JAN RÜDIGER

Orchards of Power

The Importance of Words Well Spoken in Twelfth-Century Occitania

Abstract

Occitan, now a regional language of France, has long been recognized as one of the most important vernaculars of the Medieval West – both for being the language of the troubadours and for being the first Romance (or Neo-Latin) language to develop a fully-fledged *scripta*. This article argues that unlike other regions, twelfth-century Occitania had not diglossia (learned Latin/vernacular) but triglossia. A courtly sociolect, written and spoken, vied with and even outdid Latin in large sectors of cultural production. Under particular circumstances, courtly culture, including courtly love, developed into a political and economic code whose relevance went far beyond the stylization of elite sociability with which French or German courtliness is often associated. The political culture which developed in Languedoc was one of the factors why the Albigensian Crusade (1209–29) was an unusually violent and consequential period of warfare.

The story of Occitan is one of past linguistic splendour, subsequent misfortunes, and present precariousness as well as some interesting future challenges, not least to the way we think of the European linguistic map. A lot of linguistic communities imagine themselves to be more or less coterminous with past or present political entities. Communities less often acknowledge that the reverse can equally happen: that political boundaries can, and nowadays usually will, become linguistic frontiers. The example of France is a case in point: the introduction of modern standard French as the compulsory language of school education, official life (army, politics, law), and subsequently mass media has resulted, in the course of two or three generations, in its generalised adoption by practically all the population within the territory of France, more or less irrespective of previous local or regional linguistic practice. The result is that a number of other languages spoken within France are now uniformly considered 'regional languages' vis-à-vis French. Some are variants of quite large linguistic communities with their centres of gravity in neighbouring nation states, such as Flemish and Catalan, or indeed Alsatian, whose

status as a dialect of 'German' is very much under dispute, hinging as it does on the thorny question of what (if anything) is meant by 'German.' Other languages are solidly regional in the sense that they are confined to, or indeed define, a traditional region, such as Corsican or Breton.

Occitan cuts across all of them. On the one hand, the term 'Occitan,' first generalised in the 1930s, has for long been widely accepted as the blanket term for the variants of Romance spoken in *Aquitània, Lemosin, Auvèrnha, Gasconha, Lengadòc* and *Provença*, to give them their Occitan names. This usage reflects a notion of supra-regional linguistic coherence (the language designation 'Provençal,' traditionally employed by Romanists since the nineteenth century, now normally refers only to the dialectal variant *prouvençau*, the language of Nobel prize winner Frederic Mistral and today a source of local pride in Provence proper east of the Rhône), which in turn makes present-day Occitan by far the largest regional language of France. (It also stretches out into a small Alpine section of Italian Piemont and the minuscule Catalan Val d'Aran.) On the other hand the link between language and region is much less straightforward than in Brittany or Alsace, let alone Corsica. There has never been a political or socio-economical entity englobing most or all of the Occitan linguistic area, nor has any political entity ever been called 'Occitania' – until 2016, when a mostly web-based popular vote came down hugely in favour of *Occitanie* as the future name of the fusion of the French political regions of *Midi-Pyrénées* and *Languedoc-Roussillon*. The formal adoption of the name by the regional assembly and its subsequent endorsement by the French Conseil d'État despite right-wing uneasiness about a possible boost to separatism and some unrest in Catalan-speaking Rosselló about its subsumption under *Occitanie* may open a new chapter in the linguistic history of Occitan. It remains to be seen how actively the regional authorities will promote, and seek to profit from, Occitan as its emblematic language, and how this in turn will affect the status of Occitan in the neighbouring mostly Occitanophone regions of *Nouvelle Aquitaine* and *Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur*. After all, while the movement of regional and social reassertion that has given Occitan a boost in the latter half of the 20th century has been strongest in the areas that now form *Occitanie*, the new region only covers about two-fifths of the linguistic area of Occitan, a fact which has been much commented upon during the naming debate.

The recent French regional reform did something else, too, in

terms of relaunching past splendours. In merging *Midi-Pyrénées* with *Languedoc-Roussillon*, it reassembled, probably unintentionally, for the first time in eight hundred years what had been the lands of the Counts of Tolosa/Toulouse until the Albigensian Wars (1209–29). This fact, which as far as I can see has been very little commented upon, may in the long run affect the study of the history of the region just as much as its new name may impact on the study of its language. The counts of the house called by modern historians, after their most frequent male name, the Raimondins and who ruled in the region from *c.* 900 until after the Albigensian Wars have so far been much less in the limelight of medieval history than their princely peers in other parts of France. This may at least in part have to do with the absence of any household regional term with which to label them. It is easy to think and talk about, say, the dukes of Normandy or of Burgundy or the counts of Flanders because there is a general idea of what and where Normandy, Burgundy and Flanders are. Perhaps those ideas are only precise up to a point ('Burgundy' in particular is a slippery term), but at least there is a mental map with them on it ready. In contrast, there is no name, medieval or modern (until the 2016 creation of *Occitanie*), to designate the whole of the lands that were more or less constantly under the more or less effective rule of the Raimondins. The counts themselves had a series of local titles at their disposal for their chancery to make use of; when a single term was needed, contemporaries tended to choose the name of the prestigious town which had once housed the long-remembered Visigothic kingdom: *comes Tolosanus, lo comte de Tolosa*. By the same token, the rulers of Normandy or Catalonia were frequently styled princes of Rouen or Barcelona. But whereas in those cases the eminence of the cities did not preclude the formation of regional blanket terms and consciousnesses, no regional term (and possibly no regional consciousness either) developed in 'the lands between the Garonne and the Rhône,' as documents sometimes refer to the ensemble for want of a word.[1]

This lack of regional coherence is one of the salient points in almost any political history of the Raimondins, especially in a comparative perspective. Neighbouring Catalonia is the most obvious points of comparison, but even in a general West Frankish/'French' perspective including Anjou, Normandy, Flanders or Champagne, the Tolosan counts are normally contrasted for negatives. They did not take over the 'peace' concept and use it to form hierarchies of allegiance, they did not curb a series of vociferous vassals, they did not

1. *Cf.* Schmidt; Genty; Déjean.

achieve control of the most important sees and abbeys, in a word: they did not form a principality.[2] Some of these negatives have to do with sources. The archives of the counts of Barcelona are intact but those of the counts of Tolosa are lost; there are numerous richly detailed chronicles from, and about, Normandy and Anjou but none from the Raimondin lands. Some of these lacunae are significant in their turn: the princes of Normandy and Anjou saw to it that their deeds were told but the Raimondins (apparently) did not. The overall result is that the modern regional historiography of the Raimondin lands is quite distinct from most French regions in that it does not normally focus on the history of the princes as an obvious point of reference.

The above negatives which blur that focus are enormously reinforced by the fact that two major themes 'steal the show:' on the one hand, Catharism (a subject I will return to), and on the other hand, the Albigensian War. Of course the Tolosan counts were heavily involved in the latter and also turn up in discussions of the former. But both are quite singular events in general medieval history, and their discussion does to an extent eclipse the regional context. To put it in a mildly exaggerated form, the entire history of the Tolosan counts and their lands has always been one long eve of the Albigensian War. Quite removed from those big stories, regional structural historiography, which has taken some momentum as a result of Pierre Bonnassie's work at the university of Toulouse II in the 1990s, is delving deep into local power relations and has contributed a great deal to the debate on the extent of 'feudalism' in eleventh–twelfth-century Languedoc. The scene is further complicated by the fact that the same region is the setting for a third 'party,' namely literary scholars, to whom it is essentially the land of the troubadours, and questions of regional politics, social relations, and economy are above all the background against which to assess their songs.[3]

In all, it is a challenging situation. The creation of political *Occitanie* and the current general unrest in France, not to mention the processes going on in Catalonia, may lead to new attitudes towards regional history, both intellectually and institutionally. A newly-formed region with a strong notion of the importance of its medieval history may choose to invest in a field that is as yet somewhat fragmented, while elsewhere there may be a renewal of interest in French history, or rather, histories in France. At the crossroads of linguistic-literary and historical scholarships, and with a major theme of religious history currently under ground-breaking discussion, the 'lands

of the Raimondins' may well end up as a subject in their own right. In what follows I want to sketch a possible approach towards such a view. I am going to argue that a major peculiarity of twelfth-century Occitan – its development of a spoken courtly sociolect at a distance to both formal Latin and to 'the vernacular,' everyday speech – and the peculiar situation of 'triglossia' thus created is essentially linked to the political culture in the Raimondin lands and served very much as 'the missing link,' taking the place of the series of negatives with which Tolosan Occitania is normally described. The argument is of necessity partly sketchy and may appear somewhat sweeping;[4] however, it may not be amiss in an *Interfaces* context. This journal aims to bring specialists from various disciplines and areas of expertise into dialogue, and it may be that even a somewhat sweeping discussion of one language area at one period may be of use to experts in other fields, for instance so as to encourage comparative discussion, just as a Romance scholar might welcome a concise discussion of, say, Irish or Georgian court cultures. With this in mind, I should now like to bring up a few questions for discussion: what was actually going on in the 'orchards of power' in twelfth-century Tolosan Occitania; why did the power-brokers put so much store by creating an image of themselves as lovers; and why did they make up such a strange language to do it in?

