin, and with her marriage around 1190 to Eble V of Ventadorn, she made her court in Ventadorn into an important juncture in the networks of the troubadours of the day, a veritable “salon littéraire,” according to Rieger (265). Maria, in fact, is the single most frequently addressed woman in the entire extant troubadour corpus: nine poets address her in 26 different works (Rieger 264), including several troubadours who were important figures in the early spread of the *tenson* (Gaucelm Faidit, Gui d’Uisel). Maria is also named as a judge in five debate poems.²⁰ Gui d’Uisel was from a much less prominent noble family than Maria. His family were *châtelains* of the small castle of Uisel (modern Ussel), about fifteen kilometers northeast of Ventadorn, and the castle was a dependency of Ventadorn. But Gui had no title of his own: he became a canon, and resided elsewhere, in Brioude and Montferrand. So it may have been Maria’s reputation as a patron that principally attracted him to her. Although Gui did compose for other ladies, he showed a particular attachment to Maria: he dedicated three *cansos* to her, mentioned her in one *pastorela*, and names her as a judge in a *tenson* with his cousin Eble.

Maria begins by requesting that Gui sing for her, because she is disappointed that he has not been singing—invoking the “poet who has abandoned singing” *topos* that is frequently used as an address in *tensons* (see the discussion of the *tensons* of Bernart de Ventadorn in Section 2.2). She proposes a *partimen*: according to the code of *fin’amor*, must a lady give what a lover asks, just as he must give what she asks?

I

[Maria]

Gui d’Uicel, be·m peza de vos
 quar vos es laisatz de cantar;
 encar vos hi volgra tornar
 e, quar sabetz d’aitals razos,
 ieu vos deman si deu far engualmen 5
 dona per drut, quan lo·i quer franchamen,
 com el per leis tot quan tanh az amor
 segon lo dreg qu’entendon amador.

II

[Gui]

Dona Na Maria, tensos
 e tot chan cuiava laisar, 10
 mas era non ho aus mudar
 que no chant al vostre somos.
 E respon vos de la dona breumen
 que per son drut deu far comunalmen
 com el per leis ses garda de ricor, 15
 qu’en dos amicx no deu aver maior.

III

[Maria]

Gui, tot so don es cobeitos
 deu drutz ab merce demandar
 e dona deu ho acoindar, 20
 mas be·n deu esgardar sazos.
 E drutz deu far precx e comandamen
 com per amigua e per dompn’eisamen,
 e dona deu a son drut far honor
 com az amie, e no com a senher.

IV

[Gui]

Dona, sai dizem entre nos 25
 que, lai on dona vol amar.
 engualment deu son drut onrar
 cant engualmen son amors.

E si·s deve qu'ill l'am plus finamen,
li dig e·ill fait ho devon far parven; 30
e s'a ves leis fals cor ni trichador,
ab bel semblan deu cubrir sa dolor.

V

[Maria]

Gui d'Uicel, ges d'aital respos
no son li drut al comensar,
ans di cascus quan vol preiar 35
mas jonhtas e de genoillos,
“Dona, voillatz qu'ieu vos sierva humilmen
coma vostr'om”; donx, s'ilh enaisi·l pren,
ieu lo jutge per dreg a traïdor
si·s fai parers, que's det a servidor. 40

VI

[Gui]

Dona, ben es plaitz vergonhos
az ops de dona razonar
que no tenha celui per par
a cui a fag un cor de dos:
ho vos diretz (e no·us estara gen) 45
que·l drutz la deu amar plus leialmen,
ho vos diretz qu'ill son par entre lor,
mas re no·i a lo drutz mas per amor.
(Harvey and Paterson 3: 934-36)

I

[Maria] Gui d'Uisel, it greatly grieves me that you have abandoned singing. I would like to bring you back to it and, since you are knowledgeable about such matters, I ask you whether, when a lover sincerely asks it of her, a lady is obliged to do equally for him as he ought for her all that pertains to love, according to the code that lovers acknowledge.

II

[Gui] Lady Na Maria, I intended to abandon *tensos* and every kind of song, but now I dare not do other than sing at your summons. And so I answer you forthwith that the lady is reciprocally obliged to act towards her lover as he towards her, without regard to false pride, for between two lovers there cannot be one greater than the other.

III

[Maria] Gui, all that a lover yearns for he must graciously ask and a lady ought to look favourably on this request, but she is obliged to pay heed to times and seasons. But a lover must both beseech and obey as for a friend and, at the same time, for a mistress; whereas a lady ought to honour her lover as a friend but not as a lord and master.

IV

[Gui] Lady, here amongst us we say that, whenever a lady decides to love, she ought to honour her lover in equal measure when they are equally in love. And if it happens that she loves him more deeply her words and deeds ought to make this apparent; and if he is a false-hearted deceiver towards her she must hide her grief with a smiling face.

V

[Maria] Gui d'Uisel, lovers do not say such things at the beginning: on the contrary, when he wants to beseech his lady, each and every lover will kneel and say with hands joined, 'Lady: be willing that I serve you in humility as your vassal (man?);' if she accepts him on these terms, therefore, I rightly judge him to have broken his word if, having once offered himself as a serving-man, he now makes himself out to be an equal.

VI

[Gui] Lady, it is a shameful argument to maintain on a lady's behalf that she should not consider as an equal the man whose heart she has joined with hers. Either you will say (but it will be unseemly of you to do so) that the lover ought to love her more deeply than she him; or else you will say that they are both equal, since the lover has no advantage except through love itself. (trans. Harvey and Paterson 3: 935-37)

The absence of concluding *tornadas* is intriguing. It may be an indication that Maria is Gui's patron in this work, as *tornadas* are very common in *tensons*, especially in *partimens*: Gui is in the presence of his patron, so *tornadas* would be superfluous. Or it may have to do with the slightly hostile tone on which the dialogue ends (See Harvey and Paterson 3: 940).

Maria opens the debate, which is in itself significant: women are more often respondents in male-female dialogues. As the first partner, Maria probably chose the verse form and rhyme scheme for the work, which strongly resembles another song of Gui's, his *mala canso*,²¹ in which he rebukes an unnamed lady who apparently rejects him; Rieger points out this correspondence, and argues that Maria's intertextual reference to the poem is an indirect criticism of Gui (*Trobairitz* 271-72). When Maria states that he has "abandoned singing" (2), she may imply that he has abandoned being a good lover, with the conventional equation of *fin' amor*, *chanter*=*aimer* [to sing = to love]. She may be disciplining him as a lord does a vassal,

attempting to curb Gui from speaking ill of women. Through this mere reference, Maria is asserting the authority that comes with being as a *domna* and a patron.

Maria, in the *partimen*, seems to be motivated to convert her social capital into cultural capital, by demonstrating her skills as a poet in exchanging verse with Gui. At the same time, she uses the dialogue to defend her position as *domna*, and reaffirm her reputation also: she may have heard that Gui has been maligning a woman in his *mala canso*, and is perhaps reasserting her authority over her courtly lover's behavior. Gui is seeking the return of favors from his lady for his devotion as a lover, in some kind of ratio of equality (14), although of course they are not exchanging different kinds of goods. Maria has social status, and Gui has cultural capital, and this is the nature of a patron-poet relationship. Gui does not seem to accept this fully at the end of the dialogue. Although many troubadours profess to suffer patiently, they also constantly complain of not receiving the reward they seek.

Regarding the libidinal economy, Maria adheres to the traditional position of *fin' amor* that requires a lover to serve and to defer desire. Of course, if she were equal to the poet/lover, not only would she lose her power as patron and as lady, but she would cease to cause him to desire her. To support her argument that a *domna* rightfully retains authority, Maria cites the supposed practice of the code of *fin' amor*—the “lo dreg qu'entendon amador” “the code that lovers acknowledge” (8). When a lover asks something of lady, she says, he uses customary gestures and phrases that are taken from vassalic ritual: “mas jonhtas e de genoillos, / ‘Dona, voillatz qu’ieu vos sierva humilmen / coma vostr’om” “each and every lover will kneel and say with hands joined, “Lady: be willing that I serve you in humility as your vassal” (36-38). Many of the terms—*mas jonhtas*, *de genoillos*, *sierva*, *om*—are central or vitally symbolic to both feudal custom and to *fin' amor*, and underscore Maria's position of power. These rituals,

however, do not merely channel a desire that already existed: they suggest the possibility of a surplus that can be realized, and create and endlessly stimulate a desire that will always need to be deferred.

Another Occitan courtly *tenso*, “N’Elyas Cairel, del amor” (P.C. 252,1=133,7) is initiated by Isabella, probably Isabella dalle Carceri with Elias Cairel. Although the relationship between the two appears to be romantic, Elias praises above all her worth—her stock of social capital—and it is this, and not amorous favors, which he desires, in exchange for his cultural production:

Ma domn’Ysabella, valor,
joi e pretz e sen e saber
soliatz qec jorn mantener;
e s’ieu en dizia lauzor
e mon chantar, no·l dis per drudaria
mas per honor e pron q’ieu n’atendia (9-14)

My lady Isabella, you used always to uphold worth, joy and good reputation, wisdom and understanding; but if I sang your praises in my verse, it was not for love that I did so but for the reputation and profit I expected from you (Harvey and Paterson 2: 843)

Harvey and Paterson argue that the quarrel in *tenso* has little to do with the sentiments of Isabella and Elias but “is better seen as a piece where the speakers introduce the pretence of a love relationship for the sake of entertainment. The reality was that Isabella found in Elias a useful propagandist for her political projects” (2: 846). Both parties gain in the exchange: Isabella demonstrates her cultural knowledge, and, according to Harvey and Paterson, can better accomplish her political aims; Elias, besides making a living, makes valuable social connections and enhances his prestige. Elias converts his cultural capital for economic and social capital, while Isabella converts her social capital into cultural capital and a different kind of social capital.

Significantly, the above two *tensons*, between Maria and Gui and Isabella and Elias, are the only two “courtly” Occitan dialogues between a male and female voice in which the lady speaks first (with one exception—“Amics, en gran cossirier” (P.C. 46,3=389,6)). In all of the remaining courtly *tensons*, it is the troubadour who initiates the dialogue. The quality of the conversation, and the point of view of the lady, is rather different: in these cases, the lady is rather passive, and the troubadour defines her position as his object of desire. In fact, it is possible to view many of these dialogues as simply extensions of the courtly *canso*: the troubadour opens the work, makes a complaint about love or asks for advice about love, often to the woman with whom he is in love. The lady answers in a way that the troubadour/lover would conventionally desire. There are several types of these dialogues. There is the dialogue in which the troubadour and the lady are in a love relationship (in the Table 2.1: P.C. 46,3=389,6; 296,1a; 10,23). There is the *conselh*, in which the troubadour asks for advice regarding a specific love relationship (P.C. 46,3=389,6; 242,69=12a,1²²; 409,3). And then there is the hybrid of these two types, the “revelation” *conselh*, in which the troubadour seeks advice regarding a relationship with a certain lady he loves, and then confesses that the lady he loves is his dialogue partner (P.C. 372,4; 87,1).

Altogether different, however, are the women’s voices of in the Occitan “non-courtly” or “*jongleuresque*” *tensons*. All of these women speakers are forthright, even aggressive. They do not adhere to the rules of *fin’ amor*, and in some cases reject the code. These speakers can be viewed from two different perspectives. Traditionally, they have been viewed as fictional voices created by male composers of lyric. Scholars of earlier generations generally refused to believe that literate women of the courts would have anything to do with these rather crude works. Others see the sexual content as a projection of male fantasy and evidence for male authorship.

mais anc non vi home tan placentier.
Mas d'una ren est ben aventuros: 10
qant sent venir esterlins orgoillos,
ades m'escont en granj' o en sellier.

III

Domna, tostemps vos ai mon cor cellat:
per que n'avez de mi lauzor e grat
quant non amest cusson ni fatonier, 15
anz lo fugist com eu tornei rengat
qu'anc no-i fos pois, pos m'o agues vedat.
Mais am flauzons e sopas en sabrier.

IV

Seigner, tostemps vos aurei prezicat
que vendessem so maior porc faissat 20
e vestissem Miquel, so berbeguir;
fezessem li blizaut fendut trepat
— tant a gen cors e bella maiestat,
cent vez er pres a lei de cavallier.

V

Domna, Miquels volria fos pendutz, 25
que tant l'amas qu'en son per fols tengutz,
lo bacalar trachor mensoneguier.
Que ar vos iur encontra sas vertutz
que ia Miquels ni sos avers lanutz
non estara ab vos un an entier. 30

VI

Seingner, cals es aicel c'om a tonduz
— uns grans, uns loncs, ab esperos agutz,
entopenatz a lei de cavallier?
Tant me mandet amistatz e salutz
e-m grazis mais que si fos bous cornutz, 35
car dei un pol a son tersol lanier.

(Rieger, *Trobairitz* 341-43)

I

[Guillem Rainol] When I hear in the meadow the call of the rooster and the woodpecker and the jay and the blackbird and the redstart and the nightingale and the fattened corn bunting I will make a song without being asked or called to do so. My lady is so beautiful, courtly and noble that she lures me more than a lanner does falcons.

II

[Lady] Sir, you are so wicked and so contentious with me, a hundred times I feel like leaving you, but I have never seen a such a charming man. But one thing is really in your favor: when I feel proud sterling coming in I always hide [it?] in the barn or the cellar.

III

[Guillem Rainol] Lady, I have always kept my heart concealed from you; for this reason, you have my praise and my gratitude for you did not love a crook or a fool, instead you fled him, as I did the tournament parade and I have never been there since, since you forbade it to me. But I love cheesecake and bread with sauce.

IV

[Lady] Sir, I have always told you that we should sell your biggest striped pig and dress Miquel, your shepherd; we should make him a tripped [?] slit tunic since he has such a nice body and such a handsome majestic bearing, a hundred times he was taken for a knight.

V

[Guillem Rainol] Lady, I wish that Miquel were hanged, since you love him so much that I am considered a fool for it, the lying cheating bastard! And now I swear to you that, despite his virtues, neither Miquel nor his woolly things will be near you for a whole year.

VI

[Lady] Sir, what is this one, tonsured, a tall one, a long one, with sharp spurs, with a head-plume like a knight? So much he asked me for my friendship and my favorable regard, and I am pleased more than if he were a horned ox, for I should owe a chicken to his lanner falcon. (my translation)

The first stanza evokes the song of birds, which is typical of the *canso*. But the list of birds is an awkwardly long hodgepodge of cacophonous names. Many of the birds—the rooster, woodpecker, the jay, and the corn bunting, do not have a particularly pleasant song, and they are jumbled in with the more mellifluous nightingale, blackbird, and redstart. After this enumeration of birds, Guillem goes on to make a rather odd and uncouth comparison about being drawn to his courtly lady like a male falcon is attracted to a female falcon (5-6). These terms in the first stanza—especially the rooster and the fattened corn bunting—are examples of country life found throughout the dialogue: the barn and cellar (12), the pig (12), the shepherd (21), the woolly things (29), the bull (25), the cock (36). The countryside here pertains not the pastoral, however, but the farm, and the *vilain*—the opposite of courtly. The confrontation of these terms with courtliness is both startling and humorous. Guillem Rainol invokes the subject of food, when he states that he loves “flauzons e sopas en sabrier” (18); food, of course, is commonly associated

with the *jongleuresque*, as was seen in the *tensons* with Adam de la Halle. Also, of course, associated with the *jongleuresque* are sensuality and the spontaneous pleasure of sex, which are discussed here: the lady speaks appreciatively of the body of Miquel the shepherd, and proposes granting him her favors. Insults, including insinuations of cuckoldry following the lady's interest in the shepherd (the "bous cornutz" 'horned ox' (35)), are found here, too, as one might expect in an exchange between *jongleurs*. The attire that the two partners describe is outlandish and ridiculous (22-24, 31-33), which is one argument in favor of this work being performed (conceivably with costumes), and being performed by a woman-man duo. Guillem wrote another dialogue with a woman's voice that is very similar to this one; it is not difficult to imagine that he worked with the same woman (a *joglaresa*? his wife?) to create both of the works.

In the French tradition, there are thirteen *tensons* with a female voice. Many of these voices can be identified with a historical woman, and all of the others may correspond to a practicing woman poet, since there are no signs of them being fictional voices. In all of these works, with the exception of one ("Dites, seignor, que devroit on jugier" (R 1283)), the women speak with the men as poets on a more or less equal footing. The male partners do use more formulas of deference when conversing with their counterparts, but the form and style of discussion is similar to that found as in dialogues between male *trouvères*. In certain cases, however, women poets negotiate terms that are more favorable to women within the code of *fin'amor*. As Doss-Quinby remarks regarding French *jeux-partis*, female voices "reject timid silence, assert their right to court, and affirm their need for sexual gratification" ("Rolan" 510). Most all of these works, however, are *jeux-partis*, so that the dynamic of negotiation of capital is not present in the same manner as it is in the other works examined in this chapter.

Within the group of *tensons* with women's voices are two debates, one Occitan and one

French, in which a lady asks a male interlocutor whether it is better to delay gratification or to have sex immediately, a frequent topic of discussion, as in “Jauseme” and other debate works.²³ While one is a *partimen* and the other a *jeu-parti*, they are of interest for the manner in which they present a kind of dialogic woman’s voice, fictive or not, that speaks in discourse of *fin’amor*. The women are oppositional, if not quite *jongleuresque*; they resemble, if anything, the women who dispute with clerky authorities and whom Solterer examines. The connection to academic culture, in fact, is probably quite deliberate in the first work, the *partimen* “Rofin, digatz m’ades de cors” (P.C. 249a,1=426,1), in which Domna H. asks Rofin if a man should break his promise to refrain himself and go ahead and have sex with his lady.²⁴ Domna H. claims only to respect men who boldly take what they want. The discussion turns to the man possessing the lady by force. Rofin argues that forcing a lady is tantamount to sin, and argues against it:

Domna, sapchatz qe grans valors
fon del amic e chausimens
qe·l fetz gardar de faillimens,
esperan de si dons socors.
E cel fetz foudat nadiva
qe sa Domna auset forssar.
(51-56, Harvey and Paterson 2: 832)

Be sure, Lady, that it was the lover’s nobility and restraint that made him avoid sinful deeds, in hope of his lady’s favours. But the man who dared to force his lady acted in utter folly, and anyone who defends him knows little about loving, for a lover. (trans. Harvey and Paterson 2: 833)

This *partimen* seems humorous in its scope. The humor, however, may involve a pointed parody. Domna H. and Rofin may be performance names, characters in a sense: “Rofin” may represent a Rufinus, a canon lawyer from the twelfth century who taught in Bologna in the 1150s, and died before 1192. He practiced as a consultant to both church and civil authorities on legal matters. He was an authority in sexual law in particular, and believed that rape was a particularly odious crime. Like other canonists, he believed that men could be tempted to commit carnal sins, that

women had a much greater sexual appetite, and by nature would not remain chaste unless supervised. Rufinus may thus incarnated as Rofin; as Harvey and Paterson write: “Rofin may be a fictitious speaker humorously set up to argue a quasi-official line of restraint with an interference of ecclesiastical and courtly codes, and for his female interlocutor to represent a common clerical view of women as driven by lust.” The identification of Rofin with Rufinus is backed up by the probable influence of the *quaestiones disputatae* of Bologna on the *partimen*, discussed above Section 1.3. In addition, a fictive *tenson* between a man and a woman with an even more vulgar sexual theme, “D’una don’ ai auzit dir que s’es clamada” (P.C. 234,8), is concerned with a legal trial. In the *partimen* “Rofin,” as one would expect Rufinus to do, Rofin does choose self-control and restraint; he also argues against forcible intercourse as not only uncourtly but sinful (14-16, 39-40, 51-56).

The French *jeu-parti* “Amis, qui est li mieus vaillant” is anonymous; the “Dame” asks the “Amis” which is the more worthy man, the one who lies with his lady all night and restrains himself and does not accomplish his desire, or the man who takes what he wants. The male respondent, however, takes the argument opposed to Rofin’s: a man should wait. Apart from its subject matter, a point of interest of “Amis, qui est li mieus vaillant” is its musical borrowing. Like many *tensons* from Lorraine, it borrows its metrical structure from Occitan lyric, in this case Bertran de Ventadorn’s “Can vei la lauzeta mover” (P.C. 70,43). In French manuscript *O*, “Amis, qui est li mieus vaillant” is also recorded with the music of “Can vei” (with only minor variations from versions found with Bernart’s text). In fact “Amis” is the *contrafactum* that can be demonstrated by the notated music in the entire corpus of French and Occitan *tensons*. The tune to “Can vei” was very well known, and frequently borrowed for other songs—more often than any other troubadour melody. These *contrafacta* include, in addition to the *jeu-parti* “Amis,

qui est li mieus vaillant,” the Latin *conflictus* “Quisquis cordis et oculi” and its French version “Li cuers se vait de l’oil plaignant” (R 349), both by Philippe le Chancelier; a French *chanson* “Plaine d’ire et de desconfort” (R 1934), and an Occitan song, “Sener, mil gracias ti rent,” in the *Jeu de Saint Agnès* (v. 475-82). In fact, the Latin *conflictus* “Quisquis” and its French equivalent “Li cuers,” which are both *contrafacta* of “Can vei,” may be the more direct source for the music for the debate song “Ami, li quel est li plus vaillant.” Both “Quisquis” and “Li cuers” are debate poems. These two works by Philippe le Chancelier date to the early thirteenth century, and easily could have served as models for “Amis.”²⁵ There are parallels in terms of subject matter as well. “Amis” uses the comparison of the heart and eye, just like Philippe’s poems. The lover in “Amis” states that while looking (29) is fine enough, “sans lou faire c’est li tueirs” ‘without going all the way, it’s murder’ (30), but the lady argues that the eyes should provide satisfaction: “Quant la bouche et li eul se paist / De la chose c’a cuer li plaist / Dont n’e ist li feux par ici?” ‘When the mouth and the eye feed on the thing that pleases the heart most, is not the fire [of the heart] vented in this manner?’ (50-53) (ed. and trans. Doss-Quinby et. al 100-1).

In some of these *jongleuresque* *tensons* with a female voice, the accumulation of capital is not very much in play. In others, capital is more of an issue, as in “Bella, tant vos ai preiada” (although it is an issue there because it is wanting). “Bella” is a refreshing text because of the *domna*’s refusal to engage in the courtly circuits of capital accumulation. She claims her *gauzo*, her immediate joy, and wants nothing to do with the elaborate ritual of deferral and surplus. Adam de la Halle, also, in his dialogues with Jehan Bretel, strikes some of the same *jongleuresque* chords, and espouses an ethic of direct experience and simple pleasures.

For the most part, however, open *tensons* illustrate the workings of capital, including most works in which the *jongleuresque* register is found. Even Adam de la Halle and the

numerous *joglars* who debate with their patrons adopt a style of speech suited to a particular mode of accumulation. These poets speak like *jongleurs* and *joglars* because they find reward when they do so. Of course, the open *tenson* presented an opportunity for negotiating and increasing capital to not only to *joglars* and *jongleurs*, but to a wide variety of individuals: *joglaresas*, higher-status poets, patrons, and ladies.

Notes to Chapter 2

¹ Bofill, in “Auzit ai dir, Bofil, que saps trobar” (P.C. 248,16=100,1). See also the voice of Charlot that Rutebeuf reports in “La desputaison de Charlot et du barbier,” (this work, due to its verse form, is not traditionally included in *trouvère* lyric repertoires).

² Witthoeft notes that three troubadours from 1180s and 1190s wrote *sirventes joglarescs*, according to their *vidas* (1). The *sirventes* they composed are disparaging, but the meaning of the term *sirventes joglaresc* is vague, and scholars appear uncertain about its precise meaning—is it a *sirventes* to, about, or against a *joglar*? Or by a *joglar*? Or in the style of a *joglar*? (see Méjean; Chambers, *Introduction* 180-82). In fact, it seems probable that the modern ambiguity is rooted historical usage of the term. The word *joglaresc* probably designated various types of works understood as having something to do *joglars* (as recipients, authors, or subjects). More than anything, it may have denoted a register of speech that included insults and ridicule. It probably took its name from the *joglars* and their supposed customs and habits. It may have seemed appropriate for troubadours use this register with, or against, *joglars*, which is perhaps how this term originally came about; but soon it came to be used by all types of individuals to simply mean an insulting type of speech.

³ R 277, R 331, R 494, R 703, R 950, R 1026, R 1066, R 1094, R 1584, R 1679, R 1798, R 1817, R 1833, R 2049.

⁴ One other dialogue is from around the same period, and can also lay a claim to being the first *tenso*: “Amics Marchabrun, car digam” (P.C. 451,1=293,6), by Uc Catola and Marcabru. However, it is very difficult to date; it may originate at any time from 1130 to 1154 (Harvey and Paterson 3: 1240; Marcabru 98-99).

⁵ Lemozi has been variously identified as “Lemozi de Briva” and Arnaut de Tintinhac; see Harvey and Paterson 3: 924.

⁶ In addition to the *tensons* below, “Totz vos affars es niens” (P.C. 84,1=355,19), and “Cabrit, al mieu veiaire” (P.C. 422,2=192,1).

⁷ See also Guillem de Berguedan, who compares winning in love (and implicitly, the *sobreplus* or sex) with winning at dice: “qe-l gazaing voil de domnas e de datz” ‘for I like to have the upper hand with women as with dice’ (from the *tenson* “De Berguedan, d’estas doas razos” (P.C. 10,19=210,10), ed. and trans. Harvey and Paterson 1: 40-41).

⁸ See Negri, ed. Guillem de la Tor 25-32, for a discussion of the question of Guillem del Dui-Frere and Guillem de la Tor.

⁹ The cobla exchange dates to approximately 1220, according to Poe (*Compilatio* 68 note 38, cited in Harvey and Paterson 2: 544). Shepard and Chambers date the *tenson* “N’Aimeric, qe-us par” to 1225 or after.

¹⁰ *Vet* occurs in the cobla exchanged mentioned above, “Bertram d’Aurel, se moria” (P.C.

217,1b+10,13+79,1+280,1). *Viet* is found in the *tenson* by Montan, “Eu veing vas vos, Seingner, fauda levada” (P.C. 306,2). See Gaunt, “Obscene” 90.

¹¹ As Shepard and Chambers observe, “The word *vet*, an evident cognate of Old French *vit*, is not to be found in Raynouard’s *Lex. rom.*, nor in Levy’s *PD* or *SW*. Why?” (Eds., Aimeric de Peguillan 96, note 39).

¹² Several terms from Arnaut’s *canso* appear in his first stanza: in addition to *voler* and *partir* (which are rather common words), there are *ongla*, *ferm*, *plan* and *arma*.

¹³ See Poe, *Compilatio* 51 note 28.

¹⁴ See above, in “En Blacassetz, bon pretz e gran largueza” (P.C. 19,1=96,2): “jamais ab autre non perdria” (18) and “que perdres s’ieu non perdia” (22)

¹⁵ There are ambiguous cases. The personification Amors in “Raimon Jordan, de vos eis voill aprendre” (P.C. 404,9), and “Quant Amors trobet partit” (P.C. 366,29), for example, while not a woman, is grammatically feminine, and presumably female, but there are no marks to indicate the gender of Amors in either text. Outside the debate tradition, there is the case of “Na Maria, pretz e fina valors” (P.C. 16a,2), whose author Rieger (“Was Bieris”) identifies as a woman named Bieiris, while Poe (“Dispassionate” 147-49), more plausibly, supports the traditional attribution to Alberico da Romano.

¹⁶ This includes the 46 works in her edition, minus one (her number 22) that is in a man’s voice as part of a *cobla* exchange, plus one lost work included in the corpus of this edition, “Bella dompna si us plaz” (P.C. 15a,1), and one work that is a fictive *tenson* with a female war-machine, or Cata, “Senhors, l’autrier vi ses falhida” (P.C. 398,1).

¹⁷ Motets and *rondeaux* are excluded, in order to make the comparison consistent across categories. Doss-Quinby et al. include 34 motets and *rondeaux* in their edition. But Frank, Spanke, and Rieger exclude these genres from their inventories.

¹⁸ This is my hand count of the number of unique entries in Spanke’s *Bibliographie*; Spanke’s numerotation, which goes up to 2130, includes numerous interpolations (1187, 1187a, 1187b) and double entries (985=986).

¹⁹ There is the *jeu-parti* “Jehan Simon, li quieus s’aquita mieus” (R 2354), examined below. There is also the *sirventes* exchange (P.C. 448,1a+119,1+448,1); although it is not a *tenson*, it functions as a dialogue, and it is thus usually found in the *tenson* sections of manuscripts. Harvey has analyzed the two traditions of this work, each with different partners—Dalfi d’Alvergne and Baussan (who appears to be female), and Dalfi and Uc—and concluded they are “likely the result of reworking by another or other performer(s)” (“Textual” 41).

²⁰ The five *tensons* in which the partners name Maria as judge are by Gui d’Uisel and Elias d’Uisel (P.C. 194,18 = 136,6); Savaric de Malleo, Gaucelm Faidit, and Uc de la Bacalaria (432,2 = 167,26 = 449,1a); Gaucelm Faidit and Uc de la Bacalaria (167,44 = 449,2); Prebost de

Valensa and Savaric de Mauleon (384,1 = 432,3); and Certan/the Count of Rodez and Uc de Saint-Circ (185,2 = 457,24) (Rieger 264-65).

²¹ “Si be·m partetz, mala dompna, de vos” (P.C. 194, 19).

²² This work stands out from the others in this category. The *tenson* is between Giraut and Alamanda, who is not his lady, but a messenger to his lady. The fact that Alamanda is an intermediary and interpreter of sorts, along with her ambivalent status (lady-in-waiting, lady herself, or possible love interest of Guiraut himself) and equally ambivalent advice, poses some very interesting questions (see Rieger, *Trobairitz* 183-203; Harvey and Paterson 2: 706-17).

²³ See note 11 from Introduction.

²⁴ The earliest work to contain a form of the question is probably the Occitan *partimen* “N’Elias, conseil vos deman” (P.C. 10,37=136,5), by Aimeric de Peguillan and Elias d’Uisel.

²⁵ The songs may have served as models for a fictive French *tenson* between Baude de la Quariere, his heart, and his eyes, “Chanter m’estuet et si n’i sai” (R 103).

Chapter 3

Value, Evaluation, and Exchange in the *Partimen* and *Jeu-Parti*

The *partimens* and the *jeux-partis* are exchanges in which poets seek to accumulate social capital by demonstrating their skill in debating and their knowledge of *fin' amor*. The strategies of poets in open *tensons* are slightly different: they are negotiating for rewards from patrons or ladies, or trying to position themselves with respect to other poets, and seeking to amass various types of capital in this way. The *partimen/jeu-parti*, instead, is less a negotiation than a kind of staged contest in which poets compare the value of one other's cultural capital. Value and evaluation—the estimation of value—are therefore central to the *partimens* and *jeux-partis*. Value and evaluation take several forms in the *partimens* and the *jeux-partis*: assessment of the various cases being discussed, appraisal of each debater's performance, the worth and esteem of each contestant.

This chapter begins with an example of the importance of capital accumulation in a *partimen*, “En Peire, dui pro cavallier” (P.C. 16,15=322,1). The game-like structure of the *partimen/jeu-parti* is explored in order to understand the manner in which the exchange may have brought value to each of the participants. Game theory offers several concepts that help explain the interactions between the speakers, including the nearly equally balanced choices and the bargaining over values. The poets use several sets of concepts to compare and analyze value within these poems related to money, markets, and finance. It is the poets of Arras, in particular, who develop these notions, and they use them to engage in evaluations that are economic in nature, regarding the usefulness of remaining in courtship, for example, or the advantages of immediate enjoyment versus delayed gratification. A large number of the *trouvères* of Arras, of course, formed part of the merchant elite of the city, so that the utilization of financial terminology and thinking is not surprising. Also not surprising, perhaps, given the urban setting

in which they practiced, away from the courts, is their attitude toward *fin' amor*, which they view in some instances as compatible with marriage.

3.1. The nature of the game: exchange and the accumulation of capital

The participants in a *partimen* (occasionally called a *joc partit*) or a *jeu-parti* seek to demonstrate their skill and mastery in composition and performance, and thereby enhance their reputation and status. In this, the *partimen/jeu-parti* is quite like other types of *tenson*: individuals seek to accumulate various types of capital—cultural, social, and economic. The way they do so in the *partimen/jeu-parti*, however, is somewhat different than in other *tensons*, because the nature of the debate is distinct. The single feature that distinguishes the *partimen/jeu-parti* from other types of *tenson* is the dilemmatic question. This question is the topic that the first speaker in the first stanza proposes, along with two options; the first speaker also asks that his or her interlocutor choose one of these options. The first poet is left to defend the remaining option. The debate forms a competition in which the two interlocutors attempt to demonstrate that they argued their side of the case better. The competitive nature implies that there is a victor—and indeed, the speakers customarily call on judges to decide their dispute—and this suggests that the poets in a *partimen* and *jeu-parti* accumulate social capital by winning in some sense. Oddly, however, the *partimen/jeu-parti* is a game with no clear winner: there is little indication that winners were normally declared.

What, then, is at stake for the poets engaged in this type of *tenson*? One particular example is suggestive, since in this *partimen* the poets use explicitly financial terminology that can be understood as denoting economic social capital. Their financial language also describes rather transparently the capital accumulation that poets accomplish by taking part in debate and

dialogue and *partimen/jeu-parti*. In most respects, the *partimen* “En Peire, dui pro cavallier” (P.C. 16,15=322,1) is rather typical. The work can be dated to sometime between 1194 and 1220 (Harvey and Paterson 1: 86), and so it belongs to a period when *partimens* had started to somewhat regular in their form and content. The two interlocutors are Albertet—very likely Albertet de Sestaro—and a certain Peire. Peire proposes a question involving the worthiness of a man who spends freely versus that of man who manages his situation wisely.

I

[Albertet]

En Peire, dui pro cavallier
 an mes tot lor entendemen
 en una pro dompna valen
 e fant amdui gran mession;
 e l'uns en sap triar son pro 5
 e·n meillura son afaire,
 e l'autr' es del ieu gastaire,
 tant que mermatz n'es de gran-ren.
 de cal deu mieils aver merce,
 segon so qe·us n'es veiaire? 10

II

[Peire]

Albertet, qui met e conqier
 e sap retener e despen
 e met lo sieu honradamen,
 deu mais aver de guizerdon
 q'aicel que tot geta a bandon; 15
 que fols pareis e musaire
 qui vol far e non pot faire
 so q'ad amic taing e cove,
 e meins de bon pretz n'a ab se
 cel q'a tot dat qe·l donaire. 20

III

[Albertet]

Amics Peire, per messongier
 vos en tenran li conoissen,
 car cel que a destrugemen
 met lo sieu e non garda com
 e no·n cerc'a ga[a]in rason, 25
 vos dic q'es plus fins amaire
 qe·l vostre, q'es amassaire,
 e drutz q'amassa ni rete

non ama ges per bona fe,
anz es vas si donz trichaire. 30

IV

[Peire]

Albert, be·us teng per fatonier,
car mais presatz foudat que sen.

E non es doncs plus avinen
c'om diga "Pros es" que "Pros fo"?

Car qui sol dir oc e ditz no,
s'era reis o emperaire, 35

sos pretz non pot valer gaire.

per q'ieu vuoill cel que no·is recre

e creis lo sieu e pretz mante,

don deu bona dompna atraire. 40

V

[Albertet]

En Peire, qui pro dompna enqier

non ama ges trop finamen

pois si vai camjan ni volven,

c'ad amic coven et es bon

que tot qant poira meta e don; 45

car qi·n cuia gazaing traire,

non es ges bons dompneiaire;

si tot non fai qant pot de be,

e s'estiers la dompna·l mante,

ges no·is pot d'engan estraire. 50

VI

[Peire]

Albertet, el miech¹ del taulier

vos dirai mat, car per un cen

val mais amics que longamen

manten pretz e conduich e don,

qe cel q'en petit de sazon 55

torna son afar en caire.

