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King Richard I between Dalfi d'Alvernhe and Peire Vidal

The reputation of King Richard I as a connoisseur of troubadour song began early, in the thirteenth century, with the composition of the *razos* in which he frequently features and which were matched in French by the emergence of the legend of the minstrel Blondel's search for his imprisoned royal master in the *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims*.¹ It was consolidated for modern scholars by the influential publications of Reto Bezzola and Rita Lejeune, who noted, respectively, that «De nombreux troubadours ont fréquenté sa cour», and that he «vécut au milieu des poètes», both citing a long list of poets who refer to him.² While it is likely that these poets had a variety of reasons for singling Richard out for mention and not all were under his patronage,³ it is clear that Richard himself did have links with a number of Occitan troubadours. This

¹ See the index under 'Richart d'Englaterra' in Jean Boutière and Alexander H. Schutz, *Biographies des troubadours. Textes provençaux des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, Paris 1973², and *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims au treizième siècle*, ed. Natalis de Wailly, Paris 1876, §§ 77-86.

² Reto R. Bezzola, *Les Origines et la formation de la littérature courtoise en Occident (500-1200)*, 3 vols., Paris 1944-1963, vol. III.i, p. 220, and note 3, and Rita Lejeune, «Rôle littéraire de la famille d'Aliénor d'Aquitaine», *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 1, 1958, pp. 319-337 (pp. 321-322).

³ See for example Guiraut de Calanson's evocation of «'N Richartz, lo preztz» (line 26) along with two of his brothers in the *planh* (*BdT* 243.6, *Bels seigner Deus, co pot esser sofritz*) for Prince Fernando of Castile (d. 1211) and the comments by Vicenç Beltran, «Leonor Plantagenet y los trovadores: *Puoich Vert* (de Aragón?)», *Crítica del testo*, 20, 2017, pp. 107-136 (pp. 115-116): «es la dependencia de Guiraut de Calanso respecto a la corte castellana y la conveniencia o necesidad de loar al principe muerto la razón de este recuerdo familiar, entrañable, de la familia real inglesa, quizá pensado para complacer a la reina Leonor».

study, part of a project to analyse Richard's Occitan literary contacts and milieu in the light of scholarship published since the surveys by Bezzola and Lejeune, is concerned with the detail of a poetic exchange involving Richard which is less well-known than it ought to be and which contributes to a picture of the connections Richard himself forged with two particular Occitan poets.

Richard's reputation today as a poet himself rests principally on his famous 'prisoner song', *Ja nus hons pris ne droit sa raison*, composed while he was languishing in a German jail in 1193.⁴ Although it survives in an occitanised form in three troubadour MSS (**PSf**) and has a *BdT* number (420.2), it has now been clearly demonstrated that the song was originally composed in a dialect of western French, in which it is also preserved in seven French *chansonniers*.⁵ It is addressed in particular to his half-sister, Marie de Champagne, and two Norman lords who were his companions on crusade, and more generally to the various areas of his realm to encourage the raising of his phenomenal ransom.⁶

However, a few years later, Richard sent another *sirventes*, again in 'French', to Dalfi, count of Auvergne, and his cousin Gui II.⁷ This

⁴ According to Ambroise's *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, there was at least one other song composed by him while he was on crusade. After Richard took the very unpopular decision not to advance to besiege Jerusalem, Henry of Burgundy sent a song *de grant vilainie plaine* circulating through the crusaders' camp at Ramla and Richard riposted by composing a *sirventes*, but neither song has survived: *The History of the Holy War. Ambroise's "Estoire de la Guerre Sainte"*, ed. and trans. Marianne Ailes and Malcolm Barber, 2 vols., Woodbridge 2003, vol. I, line 10630.

⁵ For details, including previous scholarship, see Lucilla Spetia, «Riccardo Cuor di Leone tra oc e oil», *Cultura Neolatina*, 56, 1996, pp. 101-155 (pp. 103-129), and Charmaine Lee, «Richard the Lionheart: the Background to *Ja nus hons pris*», in *Literature of the Crusades*, ed. Simon Parsons and Linda M. Paterson, Woodbridge 2018, pp. 134-149, especially pp. 138-141 for a summary of the issues and the argument that the rhymes at lines 37-38 are correct only in a northern French dialect and not Occitan.

⁶ «Contesse soer, vostre pris souverain / Vos saut et gart cil a cui je me claim» (lines 57-58: 'Countess sister, may the one to whom I appeal save and guard your sovereign worth for you'); «Mi compaignon qe je amoie e qe j'ain, / Cil de Chaieu e cil de Percerain» (lines 31-32: 'My companions whom I loved and love still—the lords of Cayeux and of Perche'); «Englais, Normant, Poitevin et Gascon» (line 8) and «Angevin et Torain» (line 25).

⁷ Also called 'count of Auvergne' and, like Dalfi, at times 'count of Clermont', though usage was not consistent: see Gabriel Fournier and Rémy Roques,

song and Dalfi's reply, together with the long *razo* which accompanies them, constitute precious evidence for what is otherwise a very poorly documented expedition of Richard's, to the point where historians of the Auvergne, from Baluze to Gabriel Fournier and Rémy Roques, rely almost exclusively on this literary testimony for their account of events.⁸ It is therefore all the more desirable to flesh out the historical context and implications of the poetic texts as much as possible, to form a more solid basis for future work. Accordingly, the aim of this article is to propose corrections and additions to the interpretations put forward in recent editions of the songs.

Daufin, je-us voill deresnier (BdT 420.1) was composed during a tense moment in Richard's long series of conflicts with King Philip Augustus and in it he accuses the recipients of letting him down.⁹ Richard claims both Dalfi and Gui had made a pact with him and had been giving him military support against Philip but then had proven as faithless as the wolf Ysengrin was to Reynard the Fox (stanza I)!¹⁰ According to the king, Dalfi has abandoned his support and transferred his allegiance 'to the other side',¹¹ thus breaking his word. He attempts to goad Dalfi

«Philippe Auguste et l'Auvergne», *Bulletin historique et scientifique de l'Auvergne*, 112, 2011, pp. 67-117 (pp. 69-70, 73-74, also p. 87 on slightly later Capetian chancery usage), and Pierre-François Fournier, «Le Nom du troubadour Dauphin d'Auvergne», *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 91, 1930, pp. 66-99 (p. 74 for the forms of Dalfi's various titles).

⁸ Boutière and Schutz, *Biographies des troubadours*, pp. 294-298; Etienne Baluze, *Histoire généalogique de la maison d'Auvergne*, 2 vols., Paris 1708, vol. I, p. 77; Fournier and Roques, «Philippe Auguste et l'Auvergne», pp. 85-86; and see Charmaine Lee, «Riccardo I d'Inghilterra, *Daufin, je-us voill deresnier* (BdT 420.1)», *Lecturae tropatorum*, 8, 2015, 26 pp.

⁹ See the discussion in Lee, «Riccardo I d'Inghilterra», pp. 5-7, and compare Riccardo Viel, «La tenzone tra Re Riccardo e il Delfino d'Alvernia: liriche d'oc e d'oïl a contatto», in *Dai pochi ai molti. Studi in onore di Roberto Antonelli*, a cura di Paolo Canettieri e Arianna Punzi, 2 vols., Rome 2014, vol. II, pp. 1761-1786 (pp. 1780-1782). I cite Richard's song from Lee's edition, and Dalfi's reply from that by Viel.