1. Triglossia: Latin, Occitan, and the *parlar cortés*

In linguistic history, Occitan occupies pride of place in the storyline of Western multilingualism as the first properly 'post-Latin' written language, that is, the first Romance vernacular to develop a fully-fledged *scripta* consciously distinct from Latin. In literary history, Occitan also occupies pride of place with troubadour poetry, the first of the 'courtly love' corpora, starting off *c.* 1100 to be followed by the French trouvères and the High German minnesingers about half a century later. These two 'firsts,' though obviously related to each other, are by no means the same thing. Extant troubadour manuscripts date back no further than the early thirteenth century, and the traditional debate about possible written antecedents has been much enriched by the reception of orality scholarship into medieval studies in the past three or four decades. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, it is possibly safest to assume that troubadour poetry, its composition as well as its diffusion, relied primarily if perhaps not

exclusively on oral techniques of invention and memorisation. The enormous formal intricacies of much of it – especially its most prestigious form, the *cançon* ('le grand chant courtois' in Roger Dragonetti's and Paul Zumthor's term),[5] the courtly love song proper – are no argument to the contrary, as a civilisation so imbued with literacy as our own is only too apt to assume. In fact, formal intricacy is, among other things, a useful memorisation device. I will return to this aspect of courtly oratory towards the end of this article; the point I am making now is that the emergence of troubadour poetry is neither dependent on nor constitutive of the development of an independent 'post-Latin' *scripta*, although both phenomena may be aspects of the same intellectual dynamics. It is the purpose of this article to examine different aspects of the culture of 'words well spoken' (*belhs mots*) and its social significance in twelfth-century Tolosan Occitania. Admiring surprise about the seemingly *ex nihilo* creation of both troubadour poetry and the poetic language it came in has to some extent eclipsed the study of early Occitan as a written language outside versified courtly oratory.

Common in charters and documents, Occitan pre-dates the proliferation if not the first attestation of written French, Castilian or Italian (though not Sardic) by about a century. Extant pre-1200 charters written entirely in Occitan run up to almost a thousand pieces, coming from all parts of the linguistic area except the Alpine and the Atlantic fringes. To highlight this non-troubadour achievement, Charles Camproux coined the binomy "langue de la poésie" vs "langue de la cité" (Camproux 18). Later scholars such as Max Pfister and Pierre Bec, perhaps feeling that the latter term carried too much of mid-century enthusiasm about the 'rise of urban bourgeoisie,' have preferred to fuse these concepts into the more general one of the emergence of an early Occitan *Schriftsprache* or *scripta*.[6]

Philippe Martel, taking a look at how Occitan gradually inserted itself into Latinate literacy, noticed that from the mid-eleventh century onwards charters might contain single Occitan sentences, reflecting oral formulas or statements. A typical example reads: *Ego N. iuro te N. ta vida e ta membra e que d'aquesta hora en ant eu non t'enguanarei de ta honor ni de ton haver ni de tos homes. Hoc fuit factum anno*, etc. ("I N. swear to you N. not to kill or maim you and that as from now I shall not plot to take your possessions and belongings and men", plus date, place and witness list).[7] Titles at the beginning and dates and witness lists at the end would typically take Latin guise, whereas the words that might actually be spoken did not. A

5. For an introductory overview of scholarship, see Nichols, "Early troubadours;" criticism is further developed in Nichols, "Et si on repensait."

6. Pfister; Bec, "Constitution." A short but thorough introduction to Occitan is Bec, *Langue.*

7. HGL V n° 19 (charter of the Count of Tolosa, 1174).

generation earlier, Jane Martindale had read a short narrative text which has since become famous among historians as a major source for the political culture of the 'feudal age,' the so-called *Conventum* between Count William V of Poitiers (grandfather of the 'first troubadour') and a local potentate named Hugh of Lusignan, datable to about 1030, as a superficial Latinisation of what really was an early example of Poitevin, or North-Western Occitan. A typical direct speech reads as follows: *Senior meus, valde est mi male quia senior quem feci per tuum consilium modo mi tollit meum fiscum* ("My lord" – complains Hugh – "it is very bad with me since the lord I made on your suggestion has soon taken away my estate").[8] Both specimens represent the tension but no separation between the morphology and (to a certain degree) syntax and lexicon of post-Carolingian learned Latin on the one hand, and spoken formal Occitan on the other.

Martel's point was that the 'Latin' of such texts tends to deviate from post-Carolingian standards whenever Romance syntactic and lexical proprieties would make it difficult for laymen to follow the rendering of a 'Latin' written charter when it was read out, for instance by a literate local cleric. Latin was not 'bad' because learning had so deplorably declined in large areas of Southern Gaul but for reasons of communicational commodity. "Occitan scribes were perfectly able to write in Latin when they wished to, if not with genius – which was not expected of them – then at any rate with a fluency that makes it clear they were not reduced to using Occitan out of sheer incompetence" (Martel 27f.). It has been noted that Occitania took no part in the Latinate intellectuality that goes by the name of 'twelfth-century renaissance;' in fact, John of Salisbury advised his pupils against attending the schools at Montpelhièr/Montpellier around 1160 on account of the poor Latin they were apt to pick up there. John had a point, but the point was valid for a reason: apparently, there was not much demand for Latinate high-flyers in the far south of Latin Europe.

Why, then, a shift away from this well-established semi-orality of the written documents? Why write charters in Occitan at all? From about 1100 onwards, gifts, sales, inventories, oaths of fidelity are written in Occitan in full. Traditionally, this has been explained as a further step towards 'communicational commodity' in a region with poor Latin. But as Martel and others have shown, it wasn't. In fact, it is rather the opposite: the development of a written standard for a spoken language is an onerous task even if it is necessary, and in the case of Occitan around 1100, it was not necessary, but constituted a

considerable intellectual surplus effort. Neither was it a sectarian pleasure: aside from the fact that it happened at all, the most surprising feature of written Occitan is its early supra-regional uniformity. This cannot be explained (away) by the fact that eleventh-century Occitan had not so much evolved phonologically that the basic rules of Latin graphemism could not longer be applied, because it is precisely the new phonemes, such as final /-tʃ / (<-ᴄᴛᴜ), typically spelled <g>, and the *mouillé* consonants /ʎ/ and /ɲ/, spelled typically if not uniformly <lh> and <nh> (the two latter graphemes were later borrowed into Galician-Portuguese), which gave the emergent Occitan grapholect its distinguishing features. Quite unlike French, Occitan did not develop different regional grapholects ('written dialects') such as the Anglo-Norman and Picard versions of French, but went the opposite way: early regionalisms, probably reflecting considerable variations in the spoken language, disappeared quickly from the script.

There is a marked difference in preference for either Latin or Occitan in twelfth-century-document charters according to provenance. The higher secular clergy, monasteries, and the chancellaries of the Tolosan counts generally maintained Latin. The usage among the newly established military orders and most laymen, rural and urban, varied, with coastal and lowland areas preferring Latin and more mountaineous and inland regions opting for Occitan. This difference indicates that the shift towards using standardised Occitan fully in documents was by no means inevitable or automatic, but a functional process supposing cultural choices. To give an example, in the large and expanding town of Tolosa/Toulouse in the plain linking the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, mainstay of the Raimondin counts, both urban and private records were generally kept in Latin, while notarial bilingualism started just outside the city boundaries. When the urban elites that controlled the nascent commune until the early thirteenth century had their documents written in Latin, they either had practical reasons to do so (for instance, if they concerned long-distance trading with places like Genoa or Troyes) or, for the most part, emulated the chancellery of their counts, to whose entourages the earlier 'patrician' families had originally belonged and from the proximity to whom they still drew much of their social capital. But they knew the alternatives. When they interacted with their peers and (often) cousins in the adjacent countryside, they drew up their acts in Occitan.

So, before or at the time of first becoming the 'language of the

troubadours,' Occitan was established with a widely used, supra-regional written standard, sporting or even flaunting its grammatical and graphematic conventions. At the time of the first troubadours we know about, apart from documentary prose, Occitan was also used for religious and patristic writing which comprised biblical paraphrase (*L'evangeli de Sant Joan*), homiletics, versified saints' lives (*Cançon de Santa Fe*), as well as *Lo Boëci,* a poetic abridgement of *De consolatione philosophiae*. When handled, or rather mouthed, by the troubadours, the language had to meet an additional, rather demanding set of requirements, in addition to supra-regional standardisation. They concerned lexicon, syntax, and pragmatics. There had to be a vocabulary to allow certain new things to be expressed; there had to be a certain combinatory flexibility in order to link these lexical inventions into increasingly complex patterns of meaning, and there had to be a certain degree of consensus about all these inventions on the part of the 'textual communities' of speakers/singers, listeners, and (ultimately) scribes. A supra-dialectal standard was quick to develop in formal chanted vocal Occitan as much as it had been in written charters. We mostly find it impossible to tell on dialectal grounds, or for other reasons represent dialectally, what region any one troubadour originated from.

Did the emergence of a written *koinè* and ideas about supra-regional linguistic uniformity influence the courtly 'grand chant' (Zink)? As far as we know, the earliest troubadours came from northwestern Occitania, although since the manuscripts are at best a century later, it is only partly possible to assess the phonetical and morphological details of the earlier troubadours. At any rate, the most prestigious and elaborate type of troubadour oratory – the *cançon*, the courtly love song – developed a linguistic peculiarity of considerable semantic power. Contrary to the predominant written *koinè*, it highlighted a few hallmark lemosinisms, especially palatalised variants of initial velar plosives, such as <chantar> *vs* <cantar>, probably denoting /tʃ-/ *vs* /k-/. This affected notably some of the key terms of the emergent 'love' vocabulary – alongside the ubiquitous *chantar*, the most notable is *jòi* (*vs* standard *gaug*, both <GAUDIU[M]>), denoting the state of enrapture promised by the (near) completion of the progress of love. By putting these terms as it were into phonetic brackets, the specialised sociolect managed to denote its own appropriations of everyday terms like 'to sing' and 'joy' as concepts within a specialised discourse. It is a technique which presupposes the existence of a fixed enough standard for users to recognise and

appreciate the variant.

Supra-regional linguistic unification did not go unnoticed by its linguistic community either. In the eleventh year of the Albigensian War, Count Raimon VI of Tolosa (1156–1222), having to find a criterium for designating 'collaborators' who had gone over to the crusader invaders, instead of referring to origin, bonds of fealty, or zones of territorial rule, he chose the use of Occitan as the most pertinent common denominator: 'men of our own language.'[9] This early testimony to a common linguistic awareness has sometimes been hailed as proving the existence of an Occitan '(proto-) national' sentiment, especially as it was directed against the 'French' oppressors – who, after having won the war and annexed large parts of the Tolosan domain to the crown, ended up calling the area '*Langue d'oc*' along much the same lines. What this episode shows is that the idea of sharing a common language was plausible enough for people to act upon in life-or-death situations.

