

ASPECTS OF THE POETIC TREATMENT OF LOVE AND FEMALE
FIGURES IN THE WORKS OF THE TROUBADOUR MARCABRU

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Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD

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ABSTRACT

Since the poems of Marcabru contain criticisms of twelfth-century aristocratic society, an attempt has been made initially to determine, as far as this is possible, his place in and relationship to that society. Marcabru's representation of female figures is considered in the light of the contrast he establishes between true and false love, itself an aspect of an ideological and poetic conflict with contemporary troubadours concerning the nature of love and its expression in lyric poetry.

This theme of the dichotomy of love pervades Marcabru's works. The means by which it finds expression are explored through consideration of the vocabulary, images and sources on which the troubadour draws in order to convey approbation of fin'amors and condemnation of false love. Several of the studies focus on individual poems (PC 293, 31; 44; 25; 26; 15), of particular interest for the striking and detailed depictions of love and women which they contain: in analysing these songs in detail, reference is made to other songs where these elucidate particular ideas or images, and consideration is given to elements deriving from learned Christian orthodoxy and especially its misogynist tradition. Examination of apparently unorthodox uses of courtly terminology and lyric commonplaces suggests that these also are employed by Marcabru to convey his consistently radical view.

Dejeanne's edition of Marcabru's works has been taken as a basis for this investigation, and attention is also paid to proposed corrections to this edition, recent partial re-editions and to the manuscript readings. In all cases account has been taken of previous interpretations and of the development of critical opinion concerning Marcabru's works. These studies are intended to complement existing work by attempting to elucidate the conception of love of this complex and influential troubadour through an investigation of his treatment of a number of representative female figures.

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DECLARATION OF PUBLISHED MATERIAL

Versions of Chapters V and VII were published as articles in Reading Medieval Studies, 10 (1984), pp.39-78, and Modern Language Review, 78 (1983), pp.24-33, respectively.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Dictionaries and reference works:

- Anglade Joseph Anglade, Grammaire de l'ancien provençal
(Paris, 1921: repr. 1969).
- Coromines Joan Coromines, Diccionari etymològic i comple-
mentari de la llengua catalana, 5 vols to date
(Barcelona, 1980--).
- Du Cange C. Du Cange, Glossarium mediae et infimae latin-
itatis, New edition, 10 vols (Niort, 1883-87).
- Godefroy F. Godefroy, Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue
française et de tous ses dialectes du IX^e au XV^e
siècle, 10 vols, (Paris, 1881-1902).
- GRLMA Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des
Mittelalters, herausgegeben von Hans Robert Jaus and
Erich Köhler,
- Vol.VI: La Littérature didactique, allégorique et
satirique, tome I (Heidelberg, 1968).
- Vol.II: Les Genres Lyriques, tome I.B: La Lyrique
occitane, fascs.4 and 5 (Heidelberg, 1980 and 1979).
- Mistral Frédéric Mistral, Tresor dóu Felibrige, 2 vols
(Aix-en-Provence, 1878).
- PD Emil Levy, Petit dictionnaire Provençal-Français, 5th
edition (Heidelberg, 1971).
- PL J.P. Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus: series
latina, 221 vols (Paris, 1844-64).
- Rayn. F. Raynouard, Lexique roman, 6 vols (Paris,
1836-44).
- REW W. Meyer-Lübke, Romanisches etymologisches
Wörterbuch, 3rd edition (Heidelberg, 1935).
- SWB Emil Levy, Provenzalisches Supplement-Wörterbuch, 8
vols (Leipzig, 1894-1924).

Periodicals:

<u>AdM</u>	<u>Annales du Midi</u>
<u>AR</u>	<u>Archivum Romanicum</u>
<u>CCM</u>	<u>Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale</u>
<u>CN</u>	<u>Cultura Neolatina</u>
<u>EC</u>	<u>L'Esprit Créateur</u>
<u>FS</u>	<u>French Studies</u>
<u>MA</u>	<u>Le Moyen Âge</u>
<u>MLN</u>	<u>Modern Language Notes</u>
<u>MLR</u>	<u>Modern Language Review</u>
<u>MR</u>	<u>Medioevo Romano</u>
<u>MS</u>	<u>Medieval Studies</u>
<u>N</u>	<u>Neophilologus</u>
<u>NM</u>	<u>Neuphilologische Mitteilungen</u>
<u>PMLA</u>	<u>Papers of the Modern Language Association of America</u>
<u>R</u>	<u>Romania</u>
<u>RF</u>	<u>Romanische Forschungen</u>
<u>RLr</u>	<u>Revue des Langues romanes</u>
<u>RN</u>	<u>Romance Notes</u>
<u>RP</u>	<u>Romance Philology</u>
<u>SLF</u>	<u>Studi di Letteratura Francese</u>
<u>SM</u>	<u>Studi Medievali</u>
<u>SMV</u>	<u>Studi Mediolatini e Volgari</u>
<u>SP</u>	<u>Studies in Philology</u>
<u>ZFSL</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur</u>
<u>ZRP</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie</u>