¹⁰ «Vos feïstes bon gerrier / e vos jurastes ou moi / e portastes me tiel foi, / cum Aengrins a Rainart» (lines 4-7: 'you turned into good warriors and you swore a pact with me and yet you showed me such loyalty as Ysengrin showed Reynard!'). See Lee, «Riccardo I d'Inghilterra», pp. 21-22 on the possible source of this reference to the Latin beast epic and its implications for the reciprocal bad faith discussed by these two poets: if Dalfi is Ysengrin, this makes red-haired King Richard the equally untrustworthy Reynard.

¹¹ «si·us viretz de l'altre part» (line 16).

into action by reproaching him for ‘chasing the money’,¹² leaving off gift-giving and all courtly pursuits to put up strong fortresses (lines 25-30), and he asks him if he is happy about the situation of Issoire, a stronghold of Dalfi’s which the latter’s reply shows had recently been seized by Philip Augustus:

Encor vos voill demandier
 d’Ussoire, s’il vos set bon,
 ni si-n prendretz venjeison,
 ni loaretz soudadier?
 Mas una ren vos outroi,
 si be-m fausastes la loi:¹³
 bon gerrier a l’estendart
 trovaretz le roi Richart!

(17-24)

(‘And I want to ask you whether you are happy about Issoire, or if you’ll take vengeance for it and hire mercenaries? But I promise you one thing, although you’ve failed to keep faith with me: you’ll find King Richard to be a good warrior under the standard!’)

In the context of his conflict with Philip Augustus, Richard is seeking support from his southern vassals. The hostilities seem to have been concentrated in Normandy and the Vexin,¹⁴ but according to William of Newburgh, Richard’s forces had also campaigned in Berry, bordered to the south by Auvergne.¹⁵ Attacks on Philip or his allies here would be strategically useful to Richard, which explains his approaches and reproaches to Dalfi.

In his answer, Dalfi apparently pleads a technicality: «Anc no fui vostre iuratz» (‘I was never your vassal’: line 17). Riquer sees here a blunt contradiction of Richard’s words in his line 5: «e vos jurastes ou moi» (‘and you took an oath with me’): «Nunca os esteve ligado por

¹² «Vos me leissastes aidier / por creime de geerdon, / e car savetz q’a Chinon / non a argen ni dinier» (lines 9-12); and see line 22 quoted below.

¹³ I adopt Viel’s punctuation here.

¹⁴ Or at least, those are the ones which are relatively well documented; see John Gillingham, *Richard I*, New Haven - London 1999, p. 281, and p. 306 on 1195 as a year of unchronicled war in Aquitaine.

¹⁵ William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum anglicarum*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. Richard Howlett, 2 vols., London 1884, vol. II, pp. 456-457: see below note 41.

juramento». ¹⁶ This seems to be a curiously flat and uncharacteristically unnuanced response on Dalfi's part, for both men well know whether or not an oath was sworn. Dalfi's words make better sense if they are seen as referring to something distinct from the oath Richard claims Dalfi swore with him («ou moi»), about which we have no information, and if we understand Dalfi to be saying he was nevertheless not bound by the sort of feudo-vassalic ties which would have obliged him to render military service to Richard as his overlord. ¹⁷ Dalfi claims that if Richard had not appeared to be unreliable, he (Dalfi) would have come back to him (lines 35-36), ¹⁸ thus confirming, for his part at least, the truth of some of Richard's accusations. He might avoid replying in kind to Richard's insults, but his response is nevertheless very pointed:

Reis, puois que de mi chantatz,
 trobat avetz cantador,
 mas tant mi faitz de paor
 per qe·m torn a vos forssatz,
 e plazentiers vos en son;
 mas d'aitan vos ochaison
 s'oïmais laissatz vostres fieus
 no·m mandetz qerre los mieus!

Q'ieu non sui reis coronatz
 ni hom de tant gran ricor
 qe puosc'a mon fort seignor
 defendre mas eretatz;
 mas vos, que li Turc fellon
 temïon mais q'un leon,
 reis e ducs e coms d'Angieus,
 suffretz que Guisortz es sieus?

(1-16)

(‘King, since you have been singing about me, you have found someone who will sing back, but you frighten me so much that I am forced to turn to you and speak agreeably to you; but I charge you this much: if from now on you abandon your fiefs, don't come telling me to claim mine!

¹⁶ Martín de Riquer, *Los trovadores. Historia literaria y textos*, 3 vols., Barcelona 1975, vol. III, p. 1254, and see note to line 17.

¹⁷ See Jan Frederik Niermeyer, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus*, Leiden 1976: *juratus* (subst.) «one who has sworn fealty ... “noster juratus”» (11th-c.).

¹⁸ «Si non sembles camiador / vas vos me·n fora tornatz».

For I am not a crowned king, nor such a powerful man that I can defend my inheritance against my strong lord, but you, the king and duke and count of Anjou whom the wicked Turks feared more than a lion, are you allowing Gisors to be his?')

Dalfi's reply supplies more circumstantial details in a network of references which, as Riccardo Viel has demonstrated, narrow down the moment of composition of the pair of songs to the period between the early summer and September 1197.¹⁹ The purpose of rehearsing these allusions here is to correct or modify some details about which Viel is mistaken or for which he did not have access to the most reliable supporting evidence or reference works.

The salient details enabling a dating include the following points. Richard has recently 'lost' some of his fiefs (line 7). Viel understands this as referring to Richard's restoration of Quercy to the count of Toulouse and his relinquishing of the Agenais to him as his sister Joanna's dowry (October 1196).²⁰ The allusion may be considerably sharper than this, however, since by the Peace of Louviers in January 1196 Richard in fact surrendered his rights to Auvergne itself to Philip.²¹

¹⁹ For dating suggestions ranging from 1194 to before 1199 by earlier scholars, see Lee, «Riccardo I d'Inghilterra», p. 4, and note 7. Lee's suggestion of 1194 (p. 7) accords weight to the *razor* rather than to the detail of Dalfi's reply.

²⁰ Viel, «La tenzone», p. 1777, and see Gillingham, *Richard I*, pp. 306-307: the Agenais nevertheless remained a fief of the duke of Aquitaine.

²¹ See the text of the agreement itself in *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste*, ed. H.-François Delaborde, 6 vols., Paris 1916-[2005], vol. II, no. 517 § 6: «Quittat etiam nobis Richardus rex Anglie et heredibus nostris imperpetuum Alveerniam, feodum et dominium». Viel is mistaken here because he relies on the summary of its terms given in Roger of Howden as a contemporary source (*Chronica*, ed. William Stubbs, 4 vols., London 1868-1871, vol. IV, p. 3: «rex Francie quita clamavit regi Angliae et haeredibus suis ... totum jus quod habuit in Berria, et Alvernia, et Gasconia»). It is possible that Howden is inaccurate on this point because he no longer had regular access to original royal documents: see John Gillingham, «Writing the Biography of Roger of Howden», in *Writing Medieval Biography. Essays in Honour of Frank Barlow*, ed. David Bates, Julia Crick and Sarah Hamilton, Woodbridge 2006, pp. 207-220 (pp. 217-218), and John Gillingham, «Royal Newsletters, Forgeries and English Historians: Some Links between Court and History in the Reign of Richard I», in *La Cour Plantagenêt (1154-1204)*. Actes du colloque tenu à Thouars du 30 avril au 2 mai 1999, ed. Martin Aurell, Poitiers 2000, pp. 171-185: «the historian who gives the most accurate and detailed summary of the treaty [of Louviers] is not, as we might expect, Diceto or Howden, but ... William of Newburgh» (p. 183).