It will have become apparent that the linguistic landscape in large parts of Occitania by 1150 cannot be adequately described in terms of the opposition Latin and vernacular. Of course this is a problematic antonymy to begin with, especially when applied to Romance languages, outside as well as inside Occitania, as it is by no means clear where the boundary between 'Latin' and Romance is supposed to run.[10] But subsequent to the language reforms of the Carolingian era, which established and enshrined a linguistic standard for the written language regardless of the Romance spoken in any given place, it is possible notionally to differentiate between 'learned Latin,' to use Rosamond McKitterick's favoured term, and the multitude of other languages spoken, and to varying degrees written, in 'Latin Europe.'[11] They entered into relationship known in socio-linguistics as 'diglossia:' two languages known to, and to some degrees used within, the same community but each with its own typical uses, remits, spheres, and more often than not, adscription of relative social value.[12]

So far, the situation in Occitania was similar to that in contemporary Northern Spain, France, Flanders, England, or Saxony. Latin was used widely if sectorially, and the fact of its existence as well as its status as a *lingua sacra* were known to and acknowledged by everyone. In many of those regions, of course, the linguistic situation was more complicated than that; while in Spain different Romance communities and the different layers of formal and 'dialectal' Arabic (plus possibly Berber) interacted in always varying admixtures, Eng-

9. Limouzin-Lamothe, AA1:94 (Sept 1220): "quicumque homines nostre ydiome, videlicet de hac lingua nostra... pro hac gerra presenti Amaldrici [de Montfort, son of the crusade leader Simon killed in 1218] et cruce signatorum... gerram faciebant vel fecerint..."

10. *Cf.* Wright; Stotz; Banniard; Lüdtke; Leonhardt.

11. McKitterick; *cf.* my discussion in Rüdiger, *Charlemagne.*

12. For the application of this socio-lingustic term to medieval languages, *cf.* most recently Garrison *et al.*

land under Norman rule must for a while have constituted a truly multilingual area, with Welsh, Norman French, regional variants of English, plus occasional Latin, Irish and possibly Flemish interacting on a daily basis (*cf.* Tyler, *Conceptualizing Multilingualism*). The Occitan case, however, is possibly characteristic of its own distinctive 'triglossia.' Vis-à-vis the everyday spoken Romance vernacular, not one but two formalised idioms were emerging, keeping or establishing a marked distance both from each other and from spoken everyday Occitan: Latin and 'courtly Occitan' (*lo parlar cortés*, including the 'langue de la cité'). It may not be saying too much to claim that Occitan thereby became the only of the neo-Latin languages ever to have vied with Latin for pre-eminence, a situation normally known only from some few Celtic or Germanic linguistic zones: Ireland, Anglo-Saxon England, the Norse Atlantic. Occitania, or large parts of it, was the only 'post-Carolingian' region to witness a recession in the use of learned Latin long before what is known as the 'rise of the vernaculars' in the thirteenth century transformed them generally into written languages, re-modelling them on the Latin mould in the process.

There is another key aspect to Occitanian 'triglossia.' As the *parlar cortés* evolved into a spoken sociolect, the insistent self-confinement of themes and diction to matters of what was ostentatiously about love, the lady and the self must at some point have made it impossible to talk about courtly themes – and this is 'courtly' in its literal sense, the twelfth-century equivalent to 'political' – in any way unaffected by the 'grand chant.' Alike in versification, similar in diction, but very overtly different in matter, satires (*sirventés* 'servant songs') about princes and their actions, the ways of the world, general moral decline and so forth, are closely dependent on the *cançon*. In the course of the twelfth century, the range of expressions became more differentiated but never got anywhere near losing its overall thematic and stylistic-lexical coherence. The language of love (or rather, the language around 'love') became, and remained, unchallenged and unparalleled for serious courtly oratory. Nor was it restricted to the high points of performance. The men and women who took pride in acquiring connoisseurship in *fin' amor* probably flaunted their mastery of its verbal and comportmental intricacies, as mastery of those was becoming a prerequisite to 'belonging,' a social code for in-/exclusion. Advice to the noble lady around 1180 included the admonition: "If you cannot bring yourself to remember all of the songs, try to retain at least the best turns of phrase, because they

13. Garin lo Brun, *Ensenhament*, ed. Sansone, v. 529–38: "Voillas la [*i.e.* vers novels ni chançós] toz saber se·ls podez retener, e si non podez toz, tenez los meillors moz, qu'en massa locs coven. E dic vos qu'està ben cui en pot remenbrar en loc on fai a far, ni en son luec retrai un mot cant si eschai..." – When quoting medieval authors I add accents only where they indicate stress, while proper names and single phrases in the text are normalised according to modern orthography (<è> and <ò> marking open pronunciation). Troubadour songs are referred to by their reference number in the *Bibliographie der Troubadours* (*BdT* number of troubadour: number of song).

14. *Cf.* Lafont; Larzac.

will come in handy on many occasions. It is a good idea to be able to recognise such quotations when they are being made, and to be able to supply some yourself in turn."[13] Courtly competence was not an optional extra, it was strictly 'must-have.'

2. Latin and the Occitan Church

Besides the troubadours, the outstanding particularism of the region, indeed its main claim to fame, used to be Catharism, or 'the Albigensian heresy.' For three or more centuries – ever since the Huguenot wars in the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries, to which the thirteenth century war on Languedoc 'heretics' could appear as a sinister prefiguration – regional elite sentiment and French anti-clerical political opinion have joined forces in making the Albigensians – hunted down, tortured and burned at the stake by the pope, the inquisition, and the king of France – martyrs of enlightenment avant la lettre. 'The Albigensians' and the 'Crusade' that did for them have become central *lieux de mémoire* of Republican-Laicist France as well as of nascent Occitan regionalism. From the 1960s onwards, Occitan regionalism won both mass popular support on certain issues (migration towards Northern France, infrastructural victimisation, rural crises, nuclear politics) and a leftist intellectual grounding to carry it forward. Against that background, the two outstanding features of the region's medieval history – The Troubadours and The Cathars/ The Crusade – acquired considerable legitimising potential in the struggle for the re-establishment of Occitan in public life and the educational system, and for the re-dressing of intra-French economic and demographic imbalance, all viewed as facets of Parisian *colonialisme intérieur*.[14] At the same time, the rise of post-1968 concerns in the student and academic world internationally brought the same issues, which had so far engaged very limited empathy outside France, to the forefront: the troubadours and their courtly society could engage women's studies, and the Cathars and the 'Cathar War' were a suitable subject for radical re-readings of medieval history in terms of oppression and resistance. Much ground-breaking, now classic scholarship originated in this situation. *Annales*-style regional history produced a great deal of solid work on the Languedoc, while numerous in-depth studies of the scarce material on pre-Crusade heresy plus the vast material of post-Crusade repression, notably the inquisitional registers, have made it possible for Languedoc Catharism

15. Among the most influential studies of the last few decades were Duvernoy, *Histoire*, and Duvernoy, *Religion*; Moore, *Persecuting Society*; Lambert.

16. Pegg; cf. Magnou-Nortier; Mundy; Rüdiger, *Aristokraten*, esp. ch. 6; on the debate, *cf.* Sennis.

to occupy a considerable position in the grand narratives of European medieval history.[15]

Their very historiographical and popular success has cost 'the Cathars' dearly. Already in the 1980s and 90s, some scholars expressed their misgivings about what seemed such a huge gap between the supposed importance of the Cathar heresy in Occitan society and the scarcity of traces left by it in pre-Crusade sources from Occitania (as distinct from external clerical criticism). A full-scale revision of the picture was not proposed until 2008 by Mark Gregory Pegg, who claimed that there was never such a thing as 'the Cathars' outside the heads of their clerical persecutors. Pegg's vision of pre-Crusade Occitan society may be somewhat idiosyncratic but the virtue of his hypothesis is that it explains much of the enormous unevenness between local popular discontent with the reformed twelfth-century Church, as has been noted by earlier scholars on one hand, and the image of a fully-fledged Manichean-Dualist counter-Church commanding fervent mass allegiance which was presented in Cistercian writings and the stream of papal bulls from the pontificate of Innocent III (1198–1216) onwards.[16] Pegg's findings are at present being integrated into the *grands récits* of European 'persecutism,' with the Albigensian Crusade and the subsequent institution of the Inquisition marking two decisive steps in the emergence of an apparatus to detect and discipline dissent (cf. Moore, *War*). As for the Cathars, the jury is still out, and it will be some time before a new consensus emerges (if at all); outside academic concerns, much is at stake in both regional self-awareness and more tangible interests such as tourism in *le pays cathare*.

One of the virtues of the 'revisionist' theory as proposed by Robert Moore and Mark Pegg is that it explains the baffling discrepancy between the enormous importance long attributed to 'the Cathars' and the almost complete lack of imprint they seem to have left on the society around them. References to heresy and heretics are rare in pre-Crusade Occitania, and religious practices as reflected in charters and testaments are not significantly dissimilar to anywhere else in Western Europe. If there was one aspect particular to Tolosan Occitania, it was that widespread discontent with a regional Church within which reform from the 1080s onwards had been imposed quite thoroughly was not set off by the impact of newer forms of reform church activity, such as Cistercian spirituality, new pastoral fervour around bishoprics, the promotion of successful pilgrimages or similar such activities that might win hesitant local populations

around. On the contrary, reformist monastic and secular clergy found itself increasingly cut off from communities and regional secular elites. One of the many consequences of this situation was that dissenting popular preaching, while maybe substantially no different from many other parts of twelfth-century Western Europe, may have found readier audiences here; another was a relative loss of influence of the higher clergy in regional affairs; yet another one was a kind of 'brain drain' on these institutions. It is perhaps more than a coincidence that the region that produced a highly intellectual style in courtly oratory and went on to make its use mandatory was remarkably inactive in most other arenas of intellectual activity: schools, monastic centres, historiography, Latin literature in general are conspicuously absent from Occitania during the 'Twelfth Century Renaissance.' Intellectual energy was being invested but not into Latin.