Pois hom no·n pot ren retraire;

si tot s'es pros hom, no·il er re—

e cum er, si non a de que

sia metens ni donaire? 60

VII

[Albertet]

Amics Peire, nostra tensson

tramet, per jutgamen faire,

ad Auramala, e·n repaire,

a Na Maria, car mante

pretz e valor, et aia ab se 65

En Guillem, son valen fraire.

VIII

[Peire]

Albertet, tant son amdui bon,
franc e fin e de bon aire,
per q'ieu non vueil de lor traire
lo jutgamen; car, per ma fe,
terra non ve ni non soste
pareill nat de tant bon aire.

70

(Harvey and Paterson 1: 82-85)

I

[Albertet]

Sir Peire, two noble knights have set their hearts on a noble and worthy lady and both spend freely. But one is able to turn this to his own advantage and improve his financial position thereby, whereas the other dissipates his wealth until it is greatly reduced. Which of them should the lady favour more, in your opinion?

II

[Peire]

Albertet, the man who spends and acquires [“and conquers a lady”] and gets a return on his capital [“is modest”] and pays out and disburses his wealth in a way that does him credit [“invests his wealth in land/in a profitable manner”] ought to have greater reward than the one who throws his money away: a man is seen as foolish and empty-headed if he sets out to do what is appropriate in a suitor but is unable to do it, and the one who has given away everything makes less of a good name for himself thereby than the man who still gives.

III

[Albertet]

Friend Peire, you will be thought a liar in this matter by people of intelligence, for the man who spends his money ruinously and does not care how and does not seek a pretext for getting interest from it or payment of accounts— he, I tell you, is a finer lover than your man, who is a hoarder of money; and a lover who hoards his wealth or seeks a return on his capital is no sincere lover at all but a deceiver of his lady.

IV

[Peire]

Albert, I think you a mere fool for you set more store by folly than by good sense. Is it not preferable then that people should say ‘He is noble’, rather than ‘He was noble once’? For if you used to say yes and now say no your reputation cannot possibly be the better for it, even if you were king or emperor. And so I prefer the man who does not abandon his responsibilities, who increases his wealth and upholds worth, so that he must be attractive to a fair lady.

V

[Albertet]

Sir Peire, the man who pays court to a noble lady is no sincere lover once he starts wheeling and dealing, for it is right that a suitor should spend and give all he can: the man who thinks to derive financial profit from it is no true gallant unless he

does all the good he can; and if without all this the lady gives him her approval she cannot escape the suspicion of double-dealing.

VI

[Peire]

Albertet, in the middle of the chess-board I shall have you in checkmate, for the suitor who over a long period is an upholder of worth and liberality and generosity is a hundred times more estimable than the man who in a short time brings his affairs to ruin. Once people can get nothing from him, then, even though he is a noble man, it will be of no use to him – and how will it be if he has not the wherewithal to be liberal or generous?

VII

[Albertet]

Friend Peire, I send our debate to Auramala for judgment to be passed: let it make its way to Lady Maria, for she upholds worth and merit, and let her have with her Sir William, her worthy brother.

VIII

[Peire]

Albertet, both of them are so virtuous, so magnanimous and courtly and noble that I have no wish to take from them the right to pass judgment; for, by my faith, no land sees or bears a pair born of such noble stock.

(trans. Harvey and Paterson 1: 83-85; my translations in brackets)

The voices in a *partimen/jeu-parti*, as here, often do not appear as individualized or distinct from one another in quality. They are not as dialogic, and do not speak as much in different kinds or registers of language. Much of this is due to the constraint imposed by the two choices in the question. Neither poet can really argue as he or she pleases. The responding poet is able to choose an argument, but it must be one of the two choices that the first poet has offered. The first poet, of course, only argues for the option left behind, and so is in some sense even more confined. And though the first poet can prepare for both sides of the question, he or she must choose two options that are approximately equal in desirability—if not, the worse argument would almost certainly be left over to him or her to support—and this necessity limits the choices that can be offered, and limits the discussion. In a *partimen/jeu-parti*, therefore, given the tighter focus of the discussion, and the need to adopt either of one side of a question, there is less of an expectation that poets express points of view that are personal, or that pertain to their position,

rank, or status, than in other *tensons*. In the *partimen* above, for example, there is little to differentiate the voice of Albertet from that of Peire in terms of status, background, or language. In some other *partimens* and *jeux-partis*, poets do distinguish themselves from one another and argue based in part on such grounds as rank or status (several of the *tensons* examined in the previous chapter, for instance, are *partimens* and *jeux-partis*). But for the most part, the voices of the poets in a *partimen/jeu-parti* tend toward sameness in quality.

While the voices may resemble one another in tone and quality, they nonetheless stand in sharp contrast to one another in their competitive opposition. Each poet attempts to overcome the formal equivalence of the two sides by outperforming the other poet. In general, the poets address one another politely, but they also denigrate their opponent, and boast of their own abilities, in an attempt to demonstrate they are winning. In the above *partimen*, Albertet mocks Peire: “you will be thought a liar in this matter by people of intelligence” (21-22). Peire returns the taunt: “I think you a mere fool for you set more store by folly than by good sense” (31-32). Albertet, in the last full stanza of the debate, claims that he has outmaneuvered his adversary: “In the middle of the chess-board I shall have you in checkmate” (51-52). This last statement is primarily a claim of imminent victory, but it also hints at another aspect of the competition in the *partimen/jeu-parti*. Like games in which there is a winner, there is a notion of score of value attached to each opponent’s side in this type of debate.

The value of each side being debated, then, is important, because it indicates the success of each poet in the debate. Both poets make claims regarding the worthiness of both sides of the question. In the *partimen* above, for example, Peire criticizes the man in Albertet’s case as “foolish and empty-headed” (16); Albertet retorts that the individual in his case is in fact “finer than your man” (25-26), who is “a deceiver of his lady” (30). Peire rejoins that his man is in fact

“attractive to his lady” (40), but Albertet attacks the man for being “no true gallant” (47). Here, the terms that Peire and Albertet use to evaluate the two cases have to do with quality, desirability, and authenticity—all indices of worthiness. In many other *partimens* and *jeux-partis*, the terms that poets use to evaluate cases are somewhat less subjective, and more general; these expressions—such as the verbs *valer/valoir* ‘to be worth’ and *prezar/prisier* ‘to esteem, to value’—can quantify value and thus be used in determining scores and winners in a competitive game.

Value and worthiness are also important concerns in requesting judgment. For a ruling on their debate, for example, Albertet and Peire call on individuals they describe as very noble and respected. Albertet names Maria of Auramala and her brother William, and Peire assents (usually each poet nominates one individual); for Albertet, Maria “upholds worth and merit” and William is “worthy,” (64-66), and for Peire both of them are “*franc e fin e de bon aire*” ‘virtuous and magnanimous and courtly.’ (70). The logistics of judgment are not clear from in the case of the *partimens* or the *jeux-partis*. Quite exceptionally, this *partimen* reveals some information: Albertet specifies that his debate with Peire be transmitted to Maria and William at another location, in Auramala (61-64). Most importantly, there is no judgment recorded for this *partimen*, and—apart from three very anomalous appended judgments—there is little indication that judges, or anyone else, normally pronounced a decision on *partimens* or *jeux-partis* at all. But nothing permits one to conclude that this practice was either general, or even an exception to the rule. What does seem certain is that these additional partial stanzas—*tornadas* in Occitan, *envois* in French—are a means for the poets to associate themselves with highly esteemed nobles or other personages. Troubadours and *trouvères* may have sought to increase their prestige simply by calling upon them, perhaps reminding others of ties they might have to these well-

placed individuals. The calls for judgment, as dedications, may have served not only as recognition of past favors, but also as requests for future patronage. In all of these cases, value and esteem may redound upon judges named, as well as upon the poets who name them—even if no judgment or winner is ever declared.

The participants in a *partimen* or *jeu-parti*, then, compete to demonstrate their skill at arguing a case, and thereby enhance their reputation as poets, and cement social ties and attract future patronage. They compete, in other words, to accumulate social capital. The discussion in the *partimen* revolves around social capital and a relationship with a lady. However, the case that Peire presents for accumulating capital can just as well apply to the activity of debate itself. Both service to a lady and the *partimen/jeu-parti* constitute relationships that involve exchange; this exchange can benefit both partners, enhancing the reputation and status of both, if it well managed.

The question that Albertet proposes explicitly concerns social and economic capital. Two men spend freely in the courtship of a lady; the first man simply uses up a share of his wealth, but the second takes advantage of his association with his lady to build up his assets. Which one is to be favored? Of course, the generous man is the more traditionally acceptable choice, in terms of *fin' amor*, and it is perhaps for this reason that Albertet makes him less attractive: this man is *gastaire* “wasteful, spendthrift” (7), while the man who looks to his affairs is savvy and responsible: *en sap triar son pro / e-n meillura son afaire* “he knows how to choose what is advantageous to him from the situation and improve his position by it.” (5-6). On the other hand, while the principle of liberality is better known from love lyric, self-interest and profit are also valued. The two standards—like many standards that are set against one another in the *partimens* and *jeux-partis*—coexist in lyric, not always comfortably.

Peire defends the man who maintains and expands his capital. He argues that this man not only looks after his own advantage and reputation, but also is more valued by his lady (40). The man who loses his wealth is unable to maintain his standing and reputation (19-20, 35-37), and is unable to bring anything of worth to his lady, because he has no material means to do so (57-60).

A large part of the vocabulary that both poets use to characterize the self-interested man has financial meaning, but also a specifically social meaning as well. Thus Albertet speaks of a man who can *triar so pro*, “choose his advantage or profit,” in order to better his *affaire*, which can refer to a situation, specifically financial or otherwise (Levy, *PSW* 1: 25). Even more exemplary is Peire’s initial argument, which can be read both financially and in a social or courtly sense (my own English translations are in brackets):

Albertet, qui met e conqier
e sap retener e despen
e met lo sieu honradamen,
deu mais aver de guizerdon
q’aicel que tot geta a bandon. (11-15) (Harvey and Paterson, 1: 82)

Albertet, the man who spends and acquires [“and conquers a lady”] and gets a return on his capital [“is modest”] and pays out and disburses his wealth in a way that does him credit [or “invests his wealth in land/in a profitable manner”] ought to have greater reward than the one who throws his money away. (trans. Harvey and Paterson 1:83, with my additions)

Among the terms that can be read both ways is *conqier* (11), which could mean “takes, conquers (his lady)” or “acquires (financially).” *Retener* (12, 28) can mean “to hesitate” or perhaps “act modestly,” but also “to hold back (money)” and likely also “to collect a return (on capital)” (Harvey and Paterson 1: 86-87). *Met lo sieu honrademen* (13) translates directly as “places his wealth honorably”; but *honrademen* here may be related to the notion *onor*, “land, property,” so that he invests his wealth in property. The reward or *guizerdon* (14) is

conventionally of an amorous or at least social nature in *fin' amor*, but of course can refer to a monetary or financial reward as well.

Albertet uses a financial lexicon that is more specialized, and divorces it from courtly behavior. He describes the man who considers his own economic interests within the relationship with the lady as an *amassaire* “hoarder” who *rete* “holds back” or “seeks a return on capital”—with the double meaning of *retener* denoting, as in Peire’s stanza, withholding income to reinvest as capital (Harvey and Paterson 1: 86-87), but also, unlike Peire’s stanza, withholding from courtly duties. This man seeks from his association *a gaain rason*, “a pretext for getting interest from it or payment of accounts,” as Harvey and Paterson translate. They point out uncertainties regarding this unusual expression (1: 87), but it is plainly financial, and given the context, their reading of *razon* as “interest” seems likely. Albertet’s censure can be seen as a description of Peire’s man as a kind of *homo economicus*, who acts with economic rationality, seeking to *retener* (28): to gain *razon* “interest” (25) from the *pro* “capital” (5) he has amassed as an *amassaire* “saver” (27). The lexicon that Albertet uses here shares a great deal with the financial vocabulary that the Arras poets use in their *jeux-partis* to describe the deferral of gratification.

As part of the the financial terminology, there are expressions that relate to accounting that are significant. Harvey and Paterson associate Albertet’s *razon*, in the context above (*a gaain rason* verse 25), with payment of accounts. Peire, in his last stanza, enigmatically invokes the *taulier* (51), on which Peire claims to be about to defeat Albertet. The *taulier* here obviously refers to a gaming board, such as one for chess. *Taulier*, however, also denotes a desk for conducting business, an account book, or a register (Levy, *PSW* 7: 85-87). A similar range of meaning is found in the Old French *eschequier*, which can signify “chessboard,” “account table,” “royal treasury” (whence the English term *exchequer*). The notion of accounting, while it is

obviously linked to the domain of finances, also has to do with the realm of games and scorekeeping. The notion of values and scores within the context of game models is explored later in this chapter.

From the point of view of poets, who are composers, courtiers, and courtly lovers all at once, the accumulation of social capital through ties with well-placed ladies works in any case very much like the accumulation of financial capital that Peire and Albertet describe. And the troubadours and *trouvères* need to look after their stocks of social capital: they depend upon their social reputation not only for their status as poets, but in many cases for their livelihoods as well. For poets who were not among the wealthy or the great nobles at court, both social ties and money were certainly resources to be managed with care. The contrasting ideal generosity is among the values of *fin' amor*, but it is an ideal that patrons were in a better position to practice than the poets. Certainly it is in the interests of professional poets to encourage patrons to spend liberally in matters related to *fin' amor*, of which the poets were the leading experts and advocates. But the poets themselves, in their service to patrons and to ladies, quite often are explicit in expecting favors in return; the relationship is a social exchange.

In a number of respects, the exchange of two poets in debate resembles the exchange between a poet and a lady. The courtly service to a lady is an exchange, and also like an investment: the poet-lover honors his lady with his poetry and his attention, and anticipates recompense in terms of recognition, reputation, and in some cases gifts or other rewards. In the *partimen/jeu-parti*, the poets benefit from their mutual performance before the court to build up their reputation. Each exchange profits both partners, so that each is better off than before. Each exchange can be interpreted in terms of social capital, which functions in many ways like

financial capital. The financial model in Albertet and Peire's *partimen* pertains to both the service to the lady, and to the *partimen* itself.

“En Peire” offers a clear description of circuits of financial and social capital accumulation, which also describe the activity of *partimen/jeu-parti* itself. But nothing in the text indicates how that description might relate specifically to the mechanisms of this poetic sub-genre—except incidentally, perhaps. Peire does mention the game of chess (51-52), and indeed, the game of chess lies at the origin of the terms *partimen*, *joc partit*, and *jeu-parti*. Several different game models discussed below account for the manner in which poets did accumulate social capital through the *partimen/jeu-parti*.

3.2. The *partimen/jeu-parti* as a game: chess and other contemporary models

The words *partimen*, *joc partit*, and *jeu-parti* very likely originated with chess. Like chess, these types of poems are games, and both seem to have winners. It thus seems logical to ask what connection, if any, lies between the structure of the game of the *partimen/jeu-parti* and the game of chess. The poets are keenly aware of the game-like nature of their debate. They do mention chess in some of their debates, as well as other games such as dice. Although the *partimen/jeu-parti* does not really have a clear winner, like these other games, it does share with them the characteristic of competition, as well as that of score-keeping. While, in the end, neither chess nor dice, nor any other common game, provides a good model for the dynamic of the *partimen/jeu-parti*, the comparison is useful for explaining the formal features of the poetic genre, including the role of judges. It also points the way to constructing a game model that can better account for the motivation for the players and the benefits they can gain in debate.

In the Middle Ages, the terms *partimen* and *jeu-parti* were both used to describe a chess

problem, much like a modern one, in which the game is configured or distributed in a set manner of play. As Paul Remy's research shows, these words were used not only for poetic debates and for chess problems, but also for a type of dilemma, found in literary epic and romance, which involved an imposed alternative or dangerous situation. All three of these meanings seem to have arisen fairly closely together in time, from the early twelfth to the mid-thirteenth centuries, and it seems very likely that the various meanings influenced one another from an early period, but the usage probably arose in chess first. In any case, the game of chess, as well as the epic or romance dilemma, shares significant common features with the poetic *partimen* and *jeu-parti*.

The terms *joc partit* (Occitan) and *jeu-parti* (French) were a part of the lexicon of chess in the Middle Ages. They indicated a chess problem in which the pieces are situated in a particular state of play, in the same way and for the same purpose of study as the chess problems published today in books and newspapers—although the rules of chess have changed somewhat since the Middle Ages. As chess vocabulary, *joc partit* and *jeu-parti* were specialized and practical terms, and the earliest documentation for either the Occitan or French term in a chess context is somewhat late. But the playing of chess dates much further back, and very likely the chess problem does as well, as chess historian H. J. R. Murray notes (564-66). Chess was imported from the Arabic-speaking world in the Middle Ages, and is an adaptation of the Arabic game of *shatranj* (which itself derives from earlier Persian and Indian games). The playing of chess in Christian Europe is documented as far back as the early eleventh century, and it seems to have become widespread over the areas of Spain, France, Italy, and England by 1100 (H. J. R. Murray 402-16). In the Middle Ages, chess is among the most frequently noted pastimes.² The game seems to have been particularly associated with the nobility, but it also enjoyed some popularity with other social groups, including merchants and other bourgeois, at

least in the areas of modern France and Italy (H. J. R. Murray 428-39). Certainly the troubadours and *trouvères* were familiar with the game; references to chess, including pieces and moves are found as far back as Bertran de Born's *sirventes* "Ieu chan, que·l reys m'en a preguat" (P.C. 80,14), which can be dated to the events of 1183 (Bertran de Born 204).³

As part of the spread of chess, players developed aids to play, including chess problems. Along with the board, pieces and rules of play, Europeans also adapted some of the Arabic literature on chess, including the *manṣūbāt*, or collections of chess problems drawn and written out. Players in Europe compiled problem collections based on Arabic models and based as well on their own experience. The Europeans called the chess problem by one of two Latin names, *jocus partitus* (literally "divided game") or *partitum*. In texts in vernacular languages, the associated terms are *giuoco de partito* (Italian), *juego de partido* (Spanish),⁴ *joch parti* (Catalan), *joc partit* (Occitan), *jeu-parti* (French), *giu parti* (Anglo-Norman), and *jupertie* (English), along with *partito* (Italian), *partido* (Spanish), and *partie* (French). The earliest known French-language collections are found in two thirteenth-century manuscripts at the British Library. The beginning of one reads: "Les gius partiz numeement ke me unt apris divese gent" (Cotton Library, MS. Cleopatra, B. ix); that of the other: "Ici comencent les iupartiez des eschez" (King's Library, MS. 13, A. xviii). Both manuscripts contain both text and diagrams of the board with pieces in play (H. J. R. Murray 566, 579-600).

The somewhat late date for the documented use of *jeu-parti* of the chess terms admittedly poses a problem for the thesis that the chess terminology is the origin of the names of the troubadour and *trouvère* lyric debates. The earliest documentation for the terms in the vernacular is from thirteenth century, but the first uses of the term in lyric date from the last decade of the twelfth, and the poems themselves are even earlier, going back to the mid-twelfth century.

Murray argues, however, that the chess problems in the earliest extant chess treatises are likely compilations of older collections; not only are these first collections extensive, but they show combinations of Arabic translations and original European problems (H. J. R. Murray 568). This proposal is quite plausible, since chess was widely practiced for over a century before the date of the first treatises.

On logical and linguistic grounds, it would seem that the terms *joc partit* and *jeu-partit* originated with chess first, and later came to be applied to the poetic genre. It seems more likely that a literary medium such as poetry would make metaphorical use of a practical game term, than that technical game manuals would adopt a rather uncommon literary term. Chess is a *jocus*, *joc*, or *jeu*, a game, in the most common sense of the word; a dilemma is not. It would be a relatively simple matter for a technical term designating literal board game, disposed in a certain manner, to shift to a somewhat more metaphorical use for a question inside a lyric poem. The reverse seems less likely, if only for the reason that a poetic dilemma is not as obviously a game as chess is. Indeed, in addition to “En Peire” above, there are several other Occitan lyric poems that treat chess metaphorically, the earliest of which is probably Bertran de Born’s “En Peire” cited above, which dates to 1183.⁵ Perhaps most importantly, chess was widely known and practiced in many levels of society—much more so than the lyric *partimen/jeu-parti*, which appear only in certain court and urban contexts—and at an earlier date, so would seem a likely source for the terms *partimen* and *jeu-parti*. All of this is not to say that the *partimen* and *jeu-parti* arose directly from the chess problem—only that the chess problem may have served as a model in certain respects for problem in the debate. The *partimen/jeu-parti* seems, in fact, to have arisen in large part from within the lyric tradition itself, as a form of the *tenson*, and to have drawn from diverse sources, including the scholastic *quaestio* (Section 1.3).

In addition, the dilemma portion of the *partimen* and *jeu-parti* may have been patterned more directly not on the chess problem, but on that other contemporary type of *jeu-parti*, the epic and romance dilemma. The terms *joc partit* and *jeu-parti* meaning dilemma are documented in Occitan and French epic and romance quite early, before the occurrence of *partimen*, *joc partit*, or *jeu-parti* as a designations for a poetic genre; the Occitan and French cognate terms for chess are only found later. Once again, although the vernacular terms are not recorded from early times, it seems likely that the *jocus partitus* as a technical chess expression gave rise to the *joc partit/jeu-parti* in epic and romance, for the same reasons as explained above.

The terms *joc partit* and *jeu-parti* in epic and romance refer to a situation in which a person is forced to make one of two choices, one or both of them unpleasant, or is faced with a perilous situation—the latter meaning, incidentally, giving rise to the English *jeopardy*. For this meaning of “dilemma, forced choice” Paul Remy gives numerous examples of the term *jeu-parti* in French epic romance from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (“De l’expression”, “Jeu parti et roman breton”). Alfred Jeanroy notes this usage in the twelfth-century French romances *Tristan*, *Le roman de Troie*, and *Le roman d’Enéas*—all of which predate the existence of the lyric genre of the *partimen/jeu-parti* (*Origines* 47). Closely related to the epic and romance example that Remy and Jeanroy cite is an occurrence of the phrase *partir un joc* from the lyric poetry of the first troubadour, Guillem de Peiteus, whose works date from the beginning of the twelfth century. This mention is significant because it is chronologically earlier—before the epic and romance examples—and because it is also from lyric poetry, yet well before the appearance of any genre of lyric debate. Guillem, in the second stanza of “Ben vueill que sapchon li pluzor” (P.C. 183,2), refers to a *joc d’amor* “game of love”. The nature of this game is not clear, and is likely risqué,⁶ but it probably involves, as in French romance, an alternative with two choices—

perhaps two ladies, or two situations. The *joc d'amor* may have been a kind of informal word game, somewhat like the modern conversational game “Would you rather...?”, in which one asks one or several people to say which of two unusual or ridiculous choices they would prefer, and to justify their preference.⁷ In the *joc d'amor* that Guillem mentions, he boasts that he knows how to take the better choice:

Eu conosc ben sen e folor,
E conosc anta ez honor,
Ez ai ardiment e paor;
E si·m partetz un joc d'amor,
No soi tan fatz
No sapcha triar lo meillor
D'entre·ls malvatz. (8-14, Guillem de Peiteus 24)

I know well sense and folly, and I know shame and honor, and I have courage and fear. And if you propose a game of love to me, I'm not so stupid that I wouldn't know how to choose the better choice over the bad one. (my translation, based on Bond, ed. Guillem de Peiteus 25)

There appear to be only two choices, one that Guillem calls good, and the other bad—just as in French romance—and also in the later *partimens* and *jeux-partis*, although there is no indication that this *joc* has anything to do with a debate as in the later lyric works.

A final feature of the dilemma in the *joc partit/jeu-parti* is that it is not specifically a game itself, but in texts the choice is often associated with formal table games. These citations may display the origins of the literary dilemma. In the case of passage from Guillem's work cited above, the *joc d'amor* is associated with a backgammon-like game in the last two stanzas: the poet describes a game against a lady on a *taulier* (game table) with three dice (see above, section 2.3 and note 7, Chapter 2). Paul Remy cites two other examples, which postdate the emergence of the lyric debates:

Dans *Garin de Monglane*, Charlemagne, jaloux, cherche sa vengeance dans une partie d'échecs qu'il propose à Garin, qui plaît trop à Galienne: “Nous allons jouer une partie à nous deux, à telle condition que si tu me mates je te cède la

couronne des Francs et que si je suis vainqueur je te fais trancher la tête.” Dans *Huon de Bordeaux*, l’émir Yvorin oblige le héros à jouer une partie d’échecs avec sa fille; si Huon gagne, il aura la jeune fille et cent livres; s’il perd, sa tête tombera. (“De l’expression” 332)

In these two cases, it would seem that the authors reaffirm the historical link between the conventional *jeu-parti* of epic, and the game of chess—the likely source of the term *jeu-parti*.

The Occitan terms *joc partit* and *partimen*, which are the earliest attested forms, are found at about the same time; the French name *jeu-parti* is found somewhat later. Logically, the dilemmatic choice in the *joc partit/partimen* then seem to stem more directly from the meaning of “forced choice, dilemma” found in French romance and epic, and in Guillem’s *joc d’amor*, than from chess. The poetic genre shares many features, such as the formulation of an alternative, and the obligation for the other partner to make a choice, that are absent from the chess problem known as the *jocus partitus*. At the same time, the lyric debate shares certain features with the chess problem that are not found in the dilemma. Like the chess problem, it concerns a situation that is usually hypothetical and that is the object of study or examination. Also like the chess problem, the lyric *partimen/jeu-parti* deals with a win-and-lose match, yet does not usually conclude with a clear winner. And like the game of chess (though not necessarily the chess problem *per se*) the lyric debate is a multi-stage game, with each player taking turns—unlike the dilemma, which consists of only one round of play.

The troubadours and *trouvères* began to use the names *joc partit*, *partimen*, and *jeu-parti* within the lyric game with two choices very soon after the appearance of these texts (although it is not certain if they employ the words designate the genre, as opposed to clear the activity of choosing: see Billy and Section 1.1 above). This usage, and the history of the expressions, point to a high awareness of the game-like nature of the debate. In the earliest *partimens* from the 1170s and 1180s (such as P.C. 242,22=23,1a and P.C. 155,24=441,1), the poets do not use a

specific word for the kind of debate they are engaging in, and in one case from the period (P.C. 178,1a=167,30b), a *trouvère*, Geoffrey II, simply uses the term *tenson*. But among the *partimens* that follow, in the period of 1190 to 1205, troubadours often employ the terms *joc partit* and *partimen*. The second poet sometimes names the game at the start of the first stanza: thus Gaucelm Faidit in reply to Raimbaut de Vaqueiras (“*joc partit*,” v. 11, P.C. 388,4=167,8); Raimbaut de Vaqueiras to Blacatz (“*partimen*,” v. 8, P.C. 97,4=388,3); Gui d’Uisel to Rainaut (“*partimen*,” v. 8, P.C. 194,18a=413,1); and Uc de la Bacalaria to Bertran de Saint Felitz (“*jocs partiz*,” v. 8, P.C. 449,1=99,1). It is significant that these particular poets established this convention of calling their games *partimens* and *jocs partits*, because these are the very same poets who were largely responsible for the development and diffusion of the genre as we know it—and most important among them, Gaucelm Faidit and Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, to whom all the others in this group share ties through various *partimens*. Later poets continued this practice of calling the game *partimen* and *joc partit*—most conspicuously Guiraut Riquier and the poets around him, who were very self-conscious in his elaboration of earlier forms, and who therefore placed these words in the beginning of the second stanza, like the first poets of the genre.⁸

The *trouvères*, in their *jeux-partis*, mention the name of their game and genre even more frequently than the troubadours. They did not adopt the Occitan word *partimen*, which is found in not a single French *jeu-parti*. The related French term, *parture*, occurs only three times within the *jeux-partis* (Lavis and Stasse, *Lexique* 372). Instead, the *trouvères* seem to have modeled their term on the Occitan term *joc partit*, calling it *jeu-parti*. Like the troubadours, they usually name the game in the first or second stanzas, using the noun *jeu-parti* with a variety of verbs: *prendre d’un jeu-parti* (R 938, R 1072, R 1949), *choisir d’un jeu* (R 1423a=1393), *demandre un jeu-parti* (R 949), *respondre de/a un jeu-parti* (R 946, R 1520, R 1822, R 1971), *dire d’un jeu-*

parti (R 667=668, R 2000), *faire un jugement d'un jeu-parti* (R 961). Even more frequently than the word *jeu-parti*, the *trouvères* employ a form of the verb *partir*, often in the phrase *partir un jeu* (just like the Occitan *partir (un joc)*), either in the first stanza⁹ or in the second.¹⁰

Thus, both the troubadours and *trouvères* attach importance to naming the games in their debates. They also emphasize the competitiveness of this game. In a *partimen* or *jeu-parti*, each participant frequently boasts of his own intelligence and the force of his arguments, while devaluing his or her opponent's capabilities and propositions. The game-like setup and competition would seem to imply that there is a winner between the two contestants. The game of chess provided a model, in several senses, for the *partimen/jeu-parti*, and many troubadours and *trouvères* demonstrate an awareness of the game. Given this, there are surprisingly few allusions to the chess in *partimens* and *jeux-partis*; Peire's reference to the game in "En Peire" in checkmate (51-52) is informative but unusual. The troubadours and *trouvères* do make sporadic mention of other kinds of competitive games that, like chess, involve two players and multiple stages or rounds taken in turn, and which normally result in a winner and a loser, and which do give some clues as to the nature of the *partimen/jeu-parti*.

The *trouvères* occasionally mention other competitive games. In one case, basic knowledge of the "game" of love—and thus skill in debating about it—is compared to knowledge of playing dice. Lady Marote, in "Je vous proi, dame Maroie" (R 1744), suggests that her opponent doesn't know the first thing in the game of love: "D'amour ne savés un troie, / Dame Margot, tres bien l'oi" 'In love, you do not even know the three on a die, Lady Margot, I hear this quite well' (71-72, my translation). In other cases, it is less skill than luck in the game that is emphasized. Jehan Bretel defends a man who has broken off an unprofitable amorous engagement, compares this separation to a good score in a game of dice: "souhait en trois dés / A

qui de çou s'est ostés” ‘The man who has gotten rid of her has luck with three dice’ (R 1340, v. 49-50, my translation).¹¹ In the same work, Jehan asserts that his argument is more worthy, since his man is in a favorable position, like someone who has thrown well on a hopscotch course: “De boine merele / A trait qui s'est delivrés / D'amours u n'a fors grieté” ‘The man who has freed himself from a love where there is only dread—he has thrown well in hopscotch’ (20-22, my translation).

Although these examples of chess, dice, and hopscotch are of interest for several reasons, they do not offer a very developed way of understanding the detailed workings of the *partimen* or *jeu-parti* as a game. One significant feature that they do share, however, which the poets do not mention, is that they are all betting games. Even chess was usually a wagered game in the Middle Ages (H. J. R. Murray 474-75). Stakes and wagering, in fact, are one aspect of these games that are helpful in explaining the *partimen/jeu-parti*, especially in terms of game theory. In a general way, though, these games are important because they provide a formal model for a competitive social activity, which is what the *partimens* and *jeux-partis* were, much more so than other types of *tensons*. The *partimen/jeu-parti* even adopts from its game model the notion of victory and defeat.

The clearest indication of victory and defeat in the *partimen/jeu-parti* can be found in the request for judgment that poets frequently make at the end of their debate. There are, however, serious reasons to doubt that the judges that the poets named ever normally named a winner. Judges are called in only about half of extant *partimens* and *jeux-partis*. Of the 119 *partimens* Occitan *partimens* in the corpus of this study, only 53 include a call for judgment by a specific individual or court. Of the 180 *jeux-partis* entirely in French in the corpus, judges are called in 96 cases. Of course, it is probable that some calls for judgment have been lost, since they often

occur in the *tornadas* or *envois*. Much more importantly, however, judgments have been recorded for only three works in the corpus—all three of them Occitan *partimens*—and these three judgments are all quite peculiar, as Neumeister points out (157-62). The first judgment, from a thirteenth-century *partimen*, is reported at second hand; moreover, its ruling cites no logical reason: “En Romieus per jujamen di / qe mais val sens qe non fai manentia, / pero aissi ditz que l’aver penria!” ‘Sir Romieu says in his ruling that wisdom is worth more than wealth but he says here that he would choose wealth!’ (P.C. 205,4=201,3 v. 52-54; trans. Harvey and Paterson 2: 551). The other two examples are from very late in the Occitan tradition, and from the *partimens* of one of the latest troubadours, Guiraut de Riquier, participated. Guiraut was very conscious of the traditions of composition; he insisted perhaps that judgments be rendered in order to make the works appear more finished and correct. In both of the judgments after Guiraut’s debates, however, the verdicts that the noble patrons give are clear, but are arbitrary, and furnish no justification or reasoning.

If winners were determined for *partimens* and *jeux-partis*, it seems likely that this would have been a very informal and provisional matter. Since the poems were performed in public, any number of individuals or groups could have discussed the debates and come to their own decisions, and this must have occurred. In many if not most cases, a single work was performed several different times before different audiences, and in certain of these cases the poets undoubtedly named different judges for the same work. As probable evidence of this, two Occitan *partimens*—“N’Ugo, vostre semblan digatz” (P.C. 185,2=457,24) and “En Raÿmbaut, pros dompna d’aut linhatge” (P.C. 238,2=388,2)—have come down to us with variants that include two different pairs judges named in the *tornadas*.

Any later informal discussion by audiences or judges that may have taken place after the

performance of a *partimen* or *jeu-parti* has nothing to do with what earlier scholars have called the *cours d'amour*, the courts of love that purportedly rendered judgments on courtly matters. According to Raynouard, for example, special assemblies convened for the purpose of deciding dilemmas that the poets raised in their *partimens* and *jeux-partis*. The evidence adduced for these *cours d'amours* seems to stem from a few passages of medieval prose works, most notably Andreas Capellanus's *De amore*. In *De amore*, four noble ladies (Queen Eleanor, another queen who is unnamed, the Countess of Champagne Marie de Troyes, and Ermengarde of Narbonne) announce their decisions concerning thirty-one cases of love. Andreas's work is explicitly didactic, which is one indication that these courts and their pronouncements are fictions of the text. In fact, none of the questions the four women discuss is specifically linked to a *jeu-parti* or *partimen*. Furthermore, none of ladies that Andreas cites is linked to any known *partimens* or *jeux-partis*. Later on, however, Jean de Nostredame, who wrote on the troubadours in the sixteenth century, likely drew inspiration from Andreas's account, and invented various ceremonial *cours d'amour* that were supposed to have taken place in his native Provence, and for which poets composed *partimens*. Jean has proven notoriously unreliable in many other ways, but a few modern researchers of troubadour lyric—most importantly Raynouard—have repeated Jean's fantastical accounts of the *cours d'amour*. However, scholars today almost uniformly reject this idea, and to date no reliable evidence has been found to support the existence of any formal or institutional *cours d'amour* (Remy, "Les cours d'amour").