Gisors had been in Capetian hands since its surrender in April 1193 and the same agreement stipulates that it is to remain Philip's (see line 16).²²

Richard has apparently bought off Count Ademar of Angoulême with «Tolveira e la maison»:

Q'ieu sui mout entalentatz
de vos e de vostr'amor,
qe·l coms, qe.us fetz tant d'onor,
d'Engolmes n'es gen pagatz
qe Tolveira e la maison,
a guisa de larc baron,
li donetz, c'anc no·us fos grieus:
so m'a comtat us romieus.

(41-48)

(I'm very keen to have you and your favour, because the count of Angoulême who swore such loyalty to you is well paid for it since, like a generous lord, you gave him Touvre and its castle so that he would never cause you any trouble.²³ that's what a pilgrim told me.)

To Viel belongs the credit for beginning the identification of *Tolveira* which had defeated previous editors Brackney and Riquer.²⁴ In fact Touvre had a *castellum* (named after the river), NE of the centre of Angoulême; it was built by Bishop William in the mid-11th century, and was doubtless one of a series of forts which guarded the approaches

²² *Recueil*, no. 517 § 1, Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 283.

²³ I cannot otherwise attest *mansio* / *maison* in the sense of *castellum* or 'fort', (although compare Niermeyer, 8. «[royal] palace», citing Robert of Torigni, *Chron.*, 1161), but the demands of versification almost certainly had an influence here, since this is one of the many rhyme-words which Dalfi deliberately repeats from Peire Vidal's *canço* (*BdT* 364.16): «Et am mais bosc e boisso / No fatz palaitz ni maizo», v, 45-46): see discussion of versification below.

²⁴ Viel («La tenzone», p. 1779) identifies *Tolveira* as the river running through Angoulême from a confirmation by Charles the Bald; he does not comment on «la maison» and translates 'Touvre e il suo feudo', which arguably fits the general gist. Compare Emmert M. Brackney, *A Critical Edition of the Poems of Dalfin d'Alvernhe*, PhD Dissertation, University of Minneapolis, Minnesota 1937, pp. 55-56, and Riquer, *Los trovadores*, p. 1255 note.

to the city itself.²⁵ The count of Angoulême was a key figure in repeated rebellions against Henry II and his son,²⁶ and the most recent revolt had been put down in July 1194 by Richard, who reported back to his chief justiciar in England on the 22nd of that month: «we have captured the whole land of the count of Angoulême in its entirety; we captured the city and citadel of Angoulême in a single evening».²⁷ Touvre would have been one of the fortifications Richard secured on that occasion. Dalfi's words indicate that at some time since then Richard had judged it expedient to hand it to Ademar.²⁸

Although the Louviers agreement of January 1196 confirmed that the count of Angoulême, along with the count of Périgueux and the viscount of Brosse, were to have their lands back and do Richard homage and service as they had before (§ 14), the two kings thereafter sought to suborn each other's followers and encourage them into open revolt again. The documents which allow this interpretation of the actions of Philip with respect to Aimar of Limoges and Ademar of Angoulême date from April 1198 and 1199,²⁹ but the process of wooing lords away

²⁵ André Debord, *La Société laïque dans les pays de Charente (X^e-XII^e siècles)*, Paris 1984, p. 465, and *Historia pontificum et comitum Engolismensium*, ed. Jacques Boussard, Paris 1957, p. 27. In 1110, the bishop owned half the castle (see the privilege of Pascal II, 14 April 1110: J[ean] Nanglard, «Cartulaire de l'église d'Angoulême», *Bulletin et mémoires de la Société archéologique et historique de la Charente*, 9, 1899, pp. 1-320, no. cxxxv), although it is possible that even then it was the count who controlled it. I owe this material on Touvre, and a series of invigorating conversations, to the kindness of Rowan Watson.

²⁶ See John Gillingham, «The Unromantic Death of Richard I», *Speculum*, 54, 1979, pp. 18-41 (p. 39), and Debord, *La Société laïque*, Table, p. 389, which shows the count to have been at the centre of every one of the eight serious revolts against the Plantagenêts in the period 1168-1193.

²⁷ Howden, *Chronica*, vol. III, p. 257: «totam terram comitis Engolismi, cum omni integritate cepimus; civitatem autem Engolismi et burgum in una vesperata cepimus»; Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 289.

²⁸ It is not clear who, in the 1190s, either owned or controlled it. Dalfi's formulation might suggest that Touvre was not part of the count's lands whose return was mandated by the Peace of Louviers, but an additional gift made at Richard's discretion. In contrast to Viel, «La tenzone», p. 1779, I do not find «li donetz, c'anc no·us fos grieus» (line 47) particularly ambiguous but rather understand it as a sarcastic comment on the naivety of the king's expectations of the unreliable Ademar, who has done well out of his dissembling.

²⁹ See Gillingham, «Unromantic Death», pp. 37-38 for discussion of the dating of four documents: *Layettes du Trésor des chartes*, ed. Alexandre Teulet, Paris

from Richard had surely begun again some time earlier. This is how Viel seems to take it.³⁰ He understands this stanza to show that the count's allegiance had already passed back to Philip by summer 1197 and that Dalfi is here warning Richard of the danger this poses to him. In this case, this poetic exchange could be seen as the first signs of the count's defection and Richard's 'sweetener' gift of Touvre may have been a response to Philip's incitement, albeit an ultimately unsuccessful one. Despite Louviers, by the summer of 1197, Count Ademar may have had the resources and support to begin challenging Richard's suzerainty yet again.

Dalfi's complaint that Richard 'gave him to another' (lines 33-34)³¹ may also reflect the terms of the Peace of Louviers for Auvergne, but formal acknowledgement of rights of overlordship is not necessarily the same as the exercise of particular strategic superiority on the ground. Over this period, such formal agreements proved to be no barrier to renewed hostilities between the two kings. Richard had in theory already given up his claim to the Auvergne on his accession,³² but he still sent his *routiers* from Issoudun into Auvergne in summer 1195,³³ capturing 'the count of Auvergne, who had formerly deserted', and taking control of his fortresses.³⁴ If this was Dalfi, it is most odd that there is no trace of a reference to this either in the king's poetic challenge, or in Dalfi's own ripost. It could also be argued that it is equally odd that there is no

1863, vol. I, nos. 494, 492, 493, and Delaborde, *Recueil*, vol. II, no. 598. See also Gillingham, *Richard I*, pp. 309-310.

³⁰ Viel, «La tenzone», p. 1779, note to line 44, and p. 1781, although he cites no evidence. Jean Flori, *Richard Cœur de Lion, roi-chevalier*, Paris 1999, p. 226 discusses Aimar and Ademar's defection in the same paragraph which deals with Richard's diplomatic successes in summer 1197, implying all took place during the same period.