How did this affect Occitan triglossia? For one, church reform tightened up standards in Latinity within what became increasingly an institution, 'the Church;' early attempts at including Occitan into liturgical practice were by and large curtailed.[17] With 'the Church' increasingly monoglot and entrenched, there was ample space for both everyday spoken Romance and high-end *parlar cortés* to address the comprehensive questions of what modern scholars call 'the religious sphere.' In poetry, troubadours would have an easy chat with God, who tended to be a hospitable and well-meaning fellow ('The other day, in Paradise...'), or, after the Crusade had hit, bitterly reason with Him as latter-day Jeremiahs.[18] They would also claim that the words of their lady had a taste of honey (*sabor de mel*),[19] a phrase which around 1200 reminded listeners more immediately of the Doomsday Angel and his book that tasted *dulce tamquam mel* (Apc 10.9) than it would do by 1960 when Bobby Scott used the same formula for a to-be hit song. Of course Biblical allusions permeate any medieval writing; what marks the Occitan courtly way of doing it is the seemingly nonchalant matter-of-fact way of including God and his words. The 'grand chant' could include anything and assimilate it to its own rules of style and diction. It is this all-inclusiveness which has led scholars to viewing courtly oratory as 'an enchanted space,' wilfully ignorant of the extra-courtly world outside (Mancini 57f.). The opposite is, however, the case. As a consequence of its monopoly by default, courtly oratory went a long way to extending its rhetoric catchment area to encompass almost any subject, even those which in other parts of Europe were left to different discourses; those subjects

17. As opposed to what happened in French; *cf.* Cazal.

18. Lo Monge de Montaudon: *L'autrier fuy en Paradís* (*BdT* 305,12); *cf.* Gouiran.

19. Peire Vidal: *Be ·m pac d'ivern e d'estiu* (*BdT* 364,11), v. 19.

which could not be safely included were left unsaid and made ineffable (*cf.* Rüdiger, *Aristokraten*, chs. 14 and 15).

In the process, 'the Church' lost the power to lay down the rules, including linguistic ones; or rather, as the post-Reform clergy became 'the Church,' unlike elsewhere in the West, it failed to acquire that power. The famous pastoral foray made by Bernard of Clairvaux into Tolosan Occitania in the 1140s and his complete failure to mobilise the mass support he could normally count on against recalcitrants shows, on the part of his Occitan audiences, a kind of mild surprise at this high-minded and high-handed foreign abbot and above all a lack of willingness to be drawn. Bernard, used as he was to more ardent reactions, could not help but attribute local laxity to sinister forces, thereby setting the tone for future Cistercian reactions in Occitan affairs. When Abbot Henry of Cîteaux led a papal legation into Tolosa in 1178 with the mission to eradicate local elite 'heresy' (a cunning ploy suggested to the pope by Count Raimon V who wished to curb urban opposition), he set up a tribunal in the cathedral, asking a number of locals led by the influential town aristocrat Peire Mauran to declare and defend their faith. The suspected 'heretics' had a document read out that sounded orthodox enough, which in turn made the legation suspicious. Those present were then challenged to declare their faith in their own words but asked to do this in Latin "because we did not know enough of their language." It turned out that the accused, in their turn, did not know Latin: "when one of them tried to speak Latin, he could hardly put two words together, and was deficient in everything." As a result, the legation had "to condescend to them and talk of matters ecclesiastical and the sacraments in the *vulgaris sermo*, although that is absurd enough."[20] In its way, this was a clear linguistic victory of Occitan (which at least some members of the legation obviously did know well enough) though a dearly bought one in view of the considerable penitences imposed on the suspects, including their noble frontman.

Even when professional preachers took to the offensive, a (culturally) triglossic system operated. As far as we can tell, the high spots of pastoral care were public *disputationes*. These took the time-honoured form of lay arbitrage: parties were invited to submit their points in writing as well as to defend them in public dispute before a panel of well-respected notables (*probi homines*). "*Proh dolor!*" exclaimed one clerical participant, "that the state of the Church among Christians should be so reduced that the opprobrium suffered by it should be judged by laymen!"[21] A glance at the rules of courtly show

20. Letter of Henry of Clairvaux, in PL 204, col. 240f.: "quaesimus ut latinis verbis respondentes, suam fidem defenderent, tum quia lingua eorum non erat nobis satis nota; tum quia Evangelia et Epistolae quibus tantummodo fidem suam confirmare volebant, Latino eloquio noscuntur esse scripta. Cumque id facere non auderent, utque qui linguam Latinam penitus ignorabant, sicut in verbis unius illorum apparuit, qui cum latine vellet loqui, vix duo verba iungere potuit, et omnino defecit; necesse fuit nos illis condescendere et de ecclesiasticis sacramentis propter imperitiam illorum, quamvis satis esset absurdum, vulgarem habere sermonem."

21. William of Pueglaurenç, *Chronica*, ed. Duvernoy, §9: "Proh dolor! quod inter christianos ad istam vilitatem status Ecclesie fideique devenisset ut de tantis opprobriis esset laicorum iudicio discernendum!" As the chronicle was only written after the Albigensian Crusade, this 'voice' from an occasion more than twenty years previously needs not be taken as a first-hand report but may yet be an ear-witness' reflection.

disputes (*tençon* <CONTENTIO or *partiment* <PARTES 'parties'), preserved in a number of written pieces, shows enough similarity to both lay arbitrage and to the (few) attested pre-Crusade disputes for the claim to be made that a common social practice underlay them all, and that one of the main points that courtly society was impressing on itself by the countless enactments of the pattern was that a conclusive judgement could and must never be made. Such a judgement would have broken the tie in which competing powers and interests found themselves in an uneasy balance between *pars*, 'peers,' a key term of courtly political language. Written *tençons* as we have them, staged controversies on courtly subjects, are never solved: after an exchange of well-turned *còblas* (verses of typically seven to ten lines; the base metrical unit of troubadour oratory), the judgement is deferred to the imagined audience and/or some explicitly named luminaries. If taken seriously, this lack of resolution implies that actual performance of these show fights led to a kind of *précieux* discussion among the courtly audience present, similar to a modern debating society in that the point discussed is never the real point of an exercise in intellectual sociability. Likewise, the point of 'real' political conflict resolution by arbitrage, especially when the conflict may possibly lead to devastation and bloodshed, is that it studiously avoids producing winners and losers; to be able to obtain a *finis* instead of a *rectum* (that is, an 'end' or dispute settlement rather than a verdict by a judge) is the hallmark of being treated like a peer by the other peers.[22] The (not so) hidden agenda of settlements by dispute, as well as of other 'courtly' kinds of symbolic interaction, ran underneath the issues that were ostentatiously at stake, whether they were disputed rights over pastures or rents, moral laxity and clerical meddling, or the finer points of *fin' amors*.

Another series of negatives then: no network of cathedral schools vying with each other for innovatory teaching; no cluster of new monasteries with ideas; a local clergy, severed from their entwinement with lay élites, entrenching themselves in what was left of the upheavals of the reform period rather than produce counterparts to Abbot Suger or Thomas Becket; no centripetal princely power along the lines of the Norman, Angevin, Flemish, Suabian or Catalan-Aragonese rulers; such courts as there were deciding to dispense with Latin historiography – in a word, Tolosan Occitania chose to remain unimpressed with the potentials of refined and 'renewed' Latin. A good deal of consequences went with this choice. Courtly Occitan, the *parlar cortés*, might take (much of) the place elsewhere tak-

22. Cf. Rüdiger, *Aristokraten*, chs. 18–20, and the unsurpassed studies by Cheyette, Suum cuique; White, "Pactum;" Geary, "Living with Conflict."

en by Latin; it might even refuse to acknowledge the preponderance of the linguistic and literary models of Latin in a way unique in post-Carolingian Europe. But it could not replace Latin. It lacked the syntactic and lexical treasure-house acquired during more than a millennium; it lacked the constant proximity to the sacred; it wasn't permeated with levels and levels of cross-referential meanings, with storyworlds and language patterns ready for the slightest allusion. It had, in a way, to start from scratch.

That is not to say, of course, that its main artists were indeed such *idiotae* as the Abbot of Cîteaux made his opponents out to be. It is clear that a number of the troubadours were grounded in the Latin tradition. Though not many of them chose to flaunt their schooling as did Arnaut de Maruèlh (*fl. c.* 1170–90), sometime court poet to the influential viscounts of the house of Trencavel of Carcassona and Besièrs, it is obvious that much of the troubadour rhetorical style, especially the so-called *trobar lèu* ('light composition'), owes much to the classical toolbox. An acknowledged master of the *lèu/levis* form, Guiraut de Bornèlh (*fl. c.* 1160–1200) was, according to his late *vida*, "a schoolmaster in winter and toured the courts in summer."[23] And though some have thought so, he certainly did not teach at a kind of troubadour poetry school. Apart from the fact that *letras* invariably means 'Latin' in the high middle ages and that any organised schooling invariably was in Latin, the idea that the tricks of the trade could be taught in a classroom was contrary to the very point of courtly oratory: "You need to visit courts to improve yourself, for those are the schools of good men"![24] Learning by doing, catching turns of phrases (as in the advice to the lady quoted above), tuning the ear to the finer points of diction and acquiring the necessary proficiency had a lot in common with what we know of how new generations of medieval warriors ('knights') were trained. Simon Gaunt's wonderful adage – "songs are brandished at other men much as *chanson de geste* heroes brandish swords" – is apt in this as well as in other aspects (Gaunt, *Gender* 149). There were few 'professional troubadours' making a living out of their skill with 'words and sounds' (*los mots e·ls sons*, the nearest troubadour parlance comes to saying 'poetry'), though many caught important ears and eyes and improved their position by it, just as professional duelists or mercenary leaders were less numerous than the many young men from entourages swinging a competent blade and reaping, among other things, rewards. While the latter were common anywhere between Scandinavia and the Sahara, proficiency in a stylised way of making phrases rhyme was

23. Boutière-Schutz, n° 8: "E la soa vida sí era aitals que tot l'invern estava a l'escola et aprendia letras, e tota la estat anava per corts."