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

Critical Background

Marcabru belongs to the second generation of troubadours whose works have survived.¹ Compared to the number of poems by his contemporaries preserved by the manuscripts, Marcabru's corpus of songs is relatively large and this, together with the fact that the fourteenth-century manuscript R introduces the collection of his songs by the phrase 'Aissi comensa les so de Marcabru que fo lo premier trobador que fos', can be seen as an indication that subsequent generations thought of Marcabru as a figure of considerable literary stature.²

Several 'firsts' have been attributed to Marcabru in that the earliest examples of what later criticism came to describe as 'genres' of lyric poetry are found among his works. He is credited with having composed the earliest extant pastorela (XXX) and tenso (VI). He left few love-songs,³ and most of his compositions may be classed as sirventes, expressions of criticism of a social, political and moral nature.⁴

The only complete edition of the texts of Marcabru's songs so far to have appeared is that by Dejeanne but, as Jeanroy pointed out in the preface, this was never intended to be a definitive critical edition: Dejeanne's aim in 1909 'était seulement de fournir aux travailleurs futurs des matériaux bien ordonnés, sur lesquels ils pussent exercer leur ingéniosité' (p.ix). Since then, work on the texts and their interpretations has been almost continuous. Corrections to Dejeanne's edition were published by Bertoni, Pillet, Lewent and Spitzer,⁵ and almost every scholar who has published work concerning the troubadour Marcabru has proposed re-readings, textual emendations, re-translations and new interpretations of passages of his songs.⁶ Several re-editions of individual songs have been published,⁷ notably by Aurelio Roncaglia who in 1953 announced his intention of producing a new critical edition of Marcabru's works.⁸

This proliferation of critical literature can be understood as indicative not only of the scholarly interest which Marcabru's songs continue to generate, but also of the degree of their complexity. Several factors are responsible for this state of affairs. The manuscript tradition presents numerous difficulties: several songs are preserved, in different forms, in as many as eight manuscripts (Poems XVII and XVIII,

for example), while nine of Marcabru's poems are unica.⁹ Marcabru's innovative and idiosyncratic use of language also poses problems for lexicographers and philologists. Aurelio Roncaglia has drawn attention to Marcabru's use of 'inflessioni ironiche e parodistiche, che non sempre è facile cogliere', and to the fact that the troubadour employs words drawn from an enormous variety of fields: religious, courtly, scholastic, popular, proverbial and others, and he notes that Marcabru does not shrink from creating derivative forms and compounds, 'di qui la presenza nei suoi testi d'un gran numero di voci ... qualificabili come hapax'.¹⁰ He emphasizes, moreover, the need to situate 'il linguaggio poetico di Marcabruno nella tradizione del simbolismo moralistico-religioso elaborato ... soprattutto attraverso l'esegesi biblica' ('Per un'edizione', p.48). Jeanroy's confession that, like Diez and Suchier before him, he could not claim to be able to understand more than a quarter of Marcabru's works should perhaps now be set against the hope expressed by Roncaglia that painstaking philological research into all these areas might eventually make it possible to understand some 80% of the poetic legacy of 'questo trovatore così difficile'.¹¹

The critical regard in which Marcabru has been held would appear to be directly related to the complexity of his works, and scholarly opinions have undergone considerable transformation over the years as passages of his songs have been elucidated. For Jeanroy, characteristics or qualities of Marcabru's poems such as 'une obscurité, une bizarrerie constantes ... font de la lecture de ses oeuvres une rébutante corvée'; recently, however, Marcabru has been hailed as 'one of the most important and original of all medieval poets' and 'an outstandingly inventive poetic genius'.¹² Whereas Dr. Sutherland concluded of Marcabru that 'his poetry is not philosophical in content, nor does one get the impression, from his passionate and obscure language, that he was thinking in very precise terms',¹³ recent examination of this troubadour's central concept of natura, for example, situates Marcabru's use of and play on the term 'sulla linea di sviluppo del pensiero di Chartres, non lontano dalle posizioni d'Alano di Lilla e di Guglielmo d'Auxerre',¹⁴ and shows that Marcabru's songs did have a very precise philosophical content.

Although Marcabru has been rehabilitated and his sophistication is coming to be recognised, one of the adjectives still most frequently used to describe his compositions is 'obscure'. The complex and hermetic density of his poetic expression has led scholars to ask whether his

songs should be described as examples of the trōbār`clūs style of composition: 'early this century it was assumed that Marcabru composed in the trōbār`clūs because his songs were so difficult. It was only undecided whether he intended to be obscure or not'.¹⁵ It is on this question of authorial intention - 'la voluta cōstructio chiusa dei trovatori'¹⁶ - that recent enquiry has concentrated. In his review of two major studies on the subject, M. Mancini concludes, with Mōlk, by recognising in Marcabru's works 'l'assenza di un'autonomia estetica ^{teoricamente} giustificata e invece un'intenzionalità moralistica che lo trattiene decisamente al di qua del trobar clus' (pp.253-4).¹⁷ Scholars increasingly now follow the careful distinction established by Roncaglia who avoids referring to Marcabru as an exponent of trobar clus while speaking of him as a poet whose works exhibit certain characteristics later associated with trobar clus compositions and which thus provide a model for later clus poets such as Raimbaut d'Aurenga and Giraut de Bornelh.¹⁸