Unlike the Occitan *partimens*, the French *jeux-partis* were in fact performed as part of a competition, the Puy d'Arras. Prizes were awarded at the Puy, though for what kind of poetry it is not clear; in any case, though, it does not seem to have operated like the imagined *cours d'amour* that would have adjudicated debates. The Puy was a regular poetic competition, and

many, if not most, of the known French *jeux-partis* were submitted for the Puy. Many of the poets who participated in the Puy were also members of the Confrérie des jongleurs et bourgeois d'Arras, the confraternity and mutual aid organization, but the Puy was distinct, being an event, not an organization. While the Confrérie has left behind a relatively large number documents, many of which Berger has edited and published, the Puy has left no such traces. Short references in various medieval literary works, however, offer indirect evidence for the organization and function of the Puy, and there exists the testimony of *puy*s that arose later in northern France (see Gros). The bulk of the participants of the Puy d'Arras were amateur and professional poets from Arras, many of them members of the city's Confrérie des jongleurs et bourgeois, but the Puy also included individuals from other cities and regions, and from many different social groups, including clerics, minor nobility, and the highest aristocracy: Charles of Anjou (R 938) and Duke Henry III of Brabant (R 491) appear to have participated in the Puy. The poets performed their works themselves, probably including the *jeux-partis*, and prizes were awarded, though there is no evidence they were awarded for *jeux-partis*. And prizes, even if they were awarded for *jeux-partis*, need not have decided on a winner of a debate. If a prize was bestowed on a *jeu-parti*, there is no reason to believe that the honor did not fall on both parties.

The requests for judgment in the *partimens* and the *jeux-partis* do not appear primarily oriented toward eliciting a winner in debate, and nothing indicates that declaring a victor was a regular practice. Instead, several indications—the nearly complete lack of recorded judgments connected to debate poems, the similarity to the *tornadas* and *envois* of praise in other types of poems—suggest that the naming of judges functioned instead mainly to affirm social ties. They allowed a poet to maintain links with, or reach out to, a powerful lord, a lady, or a fellow poet of importance, and furnished an additional means to increase stock of social capital.

Overall, then, the *partimen/jeu-parti* would appear to be a game in which one formal aspect, that of victory, which is perhaps adopted from other games, has no real function. Of course, intuitively, the game is not so much a game in which one partner triumphs over the other, but instead a matching of skill between the two opponents. As long as both poets perform well, the declaration of a winner would be moot. The formal aspect of winning that is suggested by the game, however, urges the poets to exert themselves and perform well.

3.3. Game theory, rewards, cake-cutting, and market exchange

The *partimen/jeu-parti*, while it may not have an unambiguous victor, is nonetheless a game, and can be analyzed as such with a few of the insights of game theory. The game model that is developed below is somewhat abstract, and is not like any game commonly played for recreation. Instead, it is offered in order to explain the rewards that may have motivated individuals to participate in *partimens* and *jeux-partis*. What emerges is a two-person game in which there is an initial fixed allotment of goods. In the first stage of the game, one individual cuts the allotment in two, and the other chooses. The next stage of the game is made up of turns, with each person evaluating his or her allotment in comparison to the other person's, and scores are kept and accumulated. Both players are haggling, as if there is some kind of exchange at a market, and each logically overvalues his or her own share. At the end, both players do benefit, as in a market exchange (through the gains of trade), and both scores are higher if both players have competed well against one another.

In terms of game theory, the *partimen/jeu-parti* is an “extensive-form” game: each player participates in a series of sequential rounds of play, and is allotted “payoffs” for each round. A payoff is a conventional term that is a numerical amount, and may denote money or may simply

be an abstract number. Each round, in the case of the poem, can be thought of as a pair of stanzas, with each poet taking a turn in each. The payoffs in the case of the *partimen/jeu-parti* might be thought of as a score corresponding to how well the poet is doing in the debate. This game-theoretical model seems to fit rather well, especially if the game is set up so that the payoffs are cumulative with each round, and each player has a total score at the end, so that both players benefit, although one may gain more.

Certainly the poets themselves are aware of that the *partimen/jeu-parti* is a game when they make references to other types of games. The poets also make use of several ranges of vocabulary and figurative language, especially related to value, money, and exchange—examined in sections further below—that are key features of a game theoretical model of the *partimen/jeu-parti*. Perhaps the most striking example of a lyric work that discusses these game characteristics is an unusual Occitan *tenson* that is not, strictly speaking, a *partimen*—though it has many features of a *partimen*. In “En Falconet, be·m platz car es vengutz” (P.C. 149,1=148,2), Faure and Falconet discuss the local lords of Provence. Based on the names mentioned, this lyric work was almost certainly composed during a contentious period in which much of the local nobility was engaged in petty and destructive raids, which were part of the conflict for control of Provence between the counts of Barcelona and the lords of Forcalquier (Aurell 69-73). The poets thus discuss the value of the local lords—or more specifically, their lack of value.

The work is not a *partimen*, since there is no enunciation of specific choices in the first stanza, but the first poet does explicitly tell his partner that he will propose to him a *joc*, a game with a divided question (3). The two troubadours both call their game a *joc*, using the word twelve times, and placing it in the first lines of stanzas II through V. In most *jocs partits* or

partimens, the two partners argue regarding the worthiness or value of the side that each one takes. In this *joc*, however—since it is a parody of a *tenson*—the two partners submit choices of *negative* value, with partner adding more and more negative value to his side with each stanza.

I
 [Faure]
 En Falconet, be·m platz car es vengutz,
 que loncx temps a no fi ab vos tenso
 e partrai vos un joc qu'er luenh sauputz
 e ja no cug que m'en diguatz de no:
 a cada joc metam un croy baro, 5
 e no·ls prenguem mas can per lur valensa,
 ni non laissezm a jugar per temensa
 dels ricx malvatz, sol c'als pros sapcha bo.

II
 [Falconet]
 Faure, del joc vos dey esser tengutz,
 car d'aital joc fay a tot home pro, 10
 per qu'ieu no soy del jugar esperdutz;
 e joguera·us En Gui de Cavalho,
 si no fos pros, et agra·n be razo.
 E diguatz mi cal baro de Proensa
 voletz jugar, pus nostre joc comensa, 15
 qu'ieu vos joc sel de cuy Posqueira[s] so.

III
 [Faure]
 Paucx er lo dans cant lo jocx er perduetz,
 si non creyssetz, Falconet, l'espoio.
 mas yeu metrai tal don seretz vencutz,
 En Maltortel e son frair'En Raino. 20
 quecx per cinc sols, e met ie·us N'Albaro
 per autres cinc; e si·l joc vos agensa
 metetz y may, qu'ieu no joc per crezensa,
 car del joc ai trop gran melhurazo.

IV
 [Falconet]
 Faure, per joc es hom trop mal volgutz 25
 cant hom non pren en gatge per faiso,
 car un d'aquels val may, neys s'era nutz,
 no fa·N Rostanh ab so vielh guaranho
 N'Aimeriguet; et hom no·m n'ochoaizo
 si per detz sols lo met yeu, ses falhensa, 30
 e·N P[eir] Bremon per vint a l'eschazensa,
 car de detz sols e de vint fas mon pro.

V

[Faure]

En Falconet, mas lo joc es cregutz,
ye·l doblaray del senhor de cuy fo
say Foncalquier, don es coms abatutz, 35
e met ie·us i·l senhor de Cortezo,
ab son oncle·N Ramon de Meolho,
c'ab aquestz tres m'es be semblans que·us vensa,
qu'il son tan croy c'a mi·n tanh penedensa
car n'ay parlat, e quier n'a Dieu perdo. 40

VI

[Falconet]

Contra·l comte vos er l'envitz rendutz
del flac senhor de Berr'e d'Alonso;
ab los perfieitz orgulhos mescrezutz
vos reirevit de Trits e de Tolo,
ab lo nove, Faure, de Berguonho, 45
car anc no vim, segon ma conoissensa,
tan malvat frug de tan bona semensa
com auzem dir que foron lor paio.

VII

[Faure]

Si non issetz, Falconet, de Proensa,
be m'es semblan, segon ma conoissensa, 50
que plumaran gralhas vostre falco.

VIII

[Falconet]

Sol qu'En Daurde sal Dieu, non ai temensa
sa vas Caslus, Faur', e lay part Durensa,
c'ab luy trob'om tostems condutz e do.
(Harvey and Paterson 1: 336-38)

I

[Faure]

Sir Falconet, I am delighted you have come, for it is a long time since I debated with you. I will propose to you a game which will become known far and wide, and I am sure you will not refuse me: let us at each turn wager a cowardly baron and let us choose them only according to their true valour and not give up our game for fear of the evil men of power, provided it gives pleasure to men of true worth.

II

[Falconet]

Faure, I must needs be grateful to you for the game, for by such a game I can do everyone a favour, so I am not scared of playing it. And I would wager Sir Gui de Cavaillon, were he not brave, and with him I should win for sure. But tell me which baron of Provence you wish to wager, since our game is beginning, for I

wager the man who rules over Posquières.

III

[Faure]

Your losses will be small when the game is lost, Falconet, unless you increase your stake. But I will lay such a wager as will make you the loser, namely Sir Maltortel and his brother Sir Raino, each for five sous, and I wager Sir Albaro for another five. And if the game is to your liking, then put down a higher stake: I do not play for credit, for I have the upper hand with this game.

IV

[Falconet]

Faure, a man is unpopular at gaming when he does not place a correct stake, for anyone of those, even unarmed, is braver than Sir Rostanh with his old stallion Sir Aimeriguet. And let no man find fault with me if without faltering I wager him for ten sous and Sir Peire Bremon for twenty into the bargain, for with ten sous plus twenty I have the advantage.

V

[Faure]

Sir Falconet, since the stakes are increased I will double them with the lord who used to rule Forcalquier nearby, of which he is the deposed count, and I add to the wager the lord of Courthézon, together with his uncle Sir Raimon of Mévouillon, for with these three I am convinced I can defeat you, for they are so cowardly that I must do penance for having mentioned them, and I ask God's pardon for it.

VI

[Falconet]

Your stake shall be equalled exactly with the feeble lord of Berre and Lançon and I raise your stake with those utterly arrogant miscreants of Trets and Toulon, together with the ninth one, Faure, who is Burgondion; for none of us, I believe, has ever seen such bad fruit from such good stock as, so we hear, their forefathers were.

VII

[Faure]

Unless you leave Provence, Falconet, it is in my view very likely that crows will pull the feathers from your falcon.

VIII

[Falconet]

Provided God preserves Sir Daude I have no fear, Faure, here in the neighbourhood of Caslus or there beyond the Durance, for with him one always finds hospitality and gifts.

(trans. Harvey and Paterson 1: 337-339)

The most significant aspect of this debate, from the point of view of this study, is the manner in which each partner states a quantitative value with each stanza—and with each turn in the game.

The game proceeds like a wager in which the players successively raise the stakes, betting

various cowardly lords only at their true “value”—“no...mas can per lur valensa” (6). After Faure proposes the one lord in the second stanza, Falconet proposes three lords for five *sous* each, for a total of fifteen *sous*. Faure then meets that amount, and raises the stakes further, with two lords for thirty *sous* altogether; Falconet doubles the stakes (presumably to sixty). In the last full stanza, Faure meets Falconet and raises him for a final time with three additional scoundrels. Each poet places a specific value in each of the stanzas, with each forming one turn in their game. This is an indication that the poets in the *partimens* and *jeux-partis*, in their competitive debate, placed a value on each of their turns. In the case of the wagering *tenson* above, the players speak of these values as wagers in an apparent betting game. Unlike the case in a betting game, however, there is no determination of a winner who might take all the stakes, nor even a division of the stakes. The two poets seem, in fact, to have accumulated risk or danger through their game, by offending powerful lords of the area. On the other hand, they both must have expected some benefit or reward from the composition of the work—why else would they have written it?

This unusual *tenson* indicates many of the elements of a game-theoretical model of the *partimen/jeu-parti*, including the quantification of the stakes and the order of turns. Since this *tenson* is a parody, it displays many of these elements in an inverted manner. Faure and Falconet devalue the examples they present, for example, while poets in a *partimen/jeu-parti* argue for the positive value of their respective cases. Faure and Falconet incur risk and danger, while poets in a *partimen/jeu-parti* seek rewards. But both Faure’s *joc* and the regular form *partimen/jeu-parti* lack a single winner, indicating that the partners receive a share in the stakes. Faure’s *joc* captures many of the most important elements—the evaluation of stakes, the taking of turns—of a game theory model of *partimen/jeu-parti*. Game theory, like Faure’s *joc*, proposes numerical

payoffs to each partner in a game at each turn. The main difference between Faure's *joc* and the normal-form *partimen/jeu-parti* is in the nature of the payoffs. In Faure's *joc*, the ostensible payoffs involve specific quantitative of money; in a *partimen/jeu-parti*, the payoffs take the form not of money, but nonmonetary capital.

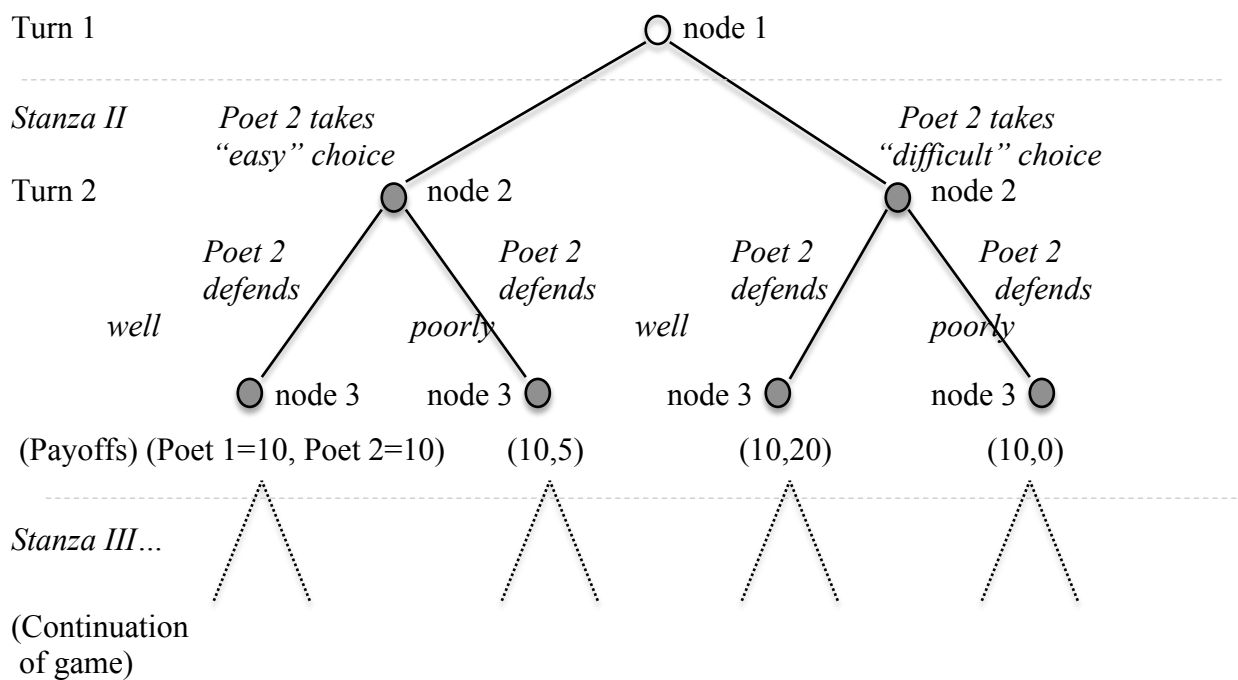
The *partimen/jeu-parti* among what game theory calls *extensive-form games* (Fudenberg and Tirole 67-106). *Extensive-form* games are distinct from games in which players have only one turn each, such as the well-known prisoner's dilemma,¹² where often each player has a single optimal strategy. Players in *extensive-form* games are faced with more options, since they take a series of moves in sequence, and the stakes may change (and the players' optimal strategies may change) as a result of successive moves. *Extensive-form* games can be represented in diagram form. A common type of diagram represents extensive-form game as a connected series of nodes. Each node represents a decision that one player must make at each point in the game, with specified payoffs to players at each node.

The first two stanzas of a *partimen/jeu-parti* analyzed as an extensive game might look like the diagram below (since a diagram for an *extensive-form* game becomes rapidly very large and detailed as the number of turns increases, only the first two stanzas are shown). For the sake of demonstration, the first poet proposes a dilemma that includes two choices, one that accords with *fin' amor* and is "easy," and one that (as the first poet presents it) is against *fin' amor* and is thus "difficult." The events in the text—such as the enunciation of the choice, and the words in the reply, as well as the stanzas—are in italics. The events in the game—the nodes at which one player must make a decision, and the payoffs to each player—are in regular type. The *payoffs* represent what the poets stand to gain as a result of adopting the strategies indicated at each node. Payoffs are specified by the notation (x,y) , with x denoting the payoff to Poet 1, and y the

payoff to Poet 2. The payoff amounts in game theory models conventionally represent concrete measurable quantities, such as dollar amounts or votes. In this model, they could stand for quantities of nonmonetary capital that each player gains as a result of demonstrating skill and knowledge. By speaking well, the poet will gain more, but by speaking poorly, the poet will gain nothing. The units of the payoff here are somewhat arbitrary, but for the sake of comparison are given in multiples of five, as in the *joc* or game that Faure proposes (“En Falconet, be-m platz car es vengutz,” above) :

Diagram 3.1: The *jeu-parti* as an extensive-form game

Stanza I Poet 1 proposes dilemma with an “easy” choice and a “difficult” choice



To follow the above diagram, imagine a *partimen* or *jeu-parti* in which the first poet, in the first stanza or turn, proposes a dilemma with two choices, an “easy” choice and a “difficult” choice. This is just the kind of alternative that Albertet offers Peire: a man who is generous (the “easy”

choice, since generosity is a key virtue of *fin'amor*); and a man who profits by his association with a lady (the “difficult” choice, as Albertet presents it, since self-interest is not among the explicit values of *fin'amor*). This turn is denoted by node 1, which represents a choice. At this stage, there is no payoff amount to either player, since there is no game properly speaking until the second player responds. In the second stanza, or second turn, Poet 2 is faced with two decisions, represented by two nodes: he or she must decide which of the two choices to take (node 2), and then must formulate an argument relating to that choice (node 3). For node 3, for the sake of simplicity in this model, there are only two types of arguments: one that defends a choice well, and one that defends it poorly. By the end of the second stanza/turn, the number of possible outcomes is thus four (two times two), and each of these four outcomes is associated with a specific set of payoffs for Poet 1 and Poet 2. At this point in of the contest, the model assumes that payoff for Poet 1 is uniform for all outcomes: the 10 units represent the capital accruing to Poet 1 for presenting well the dilemma in Stanza I/Turn 1. For Player 2, the payoffs vary according to the argument chosen, whether “easy” or “difficult” (node 2), and also to how well he or she has argued (node 3). If Poet 2 adopts the “easy” choice, the maximum payoff after stanza II is 10, but even with a poor argument, the payoff is still 5, since at least the argument agrees more straightforwardly with *fin'amor*. If Poet 2 takes the “difficult” choice, the payoff may be 20 if the argument is good (since he or she would need to display a relatively great amount eloquence to make a convincing argument for an apparently non-courtly proposition); but the payoff is 0 if the argument is poor (since in addition to showing lack of skill, the argument is uncourtly). The “easy” choice on the left of node 2 is safer, but offers lower maximum rewards. The “difficult” choice on the right of node 2 is riskier, but presents the possibility of a higher payoff..

An important feature of the diagram above representing the *partimen/jeu-parti* is that it allots both players a positive payoff: neither receives a negative payoff or is penalized. The amounts of the payoffs, both in absolute and relative terms, could be changed, but the diagram above is meant to show that *both* players receive some benefit.

The diagram does not indicate very much about the nature of the game itself, the strategies and the principles that lead to various more or less favorable outcomes. There are two additional game theory models that are useful in this context. First, there is the fair division problem, also known as the cake-cutting problem, pertains to the manner in which a good is divided between players; in *partimen/jeu-parti*, it can describe the division (“*partimen*”) of the case into two choices or outcomes. Second, there are bargaining games, which apply to situations where players negotiate and make offers and counter-offers, resulting in an eventual allocation of resources. These two different problems can be related to the diagram above. The cake-cutting problem concerns Nodes 1 and 2, in which the first poet proposes a division of the question, and the second poet chooses one of them. The bargaining, on the other hand, pertains to Node 3, and to the subsequent nodes (not included in the diagram) that make up the back-and-forth debate.

In the *partimen/jeu-parti*, the formulation of the question and its division of the alternative into two choices is a problem of fair division. In problems of fair division, two or more players split goods in a way that each player is satisfied to a greater or lesser extent. The simplest problem of fair division involves a homogenous good that is easily divisible. Brams and Taylor, in their work *Fair Division*, use the classic example of the cutting a cake to illustrate this problem. If the cake is homogenous in consistency (all chocolate, for example), there are only two players who dividing the cake, the “divide and choose” method is the most straightforward. Divide-and-choose is undoubtedly familiar to most people: one person cuts into two portions,

and the other person chooses the portion that he or she prefers. The advantage of this method, in terms of fairness, is that it encourages an equal division: the cutter makes the two choices as equal as possible. The cake-cutting problem becomes more complex when the good is not homogenous—for example, when the cake is half chocolate and half vanilla, and the two players have different preferences for each flavor (6-10).

Divide-and-choose is, of course, precisely the procedure for dividing the question in the *partimen/jeu-parti*: the first poet divides the question into two choices, and the second poet chooses. As in the cake-cutting problem, the first poet has a strong motivation to make the two shares as equal as possible: if one share is obviously more attractive, the second player will take it, and leave the first player with the less desirable share. It is to the first poet's advantage, according to the procedure of divide-and-choose, to offer two choices that he or she believes to be equal, so as not to be left with the short end of the stick in the debate. However, the goods to be divided in a *partimen/jeu-parti* are not quite homogenous: the two options are always slightly different in nature. This makes the outcome of debates more unpredictable. In addition, poets often make their goods *less* homogenous, as if to minimize unpredictability by hedging their bets and minimizing their risk. They add another component to the option. In all of these cases, one of the components is something desirable, and one undesirable. Elias d'Uisel, for example, in an Occitan *partimen*, asks his cousin Gui d'Uisel to choose between a woman who is low-born and uncouth but obedient, and a more noble and well-bred woman who is never truthful (P.C. 136.1a=194,4). And in a French *jeu-parti*, "Gaidifer, d'un jeu parti" (R 1071), Jehan Bretel proposes the following dilemma:

U a oïr tesmougnier
Mout de bien de vostre amie,
Si ne l’i trouvisiés mie,
U mal dire en oïsiés
Et le bien i trouverié. (6-10)

Either to hear people tell of the good qualities your mistress, but you find none of them in her; or to hear her slandered, but with you finding goodness in her? (my translation)

In this *jeu-parti*, the two goods—hearing praises of one’s mistress, and being pleased with her—are paired respectively with drawbacks—hearing her being blamed, and being displeased with her.

In the stanzas that follow the initial division of the question resemble a kind of bargaining game (Osborne 465-92). A bargaining game can be conceived, in fact, as an extensive game, as in the *extensive-form* diagram with nodes above. The major difference is that at various stages the players may negotiate with one another and change the dynamic of the game. Indeed, in the *partimen/jeu-parti*, the two players make proposals and counter-proposals regarding the value of each other’s cases. Making reference to the diagram, the values are not absolutely determined by the nodes ahead of time; instead the values of their cases would seem to fluctuate along with each node in the diagram of the bargaining game. In general, a bargaining game perspective would seem to describe the *partimen/jeu-parti* as a game in which the players each have a share of goods, and dispute the value of one another’s share.

The bargaining game of the *partimen/jeu-parti* can also be viewed as a kind of market exchange. In fact, bargaining games, in game theory, are very often used to model market behavior. With regard to the *partimen/jeu-parti*, the idea is that the two players, after the initial division of the question, come to the game with their goods divided up, and must exchange their goods. Each player will want to get a better deal than the other, so will attempt to present his

goods as valuable, and those of his partner as less valuable—and vice versa. This kind of exchange is similar in some respects to the exchange of capital described in Chapter 2—social for cultural capital, for example, or vice versa. In this kind of exchange, the benefit derives from the gains of trade: each partner has something that, giving away the right small share, the other would desire even more, so that both are better off after the correct trade. In the case of the *partimen/jeu-parti*, however, transformation of capital is not a primary motivation. Players engage in an exchange to increase their stocks of cultural capital (by demonstrating their skill) and social capital (by performing and by naming judges). Their exchanges are in very many respects like a market exchange, with competitive evaluation and mutual benefit of participants. A market-like bargaining actually describes rather well the dynamic of the game in the *partimen/jeu-parti*. Indeed, as the following section (3.4) shows (and as the debate between Faure Falconet showed above), the partners in a *partimen/jeu-parti* employ monetary and financial vocabulary to keep track of their negotiations.

3.4. The language of value and evaluation

In the competitive exchanges of the *partimens* and the *jeux-partis*, the opponents are eager to establish the value of the opposing propositions. Certainly the troubadours possessed a rich lexicon, and they used financial expressions with a fair frequency. The metaphorical aspects of money and exchange must have contributed to the relatively frequent usage of financial terminology, but various concrete aspects of the life and the *habitus* of poets, involving currency and finance, must have contributed as well. The bourgeois poets of Arras develop this complex of terms to a high degree, surely thanks to their own professional life and the commercial activity of the city. In any case, it is not surprising that the activity of the *partimen/jeu-parti*, with its

que fan'autre bon drut pel mon 25
val may so d'aval no fa·l mus.
E ja trobaires no·m n'escus,
c'om genser de mi no'y respon.

V

[Sifre]
Mir Bernat, per pauc no·m n'irays
car mi respondes motz savays 30
e sela part prezatz trop mays
que los drutz e·ls maritz cofon,
que may ne val us gens assays
c'om embratz e manei e bays
boca et huelh e car'e froll. 35

VI

[Mir Bernart]
Sifren, no'us cuges qu'ie·m biais
ni·l mielhs per lo sordeior lais,
que tot dia abras e bays
fraire e cozi e segall.
Mas d'ayso die que soy verays, 40
que tota drudaria nays
d'aquel cap don pus se rescon.

VII

[Sifre]
Mir Bernat, est joc ay partit
e tenc vos tot per escarnit,
car ieu ab cosselh del marit 45
m'en mostre bel semblan volon
del cap de sus que ay chazit,
et ay vas cel estrem gequit
que no·m pogra far jauzion.

VIII

[Mir Bernart]
Sifre, vas i aves falhit 50
a for de cavayer marrit:
greu comensaretz gran ardit,
car per paor, si gilos gron,
avetz fel laysat e gurpit,
per que·l bon drut son esbaït 55
e cascus n'a·l cor jauzion.

(Harvey and Paterson 3: 1166-68)

I

[Sifre] Mir Bernart, since I have found you in this city of Carcassonne, there is one thing which perplexes me and I would like your good sense to assist me in the

matter: I own a half-share of a woman and I am not altogether clear whether the upper or the lower half is worth more to me.

II

[Mir Bernart] Sifre, I think you are fortunate to have asked me for advice, and I will give you advice of the highest quality for I give deep reflection to the matter: you can be certain without a shadow of doubt, if you were to take my word for it in this deal you would assuredly choose the half with the cunt.

III

[Sifre] Mir Bernart, you are uncouth not to answer me with veiled words. You value more a woman's lower part – and I have just heard you say exactly where. May the Lord Jesus never look on me with favour if I do not take her upper half, the part where she cuts her hair.

IV

[Mir Bernart] Sifre, you are refusing the best of it, the ultimate favours, what every man loves best: according to nature and the custom of good lovers throughout the world, the lower part is worth more than the face. And let no troubadour make excuses on my behalf, for no one gives a more gracious answer than I do.

V

[Sifre] Mir Bernart, I am all but enraged that you give an unseemly answer and set a much higher value on that part which brings ruination to lovers and husbands alike: a gentle advance is worth more, embracing and caressing and kissing mouth and eyes and face and forehead.

VI

[Mir Bernart] Sifre, do not imagine I shall shift my ground and abandon the best for the worst, for every day I embrace and kiss a brother, a cousin or second cousin. But I maintain I am in the right in thinking that all love-making springs from the end where love is most hidden.

VII

[Sifre] Mir Bernart, I proposed this dilemma and I now consider you entirely brought to shame, for I, with the husband's consent, gaze with yearning at the upper part which I have chosen; but to you I leave that lowest region which could never bring me love's joy.

VIII

[Mir Bernart] Sifre, you have fallen into error like some knight who has lost his way: it is not you who will embark on some great enterprise, for out of fear, if a jealous husband grumbles. You have lost all your gall; that is why true lovers are amazed and all and sundry make merry at your expense.

(trans. Harvey and Paterson 3: 1167-69)¹³

The terms directly denoting value (*valer* and *prezar*) occur throughout the work, and each partner uses them. Sifre presents the two halves of the alternative by asking, “si'm *val* may's d'aval o d'amon” ‘whether the upper or the lower half is worth more to me’ (7). After Mir

Bernart has answered, Sifre remarks, “La domna *prezatz* may de jus” ‘You value more a woman’s lower part’ (17); and following this, Mir Bernart reaffirms, “*val* may so d’aval no fa·l mus” ‘the lower part is worth more than the face’ (26). In reply, Sifre asserts that Mir Bernart has overvalued his share: “sela part *prezatz* trop mays que los drutz e·ls maritz cofon” ‘you set a much higher value on that part which brings ruination to lovers and husbands alike’ (31-32).

This *partimen* is burlesque, and it may seem bizarre to place value on the two halves of a woman’s body. In troubadour and *trouvère* lyric, however, the noble lady is often valued in an objectified way, for example, as an object of exchange between men. In addition, in troubadour poetry in particular, the *domna*’s value is frequently connected with property—customarily the domain where she resides (Paterson, *World* 36). In “Bernat, mas vos ay trobat,” the *domna* appears not only as land, but also as real estate. She can be viewed as representing physical land that has financial value in a series of lexical terms in the first two stanzas. In the first stanza, Sifre poses the question so that it appears to be about a financial matter: it is about “una don’ay la mitat” (5)—a woman in which he has a ‘half-share’ (the translations are from Harvey and Paterson). *Mitat* is commonly “half,” but *mitat* and its cognates (*meitadar*, *meitadier*) may apply to various landlord-tenant property arrangements (Levy, *PSW* 5: 165-67). A few lines later, using *valer* and thus implying value (perhaps financial), Sifre asks “si’m val mays d’aval o d’amon” ‘if the upper or lower part is worth more’ (7). Here, he uses the expressions *d’aval* and *d’amon*. They are conventional for ‘upper’ and ‘lower.’ However, unlike the more generic *de sus* and *de sot* (‘upper’ and ‘lower’), *d’aval* and *d’amon* can carry their original meaning of ‘downstream’ and ‘upstream,’ qualities that could be taken, in the context of the poem, to refer to a parcel of land. Returning to financial value, another mark is found in the following stanza, when Mir Bernart states “si·m creziatz d’est mercat” ‘if you were to take my word for it in this deal’ (13).

The market or exchange in question concerns, presumably, the half from which one can obtain the greater value (7).

The connection between the lady and financial value, of course, is familiar also from the *partimen* at the beginning of this chapter, “En Peire,” in which a man profits from his association with his lady. In both “En Peire” and in “Mir Bernat,” the financial language can be read as a metaphor for the social benefits that the poet-lover derives from association with the lady. At the same time, the economic lexicon serves to illustrate not only courtly and social exchange between poet-lover and lady, but also between poet and poet within in the transaction of the *partimen* itself. In both exchanges the poets accumulate cultural and social capital.

There are several kinds of expressions and figures of speech that poets use to assign value. There are the verbs that have to do with value: the Occitan *valer* and French *valoir* “to be worth,” and the Occitan *prezar* and French *priser* “to value, to esteem.” There is vocabulary that deals with money, markets, and exchange. And there are examples, comparisons, and extended arguments that involve financial affairs or economic thinking.

The verbs that express value, *valer/valoir* and *prezar/priser*, are quite common in lyric poetry. They are connected to central qualities of *fin’amor*: *valor* and *pretz*, worth and esteem, which in the great majority of cases designate intangible personal qualities. The poets use them in much the same way in the *partimens* and *jeux-partis*, but also use the same verbs to evaluate the two sides they are debating. The two verbs can also, of course, in ordinary usage, refer to monetary or financial value, and do so in some debates.

Valer/valoir and *prezar/priser* occur quite often inside the formulation of the dilemma in the first stanza. In one *partimen* (P.C. 313.1 v. 6), for instance, the first stanza contains “Digatz cals *val* mais d’amdos” (emphasis added) ‘Say which of two (choices) is more worthy.’ A French

jeu-parti has “Li quels fait mieus a *prisier*?” (emphasis added) ‘Which (choice) is more to be esteemed?’ (R 8 v. 3). *Valer/valoir* and *prezar/prisier* are also common in the stanzas the follow the opening question. In an example by Thibaut de Champagne and Philippe de Nanteuil, “Phelipe je vos demant (Dui ami)” (R 334),¹⁴ the two poets use the verb *valoir* six times to evaluate the two sides:

I	
[Thibaut]	
Phelipe, je vos demant :	
dui ami de cuer vrai	
sont qui aiment loiaument,	
bachelor legier et gai.	
Li uns a tout son talent,	5
li autres est a l’essai.	
Qui doit plus venir avant,	
li amez ou cil qui prie?	
II	
[Phelipe]	
Cuens, sachiez certainement:	
li amez est fors d’esmai	10
et pour c’est il pluz engrant	
de melz valoir, bien le sai;	
quant plus a, et plus emprent,	
Et plus fet bien sanz delai;	
ne cil ne puet valoir tant	15
qui qiert merci et aïe,	
III	
[Thibaut]	
Phelipe, cil qui requiert	
doit melz valoir, par raison,	
que toutes bontez affiert	
a atendre a si haut don.	20
Cil s’esforce qui conqiert,	
mès cil qui en est en son	
jamès partir ne se qiert	
por nus pris d’avec s’amie.	
IV	
[Phelipe]	
Cuens, ja nus prierres n’iert	25
qu’il n’ait duel ou soupeçon,	
et pensee au cuer le fiert	
comment il avra pardon;	

mès cil qui a ce qu'il qiert
Ne pense s'a valoir non; 30
joie son pris li conqiert
et sa dame, qui l'en prie.

V

[Thibaut]
Phelipe, plus doit valoir
cil qui veut entendre a li
et qui atent main et soir 35
de sa dame avoir merci.
Cist pensers li fet avoir
le cuer vaillant et hardi.
Trop fet cil mains son pouoir
qui a sa joie aconplie. 40

VI

[Phelipe]
Quens, sachiez vos bien de voir,
que si avez vos failli:
s'en valt mains por joie avoir,
dont sont tuit amant honi.
Se cil qui se doit doloir 45
valt mielz de joieus ami,
dont faisons damez savoir
par tout, qu'on nes ainme mie.

VII

[Thibaut]
Phelipe, je faz savoir
A Auberon, mon ami, 50
q'il nos en die le voir,
ou sa langue soit honie.

VIII

[Phelipe]
Cuens, a Rodrigue le Noir
mande par nos et li prie 55
qu'il nos en mant son voloir
qui a droit de la partie.

(Thibaut de Champagne, ed. Brahney 158-60).

I

[Thibaut] Philip, I ask you: there are two lovers, mirthful, young, aspiring knights, who love loyally, with true hearts. One has all his heart's desire, the other is still being put to the test. Which one ought to advance more, the one who is loved, or the one who entreats?

II

[Phelipe] Count, know indeed: the one who is loved is free from all care, and for that reason he is more desirous of being worthier. I know it well; when one has

more, one becomes more ardent and eager to do good. The one who seeks mercy and aid cannot be worth as much.

III

[Thibaut] Philip, the one who seeks ought to be worth more, it's clear, for all good actions lead toward attainment of great reward. The one who tries, wins, but the one who is at the summit never seeks to depart from his beloved at any cost.