24. Amanieu de Sescàs, *Ensenhament de l'escudier* [*Manual for the Squire*], ed. Sansone, v. 273–75: "om deu uzar cortz per se melhurar, qu'escola es dels bos."

prized in very few places, and in fewer still to the high level cultivated between the Rhône and the Atlantic coast.

3. Well-wrought words

Max Pfister has described Old Occitan as 'classicist,' in the sense of the seventeenth-century Académie *classicisme*: it tended towards the reduction of 'licit' vocabulary and syntax and permitted variation only within narrow confines. In fact, one of the outstanding features of troubadour language is the enormous semantic weight it imposes on a fairly limited number of words, rendering interpretation, and especially translation, of single lexemes very difficult. As to syntax, a small number of stereotyped subordinate conjunctions, above all the passe-partout *que*, replaced all the variety and finery of Latin adverbial clauses. Not all of this can be explained by the development of spoken Latin away from the standards of Cicero and Quintilian, for the point is that unlike other 'classicists,' troubadours made no attempt to borrow (back) from learned Latin what their own language could not do. They were content to explore the limited possibilities of Occitan (and limiting it even further, compared to contemporary non-troubadour written documents), turning dubia and ambiguities into virtues. Furthermore, while some key lexemes of courtly parlance, like *valor* or *mercé*, owed much to the language of Augustine in content if not always in etymology, others, like *jòi* loudly disavowed such debts.

Formalism is another unacknowledged Latinism of Occitan courtly oratory. Troubadour poetry is extremely strict in terms of metre (numbers of syllables, rhyme pattern, verse structure). The high intricacy of versification, sometimes pushed to extremes, is unequalled in medieval vernacular poetry except Norse skaldic verse. On the other hand, though quite dissimilar from classical Roman poetry, it vies with it in terms of strictness. In troubadour verse, as in hexametres, it is easy to make (and detect) mistakes. Practitioners knew that a skilled audience would easily catch any infringement of its rules and conventions. The tightness of the poetic form led to the development of filigree virtuosity, which did allow for, for example, the formal sobriety of a Bernart de Ventadorn as well as the linguistic ornamentism of an Arnaut Daniel. The latter's much-cited *L'aur' amara*, which gained him eternal acclaim by way of Dante and Petrarca, shows at a glance how well-wrought (*fabregat < fabre* 'smith')

troubadour language can seem:

> L'aur' amara
>   fa·ls bruels brancutz
>   clarzir,
> que·l dous' espeys' ab fuelhs,
>   e·ls letz
>   becx
> dels auzels ramencx
>   te balbs e mutz,
>   pars
>   e non-pars.
> Per qu'ieu m'esfortz
> de far e dir
>   plazers
> a manhs? Per ley
> qui m'a virat bas d'aut,
>   don tem morir,
> si·ls afans no m'asoma.[25]

25. A literal translation might read: "The bitter air / makes those bough-laden woods / barren, / which the sweet one thickens with leaves, / and the gleeful / beaks / of the wandering birds / it keeps stammering and dumb, / pairs / and single ones, / therefore I endeavour / to act and speak / pleasantly / to many for the sake of her / who has cast me low from high, / for whom I dread to die / if my grievance isn't eased." But though it contains a number of lexical pointers to other levels of meaning, notably the question of parity (*par/non-par, bas d'aut*), the literal meaning is only the first of several.

Both the 'classical' and the 'anti-classical' strand of medieval art, to use the terms made famous by Rosario Assunto, are present in troubadour poetry, as are the classics of style debate. The virtues and vices of *trobar lèu* ('light') vs *trobar clus* ('locked') were discussed much along the lines of *ornatus facilis* vs *difficilis*. If Bernart de Ventadorn wants plain form and style for complex lines of reasoning, Arnaut Daniel may look like a true heir to complex Merovingian acrostics or the exploratory lexical inventiveness of the Hiberno-Latin *Hisperica Famina*, though only up to a point. His language may be like precious metal in the hands of the goldsmith; *poema sui varietate contenta augusta atque obscura est*, as Virgilius Maro Grammaticus, writing from the same place but five centuries earlier, had it.[26] But no troubadour song, be it ever so *clus*, departs from the basic linearity imposed by the sequence of the *còblas* (stanzas to the same versification within one song), and ultimately, by vocality. All troubadour songs can be, and are meant to be, sung or chanted in a matter of five to twelve minutes. They were not meant to be deciphered in the timeless tranquility of a reading room (as the *Hisperica Famina* arguably were); their performance was as sociable and competitive as their reception, because the high standards of formalism and the ensuing complexity imposed on audiences a similar kind of strictures as on producers.

26. *De metris* IV 17, *cf.* Assunto 73.

27. There were even 'corridors of power,' to give C.P. Snow his due for the famous catchphrase that prompted the title of this article. In 1174 talks to settle a conflict between Count Raimon V and the viscount of Nimes, mediated by a bishop, took place *in stare comitis predicti... ante hostium illius cambrete* ("in the house of the said count, outside the door of the little chamber," *HGL V n° 655).*

28. Such is the interpretation given by the thirteenth-century troubadour Guiraut Riquier (*Declaratio*, v. 137f.: "son inventores dig tug li trobador"). Such stratagems, needless to say, did not always succeed and might even go against audiences' own ideas and preferences; cf. Van Vleck.

29. *D'entier vers far ieu non pes* (*BdT* 63,6), v. 75f.

30. *Aujatz de chan, com enans' e meillura* (*BdT* 293,9), v. 3–4: "... lo vers lassar e faire sí que autr' om no l'en pot un mot traire."

The social and competitive dimension was intensified since the roles of producer and audience were interchangeable, even within the same morning, noontime or evening gathering *en vergièr o dins cambra,* in orchards or chambers.[27] It must have been hard work for any member of the courtly elite to 'find' a *còbla* and to say it, sing it or have it sung more or less ad hoc. The apparently anodyne uniformity of this type of what are supposedly love songs, which has so often disappointed modern readers with a romantic turn of mind, is really the point of the whole exercise (though there was room for some heart-rendingly beautiful pieces of joyful or dolorous subjectivity). Insofar as courtly oratory was a game (not quite) anyone could play though few could excel in, the basic rules had to be strict and exacting but not entirely forbidding.

Troubadour songs typically run to seven *còblas* of seven to nine lines each, plus one or sometimes two or three half-*còblas* tagged on at the end, that is, after the main *argumentum* has run its course (the so-called *tornadas*), often to address individuals – men or women, by name or by *senhal* (a kind of puzzle name) – or to make a debunking punch line. The restrictions imposed by form makes each song a single distinct unit, quite unlike contemporary chivalrous epic or later romance. It is difficult to expand a song, or add on to it, or variegate it in a subsequent performance. This means that it is possible to attribute it 'as is' to a single man or woman: a *trobador* or *trobairitz,* a 'finder,' semantically much in the sense of Ciceronian *inventio,* whatever the (disputed) etymology of the verb *trobar* and its nomina agentis.[28] The troubadours are, in fact, the first continental non-Latin 'authors,' in the sense that their public became used to attributing single pieces of oratory to individuals, who in their turn made statements about the production of their pieces a part of their craft. *E qui belhs mots lass' e lia de belh' art s'es entremés,* sings Bernart Martin around 1150: "To bundle together beautiful words and [then] tie [them together] is to engage in fine art."[29] Once bundled and tied, word packages should not be meddled with. This was a matter of serious concern. The troubadours devised numerous versificatory tricks of linking the seven to nine *còblas* of a piece together in a linear sequence, so that "no man can ever take a single word out of it."[30] There was always a perceived danger that once songs gained currency, subsequent performers might mess them up, thereby giving the original composer a bad name.

Warnings against incompetent performers of *belhs mots* were probably well-founded, but it is worth pausing for a moment to con-

31. *No sap chantar qui so non di* (*BdT* 262,3), v. 31–34: "Bos es lo vers, qu'anc no·i falhí, e tot sò que·i es ben està; e sel que de mi l'apenrà gart se no·l franha ni·l pessí."

template the astounding fact that courtly society put such a great store by speaking properly. "This song is good; I have made no mistake," says Jaufré Rudel in the early twelfth century. Yet he is saying a good deal more here; the verb translated as 'make a mistake' is *falhir*, whose semantic range includes 'to sin.' Jaufré Rudel goes on: "Everything in it is in its proper place, and whoever learns it from me should take care not to shatter it or break it into pieces."[31] Once bundled and tied, the proper order of the *belhs mots* was a matter of integrity, against which it was inadvisable to 'sin.' We should not assume that *falhir* was a light-hearted simile; it was probably meant quite literally, not in the sense that to use the wrong rhyme or metre boded ill for the salvation of the soul but in the sense that serious things were at stake here. One point of this mass exercise in courtly logopaedia was that a *probus homo*/Occ. *pros òm*, a 'gentleman' (or -woman) was, after all, only ever as good as his (or her) word. It will emerge why concerns about making words 'good' were perhaps a little more exacerbated in twelfth-century Occitania than elsewhere.

Once the 'textual communities' that formed around each performance of a troubadour song had accustomed themselves to the fact that these pieces of oratory were supposed to be unalterable and individually attributable, the cultural pretensions to which the orators could aspire were high. One reason why there are so surprisingly few direct allusions to the classical heritage (a few mentions of Troy and the *Aeneid*; some motifs from the *Metamorphoses*; a bit of Alexander) is that the troubadours could dispense with them. They did not need to borrow their authority from the classical storyworld; more importantly, they could not afford to do so because it would mean incurring a debt, thus acknowledging authority outside courtly parlance. Of course the courtly orators constantly incurred such debts; their rhetorics and dialectic, their argumentative causality, their disputations which at times go a long way towards *sic et non*, all testify to a profound contemporaneousness with twelfth-century humanism. But it was not allowed to show. *Belhs mots* without flaw or fail must stand up for themselves, without recourse to witnesses to their probity. Again, we will see why.