³¹ «Seigner valens et honratz, / qe m'avetz donat ailloz?»

³² Fournier and Roques, «Philippe Auguste et l'Auvergne», p. 80, and note 51 for later reiterations.

³³ Although William gives no date for this Auvergne campaign, see Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 294 on evidence pointing to the taking of Issoudun and Berry fortresses in 1195.

³⁴ William of Newburgh, *Historia*, vol. II, pp. 456-457: «Comitem quoque Alvernensem qui pridem ab ipso desciverat, per eosdem stipendiarios captum, cum suis munitionibus in potestatem redegit». Fournier and Roques, «Philippe Auguste et l'Auvergne», pp. 73-74, drawing their information solely from the *razo* (Boutière and Schutz, *Biographies des troubadours*, pp. 294-298), say both counts were captured, while William refers only to one.

allusion made to it here if it were the *other* count, Guy II, who had been captured, but on balance he seems the more likely candidate.³⁵ In his defence against Richard's accusation of uncourtly acquisitiveness, Dalfi pointedly cites his cousin:

Anc no fui vostre iuratz
 e conoisi ma follor,
 que tant caval milsoudor
 e tans esterlins pesatz
 donetz mon cosin Guion;
 so dison siei compaignon:
 totz temps segran vostres trieus
 sol tant larc vos teigna Dieus!

(17-24)

(I was never your sworn man and I recognise my foolishness, since you gave my cousin Gui so many fine horses and heavy sterling coins; his companions say they will follow in your footsteps forever as long as God keeps you this generous!)

Richard might say the treasury at Chinon is empty,³⁶ but he still had the means to shower a follower like Gui, one who it seems had become Richard's *jurat*, with gifts of coins and expensive horses.³⁷ Dalfi's *follor* was in not doing the same thing. His scorn at his cousin fits with Richard's *envoi*: 'Tell the two counts from me to make peace from now on'.³⁸ They may have both begun by being his allies, and then deserted him, but they were clearly not on the same side at the moment

³⁵ This was also Baluze's view (*Histoire généalogique de la maison d'Auvergne*, vol. I, p. 74), though he offers no more evidence, and that of the editors of the new edition of *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Léopold Delisle, Paris 1879, XVIII, p. 48 (marginal editorial annotation).

³⁶ *BdT* 420.1: «Vos me leissastes aidier / por creime de geerdon, / e car savetz q'a Chinon / non a argen ni dinier» (lines 9-12: 'You stopped helping me for fear of [not getting a] reward and because you know that there is no silver or money at Chinon').

³⁷ I take the sequence of lines 17-21 to imply some degree of cause and effect, with the 'all-purpose' conjunction *que* in 19 as introducing an explanation.

³⁸ «Vai, sirventes, je t'envoi / en Avergne, e di moi / as deus contes de ma part, / s'uimes funt pes, Diex los gart» (lines 33-36: 'Go, *sirventes*, I'm sending you to Auvergne, and tell the two counts from me to make peace from now on, God save them').

of this exchange, despite the *razo*'s claims that both counts acted in concert throughout all the tortuous episodes of this affair.³⁹

At this time, too, Philip had seized Issoire, as Richard points out in his *sirventes*. Dalfi has a pragmatic answer: he will get Issoire and Usson back more easily from 'our king', Philip, than he would by fighting for them at Richard's side, because he already has a document to that effect from Philip:

Mas nostre reis, de sasson,
rend' Usoire e lais Usson;⁴⁰
el cobrars es me mout leus,
q'eu n'ai sai agutz sos brieus.

(37-40)

(‘But when the time is right, our king will give me back Issoire and leave Usson, and recovering it will be very easy for me because I’ve got his writ for it here.’)

What happened to Issoire in the end? Viel assumes that the truce of September 1197 between Philip and Richard allowed the latter to reconquer many castles in Auvergne,⁴¹ Issoire among them. He suggests that Richard then probably gave it in fief to Dalfi once more, since

³⁹ Boutiere and Schutz, *Biographies des troubadours*, pp. 294-296. Despite Viel, «La tenzone», p. 1780, the only evidence that in 1195 Richard campaigned with the help of Guy and Dalfi is supplied by these two songs and the *razo*; neither the assertion by Stanley C. Aston, «The Poems of Robert, Bishop of Clermont (1195-1227)», in *Mélanges d'histoire littéraire, de linguistique et de philologie romanes offerts à Charles Rostaing*, ed. Jacques De Caluwé, Jean-Marie D'Heur and René Dumas, Liège 1974, pp. 29-39 (p. 29) nor Baluze's account has any other basis, while the «charter in Richard's name issued at Issoudun on 3 July» (Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 294) was not an agreement ending or concerning conflict in the region but an unrelated grant of wardship the king made to the archbishop of Canterbury. In John Gillingham's account it serves, like the entry in the Norman Exchequer Roll which he cites, to suggest that Richard was himself present at Issoudun to supervise the early stages of this campaign in Berry.

⁴⁰ Usson lies some 10 kms SE of Issoire.

⁴¹ If, however, Roger of Howden's account is correct (*Chronica*, IV, p. 20; the two other sources say Berry: Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 310), Richard was campaigning in Auvergne in July 1197, taking ten castles belonging to Philip and his men. This would suggest that Richard's poetic exchange with Dalfi took place within an even narrower window: before that month, and before news about the captured castles reached either party in the dialogue. Since Roger seems to have

only after Richard's death did Dalfi cede its lordship to Philip.⁴² This is possible, as key places could change hands frequently in a time of conflict, but there is another, simpler explanation. Since in 1197 Philip was holding Issoire, having seized it from Dalfi, it is also possible that it simply remained in Capetian hands until Richard's sudden death decided Dalfi and his son to bow to the inevitable, accept Philip's suzerainty and let *de iure* control of Issoire catch up with the fact. On 30 September 1199, «ils s'en remirent à la clémence du Capétien pour régler le sort d'Issoire ... Ils lui firent hommage et lui prêtèrent serment de fidélité».⁴³

Since stanza IV and especially lines 25-28 turn on the notions of fiefs, lands and holding or losing them, it is very tempting to see here some play on the polysemy of *valor*, which can also have the concrete sense of 'lands, estates':⁴⁴

Be·m par, qan vos diziatz
q'eu soli' aver valor,

spent 1197 either at the Roman curia or travelling between it and the King's court in Normandy, it is more likely that the two other sources for Richard's campaign are to be preferred and that this took place in Berry: see William of Newburgh, vol. II, p. 495, and Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. Joseph Stevenson, London 1875, p. 77. On Roger's movements in 1197, see John Gillingham, «Roger of Howden's Documents: Kings and Taxation in England in the Later Twelfth Century», in *English Medieval Government and Administration. Essays in Honour of J.R. Madicott*, ed. Nigel Saul and Nicholas Vincent, Woodbridge (forthcoming): I am very grateful to John Gillingham for sending me a copy of his article before publication.

⁴² Viel, «La tenzone», p. 1782.

⁴³ Fournier and Roques, «Philippe Auguste et l'Auvergne», p. 86. They suggest Issoire «avait été occupé par [les] troupes [de Philippe]» and note that Dalfi and his son «promirent que, s'ils venaient à se révolter, ils livreraient à Philippe Auguste leurs droits sur Clermont et Issoire». See Baluze, *Histoire*, vol. II, p. 249 for the text of the 1199 submission.