IV

[Phelipe] Count, the one who entreats will always have sorrow and suspicions, and the thought of how he will receive his reward will always burden his heart; but the one who has what he seeks thinks only of being worthy; joy has procured his esteem for him, as well as his lady, when she entreats him.

V

[Thibaut] Philippe, the one who wishes to be attentive to his lady, and who awaits day and night to receive mercy from her, ought to be worth more. This thought makes him have a heart valiant and bold. He who has attained joy never strives to his fullest capacity.

VI

[Phelipe] Count, you must realize that you have failed in this: if one is worth less because of having joy, then all lovers are the object of shame. If he who gives himself over to sorrow is worth more than a joyful friend, then we're telling ladies everywhere that no one loves them at all.

VII

[Thibaut] Philippe, I turn to my friend Auberon, that he might tell us the truth, or may his tongue be shamed!

VIII

[Phelipe] Count, I send for Rodrigue le Noir on your account, and beg him that he send us his judgment of who is right in this partie.

(trans. Brahney, ed. Thibaut de Champagne 159-61)

Count Thibaut poses the dilemma in the first stanza: which of two knight/lovers should advance more? In the second stanza, Philippe asserts the worth of one knight and claims the other knight cannot be worth as much. In the third stanza, Thibaut maintains that the other knight should be worth more; in the fifth stanza, he repeats the same claim. In the final stanza, Stanza VI, Philippe argues that it is odd that the joyful man should be worth less. In these claims of value in Stanzas II-VI, the verb *valoir* is used six times: “pour ce est il plus engrant / de mielz *valoir*” ‘for that reason he is more desirous of being worthier’ (11-12); “cil ne puet *valoir* tant” ‘the (other) one cannot be worth as much’ (15); “cil qui requiert / Doit mielz *valoir*” ‘the one who seeks more ought to be worth more’ (17-18); “plus doit *valoir* / Cil qui velt entendre a li” ‘the one who

wishes to be attentive to her ought to be worth more' (34); "S'en *valt* moins por joie avoir" 'if one is worth less because of having joy' (43) "Se cil qui se doit doloir, *valt* mielz de joieus ami" 'If he who gives himself over to sorrow is worth more than a joyful friend' (45).

Poets also use comparative expressions with *valer/valoir* and *prezar/prisier*. One type takes a quasi-arithmetical form, by expressing a ratio of a hundred or a thousand. Thus, in Occitan *partimens*: "don dic eu qe *val per un cen* / cill qe pag'amorosamen" 'That is why I say that she who pays in love's coin is a hundred times more worthy and the beloved can put greater trust in her.' (P.C. 167,42=16,19 v. 58-59); "car *per un cen / val* mais amics que longamen / manten pretz e conduich e don" 'the suitor who over a long period is an upholder of worth and liberality and generosity is a hundred times more estimable' (P.C. 16,15=167,25 v. 52-54); "per q'ieu *pretz per un cen / celui* qe-s sap enantir" 'and so I have a hundred times more esteem for the man who is able to raise himself up' (P.C. 238,3=373,1 v. 15-16); "*cent tant prez mais*, si ad honor vencia, / que si prezes so qe vencuz seria" 'I consider it a hundred times better if I won honourably than if I took what was already won' (P.C. 449,1=91,1 v. 37-38).¹⁵ Similar examples are found in French *jeux-partis*, though without *valoir* or *prisier*: "Que jou aim mieus a amer contre un cent" 'I prefer a hundred times more' (R 704 v. 44, my translation) "mais cent tans pis / A cil ki set k'il ot honte prouee" 'but the man who knows that his dishonor is proven has it a hundred times worse' (R 693 v. 24-25, my translation); "Que mil tanz est li baisiers savorez" 'for a kiss on the mouth is a thousand times sweeter' (R 332 v. 53, my translation). These expressions indicating a hundred and a thousand times more worth or preference are highly conventional and rhetorical, and found in other types of medieval literature. Yet they are one of the means through which debaters bargain and attempt to present their side as more valuable.

The poets use several other types of fixed phrases that incorporate *valer/valoir* and

prezar/prisier and that designate value. These expressions are formulaic or proverbial. They are more frequent in the French *jeux-partis* (in the *jeux-partis*, debaters more often cite proverbs and other types of legal-sounding claims to support their arguments than in the *partimens*). One of these expressions takes the following form: “I do not value it/It is not worth (an object of relatively little value—usually a roundish vegetable or foodstuff, or a coin). This kind of expression is used in debate poems to indicate that one of the opposing side is worthless. With *prezar*, for example, the expression is found in an Occitan *tenson* (not a *partimen*, however): “no prezo un genoi” ‘I do not value it a Genoese coin’ (P.C. 392,7 v. 73). The verb *valoir* is commonly used in the French *jeux-partis*: “Ne valent pas une aillie” ‘They are not worth a head of garlic’ (R 938, v. 19) “ges non val anquas lo pres d’un dat” ‘it is not worth the price of a date’ (P.C. 359,1 v. 43); “Mais ne valent un tournois” ‘But they are not worth a *tournois* [kind of coin]’ (R 1514 v. 56). Similar expressions with worthless objects are used without *valoir* in other *jeux-partis*: “Ne donroie une escaloigne” ‘I would not give a shallot’ (R 1776 v. 41), “ne donroie un denier” ‘I would not give a penny’ (R 25 v. 48). Other fixed expressions with *valoir* are similarly proverbial. One such saying occurs in more than one *jeu-parti* and is documented in Morawski’s *Proverbes français*: “Mieuz vault un ‘tien’ que deus ‘tu l’auras’” ‘One *here you are* is worth more than two *you will have*’ (47). In the *jeux-partis*, the debaters employ a slight variation on the proverb to argue for immediate enjoyment against deferral or future uncertainty: “Mieus vaut uns ‘tien’ ne fait deus c’on atent” ‘One *here you are* is worth more than two things you’re waiting on’ (R 1085 v. 38); “Miex vaut uns ‘tiens’ ke dex c’on va querant” ‘One *here you are* is worth more than two things you go out looking for’ (R 899 v. 62) (my translation of all citations in this paragraph).

While money figures in some of the expressions above, various coins or currency¹⁶ are often named by themselves in the *partimens* and the *jeux-partis*. The Occitan *partimens* refer to the denier (P.C. 242,22; P.C. 437,10) and the silver mark (P.C. 145,1; 242,22). The French *jeux-partis* mention coins more frequently, which is perhaps not surprising, given mercantile environment of Arras. Like the Occitan *partimens*, the French *jeux-partis* mention the denier (R 25, R 876, R 1296) and the silver mark (R 952), but also the *maille* (R 1825), the *parisis* (R 375), the *tournois* (R 1514), and the bezant (R 876, R 915, R 952). In a majority of cases, the mention of coins or currency has to do with the assertion that one side is more, or less, valuable than the other. In addition, the mention typically occurs with the verb *valer/valoir*, *prezar/prisier*, or a similar verb indicating value or worth. The phrase containing the coin may devalue the person or situation in the opposing argument: “...ja nuls hom doie d’amours joïr / Quant il ne puet aler sans escuier : / De quanqu’il set ne donroie un denier” ‘No [blind] man can ever have the joy of love if he cannot walk without a squire. I would not give a penny for all that he knows’ (R 25 v. 45-48, my translation).

Among the most complex and remarkable currency expressions are those expressing a ratio of two different coins or currency, one of greater value than the other. These comparisons demonstrate some degree of familiarity with financial affairs. In “Be·m plairia, Seingner En Reis” (P.C. 242,22=23,1a), already cited in Section 2.4, King Alfonso claims his worth is greater than that of less noble lovers by using the comparison of two different types of currency, a high-valued silver mark and a low-valued denier:

Pero be vos tenc a follor
 se·us cuiatz que per ma ricor
 vailla menz a drut vertadier:
 aissi vos pograz un denier
 adesmar contr’un marc d’argen. (12-16)

Nevertheless, I think it a great folly on your part if you imagine that because of my exalted position I am less estimable as a true lover: you might as well compare the value of a denier to a silver mark.

(trans. Harvey and Paterson 2: 701)

Alfonso denies Guiraut's contention that a king is not a good lover, because any woman will give herself to him, and he does not need to make a real effort. Alfonso is intrinsically worthier than other lovers, just as a silver mark has more value than a denier. A similar argument occurs in a French *jeu-parti*, "Douce dame, ce soit en vo nomer" (R 876), in which a Dame contrasts a high valued bezant with three low-valued deniers. She takes this difference in value as an example in her argument that a knight who excels in deeds of battle is of greater worth than a knight who is known for his courtliness:

Par Dieu, Perrot, mout vaut miex un besant
Que trois tornois, qui a droit veut jugier.
En chevalier ne vaut nule riens tant
Com proëce, c'est son milleur mester. (38-31)

By god, Perrot, one bezant is worth much more than three deniers, if one wants to judge rightly. Nothing is of as much value in a knight as bravery: it's his best occupation. (my translation)

A third example is even more sophisticated and displays what might be viewed as economic thinking. It contrasts two amounts of cash, one available now, and one in the future. This kind of contrast is related (though distinct from) preference.¹⁷ A person with a "high" time preference will place greater value on a given sum of cash that is available immediately, as against cash available in the future, while a person with a "low" time preference values relatively more highly money that is available in the future, and is more willing to defer present consumption. One factor that may influence time preference is trust that the good will be available in the future. Future doubts may be greater in environments that predate modern capitalist economies (higher market risks, higher rates of human mortality), and time preferences in such situations may be

higher (Reisman 56). In such cases, “a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush,” as the proverb goes. Jehan Bretel, the *Prince del Puy* of Arras, expresses this thought concerning time preference using two differently-valued coins. He contrasts a bezant available now with an intrinsically more valuable silver mark in the future, in the *jeu-parti* “Amis Lambert Ferri, vous trouverés” (R 952):

...Mieus vaut uns besans
De bel samblant et de cler cuer dounés
C’uns mars d’argent qi si est enconbrés
C’on ne set s’on l’ara ja. (R 952 v. 47-50)

A fine heart and bezant of fair expression that are freely given —this is worth more than a silver mark so difficult to obtain that you do not know if you will ever get it.

It is not surprising that Jehan Bretel supplies this example of the bezant and the future-discounted silver mark. His portions of *jeux-partis* contain numerous allusions to coins, markets, and exchange. Bretel also mentions a coin in “Lambert Ferri, je vous part” (375). Criticizing Ferri’s reasoning skills, Bretel remarks

Ferri, li gius de hazart,
A qui vous estes sougis,
Vous a fait si droit musart
K’en un tout suel parezis
Ariés vous a grant plenté. (R 375 v. 23-27)

Ferri, the game of dice, to which you are addicted, has really made you a careless simpleton: with a single Paris coin you imagine you have wealth in great abundance. (my translation)

The Paris coin in this example resembles the silver mark in the previous example, since in both cases the coin’s worth is much less than the high future value that foolish people project upon it. In the present passage, however, the *parezis* is involved in a game of chance, a kind of risky transaction.

Markets and market transactions provide an additional inventory of vocabulary that the poets use in order to speak about value in the *partimens* and *jeux-partis*. The terms for market, *mercat* in Occitan and *marchié* in French, cover a range of meanings. They designate a marketplace, as well as a market transaction—and by extension, a bargain, deal, or mutual accord. The reference to a *mercat/marchié* can be unfavorable when it designates a physical marketplace. The marketplace can also be likened to gambling: both situations place players at risk of losing money. The marketplace is not mentioned favorably in Occitan lyric, perhaps because the market was part of the vulgar, non-aristocratic realm outside of, and opposed to, the court (with the court being the primary audience for Occitan poetry). In his *sirventes* “De paraulas es grans mercatz” (P.C. 335,16a), for example, when Peire Cardenal remarks that the court is one great marketplace of words, he is criticizing his particular courtly audience’s noisy behavior and lack of discernment, which make it resemble a vulgar marketplace.¹⁸ The physical marketplace shows up in two instances in the Occitan *partimens*. In “Bertran, vos qu’anar soliatz ab lairos” (P.C. 205,1=79,1a), Guillem d’Augier Novella threatens to hand Bertran d’Aurel over to commoners who will beat him. The market is a place of common knowledge of a lady’s repute in Guillem Rainol d’At’s “Auzir cugei e-l crit e-l glat” (P.C. 231,1): since this work is a parody, the commonness of this knowledge is an indication of the vulgarity of the lady’s repute.

As for the French *jeux-partis*, they offer a slightly different perspective on the marketplace. They display an awareness of the deceptions practiced in the market, but they also show a familiarity with commercial dealings—which is not surprising given the mercantile orientation of Arras lyric circles. The *jeux-partis* do not contain the term *marchié* with the meaning “marketplace,” but they do refer to the marketplace in various ways. While there are numerous allusions to specific hazards of the marketplace, the disdain for the marketplace found

in Occitan *partimens* is largely absent. Several of these hazards of the marketplace are proverbial in Old French. One of these, “chat en poche” ‘cat in the bag,’ exists in modern French, as does an equivalent in English, “pig in a poke.” This warning against purchasing a bag and its contents without looking inside is cited in two *jeux-partis* (R 359, R 942). Another Old French proverbial expression proposes that one can haggle too much over a desirable loin cut of meat, and be left with only the offal to take away: “barginier le loigne / Et le coree em porter / Puet on” (R 1776 v. 25-27); the same expression is found in “Jehan de Grieviler, une” (R 2083). One might mention here a final hazard, the game of *boute-en-coroie*. This game is not itself a market transaction, but it involves money, and could conceivably be played at the market. Jehan Bretel observes that different types of men are placed on the same level in the presence of love:

Et clerc et lai en amour onni :
 I n’i keurt c’unne monnoie ;
 C’est jeus de boute en corioie ;
 C’aussi bien sont li tardieu escarni
 Que li hastieu. (R 1833 v. 30-34)

Clerks and laymen are equal in love. There is only one currency that circulates there: it’s the game of *boute-en-coroie*, for both slow as much as the hurried are ridiculed. (my translation)

Boute-en-coroie is some kind of sleight of hand maneuver or a confidence trick, and designed to dupe an unsuspecting audience (Paris, “Boute-en-courroie,” cited in Långfors 2: 68). As a game (*jeus*) it appears to involve betting money, like a shell game, so shares some of the features of a high-risk betting game or a risky market transaction. Interestingly, Bretel compares the game of love to a set of transactions with a universal currency—universal, since all people are equally subject to the rules of love—much like a marketplace.

Mercat and *marchié* have a sense besides “marketplace” which is found more frequently in troubadour and *trouvère* lyric. Both terms can signify “deal, transaction, exchange, accord”—

not the marketplace itself, but the activity that one may conclude with someone at a marketplace. This meaning is current in Modern French, for example in *conclure un marché*, *faire un marché*, and *bon marché*. The extension of the term is greater, however, in Old Occitan and Old French, and applies not just to buying and selling goods, but to all kinds of agreements between two people, especially with regard to the advantages and drawbacks they present.

A few examples are illustrative. In many cases, *mercat/marchié* denotes simply “deal, accord,” in a courtly sense of “agreement to serve a lady,” without any kind of commercial connotation. “Li escondis fait querre aillours marchié” ‘Refusal makes a man seek an accord somewhere else’ (R 1092 v. 34, my translation). According to this debater, if a lover is turned away, he may give up courting and make an agreement to serve another lady. In another *jeu-parti*, Jehan Bretel opines:

Je tieng a fol qui a joie en souffrance
Puis qu’ensi est que par autrui chevance
Le puet haster:
c’est le mieudre marchiez
Au desirant, quant son torment est briez. (R 928 v. 39-40)

I consider him a fool, the man who takes joy in suffering, since he can advance more quickly through another man’s resources. This is the better bargain for the aspiring lover, since his pain is brief. (my translation)

A *marchié* may also have to do with a request by a lady, as in the following instance, when a *trouvère* advises against one lady’s demand: “Si fait marchiet point ne vous loërai” ‘I would not recommend such a deal to you’ (R 1167 v. 13, my translation). In many other cases, however, a *mercat* or *marchié*, while referring primarily to a social agreement, carries the overtones of a commercial dealing. In the *partimen* “Mir Bernat, mas vos ay trobat” (P.C. 435.1=301,1) examined above, for instance, Bernart states: “si·m creziatz d’est mercat” ‘if you were to take my word for it in this deal’ (13)—and does so within verses containing other

financial references. In another *partimen*, a troubadour speaks of a hypothetical love-service accord with a lady, and warns against her giving in too easily: “quar paors es de leu joi conquistat / qu’autre l’agues per aquel eis mercat.” ‘for it is to be feared that in the case of a joy too readily won, another may have it at the same price’ (P.C. 236,8=250,1 v. 29-30); here, Harvey and Paterson’s translation, including the word “price” (2: 641), denoting an agreed-upon market price, is quite fitting. The overlap of social accord with commercial bargain is more obvious in a final illustration, in which a *trouvère* disapproves of his lady taking another lover after his death: “Et s’est trop vieus li marchiés / Qant on acate denree / C’uns autres a adesee” ‘and the transaction is too base when one buys goods that another man has touched’ (R 1121 v. 46-48, my translation). Here, the term *marchié* is associated with the terms for buying (*acater*), and goods (*denree*), so that in these verses the commercial metaphor for the social relationship becomes primary.

Poets use *mercat/marchié*, with both its commercial meanings—the marketplace and the bargain or deal—in a figurative sense, to describe social transactions. Several of the above examples of a bargain or agreement (*marchié*) involving a lady demonstrate this. Both figurative concepts of “marchié”—marketplace and bargain/deal—are at play in a further example from a *jeu-parti* that involves the worth of two ladies. In this *jeu-parti* (R 359), Rogier proposes exchanging wives with Adam de la Halle:

I
 [Rogier]
 Adan, si soit que me feme amés tant
 C’on puet amer, et jou le vostre aussi ;
 Andoi sommes de goie desirrant ;
 Amés n’estes, aussi est il de mi :
 Et pour itant demanch se vous vaurriés 5
 Que je fuisse de le vostre acointiés
 Si tres avant con en puet avoir goie,
 Et s’eüssiés tout autel de le moie.

II
[Adam]
Rogier, metés vo coc en planche avant
Adont sarai se j'ai le jeu parti. 10
Se vo feme cuidasse aussi vaillant
Con le moie, j'eüsse tost choisi.
Se pour vo feme ensi le moie aviés,
Encontre dis un tout seul meteriés,
Et cat en sac a vous acatateroie 15
Se sans assai tel escange prendoie.

III
Adan, vers moi alés debat cachant.
A deus dames sommes andoi ami,
Et vous m'alés de coc aatissant.
Vous ne savés quant je vo feme vi, 20
Je vous demant le voie dont issiés,
Et par orgueil d'une autre m'arainiés ;
Et pour vous di c'amans trop se desroie
Qui ne s'assent a che c'Amours envoie.

IV
Rogier, d'Amours ne savés tant ne quant. 25
Se j'aim vo feme, il n'affiert point pour li,
Que vous aiés le moie en vo commant,
Ne point Amours ne le commande ensi,
Et qui le fait mout en est avilliés.
Je ne sui pas, sans che faire, esmaiés, 30
Se l'aim et serf de cuer, que je ne doie
Avoir merchi ; mais vo cuers faut et ploie.

V
Adan, non fait, ains vous va cuers faillant
Quant refusés le deduit de merchi
Pour vo feme, que vous alés doutant, 35
A vo sanlant, sans amour ; pour che di
Que vous estes de sens amenuisiés.
S'en me vie m'escaoit tés marchiés
Que vous gagiés, certes trop faus seroie
Se mon desir pour mon anui laissoie. 40

VI
Rogier, chil sont musart et nonsachant
Qui pour un seul goïr sont si hardi
Qu'il emprendent honte et damage grant.
Prendés che bon mercié, car j'en di fi.
Miex ameroie adès estre entre piés 45
Qu'estre en amour par tel cose essauchiés
Et contre Amour de vo feme gorroie,
Car che seroit marchiés que je feroie.

VII

Adan, pourfit de damage cuidiés.
Li espreviers est trop mal affaitiés 50
Qui refuse, quant il a fain, se proie.
Tesmoingniés le, sires de le Tieuloie.

VIII

Ferri, amours d'amie est courte et briés,
Mais sen baron sert feme en tous meschiés.
Seroie je dont faus se je cangoie 55
Me feme a che que tost reperderoie.

I

[Rogier] Adam, suppose that you love my wife as much as one can love, and I love yours as much. The two of us desire joy from them, but she does not love you, and it is the same case with me. So now, I ask you if you would like that I could be so far along with your wife I could have my enjoyment with her, and at the same time you had the same enjoyment from mine.

II

[Adam] Rogier, put the cock in the balance beforehand, then I can know what the deal is worth. If I thought that your wife were as worthy as mine, I would have chosen quickly. If you had such a woman as mine for a wife, you would put in a single one instead of ten, and I would buy from you a cat in a bag [or “pig in a poke”] and accept such an exchange without inspection.

III

[Rogier] Adam, you are seeking an argument with me. We are the friends of two ladies, but you dispute with me about a cock. You do not know if I saw your wife, and I ask you how you come out on this question, but you disdainfully ask me about something else. To you, I say that a lover who does not accept what Love sends him acts rashly.

IV

[Adam] Rogier, you do not know anything at all about love. Imagining I loved your wife, it would not be right that for her you had my wife at your command. Love does not command thus, and who acts this way is made base. Without accepting this exchange, I am not worried if I do not have mercy from your wife if I love her and serve her with my heart; but your heart is failing and yielding.

V

[Rogier] Adam, you do nothing of the kind, instead your heart is failing you when you refuse sweet pleasure to your wife, for it seems that you are in fear and without love. For this reason I say that you are diminished in intelligence. Such an exchange as the one you refuse, if it fell to me, I would certainly be disloyal if I set aside my desire because of inconvenience.

VI

[Adam] Roger, those men are thoughtless and senseless, who are so bold that, for a single act of pleasure, incur shame and great harm. Take this good deal, for I disdain it. I would rather be thrown to the ground than be elevated by such an arrangement and to have the enjoyment of your wife against the wishes of Love—

for such is the exchange I would make.

VII

[Rogier] Adam, you see harm in profit. The sparrowhawk who refuses prey when it is hungry is quite poorly trained. Vouch this for me, Sire de la Thieuloye.

VIII

[Adam] Ferri, the love of a mistress is short and brief, but a lord serves his wife through all adversity. Thus I would be disloyal if I exchanged my wife for someone I would lose again very soon. (my translation)

Rogier proposes a *marchié* in which Rogier gives his wife to Adam to enjoy, and Adam gives his wife to Rogier; the proposal is a yes-or-no choice. Both partners refer to the proposal as a *marchié* in later stanzas (v. 38, 44, 48). Adam answers that he does not know the value of Rogier's wife, so he cannot make an informed choice of whether to accept.

Virtually all of Adam's comments in this section consist of metaphors pertaining market concepts, either the marketplace and the bargain/exchange. The marketplace is the main frame of reference for the entire stanza, from the very first image, the cock in the balance, to the last, the cat in the bag. Throughout this stanza, Adam argues like a customer at a marketplace: he cannot make an intelligent bargain without inspecting the merchandise beforehand. The bargain/exchange part of Adam's argument deals with the "cat in the bag" (*chat en poche*), the proverbial trick in which a customer intends to buy a bag of expensive meat (such as the English "pig in a poke"), but, having failed to inspect its contents, purchases a bag with worthless cat substituted in its place. Since Adam does not know the true value of Rogier's wife, he is in the same position as the customer who has not inspected the bag of meat. Rogier alone knows what his wife is worth, and is free to cheat, giving Adam less.

Although Adam uses the example of the market and employs financial language, he refuses to engage with Rogier in any meaningful way. He does not make a choice. He does not take part in the exchange, and his dialogue with Rogier fails, at least at first. A major break in communication is evident in Stanza III. Rogier notes that Adam has not chosen, and accuses him

of not properly taking part in the terms of the debate. Rogier objects to Adam speaking about seemingly unrelated topics, a tactic that appears disrespectful: “We are the friends of two ladies, but you dispute with me about a cock...I ask you how you come out on this question, but you disdainfully ask me about something else.” On one level, Adam is satirizing the questions that are typical of the *jeux-partis*, and he uses colorful and humorous images to point out the triviality of *tensons*. On another level, Adam can be seen to refuse dialogue in much the same way as the *domna* does in Raimbaut de Vaqueiras’s “Bella, tant vos ai preiada,” discussed in the Introduction. Both reject, both for their own reasons, the conventions of *fin’amor* and courtly dialogue. In addition to Adam’s rebellious nature, other reasons—distrust of artificial manners, his love of simple pleasures, and an attachment to familiar surroundings—which are evident in the *jeux-partis* with Jehan Bretel examined Section 2.1, are perceptible here. In the last stanza (53-56), for example, Adam speaks of his loyalty to his wife, despite adversity. Adam seems quite content to enjoy his life and leave the business of complicated exchanges and professional commerce to others.

Adam invokes the marketplace image of the *planche* (8), the balance or scales, to describe the weighing and comparison of the two choices of the initial question. As Neumeister points out, Occitan poets use the balance (*balanza*) in their *partimens* in a similarly figurative way. In an Occitan *partimen*, Simon Doria boasts that he is in possession of a *balanza*, a true and fair balance with which he can evaluate the correct value of the two sides: “Segne·N Lafranc, ieu hai drecha balanza / e sai triar entre los conoissenz” ‘Sir Lanfranc, I have correct/right balance and know how to discriminate among those people who know’ (P.C. 282,1b=436,1a v. 10-11). Similarly, Bertran d’Alamano scolds his partner for daring to weigh in the scales the side of bravery in arms versus joy with women: “be·m par grand enfanza / qui joy d’engan ab prez

d'armas balanza" (P.C. 437,10=76,2 v. 47-48). Unlike the balancing acts from in the Occitan *partimens*, the weighing that Adam de la Halle describes is not of a general or abstract kind, but one that takes place right in the marketplace. This might seem natural enough, since the market is where the scales are actually found and used, and Adam delights in concrete imagery. In addition, Adam is from Arras, and like the other poets from that city, makes frequent use of poetic language of that is explicitly tied to money and exchange, and that allows for economic-type reasoning.

This commercial point of view is evident in various aspects of the *jeux-partis* that the Arras poets created. The *trouvères* from Arras mention money and markets more often than the troubadours writing in Occitan. But the Arras poets go further than simply referring to money and markets; they use language that seems to show that they identify themselves as merchants. An illustration is the phrase "c'est passé," which occurs in two *jeux-partis*. The expression can take a variety of meanings,¹⁹ but was used to conclude a business agreement, as a kind of interjection similar to the English "it's a deal!" or the French "marché conclu!" (Långfors 1: 194, 228). This commercial sense may well have been the primary one in the two *jeux-partis* (R 375 v. 61, R 1794 v. 48) where the saying occurs: it is located at the precise end of argumentation, after the last words of the debate, and just before the calls for judgment. It is as if the two poets, in addition to conversing, are exchanging offers in a negotiation, and concluding their bargains with a last call of "c'est passé." This reading of "c'est passé" supports the idea that the *partimen/jeu-parti* is almost a market exchange, in which both partners seek to benefit.

Arras poets often present merchants in a neutral or even favorable light—as canny and wise figures. The word *marcheant* 'merchant' occurs only twice in the *jeux-partis*. In both cases, the poets cite a hypothetical merchant as an example of desirable conduct, to help support their

arguments; in both cases, it is the merchant's prudence and carefulness that are emphasized. In the first *jeu-parti*, "Cuvelier, dites moi voir" (R 1824), Jehan le Cuvelier calls upon the merchant's wisdom at the end of the debate, after he has already held up as models other financially shrewd figures, such as a responsible heir. The subject of debate is the conduct of two lovers: which is more deserving, the foolish lover who openly and spontaneously speaks his mind when courting his lady, or the wise lover who remains discreet regarding his own desires? Cuvelier chooses to argue for the discreet lover; this lover, by his prudent conduct, shows himself worthier. The man who speaks without reflection, by contrast, demonstrates that he does not appreciate his own honor or worthiness, and is prone to dissipate whatever merit he might obtain through serving his lady. Cuvelier uses a financial metaphor to illustrate:

Sire, on voit par un fol hoir
Qui apertement foloie,
Dechaoir maint bel manoir;
Au mieulz celant toute voie
Et qui est loiaux amans
Et sages et emendans
Doit miex eschaoir la joie (28-38).

Sire, one sees that many good estates fall to ruin because a foolish heir openly acts with imprudence. Joy should come instead to the more discreet man, however, who is a faithful lover, and wise and instructive. (my translation)

Through the metaphor of the inheritance, Cuvelier compares the honor and worth of a lover, and the value of an estate, and warns of the damages that result from imprudent behavior. Like an heir in charge of an inheritance, a lover who speaks his mind too easily may damage his reputation and thus diminish the esteem in which he is held; furthermore, he shows himself as untrustworthy of any esteem he might earn through his lady in the future. Cuvelier argues for wisdom and prudence in love, in order to preserve and cultivate one's honor, one's current and anticipated future social capital. When Cuvelier uses the financial metaphor again to argue for

prudence, this time in his *envoi* or request for judgment, he puts forward another figure, the wise merchant: “Baudescot, li marcheans / Sages si est bien cheans: / Les foulz perdent leur avoir.” ‘Baudescot, the wise merchant is fortunate, but foolish men lose their wealth’ (67-69). The wise merchant astutely preserves and does not squander his wealth, unlike the foolish heir. In the same manner, the wise and discreet lover preserves his honor and shows himself worthy of love, unlike the imprudent man who speaks without reflection. This first mention of a merchant is relatively generic, and serves as counterpoint to the foolish example of the injudicious lover.

The second example of the merchant is rather more vivid and is proposed by Jehan Bretel to Lambert Ferri in “Ferri, il sont doi amant” (R 295). In his debate, Bretel contends that it is better to be cautious in pursuing a lady than to rush headlong into the affair. In his example, Bretel envisages two merchants traveling through the country: one is cautious, the other rash:

Lambert, se doi marcheant
 S'en vont a nuis au Crotoi,
 Aviegne que paisant
 Lor dient: “En cest ausnoi
 a dis larrons deputaire,”
 Cil fait mieus qui s'en repaire,
 Pour aler a sauvement,
 Que cil qui va folement
 Vers aus, tout le droit sentier,
 Pour le peril asaier. (41-50)

Lambert, if two merchants go at night to Le Crotoy, and it happens that the peasants tell him “in this alder forest there are ten villainous thieves,” the one who flees to go to safety does better than the one who goes foolishly towards them, making a direct path, to test the danger. (my translation)

The details in Bretel’s example, first of all, emphasize the overlap between the bourgeois and the *trouvères* of the city. The merchants and others in Arras could have easily identified hypothetical merchants that Bretel chooses to illustrate his argument. Many would have known well the route to Le Crotoy, one of the nearest seaports to the city. Many of them, merchants

themselves or members of bourgeois families, would have understood well the dangers of a merchant's professional activities—nighttime travel, thieves lurking in the woods.

Bretel presents his merchants in a situation where they might need to be cautious and prudent: they need to be careful in protecting their endowment of wealth, which can quite easily be stolen. Merchants also make good figures of caution, not only because of their attention to security, but also because much of their wealth is liquid and easily dispersed, unlike the fixed landed wealth of the nobility. Of course, a successful businessman must take risks at times, as the traveling merchants in the example do, since virtually all commercial enterprises involve a chance of loss. A merchant can succeed, however, by managing these risks, obtaining enough necessary information, prudently taking the best decisions, and (when appropriate) negotiating appropriate terms to maximize payoffs. A merchant is cautious, insofar as he takes the time to evaluate and consider options at hand, but is also prepared to take informed risks.

Therefore, more important than a merchant's caution, in many cases, is his ability to weigh and choose the best options. The question of the debate above (“Ferri, il sont doi amant”) concerns two men who love a not entirely worthy lady: which one is worthier, the one who makes great efforts to court and serve her, or the one who seeks for a way to escape her *dangier* (10)? The word *dangier* is probably best translated here as ‘domination,’ the state of subjection and service to a *dame*. The term can also mean perilous situation, danger, or risk. Bretel, before speaking on the subject of the two merchants, argues that the man who seeks release from this unworthy woman's *dangier* is the wiser man, and that the other man in the question is a fool, since does nothing to protect himself from harm or to help himself. (21-30). The merchant that Bretel cites later in the poem serves not only as a figure of caution and prudence, but also as one who is shrewd and able to discern what is to his advantage.

3.5. Economic thinking and the *jeu-parti*

The poets who practice the *jeu-parti* take the language and tropes related to financial affairs and develop them into a sophisticated manner of reflecting on the relations of *fin'amor*. The *trouvères* evaluate various situations of love service in terms that, in a few cases, seem to approach economic rationality. Certainly, the troubadours also make observations concerning love service to the lady and financial affairs in their *partimens*. The *partimen* “En Peire,” examined at the beginning of Chapter 3, provides a remarkable example, with its lover who profits from his association with his lady. But the *trouvères* from Arras use financial language much more frequently and systematically to analyze love service, to the point that their reflections resemble economic thought.

Jehan Bretel, for example, remarks upon a lady who in initially appeared desirable, in part because she was a good bargain:

Avoir cuidai engané le marchié
Quant couvoitai bele dame jolie
Et tant pourquis qu'ele m'eut otroié
Qu'elle m'amoit, et me fist courtoisie.
Mais li marchiés m'a trop miex engané,
Car en li n'a ne foi ne loiauté,
Ains l'a chascuns a sen tour gaaingnie.
Adan, ai jou perdu ou gaaingnié ? (R 1094 v. 1-8)

I thought I had cheated the market, when I desired a beautiful cheerful lady, and pursued her until she granted me her love, and gave me her favors. But the market had instead cheated me, for in here there is neither faithfulness nor loyalty; instead everyone has had her in turn. Adam, have I lost or won? (my translation)

Bretel felt he has gotten a good deal because he obtained so easily what he desired. In the end, however, what other men had shared in what had seemed so rare, so she was not as valuable as Bretel first thought.

One important category of *jeux-partis* concerns the evaluation of cases of love to see if they are worthwhile, and if the lover should abandon the lady for his own profit. This class of debate is not common in Occitan: there is only one *partimen*, “Miraval tenso grazida” (P.C. 1.1=406,32) with this kind of question. In French, they are relatively more numerous: R 295, R 375, R 494, R 862, R 948, R 1076, R 1167, R 1296, R 1316, R 2000. In many of these debates, the lady has acted in an unworthy manner, or posed unreasonable conditions (R 295, R 948, R 1167, R 1296, R 2000). In these questions, the scruples of *fin’amor*, surprisingly, do not present an obstacle. Many of these *jeux-partis* seem to allow for self-interest as a reason for abandonment, as if love service is a renewable contract and not a vassalic relationship. The cause for leaving the lady might be that the lover has had to wait too long (R 375, R 494, R 1076), or that another lady has made her love available (R 862).

Another class of *jeux-partis* concerns immediate versus delayed gratification, and the debaters use financial vocabulary to help calculate the best course. Within this class are the “time preference” series of debates, including the earliest Occitan *partimen*, the bilingual debate between the Count of Brittany and Gaucelm Faidit, “Jauseme, quel vos est semblant,” (P.C. 178,1=167,30b), analyzed in the Introduction. Delayed gratification, of course, is a primary principle of *fin’amor*: the lover must postpone his desire for physical enjoyment with the lady, and serve her for a period of time, in the hope of obtaining a much greater future reward. Delayed gratification is also essential to the activity of a merchant, who must save and invest in anticipation of future returns. Yet some individuals prefer current enjoyment and consumption, whether of physical pleasures, or of goods and services. The propensity to consume now versus later is known as time preference in economics. Time preference was mentioned earlier in this chapter, when Jehan Bretel described a preference for present consumption: (R 952 v. 47-50),

advocating enjoying love right away. In another *jeu-parti*, Jehan Bretel makes the opposite case, and argues for delaying the consumption of the favors of love. However, Bretel more often argues for deferred gratification, as in “Adan, s’il estoit ainsi” (R 1026). In this work, Bretel tells Adam de la Halle that he may enjoy the favors of his lady ten times, and asks if he would like to do so right away, or wait for a long time. Adam the *bon vivant* takes his enjoyment right away. Bretel defends the deferral of gratification (as he more often does). Bretel makes the case for economizing for the year ahead, using a metaphor of farm management:

Adan, chil sont escarni,
 Quant ont leur messon cueillie,
 Qui tost le despendent si
 Que ne s’en sent lour maisnie
 Parmi le tans ivrenage. (29-33)

Adam, people are scorned if they have harvested their crop and consumed it so that their family suffers during the winter. (my translation)

Bretel comments that those who prefer immediate gratification in such circumstances are to be regarded as fools.