In order to be able to claim that kind of august authority, courtly oratory had to be careful what kind of words were allowed in; many were blackballed. Occitan is surprisingly poor in a number of 'typical' forms of vernacular literature, for instance, the *pastorèla*, or 'shepherdess song,' later so frequent in French *trouvère* poetry and as a gen-

re certainly as widespread in Occitania as in any society with frictions between agricultural and pastoral labour. But from the very beginning of troubadour *pastorèlas* as we know them, the standard story line (man convinces or overpowers and then lies with sheperdess) is subverted. There is not a single instance of forceful intercourse in Occitan *pastorèlas*; rather often, and in the most famous pieces, the sheperdess is intimidatingly eloquent and makes her pursuer look a fool. Whatever other fine points individual *pastorèlas* were making, the main message is that this kind of song, conceding as it does that there might be such a thing as male force, could only be admitted into courtly society as it were in quotation marks, in fact as a travesty. No display of force untamed by courtly manners was to be given a linguistic expression in terms of courtly parlance.

The same reticence applied to popular narrative. Story-telling was popular enough; in fact, troubadours did occasionally feel slighted if their audiences clamoured for light entertainment rather than their own high-flung work. Guiraut de Bornèlh complains: 'They make no difference between the story of the goose of Bretmar and a good song about important matters (*rics afars*) in times past and present.'[32] But the consensus about what were *rics afars* worthy of cultural canonisation and what weren't was strong enough to prevent any crowd-pulling narrative to challenge the predominance of courtly oratory. Much as we too would like to hear the story of the goose of Bretmar, we cannot; it has not been transmitted, while we do have seventy-six songs by Guiraut de Bornèlh, who would not at all have minded if he had known that his subsequent admirers thought him a *maestre dels trobadors*.

Performers who suffered from *no-saber* ("no-know," or a lack of discernment) would confuse matters and "say things from below in places above" (*d'aval d'amont*).[33] This, of course, was not to be tolerated, and courtly censure didn't. There are hardly any epics or chivalrous romances extant in Occitan; the few we have or know of are geographically marginal and/or late (post-Crusade), and what is more, noticeably indebted to troubadour lyric in subject treatment and development. Subsequent losses cannot explain the entire 'vide toulousain.'[34] The few texts and allusions we have are enough to show that Occitanian audiences liked a good story much like audiences elsewhere, but never decided to invest them with the kind of authority recognised in the courtly chant.

32. *Per solatz revelhar* (*BdT* 242,55), v. 55–60: "c'aitan leu s'er grazitz de l'aucha de Bretmar lo comtes entre lor com us bos chans dels rics afars e dels tems e dels ans."

33. Bertran de París, *Gordó, ie·us fas un sol sirventés l'an*, v. 5–10, *cf.* Meneghetti 75: "que no-sabers vos marrís e·us cofon, soven dizetz sò qu'es d'aval d'amon."

34. The expression is from Pirot 433.

4. Words at work

There is one obvious social reason why this might be so: 'courts' were numerous and small-scale; no princely power emerged to monopolise intellectual energy and substantial audiences and muster the economic potential to sustain both. While the Tolosan counts at first sight seem splendid enough, their actual economic power base was slim and often shaky, their political supremacy widely contested. They did hold courts, and they did deal out arms and plots of land to their entourage, including many who could make *belhs mots*.[35] But so did many other counts and viscounts, some in equally grand style (and with an acknowledged agonistic edge), most on a smaller scale but not substantially different as to setting and form. Occitania lacks the great assemblies in the style of the Hohenstaufen, the Angevin count-kings, the counts of Flanders or Champagne, which were sometimes sumptious, week-long occasions that frequently aroused the interest of the historiographers as outstanding events. There were no or extremely few such huge events in Occitania; one may object that there was no princely historiography to record them either, but then that is the other side of the same coin. As a result, courts weren't 'events' that started and ended at any precise or even noticeable moment. Advice to lords (*ensenhaments*, rhymed didactic treatises) taught the proper behaviour not on 'opening' a court but on 'entering' it, as though it went on more or less continuously. There is no trace of any formal *introitus* or for that matter *exitus* ceremonies. Lords were discouraged from rising early, thereby 'finishing' the court for the day; on the other hand, those present were encouraged even more strongly to keep in mind that there was a time to rise and go to bed *sens tot presic*, "without being asked to."[36]

The absence of formal ceremony required a great deal of informal inside knowledge about courtly conduct, and allowed for ruthless discrimination between more or less *cortés* participants by those in the know. Readers of nineteenth-century English novels will recognise much of the tableaux painted by twelfth-century Occitan treatises, as well as the behavioural rigours required to master the informality. Other courtly or chivalrous societies, however, have preferred more formal rules of conduct; great twelfth-century court spectacles like Frederick I's historical Imperial Diet of Mainz in 1184 or King Arthur's fictional solemn Pentecost gatherings of the Round Table have an altogether different set of stage, props, and script. This type of princely mise-en-scène is conspicuous by its absence in Occitania.

35. Cf. Loeb; Macé; Rüdiger, *Aristokraten* ch. 9.

36. The half dozen or so Occitan verse *ensenhaments* (manuals on courtliness) are edited in Sansone and Huchet. The quotation here is from Raimon Vidal de Besalú (in Huchet), *Abril issia* (around 1200), v. 168.

The few rather incidental descriptions of the physical settings of court sociability (mostly referred to by the near-untranslatable blanket term *bel solaç* "fine pastimes" or "good-mannered ways of spending the day") convey the impression of small-scale cosiness with cushions strewn about in front of upstairs fireplaces, or "after lunch, in an orchard, on the lawn by a stream."[37] This scale lends itself perfectly to a ten-minute performance of a troubadour *cançon* with, perhaps, a singer and a couple of instrumentalists, or even a staged *tençon* controversy with an audience panel. But it is rather less favourable to the formation of a sustained audience as required for the telling of a full-scale epic or chivalrous romance, calculable to an overall running time of eight or ten hours, even (or especially) if the recitation is split up and spread over several days or evenings. In both matter and setting, chivalrous narrative lends itself better to courts on the scale of Camelot than to the many small-to-medium size power hubs that were sprinkled across Occitania.

Even when, on occasion, leading rulers convened to make a significant occasion, this does not alter the common law of informality and apparent lack of rules, even to the point that outside observers stand puzzled. We have the account by Geoffrey of Vigeois, following the Anglo-Angevin monarch Henry II to Belcaire/Beaucaire on the Rhône in April 1174, where his lord was to act as arbiter in a settlement between Count Raimon V of Tolosa and King Alfons I of Aragon, Count of Barcelona, over their respective Provençal possessions.[38] Here was an occasion that might have lent itself to some formality. In Geoffrey's description, however, there is no mention of ceremony – such as arrival, mass, tournament, banquet – or any apparent structure. While elsewhere the mark of a good court festival was that it was 'wisely and carefully ordered in all aspects and that everything was taken care of precisely as it had been planned beforehand,'[39] here we never see any master-minding activity. The Belcaire court never even dissolves into individual scenes; it seems from the outset to consist of nothing else.

What happened during the court had the chronicler baffled. One Guilhem Gros has dinner for 'three hundred' *milites* ("knights or warriors") prepared over wax candles; a countess hands out an enormously valuable diadem as a prize in a contest of *histriones* ("performers of some sort"); Raimon de Vernol burns 'thirty' steeds on a pyre. We need not believe all of this to recognise a potlatch when we see one. Neither is the chronicler's disgust unique; we know of similar instances of very conspicuous consumption from Aquitaine, Poi-

37. Ibid., v. 76–77: *aprés manjar, en un vergiers sobr' un prat josta un rivet.*

38. Geoffrey of Vigeois, Chronicle 444–45.

39. The praise is for chancellor Konrad of Querfurt, Bishop of Hildesheim and Würzburg, on occasion of the 1199 Christmas court of king Philip of Suabia (*Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium*, ed. Weiland, MGH SS 23, Hannover 1874, p. 114): "sagaciter cuncta disposuit et prudenter et ut ordinate fierent omnia fideliter procuravit."

tou and certainly other parts of Europe. But the overall image of flamboyancy nevertheless remains, especially as Geoffrey of Vigeois has an eye for scenes involving more immediately convertible expenditure. For instance, Raimon d'Agot deals out large sums of money to a hundred knights; Bertran Raimbaut has thirty thousand shillings 'sown' in the furrows of a freshly ploughed field. *Inania festa*, says our chronicler: a senseless and mindless court festival.

What is all this good for? Is it really a mad hatter's court? Perhaps not to regional participants. At the same time, everywhere in Tolosan and mediterranean Occitania, 'fiefs' – in fact property such as fields, pastures, houses, vineyards, and fractions of these – were bought and sold at cash prices much like leasehold property in late medieval England, and it was so unusual for an oath of fealty not to involve material remuneration that in that case it was explicitly stipulated that the act was valid *sine lucro tue pecunie et honoris* ("without transfer of cash or revenue").[40] If 'feudal' bonds ever established long-lasting relationships or structured power relations anywhere in Europe, something the last twenty years' scholarship has increasingly called into question, it certainly didn't in Occitania, where the possible symbolic value of 'holding' a property 'from' someone was completely eclipsed by the free convertibility of *feuda/feva* (Occ. *feus*) which anybody could buy.[41] Such bonds as there were must therefore have been subject to constant renegotiation. We can follow this through the extant documents tracing the alliances and conflicts of local players over decades,[42] and we can see such negotiations at work highlighted on occasion like Belcaire, which worked like a trade fair in fealty.

Seen that way, the *inania festa* make a lot of sense. To 'sow' out *sous*, shillings (and then carefully watch who will pick them up) is to say you are expecting a good crop of *soudadiers*, retainers. To make those deals in public enables participants to choose and pick (up) for themselves, but once they have chosen (and picked up the *sous*), they are, for the time being, committed. To donate a valuable prize in a competition of *histriones* is to say you are someone worth competing for. And Geoffrey of Vigeois even tells us where the money ultimately comes from: Count Raimon V hands over '100,000 shillings' to a retainer of his who then in his turn, acting like a merchant banker placing investments, deals out portions of the lump sum to about a hundred individual *milites*. Elsewhere in Europe, to give, and to give generously, was the hallmark and the prerogative of those placed at the top. In Occitania, the count could or would not even place his in-

40. Reciprocal oaths of fealty between viscountess Ermengarda of Narbona and viscount Rogier Trencavel (HGL VIII n° 11, 1171 – three years before the feast at Belcaire): "Adiutor ero tibi... sine lucro tue pecunie tuique honoris / sine lucro averi et honoris" (Occ. *aver* v. 'to have;' n. masc. ' possession').