The debate continues.¹⁹ Perhaps an acceptable interim conclusion on this question, one which would provide a suitable basis for the following chapters, would be that Marcabru did not seek obscurity for its own sake but rather called upon and counted upon the exegetical abilities of an alert, attentive and knowledgeable public in order to convey his subtle moralising message.²⁰

Critics have for long been in agreement, however, in seeing in Marcabru's works a reflection of 'la personnalité la plus forte et la plus originale qui ait marqué les débuts de la poésie lyrique provençale'.²¹ One of the most striking features of his songs is the scathing attacks they contain. Marcabru rails against false love and adultery and has many harsh criticisms to make of the seigneurs of his time. He reproaches them particularly for their lack of cortesia and mesura, their cowardice, pettiness and lack of moral standards, and for their promiscuity and avarice, comparing unfavourably life under them with that which was enjoyed during a virtuous and unspecified Golden Age. He is recognised by present-day scholars to have exerted, through his moralising sirventes, a profound and significant influence on the development of troubadour lyric poetry.²²

That this influence and the impact of his poetry were felt by his contemporaries and immediate successors can be deduced from the chansonniers, as has been indicated, and from the number of references to

him by later troubadours. Some six troubadours refer to Marcabru by name, and the vida of Peire de Valeira situates Peire 'el temps et en la sazon que fo Marcabrus'.²³

It is significant and perhaps indicative of Marcabru's enduring fame that in the enumeration of works performed at the wedding feast in the Roman de Flamenca, Marcabru is the only author named.²⁴ It is said of the performers: 'L'us diz lo vers de Marcabru' (l.702). Although there is nothing to indicate which of Marcabru's songs is being referred to, it is possible that the allusion may be to the Vers del Lavador in which Marcabru identifies himself as the composer in the second line of the song: 'Fetz Marcabrus los motz e'l son'.²⁵ A number of later troubadours allude to this song.²⁶ Bernart Marti curses avaricious slanderous lauzengier and adds:

Mas si Dieus vol far mon coman,
Ja us non er al Lavador,
Cels c'auzis a Marcabru dir
Qu'en enfer sufriran gran fais. (ll.25-8)²⁷
('But if God answers my prayer, not one of them will ever enjoy the Lavador, those of whom you heard Marcabru say that they will suffer great torment in hell. ')

The impact and enduring fame of the Vers del Lavador can also be seen in the reference to it by the thirteenth-century troubadour Guillem Magret who complains that the world has so declined that two small coins would ensure him a better welcome than would two hundred songs, and with four coins he could win the love of the innkeeper's wife better than he could with the Vers del Lavador.²⁸

Several of the references to Marcabru, like those passages of songs attributed to Marcabru which are cited in the Breviari d'Amor, shed an interesting light on the way in which later generations remembered Marcabru. The Breviari cites three stanzas from Marcabru's 'Dirai vos senes doptansa' (XVIII), and a stanza each from Poem XXXI and 'Lo vers comensa'.²⁹ All the passages save that taken from 'Lo vers comensa' relate to Marcabru's rôle as a social critic, showing him as a misogynist or as a cynical enemy of love. Matfre himself comments of the troubadour:

'Anc En Marcabrus non hac par
de maldire... (ll. 28238-9)
('Sir Marcabru never had his equal in slander/criticism'.)

Of the references to him by other troubadours, that by the thirteenth-century Guillem de l'Olivier mentions Marcabru in connection with his frequently propounded views on heredity, moral qualities and the purity of the blood-line:

So nos retrais Marcabrus:
De bon pair' eys bon efan
E crois del croi, per semblan. (ll. 24-6)³⁰
('Marcabru tells us that a good/noble child is born of a good father, and a base/bad child of a base father, similarly.')

Marcoat, in a difficult passage, seems to be praising Marcabru for his caustic outspokenness:

Anc pois mori Marcabrus
ni Roilis perdet del mus
miels de mi no'ls entamena. (ll.28-30)³¹
('Since Marcabru died and Roilis lost part of his face/muzzle, no one attacks (?)/tears strips off (?) them better than I do'.)

Guerau de Cabrera refers to Marcabru, apparently as a colleague (see below), and Peire d'Alvernhe praises the way in which Marcabru composed.³²

A character named Marcabru also features in the thirteenth-century romance Joufroi de Poitiers. He is described as an accomplished trovere (l.3605), sent to the court of Henry I.³³ Rather than understand this as evidence that Marcabru did in fact visit the English court,³⁴ this reference should perhaps be seen as an indication of the troubadour's enduring fame. It is interesting to note that, upon discovering his lord at the English court, Marcabru harshly criticizes him for neglecting his duties and responsibilities as seigneur:

Mauvais cuens lainiers et chaitis,
Que fais tu en cestui pais?...
Certes molt te fusse plus gent
Que tu defendisses ta terre
Que cha fusses folie querre. (ll.3675-84)

This perhaps represents another glimpse of the survival of Marcabru's reputation as a máldizēn.