Bretel, in yet another debate regarding frequency and time preference (“Ferri, se ja Dieus vous voie” (R 1774)), again defends deferral. Bretel asks Lambert Ferri if he would rather see a lady often, but with difficulties in his path, or less often, but without any impediments. Ferri chooses the first option, Bretel the second:

I
 [Jehan Bretel]
 Ferri, se ja Dieus vous voie,
 Li quieus vaut mieus, a vo sens,
 U a pais plenté de joie
 D’amie, par teus couvens
 Que çou n’ert que dis fois l’an [5]
 Tout sans paine et sans ahan,
 U en peril a grant paine
 Trois fies en la semaine?
 II

[Lambert Ferri]
Sire, mout mieus loëroie
A vous et a toutes gens [10]
Les trois fois, se Dieus m'avoie,
Que les dis, ch'est mes asens,
s'en sousterrai bien men pan,
Ne m'en osterés awan,
Que joie qui soit lointaine [15]
Vaille tant con li prochaine.

III
[Jehan Bretel]
Ferri, a pais ameroie
Mieus grant deduit qui fust lens
C'un bien hastieu ne feroie
Tout plain d'enpeechemens. [20]
J'aim mout markié sans engan ;
Il fait bon, par saint Jehan,
Atendre une quarantaine
Pour avoir sa joie plaine.

IV
[Lambert Ferri]
Sire, qant amours gerroie [25]
Ami, c'est drois ongemens
Quant il en prent le mounoie ;
Mieus en vaut li paiemens
C'une nef ne fache au Dan
Toute plaine de safran. [30]
Amours n'est mie souveraine
Qui bien et dolour n'amaine.

V
[Jehan Bretel]
Lambert, mieus m'achesmeroie
D'uns rikes achememens
A nataus que ses vestoie [35]
Chascun jour soolemens.
N'est preus qui sert de Tristan.
Assés vaut mieus plain un van
De joie a desir certaine
Que plus de joie grevaine. [40]

VI
[Lambert Ferrri]
Sire, paine pau anoie
De qoi li rapaiemens
Est prochains, se monteploie
En deduis si fais tourmens.
On ne doit par taquehan [45]

Mener amours ne par ban ;
Qant amours plus grief demaine
Ami, tant li est plus saine.

VII

[Jehan Bretel]
Dragon, amours a lagan
N'est preus; chele est plus estaine [50]
Qui desirs rait kievetaine.

VIII

[Lambert Ferrri]
Mieus vaut un cheval, Bertran,
Qui souvent manjue avaine
Que chil qui fait le crevaine.

I

[Jehan Bretel] Ferri, if God keeps you in sight, which one is better, according to your thinking: either an abundance of joy with a mistress, in peace, by such an agreement that it will only be ten times in one year, all without any difficulty or pain; or in danger and with great difficulty, three times a week?

II

[Lambert Ferrri] Sire, I would recommend to you and to everyone the choice of three times a week, may God guide me, rather than the ten times a year. This is my opinion—and I will hold to my bread [= I will support my opinion]. You will not convince me this year that joy that is far away is worth as much as joy that is close at hand.

III

[Jehan Bretel] Ferri, I would prefer undisturbed enjoyment that is slow, for which a need to rush would not create all sorts of obstructions. I like an affair free of trickery; it is good, by Saint John, to wait forty days to obtain one's entire joy.

IV

[Lambert Ferrri] Sire, when love combats a lover, it is a great relief [lit. "perfume, ointment"] when he takes the money; the (immediate) payment is worth more than a ship in Damme full of saffron (which will take time to arrive). Love is not at all a sovereign who does not bring happiness and sorrow.

V

[Jehan Bretel] Lambert, I would rather bedeck myself with a rich garment at Christmas than habitually wear enough each day. The man who acts like Tristan is not valiant. A winnowing basket full of certain joy is worth much more than a greater quantity of joy that is heavy with risk.

VI

[Lambert Ferrri] Sire, suffering for which the reward is near causes little distress; this kind of affliction augments in pleasure. One must not rebel or rail against Love; the more Love treats a lover more severely, the more it is healthy for him.

VII

[Jehan Bretel] Dragon, love in abundance is not of value; the love which desire governs as sovereign is more perfect.

VIII

[Lambert Ferri] Bertran, a horse that regularly eats oats is worth more than a horse dying of hunger. (my translation)

Each option is composed of two parts: frequent meetings with risk, or infrequent meetings with less risk. A good analogy might be two different kinds of investment: one, a short-term but risky investment; the other, a long-term but more certain venture. Ferri opts for the first, and Bretel is left with the second—again, making the case for deferral of enjoyment.

Ferri's point of view is the more acceptable one according to the dominant principles of *fin'amor*. Following his argument, the lover visits the lady more often; more importantly, the lover must make sacrifices in order to see her, and in so doing accomplishes actions that make him worthier, both intrinsically and to his lady. Ferri rejects Bretel's opinions about postponing gratification of love, because love's needs are often pressing, like hunger (Stanza VIII). He constructs an extended medical and financial metaphor in Stanza IV. He begins Stanza IV with a medical and pharmaceutical image that is a *topos* of lyric and romance: the power of the lady to heal and soothe, like a doctor, the affliction of the lover—the burning desire of love (Doggett; Ghil, "Image and Vocabulary" 463-54). Here, Ferri asserts that when the urgings of love are great, it is a great (*ongemen* 'ointment') to receive a reward or payment (*mounoie* 'money') from one's lady. The reward from the lady is a part of an exchange, and the medical argument that Ferri makes can be understood in financial terms. Ointments were precious and costly goods; one type of ointment or *ongemen* that Ferri mentions, saffron (30), was widely used as a medication and perfume in the Middle Ages, and is even today quite costly. Drugs and perfume were not only worth a great deal of money, but they were also important objects of trade and exchange. Thus the exchange that the lover engages in with his lady is like an exchange for medicine: in both the buyer obtains a soothing reward (*mounoie* and *paiemen*—the latter of which means both

‘payment’ and ‘relief, appeasement’) for his efforts (service to the lady, purchase price for medication). In such an exchange, Ferri argues that a more frequent exchange is better. The medicine at hand is useful, but waiting for it to be brought by long-distance trade, in a harbor in Damme—a port near Arras—is unbearable. Even worse, the ship may never arrive at port. There are, after all, risks to deferring gratification, which tend to raise time preference: when circumstances are uncertain, long-run investments may not look very certain, and current consumption may seem a good strategy.

Bretel is left to defend the strategy of long-term but more certain investment. In fact, Bretel does not make an argument about a return on capital, as he might. Instead he concentrates on the avoidance of risk. For Bretel, a basket that is full with certainty is worth more than a basket that contains more but bears risk: “Assés vaut mieus plain un van / De joie a desir certaine / Que plus de joie grevaine” (38-40). Thus, by means of this comparison, Bretel illustrates rather eloquently that risk factors into time preference: where there is less risk, there is more propensity to consume (in this case, in the future).

The notion of surplus as a kind of payment from an investment is closely related to deferral of gratification. For the *trouvères*, just as there is a greater tendency to defer pleasure (as opposed to the *troubadours*), there is also an attitude that regards the enjoyment of surplus as something to be denied, and something to be reinvested instead. As analyzed in Section 1.6, surplus is a term that is used occasionally in Occitan lyric; Aimeric de Peguillan mentions the *sobreplus* in connection with the *capdal*, which ties it specifically to the libidinal economy of lyric; two other troubadours use it in lyric, though not in any *partimens* or other debate lyric. In all these cases, the surplus is a profit or benefit to which the troubadour has a right, even if troubadours generally complain of not receiving rewards from their ladies. The *trouvères* use the

expression *surplus* with this meaning more extensively, five times in the *jeux-partis* alone (R 664, 691, 1042, 1513, 2129). For the poets in the three *jeux-partis* where the surplus is part of the question, the surplus associated with prohibitions. In “J’aim par amours” (R 664), for example Audefroï le Bastart, for example, states that but that he is afraid to commit a misdeed (*mesfaire*) in asking for the surplus:

J’aim par amours et on moi ensemem
 Si loiaument que fin cuer doivent faire,
 Mais del baisier n’i puis trouver nient
 Ne del surplus, se jou ne voeil mesfaire. (1-4)

I love out of love, and am loved in return, as faithfully as fine hearts should do,
 but I cannot obtain anything, not a kiss, and not the surplus, unless I am willing to
 commit a misdeed. (my translation)

The notion of the surplus is developed most extensively in “Cuvelier, et vous, Ferri” (R 1042). In this *jeu-parti*, Bretel asks three *trouvères*, Jehan le Cuvelier, Lambert Ferri, and Jehan de Grieviler, about a situation in which a lady has granted a lover his courtship of her: does the lover have the right to request the surplus? The three poets together answer that the lover not only has the right to ask for it, but should do so. If the woman in question has agreed to be his lady, they reason, this implies her consent to have sexual relations with him (35-37).

Contractually, the surplus is due; if the lover asks, she must pay the reward: “cil son paiement, / S’i veult, li puet demander, / S’ele li doit sans giler.” ‘The lover, if he wishes, can ask for payment from her, and she owes it to him without deception’ (38-40) (my translation). Bretel, in making the opposing case, cautions against being too demanding, and alludes to the mutual exchanges of rewards within a courtly relationship: if she gives him gifts, for example, he should reciprocate (31-40), but should not demand more: he has no right beyond certain boundaries. Bretel uses the agricultural and economic metaphor of the cultivated field—which Guiraut de Borneill had earlier linked to for capital and profit—to describe the surplus. However, Bretel

views the field differently than Guiraut does: the lover is not a fully entitled harvester, but a gleaner subject to legal restrictions:

Au voir dire avés failli
Tout troi, seignour baceler.
Se j'ai un camp et j'otri
C'uns hom i viegne glener,
Ce m'est vis k'il i foloie
Et tort me fait s'il i soie,
Kar ne li euc en couvent
Fors le glener purement,
Ne plus n'en doit il porter
Se jou ne li voeil greer. (41-50)

To tell the truth you have failed all three, Sir Knights. If I have a field and I allow a man to come and glean there, it seems to me that he acts irresponsibly and does me wrong if he cuts the grain from the stalk. For there was nothing for him in the agreement but gleaning alone, and he must not take away more if I do not wish to allow him to do so. (my translation)

The gleaners, who come to collect only what has fallen, are not entitled to take the grain on the stalk; they come too early, before the harvest, and violate an agreement with person controlling the field. By the same token, the lover has only the permission to enjoy the favors that are conventional or agreed upon. The gleaner in Bretel's example is quite clearly the lover. But Bretel's harvest metaphor is rather complex. Who legitimately harvests the grain? The lady's (jealous) husband? Bretel seems to be referring here to a practice of *fin'amor* here that is sexually chaste. Only one who is contractually and legally permitted, a husband, has the right to the *gaaing* or surplus, and only at the appointed time; others may glean, but only within set limits. Of course, such legal and economic logic accord with the mercantile perspective of the Arras poets. But Bretel's arguments are also part of a shift in the sexual mores of *fin'amor*. The surplus is to be not only deferred, but moreover denied—at least outside of marriage. Bretel suggests instead that the mutual exchange of social rewards is the foundation of the courtly relationship.

In “Jacques de Billi, amis” (R 1513), the *sorplus* is similarly viewed in economic terms. Rolant tells Jacques de Billi that he has not received the surplus from his lady, but that he is afraid to ask for it from her: “Mais del sorplus ai niant, Ke dout son corcier” (v. 8-9). He asks Jacques if he dare ask for it. While Jacques speaks for taking the surplus immediately, Rolant takes the side against it, declaring “teitz gains est petis” ‘such earnings are small’ (27); instead Rolant prefers the long-term, slow but steady rewards he already receives from his lady, which satisfy him (29-34). Rolant, like Bretel, argues for the social dividends of courtly exchange, and an abandonment of the *sorplus*, which may provide immediate payment, but are not a reliable source of income.

3.6. Marriage in the *partimens* and the *jeux-partis*

Intimately connected with the delay or denial of sexual enjoyment is a certain accommodation between *fin’amor* and marriage in the *jeux-partis*. The debate “Cuvelier, et vous, Ferri” (R 1042) suggests this, with its image of harvesters and the gleaner, or (implicitly) husbands and lovers. The possibility of finding the rewards of *fin’amor* within marriage may seem at first unlikely. *Fin’amor*, of course, is conventionally adulterous: it traditionally takes place between a married woman and a male suitor—or, if neither partner is married, the relation is still adulterous. Among the nobility, the demands of marriage in the Middle Ages probably discouraged or even excluded the passionate affective relations that are a central part of *fin’amor*. Aristocratic marriages tended to be made for reasons of wealth and social alliances; passionate love between spouses was not expected. Among the townspeople of Arras, however, marriage may well have been a slightly different affair. Many *bourgeois* women may have exercised a fair amount of control over their lives in many contexts, more so ladies of the aristocracy. The city women may have spent more

time living and working in proximity with their husbands, and been able to form closer ties of affection. In addition, the literary circle of Arras was a different place than the court. The poetic activity of the Confrérie des jongleurs et bourgeois and the Puy d'Arras was not apparently overseen by noble female patrons or sponsors who might inspire erotic attachment. And within Arras, women participated in poetic activity with men; large numbers are recorded as members of the Confrérie, and they have left behind a good number of *jeux-partis*.

Six debate works consider the alternative of love with a mistress versus love in marriage, and can be considered a gauge of this process of adaptation. If the *partimen/jeu-parti* is a balance in which two equally attractive alternatives are proposed, then at some point the *fin'amor* within marriage must have started to become an acceptable choice. Four of these debate works are *jeux-partis* from Arras, and are relatively late in the development of lyric; two others are *partimens*, one from the classic period of Occitan lyric, and one very from a later era.

The *partimen* "Ara·m digatz vostre semblan" (P.C. 194,2=136,1), between Elias d'Uisel and Gui d'Uisel, and is the earliest debate that is concerned with the possibility of love in marriage, and in this regard is somewhat isolated historically. It was likely composed around 1200. In the debate, Elias asks his cousin Gui about a lover and lady who love one another, and specifies that the relationship is based on *fin'amor* (and not on something such as lust, friendship, or custom). According to the rules of love (*segon dreita rason d'amor*, v. 6), should he prefer to continue to be her lover, or instead become her husband? The code of *fin'amor*, its *dreita rason*, would seem to dictate that love can only exist in the free association of a man and a woman outside of the obligations of marriage; thus it surprising that Elias chooses marriage. Elias's justification is that through marriage he can be with his lady longer (9-13, 29-30), thus implicitly acknowledging the benefits of deferral. Gui, in responding, doubts that love between a

husband and wife is *fin' amor* at all, when he remarks that a man who courts his own wife is the object of ridicule (24); he later avers that marriage constitutes an affront to *fin' amor* (37-40).

The other Occitan *partimen* that discusses love in marriage is quite anomalous; it seems to date from the mid-thirteenth century, being copied in the margins of a single manuscript (*f*). While this work, “Amics, Rainaut, una domna valen” (P.C. 359,1=415,1) has one speaker arguing for love in marriage, the other side frames the case against adulterous love in strongly moralistic arguments that quote frequently from the Bible and Christian teachings. This work is a heavy-handed criticism of *fin' amor* on religious grounds. The author evidently wished nonetheless to engage with the ideology of *fin' amor*, either to reform readers, co-opt a popular discourse to support marriage and traditional Christianity.

Three *jeux-partis* treat essentially the same question as the two Occitan ones above: love with a mistress versus marriage with her. For the most part, the arguments for love with a mistress are similar: with a mistress, one can take as much pleasure as one likes, unlike with a wife; love with a mistress is fresh and ever varied. The arguments in favor of marriage, however, are of particular interest. In “Grieviler, feme avés prise” (R 1637), Bretel poses the following choice to Jehan de Grieviler: a marriage with mutual love, or the same marriage, but with a mistress? Grieviler forgoes the mistress. His reasoning is not complicated or calculated: love (and though he does not specify here, love means *fin' amor*, since this is a lyric work) is completely fulfilled within marriage, and there is no reason to seek it elsewhere; to try to seek a mistress would be foolishness:

Sire, ains di grant gentillise,
Se counoistre le volés :
Puis que j'ai m'amour asise
La u je sui mariés,
S'adont m'i tieng, c'est bontés,
Ne jou ne qerroie mie

K'Amours puist estre servie
En deus lieus entierement
D'un cuer; fols est qui l'enprent.
(28-36)

Sire, I love with great nobility, if you wish to know: since I have placed my love with the woman I have married, I will keep to her, for it is a gift and a blessing. And I would not at all like for Love to be served for two women entirely by the heart of one man; the man who undertakes this is a fool. (my translation)

Other *trouvères* invoke the security of affective life within marriage. In “Cuvelier, s’il est ainsi” (R 1025), Jehan Bretel asks Jehan le Cuvelier if he would prefer to have a young lady as a mistress or a wife. Cuvelier chooses marriage, and points to faithfulness and stability; he affirms that when a man loves passionately, that passion only increases within marriage. In “Andriu Douche, dui compaignon” (R 1861), Renier de Quarignon asks Andrieu d’Ouche which of two men obtains more pleasure, the man who is married in love, or the man who loves his mistress? Andrieu points to the lack of worries of a married man; the man who has a mistress must constantly be concerned that about scandal and gossip that might damage her reputation, and ruin his happiness. The married man:

... sans tançon
A de sa dame l’esbanoy :
Asseür est sans achoisson
De ce dont cilz est en esfroy
Qui bien ainme, car pour sen fait
Aquiert sa dame et blasme et lait,
Dont cilz ce doit bien clamer las
Qui fait metre sa dame en bas
(17-24)

... has the amusement of his lady without dispute. He is secure, without the cause for doubt that places the man who loves deep in anxiety. Because of her actions, his lady attracts blame and slander, and the lover who causes his lady to fall in esteem must consider himself unfortunate. (my translation)

These *jeux-partis* concerning marriage constitute only a handful of debate poems, but they are remarkable for placing marriage within lyric poetry; only one earlier debate work, the *partimen*

between Gui and Elias d'Uisel, does so. These *jeux-partis* may have something to do with the social environment of Arras, and the mores of the merchant class, although this is certainly leaving a lot to speculation. At least as important, probably, is a general historical shift in the meaning of courtliness and *fin' amor*, as these ideas spread beyond the courts. Of course, as early as the twelfth century French narrative had already adapted *fin' amor* to situations of marriage; Chrétien de Troyes' *Erec et Enide* is a celebrated example. Efforts to appropriate and modify the discourse of *fin' amor* and adapt it to marriage were undoubtedly coming from religious quarters as well, as the Occitan work "Amics, Rainaut, una domna valen," examined above, demonstrates. In any case, it seems no coincidence that it the same poets of Arras who would, even in lyric, forgo a mistress, and defend *fin' amor* as possible in marriage, would also view the *sorplus*, the Occitan *sobreplus*, as a reward to be deferred, and even denied.

Notes to Chapter 3

¹ Here, there are two variants in the manuscript tradition. Chansonniers *A* and *C* read *miech* “middle,” and *T* reads *corn* “corner.” Harvey and Paterson argue for *corn*: “We accept the *lectio difficilior* of MS *T*, which alone provides an adequate metaphor for defeating someone at the end of a contest (as here, in the final stanza)” (1: 85, note 25). In fact, using their logic, *corn* is a *lectio facilior*, a more facile reading, since the expression “corn del taulier” is attested elsewhere in the troubadour corpus, and specifically with reference to chess, in Aimeric de Belenoi’s *canço* “Consiros, com partitz d’amor” (P.C. 9,10) v. 36. “Miech del taulier,” however, is unique, and thus the more difficult lesson. Furthermore, the use of only manuscript *T* for the reading “corn” is not very encouraging; this source, as Harvey and Paterson note in their edition, is particularly unreliable, with “a number of dubious and incorrect readings” (81). For these reasons, it seems more prudent to accept the common lesson of *A* and *C*, “el miech del taulier,” and to understand by this expression a game in which the king is placed in checkmate in the exposed middle (*miech*) of the board, perhaps forced there by a rapid and decisive attack, instead of being mated in the corner (*corn*) at the end of a long drawn-out game.

² For literary examples, see H. J. R. Murray 736-65 and Jonin, “La partie d’échecs.”

³ In addition to Bertran’s *sirventes*, see also the *sirventes* “En la mar major sui e d’estiu e d’invern” (P.C. 330,6), in which Peire Bremon Ricas Novas complains that he cannot find anyone to play chess with him.

⁴ One of the earliest surviving collections of medieval European chess problems is the set of *juegos partidos* from the *Libro de los Juegos* by Alfonso X el Sabio (El Escorial, Real Biblioteca T.i.6), dated to 1283. The manuscript has recently been edited, with numerous color illustrations (see Alfonso X el Sabio, *Libro*, ed. Calderón).

⁵ See also “S’ieu agues tan de saber e de sen” (P.C. 57,4) by the late thirteenth-century troubadour Bernart d’Auriac.

⁶ See also the *iocs cumunals* in the open *tenso* “Bona dona, d’una re que us deman” (P.C. 87,1 v. 36), and the bet between two ladies in the *partimen* “Respondés, Colart li Changieres” (R 1336).

⁷ The conversational game is the basis for a board game marketed since 1998, called “Would You Rather...?” (www.zobmondo.com), as well as a television game show airing since 2011 on BBC America, hosted by Graham Norton and with celebrity panelists, also named “Would You Rather...?”

⁸ The term *partimen* or *joc partit* appears in this position in the following debate poems in which Guiraut participates: P.C. 226,8=248,42; P.C. 248,14=141,1; P.C. 248,20=179,1; P.C. 248,28=147,1; P.C. 248,36=226,3.

⁹ R 147, R 375, R 378, R 572, R 931, R 940, R 941, R 978, R 1097, R 1187, R 1191, R 1293, R 1351, R 1448=1442 bis, R 1443, R 1672, R 2129.

¹⁰ R 359, R 861=770, R 943, R 940, R 941, R 944, R 947=916, R 1054, R 1071, R 1072, R 1584, R 1949, R 1986 bis.

¹¹ For additional mentions of dice in *jeux-partis*, see “Dous Jehan de Bar, respondés” (R 941) v. 72, and “Lambert Ferri, je vous part” (R 375), v. 23.

¹² Though not a prisoner’s dilemma, there is a *jeu-parti* that seems to describe a one-stage game involving (like the prisoner’s dilemma) two Nash equilibria (though a game theoretical analysis of this problem lies outside the scope of the present study). Jehan Bretel proposes the *jeu-parti*:

Cuveliers, vous amerés
Et bele et sage et vaillant,
Et uns autres autretant
L’amera con vous ferés ;
Li qués sera mieus vos grés,
U vous i soiiés falant
Andoi sans nul rechovrier
U kachuns en ait son desirier ?
(R 909 v. 1-8)

Cuvelier, imagine that you love a beautiful and knowledgeable and worthy lady, and that another one loves her as much as you do. Which would you be more to your liking: that both of you suitors are hopelessly unsuccessful, or that each one of you obtains his wishes with her? (my translation)

In this situation, there appear to be two Nash equilibria (either both suitors succeed, or both suitors fail). This is the case if the two options are equally attractive, as tends to be the case in the dilemmas in *partimens* and *jeux-partis*.

¹³ The translation is basically from Harvey and Paterson; I have given a more literal translation in certain places to emphasize various notions of worth and value.

¹⁴ This *jeu-parti* is cited in Section 1.1, together with an open *tenson* between the same two poets which has the same *incipit*, “Phelipe je vous demant (Ce qu’est)” (R 333), and is undoubtedly a companion piece to this *partimen*. The present work (R 334) was likely well known, as Richart de Fournival borrowed its structure and melody for one of his religious songs, “Mere au roi omnipotent” (R 713) (Mölk 337, Linker 226)

¹⁵ Emphasis added in citations in this paragraph. Translations of Occitan works in this paragraph by Harvey and Paterson.

¹⁶ It is not clear from the *partimens* or *jeux-partis* whether such expressions for money designate coins (physical objects) or currency (a notional unit of account). The difference between the two concepts is not explicit in the poetry, so for the sake of convenience, the terms “coin” and “currency” are used interchangeably in this study.

¹⁷ See Introduction and the discussion of “Jauseume,” including Note 14.

¹⁸ This *mercatz de paraulas* is, despite Peire’s criticism of it, a revealing expression for the circulation of and valuation (monetary and otherwise) of lyric poetry. The contrast between a discerning public, and public which evaluates words as in a marketplace, can also be found in the *tenson* between Raimbaut d’Aurenga and Guiraut de Borneill, “Era·m platz,” examined above in Section 1.10.

¹⁹ See, for example, a *tenson* that is not a *jeu-parti*, “Cons de Galles” (R 907), which contains the following passage: “Heres grave, c’est passeit” (17). See also the related expression *c’est chose passée* ‘this is certain, well known’ in the *jeux-partis* “Biau Gilebert, dites s’il vous agree” (R 491), v. 36, and “Adan, qui aroit amee” (R 494), v. 17.

Conclusion

There are numerous reasons why poets created *tensons* in Old Occitan and Old French, and why medieval manuscript compilers preserved a relatively large number of these debate poems in songbooks. The different origins and incentives for the composition and collection of *tensons*, and the various (and sometimes contradictory) uses that various individuals and groups made of them, mean that their existence is *overdetermined*. Overdetermination, a concept current in psychoanalytic theory, philosophy, literary criticism, and political theory, indicates a multiplicity of sufficient causes for an effect, such that any cause cannot alone be responsible for a phenomenon. Like a single explanation of a dream, or of a historically contingent event, an attempt to explain the existence and purpose of a literary corpus based on a single factor can never completely account for it, or exhaust its meaning. In the case of the *tenson*, any single one of a number of factors might adequately explain the development of the genre and supply its meaning: the repetition and adaptation of traditional poetic forms (Section 1.3), the desire of audiences for an explication of *fin'amor* and lyric poetry, developments of subjectivity and the understanding of the psyche, sociopolitical tensions (Section 1.4)—as well as the desire by poets for various types of cultural, economic, and social capital (Sections 1.5-1.6). If this study has concentrated more on the phenomenon of capital, it is because it has been less studied than the other perspectives on the *tensons*, and (more importantly), it has yielded new and significant insights into the practice of debate poetry, and into medieval lyric and literature in general, along with the connection between literature and social and political discourses and practices.

“Capital” is a term that the troubadours use, and *trouvères* use similar language, to indicate a matrix of ideas related to the accumulation of resources. These words were not so specialized as they are today—obviously capitalism as such did not exist in the Middle Ages, and even the economic institutions that preceded it (organized economic extraction, long-distance

trade, joint-stock ventures, widespread currency circulation) were relatively little developed. Nonetheless, the poets did seek valuable resources of various kinds (social connections, cultural training, employment), and described these resources with terminology from economic institutions of the time. And as it happens (and as Bourdieu realized), individuals strategically accumulated these resources, and converted them to maximize their wealth and returns, in ways that were similar across different resource types. The Romance languages borrowed terms across various registers of vocabulary, including legal, political, religious, social, and economic—although the boundaries between these fields is not the same, and perhaps not as sharply defined, as it today. The terms for various resources, and their relations to one another were interchangeable to a great degree. Even today, in fact, these terms are somewhat interchangeable, although perhaps less so, given the greater specialization of modern institutions of life, knowledge, and power. Yet modern English words such as *faith*, *credit*, *trust*, *security*, *bond*, *value*, *worth*, and *redemption* may apply to varied contexts, including financial, social, religious, juridical, and political realms. For both the Middle Ages and today, this points to a matrix of discursive terms that motivate social practice in broadly homologous ways, despite the variety of situations and institutions.

To sum up the case for capital as one motivation for the development of the *tenson*: the accumulation of cultural, social, and economic capital was a strong motivating factor for poets, patrons and audiences when they created, performed, and transmitted debate poetry. The *tenson* was a type of poetry that allowed poets (both professional and amateur) and audiences to accumulate various types of capital in a way that they could not do as well with other types of lyric poetry. *Cansos* and *chansons d'amour*, of course, also allowed both poets and patrons the opportunity to enhance their prestige and reputation, and they permitted professional poets to

earn a living. But the format of the love song was more coded, and communication was essentially one-sided. The *tenson*, by contrast, offered two-sided dialogue and more direct negotiation between individuals. This opportunity is evident in discussions of cultural knowledge, social position, and economic payment that are so frequent in the *tensons*. Debaters speak about their desire for these resources, and their different methods for accumulating them (Raimbaut d'Aurenga versus Guiraut de Borneill, for example). But poets also formulate requests for resources from their partners (requests for money and employment, a good reputation, or social standing) and state claims about these resources as well (praise as well as slanders and threats).

Partly because the *tenson* permitted poets to negotiate for resources in dialogue, it included more identifiably divergent kinds of voices than other types of lyric. It was more dialogic, to use the terminology of Bakhtin: the voices of lower- and higher-ranking poets, of lords and patrons, of ladies, of clerics and Jews, are all discernible. They are often in lively contrast and conflict with one another. While all poets participated in a common dedication to the art of *trobar/trover*, they were divided by hierarchical position and competition over status. The *tensons* thus demonstrate the variety of different positions that poets occupy within lyric networks. An examination of the different motivations that poets might have had to compose and perform works confirms that women must have been very active in the creation of *tensons*, more so than many previous writers had conceived. It also allows one to discern better the possible contributions of the *joglareasas*, lower-ranking female poets, in the debates of the *tensons* (Introduction Section 1, Section 2.5).

Regardless of their differences, the participants in *tensons* (as well as in lyric) were united in seeking advantages and benefits from a form of literary discourse. A series of

institutions and practices of varying degrees of formality, linked by loosely organized geographical and social networks, required poets to develop some mastery of this discourse, and thus assured the continuity of the discourse. This common *habitus* accounts for some of the formal features of lyric, including the *tenson*. Many poets had clerical training, and the dialogues of the *quaestiones disputatae* may well have furnished the models for the *partimens* and the *jeux-partis*. Despite a common discourse, the set of institutions and practices in which poets acquired knowledge and skill reserved different positions for individuals, by virtue of rank and prestige. These differences undoubtedly encouraged poets to engage in debates in their demands for various types of capital, and to criticize one another in order to jockey for status. At the same time, poets differentiated themselves by their strategies for accumulating capital. Many troubadours, for example, distinguished between poetry destined for elites (*trobar clus*) and poetry meant for a larger audience (*trobar leu*) (Section 1.10).

At the same time, the focus on capital in this study emphasizes the close connections between the various types rewards involved in *fin'amor*, and provides support for the idea that the love of the troubadours and *trouvères* was not only highly conventional, but was largely motivated by desire for prestige and material advancement. This does not call into question the tender emotional attachment that is evident in much lyric, and which was ingrained by the repeated performance that was part of the poets' *habitus*. But *habitus*, as largely unconscious practice, tends to obscure rather obvious motives, which undoubtedly included considerations of a social and economic nature. On the other hand, some poets, such as Uc de Saint Circ, seem to have been quite consciously aware of the stakes involved in lyric, and sometimes cynically used poetry for their own advancement.

On a more large-scale level of analysis, the perspective of capital permits a better

understanding of the manner in which lyric discourse and *fin'amor* initially took root in particular court environments in the High Middle Ages, and spread to other milieux. The transactions of capital involved in lyric poetry, including the focus on women as objects, fit in well with court exchanges and ceremonies. They also may have functioned to accord with the Church's efforts to promote women's consent in marriage. From another direction, however, the rewards available through lyric were a response and to a general economic expansion, due to increased surplus extraction, which resulted in greater spending at courts. In both these cases—insertion into already-existing exchanges, and expanded economic opportunities—the ideology of *fin'amor* effected various displacements of desire (for position, for prestige, for sexual possession) into stereotyped and repeated social performances.

Such, in fact, is one aspect of overdetermination referred to above: whether the process is located in a dream, a work of literature, or a political situation, various less-acceptable motives are obscured and displaced onto more acceptable states and actions. The situation at this time, with the gap between desires for advancement and real possibilities, encouraged this displacement. Along with contemporary religious discourses emphasizing interior reflection, personal responsibility, and confession, these conditions encouraged the development of a new conception in which identity becomes largely based on a subjective experience of sexuality. In psychoanalytic theory, Lacan's analysis of courtly literature acknowledges the historical conjuncture that encouraged the creation of new configuration of the psyche, involving the displacement or anamorphosis of the Real (with its roots in social conditions) upon the lady within the love relationship—a displacement that was to have enormous ramifications in the future. As Lacan writes in “L'amour courtois en anamorphose”

Ce que la création de la poésie tend à faire, c'est à situer, à la place de la Chose, et à cette époque dont les coordonnées historiques nous montrent quelque discord

entre les conditions particulièrement sévères de la réalité et certaines exigences de fond, quelques malaise dans la culture. La création de la poésie consiste à poser, selon le mode de la sublimation propre à l'art, un objet que j'appellerai affolant, un partenaire inhumain (180).

Lacan refers to the requirements of personal denial and sublimation onto courtly behavior, which are essential to *fin'amor*. The poets speak of this denial using economic and financial terms, referring to the need to defer present enjoyment for the benefits of future pleasure, and using the term *capdal*. In fact, self-denial and deferral can be seen as prerequisites for modern capitalist modes of thinking and economic organization. It is perhaps not coincidental that it is the mercantile poets of Arras, most notably Jehan Bretel, who link *fin'amor* to financial deferral and investment. Certain poets oppose this kind of behavior, for two reasons: one, coming from a warrior ethic of conquest; the other, from a focus on immediate gratification (Adam de la Halle, Raimbaut de Vaqueiras's *Domna*). However, they will ultimately lose out to the imperative of courtly renunciation and displacement.

The focus on capital allows one to view the convergence of literary, psychoanalytical, political, economic, and religious discourses in the Middle Ages, and the manner in which they construct a certain model of sexuality and identity. Such a convergence has much in common with various efforts since the middle of the twentieth century that have been, for better or worse, labeled Freudo-Marxism, an attempt at a "theory of everything" for which the work of Žižek is perhaps the most successful recent example. The investigation of such a convergence in the Middle Ages is far beyond the scope of the present study. Nonetheless, the striking manner in which lyric discourse was imbricated with various sociopolitical discourses and practices suggests ways in which *fin'amor* would evolve eventually to become courtly love, and then romantic love—which were to become a central practices of modern hegemonic political and social discourses.

This process of adaptation of *fin'amor* beyond the court, and transformation of the discourse, is evident first of all among the poets of Arras. Removed from the environment of the court, the *jeux-partis* were for them a way of analyzing the themes of courtly poetry in an almost abstract but playful manner, with the aim of mastering lyric discourse largely for reasons of prestige and social capital. At the same time, the Arras poets, more strongly than the troubadours, emphasized the connection between self-denial or deferral and the practice of *fin'amor*, and used financial and commercial vocabulary to express this. In a sense, the comparisons of these merchants prefigured the conjunction between personal self-control and deferral of consumption that were to be keystones of capitalist economic development later on. The poets of Arras also viewed *fin'amor* as compatible with marriage, and thus exemplified the development of the discourse into courtly love, and a closer conformity with prevailing religious morality.