41. Cf. Rüdiger, *Aristokraten*, ch. 5, pace Débax, *La féodalité*.

42. For a case study *cf*. Rüdiger, "Mit Worten gestikulieren."

vestments himself. This made it possible for the recipients to avoid taking all too blatantly a position of inferiority in an unequal situation. Accepting money from a *par* was one thing; accepting money from the count was obviously something quite different, something to be avoided.

We would be hesitant to put too much store by this observation if it were not for the fact that documents from later twelfth century Occitania show a surprisingly convergent feature: the complete avoidance of the word *dominus/-a* used as a title. It is reserved for two kinds of people only: women and the clergy. A lay man, even (or especially) the count, is never styled *dominus comes* even (or especially) by the most inconspicuous local leaseholder. On the other hand, *dominus* (Occ. *sénher*) as an appellative is the technical term for 'original lord of a fief,' that is, one party in a real estate deal. Given the free market in real estate, this meant that anyone could become anyone's *dominus* – but no one must ever be addressed as, or even worse, proclaim himself to be, anyone else's lord (*cf.* Rüdiger, *Aristokraten*, ch. 18). There are several ways of constantly rehearsing a societal self-image of basic parity and acephaly; twelfth-century Occitania employed a number of them.

Now what has all this to do with the troubadours? I will try to put it into one sentence: when King Henry II Plantagenet made a show of royal anger, victims to-be literally died of fear; if Count Raimon V of Tolosa had made such a show, he would have been frowned at.[43] There were huge differences between 'political cultures' in different parts of Western Europe in the twelfth century. The Angevin monarchy, for one, operated a system of what has classically been called 'discriminatory protection,' political actors vied for the king's support to further their respective short-term aims and long-term interests, more often than not at the cost of competitors, and feared to find themselves at the receiving end of royal anger when their luck ran out (Jolliffe 89). The game of 'stratagems and spoils' was basically similar (if slightly downscale as to stakes) for players in Tolosan Occitania, but there was nevertheless a huge difference. No princely power ever acquired the standing to monopolise the dealing out and taking away of chances anywhere near the kind of supremacy attained by the Angevin and a number of other rulers in twelfth-century Europe. The Raimondins were just powerful enough to prevent their even more powerful neighbours, the dukes of Aquitaine or their Angevin successors and the count-kings of Barcelona-Aragon, from extending their sway into Tolosan and Mediterranean Occitania, but

43. For a discussion of Angevin kings' political use of anger cf. Hyams, who has the lethal case of the unsuccesful petitioner.

could or would not establish a similar position themselves. One step down the scale, energetic local counts and viscounts (most notably the Trencavels of Besièrs-Carcassona, who later bore the brunt of the 1209 crusade) formed gravitational centres powerful enough to challenge but not eclipse Tolosan comital eminence. The result was a comparatively, perhaps singularly open competition between 'courts,' and comparatively many options for individual members of the ill-defined group of those who counted (in a charter they might be styled *probi homines*, while a troubadour might say *la gent cortesa*) on the 'stock market' of allegiance.

How, then, could anyone in the courtly marketplace make sure that a relationship of friendship or at least non-aggression outlasted the day the deal was made by any span of time? Individual interests may change quickly. But where a Plantagenet king could hold liege men at bay by a skilful combination of the use of resources and of terror, no Occitan count or viscount, however daunting figures they may have cut in the eyes of their nearest entourage, could muster even remotely similar resources or make similarly plausible threats. In fact, in Occitania, the *ira regia* style of lordship was much discouraged and constantly ridiculed. Men who allowed themselves to be *irats* ("angered") were not admired for their capability for purposeful ruthlessness but looked down upon for their incapability to retain the face of courtly equanimity. Not that 'courtly' behaviour did not include the encouragement of similarly 'civilising' manners elsewhere in Europe as well; in fact, the master narrative of the development of European courtliness, from Norbert Elias to Stephen Jaeger, highlights just that potential. I am not taking issue with those overarching observations but wish to historicise them and thus to highlight differences instead of similarities. And one of the differences is that in Occitania the codes of conduct applied to everyone in the same way. One of the many pieces of evidence for the claim that the overall point of the particular Occitan 'way' of courtliness was to rehearse and reinforce a societal self-image of meritocratic parity is that within the universe of *fin' amor*, and it was a universe that recognised no boundaries, all players were equal, except of course the lady. She alone could be approached prostrate. Courtly manners and interaction rites, including the formal oratory to go with it, were a bit like 'deep play:' a society that put much store by telling itself it was acephalous dared try out what might happen in situations of extreme disparity.[44] Every *pros* had for the time being to confirm to the rules, even if he was the King of Aragon. And the King of Aragon did: he

44. *Cf.* the more comprehensive discussion of what can here only be a hint in Rüdiger, *Aristokraten*, chs. 17–20.

participated in *tençons* and duly proclaimed that he was not less worthy as a courtly lover because he was so *ric* (powerful) since he would, of course, never use his *ricor* in the process of 'conquering' a lady. A local audience might welcome his self-renegating attitude; in other parts of Europe this kind of attitude towards conquests might well have been ill-advised for a king to display (cf. Rüdiger, "Kann ein Mächtiger").

5. The firewall

As powerful cultural inventions go, *fin' amor* was among the more consequential ones: it shaped the political culture of (at least) Tolosan Occitania during almost a century before it branched out to embellish select milieux in other parts of Europe, and eventually went on to shape the literary figurations of gender relations for centuries to come. This statement is no revertion to the romanticism of nineteenth-century Romanists and historians, plus their regionalist epigones, who liked to believe in a rose-hued garden of Arcadian courtliness right in the middle of Feudal Europe, all too soon to be crushed by envious ascetics and Northern crusader barbarians.[45] The poetic self-fashioning of the courtly Occitan elite as highly refined, utterly self-denying males, prostrate at the feet of their ladies, to whom it never occurred to do Roland-like feats or even so much as touch a sword is a likeable enough image. Its inventors itself liked it a lot; in fact, they were desperately trying to ignore the 'Roland' alternative. Twelfth-century Occitania was no less violent and dangerous a place than anywhere else. But the way its society organised and ordered its power relations and coped with its propensity towards destructive violence may have been shaped by a specific practice of courtly communication and have acquired some specific traits in the process. A type of courtly sociability where swords are never mentioned except with all the markers of transgression may be no less prone to violence than a type where people talk of practically nothing other than feats of arms. But it may come to handle its propensity to violence differently. Much of what happened during the course of the Albigensian Wars can be explained best in the light of this cultural particularism.[46]

A plethora of more or less powerful magnates in constant competition but with no obvious dominant centre, a real estate market using 'feudal' vocabulary, a society afraid of its own propensity for

45. For an overview of the history of studies on 'le génie d'oc' *cf.* Rüdiger, *Aristokraten*, Introduction. The phrase "barbarians from the North" is the title of a vast essay by Lluís Racionero i Grau first published in 1985.

46. See Rüdiger, *Aristokraten*, chs. 25–28, for a detailed study.

flares of destructive violence, and a political culture which, for lack of any more structurally stable features (such as the power to enforce writs or inspire terror), could with each single conflict settlement only bank on the involved parties' preparedness to be as good as their word for a specific length of time: such is the not all too rose-hued context for troubadour logopaedia. In the figurations of *fin' amor*, too, words had to stand up for themselves, without recourse to external empowerment, without authority outside themselves: just *belhs mots*. To know how to 'fabricate' them according to complex rules, so that they could no more be twisted around, was as important as to be able to recognise them and accept them with all the weight they were intended to carry. Perhaps Occitan men and women relished in courtly manners no more or less than their peers elsewhere. But they had more reason to be afraid of the alternatives. *Fin' amor* was not a gadget, it was a firewall. That in linking the language of love and courtship to women it gave European sentimental history a quite consequential twist was perhaps a coincidence.

Bibliography

Armengaud, André, et Robert Lafont, éds. *Histoire d'Occitanie*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1979.

Assunto, Rosario. *Die Theorie des Schönen im Mittelalter*. 2. Ausg. Köln: DuMont, 1987.

Banniard, Michel. *Du latin aux langues romanes*. Paris: Nathan, 1997.

Barthélemy, Dominique. *L'ordre seigneurial, XIᵉ–XIIᵉ siècle*. Paris: Seuil, 1990. Nouvelle histoire de la France médiévale 3.

Bec, Pierre. *Anthologie des troubadours*. Paris: Union Générale d'Éditions, 1979.

---. "Constitution de l'occitan littéraire et véhiculaire." *Histoire d'Occitanie*. Ed. André Armengaud and Robert Lafont. *Histoire d'Occitanie*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1979. 256–78.

---. *La langue occitane*. (Que sais-je 1059). 6ᵉ éd. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1995.

Beech, George, éd. *Le Conventum (vers 1030). Un précurseur aquitain des premières épopées*. Genève: Droz, 1975. Publications romanes et françaises 212.

Bibliographie der Troubadours. Von Alfred Pillet. Ergänzt, weitergeführt und herausgegeben von Henry Carstens. Con una presentazione di Maria Luisa Meneghetti e un aggiornamento del corpus testimoniale di Stefano Resconi. Ristampa anastatica dell'edizione Halle (Saale), Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1933. A cura di Paolo Borsa e Roberto Tagliani. Milano: Ledizioni, 2013.

Bonnassie, Pierre. "Le comté de Toulouse et le comté de Barcelone début du IXᵉ au début du XIIIᵉ siècle: esquisse d'histoire comparée." *Actes del VIIIᵉ col.loqui internacional de llengua i literatura catalanes, Tolosa de Llenguadoc, 12–17 setembre 1988*. Vol. 1.

Montserrat: Publicacions de l'Abadia, 1989. 27–45.