This was the image of Marcabru preserved by the composers of both his vidās. The vidā in ms A emphasizes his reputation:

e fo mout cridatz et auzitz pel mon, e doptatz per sa
lengua,
('he was very famous and people listened to him throughout the
world, and he was feared because of his (sharp) tongue')

while that in ms K notes that

de caitiyetz serventes fez e dis mal de las femnas e
d'amor.³⁵
('he composed miserable sirventes and spoke ill of women and of
love.')

The studies in the following chapters are intended to be a fuller investigation of these judgements by Marcabru's biographers, examining the types of love depicted in his songs and his representation of female figures with particular reference to the vocabulary, images and sources on which the troubadour draws, and focussing on particular poems which best illustrate the statements of the vidas.

'Ni anc no'n saup hom qui'l fo': Marcabru and his society.

Since Marcabru's poems contain criticisms of twelfth-century aristocratic society, it may perhaps be useful initially to attempt to determine - as far as this is possible - his place in that society.

The biographies give little information regarding this early troubadour. They imply that he was of humble or obscure origins: according to ms A, he was a foundling brought up by one Aldric del Vilar, while ms K describes him as from Gascony, the son of a poor woman called Marcabruna, which has been understood as an indication that he may have been illegitimate.³⁶ He is said to have been murdered by castellans of Guyenne who were outraged by his repeated attacks (ms A).

The debt which the short vida in ms K owes to Poem XVIII, a stanza of which is included in the biography, is evident,³⁷ while Bertoni has shown that there is very little in vida A, 'questo tessuto di fantasticherie', which cannot be traced to the scribe's embroidery on material drawn from Poems XX and XX^{bis}.³⁸

Certain other details in the vidas have been discussed by scholars. While Mólk and Roncaglia, for example, have detected Gasconisms in Marcabru's language, Pirot believes that such linguistic confirmation of the troubadour's origins alleged by ms A is the result of pure chance.³⁹ From vida A it has been inferred that Marcabru served a period of literary apprenticeship with Cercamon. While the influence and primacy of one or the other troubadour has been much debated, it would appear that 'the contemporaneity of the two poets is perhaps more important than the question of which came first'.⁴⁰

Apart from the largely fictional information supplied by his vidas, very little is known about the life of the troubadour Marcabru. In an article published in 1966 Pirot reviewed previous attempts to identify Marcabru, including a study in which it was suggested that a Guilelmus de Marcabru, witness to a charter dated 24 March 1169, might be the troubadour himself, or his son.⁴¹ Pirot found that the manuscript concerned read Guilelmus de Marcabeu, and he concluded that 'jusqu'à présent, on n'a pas encore trouvé dans la France du moyen âge un seul personnage portant le nom de Marcabru' ('Ce n'était point', p.541). (See below).

The only evidence concerning the troubadour's life and career is found in historical allusions contained in his works and, as Franz remarked, 'aus Anspielungen in den Gedichten können wir ... nur ganz wenige Stationen des äußeren Lebensganges des vielgereisten Mannes mit Daten festlegen' (pp.8-9).

On the basis of historical allusions in Marcabru's songs, Appel and Boissonnade attempted to construct a biography of Marcabru.⁴² Working at the same time, although independently, they reached similar conclusions. Since then, a number of scholars have emended the dates of several of the poems involved and have suggested dates of composition for further poems. The surveys of Appel and Boissonnade could perhaps be usefully revised to take account of more recent scholarship.⁴³ The Appendix below contains a mise à jour of suggestions concerning the career and itinerary of

Marcabru, based on inferences drawn from the troubadour's poems, and a review of the conclusions which have been drawn regarding his patrons and protectors.

Those historical allusions in Marcabru's songs which can be traced span the years c.1129 - c.1149-50 and there is no positive evidence that he was composing after this date. In his song 'Bel m'es quan la roza floris' (PC 323,7), Peire d'Alvernhe praises Marcabru:

Marcabru per gran dreitura
trobet d'atretal semblansa (ll.38-9)⁴⁴
('Marcabru, through his great sense of what was right, composed
in this same fashion.')

This song was composed in 1158, during what Topsfield suggested were Marcabru's declining years, or shortly after his death, since Peire's use of the preterite trobet indicates that Marcabru was no longer poetically active.⁴⁵

During his literary career, which he apparently began at Poitiers, Marcabru seems to have travelled widely in Southern France and Northern Spain, and several of his songs link him with the Spanish reconquista campaigns.⁴⁶ Several important political figures have been listed among his patrons. Guilhem X of Aquitaine seems to have been Marcabru's patron during his early career, and Alfonso Jordan of Toulouse is thought to have offered Marcabru intermittent protection. While A. Roncaglia believes that Marcabru was at the court of Alfonso VII of Castille-Leon and under the Spanish Emperor's protection from 1135 until 1145, re-examination of the evidence for dating, however approximately, Marcabru's songs and career would suggest that there is at least as much evidence to connect Marcabru with Alfonso Jordan of Toulouse as with Alfonso VII, and Marcabru's relations with Alfonso VII may have been conditioned to a certain extent by the activities of the count of Toulouse.⁴⁷ It seems possible that Marcabru also sought patronage at the courts of Portugal, Barcelona and Béarn.