Close to the same time (and earlier in the case of the troubadours), as the era of living poets receded, manuscript compilers gathered together collections of *tensons* as a sort of gloss to follow the love songs in their codices. All of these activities point to an effort to appropriate and adapt the discourse of lyric, even as a grasp of the original motivations of lyric—including some of the original notions of capital—was vanishing. This allowed for its reappropriation by other discourses, notably ones that assimilated *fin'amor* into an idealistic form of courtly love compatible with marriage and religious teachings. Yet this transmission left stripped away much of the original meaning of the poems. If these debate poems have come down to us appearing as stiff, formal debates, it is because their living environment has been obscured from our perception.

INDEX OF POETS CITED

References in **bold** indicate citations of the poet's work (or extensive discussion of the poet). In this list and throughout the study, the spelling of troubadours generally follows Pillet and Carstens, and the spelling of *trouvères* generally follows Linker.

Adam de la Halle, 60, 75, 82, **156-60**, 218, 221, **281-86**, 292. 313

Aimeric de Peguillan, 38, **48**, **99-101**, 107, 141, 143n2, 141, **178-84**, 225n24, 296

Alamanda, 225n22

Alberico da Romano, 124, 137, 139, 170, 174, 224n15

Albert Malaspina, 9, 185-86

Albertet, 43n9, 105, **229-39**, 259-60

Alexandre, **189-91**, 224n14

Alfonso II of Aragon, 37, **185-87**

Alfonso X of Castile, **197-200**, 304n4

Andrieu d'Ouche, **302-03**

Arnaut Catalan, **246-50**

Arnaut Daniel, 193

Audefroï le Bastart, **297**

Baude de la Quarriere, 225n25

Bernado, 193

Bernart d'Auriac, 304n5

Bernart de Ventadorn, 67, 133, 134, **166-69**, 168-69, 198, 209

Bertolome Zorzi, 101

Bertran Carbonel, **97**, 144n10

Bertran d'Alamano, 65, 106, 123, **152-56**, 184, 285

Bertran d'Aurel, **164-65**, 179-84, 278

Bertran de Born, 65, 79, 303, 241, 242

Bertran de Preissac, **106-07**

Bertran de Saint Felitz, 246

Blacasset, **189-91**, 224n14

Blacatz, 38, 66, **101**, 185, 186, 192, 246

Bofill, 223n1

Bonafe, 192

Bonafos, 192

Cadenet, **102**

Cavaire, 192

Cercamon, 43n3, **161-64**

Certan, 224n20

Charles of Anjou, 251

Chastelain de Coucy, 62, 142

Clara d'Anduza, 120

Conon de Betune, 186, 200

Cuvelier, *see* Jehan le Cuvelier

Dalfi d'Alvergne, 36, 38, 98, 125, 139, 140-41, 186, **187-88**, 191

Domna H., 219

Eble d'Uisel, 114

Elias Cairel, **213-14**

Elias d'Uisel, 38, 224n20, 262, 300-01

Falco, 102, 192

Falconet, **253-57**

Faure, **253-57**

Folquet de Marseilla, 79

Gace Brulé, 36, 37-38, 44n10, 186

Garin lo Brun, 70

Gaucelm Faidit, 3, 11, **22-38**, 57n3, 186, 200, 208, 224n20, 246, 291

Geoffrey II, Count of Brittany, **22-38**, **58**, 125, 135, 186, 187, 200

Gille le Vinier, 37

Gillebert de Berneville, 59

Granet, 106, 123, **153-56**

Gui de Cavaillo, **102**, 143n6, **192**, 197, 255

Gui d'Uisel, 114, **208-13**, 262, 300

Guillaume le Vinier, 37

Guillalmi, 43n3, **161-64**

Guillem d'Augier Novella, **164-65**, 278

Guillem de Berguedan, 107, 194, 223n7

Guillem de la Tor, 180-84

Guillem de Mur, 166-67

Guillem de Peiteus (Guillem IX of Poitiers), **12-14**, **111-12**, 119, 122, **176**, **182-83**

Guillem de Saint Leidier (Guillem de Saint Didier), 204

Guillem Figueira, **178-82**

Guillem Rainol d'At, **215-18**, 278

Guiraut de Borneill, 37, 62, 65, **95**, **103-05**, **126-33**, 169, **186-87**, 297, 310, 306n18

Guiraut Riquier, **104-05**, 112, 123, **165-66**, 246, 249

Henry III, Duke of Brabant, 251

Isabella, 213-14

Isnart d'Antravenas, 66

Jacques de Billi, 299

Jaufre Rudel, 78-79, 122

Jehan Bretel, 59-60, 109, 122, **156-60**, **247-48**, **262-63**, **277**, **279-80**, 285, **288-99**, **297-98**,
305n12

Jehan de Grieviler, 59-60, 279, **297-98**

Jehan le Cuvelier (Cuvelier), 277-78, 297

Joan d'Albuzo, **170-73**

Lambert Ferri, 277, **288-95**, 297-98, 305n11

Lanfranc Cigala, 107

Lemozi, 167-68

Marcabru, 69, 78, 133, 223n4

Maria de Ventadorn, 117, 139, **208-13**

Marote, **247**

Matfre Lanza, 106

Mir Bernart, **265-69**

Moniot de Paris, 133

Montan, 179, 215

Peire, **229-39**

Peire Bremon Ricas Novas, 143n6, 304n3

Peire Cardenal, 79, **96**, 143n5, 278

Peire d'Alvergne, 141

Peire Guillem de Luzerna, **177**

Peire Pelissier, **98**

Peire Vidal, 78, **95-96**

Peirol, 65, 101, 141, 168

Perdigo, 43n7, 187-88

Philippe de Nanteuil, 59, **169, 270-73**

Philippe le Chancelier, 221

Prebost de Valensa, 224n20

Raimbaut d'Aurenga, 87, 122, **126-33**, 167, 306n18, 310

Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, 2, **4-21**, 22, 38, 200, 246, 285

Raimon IV of Turenne, 119, 139, 186

Raimon Berenguer IV, Count of Provence, 139, 177, 193, **294-97**

Raimon Escrivan, 68, 204

Raimon Vidal de Besalú (Raimon Vidal de Bezaudun), 15, 54

Rainaut, 246

Rambertino Buvalelli, 200

Renier de Quarignon, 302

Richard I the Lionheart, 22, 36-37

Rofin, 75, 134, 219-20

Rogier, **281-85**

Roi de Navarre, *see* Thibaut IV de Champagne

Rolant, 299

Rutebeuf, 55-56, 223n1

Savaric de Malleo, 38, 139, 140, 186, 191, 224n20

Sifre, **265-69**

Sordel, 38, 65, 87, 107, 151, 155, **169-84**

Thibaut IV de Champagne (Roi de Navarre), 37-38, 43n10, 59-60, 62, 67, 122, 125, 133, 169,

185, **269-73**

Tomas, 193

Uc Catola, 223n4

Uc de la Bacalaria, 224n20, 246

Uc de Saint Circ, 38, 40, 49, 75, 84, **106, 119-21**, 124, 136-41, 144n6, **174-76**, 224n20

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Corpus of 201 Occitan *tensons* (197 *tensons* extant)*

- P.C.: identifying number for work from Pillet and Carstens, *Bibliographie der Troubadours* (“BdT”). For two *tensons* not listed in BdT or in Asperti (*BedT*, which updates BdT) I have assigned the logical P.C. number, following the practice other scholars (Frank; Asperti, *BedT*). They are designated P.C. 25,3a and P.C. 305,16a.
- Incipit: first line from critical edition of reference (indicated in rightmost column, “Edition”)
- Participants: The spelling of individual names generally follows Pillet and Carstens. Names in italics are generally forms of address for a person, whose identity is unknown (and may be fictive). Names in quotations indicate inherently fictive participants: either nonhuman entities such as deities, abstractions, animals, or objects; or participants, human or nonhuman, within reported dialogue.
- Type of *tenson*: see Chapter 1.1 for description of types
- Frank: metrical pattern from Frank, *Répertoire métrique*
- *Chansonniers*: Occitan *chansonniers* in which the *tenson* is found; sigla for the *chansonniers* are found in table following this table. Sigla in boldface indicate that the *tenson* appears in a *tenson/jeu-parti* section of that *chansonnier*.
- Music: *chansonniers* which transcribe music for the *tenson*

Edition: critical edition of reference, source for text used and cited in this study. In most cases, the critical edition is HP (Harvey and Paterson, *The Troubadour Tensos and Partimens*). If *tenson* not present in HP, the edition used is the most recent Notes:

* In the table below, the four lost *tensons* known only from titles in indexes of the *chansonniers* are: P.C. 15a,1; P.C. 27,1=9,2; P.C. 248,35=226,6; and P.C. 248,54. In the table, their P.C. numbers are preceded by an asterisk (*).

The table includes two bilingual Occitan-French *tensons* (P.C. 178,1=167,30b and 392,29=116,1), and these works are not included in the table of the French *tensons*. This follows traditional practice: these two works are customarily included in troubadour bibliographies, but not in *trouvère* bibliographies (such as those of Spanke and Linker). Furthermore, the two debates are found only in Occitan *chansonniers*, not French *chansonniers*.

P.C. (BdT)	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Frank	Chansonniers	Music	Edition
1,1 = 406,32	“Miraval, tenzon grazida”	Ademar, Raimon de Miraval	<i>partimen</i> (yes-no)	262:1	<i>Oa</i> ¹	—	HP 1: 1-4
6a,1 = 175a,1	“Si paradis et enfernz son aital”	Aicart del Fossat, Girart Cavallazzi	<i>partimen</i>	577:1	<i>Harl., Berg.</i>	—	HP 1: 5-11

P.C. (BdT)	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Frank	Chansonniers	Music	Edition
8,1 = 354,1	“Peire del Puei, li trobador”	Aimeric (Aimeric de Peguillan?), Peire del Poi	<i>partimen</i>	689:1	<i>M</i>	—	HP 1: 13-20
10,3 = 16,3	“N’Albert, chauszetz al vostre cen”	Aimeric de Peguillan, Albertet de Sestaro	<i>partimen</i>	577:19 4	<i>D^aD^cEGIKa^l</i> ; <i>R</i> (lost)	—	HP 1: 21-27
10,6 = 16,5	“Amicx N’Albert, tenso soven”	Aimeric de Peguillan, Albertet de Sestaro	<i>open tenso</i>	589:7	<i>MORa^l</i>	—	HP 1: 29-37
10,19 = 210,10	“De Berguedan, d’estas doas razos”	Aimeric de Peguillan, Guillem de Berguedan	<i>partimen</i>	705:1	<i>ACDIKMQR</i> <i>a^ld;B</i> (lost)	—	HP 1: 38-45
10,23	“Domna, per vos estauc en greu turmen”	Aimeric de Peguillan, <i>Domna</i>	<i>coblas tensonadas</i>	5:8	<i>CDIKLMNR</i> <i>afα</i>	—	Rieger, <i>Trobairitz</i> 308-19
10,28 = 167,24	“Gauselm Faiditz, de dos amics corals”	Aimeric de Peguillan, Gaucelm Faidit	<i>partimen</i>	577:6	<i>CD^aD^cGIKM</i> <i>NQa^lr</i>	—	HP 1: 46-55
10,37 = 136,5	“N’Elyas, consseill vos deman”	Aimeric de Peguillan, Elias d’Uisel	<i>partimen</i>	504:16	<i>A</i>	—	HP 1: 57-60
12,1 = 108,1	“Na Carenza al bel cors avenenz”	Alaisina Yselda, Carenza	<i>partimen, conselh</i>	577:81	<i>Q</i>	—	Rieger, <i>Trobairitz</i> 155-65

P.C. (BdT)	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Frank	Chansonniers	Music	Edition
12b,1 = 170,1	“Gaudi, de donzella m’agrat”	Alberjat, Gaudi	<i>partimen</i>	578:6	<i>a</i> ¹	—	HP 1: 61-67
15,1 = 392,1	“Ara·m digatz, Rambaut, si vos agrada”	Albert de Malaspina, Raimbaut de Vaquerias	open <i>tenson</i>	226:1	<i>ADIKMNRZ</i>	—	HP 1: 68-79
*15a,1	“Bella dompna si·us plaz”	Albert de Bonet, <i>Dompna</i>	?	—	<i>B</i> (lost)	—	—
16,15 = 322,1	“En Peire, dui pro cavallier”	Albertet de Sestaro, Peire	<i>partimen</i>	716:1	<i>ACT</i>	—	HP 1: 81-88
16,16 = 167,25	“Gauselm Faidiz, eu vos deman”	Albertet de Sestaro, Gaucelm Faidit	<i>partimen</i>	577:20 4	<i>ACDD</i> ^a <i>EGI</i> <i>KOQa</i> ¹ ; <i>B</i> (lost)	—	HP 1: 90-97
16,17 = 303,1	“Monge, cauzetz, segon vostra siensa”	Albertet de Sestaro, Monge	<i>partimen</i>	301:1	<i>EIKa</i> ¹ <i>d</i>	—	HP 1: 99-105
19,1 = 96,4	“En Blacassetz, bon pretz e grand largueza”	Alexandre, Blacasset	open <i>tenson</i>	382:55	<i>EM</i>	—	Klein, “Der Troubadour Blacassetz” 10
25,1a = 58,1	“Bernart de la Barta, ·l chausit”	Arman, Bernart de la Barta	<i>partimen</i>	592:38	<i>D</i> ^a <i>D</i> ^c <i>GQS</i>	—	HP 1: 107-15
25,3a [pro- posed]	“Sinner, adars ye·us vein querer”	Arnaut (Arnaut Catalan?), <i>Sinner</i> (Alfonso X of Castile?)	open <i>tenson</i>		<i>Co.Br.</i>	—	D’Heur 115- 35

P.C. (BdT)	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Frank	Chansonniers	Music	Edition
*27,1 = 9,2	Aimeric, cill que·us fai aman languir	Arnaut Catalan, Aimeric de Belenoi	?	—	B (lost)	—	—
46,3 = 389,6	“Amics, en gran cossirier”	Raimbaut d’Aurenga, <i>Domna</i>	open <i>tenson</i> , <i>conselh</i>	447:4	<i>CDM</i>	—	Rieger, <i>Trobairitz</i> 400-17
52,3 = 165,2	“Gauselm, no·m puesc estener”	Bernart, Gaucelm	open <i>tenson</i>	471:1	ER	—	HP 1: 117-24
52,4 = 131,1	“N’Elias, de dos amadors”	Bernart, Elias (Elias d’Uisel?)	<i>partimen</i>	715:2	MORTa¹d	—	HP 1: 125-31
52,5 = 97,12	“Segner Blacaz, ben mi platz e m’ajenza”	Bernart, Blacatz	<i>partimen</i>	577:15 5	N	—	HP 1: 133-39
70,32 = 366,23	“Peirol, cum avetz tant estat”	Bernart de Ventadorn, Peirol	open <i>tenson</i>	548:6	ADIKN	—	HP 1: 142-46
75,2 = 52,2	“En Bernartz, grans cortezia”	Bertran, Bernart	<i>partimen</i> (yes-no), <i>conselh</i>	383:1	M	—	HP 1: 147-53
75,5 = 303,2	“Monge, eu vos demant”	Bertran, Monge	<i>partimen</i>	168:4	Q	—	HP 1: 155-58
77,1 = 195,1	“Amic Guibert, ben a set ans pasatz”	Bertran Albaric, Guibert	<i>partimen</i> (yes-no)	624:16	f	—	HP 1: 159-62
82,9	“Cor, diguas me per cal razo”	Bertran Carbonel, “Cor”	open <i>tenson</i> , fictive <i>tenson</i> ,	577:22 9	R	—	Bertran Carbonel 36- 39

P.C. (BdT)	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Frank	Chansonniers	Music	Edition
82,13	“Rocin, cen ves m’aves faih penedir”	Bertran Carbonel, “Rocin”	open <i>tenson</i> , fictive <i>tenson</i>	323:2	<i>f</i>	—	Bertran Carbonel 55- 63
82,14	“Si anc null temps fuy ben encavalcatz”	Bertran Carbonel, “Rocin”	open <i>tenson</i> , fictive <i>tenson</i>	326:3	<i>f</i>	—	Bertran Carbonel 64- 69
84,1 = 355,19	“Totz tos affars es niens”	Bertran de Gordo, Peire Raimon de Toloza	open <i>tenson</i>	503:1	<i>D^cIKOa^ld</i>	—	HP 1: 163-71
87,1	“Bona dona, d’una re que·us deman”	Bertran del Pojet, <i>Domna</i>	open <i>tenson</i> , <i>conselh</i>	25:1	<i>CDIKOSTa^l</i>	—	Rieger, <i>Trobairitz</i> 320-30
88,2 = 173,5	“Jausbert, razon ai adrecha”	Bertran de Preissac, Gausbert de Poicibot	<i>partimen</i>	476:8	<i>CD^aEG; R</i> (lost)	—	HP 1: 174-82
97,4 = 388,3	“En Raïmbauz, ses saben”	Blacatz, Raimbaut de Vaquieras	<i>partimen</i>	624:78	<i>ADEGIKLN</i> <i>Qd; B</i> (lost)	—	HP 1: 184-90
97,7 = 364,32	“Peire Vidals, puois far m’aven <i>tenson</i> ”	Blacatz, Peire Vidal	open <i>tenson</i>	577:16	<i>ADD^cEGIK</i> <i>LNOQ a^l</i>	—	HP 1: 193-99
98,1 = 97,10	“Seigne·N Blacaz, pos per tot vos fail barata”	Bonafe, Blacatz	open <i>tenson</i>	370:1	<i>D^aIKd</i>	—	HP 1: 201-10
98,2 = 97,11	“Seigne·N Blacatz, talant ai que vos queira”	Bonafe, Blacatz	open <i>tenson</i>	3:9	<i>IKd</i>	—	HP 1: 211-17

P.C. (BdT)	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Frank	Chansonniers	Music	Edition
101,8a = 290,2	“Luchetz, se·us platz mais amar finamen”	Bonifaci Calvo, Luquet Gatellus	<i>partimen</i>	845:1	<i>a^l</i>	—	HP 1: 219-25
101,11a = 433,1	“Scotz, qals mais vos plazeria”	Bonifaci Calvo, Scot	<i>partimen</i>	232:1	<i>a^l</i>	—	HP 1: 227-36
111,1 = 99,1	“Bonafos, yeu vos envit”	Cavaire, Bonafos	<i>partimen</i>	335:7	<i>C</i>	—	HP 1: 237-43
112,1 = 199,1	“Car vey fenir a tot dia”	Cercamon, Guillalmi	<i>open tenson</i>	304:1	<i>R</i>	—	HP 245-52
114,1 = 448,2	“N’Ugo, chاوزetz, avantz qe respondatz”	Chardo, Uc	<i>partimen</i>	577:98	<i>a^l</i>	—	HP 1: 253-61
119,6 = 370,11	“Perdigons, ses vassallatge”	Dalfi d’Alvergne, Perdigo	<i>partimen</i>	589:11	<i>ADGIKMQ</i> <i>R</i> <i>f; B</i> (lost)	—	HP 1: 263-72
129,3 = 194,10	“Gui, e·us part mon essienz”	Eble d’Uisel, Gui d’Uisel	<i>partimen</i>	503:3	<i>D^a</i>	—	HP 1: 273-76
132,7a = 419,2	“En Jaufrezet, si Dieus joi vos aduga”	Elias de Barjols, Jaufre Reforsat	<i>partimen</i>	226:4	<i>a^l</i>	—	HP 1: 277-84
136,1a = 194,4	“En Gui, digaz al vostre grat”	Elias d’Uisel, Gui d’Uisel	<i>partimen</i>	578:7	<i>D^a</i>	—	HP 1: 285-89

P.C. (BdT)	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Frank	Chansonniers	Music	Edition
136,3 + 167,13 + 136,2 + 167,3a	“Manens fora·l francs pelegris”	Elias d’Uisel, Gaucelm Faidit	open <i>tenson</i> (possibly <i>cobla ex- change</i>)	577:16 7 + 577:17 0 + 577:16 6 + 577:16 9	<i>HD</i> ^a	—	Gaucelm Faidit, ed. Mouzat, 478- 82
138,1	“A la cort fuy l’autrier del rey navar”	Engles, ?	open <i>tenson</i>	297:2	<i>f</i>	—	HP 1: 291-94
139,1 = 35,1	“Amic Arver, d’una ren vos deman”	Enric, Arver	<i>partimen</i>	577:18	<i>T</i>	—	HP 1: 295-302
140,1b = 226,5	“Guillem de Murs, un enuios”	Enric II of Rodez, Guillem de Mur	<i>partimen</i>	577:16 8	<i>f</i>	—	HP 1: 303-07
140,1c = 226,6a	“Guillem, d’un plag novel”	Enric II of Rodez, Guillem de Mur	<i>partimen</i>	795:1	<i>R</i>	—	HP 1: 309-16
142,3 = 378,1	“Senhe·N Pons de Monlaur, per vos”	Esperdut (Gui de Cavaillo), Pons de Monlaur	<i>partimen</i>	133:4	<i>ACD</i> ^a <i>GNQS</i>	—	HP 317-21
144,1 = 277,2	“Jozi, diatz, vos qu’es hom entendens”	Esquilla, Jozi (Jori)	<i>partimen</i>	577:10 0	<i>R</i>	—	HP 1: 323-28
145,1 = 279,1	“Duy cavayer an preyat lonjamen”	Esteve, Jutge	<i>partimen</i>	651:1	<i>R</i>	—	HP 1: 329-34
149,1 = 148,1	“En Falconet, be·m platz car es vengutz”	Faure, Falconet	open <i>tenson</i>	325:3	<i>R</i>	—	HP 1: 335-42

P.C. (BdT)	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Frank	Chansonniers	Music	Edition
150a,1 = 25,3 = 201,5a	“Segner Arnaut, vostre semblant”	Folc, Lord Arnaut, Guillem (Guillem Peire de Cazals?)	<i>partimen</i> , <i>tornoiemem</i>	487:2	<i>a</i> ¹	—	HP 1: 343-49
154,2a = 248,38	“Guiraut, pus em ab senhor cuy agensa”	Folquet de Lunel, Guiraut Riquier	<i>partimen</i>	57:4	<i>R</i>	—	HP 1: 351-57
154,2b = 248,43	“Guirautz, don’ap beutatz granda”	Folquet de Lunel, Guiraut Riquier	<i>partimen</i>	577:29 8	<i>R</i>	—	HP 1: 359-65
155,24 = 444,1	“Tostemps, si vos sabetz d’amor”	Folquet de Marseilla, Tostemps (Raimon de Miraval)	<i>partimen</i>	650:1	<i>Ra</i> ¹	—	HP 1: 367-78
163,1	“Nueyt e iorn suy en pessamen”	Garin lo Brun [narrator], “Meysura,” “Leujayria”	open <i>tenson</i> , fictive <i>tenson</i> with narration	23:1	<i>ACDD</i> ^b <i>EIKL</i> <i>Na</i>	—	Appel, “L’enseigne- ment” 405-08
167,42 = 16,19	“N’Albert, eu sui en error”	<i>Seingner</i> , Albert (Albertet de Sestaro?)	<i>partimen</i>	315:1	<i>D</i>	—	HP 1: 379-85
167,44 = 449,2	“N’Uc de la Bachalaria”	Gaucelm Faidit, Uc de la Bacalaria	<i>partimen</i> (yes-no), <i>conselh</i>	479:1	<i>ADIKMORT</i> <i>a</i> ¹ <i>d</i> ; <i>B</i> (lost)	—	HP 1: 386-95
167,47 = 370,12	“Perdigons, vostre sen digatz”	Gaucelm Faidit, Perdigo	<i>partimen</i>	687:1	<i>ACDGIJKM</i> <i>NQS a</i> ¹ ; <i>B</i> (lost), <i>R</i> (lost)	—	HP 1: 396-405

P.C. (BdT)	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Frank	Chansonniers	Music	Edition
167a,1	“Cozin, ab vos voil far tenzon”	Gauceran, Cozin	<i>partimen</i>	23:2	<i>Oa¹</i>	—	HP 1: 407-12
171,1 = 330,11	“Peire Bermon, maint fin entendedor”	Gausbert, Peire Bremon Ricas Novas	<i>partimen</i>	635:1	<i>E</i>	—	HP 2: 413-16
178,1 = 167,30b	“Jauseme, quel vos est semblant”	Geoffrey II of Brittany, Gaucelm Faidit	<i>partimen</i>	227:1	<i>Na¹</i>	—	HP 2: 417-25
184,1 = 25,1	“Amics n’Arnautz, cent dompnas d’aut paratge”	Raimon Berenguer IV of Provence, Arnaut Catalan	open <i>tenson</i>	368:2	<i>ACDIKNOT a¹d, Ve.Ag.; B</i> (lost)	—	Arnaut Catalan 45-48
184,2	“Carn-et-ongla, de vos no·m voill partir”	Raimon Berenguer IV of Provence, <i>Carn-et-ongla</i>	open <i>tenson</i>	382:42	<i>H</i>	—	Appel, <i>Prov. Chrest.</i> 133
185,2 = 457,24	“N’Ugo, vostre semblan digatz”	Savaric de Malleo, Uc	<i>partimen</i>	588:1	<i>ADTa¹</i>	—	HP 2: 427-35
189,2 = 76,6	“De vos mi rancur, compaire”	Granet, Bertran d’Alamano	open <i>tenson</i>	263:2	<i>P</i>	—	HP 2: 437-45
189,5 = 76,14	“Pos anc no·us valc amors, senhe·N Bertran”	Granet, Bertran d’Alamano	open <i>tenson</i>	297:3	<i>HR</i>	—	HP 2: 447-54
192,2a = 147,2	“Falco, en dire mal”	Gui de Cavaillo, Falco	open <i>tenson</i>	483:1	<i>R</i>	—	HP 2: 455-62
192,3	“Ai, mantel vil”	Gui de Cavaillo, “Mantel”	open <i>tenson</i> , fictive <i>tenson</i>	238:1	<i>H</i>	—	Kolsen, <i>Dichtungen</i> 2: 81-82

P.C. (BdT)	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Frank	Chansonniers	Music	Edition
194,2 = 136,1	“Era·m digatz vostre semblan”	Gui d’Uisel, Elias d’Uisel	<i>partimen</i>	487:1	<i>ACDGIKNP</i> <i>QRTa^l; B</i> (lost)	—	HP 2: 464-73
194,17 = 136,4	“N’Elyas, a son amador”	Gui d’Uisel, Elias d’Uisel	<i>partimen</i>	504:12	<i>IKa^ld</i>	—	HP 2: 475-80
194,18 = 136,6	“N’Elias, de vos vuelh auzir”	Gui d’Uisel, Elias d’Uisel	double <i>partimen</i>	331:1	<i>D^aIKRa^l</i>	—	HP 2: 481-89
194,18a = 413,1	“Segner Rainaut, vos qi·us faitz amoros”	Gui d’Uisel, Rainaut	<i>partimen</i>	577:10 1	<i>a^l</i>	—	HP 2: 491-94
197,1a = 52,1	“Ar parra si sabetz triar”	Guigo (Guigo de Cabanas?), Bernart	<i>partimen</i>	421:25	<i>C</i>	—	HP 2: 495-98
197,1b = 277,1	“Joris, cil qe deziratz per amia”	Guigo de Cabanas, Jori	<i>partimen</i>	152:2	<i>CIKa^ld</i>	—	HP 2: 499-509
197,3 = 76,24	“Vist hai, Bertran, pos no·us viron mei oill”	Guigo de Cabanas, Bertran d’Alamano	open <i>tenson</i>	353:2	<i>F</i>	—	Bertran d’Alamano 69-74
198,1 = 385,1	“Senher prior, lo sains es rancuros”	Guillalmet, <i>Prior</i>	open <i>tenson</i>	577:21	<i>E</i>	—	Appel, <i>Prov.</i> <i>Chrest.</i> 127
201,4a = 238,2a	“Guigenet, digatz qon si·us vai d’amia”	Guillem, Guigenet (Gui de Cavaillo?)	open <i>tenson</i>	245:2	<i>a^l</i>	—	HP 2: 511-16
201,4b = 282,12a	“Lafranc, digatz vostre semblan”	Guillem, Lanfranc Cigala	<i>partimen</i>	637:1	<i>a^l</i>	—	HP 517-25

P.C. (BdT)	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Frank	Chansonniers	Music	Edition
201,5 = 25,2	“Senhe·N Arnaut, d’un joven”	Guillem Peire de Cazals, Arnaut	<i>partimen</i>	592:50	ORa¹	—	HP 2: 527-37
205,1 = 79,1a	“Bertran, vos c’anar soliatz ab lairos”	Guillem Augier Novella, Bertran (Bertran d’Aurel)	<i>partimen</i>	66:1	E	—	HP 2: 539-46
205,4 = 201,3	“Guillems, prims iestz en trobar a ma guiza”	Guillem Augier Novella, Guillem; [with judgment of Romieu]	<i>partimen</i>	302:4	EMRa¹	—	HP 2: 547-53
206,4 = 122,2	“Seinhos, auias, c’aves saber e sens”	Guillem d’Autpol, “Dieu”	open <i>tenson</i> , fictive <i>tenson</i> with narration	295:5	f	—	Paden, “Poems” 436- 41
210,2a	“Arondeta, de ton chantar m’azir”	Guillem de Berguedan, <i>Arondeta</i>	open <i>tenson</i>	161:1	Oa¹	—	Guillem de Berguedan 322-27
217,4c = 10,36	“N’Aimeric, qe·us par del pro Bertram d’Aurel?”	Guillem Figueira, Aimeric de Peguillan	open <i>tenson</i>	67:1	H	—	Aimeric de Peguillan 182-84
218,1 (or 202,13) = 128,1	“N’Ebles, chauzes en la meillor”	Guillem Gasmar, Eble d’Uisel	<i>partimen</i>	554:4	ACDEGIKL a¹; B (lost)	—	HP 2: 555-66
225,14 = 437,30	“Senhe·N Sordelh, mandamen”	Guillem de Montaignagol, Sordel	<i>partimen</i>	504:13	C	—	HP 2: 567-75

P.C. (BdT)	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Frank	Chansonniers	Music	Edition
226,1 = 248,25 = 140,1a = 296,1	“De so don yeu soy doptos”	Guillem de Mur, Guiraut Riquier, Enric II of Rodez, Marques de Canillac	<i>partimen</i> , <i>tornoiemem</i>	360:2	R	—	HP 2: 577-85
226,7 = 248,41	“Guiraut Riquier, pus qu’es sabens”	Guillem de Mur, Guiraut Riquier	<i>partimen</i>	577:24 2	R	—	HP 587-93
226,8 = 248,42	“Guiraut Riquier, segon vostr’essien”	Guillem de Mur, Guiraut Riquier; [with judgment of Enric II of Rodez]	<i>partimen</i>	651:4	R	—	HP 2: 595-601
227,7 = 58,2	“Bernart de la Bart’ancse·m platz”	Guillem Peire de Cazals, Bernart de la Barta	<i>partimen</i>	494:1	CD^cEHM; R (lost)	—	HP 2: 603-611
229,2 = 10,35	“N’Aimeric, que·us par d’aqest novel marques?”	Guillem Raimon, Aimeric de Peguillan	<i>coblas</i> <i>tensonadas</i>	31:1	H	—	Aimeric de Peguillan 180-81
230,1a = 383,1	“Del joi d’amor agradiu”	Guillem Raimon de Gironela, Ponzet	<i>partimen</i>	624:80	E	—	HP 2: 613-19
231,1	“Auzir cugei lo chant e·l crit e·l glat”	Guillem Rainol d’At, <i>Domna</i>	open <i>tenson</i>	24:1	D^aHIK	—	Rieger, <i>Trobairitz</i> 331-40
231,3 = 223,5	“Maigret, poiat m’es el cap”	Guillem Rainol d’At, Guillem Magret	open <i>tenson</i>	46:2	ACDEIKNa^l ; R (lost)	—	HP 2: 620-29

P.C. (BdT)	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Frank	Chansonniers	Music	Edition
231,4	“Quant aug chantar lo gal sus en l’erbos”	Guillem Rainol d’At, <i>Domna</i>	open <i>tenson</i>	91:3	<i>D^aHIK</i>	—	Rieger, <i>Trobairitz</i> 341-55
233,5 = 97,9	“Seigner Blacaz, de dompna pro”	Guillem de Saint Gregori, Blacatz	<i>partimen</i>	730:2	<i>D^aEGIKQ</i>	—	HP 2: 631-636
234,8	“D’una don’ai auzit dir que s’es clamada”	Guillem de Saint Leidier [narrator], “Maritz”, “Molher”	open <i>tenson</i> , fictive <i>tenson</i> with narration	382:1	<i>C</i>	—	Rieger, <i>Trobairitz</i> 462-71
234,12	“En Guillem de Saint Deslier, vostra semblanza”	Guillem de Saint Leidier, <i>Don</i>	open <i>tenson</i>	382:2	<i>D^aa^l</i>	—	Guillem de Saint Leidier 128-35
236,8 = 250,1	“Seingner N’Imbert, digatz vostre escienza”	Guillem de la Tor, Imbert	<i>partimen</i>	592:6	<i>ACDEGIKL</i> ; <i>B</i> (lost)	—	HP 2: 638-45
236,12 = 437,38	“Uns amics et un’amia”	Guillem de la Tor, Sordel	<i>partimen</i>	390:17	<i>ADD^cEGIK</i> <i>NQκ</i> ; <i>B</i> (lost)	—	HP 2: 646-56
238,1 = 106,11	“Cadenet, pro domna e gaia”	Guionet (Gui de Cavaillo), Cadenet	<i>partimen</i>	414:2	<i>IKa^ld</i>	—	HP 2: 657-62
238,1a = 291,1	“En Maenard Ros, a saubuda”	Guionet (Gui de Cavaillo), Mainart Ros	<i>partimen</i>	376:11	<i>GQ</i>	—	HP 2: 663-69
238,2 = 388,2	“En Raÿmbaut, pros dompna d’aut linhatge”	Guionet (Gui de Cavaillo), Raimbaut	<i>partimen</i>	368:3	<i>ACDEGLM</i> <i>OQRTa^l</i> ; <i>B</i> (lost),	—	HP 2: 671-81

P.C. (BdT)	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Frank	Chansonniers	Music	Edition
238,3 = 373,1 (or 336,24)	“Pomairols, dos barons sai”	Guionet (Gui de Cavaillo), Peire de Pomairol	<i>partimen</i>	385:2	<i>Na¹</i>	—	HP 2: 683-89
240,6a	“En Giraldon, un joc vos part d’amos”	<i>Coms</i> , Guiraud lo Ros	<i>partimen</i>	295:2	<i>N</i>	—	HP 2: 691-97
242,22 = 23,1a	“Be·m plairia, Seingner En Reis”	Guiraut de Borneill, Alfonso II of Aragon	<i>partimen</i>	714:2	<i>D^aIKQ</i>	—	HP 2: 699-705
242,69 = 12a,1	“S’ie·us qier conseill, bella amia Alamanda”	Guiraut de Borneill, Alamanda	open <i>tenson</i> , <i>conselh</i>	19:2	<i>ABCDGHIK</i> <i>NN²QRVZak</i>	<i>R</i>	HP 2: 706-17
248,11 = 300,1 = 115a,1	“A·N Miquel de Castilho”	Guiraut de Riquier, Miquel de Castillo, Codolet	<i>partimen</i> , <i>tornoiemen</i>	390:12	<i>R</i>	—	HP 2: 719-26
248,14 = 141,1	“Arras s’efors, N’Enveyos, vostre sens”	Guiraut Riquier, Enveyos	<i>partimen</i>	577:71	<i>R</i>	—	HP 2: 727-33
248,16 = 100,1	“Auzit ay dir, Bofil, que saps trobar”	Guiraut Riquier, Bofill	open <i>tenson</i>	577:10 5	<i>R</i>	—	HP 2: 735-43
248,20 = 179,1	“Coms d’Astarac, ab la gensor”	Guiraut Riquier, Coms d’Astarac	<i>partimen</i>	424:8	<i>R</i>	—	HP 2: 745-51
248,28 = 147,1	“Falco, dona avinen”	Guiraut Riquier, Falco	<i>partimen</i>	390:10	<i>R</i>	—	HP 2: 753-59
248,34 = 230a,1	“Guillem Raynier, pus non puesc vezer vos”	Guiraut Riquier, Guillem Rainier	<i>partimen</i>	577:24	<i>R</i>	—	HP 2: 761-68