Boutière, Jean et Alexander Herman Schutz, éds. *Biographies des troubadours. Textes provençaux des XIIIe et XIVe siècles*. Paris: Nizet, 1964.

Brunel-Lobrichon, Geneviève et Claudie Duhamel-Amado. *Au temps des troubadours, XIIe–XIIIe siècles.* Paris: Hachette, 1997.

Camproux, Charles. *Historie de la littérature occitane.* 2e éd. Paris: Payot, 1953.

Cazal, Yvonne. *Les voix du peuple–verbum Dei. Le bilingualisme latin–langue vulgaire au moyen âge.* Genève: Droz, 1998. Publications romanes et françaises 222.

Cheyette, Fredric L. "Suum cuique distribuere." *French Historical Studies* 6 (1970): 287–99.

Débax, Hélène, éd. *Les sociétés méridionales à l'âge féodal (Espagne, Italie et sud de la France, X^e–XIIIe s.). Hommage à Pierre Bonnassie.* Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Mirail, 1999.

---. *La féodalité languedocienne, XIe–XIIe siècles. Serments, hommages et fiefs dans le Languedoc des Trencavel.* Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 2003.

Déjean, Jean-Luc. *Les comtes de Toulouse 1050–1250.* 2e éd. Paris: Fayard, 1988.

Duhamel-Amado, Claudie. *Genèse des lignages méridionaux*, 2 vols: I – *L'aristocratie languedocienne du Xe au XIIe siècle*; II – *Portraits de familles.* Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Mirail, 2001–07.

Duvernoy, Jean. *Le catharisme: L'histoire des cathares.* Toulouse: Privat, 1979.

---. *Le catharisme: La religion des cathares.* Toulouse: Privat, 1979.

---. éd. *Guillaume de Puylaurens, Chronique (1203–1275).* Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1976.

Fossier, Robert. *Enfance de l'Europe, X^e–XIIe siècles. Aspects économiques et sociaux.* 2 vols. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1982.

Garrison, Mary, *et al.*, eds. *Spoken and Written Language. Relations between Latin and the vernacular languages in the earlier Middle Ages.* Turnhout: Brepols, 2013. Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 24.

Gaunt, Simon and Sarah Kay, eds. *The Troubadours. An Introduction.* Cambridge: CUP, 1999.

Gaunt, Simon. *Gender and Genre in Medieval French Literature.* Cambridge: CUP, 1995.

Geary Patrick J. "Living with Conflicts in Stateless France. A typology of conflict management mechanisms." *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages.* Ed. Patrick J. Geary. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994. 125–60.

Genty, Roger. *Les comtes de Toulouse. Histoire et traditions.* Ferrières: Poliphile, 1987.

Geoffrey of Vigeois, *Ex chronico. Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France.* Vol. 12. Ed. Martin Bouquet and Leopold Delisle. Paris: Victor Palmé, 1876. 421–51.

Gouiran, Gérard. "Os meum implebo increpationibus (Job 23,4). Comment parler à Dieu sans prier, ou la contestation contre Dieu dans les lyriques occitane et galaïco-portugaise." *O cantar dos trobadores. Actas do congreso, Santiago, 26–29 abril 1993.* Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 1993, 35–50.

Huchet, Jean-Charles, éd. *Nouvelles occitanes du moyen âge.* Paris: Flammarion, 1992.

Hyams, Paul. "What did Henry III think in bed and in French about kingship and anger?" *Anger's Past. The social use of an emotion in the Middle Ages.* Ed. Barbara Rosenwein. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998. 92–124.

Jolliffe, John Edward Austin. *Angevin Kingship.* London: Black, 1955.

Lafont, Robert. *Décoloniser en France. Les régions face à l'Europe.* Paris: Gallimard, 1971.

Lambert, Malcolm. *The Cathars.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1998.

Larzac, Joan. *Descolonisar l'istòria occitana.* 2 vols. Tolosa: Institut d'Estudis Occitans, 1977.

Leonhardt, Jürgen. *Latein. Geschichte einer Weltsprache.* München: Beck, 2009.

Limouzin-Lamothe, Roger. *La commune de Toulouse et les sources de son histoire (1120–1249). Étude historique et critique suivie de l'édition du cartulaire du Consulat.* Toulouse-Paris: Privat, 1932.

Loeb, Ariane. "Les relations entre les troubadours et les comtes de Toulouse (1112–1229)." *Annales du Midi* 95 (1983): 225–59.

Lüdtke, Helmut. *Der Ursprung der romanischen Sprachen. Eine Geschichte der sprachlichen Kommunikation.* Kiel: Westensee Verlag, 2005. Dialectologia pluridimensionalis Romanica 14.

Macé, Laurent. *Les comtes de Toulouse et leur entourage, XIIe–XIIIe siècles. Rivalités, alliances et jeux de pouvoir.* Toulouse: Privat, 2000.

Magnou-Nortier, Élisabeth. *La société laïque et l'Église dans la province ecclésiastique de Narbonne (zone cispyrénéenne) de la fin du VIIIe à la fin du XIe siècle.* Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Mirail, 1974.

Mancini, Mario. *Metafora feudale: per una storia dei trovatori.* Bologna: Il Mulino, 1993.

Martel, Philippe. "Les chartes en occitan du XIIᵉ siècle, une anomalie?" *Actes du Colloque "Langues, dialectes et écriture."* Ed. Hervé Guillorel et Jean Sibille. Paris: Institut d'Études Occitanes/Institut de Politique Internationale et Européenne, Université de Paris X - Nanterre, 1993. 17–29.

Martindale, Jane. "Conventum inter Guillelmum Aquitanorum comitem et Hugonem chiliarchum." *English Historical Review* 84 (1969): 528–47.

McKitterick, Rosamond. *The Carolingians and the Written Word.* Cambridge: CUP, 1989.

Meneghetti, Maria Luisa. *Il pubblico dei trovatori. Ricezione e riuso dei testi lirici cortesi fino al XIV secolo.* Modena: Mucchi, 1984.

Moore, Robert Ian. *The formation of a persecuting society.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1987.

---. *The War on Heresy. Faith and power in medieval Europe.* London: Profile, 2012.

Mundy, John Hine. *Men and Women at Toulouse in the Age of the Cathars.* Toronto: Pontifical Institute for Medieval Studies, 1990.

Nichols, Stephen G. "The early troubadours: Guilhem IX to Bernart de Ventadorn." *The Troubadours: An introduction.* Ed. Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay. Cambridge: CUP, 1999. 66–82.

---. "*Et si on repensait le 'grand chant courtois'?" Paul Zumthor ou l'invention permanente.* Ed. Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet et Christopher Lucken. Genève: Droz, 1998. 33–48.

Pegg, Mark Gregory. *A Most Holy War. The Albigensian Crusade and the battle for Christendom.* Oxford: OUP, 2008.

Pfister, Max. "Die Anfänge der altprovenzalischen Schriftsprache." *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 86 (1970): 305–23.

Pirot, François. *Recherches sur les connaissances littéraires des troubadours occitans et catalans des XIIᵉ et XIIIᵉ siècles.* Barcelona: Real Academia de Buenas Letras, 1972. Memorias de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona 14.

Racionero i Grau, Lluís. *El Mediterrani i els bàrbars del Nord.* Barcelona: Laia, 1985.

Riquer, Martin de. *Los trovadores. Historia literaria y textos.* Barcelona: Planeta, 1975.

Rüdiger, Jan. "Mit Worten gestikulieren. Die Inszenierung von Akephalie im okzitanischen Hochmittelalter." *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 34 (2000): 213–35.

---. *Aristokraten und Poeten. Die Grammatik einer Mentalität im tolosanischen Hochmittelalter.* Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2001. Europa im Mittelalter 4.

---. *Did Charlemagne Know Carolingian Kingship Theory?* Stockholm: Sällskapet Runica et Mediaevalia, 2011. Runica&Mediævalia, series lectiones 10.

---. "Kann ein Mächtiger sich aus seiner Macht herausreden?" Borgolte, Michael, *et al.*, eds. *Mittelalter im Labor. Die Mediävistik testet Wege zu einer transkulturellen Europawissenschaft.* Europa im Mittelalter 10. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2008. 405–15.

Sansone, Giuseppe E. (ed.). *Testi didattico-cortesi di Provenza.* Bari: Adriatica, 1977.

Sennis, Antonio (ed.). *Cathars in Question.* Woodbridge: Boydell, 2016.

Stotz, Peter. "Le sorti del latino nel medioevo." *Lo spazio letterario del medioevo I: Il medioevo latino.* Ed. Guglielmo Cavallo et al. Roma: Salerno, 1994, t. 2, 153–90.

Structures féodales et féodalisme dans l'Occident méditerranéen (Xᵉ–XIIIᵉ siècles). Bilan et perspectives de recherche. Colloque international organisé par le CNS et l'École française de Rome, Rome 10–13 octobre 1978. Rome: École française de Rome, 1980.

Les structures sociales de l'Aquitaine, du Languedoc et de l'Espagne au premier âge féodal. Colloque de Toulouse 28–31 mars 1968. Paris: CNRS, 1969.

Schmidt, Joël. *Le royaume wisigoth d'Occitanie.* Paris: Perrin, 1992.

Tyler, Elizabeth M., ed. *Conceptualizing Multilingualism in England, c. 800 – c. 1250.* Turnhout: Brepols, 2011. Studies in the Early Middle Ages 27.

van Vleck, Amelia E. *Memory and Re-Creation in Troubadour Lyric.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.

Vic, Claude de et Joseph Vaissète, éds. *Histoire générale de Languedoc.* 16 vols. New edition. Toulouse: Privat, 1892–1904.

White, Stephen D. "'Pactum… legem vincit et amor iudicium:' the settlement of disputs by compromise in eleventh-century eastern France." *American Journal of Legal History* 22 (1978): 281–308.

Wright, Roger. *Late Latin and Early Romance in Spain and Carolingian France.* (ARCA 8.) Liverpool: Cairns, 1982.

Zink, Michel. *Introduction à la litterature française du Moyen Age.* Paris: Librairie générale française, 1993.