⁴⁴ On *valor*, see Linda Paterson, «Les féodalités occitanes et les troubadours», in *Contacts de langues, de Civilisations et Intertextualité. Actes du troisième congrès international de l'Association Internationale d'Etudes Occitanes* (Montpellier, 20-26 août 1990), ed. Gérard Gouiran, 3 vols., Montpellier 1993, vol. I, pp. 15-32 (p. 18); *Daurel e Beton*, laisse I, line 9; compare Bernart Marti, *A, senhor, qui so cuges* (*BdT* 63.2), where lines 48-54 require a similarly concrete interpretation: «aquist fals escoutador / que fan per autrui honor /la companhas ajustar, /quals qu'en perda sa valor, / lo caitius an pa sercar!» ('these false spies who have the companies [= militia] assembled [to take over] someone else's property, whoever thereby loses their lands, let the poor wretch go begging his bread!')

qe·m laissasetz ses onor
 puois que bon mi laissavatz:
 pero Dieus m'a faich tant pro
 q'entre·l Poi et Albusson
 puosc remaner entre·ls mieus,
 qe no sui sers ni iuzieus.

(25-32)

(‘Now it is clear to me, when you said I used to have worth [lands?], that you would have abandoned me without a fief since—good though I was—you did abandon me; but God has granted me this compensation: that between Le Puy and Aubusson I can remain among my own people, since I’m not a serf or a Jew.’)

In lines 25-27, Dalfi seems to be referring to his abandonment by Richard at a moment in the recent past when Dalfi no longer possessed what he used to have: Richard thus left him («laissavatz») bereft. The «bon» in line 28, which the majority of MSS appear to treat as unproblematic,⁴⁵ continues to be opaque (one might suspect a colloquial turn of phrase). It may be that through this adjective Dalfi is here calling on the other sense of *valor* (compare «giacché mi lasciavate valoroso»: Viel), or that *bon* here has concessive force, as in Loredana Boldini’s interpretation, which I follow here.⁴⁶

Viel suggests lines 30-31, compensation for Richard’s desertion, are a reference to the area to which Dalfi withdrew and in which he still had full authority after the cession of Issoire and its territory to Philip Augustus. This would seem a reasonable inference, were it not for the fact that, when viewed on a map, «entre·l Poi et Albusson» accurately describes the location of Issoire itself. In Viel, «qe no sui» (line 32) is understood as «in modo da non essere». I would rather see it as ‘because I am not’: Dalfi is able to remain (unmolested?) among his own men, given that he does not belong to the categories of people most vulnerable to expulsion, restrictions and persecution: serfs and Jews. Dalfi may be making reference to Richard’s ambivalent attitude towards the Jews

⁴⁵ On the interventions of **IK**’s common ancestor, see Viel’s analysis, «La tenzone», p. 1778.

⁴⁶ Reported by Viel, «La tenzone», p. 1778, from Loredana Boldini’s unpublished *tesi di laurea*: ‘per avermi – per quanto valente – abbandonato’. See also Brackney, p. 51: ‘since you abandoned me in spite of my merit’.

of England,⁴⁷ but it is more likely that here, in the context of Philip's annexations, he is referring to the climate of opinion surrounding the Jewish population in Philip's lands. Having expelled them in 1182, Philip was to see the advantage of inviting them back in July 1198 since, as William le Breton put it, their selves and their goods were the king's.⁴⁸ «Dans l'esprit du peuple, tout au moins, l'équation serf = Juif tend à se répandre», especially in the period immediately following the crusade.⁴⁹

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If we turn from the detail of some points in the text to consider the poetic exchange overall, one of the remarkable things about it is its very survival. Political *sirventes* in French were ephemeral *pièces d'occasion*. As far as the French manuscripts are concerned, the traces they left were fleeting and often negligently curated.⁵⁰ Richard's French song for Dalfi was preserved only in Occitan manuscripts (**ABDIKR**) and largely thanks to the fact that his partner in the exchange was a renowned poet and patron of troubadours. That is to say, for the Italian compilers of a number of the great Occitan songbooks, it wasn't so much the king who counted as Dalfi d'Alvernhe.⁵¹

In other respects, however, it fits perfectly into the substantial Occitan tradition of poetic dialogues which are exchanges of *sirventes*, a

⁴⁷ Viel, «La tenzone», p. 1779.

⁴⁸ «Tamquam servorum res et catalla suorum»: William le Breton, *Philippide*, in *Œuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton*, ed. H.-François Delaborde, 2 vols., Paris 1885, vol. II.i, line 384.

⁴⁹ Simon Schwarzfuchs, «De la condition des Juifs de France au XII^e et XIII^e siècles», *Revue des Etudes Juives*, 125, 1966, pp. 221-232 (pp. 223, 232).

⁵⁰ See Lee, «Riccardo I d'Inghilterra», pp. 2-3; Martin Aurell, *Le Chevalier Lettré. Savoir et conduite de l'aristocratie aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, Paris 2011, pp. 144-145; Luca Barbieri, «Crusade Songs and the Old French Literary Canon», in *Literature of the Crusades*, pp. 75-95, especially p. 87.

⁵¹ Lee, «Riccardo I d'Inghilterra», pp. 7-8, Valeria Bertolucci Pizzorusso, «Osservazioni e proposte per la ricerca sui canzonieri individuali», in *Lyrique romane médiévale: la tradition des chansonniers*, Liège 1991, pp. 273-302 (pp. 293-294). A similar phenomenon can be seen at work in the case of Alfonso II of Aragon: his *canço* (*BdT* 23.1) survives only in **R**, but his *tenso* dialogue (*BdT* 242.22 = 23.1a) with the «maestre dels trobadors» (Boutière and Schutz, *Biographies des troubadours*, p. 39), Guiraut de Borneil, is found in four (**D^oIKQ**).

tradition which dates from the earliest troubadours, and which the Occitan manuscripts were very careful to record with the attribution to their authors.⁵² In a large number of cases, the versification of the opening song is reproduced in the reply, with varying degrees of sophistication.⁵³ At the simple end of the scale, the reply reproduces exactly the same length of lines and the same number of lines in a stanza as were used in the original—what John Marshall baptised the «*charpente métrique*» of the composition—normally together with the same rhyme scheme.⁵⁴ Among other things, this meant that it would have been possible to sing the new *motz* to the existing melody of the older song, though the cursory nature of the evidence also means that it is rarely possible to demonstrate that this potential to ‘sing one song to the tune of another’ was actually realised.⁵⁵ Bertran de Born’s setting of *D’un sirventes no-m cal far loignor ganda* to the tune of *N’Alamanda* («el son de “N’Alamanda”»): *BdT* 80.13, Poem 11, 25) is so often quoted precisely because such clear examples are so very rare.

At the opposite extreme of the scale, the sophisticated respondent may add more individual features of the model to his imitation, notably the reproduction of the same rhyme-sounds and even the deliberate copying of some or all of the rhyme-words. None of these additional refinements is necessary in order to recycle the same tune, and so the presence of several of them heavily underlines the connection between the model and its *contrafactum*: they emphasise, for the admiration of an informed audience of *cognoscenti*, the poetic knowledge and expertise of the participants in the dialogue.