P.C. (BdT)	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Frank	Chansonniers	Music	Edition
*248,35 = 226,6	“Guillem de Mur...”	Guiraut Riquier, Guillem de Mur	?	—	R (lost)	—	—
248,36 = 226,3	“Guilhem de Mur, chauzetz d’esta partida”	Guiraut Riquier, Guillem de Mur	<i>partimen</i>	549:2	R	—	HP 2: 769-76
248,37 = 226,4	“Guilhem de Mur, que cuia far”	Guiraut Riquier, Guillem de Mur	open <i>tenson</i>	577:19 0	R	—	HP 2: 777-83
*248,54 = 296,3	“Marques una partida·us fatz”	Guiraut Riquier, Marques	<i>partimen</i>	—	R (lost)	—	—
248,74 = 38,1 = 140,1d	“Senhe·N Austorc d’Alboy, lo coms plazens”	Guiraut Riquier, Austorc d’Alboy, Enric II of Rodez	open <i>tenson</i> , <i>tornoiemen</i>	577:10 6	R	—	HP 2: 785-91
248,75 = 140,1 = 296,4 = 42a,1	“Senhe·N Enric, a vos don avantatje”	Guiraut Riquier, Enric II of Rodez, Marques [judgment of Peire d’Estanh]	<i>partimen</i> , <i>tornoiemen</i>	368:4	R	—	HP 2: 793-99
248,76 = 140,2 = 18,1	“Senhe·N Enric, us reys un ric avar”	Guiraut Riquier, Enric II of Rodez, Seigner d’Alest (Peire Pelet)	<i>partimen</i> , <i>tornoiemen</i>	636:1	R	—	HP 2: 801-10
248,77 = 272,1 = 403,1 = 319,7a	“Senhe·N Jorda, sie·us manda Livernos”	Guiraut Riquier, Jordan de l’Isle Jourdain, Raimon Izarn, Paulet de Marseilla	<i>partimen</i> , <i>tornoiemen</i>	297:4	R	—	HP 2: 811-17

P.C. (BdT)	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Frank	Chansonniers	Music	Edition
249,2 = 367,1	“D’una razo, ·N Peironet, hai en coratge”	Guiraut de Salaigac, Peironet	<i>partimen</i>	368:5	<i>ADTa¹f, B</i> (lost)	—	HP 2: 818-27
249a,1 = 426,1	“Rofin, diguatz m’ades de quors”	Domna H., Rofin	<i>partimen</i>	635:7	<i>IKOa¹d</i>	—	HP 2: 829-40
252,1 = 133,7	“N’Elyas Cairel, del amor”	Isabella, Elias Cairel	open <i>tenson</i>	577:18 2	<i>Oa¹</i>	—	HP 2: 841-49
258,1a = 282,18a	“Per o car vos fegnetz de sotilment entendre”	Jacme Grill, Lanfranc Cigala	<i>partimen</i> , open <i>partimen</i>	3:7	<i>a¹</i>	—	HP 2: 851-55
261,1a = 248,40	“Guiraut Riquier, diatz me”	Jaufre de Pon, Guiraut Riquier	open <i>tenson</i>	432:2	<i>Ra¹</i>	—	HP 2: 857-62
265,1a = 437,10a	“Digatz mi s’es vers zo c’om brui”	Joan d’Albuzo, Sordel	<i>coblas</i> <i>tensonadas</i>	19:3	<i>a¹</i>	—	HP 2: 863-68
265,2 = 310,1	“En Niccolet, d’un sognie qu’ieu sognava”	Joan d’Albuzo, Nicolet de Turin	open <i>tenson</i>	362:3	<i>U</i>	—	HP 3: 869-76
267,1 = 127,1	“Qui vos dara respieg, Dieus lo maldia”	Joan Lag, Eble d’Uisel	open <i>tenson</i>	152:3	<i>R</i>	—	HP 3: 877-83
269,1	“Un guerrier, per alegrar”	Joan de Pennas, <i>Guerieira</i>	open <i>tenson</i>	407:21	<i>f</i>	—	Rieger, <i>Trobairitz</i> 472-78
282,1a = 429,1	“Amics Rubaut, de leis, q’am ses bauzia”	Lanfranc Cigala, Rubaut	<i>partimen</i>	302:5	<i>a¹</i>	—	HP 3: 885-90

P.C. (BdT)	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Frank	Chansonniers	Music	Edition
282,1b = 436,1a	“Amics Symon, si us platz, vostra semblanza”	Lanfranc Cigala, Simon Doria	<i>partimen</i>	226:5	<i>a^l</i>	—	HP 3: 891-900
282,4	“Entre mon cor e me e mon saber”	Lanfranc Cigala, “Cor”	open <i>tenson</i> , fictive <i>tenson</i> with narration	846:1	<i>IKa^ld</i>	—	Lanfranc Cigala 145-48
282,14 = 200,1	“Na Guilielma, maint cavallier arratge”	Lanfranc Cigala, Guillelma de Rosers	<i>partimen</i>	368:7	<i>IKMOPa^l</i>	—	HP 3: 902-12
283,2 = 393,2	“Raimond, una dona pros e valenz”	Lantelm, Raimon	<i>partimen</i>	577:7	<i>Ta^l</i>	—	HP 3: 913-20
286,1 = 70,14	“Bernart del Ventadorn, del chan”	Lemozi, Bernart de Ventadorn	open <i>tenson</i>	547:15	<i>LOa^l</i>	—	HP 3: 921-24
292,1 = 73,1	“Fraire Bernat, trop sai estatz”	Maistre, Fraire Bernat (Bernart de la Barta?)	open <i>tenson</i>	494:2	<i>R</i>	—	HP 3: 925-32
295,1 = 194,9	“Gui d’Uicel, be·m peza de vos”	Maria de Ventadorn, Gui d’Uisel	<i>partimen</i>	577:17 3	<i>ACDEHPRT</i> <i>a^lk; B</i> (lost)	—	HP 3: 932-40
296,1a	“Domna, a vos me coman”	Marques (Albert de Malaspina?), <i>Domna</i>	<i>coblas</i> <i>tensonadas</i>	3:14	<i>R</i>	—	Rieger, <i>Trobairitz</i> 356-66
296,2 = 248,39	“Guiraut Riquier, a sela que amatz”	Marques, Guiraut Riquier	<i>partimen</i>	517:6	<i>R</i>	—	HP 3: 941-47

P.C. (BdT)	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Frank	Chansonniers	Music	Edition
305,7	“Autra vetz fuy a parlamen”	Monge de Montaudou, “Dieus,”	open <i>tenson</i> , fictive <i>tenson</i> with narration	624:67	<i>ACRf</i>	—	Monge de Montaudou 113-21
305,12	“L’autrier fuy en Paradis”	Monge de Montaudou, “Dieus,”	open <i>tenson</i> , fictive <i>tenson</i> with narration	541:3	<i>CD^aEIKNRd</i>	—	Monge de Montaudou 105-12
305,13	“Manens e frairis foron companho”	Monge de Montaudou, “Manens,” “Frairis”	open <i>tenson</i> , fictive <i>tenson</i> with narration	44:6	<i>C</i>	—	Monge de Montaudou 144-52
305,16a [listed by P.C. as part of P.C. 305,11]	“Quan tuit aquist clam foron fat”	Monge de Montaudou	open <i>tenson</i> , fictive <i>tenson</i> with narration	(not listed)	<i>D^aIK</i>	—	Monge de Montaudou 133-43
306,2	“Eu veing vas vos, Seingner, fauda levada”	Montan, “Domna”	open <i>tenson</i>	224:1	<i>IT</i>	—	Rieger, <i>Trobairitz</i> 367-76
313,1 = 201,4	“Guillem, rason ai trobada”	Oste, Guillem	<i>partimen</i>	577:30 2	<i>IKa¹d</i>	—	HP 3: 949-55
322a,1 = 201,1	“En aquel son que·m play ni que m’ajensa”	Peire, Guillem	open <i>tenson</i>	578:2	<i>f</i>	—	HP 3: 957-63

P.C. (BdT)	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Frank	Chansonniers	Music	Edition
323,4 = 70,2	“Amics Bernartz de Ventedorn”	Peire (Peire d’Alvergne?), Bernart de Ventadorn	open <i>tenson</i>	621:7	<i>ADEGIKLW</i>	<i>W</i>	HP 3: 964-71
339,3	“Midons qui fuy, deman del sieu cors gen”	Peire Duran, <i>Domna</i>	open <i>tenson</i>	577:11 1	<i>R</i>	—	Rieger, <i>Trobairitz</i> 377-84
344,3a (or 345,1) = 437,15	“En Sordel, e que·us es semblan”	Peire Guillem de Luzerna, Sordel	open <i>tenson</i>	67:4	<i>D^cEMNOa^l</i>	—	HP 3: 972-79
350,1 = 165,3	“Gaucelm, qe·us par d’un cavalier”	Peire de Mont Albert, Gaucelm	<i>partimen</i>	592:14	<i>a^l</i>	—	HP 3: 981-87
359,1 = 415,1	“Amix Raynaut, una donna valent”	Peire Trabustal, Rainaut de Tres Sauzes	<i>partimen</i>	577:11 3	<i>f</i>	—	HP 3: 989-95
366,10 = 119,2	“Dalfin, sabriatz me vos”	Peirol, Dalfi d’Alvergne	<i>partimen</i>	577:29 2	<i>EGIKNQa^ld</i> ; <i>R</i> (lost)	—	HP 3: 997-1003
366,17 = 167,23	“Gaucelm, digatz al vostre sen”	Peirol, Gaucelm Faidit	<i>partimen</i>	805:1	<i>CEGMOQa^l</i> ; <i>R</i> (lost)	—	HP 3: 1004-10
366,29	“Quant Amors trobet partit”	Peirol, “Amors”	open <i>tenson</i> , fictive <i>tenson</i> with narration	335:6	<i>ACDGIKLM</i> <i>NORSTa</i>	<i>G</i>	Peirol 157-60
366,30	“Seinher, qal penriasz vos”	Peirol, <i>Seinher</i>	<i>partimen</i>	608:3	<i>EGLOQTa^l</i>	—	HP 3: 1012-20

P.C. (BdT)	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Frank	Chansonniers	Music	Edition
369,1 = 254,1a	“Qal penriatz vos, seigner N’Isnart”	Pelestort, Isnart (Isnart d’Antravenas?)	<i>partimen</i>	577:24 7	<i>a</i> ¹	—	HP 3: 1021-25
372,4	“Bona domna, un conseill vos deman”	Pistoleta, <i>Domna</i>	open <i>tenson</i> , <i>conselh</i>	382:26	<i>D^aIKLORTZ</i> , <i>Ve.Ag.</i>	—	Rieger, <i>Trobairitz</i> 385-99
372,6a = 97,13	“Segner Blacatz, pos d’amor”	Pistoleta, Blacatz	<i>partimen</i>	624:71	<i>a</i> ¹	—	HP 3: 1027-34
384,1 = 432,3	“Savaric, ie·us deman”	Provost of Limoges, Savaric de Malleo	<i>partimen</i>	132:1	<i>ACD^aGIKL</i> <i>NORTa¹d; B</i> (lost)	—	HP 3: 1036-45
388,1 = 16,4	“Albertet, dui pro cavalier”	Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, Albertet de Sestaro	<i>partimen</i>	592:29	<i>Oa</i> ¹	—	HP 1047-52
388,4 = 167,8	“Ara·m digatz, Gaucelm Faidit”	Raimbaut (Raimbaut de Vaqueiras?), Gaucelm Faidit	<i>partimen</i>	592:30	<i>Na</i> ¹	—	HP 1053-61
389,10a = 242,14	“Era·m platz, Guiraut de Borneill”	Linhaure (Raimbaut d’Aurenga), Guiraut de Borneill	<i>partimen</i>	705:9	<i>D^aEN²R</i>	—	HP 1062-74
392,7	“Bella, tant vos ai preiada”	Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, <i>Domna</i>	open <i>tenson</i>	532:1	<i>D^aIKa</i> ¹	—	Rieger, <i>Trobairitz</i> 418-36

P.C. (BdT)	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Frank	Chansonniers	Music	Edition
392,15 = 4,1 = 370,12a	“En Azemar, chauzes de tres baros”	Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, Ademar II of Poitiers, Perdigo	<i>partimen</i> , <i>tornoiemem</i>	325:5	CD^aEGIKM <i>Q</i>	—	HP 1076-84
392,29 = 116,1	“Seigner Coines, jois e pretz et amors”	Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, Conon de Betune	<i>partimen</i>	382:27	CD^aEGIKQ <i>T</i>	—	HP 1087-94
398,1	“Senhors, l’autrier vi ses falhida”	Raimon Escrivan [narrator], “Cata,” “Trabuquet”	open <i>tenson</i> , fictive <i>tenson</i> with narration	32:3	<i>CR</i>	—	Rivals 37-38
401,6 = 268,1	“Joan Miralhas, si Dieu vos gart de dol”	Raimon Gaucelm de Beziars, Joan Mirailhas	<i>partimen</i>	353:7	R	—	HP 1095-1104
404,9	“Raimon Jordan, de vos eis vuelh apendre”	Raimon Jordan, “Amors”	open <i>tenson</i> , fictive <i>tenson</i> with narration	376:4	<i>C</i>	—	Raimon Jordan 349-58
406,16 = 83,1	“Bertran, si fosses tan gignos”	Raimon de las Salas, Bertran	<i>partimen</i>	549:4 + 559:3	ADIK	—	HP 1105-11
409,3	“Donna, qar conoissenz’e senz”	Raimon de las Salas, <i>Domna</i>	open <i>tenson</i> , <i>conselh</i>	624:60	<i>D^aKLd</i>	—	Rieger, <i>Trobairitz</i> 437-42
413a,1 = 201,6 = 201a,1	“Vos dos Gigelms, digaz vostre corage”	Rainaut, Guillem, Guillem	<i>partimen</i> , <i>tornoiemem</i>	368:9	<i>N</i>	—	HP 1113-16

P.C. (BdT)	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Frank	Chansonniers	Music	Edition
414,1 = 261,1	“Seigner Jaufre, respondetz mi si·us platz”	Rainaut de Pon, Jaufre de Pon	<i>partimen</i>	366:1	<i>ADGIKLMN</i> <i>Qa^l</i> ; <i>B</i> (lost)	—	HP 1118-28
422,2 = 192,1a (or 105,1)	“Cabrit, al mieu veiaire”	Ricau de Tarascon, Cabrit	open <i>tenson</i>	245:1	<i>CD^aEIK</i>	—	HP 1129-37
424,1 = 393,1	“Ar chauçes de cavalaria”	Rodrigo, Raimon	<i>partimen</i>	217:1	<i>M</i>	—	HP 1139-46
425,1 = 255,1	“Vos qe amatz cuenda donn’e plazen”	Rofian, Izarn	<i>partimen</i>	553:7	<i>M</i>	—	HP 1147-53
432,2 = 167,26 = 449,1a	“Gauselms, tres jocs enamoratz”	Savaric de Malleo, Gaucelm Faidit, Uc de la Bacalaria	<i>partimen</i> , <i>tornoiemen</i>	596:1	<i>ACDGIKLM</i> <i>NOQTa^lf</i> , <i>B</i> (lost), <i>R</i> (lost)	—	HP 1154-63
435,1 = 301,1	“Mir Bernat, mas vos ay trobat”	Sifre, Mir Bernart	<i>partimen</i>	51:2	<i>R</i>	—	HP 1165-71
436,1 = 282,1	“Car es tant conoissenz, vos voil”	Simon Doria, Lanfranc Cigala	<i>partimen</i>	722:2	<i>Oa^l</i>	—	HP 1173-79
436,2 = 13,1	“N’Albert, chauçeç la cal mais vos plairia”	Simon (Simon Doria?), Albert	<i>partimen</i>	226:8	<i>T</i>	—	HP 1181-90
436,3 = 258,1	“Segne·N Jacme Grils, e·us deman”	Simon Doria, Jacme Grill	open <i>tenson</i>	67:5	<i>Oa^l</i>	—	HP 1191-94

P.C. (BdT)	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Frank	Chansonniers	Music	Edition
436,4 = 282,21a	“Segne·N Lafranc, car es sobresabenz”	Simon Doria, Lanfranc Cigala	<i>partimen</i>	577:12 1	<i>a^l</i>	—	HP 1195-1201
436,5 = 282,21b	“Segne·N Lafranc, tant m’a sobrat amors”	Simon Doria, Lanfranc Cigala	<i>open tenson</i>	344:2	<i>a^l</i>	—	HP 1203-08
437,10 = 76,2	“Bertran, lo joi de dompnas e d’amia”	Sordel, Bertran d’Alamano	<i>partimen</i>	549:3	<i>CFF^aM</i>	—	HP 1209-15
437,11 = 76,7	“Doas donas amon dos cavaiers”	Sordel, Bertran d’Alamano	<i>partimen</i>	705:3	<i>IKRd</i>	—	HP 1217-22
438,1 = 148,2	“Falconet, de Guillalmona”	Taurel, Falconet	<i>open tenson</i>	577:30 5	<i>Oa^l</i>	—	HP 1223-32
441,1 = 51,1	“Bernado, la jenser dona qu’esmyr”	Tomas, Bernadon	<i>open tenson</i>	323:4	<i>R</i>	—	HP 1233-39
449,1 = 91,1	“Digaz, Bertrams de Saint Feliz”	Uc de la Bacalaria, Bertran de San Felitz	<i>partimen</i>	745:1	<i>ACDIKOa^l</i> ; <i>B</i> (lost)	—	HP 1241-47
449,4 = 75,7	“Seigner Bertram, uns cavaliers presaz”	Uc de la Bacalaria, Bertran	<i>partimen</i>	181:1	<i>DD^aEGLQ</i>	—	HP 1249-54
451,1 = 293,6	“Amics Marchabrun, car digam”	Uc Catola, Marcabru	<i>open tenson</i>	44:9	<i>D^a</i>	—	HP 1255-60
458,1 = 417,1	“Scometre·us vuoill, Reculaire”	Uguet (Uc de Saint Circ?), Reculaire (Sordel?)	<i>open tenson</i>	64:1	<i>ADIKL</i>	—	HP 1262-70

P.C. (BdT)	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Frank	Chansonniers	Music	Edition
459,1 = 110,1	“De las serors d’En Guiran”	Vaquier, Catalan (Arnaut Catalan)	<i>partimen</i>	274:4	<i>a¹</i>	—	HP 1271-77
460,1 = 457,14	“En vostr’aiz me farai vezer”	Vescoms de Torena, Uc de Saint Circ	<i>open tenson</i>	627:3	<i>ADIKd</i>	—	HP 1279-86
461,16	“Amics Privatz, gran gerra vei mesclar”	<i>Amic privat, Amic privat</i>	<i>partimen</i>	215:4	<i>M</i>	—	HP 1287-92
461,43	“Bels segner Deus, s’ieu vos soi enojos”	Rostang (Rostanh de Merguas?), “Deus”	<i>open tenson, fictive tenson</i>	325:6	<i>N</i>	—	Suchier 336- 38
461,56	“Bona domna, tan vos ai fin coratge”	<i>Donzela, Domna</i>	<i>open tenson, conselh</i>	302:2	<i>R</i>	—	Rieger, <i>Trobairitz</i> 174-82

***Chansonniers* and manuscripts containing Occitan *tensos* (including *partimens*)**

Sigla for the *chansonniers* from Pillet and Carstens, *Bibliographie der Troubadors* vi-xliv, with some revisions and additions from Zufferey, *Recherches linguistiques* 4-12; Paden, "Manuscripts" 328-29; and Harvey and Paterson, *Troubadour Tensos* 1293

<i>Chansonnier</i>	Manuscript in which <i>chansonnier</i> is found: location and shelf number
<i>A</i>	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 5232
<i>B</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 1592 (olim 7614)
<i>C</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 856 (olim 7226)
<i>D</i>	Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Estero 45 (α , R 4.4). (French songs in this manuscript = French siglum <i>H</i>) <i>Separate sigla for sections noted below:</i> <i>D</i> : folios 1-151 <i>D^a</i> : folios 153-211 <i>D^b</i> : folios 232-243 <i>D^c</i> : folios 243-260
<i>E</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 1749 (olim 7698)
<i>F</i>	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigiani L.IV.106 (olim 2048)
<i>F^a</i>	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 2981
<i>G</i>	Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, R 71 sup.
<i>H</i>	Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, lat. 3207
<i>I</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 854 (olim 7225)
<i>J</i>	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conventi soppressi F.IV.776
<i>K</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 12473 (olim suppl. fr. 2032; Vat. 3204)
<i>L</i>	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 3206
<i>M</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 12474 (olim suppl. fr. 2033; Vat. 3794)
<i>N</i>	New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.819
<i>N²</i>	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Phillipps 1910
<i>O</i>	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 3208

<i>Chansonnier</i>	Manuscript in which <i>chansonnier</i> is found: location and shelf number
<i>P</i>	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. XLI cod. 42
<i>Q</i>	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 2909
<i>R</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 22543 (olim La Vallière 14; 2701)
<i>S</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 269
<i>T</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 15211 (olim suppl. fr. 683; 1091)
<i>U</i>	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. XLI cod. 43
<i>V</i>	Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, 278 (fr. App. cod. XI)
<i>W</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 844 <i>W</i> designates the Occitan songs in this manuscript (which contains French <i>chansonnier M</i>)
<i>Z</i>	Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, 146 (= Pillet-Carstens siglum <i>Sg</i>)
<i>a</i>	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 2814
<i>a</i> ^l	Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Càmpori Appendice 426, 427, 494 (olim γ N.8.4.11-13)
<i>d</i>	Modena, Biblioteca Estense, annex to <i>D</i>
<i>f</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 12472 (olim supp. fr. 5351; chansonnier Giraud)
<i>r</i>	Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 294
<i>α</i>	citations from the <i>Breviari d'Amor</i> [multiple manuscripts]
<i>κ</i>	citations in Barbieri (<i>Dell'Origine della Poesie rimata</i>)
<i>Berg.</i>	Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, Cassaforte 2.5 (olim ΔVIII, 22)
<i>Co.Br.</i>	Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional 10.991; "Cancioneiro Colocci-Brancuti"
<i>Harl.</i>	London, British Museum, Harley 3041
<i>Ve.Ag.</i>	Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, 7 and 8; "Cancionero Vega-Aguiló"

Corpus of 202 French *tensons*

- Raynaud: unique identifying number for work from Spanke, *G. Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes*
- Linker: unique identifying number for work from Linker, *A Bibliography of Old French Lyrics*
- Incipit: first line from critical edition of reference (as noted in rightmost column)
- Participants: The spelling of individual names generally follows Linker, *A Bibliography of Old French Lyrics*. Names in italics are generally forms of address for a person, whose identity is unknown (and may be fictive). Names in quotations indicate inherently fictive participants: either nonhuman entities such as deities, abstractions, animals, or objects; or participants, human or nonhuman, within reported dialogue.
- Type of *tenson*: see Chapter 1.1 for description of types.
- Mölk: indicates metrical pattern from Mölk and Wolfzettel, *Répertoire métrique de la poésie française des origines à 1350*. Following, between brackets, is the corresponding general metrical pattern in Occitan lyric, from Frank, *Répertoire métrique* (e.g. “[Frank 577]”); when the general pattern is unique to French lyric, this is also noted (“[no Frank]”).
- *Chansonniers*: indicates French *chansonniers* in which the *tenson* is found; sigla for the *chansonniers* are found in table following this table. Sigla in boldface indicate that the *tenson* appears in a *tenson/jeu-parti* section of that *chansonnier*
- Music: indicates the *chansonniers* that transcribe music for the *tenson*.
- Edition: critical edition of reference, source for the text used and cited in study. Critical edition is in most cases *RGJP* (Långfors, *Recueil général des Jeux-partis français*); following the page number in the *RGJP* is the number of the work (in Roman numerals) that Långfors assigns to it. If *tenson* not present in *RGJP*, the edition used is the most recent and/or best critical edition available in print.

Notes:

* The single stanza “Gautier, jou tieng a grant folor” (R 1986 bis), is very likely a fragment from a *jeu-parti*. All such other short works are excluded from the corpus, but “Gautier” is the only fragment included in Långfors’s edition, which is the standard reference and source for *jeux-partis*, and for this reason it is retained in the present the corpus as well.

Not included here are the two extant bilingual Occitan-French *tensons* (P.C. 178,1=167,30b and 392,29=116,1), which are listed in the Occitan section of the corpus (above), which is traditional. These works are not included in *trouvère* bibliographies (Raynaud-Spanke), because they are not found in French *chansonniers*, but only in Occitan *chansonniers*.

Ray- naud	Linker	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Mölk repertory	Chan- sonniers	Mus ic	Edition
8	133- 23	“Cuvelier, or i parra”	Jehan Bretel, Cuvelier	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1431,13 [Frank 577]	<i>abc</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 251-54 (LXVIII)
25	247- 1	“Doy home sont auques tout d’un eage”	Sandrart Certain, Colart le Changeur	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1171,1 [no Frank]	<i>R</i>	—	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 58-61 (XV)
30	265- 100	“Amours m’anvoie a mesaige”	<i>Sire, Dame</i>	open <i>tenson</i>	860,110 [Frank 295]	<i>I</i>	—	Meyer, <i>Recueil</i> 379
39	133- 48	“Jehan de Grieviler, sage”	Jehan Bretel, Jehan de Grieviler	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1364,1 [no Frank]	<i>Zb</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 161-64 (XLIII)
101	133- 47	“Jehan de Grieviler, deus dames sai”	Jehan Bretel, Jehan de Grieviler	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1216,1 [Frank 385]	<i>b</i>	—	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 169-72 (XLV)
103	18- 1	“Chanter m’estuet, et si ni sai”	Baude de la Quariere, “Cuer”	open <i>tenson</i> , fictive <i>tenson</i> with narration	1333,1 [no Frank]	<i>KNXP</i>	<i>KNP</i> <i>X</i>	Thibaut de Cham-pagne, ed. Wallen- sköld, 159-63
107	265- 1551	“Rollant, une dame trovai”	<i>Sire, Rolant</i>	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1092,2 [no Frank]	<i>I</i>	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 286-89
147	42- 1	“Mahieu, je vous part, compains”	Colart le Changeur, Maihieu de Gant	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1209,83 [Frank 382]	<i>R</i>	—	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 48-50 (XII)
155	133- 79	“Biau sire Tresorier d’Aire”	Jehan Bretel, Tresorier d’Aire	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1234,1 [no Frank]	<i>ab</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 179-83 (XLVIII)

Ray- naud	Linker	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Mölk repertory	Chan- sonniers	Mus ic	Edition
203	139- 9	“Jehan Bretel, une jolie dame”	Jehan de Grieviler, Jehan Bretel	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1206,3 [Frank 380]	a	<i>a</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 320-23 (LXXXVII)
239	182- 1	“Robers, c’est voirs c’Amours a bien poissance”	Michel, Robert	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1216,4 [Frank 385]	R	—	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 69-71 (XVIII)
258	133- 52	“Respondés a ma demande”	Jehan Bretel, Jehan de Grieviler	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1233,11 [Frank 390]	AIZab	<i>Aa</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 103-06 (XXVIII)
259	242- 11	“Thiebaus de Bar, li rois des Allemans”	Rolant, Thibaut de Bar	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1090,4 [Frank 339]	I	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 265-68
277	133- 14	“Adan, mout fu Aristotes sachans”	Jehan Bretel, Adam de la Halle	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1209,12 [Frank 382]	AQWa	<i>AWa</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 63-65 (CXVI)
289	116- 1	“Symon, le quel emploie miex son temps”	Hue le Marronier, Simon d’Autie	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1045,2 [no Frank]	b	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 127-29 (CXXXII)
294	240- 57	“Baudoÿn, il sunt dui amant”	Thibaut IV de Champagne, Baudoïn	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1263,3 [Frank 407]	AIMOTa	<i>Aa</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 37-40 (IX)
295	133- 59	“Ferri, il sont doi amant”	Jehan Bretel, Lambert Ferri	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1233,21 [Frank 390]	a	<i>a</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 210-12 (LVI)
296	133- 66	“Lambert, il sont doi amant”	Jehan Bretel, Lambert Ferri	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1233,17 [Frank 390]	ac	<i>a</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 200-02 (LIII)

Ray- naud	Linker	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Mölk repertory	Chan- sonniers	Mus ic	Edition
297	133- 75	“Pierot, li kieus vaut pis a fin amant”	Jehan Bretel, Perrot de Neles (Nesles)	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1143,4 [Frank 358]	<i>I</i>Za	<i>Za</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 263-65 (LXXI)
298	133- 60	“Ferri, il sont doi fin loial amant”	Jehan Bretel, Lambert Ferri	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1209,49 [Frank 382]	<i>b</i>	—	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 188-90 (L)
330	265- 145	“A ti, Rolant, je demant”	<i>Sire</i> , Rolant	<i>jeu-parti</i> (yes-no)	1209,99 [Frank 382]	<i>I</i>	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 273-74
331	133- 11	“Adan, d’amour vous demant”	Jehan Bretel, Adam de la Halle	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1408,1 [Frank 547]	<i>QW</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 41-43 (CI)
332	240- 62	“Une chose, Baudoÿn, vos demant”	Thibaut IV de Champagne, Baudoïn	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1079,20 [Frank 335]	<i>MOT</i>	—	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 41-44 (X)
333	240- 60	“Phelipe, je vous demant (Ce qu’est)”	Thibaut IV de Champagne, Philippe ?	<i>tenson</i>	1342,4 [Frank 504]	<i>KMORST</i> <i>VX; N</i> (lost)	<i>KM</i> <i>RVX</i>	Dinaux, <i>Les</i> <i>trouvères</i> <i>artésiens</i> 116- 17
334	240- 61	“Phelipe, je vos demant (Dui amant)”	Thibaut IV de Champagne, Philippe de Nanteuil	<i>jeu-parti</i>	772,1 [no Frank]	<i>KMORST</i> <i>VX</i>	<i>KM</i> <i>ORV</i> <i>X</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 11-14 (III)
335	240- 58	“Dame, merci! Une riens vos demant”	Thibaut IV de Champagne, Blanche de Castille	open <i>tenson</i>	901,12 [Frank 301]	<i>ACKMO</i> <i>STVXab;</i> <i>N (lost)</i>	<i>AK</i> <i>MO</i> <i>VXa</i>	Thibaut de Cham-pagne, ed. Wallen- sköld, 163-66

Ray- naud	Linker	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Mölk repertory	Chan- sonniers	Mus ic	Edition
339	240- 32	“L’autre jour en mon dormant”	Thibaut IV de Champagne, “Amors”	open <i>tenson</i> , fictive <i>tenson</i> with narration	618,6 [no Frank]	<i>KMNOS</i> <i>TVXZ</i>	<i>KM</i> <i>NOR</i> <i>VX</i>	Thibaut de Champagne, ed. Wallen- sköld, 166-69
359	236- 1	“Adan, si soit que me feme amés tant”	Rogier, Adam de la Halle	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1209,9 [Frank 382]	<i>QW</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 69-72 (CXVIII)
365	265- 52	“Amis, ki est li muelz vaillant”	<i>Dame, Ami</i>	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1303,2 [Frank 473]	<i>CIO</i>	<i>O</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 202-06 (CLIII)
375	133- 64	“Lambert Ferri, je vous part”	Jehan Bretel, Lambert Ferri	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1236,2 [no Frank]	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 225-28 (LX)
378	102- 29	“Moines, ne vous anuit pas”	Guillaume le Vinier, Le Moine d’Arras	<i>jeu-parti</i>	871,5 [no Frank]	<i>Amab</i>	<i>Aa</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 104-07 (CXXVII)
400	265- 563	“Dous dames sont, Rollant, ki ont ameit”	<i>Sire, Rolant</i>	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1241,1 [Frank 392]	<i>I</i>	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 269-72
403	133- 33	“Grieviler, deus dames sai d’une biauté”	Jehan Bretel, Jehan de Grieviler	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1229,1 [Frank 389]	<i>Iab</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 118-21 (XXXII)
491	56- 4	“Biaux Guillebert, dites, s’il vous agree”	Duc de Brabant, Gilebert de Berneville	<i>jeu-parti</i>	901,26 [Frank 301]	<i>CIKMNP</i> <i>UXb</i>	<i>KM</i> <i>PNX</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 162-65 (CXLI)

Ray- naud	Linker	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Mölk repertory	Chan- sonniers	Mus ic	Edition
494	133- 15	“Adan, qui aroit amee”	Jehan Bretel, Adam de la Halle	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1431,19 [Frank 577]	AQWa	<i>AQ</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 55-58 (CXIV)
496	133- 70	“Lambert Ferri, une dame est amee”	Jehan Bretel, Lambert Ferri	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1209,35 [Frank 382]	IZb	<i>Z</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 184-87 (XLIX)
497	265- 1297	“Par Deu, Rolant, une dame est amee”	<i>Sire</i> , Rolant	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1233,3 [Frank 390]	I	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 224-27
543	265- 667	“Entre raison et jolive pensee”	“Joliveté”, “Raison”	open <i>tenson</i> , fictive <i>tenson</i> with narration	931,1 [no Frank]	<i>C</i>	—	<i>Archiv für das Studium</i> 42 (1868): 293- 94
546	133- 46	“Grieviler, vostre pensee”	Jehan Bretel, Jehan de Grieviler	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1079,48 [Frank 335]	ab	<i>a</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 153-56 (XLI)
547	170- 6	“Princes del Pui, selonc vostre pensee”	Lambert Ferri, Jehan Bretel	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1419,1 [Frank 557]	a	<i>a</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 330-32 (XC)
572	89- 7	“Maistre Simon, d’un essample nouvel”	Gille le Vinier, Simon d’Autie	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1409,1 [Frank 548]	Aab	<i>A</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 122-26 (CXXXI)
596	133- 73	“Amis Pierot de Neele”	Jehan Bretel, Perrot de Neles (Nesles)	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1233,18 [Frank 390]	Aa	<i>Aa</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 259-62 (LXX)