From the fragmentary, hypothetical picture which emerges from a consideration of Marcabru's career, it would seem safe to conclude that Marcabru's means were not sufficient to maintain himself and that he needed a patron. Should it be inferred from this that Marcabru was a joglar, of lowly birth?⁴⁸

A number of passages in Marcabru's works have led scholars to conclude that he was a jòglàr. His approaches to Alfonso VII are accompanied by flattering and hopeful allusions to Alfonso's generosity: he calls the Spanish ruler a 'larc donaire' ('Aujatz de chan' 1.32), and it is the larguezà which Alfonso may show to Marcabru which distinguishes him from the avaricious barons of Southern France. In the same song he says of them "that Jovens is lost,

pos ist baron an comensat l'estraire
e passat don per pertuis de taraire. (11.11-12)
('since these barons (in France) have become miserly and passed
their gifts through the eye of a needle.')⁴⁹

His complaints about seigneurial avarice are frequent.⁵⁰ In Poem XI he reproaches the powerful for their uncourtly miserliness:

Per qu'en lur cortz non es visa
Copa ni enaps d'argent,
Mantells vairs ni pena griza. (11.46-8)
('which is why you do not see at their courts bowls or cups of
silver, nor fur coats or furs.')

Whitney has shown that 'clothing or garments frequently appear ... in enumerations of gifts' to performers, who were also rewarded with presents of gold and silver objects such as goblets.⁵¹

To professional rivalry between joglars has been attributed in part the apparently venomous réplique by Marcabru to Alegret in the same poem. While both Marcabru and Alegret deplore the decline in courtly values, particularly the exercise of largueza, in 'Ara pareisson ll'aubre sec', Alegret makes an exception of 'lo senher de cui es l'Occidentz' (1.35), understood to be Alfonso VII.⁵² The closing lines of Marcabru's lament for the degeneration of courtly society are thought to be an attack on Alegret who had replaced or attempted to replace Marcabru in the Spanish Emperor's favour:⁵³

Alegretz, folls, en qual guiza
Cujas far d'avol valen,
Ni de gonella camiza? (XI 11.65-7)
('Alegret, you fool, how do you think you can make a worthy man
out of a base one, or a fine shirt from a rough tunic (or a
silk purse from a sow's ear?) ?')

If one accepts the authenticity of both poetic dialogues (VI and XX-XX^{bis}), Marcabru is actually called a jòglâr by his poetic opponents. Uc Catola says that

Marchabrun, anc non cuit t'ames
l'amors, ves cui es tant engres,
ni no fo anc res meinz prezes
d'aitals joglars esbaluiz. (11.41-4)⁵⁴
('Marcabru, I'll never believe that it ever loved you, this
love you are so hostile towards, nor ~~were~~ there ever creatures
it valued less than such foolish joglars. ')

Marcabru does not explicitly reject this name.⁵⁵

Poem XX could be understood to reveal something of the relations between a peripatetic player (11.34-6) and a patron who claims to have no means of rewarding him (11.19-24). Aldric sends him away but says:

Quan tornaras
Segurs seras
De signor, et ieu de joglar. (XX 11.40-42)⁵⁶
('When you return you will be assured of a seigneur, and I of a
joglar. ')

Marcabru reproaches Aldric with leading a life of profligacy and luxuria, and for having a sharp tongue:

De lengueiar
Contra joglar
Etz plus afilatz que milans. (XX^{bis} 11.31-3)
('In speaking against joglar, you have a tongue sharper than a
kite's beak. ')

Again Marcabru appears implicitly to accept the name of joglar.

That a composer should 'sign' his songs, referring to himself as the composer, has been understood as a jongleuresque practice,⁵⁷ 'the writer's self-reference [being] in part the effect both of his uncertain patronage and the conditions of oral performance which governed the dissemination of his art'.⁵⁸

Signing works in this way may have been an attempt to establish a permanent claim, perhaps for the purpose of publicity, to what was, in effect, a means of livelihood.⁵⁹ The first stanza of 'Aujatz de chan' may be considered in this light:

Aujatz de chan, com s'enans'e meillura,
 e Marcabrus, segon s'entensa pura,
 sap la razon e'l vers lassar e faire
 si que autr'om no l'en pot un mot traire.
 ('Listen how my song progresses and improves and Marcabru, with
 his pure understanding/judgement, knows how to make and bind
 together the theme and the vers (song) so that no one can
 extract a word from it.')60

The last stanza of Marcabru's gap may also be interpreted as an
 allusion to Marcabru's livelihood:

Cascun si gart
 c'ab aital art
 mi fatz a viure e morir;
 qu'ieu sui l'auzels
 c'als estornels
 fatz los mieus auzellos noirir. (ll.55-60)⁶¹
 ('Let everyone beware, for by such a technique/art I live and
 die; for I am the bird who causes its fledglings to be
 fed/brought up by the starlings.')