⁵² See Francesca Gambino, «L’anonymat dans la tradition manuscrite de la lyrique troubadouresque», *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 43, 2000, pp. 33-90, especially p. 34.

⁵³ Frank M. Chambers, «Imitation of Metrical Form in the Old Provençal Lyric», *Romance Philology*, 6, 1952-53, pp. 104-120 (especially p. 112).

⁵⁴ John Marshall, «Pour l’étude des *contrafacta* dans la poésie des troubadours», *Romania*, 101, 1980, pp. 289-335 (pp. 290-291).

⁵⁵ See Marshall, «Pour l’étude des *contrafacta*», pp. 291-292 for caveats and caution in identifying borrowings of melody.

Richard's *sirventes* to Dalfi displays many of these features. It is a *contrafactum*, employing the same versification as an existing love-song by Peire Vidal, *De chantar m'era laissatz* (BdT 364.16):⁵⁶

Peire Vidal	BdT 364.16	Frank 577:269	<i>atz, or, o, ieus</i> 7a 7b 7b 7a 7c 7 c7d 7d <i>coblas unissonans</i>
Richard	BdT 420.1	Frank 577:271	<i>ier, on, oi, art</i> «rimes françaises»
Dalfi	BdT 119.8	Frank 577:266	<i>atz, or, o, ieus</i>

Moreover, only four other pieces in the troubadour corpus, three of them demonstrably later than our exchange, are constructed on this particular metrical scaffolding of eight masculine heptasyllables.⁵⁷ While its basic metrical shape meant that Richard's *sirventes* could be sung to the tune of Peire Vidal's love-song, as Frank notes, the king's rhyme-sounds are «rimes françaises»,⁵⁸ not Occitan. However, they are distributed in exactly the same pattern as Peire employed. The fact that Peire's *canso* was the original model, consciously chosen, is confirmed by two factors: firstly by Dalfi's reply, in Occitan, which does use Peire's original rhyme-sounds, and even carefully repeats nearly half of Peire's rhyme-words.⁵⁹ These include all the 'd' rhymes: that is, every one of the fourteen rhyme-words in *ieus* in Dalfi's song is taken from Peire

⁵⁶ See Viel, «La tenzone», pp. 1261-1262, and note 3, p. 1773, note 41, and p. 1778, note 45. On the role of the *canso* in the development and diffusion of the *sirventes*, see Stefano Asperti, «Testi poetici volgari di propaganda politica (secoli XII e XIII)», in *La propaganda politica nel Basso Medioevo*. Atti del XXXVIII Convegno storico internazionale (Todi, 2001), Spoleto 2002, pp. 533-599, especially pp. 546-550.

⁵⁷ Aimeric de Peguilhan, *Eissamens com l'azimans* (BdT 10.24), Guilhem de l'Olivier d'Arles, *Auzit ai dir mainta sazo* (BdT 246.66), Raimon de Castelnou, *Ar a ben dos ans passatz* (BdT 396.1). The fourth piece, *Aissi con hom tra l'estam* (BdT 162.1), is by Garin d'Apchier (...1160-1191...).

⁵⁸ See also the observation in Stefano Asperti, «Contrafacta provenzali di modelli francesi», *Messana*, 8, 1991, pp. 5-49 (p. 10) on differences of rhyme in some Occitan imitations of French songs.

⁵⁹ Viel, «La tenzone», p. 1773, note 41, and p. 1778, note 45.

Vidal's *canso*.⁶⁰ In one instance, he accomplishes this by dint of a clever manipulation: at the end of stanza VI, Dalfi's line 48 «so m'a comtat us romieus» reproduces Peire Vidal's line 7 rhyme-word in a context which anticipates the wider diffusion of his melody:

Mas pos vei qu'al bon rei platz,
Farai tost una chanso,
Que porte en Arago
Guilhems e'N Blascols Romieus,
Si-l sos lor par bons e lieus.

(4-8)

(‘But since I see that it pleases the good king [Alfonso II of Aragon], I’ll quickly compose a love-song that Guilhem and Blasco Romieu may take to Aragon, if the tune seems good and easy to them.’)

Blasco Romieu was a powerful Aragonese nobleman, *major domo* of the king of Aragon's court, whose name is found as witness to dozens of royal documents.⁶¹ Dalfi transforms what in his model is a personal name into a common noun and evokes the tales told and rumours spread by travellers such as pilgrims. There are a further ten assorted ‘a’, ‘b’ and ‘c’ rhymes reproduced by Dalfi from Peire's *canso*.⁶² All in all, so many borrowings confirm the deliberate *contrafactum* and show that Peire's song did indeed travel well—maybe to Aragon, but to Aquitaine and Auvergne too.

The second feature of Richard's model indicating conscious imitation is its reference to King Richard in line 39, where the figure of the poet-lover rejoices in his fortune in love:

De fin joi sui coronatz
Sobre tot emperador,
Quar de filha de comtor

⁶⁰ Dalfi ‘d’ rhymes: *fieus, mieus, Angieus, sieus, trieus, Dieus, juzieus, l(i)eus, brieus, grieus, romeius*. In fact, there are only two such rhyme-words in Peire's original model which Dalfi does *not* reproduce (*Peitieus, nieus*).

⁶¹ See the numerous entries in the index to *Alfonso II rey de Aragon, conde de Barcelona y marques de Provenza. Documentos (1162-96)*, ed. Ana I. Sanchez Casabón, Saragossa 1995, and Jordi Ventura, *Alfons el Cast*, Barcelona 1961, pp. 88, 92. On the possibility that the Guilhem in line 7 is Guillem de Berguedà, see Antonella Martorano, «Peire Vidal, *De chantar m'era laissatz* (BdT 364.16)», *Rialto* 20.i.2004, note.

⁶² *forsatz, coronatz, senhor, fello, follor, valor, pro, honratz, amor, maizo.*

Me sui tant enamoratz,
 Et ai mais d'un pauc cordo
 Que Na Raimbauda·m do,
 Que·l reis Richartz ab Peitieus
 Ni ab Tors ni ab Angieus.

(33-40)

(‘I am crowned with pure joy above all emperors, for I am so in love with the daughter of a *comtor*,⁶³ and a little cord [love-token] Lady Raimbauda gives me is worth more to me than Poitiers, Tours or Angers are to King Richard.’)

On the basis of this reference, Avasse dates Peire’s song to the period between Richard’s coronation in September 1189 and his departure for the crusade in summer 1190.⁶⁴ The *Dizionario biografico dei trovatori* situates both Peire Vidal and the composition ‘at the court of Richard’,⁶⁵ but this seems less likely than somewhere in the Provence of Alfonso II, which is suggested by the other references in the poem, including to the Catalan-Aragonese noble officials who will take the song «en Arago».⁶⁶ A date of composition late in 1189 or early 1190 would fit well with Alfonso II’s presence in his eastern lands, on campaign at

⁶³ The term *comtor* designates a rank below viscount (d’Arco Silvio Avasse, Peire Vidal, *Poesie*. Edizione critica e commento, 2 vols., Milan-Naples 1960, p. 63 note).