Ray- naud	Linker	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Mölk repertory	Chan- sonniers	Mus ic	Edition
618	133- 40	“Grieviler, par vo baptisme”	Jehan Bretel, Jehan de Grieviler	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1143,14 [Frank 358]	Zab	Za	RGJP 1: 107-10 (XXIX)
650	265- 1164	“Morgue li fee ait fait comandement”	Sire, Rolant	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1039,1 [no Frank]	I	—	RGJP 2: 300-01
664	15- 17	“J’aim par amours et on moi ensement”	Audefroï le Bastart, Jehan Bretel	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1209,19 [Frank 382]	ab	a	RGJP 1: 339-42 (XCIII)
666	133- 58	“Ferri, a vostre ensient”	Jehan Bretel, Lambert Ferri	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1410,5 [Frank 549]	a	a	RGJP 1: 232-24 (LXII)
667 = 668	133- 45	“Grieviler, vostre ensient”	Jehan Bretel, Jehan de Grieviler	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1211,1 [no Frank]	AGZab	AZa	RGJP 1: 98-102 (XXVII)
669	133- 54	“Jehan de Vergelai, vostre ensient”	Jehan Bretel, Jehan de Vergelai	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1209,13 [Frank 382]	a	a	RGJP 1: 299-301 (LXXXI)
690	2- 63	“Assignés chi, Griviler, jugement”	Adam de la Halle, Jehan de Grieviler	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1303,1 [Frank 473]	PWa	PWa	RGJP 2: 84-87 (CXXII)
691	102- 28	“Sire frere, faites me un jugement”	Guillaume le Vinier, Gille le Vinier	<i>jeu-parti</i>	644,1 [Frank 219]	AGMRT Zab	ATZ	RGJP 2: 112-15 (CXXIX)
692	139- 8	“Cuvelier, un gugement”	Jehan de Grieviler, Cuvelier	<i>jeu-parti</i>	725,1 [Frank 235]	AZa	AZa	RGJP 2: 2-4 (XCIX)

Ray- naud	Linker	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Mölk repertory	Chan- sonniers	Mus ic	Edition
693	133- 44	“Grieviler, un jugement”	Jehan Bretel, Jehan de Grieviler	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1233,10 [Frank 390]	ab	<i>a</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 140-43 (XXXVIII)
694	133- 51	“Jehan de Grieviler, un jugement”	Jehan Bretel, Jehan de Grieviler	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1233,2 [Frank 390]	b	—	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 165-68 (XLIV)
703	133- 16	“Adan, se vous amiés bien loiaument”	Jehan Bretel, Adam de la Halle	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1334,2 [Frank 495]	QWa	<i>Wa</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 48-50 (CXII)
704	133- 67	“Lambert, se vous amiés bien loiaument”	Jehan Bretel, Lambert Ferri	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1526,1 [no Frank]	Zac	<i>Za</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 203-05 (LIV)
706	242- 10	“Sire, une dame ait ameit longement”	Rolant, <i>Sire</i>	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1079,1 [Frank 335]	I	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 238-40
707	265- 1300	“Par Deu, Rolant, j’ai ameit longement”	<i>Sire</i> , Rolant	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1079,7 [Frank 335]	I	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 262-64
759	223- 4	“Chascun qui de bien amer”	Richart de Fournival, ?	open <i>tenson</i>	718,1 [no Frank]	<i>CHKNO</i> <i>P</i>	<i>KN</i> <i>OP</i> , <i>Wo</i>	Jeanroy, <i>Origines</i> 472- 77
840	48- 6	“Bernart, a vos vueil demander”	Comte de Bretagne, Berart de la Ferté	<i>jeu-parti</i>	870,18 [Frank 297]	<i>KNOPX</i>	<i>KN</i> <i>OPX</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 1-6 (I)
841	139- 12	“Sire Bretel, je vous vueill demander”	Jehan de Grieviler, Jehan Bretel	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1143,5 [Frank 358]	bc	—	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 305-07 (LXXXIII)

Ray- naud	Linker	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Mölk repertory	Chan- sonniers	Mus ic	Edition
842	102- 30	“Thumas, je vos voel demander”	Guillaume le Vinier, Thomas Erier (Herier)	<i>jeu-parti</i>	646,1 [no Frank]	<i>CMRT</i>	<i>TM</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 92-94 (CXXIV)
861= 770	144- 1	“Or coisisiés, Jehan de Grieviler”	Jehan de Marli, Jehan de Grieviler	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1035,4 [no Frank]	<i>Eab</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 5-8 (C)
862	133- 30	“Conseilliez moi, Jehan de Grieviler”	Jehan Bretel, Jehan de Grieviler	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1221,1 [no Frank]	<i>AGab</i>	<i>Aa</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 87-90 (XXIV)
871	225- 1	“Chopart, uns clers qi se veut marier”	Robert, Copart (Chopart)	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1410,4 [Frank 549]	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 145-48 (CXXXVII)
878 = 876	203- 2	“Douce dame, ce soit en vo nomer”	Pierre de Beaumarchais, <i>Dame</i>	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1079,3 [Frank 335]	<i>CIMTU</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 175-78 (CXLV)
899	139- 11	“Princes del Pui, mout bien savés trouver”	Jehan de Grieviler, Jehan Bretel	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1233,4 [Frank 390]	<i>Zb</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 316-19 (LXXXVI)
907	165- 1	“Coins de Galles, ameneit”	Jehennins, Coins de Galles	<i>tenson</i>	675,4 [no Frank]	<i>U</i>	—	Jeanroy, <i>Origines</i> 462- 63
908	170- 10	“Jehan, tres bien amerés”	Lambert Ferri, Jehan de Grieviler	<i>jeu-parti</i>	891,10 [Frank 298]	<i>Z</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 9-11 (CI)
909	133- 25	“Cuveliers, vous amerés”	Jehan Bretel, Cuvelier	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1325,2 [Frank 487]	<i>Alab</i>	<i>Aa</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 238-41 (LXIV)

Ray- naud	Linker	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Mölk repertory	Chan- sonniers	Mus ic	Edition
910	81- 2	“Sire Jehan, vous amerez”	Gerardin de Boulogne, Jehan Bretel	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1079,38 [Frank 335]	b	—	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 349-51 (XCVI)
915	133- 69	“Lambert, une amie avés”	Jehan Bretel, Lambert Ferri	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1339,11 [no Frank]	ab	<i>a</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 213-16 (LVII)
917	242- 6	“Jehans de Bair, vos qui aveis”	Rolant, Jehan de Bar	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1034,43 [Frank 324]	I	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 221-23
918	192- 27	“Princes del Pui, vous avés”	Perrin d’Angecourt, Jehan Bretel	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1502,2 [Frank 705]	Ia	<i>a</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 343-45 (XCIV)
925	265- 1712	“Trop sui d’amors enganez”	<i>Copaign, Copaign</i>	open <i>tenson</i>	853,2 [no Frank]	<i>PX; KN (lost)</i>	<i>PX</i>	Jeanroy, <i>Origines</i> 470-71
926	249- 2	“Robert de Béthune, entendez”	Sauvage de Betune, L’Avoué de Béthune	open <i>tenson</i>	661,7 [Frank 221]	<i>MRT</i>	<i>MT</i>	Dinaux, <i>Les trouvères artésiens</i> 438
927	170- 7	“Sire Bretel, entendés”	Lambert Ferri, Jehan Bretel	<i>jeu-parti</i>	432,3 [no Frank]	Za	<i>Za</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 327-29 (LXXXIX)
928	133- 26	“Je vous demant, Cuvelier, repondez”	Jehan Bretel, Cuvelier	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1209,26 [Frank 382]	bc	—	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 245-47 (LXVI)
931	84- 31	“Dame de Gosnai, gardez”	Gillebert de Berneville, Dame de Gosnai	<i>jeu-parti</i>	670,4 [no Frank]	b	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 153-56 (CXXXIX)

Ray- naud	Linker	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Mölk repertory	Chan- sonniers	Mus ic	Edition
938	192- 28	“Quens d’Anjo, prenez”	Perrin d’Angecourt, Comte d’Anjou	<i>jeu-parti</i>	866,2 [no Frank]	<i>V</i>	<i>V</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 166-68 (CXLII)
940	133- 72	“Perrin d’Angicourt, respondés”	Jehan Bretel, Perrin d’Angecourt	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1216,8 [Frank 385]	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 286-88 (LXXVII)
941	242- 5	“Dous Jehans de Bair, respondeis”	Rolant, Jehan de Bar	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1092,3 [no Frank]	<i>I</i>	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 255-57
942	195- 2	“Jehan Bretel, repondez”	Perrot de Neles (Nesles), Jehan Bretel	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1233,16 [Frank 390]	<i>Iabc</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 335-38 (XCII)
943	19- 1	“Rois Thiebaut, sire, en chantant repondez”	Baudoin, Thibaut IV de Champagne	<i>jeu-parti</i>	661,3 [Frank 221]	<i>CKMNO</i> <i>VX</i>	<i>KM</i> <i>NOV</i> <i>X</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 34-36 (VIII)
944	242- 2	“Douce dame, repondez”	Rolant, <i>Dame</i>	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1057,1 [no Frank]	<i>I</i>	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 258-61
945	228- 8	“Mahieu de Gant, repondez / A ce que je vos demant”	Robert de la Pierre, Maihieu de Gant	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1148,1 [no Frank]	<i>KNX</i>	<i>KNX</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 138-40 (CXXXV)
946	228- 9	“Maheus de Gans, respondeis / A moi com a vostre ami”	Robert de la Pierre, Maihieu de Gant	<i>jeu-parti</i>	838,3 [Frank 284]	<i>C</i>	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 141-44 (CXXXVI)
947 = 916	133- 53	“Maistre Jehan de Marli, respondés”	Jehan Bretel, Jehan de Marli	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1209,2 [Frank 382]	<i>Ea</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 279-82 (LXXV)

Ray- naud	Linker	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Mölk repertory	Chan- sonniers	Mus ic	Edition
948	48- 7	“Gasse, par droit me respondez”	Comte de Bretagne, Gace Brulé	<i>jeu-parti</i>	860,76 [Frank 295]	<i>CIb</i>	—	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 7-10 (II)
949	82- 1	“Sire Michiel, respondés”	Gerart de Valenciennes, Michel	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1209,84 [Frank 382]	<i>CT</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 179-82 (CXLVI)
950	133- 10	“Adan, a moi respondés”	Jehan Bretel, Adam de la Halle	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1436,3 [Frank 592]	<i>AQWa</i>	<i>AWa</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 51-54 (CXIII)
951	139- 13	“Sire Bretel, vous qui d’amours savez”	Jehan de Grieviler, Jehan Bretel	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1214,1 [Frank 384]	<i>b</i>	—	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 308-11 (LXXXIV)
952	133- 56	“Amis Lambert Ferri, vous trouverés”	Jehan Bretel, Lambert Ferri	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1343,1 [Frank 509]	<i>a</i>	—	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 217-20 (LVIII)
953	47- 2	“Gautiers, qui de France veneis”	Comte de Bar, Gautier ?	open <i>tenson</i>	860,77 [Frank 295]	<i>CU</i>	—	Wallensköld, “Dialogue” 565-70
955 bis	133- 31	“Grieviler, a ma requeste”	Jehan Bretel, Jehan de Grieviler	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1255,1 [Frank 401]	<i>c</i>	—	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 173-74 (XLVI)
958	133- 32	“Grieviler, del quel doit estre”	Jehan Bretel, Jehan de Grieviler	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1209,74 [Frank 382]	<i>ac</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 137-39 (XXXVII)
978	133- 63	“Lambert Ferri, drois est ke m’entremete”	Jehan Bretel, Lambert Ferri	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1209,61 [Frank 978]	<i>Z</i>	—	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 235-37 (LXIII)

Ray- naud	Linker	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Mölk repertory	Chan- sonniers	Mus ic	Edition
1021	133- 68	“Lambert Ferri, s’une dame orgeilleuse”	Jehan Bretel, Lambert Ferri	<i>jeu-parti</i>	887,1 [no Frank]	a	<i>a</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 221-24 (LIX)
1025	133- 24	“Cuvelier, s’il est ensi”	Jehan Bretel, Cuvelier	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1431,18 ??	Aa	<i>Aa</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 248-50 (LXVII)
1026	133- 17	“Adan, s’il estoit ensi”	Jehan Bretel, Adam de la Halle	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1209,91 [Frank 382]	QW	<i>W</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 33-36 (CVIII)
1027	265- 1565	“Sandrat, s’il estoit ainsi”	<i>Sire</i> , Sandrart Certain	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1270,1 [no Frank]	R	—	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 62-65 (XVI)
1034	133- 49	“Jehan de Greviler, s’aveuc celi”	Jehan Bretel, Jehan de Grieviler	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1209,44 [Frank 382]	b	—	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 95-97 (XXVI)
1041	133- 57	“Entendés, Lambert Ferri”	Jehan Bretel, Lambert Ferri	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1209,76 [Frank 382]	Za	<i>Za</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 229-31 (LXI)
1042	133- 27	“Cuvelier et vous, Ferri”	Jehan Bretel, Cuvelier	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1214,3 [Frank 384]	Aa	<i>a</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 175-78 (XLVII)
1054	242- 4	“Douce dame, vous aveis prins marit”	Rolant, <i>Dame</i>	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1090,3 [I	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 290-91
1066	133- 13	“Adan, li quels doit miex trouver merchi”	Jehan Bretel, Adam de la Halle	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1209,59 [Frank 382]	QW	<i>W</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 73-76 (CXIX)

Ray- naud	Linker	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Mölk repertory	Chan- sonniers	Mus ic	Edition
1068	120- 1	“Rolans, car respondeis a mi”	Jacques de Billi, Rolant	<i>jeu-parti</i>	670,1 [no Frank]	I	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 228-30
1071	133- 28	“Gaidifer, d’un ju parti”	Jehan Bretel, Gaidifer d’Avion	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1233,20 [Frank 390]	ab	<i>a</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 270-73 (LXXIII)
1072	169- 1	“Sire Aimmeris, prendeis un jeu partit”	Jofroi Baré, Aimeri	<i>jeu-parti</i>	860,36 [Frank 295]	C	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 207-09 (CLIV)
1074	265- 380	“Concilliés moi, Rolan, je vous an pri: / Dui”	<i>Dame</i> , Rolant	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1233,1 [Frank 390]	I	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 213-16
1074 bis	265- 382	“Consilliez moi, Rollant, je vous an pri / Il”	<i>Sire</i> , Rolant	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1092,1 [no Frank]	I	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 292-95
1075	84- 33	“Amors, je vos requier et pri”	Gillebert de Berneville, “Amours”	fictive <i>jeu-parti</i>	1233,7 [Frank 390]	CI	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 157-61 (CXL)
1076	9- 2	“Jehan, amis, par amours je vous pri”	Andrieu d’Ouche, Jehan	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1209,5 [Frank 382]	R	—	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 84-86 (XXIII)
1078	29- 1	“Concilliés moi, je vos pri”	Burnekin, Rolant	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1235,1 [no Frank]	I	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 241-44
1085	1- 8	“Amis Guillaume, ains si sage ne vi”	Adam de Givenci, Guillaume le Vinier	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1325,1 [Frank 487]	AMTab	<i>AMT</i> <i>a</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 108-11 (CXXVIII)

Ray- naud	Linker	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Mölk repertory	Chan- sonniers	Mus ic	Edition
1092	170- 8	“Sire Jehan Bretel, vous demant gié”	Lambert Ferri, Jehan Bretel	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1346,1 [Frank 522]	b	—	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 333-34 (XCI)
1094	133- 20	“Avoir cuidai engané le marchié”	Jehan Bretel, Adam de la Halle	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1160,1 [no Frank]	AQWabc , <i>Cambrai</i>	<i>AWa</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 88-91
1097	94- 1	“Cuens, je vous part un jeu par ahaitie”	Gui, Thibaut IV de Champagne	<i>jeu-parti</i>	942,1 [no Frank]	<i>DKMOT</i> <i>VX</i>	<i>DK</i> <i>MO</i> <i>VX</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 15-18 (IV)
1111	197- 3	“Par Dieu, sire de Champagne et de Brie”	Philippe de Nanteuil, Thibaut IV de Champagne	open <i>tenson</i>	924,3 [no Frank]	<i>KMOSTV</i> <i>X; N</i> (<i>lost</i>)	<i>KM</i> <i>OVX</i>	Thibaut de Champagne, ed. Wallen- sköld, 169-72
1112	246- 1	“Que ferai je, dame de la Chaucie”	Sainte des Prez, Dame de la Chaucie	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1159,7 [Frank 361]	b	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 169-70 (CXLIII)
1121	133- 29	“Gaidifer, par courtoisie”	Jehan Bretel, Gaidifer d’Avion	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1431,16 [Frank 577]	Zab	<i>Za</i>	<i>RG JP</i> 1: 266- 69 (LXXII)
1122	170- 11	“Respondez par par courtoisie”	Lambert Ferri, Jehan de Marli	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1334,3 [Frank 495]	b	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 22-24 (CV)
1167	129- 2	“Robert, j’ains dame jolie”	Jehan, Robert	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1144,6 [Frank 360]	R	—	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 75-77 (XX)
1185	97- 1	“Sire, ne me celez mie”	Guillaume, Thibaut IV de Champagne	<i>jeu-parti</i>	865,13 [no Frank]	<i>AKMOT</i> <i>VXab</i>	<i>AK</i> <i>MO</i> <i>VXa</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 19-23 (V)
1187	239- 1	“Un jeu vos pairt, Andreus: ne laissiés mie”	Roi d’Aragon, Andrieu	<i>jeu-parti</i>	940,2 [no Frank]	<i>C</i>	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 210-12

Ray- naud	Linker	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Mölk repertory	Chan- sonniers	Mus ic	Edition
1191	84- 32	“Thumas Herier, j’ai partie”	Gillebert de Berneville, Thomas Erier (Herier)	<i>jeu-parti</i>	968,3 [no Frank]	<i>QT</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 149-52 (CXXXVIII)
1200	235- 1	“Sire Jehan Bretel, conseil vous prie”	Robert de Compiègne, Jehan Bretel	<i>jeu-parti</i>	870,13 [Frank 297]	<i>bc</i>	—	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 346-48 (XCV)
1201	242- 1	“Concilliez moi, Aubertin, je vos prie”	Rolant, Aubertin d’Araines (Areynes)	<i>jeu-parti</i>	898,1 [no Frank]	<i>I</i>	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 278-81
1230	133- 37	“Grieviler, ja en ma vie”	Jehan Bretel, Jehan de Grieviler	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1431,10 [Frank 577]	<i>b</i>	—	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 115-17 (XXXI)
1235	221- 1	“Jehan, li quiex a mieudre vie”	Renier, Jehan (Jehan d’Estruen?)	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1209,69 [Frank 382]	<i>R</i>	—	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 78-80 (XXI)
1263	146- 12	“Jehan Bretel, un chevalier”	Jehan de Renti, Jehan Bretel	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1209,67 [Frank 382]	<i>T</i>	—	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 355-56 (XCVIII)
1282	223- 3	“A vous, me sire Gautier”	Richart de Fournival, Gautier de Dargies	open <i>tenson</i>	299,1 [no Frank]	<i>Aab</i>	<i>Aa</i>	Gautier de Dargies, ed. Huet, 51-54
1283	265- 534	“Dites, seigneur, que devroit on jugier”	<i>Dame, Seignor</i>	open <i>tenson</i>	811,1 [no Frank]	<i>O</i>	<i>O</i>	Jeanroy, <i>Origines</i> 463- 64

Ray- naud	Linker	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Mölk repertory	Chan- sonniers	Mus ic	Edition
1290	70- 1	“Amis Richart, j’eüsse bien mestier”	Gautier, Richart de Fournival	open <i>tenson</i>	1412,1 [no Frank]	<i>b</i>	—	Fiset, “Das altranz- ösische Jeu- Parti” 537-41
1291	170- 9	“Grieviler, j’ai grant mestier”	Lambert Ferri, Jehan de Grieviler	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1210,2 [Frank 383]	<i>Z</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 12-14 (CII)
1293	89- 6	“Frere, ki fait mieus a proisier”	Gille le Vinier, Guillaume le Vinier	<i>jeu-parti</i>	888,2 [no Frank]	<i>ACIMRT</i> <i>Yab</i>	<i>AMT</i> <i>a</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 116-21 (CXXX)
1296	212- 1	“Biaul Tierit, je vos veul proier”	Raoul, Tierri	<i>jeu-parti</i>	874,1 [no Frank]	<i>CI</i>	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 192-94 (CL)
1307	138- 1	“Rolan de Rains, je vos requier”	Jehan de Chison, Rolant de Reims	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1209,64 [Frank 382]	<i>I</i>	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 234-37
1316	150- 1	“Colart, repondez sans targier”	Jehan de Tournai, Colart le Changeur	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1119,1 [Frank 351]	<i>R</i>	—	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 51-53 (XIII)
1331	170- 13	“De çou, Robert de le Piere”	Lambert Ferri, Robert de la Pierre	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1002,1 [no Frank]	<i>AZab</i>	<i>AZa</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 25-28 (CVI)
1335	133- 71	“A vous, Maihieu li Taillere”	Jehan Bretel, Maihieu le Tailleur	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1233,33 [Frank 390]	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 296-98 (LXXX)
1336	149- 1	“Respondés, Colart li Changierres”	Jehan d’Estruen, Colart le Changeur	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1233,8 [Frank 390]	<i>R</i>	—	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 54-57 (XIV)

Ray- naud	Linker	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Mölk repertory	Chan- sonniers	Mus ic	Edition
1338	242- 3	“Douce dame, volantiers”	Rolant, <i>Dame</i>	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1121,1 [no Frank]	I	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 245-47
1340	133- 62	“Ferri, se vous bien amiés”	Jehan Bretel, Lambert Ferri	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1209,106 [Frank 382]	Zab	<i>Za</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 206-09 (LV)
1341	133- 41	“Grieviler, se vous aviés”	Jehan Bretel, Jehan de Grieviler	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1229,4 [Frank 389]	ac	<i>a</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 126-28 (XXXIV)
1343	211- 1	“Rollans, amins, au fort me consilliés”	Quare, Rolant	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1079,4 [Frank 335]	I	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 275-77
1344	111- 1	“Robert, or me conseilliez”	Hue, Robert li Dus	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1079,47 [Frank 335]	R	—	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 72-74 (XIX)
1346	133- 42	“Grieviler, se vous quidiés”	Jehan Bretel, Jehan de Grieviler	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1144,7 [Frank 360]	ac	<i>a</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 133-36 (XXXVI)
1351	133- 38	“Grieviler, par maintes fies”	Jehan Bretel, Jehan de Grieviler	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1233,23 [Frank 390]	AZac	<i>a</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 129-32 (XXXV)
1354	133- 55	“Jehan Simon, li qieus s’aquita miex”	Jehan Bretel, Jehan Simon or Jehan Grieviler or Dame	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1209,6 [Frank 382]	ACabc	<i>Aa</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 274-78 (LXXIV)
1393 = 1423 bis	215- 7	“Sire, loez moi a choisir”	Raoul de Soissons, Thibaut IV de Champagne	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1090,7 [Frank 339]	<i>KMNOV</i> <i>X</i>	<i>KM</i> <i>NOV</i> <i>X</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 29-33 (VII)

Ray- naud	Linker	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Mölk repertory	Chan- sonniers	Mus ic	Edition
1437	134- 1	“Cardons, de vous lou voil oïr”	Jehan d’ Archis, Cardon	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1163,12 [Frank 362]	<i>CI</i>	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 183-86 (CXLVII)
1442	265- 828	“J’ain par amors de fin cuer sans partir”	<i>Sire</i> , Rolant	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1090,1 [Frank 339]	<i>I</i>	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 231-33
1443	1- 9	“Compains Jehan, un gieu vous voel partir”	Adam de Givenci, Jehan or Jehan Bretel	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1159,2 [Frank 361]	<i>MQTW</i>	<i>MT</i> <i>W</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 352-54 (XCVII)
1448 = 1442 bis	23- 5	“Gautier, un jeu vos veul partir”	Bestourné, Gautier	<i>jeu-parti</i>	901,51/901,5 2 [Frank 301]	<i>CU</i>	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 195-97 (CLI)
1504	242- 8	“Jaïke de Billi, biaus sire”	Rolant, Jacques de Billi	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1163,17 [Frank 362]	<i>I</i>	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 248-50
1505	133- 78	“Robert de Chastel, biau sire”	Jehan Bretel, Robert (Robin) du Chastel	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1233,24 [Frank 390]	<i>ab</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 292-95 (LXXIX)
1513	242- 7	“Jaïkes de Billi, amis”	Rolant, Jacques de Billi	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1172,1 [no Frank]	<i>I</i>	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 217-20
1514	170- 14	“Robert del Caisnoi, amis”	Lambert Ferri, Sire Robert del Caisnoi	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1436,4 [Frank 592]	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 18-21 (CIV)
1517	265- 1298	“Par Deu, Rollant, uns miens tres grans amis”	<i>Sire</i> , Rolant	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1040,1 [no Frank]	<i>I</i>	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 296-99

Ray- naud	Linker	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Mölk repertory	Chan- sonniers	Mus ic	Edition
1518	133- 74	“Pierrot de Neele, amis”	Jehan Bretel, Perrot de Neles (Nesles)	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1233,13 [Frank 390]	<i>b</i>	—	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 255-58 (LXIX)
1520	7- 20	“Guillames li Viniers, amis”	Andrieu Contredit, Guillaume le Vinier	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1163,14 [Frank 362]	<i>Cb</i>	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 95-98 (CXXV)
1523	139- 10	“Jehan Bretel, vostre avis”	Jehan de Grieviler, Jehan Bretel	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1233,26 [Frank 390]	<i>Aab</i>	<i>Aa</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 312-15 (LXXXV)
1584	2- 62	“Sire Jehan, ainc ne fustes partis”	Adam de la Halle, Jehan Bretel	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1163,7 [Frank 362]	<i>AQWa</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 44-47 (CXI)
1637	133- 36	“Grieviler, feme avés prise”	Jehan Bretel, Jehan de Grieviler	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1079,49 [Frank 335]	<i>GZab</i>	<i>Za</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 148-52 (XL)
1666	265- 281	“Bons rois Thiebaut, consoilliez moi”	Clerc, Thibaut IV de Champagne	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1079,8 [Frank 335]	<i>AIKMN</i> <i>OTVXa</i>	<i>AK</i> <i>MO</i> <i>VXa</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 24-28 (VI)
1671	67- 1	“Cuvelier, j’aim miex ke moi”	Gamart de Vilers, Cuvelier	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1165,8 [no Frank]	<i>EZbc</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 29-32 (CVII)
1672	133- 77	“Robert de le Piere, respondés moi”	Jehan Bretel, Robert de la Pierre	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1048,1 [no Frank]	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 289-91 (LXXVIII)
1674	170- 12	“Biau Phelipot Vrediere, je vous proi”	Lambert Ferri, Philippot Verdiere	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1494,1 [no Frank]	<i>AZa</i>	<i>AZa</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 15-17 (CIII)

Ray- naud	Linker	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Mölk repertory	Chan- sonniers	Mus ic	Edition
1675	133- 9	“Adan, amis, mout savés bien vo roi”	Jehan Bretel, Adam de la Halle	open <i>tenson</i>	1045,21 [no Frank]	<i>AQWa</i>	<i>Aa</i>	Adam de la Halle, ed. Badel, 154-63
1678	157- 1	“Sandrat, pour ce que vous voi”	Jehan Legier, Sandrart Certain	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1209,79 [Frank 382]	<i>R</i>	—	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 66-68 (XVII)
1679	2- 61	“Sire, assés sage vous voi”	Adam de la Halle, Jehan Bretel	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1417,1 [no Frank]	<i>Q</i>	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 77-80 (CXX)
1684	265- 1404	“Kant Amors vit que je li aloignoie”	Roi de Navarre, “Amors”	open <i>tenson</i> , fictive <i>tenson</i> with narration	901,41 [Frank 301]	<i>C</i>	—	Thibaut de Champagne, ed. Wallen- sköld, 245-48
1687	108- 2	“Mahieu, jugiez: se une dame amoie”	Henri Amion, Maihieu de Gant	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1366,1 [Frank 527]	<i>KNX</i>	<i>KNX</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 134-37 (CXXXIV)
1744	176- 1	“Je vous pri, dame Maroie”	Dame Margot, Dame Maroie	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1242,1 [no Frank]	<i>Aa</i>	<i>Aa</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 171-74 (CXLIV)
1759	242- 9	“Perrins, amins, moult volentiers saroie”	<i>Rolant</i> , Perrin	<i>jeu-parti</i>	924,4 [no Frank]	<i>I</i>	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 282-84

Ray- naud	Linker	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Mölk repertory	Chan- sonniers	Mus ic	Edition
1774	133- 61	“Ferri, se ja Dieus vous voie”	Jehan Bretel, Lambert Ferri	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1209,94 [Frank 382]	Zabc	Za	RGJP 1: 195-99 (LII)
1776	133- 76	“Sire Priëus de Bouloigne”	Jehan Bretel, Prieur de Boulongne	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1209,81 [Frank 382]	Z	Z	RGJP 1: 302-04 (LXXXII)
1794	133- 65	“Lambert Ferri, le quel doit miex avoir”	Jehan Bretel, Lambert Ferri	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1209,17 [Frank 382]	Aabc	Aa	RGJP 1: 191-94 (LI)
1798	133- 18	“Adan, vaurriës vous manoir”	Jehan Bretel, Adam de la Halle	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1209,80 [Frank 382]	AQWac	AWa	RGJP 2: 37-40 (CIX)
1804	240- 59	“Girart d’Amiens, Amours, qui a pouvoir”	Thibaut IV de Champagne, Girart d’Amiens	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1079,9 [Frank 335]	R	—	RGJP 1: 45-47 (XI)
1817	133- 19	“Adan, vous devës savoir”	Jehan Bretel, Adam de la Halle	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1233,30 [Frank 390]	QWa	Wa	RGJP 2: 59-62 (CXV)
1818	116- 2	“Symon, or me faites savoir”	Hue le Marronnier, Simon d’Autie	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1437,1 [Frank 608]	b	—	RGJP 2: 130-33 (CXXXIII)
1822	31- 1	“Gautiers de Formeseles, voir”	Cardon , Gautier de Formeseles	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1209,65 [Frank 382]	M	—	RGJP 2: 187-88 (CXLVIII)

Ray- naud	Linker	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Mölk repertory	Chan- sonniers	Mus ic	Edition
1824	133- 22	“Cuvelier, dites moi voir”	Jehan Bretel, Cuvelier	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1150,1 [no Frank]	b	—	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 242-44 (LXV)
1825	133- 35	“Grieviler, dites moi voir”	Jehan Bretel, Jehan de Grieviler	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1370,1 [no Frank]	Iab	<i>a</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 111-114 (XXX)
1833	133- 8	“Adan, amis, je vous dis une fois”	Jehan Bretel, Adam de la Halle	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1549,1 [no Frank]	W	<i>W</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 66-68 (CXVII)
1838	133- 43	“Grieviler, s’il avenoit”	Jehan Bretel, Jehan de Grieviler	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1436,1 [Frank 592]	b	—	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 91-94 (XXV)
1850	133- 21	“Sire Audefroï, qui par traïson droite”	Jehan Bretel, Audefroï	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1143,11 [Frank 358]	ab	<i>a</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 283-85 (LXXXVI)
1861	222- 1	“Andriu Douche, dûi compaignon”	Renier de Quarignon, Andrieu d’Ouche	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1209,66 [Frank 382]	R	—	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 81-83 (XXII)
1878	240- 47	“Robert, veez de Perron”	Thibaut IV de Champagne, Robert ?	open <i>tenson</i>	181,78 [Frank 55]	<i>KMNOR</i> <i>STVX</i>	<i>KM</i> <i>ORV</i> <i>X</i>	Wallen-sköld, <i>Thibaut de</i> <i>Champagne</i> 176-76
1888	170- 5	“Jehan Bretel, par raison”	Lambert Ferri, Jehan Bretel	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1483,1 [no Frank]	Aa	<i>Aa</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 324-26 (LXXXVIII)
1890	133- 39	“Grieviler, par quel raison”	Jehan Bretel, Jehan de Grieviler	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1431,8 [Frank 577]	Gb	—	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 144-47 (XXXIX)

Ray- naud	Linker	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Mölk repertory	Chan- sonniers	Mus ic	Edition
1925	133- 34	“Grieviler, deus dames sont”	Jehan Bretel, Jehan de Grieviler	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1507,1 [no Frank]	ab	<i>a</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 157-60 (XLII)
1949	129- 1	“Bouchairt, je vous pairt d’amor”	Jehan, Bouchart	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1209,88 [Frank 382]	CI	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 189-91 (CXLIX)
1962	265- 1100	“Lorete, suer, par amor”	<i>Soeur</i> , Lorete	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1244,1 [no Frank]	I	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 251-54
1966	119- 6	“Colins Musès, je me plaing d’une amor”	Jaque d’Amiens, Colin Muset	open <i>tenson</i>	626,15 [Frank 215]	C	—	Colin Muset, ed. Bédier, 21-22
* 1986 bis	265- 724	“Gautier, jou tieng a grant folor”	??, Gautier	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1209,71 [Frank 382]	I	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 285
2000	96- 1	“Amins Bertrans, dites moi lou millor”	Guichart, Bertran	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1209,7 [Frank 382]	CI	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 198-201 (CLII)
2029	199- 6	“Or me respondez, Amours”	Philippe de Remi, “Amours”	fictive <i>tenson</i>	960,3 [Frank 311]	V	V	Jeanroy, “Les Chansons de Philippe de Beau-manoir” 535
2049	133- 12	“Adan, du quel cuidiés vous”	Jehan Bretel, Adam de la Halle	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1209,77 [Frank 382]	Q	—	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 81-83 (CXXI)
2083	133- 50	“Jehan de Grieviler, une”	Jehan Bretel, Jehan de Grieviler	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1233,15 [Frank 390]	ab	<i>a</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 1: 122-25 (XXXIII)

Ray- naud	Linker	Incipit	Participants	Type of <i>tenson</i>	Mölk repertory	Chan- sonniers	Mus ic	Edition
2129	41- 13	“Guillaume, trop est perdus”	Colart le Boutellier, Guillaume le Vinier	<i>jeu-parti</i>	1050,1 [no Frank]	<i>MTab</i>	<i>MT</i>	<i>RGJP</i> 2: 99-103 (CXXVI)

***Chansonniers* and manuscripts containing French *tensons* (including *jeux-partis*)**

Sigla for the *chansonniers* from Linker, *A Bibliography of Old French Lyrics*

<i>Chansonnier</i>	Manuscript in which <i>chansonnier</i> is found: location and shelf number
<i>A</i>	Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, 657 (olim 139) “Chansonnier d’Arras”
<i>C</i>	Bern, Stadtbibliothek, 389
<i>D</i>	Frankfurt am Main, Stadtbibliothek (olim 29), now unnumbered
<i>G</i>	London, Lambeth Palace, Misc. Rolls 1435
<i>H</i>	Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Estero 45 (α, R 4.4). <i>H</i> designates the French songs in this manuscript (which also contains Occitan <i>chansonnier D</i>)
<i>I</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 308
<i>K</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, 5198 (olim B.L.F. 63)
<i>M</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 844 (olim 7222; olim Mazarin 96); “Manuscrit du roi” (Occitan songs in this manuscript = Occitan <i>W</i>)
<i>N</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 845 (olim 7222 ² ; Cangé 67)
<i>O</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 846 (olim 7222 ³ ; Cangé 66); “Chansonnier Cangé”
<i>P</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 847 (olim 7222 ⁴ ; Cangé 65)
<i>Q</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 1109 (olim 7363)
<i>R</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 1591 (olim 7613)
<i>S</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 12581 (olim suppl. fr. 198)
<i>T</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 12615 (olim suppl. fr.184)
<i>U</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 20050 (olim Saint-Germain fr. 1989); “Chansonnier Saint-Germain”
<i>V</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 24406 (olim La Vallière 59)
<i>W</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 25566 (olim La Vallière 81)
<i>X</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. fr. 1050 (Ms Clairambault)
<i>Y</i>	Fragment from St. Lô (Lost)

- Z* Siena, Biblioteca Comunale, H. X. 36
- a* Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Regina lat. 1490
- b* Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Regina lat. 1522
- c* Bern, Stadtbibliothek, A 95
- Cambrai* Cambrai, Bibiliothèque Municipale, 1328