If one understands one level of this song to be a parodic description of
 the poetic métier,⁶² these lines could indicate that Marcabru needed to
 make his living by his songs (the fledglings), and the starlings may
 represent the joglars through whom Marcabru achieves this, 'either
 because he is addressing his song to them, or because he can use his
 songs to damage the reputation of his enemies' (Paterson p.27). Köhler
 also interprets this song as an indication of Marcabru's social position
 as a joglar.⁶³

These fragmentary indications would all accord with the description
 given by Faral of the 'jongleur-type',⁶⁴ but several of these passages
 are open to another interpretation. Regarding the term jongleur, F.
 Pirot prefers to refer to Marcabru as a 'troubadour-jongleur', on the
 grounds that he was both a composer and a performer, and at least two
 passages in his songs indicate that Marcabru the composer employed a
joglar.⁶⁵

In some ways whether or not Marcabru was a joglar - what kind of
 performer he was - is related to the question of his social origins. In
 Poems XX-XX^{bis} in particular, but also in Marcabru's tensò with Uc
 Catola, the participants hurl such aggressive insults at each other that
 one may wonder if the tensos are serious. In Stroński's opinion, these

slurs are part of witty exchanges rather than being serious, factual accusations.⁶⁶ Although an invitation to a tensò does not imply social parity, perhaps the interlocutors in these cases were good friends and Poems XX-XX^{bis} are in fact a humorous exchange.⁶⁷

The 'liens personnels - voire amicaux' which Pirot has outlined between Marcabru and the Catalan nobleman Guerau de Cabrera (to whom Marcabru sends Poem XXXIV with the gap message), and which he also believes existed between Marcabru and Jaufre Rudel and Alfonso VII have led him to doubt that Marcabru was of merely humble origins.⁶⁸ In his sirventes-ensenhamen Cabrera mentions the troubadours Jaufre Rudel, Eble II de Ventadour and a certain N'Anfos, together with Marcabru;⁶⁹ he uses the honorific En for everyone but Marcabru and, although this could be taken as evidence that Marcabru was low-born or a friend of Cabrera or both, Pirot points out that 'si les troubadours placent le particule devant un patronyme, ils ne l'utilisent pas devant un cognomen' (Recherches, p.146).

Was Marcabru really the troubadour's name? Or was it, like that of his contemporary, Cercamon, 'évidemment un soubriquet personnel'?⁷⁰ De Riquer notes that Marcabru's name appears on no surviving document of the period and attributes this to the fact that he was of lowly birth (I, p.171), but if 'Marcabru' were a stage-name, it would be unlikely to appear on charters or any other documents.

It is unlikely that it will ever be possible to test this hypothesis, but if 'Marcabru' were a stage-name and one particularly well impressed upon public memory from the numerous self-references lassatz in his songs,⁷¹ by the time that the vida in ms A was composed all traces of the historical man may well have vanished and 'no-one ever knew who he was or where he came from' ('ni anc no saup hom qui'l fo ni d'on'). Perhaps all that remained was a vague awareness that Marcabru was not his original name and this was expressed in vida A with the words 'et adoncs avia nom Panperdut; mas d'aqui enan ac nom Marcabrun'.

Marcabru identifies himself on several occasions with the soudadier. In his lament for the disappearance of the old nobility, 'Al departir del brau tempier', he complains about their ignoble successors: they are prodigal with empty promises,

don los clamon flacs e bauducs
ieu e tug l'autre soudadier. (ll.23-4)⁷²
('which is why I and all the other soudadier call them weak
bickerers(?) .')

'Doas cuidas' is addressed to his compaigner: from line 19 it appears that these also are soudadier who are disappointed by the miserly ric, and Marcabru uses the word nostre when talking of their state of mind. Köhler understands the term soudadier in these contexts to include, as well as simple soldiers, iuvenes, young knights who 'sans fief ou sans fortune, ou déshérités pour une raison quelconque, s'engagent comme mercenaires'.⁷³ Such men were distinguished principally by the fact that they were not born on the domaine of the seigneur they served, but nevertheless formed part of his maisnada and, like other members of this, 'ils attendent de lui [le seigneur] subsistence et avancement'.⁷⁴ Several other troubadours identify themselves equally closely with the soudadier, among them Cercamon, Bertran de Born and Giraut de Bornelh.⁷⁵ Köhler sees these groups of 'trained professionals', as they have been called,⁷⁶ as including landless knights, iuvenes and troubadours with interests in common in that, whatever their métier, all were dependent upon the generosity of their lord, and he describes the troubadours as the spokesmen of this broad social group ('"Jeunesse"' p.574).

Marcabru's concern for the welfare and advancement of these 'Träger höfischer Werte' is also reflected in his numerous laments for the decline of Jovens and its lack of fulfilment, in those passages of his songs where it is possible that Jovens designates the social group.⁷⁷ This could be the case in Poem VIII where Marcabru says

Pesa'm de Joven car s'en fug,
C'a penas troba qui'l convit. (ll.4-5)
('It grieves me that Jovens flees away for it can hardly find
anyone to welcome it.')

Marcabru may be deploring the fact that there is no place for young men at the courts of miserly nobles, no welcome for the unplaced soudadier. His words may be compared with those of Cercamon:

Per qu'ieu n'estauc marritz e cossiros,
Que soudadiers non truep ab cui s'apays. (ll. 32-3)⁷⁸
('I am sad and anxious because the soudadier can find no one to
sustain him.')