⁶⁴ Despite Viel’s description of the song as a *planh*, the opening three lines—«De chantar m’era laissatz / Per ira e per dolor / Qu’ai del comte, mon senhor»—are vague and too perfunctory to constitute a funeral lament for the count of Toulouse (although that is the conclusion the author of the 13th-c. *razo* of the song jumps to when seeking to explain the circumstances of the song’s creation) and the death of Raimon V in 1194 cannot then form a *terminus post quem* for Peire’s piece. I follow Avasse, Peire Vidal, *Poesie* (note p. 59) in understanding the lines as an evocation of the hostility, fictive or real, of Raimon V (‘My *Castiat*’) which Peire alludes to elsewhere in his songs (see for example ii, 50-52; iii, 95-98; iv, 49-52, and cf. xxxix, 61-64 below; respectively *BdT* 364.9, 2, 48 and 31)

⁶⁵ Saverio Guida and Gerardo Larghi, *Dizionario biografico dei trovatori*, Modena 2014, p. 413.

⁶⁶ According to the *razo* for this song, Peire’s Lady Raimbauda lived in *Biouill* (Beuil, Alpes-Maritimes): «Biouils si es en Proensa, en la montanha que part Lombardia e Proensa» (Boutière and Schutz, *Biographies des troubadours*, p. 369). Rather than a reference to Richard, line 4 («mas pos vei qu’al bon rei platz») reproduces the terms in which Peire habitually refers to Alfonso II: see for example ii, 48, iii, 68; iv, 4, xlii, 43, (*BdT* 364.9, 2, 48, 40), and Ernest Hoepffner, *Le troubadour Peire Vidal: sa vie et son œuvre*, Paris 1961, p. 123.

Nice and Castellane, or when he concluded another treaty with Count Raimon V of Toulouse at Jarnègues.⁶⁷

This is not to say, however, that Peire Vidal did not have a closer relationship with Richard than some of his allusions would suggest. Like many other poets, Peire refers in some of his songs to Richard's imprisonment and to his ransom, but the king was an international celebrity and the scandal of his seizure and its consequences were essentially public knowledge and poetic common currency.⁶⁸ However, two of Peire's songs hint at earlier and more personal dealings with Richard while he was still count of Poitou.⁶⁹ These are the only ones in which

⁶⁷ See Pere Benito i Monclús, «L'expansió territorial ultrapirinenca de Barcelona i de la Corona de Aragón: guerra, política i diplomàcia (1087-1213)», in *Tractats i negociacions diplomàtiques de Catalunya i de la Corona catalano-aragonesa a l'edat mitjana. I*, ed. M. Teresa Ferrer i Mallol and Manuel Riu i Riu, Barcelona 2009, pp. 13-150 (pp. 94-95).

⁶⁸ See vi, 31; xxxiii, 35; xxi, 19-22 (respectively *BdT* 364.35, 13, 14). Richard may also be behind the allusions to Poitiers in two more songs: see 1. xxxvi, 51-54 (Avalle, Peire Vidal, *Poesie*, p. 313 note): «En Fransa et en Beriu / Et a Peitieu et a Tors / Quer nostre Senher secors / Pel Turcs que-l tenon faidiu»; compare Linda Paterson, «Peire Vidal, *Be-m pac d'ivern e d'estiu* (*BdT* 364.11)», *Rialto* 29.x.2013, note to line 52; and 2. *BdT* 364.24 «Mi ven us jauzimens, / Don sui gais e jauzens, / Qu'onra-l nom de Peitau» (xxxii, 52-54: 'a rejoicing comes to me which makes me joyful and glad, for it [or 'he', Richard] honours the name of Poitou'. Avalle follows earlier commentators in understanding this as a reference to Richard taking the cross in November 1187 (pp. 244-245, 248-249 notes).

⁶⁹ In addition to these two instances, Avalle, Peire Vidal, *Poesie* (p. 325 notes) identified the «senhor d'Essiduelh» in xxxvii as Richard and the 'Lord Jaufre' of line 48 as his brother, Geoffrey of Brittany (*BdT* 364.36). I cite from Paterson's edition: «E si ja vei qu'ensem ab mi.s despuelh, / Miels m'estara qu'al senhor d'Essiduelh, / Que mante pretz quant autre s'en recre, / E no'n sai plus, mas aitan n'a-i Jaufre» (xxxvii, 45-48: 'If I ever see her undress with me, I would be better off than the lord of Excideuil, who upholds merit when another man abandons it, and I can say no more [lit. 'and I know no more about it'] but Geoffrey has as much [merit] in this affair'). But the lord of Excideuil was Aimar V of Limoges (see *La Chronique de Geoffroi de Breuil, prieur de Vigeois*, publiée par Pierre Botineau and Jean-Loup Lemaître, Paris 2021, Part I, § 68 [1171] and Part II, §§ 1-2 [1182-83], and Gilles Séraphin and Christian Remy, «Le château d'Excideuil», in *Congrès archéologique de France: 156^e session (1998: Périgord)*, Société Française d'Archéologie, Paris 1999, pp. 195-223, especially pp. 197-198), and a correction needs to be made in this respect to the notes to Linda Paterson, «Peire Vidal, *Plus que-l paubres, quan jai el ric ostal* (*BdT* 364.36)», *Rialto* 5.xi.2013. Those notes also demonstrate that there are equally good arguments for seeing the Jaufre as

Peire addresses Richard directly. The first, *Anc no mori per amor ni per al* (BdT 364.4), is a love-song to which at a later date Peire appended an additional stanza (VII) on the loss of the holy places in Syria and the need for men to go on crusade, followed by a *tornada* which reproaches Richard for not having set out, despite having taken the cross:

Coms de Peitieux, de vos mi clam a Dieu
 E Dieus a mi per aquel eis coven,
 Qu'amos avetz trazitz mout malamen,
 Lui de sa crotz e me de mon argen,
 Per qu'en devetz aver gran marrimen.

(xxxviii, BdT 364.4, 57-61)

(‘Count of Poitiers, I make a complaint about you to God and God likewise complains to me, for you have betrayed both of us very badly, Him over His cross and me over my money; so you ought to feel very sorry for it.’)

Such criticism of the powerful for their delays was echoed by other troubadours,⁷⁰ but this passage displays a strikingly flippant tone, as Peire casually equates himself with God, for both are victims of disappointments inflicted by Richard. There is no way of telling what money

Geoffrey de Lusignan, or even Geoffrey de Rancon, as there are in favour of Richard’s brother, with the result that Peire’s lines cannot prove that the song was composed before the count of Brittany’s death in August 1186. It is possible that a situation in which Aimar and Geoffrey de Lusignan were upholding *pretz* (holding out militarily?) while someone else was cravenly giving in might be found during the rebellion of the lords of Aquitaine in 1182-83: Peire Vidal was composing by then and at least one of his songs, *La lauzet’ e-l rossinhol* (BdT 364.25), was well known enough to Bertran de Born by the mid-1180s for him to adopt it as the formal model for BdT 80.28, *Mout m’es deissendre carcol* (spring 1185; Gérard Gouiran, *L’amour et la guerre. L’œuvre de Bertran de Born*, 2 vols., Aix-en-Provence 1985, p. 507): see Frank, 714:7 and 9. But it is more probable that the lines refer to some specific later event known to the audience but obscure to us, one moreover which was not necessarily military and which lent itself to exploitation in an amorous context. The date of poem xxxvii thus remains uncertain.