When in Poem XX Aldric says

Reconogut
T'ai, Pan-perdut (ll. 37-8)

is this jibe perhaps a reference to Marcabru as a 'troubadour-jongleur, - soudadier who has lost his patron and means of support and is therefore seeking a new situation?⁷⁹

If, rather than being of lowly birth, Marcabru was a 'cadet de famille' as is suggested by Rita Lejeune and F. Pirot, he would not only have identified with the values and aspirations of Jovens, but would himself have belonged to that social group.⁸⁰ If he were a younger son of a family of the lesser nobility, he may have been obliged to seek his fortune as a soudadier, whether by means of his trobar talents or by the sword, or both.⁸¹ Such an hypothesis would help to account for his apparent renewed searches for patronage and for his complaints about the avarice of the seigneurial classes damaging the prospects of the young men, and it would accord with Schutz's observation that 'c'est surtout dans les vidas qu'on trouve un certain nombre de cavalliers paubres, autant dire des milites minores devenus joglars'.⁸²

There is little here to support the picture of Marcabru, inferred from the vidas, as a lowly joglar, and Schutz has found that 'sans compter Marcabru, ...on trouve peu - presque pas - de vilains dans cette alchimie sociale' (p.677). Perhaps Marcabru should not be counted as a vilain at all. The remark in his vida (ms K) that he was 'fils d'una paubra femna qui ac nom Marcabruna' cannot be taken at face value. This is derived, as the biographer says, from one of Marcabru's poems (XVIII), a particularly dramatic and memorable song. The adjective paubra may well be an inventive elaboration by the scribe and, even if one allows that there may be traces of factual information now lost to us in the vida's statement, the research of Herlihy into the widespread use of matronymics in documents from Southern France and Northern Spain shows that it was customary for individuals, laity and clergy, to identify themselves with reference to their mothers.⁸³ Marcabru's words in Poem XVIII line 67 may not be any indication that he was illegitimate.⁸⁴

Marcabru may have belonged to the social group of the soudadier. His complaints about seigneurial avarice could be understood to support this hypothesis, as could his bitter criticisms of evil men, particularly the girbaut and the gardador.⁸⁵

Identification of these men is problematic.⁸⁶ Lynne Lawner has focussed on the socio-political context in which Marcabru, 'a poet of transformation' (p.488), was composing and stressed the need to recognise a link between 'the erotic and the political planes of Marcabru's discourse' (p.501).⁸⁷ She argues that Marcabru apprehended the changes transforming the twelfth-century society, perceiving these as a rapid erosion of the 'old order'. His songs therefore express a pessimistic conservatism, and he uses themes such as adultery and the bastardisation of the nobility to represent what he saw as the degeneration and corruption of the old order and the old values. Among the targets of his criticism are the 'parasitic guardians of women' which Lawner examines with reference to Poems III, XXIX, XXXI, XXXV and XXXIX. The figures of the gardador/girbaut appear to be ciphers in Marcabru's poetry, representing 'an indeterminate but very real evil penetrating the interstices of society' (p.497). Given that Marcabru was expressing a general unease through the medium of lyric poetry, his anxiety is translated in his songs in imprecise terms in which the group of evil infiltrators could at times be understood to be rival poets,⁸⁸ or guardians of women's virtue who seduce their charges,⁸⁹ or perhaps the products of changing economic and social forces, those ministeriales of Southern French courts whose activities threaten the status, livelihood and future prospects of the soudadier.⁹⁰

The song 'A l'alena del vent doussa' contains indications which point to this being a plausible interpretation. This song is apparently directed against a group of evil men, gardadors (l.17), who are described in line 27 as 'aquist soldat', 'these hirelings', and by the terms 'estraitz pla', which could be interpreted as 'stupid (pla) and low-born or illegitimate'.⁹¹ By engaging such men, the lords become guazalhan, 'animal leaseholders' enjoying only a share of their own wives, while the gardador enjoys the other share.⁹² Marcabru complains that these men are encaritz (l.13): they are well thought of, favoured by the lord. Moreover,

cist fan la malvestat rebon
quan no's fan donar non per oc. (11.34-5)
('These men cause Malvestatz to increase when they cause us to
be given the reply "no" instead of "yes".)⁹³

Could this be understood to mean that they have influence with the lord and use this to frustrate the requests and ambitions of Marcabru and his group? Marcabru calls them 'guasta-pa' (1.13) - could they be rivals in the household, 'spoiling the bread', taking away the living of Marcabru and his fellow soudadier?⁹⁴ The troubadour may here be abusing men who have become established in the maisnada and in the lord's favour and who are blocking access to similar secure positions by the soudadier. If this interpretation were carried a little further, it might be possible to argue that the 'guasta-pa' were some sort of steward or official trusted by the lord and who, in addition to the legitimate rewards and profits of their office (the 'first fruits' of line 33), extort or obtain more than they are entitled to (the 'second fruits'?), thus siphoning off perquisites which might otherwise be distributed among those soudadier on the periphery of the household.⁹⁵

Marcabru's complaints in 'A l'alena del vent doussa' may be compared to those in Poem XXXIX, concerning the tree of Malvestatz from whose branches powerful figures such as princes, kings and administrators (amiratz 1.31) are suspended by the neck by nooses of Escarsetatz.⁹⁶ Those at fault are described in stanza 9 where Marcabru says that he sees the wise men deceived

per los acropitz penchenatz
que tot jorn demandon salutz,
e demandon aco per ces,
c'anc nuills francs hom non dec sofrir
c'aitals gastaus fumos tengues. (11.59-63)
('by these squatting (base ?), primped-up dandies who
continually ask for perks and who, moreover, demand these as
their due. No nobleman should ever tolerate such smoke-
blackened stewards.')