⁷⁰ See Linda Paterson, *Singing the Crusades. French and Occitan Lyric Responses to the Crusading Movements, 1137-1336*, Woodbridge 2018, pp. 57-63, the two versions of Bertran de Born’s *Ara sai eu de pretz qals l’a plus gran* (BdT 80.4 and 17), on which see now Francesca Sanguineti, «Bertran de Born, *Ara sai eu de prez qals l’a plus gran* (BdT 80.4), *Lecturae tropatorum*, 12, 2019, pp. 133-158 (pp. 133-145), and Giraut de Borneil, *Jois sia comensamens* (BdT 242.41), lines 17-24.

Richard had supposedly promised Peire or why,⁷¹ but at the very least it suggests a degree of personal contact already well established between poet and count. It is not impossible that Peire is evoking a reward from Richard for his singing, particularly since he later adds a further *tornada* which seems to suggest such a connection:

Coms de Peitieus, bels seigner, vos et ieu
 Avem lo pretz de tota l'otra gen,
 Vos de ben far et eu de dir lo gen!

(61-63)

(‘Count of Poitiers, fair lord, you and I are admired by everyone else, you for doing good and I for saying so gracefully!’)

The second song which hints at Peire’s earlier personal dealings with Richard, *Nulhs hom non pot d’amor gandar* (*BdT* 364.31), is a *canso* with a particularly interesting pair of *tornadas*. The first reads:

Senher coms de Peitieus, be-m platz,
 Quar es en l’ausor gra montatz,
 Que gen vos vei cobrar l’onor
 Que perderon vostr’ancestor.

(xxxix, *BdT* 364.31, 57-60)

(‘Lord Count of Poitiers, I am glad that you have risen to the higher level, for I see you nobly recovering the fief which your predecessors lost.’)

Avalle follows Noubel in seeing here a reference to Richard’s reconquest of the *onor* of Cahors from Raimon V of Toulouse in 1188. According to Noubel, «“vostr’ancestor” ne peut être que Henri II». However, «perderon» is third person plural and, while the expression ‘your predecessors’ could include Henry II, it is not obviously limited to him.⁷² The wider phrasing could then take in not only Quercy and the Cahorcin, which had been recovered from Henry II by Raimon at some

⁷¹ Paterson, *Singing the Crusades*, p. 70.

⁷² Félix Noubel, «Note sur la date de la poésie de Peire Vidal *Nulhs hom no’s pot d’amor gandar*», *Annales du Midi*, 32, 1920, pp. 427-429 (p. 428). See Peire Vidal, *Poesie*, pp. 345-346 for details of the argument for dating this to between Peire’s return from pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1187 (lines 20-22 and possibly 34) and Richard’s coronation in September 1189—or perhaps his accession at the death of Henry II in July 1189, after which it would not be usual to refer to him as merely the count of Poitiers.

time before 1188,⁷³ but also more broadly other ‘predecessors’ who might be held responsible for failure to retain the dynasty’s southern lands, including perhaps Toulouse itself.⁷⁴

Peire’s second *tornada* to this piece contains a further dig at Count Raimon V, the man behind the *senhal* ‘My *Castiat*’,⁷⁵ who is often represented in connection with Peire’s love for a certain Lady Vierna:

Sitot s’es mals Mos Chastiatz,
Dolors m’en pren e pietatz,
Quar es vielhs e pren desonor
E·m toll Na Viern’e s’amor.

(xxxix, *BdT* 364.31, 61-64)

(‘Although My *Castiat* behaves badly and takes Lady Vierna and her love [or: his favour] away from me,⁷⁶ I feel sorrow and pity for him because he is old and dishonoured.’)

The poet plays here on *onor* / *deshonor* at the rhyme, emphasizing the connection of the latter with Richard’s achievement: unable to hang on to his lands, Raimon is stripped of the *onor* which Richard has recovered.⁷⁷ Hoepffner doubted whether Peire’s words referred to victory

⁷³ Richard Benjamin, «A Forty Years War: Toulouse and the Plantagenets, 1156-96», *Historical Research*, 61, 1988, pp. 270-285, especially pp. 276-277 for the possession of Quercy and its loss in this period.

⁷⁴ See Benjamin, «A Forty Years War», pp. 276-277, and Jane Martindale, «An Unfinished Business: Angevin Politics and the Siege of Toulouse, 1159», in *Anglo-Norman Studies, XXIII: proceedings of the Battle Conference 2000*, ed. John Gillingham, Woodbridge 2001, pp. 116-154. Compare also Bertran de Born *lo fils*, who reproached John: «E deuria·s ben vergoingnar, / si·l membres de sos ansessors, / cant sai laissa Peitieu e Tors / al rei Felip ses demandar; / per que tota Guiana plaing / lo rei Ricart, qu’en defenden / en mes mant aur e mant argen» (*BdT* 81.1, lines 9-15: ‘And he should indeed be ashamed, if he remembers his predecessors, when here he abandons Poitiers and Tours to Philip without holding him to account; which is why all Guyenne mourns for King Richard who devoted much gold and silver to defending it’).

⁷⁵ See Ariane Loeb, «Les Relations entre les troubadours et les comtes de Toulouse (1112-1229)», *Annales du Midi*, 95, 1983, pp. 225-259 (p. 230 and note 30): nine of Peire’s poems refer to *Castiat*.

⁷⁶ In view of the poet-lover’s reiterated complaints that Vierna is always cold and unresponsive towards him, it is tempting to resolve the ambiguity of «s’amor» here as referring not to her love but to Raimon’s favour: on such ambiguity, compare Loeb, «Les Relations», pp. 246-250.

⁷⁷ See Avalor, Peire Vidal, *Poesie*, p. 350, note to 63.

in Quercy: «le fait d'armes fut-il assez important pour être ainsi glorifié?»⁷⁸ According to the English chronicler, Ralph Diceto, it certainly was: the massive attack launched by Richard and his forces in the region scored swift successes, including fully seventeen castles.⁷⁹ Moissac and the 'honour' of Cahors were among them.⁸⁰

It is noteworthy that at this point in his career the poet seems to be aligning himself not with the interests of the man whom we most often identify as his patron, Raimon V, but rather with the younger Count Richard, his adversary. Richard in turn paid attention to at least some of Peire's songs and was so familiar with one of them that some seven years later he was able to exploit its tune and use it as a model for a political *sirventes* of his own, directed against that renowned expert and patron of the troubadour lyric, Dalfi d'Alvernhe.

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⁷⁸ Hoepffner, *Le Troubadour Peire Vidal*, p. 62.

⁷⁹ *Radulphi de Diceto Decani Londiniensis Opera Historica*, ed. William Stubbs, 2 vols., London 1876, vol. II, p. 55: «intra breve temporis spatium copiis Brebantinorum vallatus prope Tolosam castella subjugavit xvii».

⁸⁰ See Rigord, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, in *Œuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton*, vol. I, p. 90 (Moissac). On Cahors, which at the negotiations at Bonmoulins Richard categorically refused to give up, see Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 94 and Diceto, vol. II, p. 58.

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