The lord's attention and money are apparently directed towards foppish courtiers, retainers with a steward's office.⁹⁷ These men are described as obtaining more than the legitimate rewards of their office, more than the first fruits, since they demand salutz, which Du Cange glosses as 'xenia ... quae fiebant ultra debitum censum', gifts made over and above

the censum which is due.⁹⁸ According to Marcabru, all this is to the detriment of Jovens which he describes as confondutz and frustrated (11.24-5).

Marcabru may also use the term girbaut in a similar way in Poems XXIX and XXXI. Raynouard glossed the word 'goujat, vaurien'.⁹⁹ It is thought to have originated in 'l'emploi d'un nom propre comme nom typique des domestiques': from 'ce sens de "domestique, homme vil" ... se seraient développés les sens de "vaurien" et de "libertin"'.¹⁰⁰ Marcabru may in Poems XXIX and XXXI be referring to lowly, churlish household servants, or he may be applying the epithet girbaut to officials of the lord's household as a term of sneering abuse.¹⁰¹ Marcabru's hostility to these men could be understood as the resentment administrative upstarts inspired in soudadier leading a precarious existence and jockeying for a more secure position in the lord's favour.

This hypothesis concerning Marcabru's social origins and status would not conflict with the education with which modern scholars have not hesitated to credit him.¹⁰² There is no detailed information collected regarding schools in the South of France, or the sort of education the troubadours may have received.¹⁰³ Jeanroy concluded that it was not necessary for most troubadours to have studied at school for their works to exhibit certain characteristics of a 'tradition savante', it was enough that they be in contact with a few poets who had received an education (I, p.67). C. Leube-Fey reviews the question briefly and is obliged to agree with Jeanroy, although she makes an exception of a few troubadours who 'eine klerikale Ausbildung durchlaufen hatten wie Marcabru, Cercamon oder Peire Cardenal'.¹⁰⁴ In the case of these men "dürfen wir ein Studium der septem artes, wobei wohl der Hauptakzent auf der ars rhetorica gelegen hat, als sicher annehmen" (Leube-Fey, p.61 n.134). Several scholars have demonstrated the extent of Marcabru's knowledge in certain of these areas.¹⁰⁵ Could Marcabru's early career have resembled that of Peire Cardenal, for example, of whom his biographer says:

fo filz de cavallier e de domna. E cant era petitz,
sos peires lo mes per quanorgue en la quanorguia
major del Puei; et apres letras, e saup ben lezer e
chantar. E quant fo vengutz en estat d'ome, el
s'azautet de la vanetat d'aquest mon ... et anava per
cortz de reis e de gentils barons?¹⁰⁶

('He was the son of a knight and a lady. And when he was a boy, his father put him into the great monastery at Puy to be a canon, and he studied and could read and sing well. When he became a man, he developed a taste for the vanity of this world ... and travelled to the courts of kings and barons.')

Marcabru appears to have been an educated, itinerant soudadier, 'en relations avec le monde de la haute société et du haut clergé du temps'.¹⁰⁷ From this insecure position, the 'highly politicised intellectual' (Lawner, p.512) could be said to turn his attention outwards to sing, frequently critically, of love, women and society. In his songs it is possible to discern what has been called a 'programma di rigenerazione della società cortese' (Mancini, p.253), to which the notion of fin'amors is central.

Notes to Chapter I

1. The first generation is held to be represented by Guilhem IX and, arguably, by Eble II de Ventadour (see Chapter II below), and F. Pirot, Recherches sur les connaissances littéraires des troubadours occitans et catalans des XII^e et XIII^e siècles, *Memorias de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, 14 (Barcelona, 1972), pp.173-4).
2. Designation of manuscripts taken from A. Jeanroy, Bibliographie sommaire des chansonniers provençaux (Paris, 1916). Compare also Marcabru's vida (ms K): 'Trobaire fo dels premiers c'om se recort' (J. Boutière and A.H. Schutz, Biographies des troubadours, 2nd edition, *Les Classiques d'Oc*, 1 (Paris, 1964), pp.10-11). M. de Riquer considers that seven songs may with certainty be attributed to Cercamon and six to Jaufre Rudel (M. de Riquer, Los trovadores: historia literaria y textos, 3 vols (Barcelona, 1975), I, pp.220 and 153 respectively). Over 40 of Marcabru's songs survive: 41 in total, according to Dejeanne's attribution, assuming that, of the pair of songs XX and XX^{bis}, one is correctly ascribed to Marcabru and the other is the work of Aldric del Vilar (Poésies complètes du troubadour Marcabru, publiées par J.M.L. Dejeanne, *Bibliothèque Méridionale*, 1st series, 12 (Toulouse, 1909): numbering of poems is taken from this edition. When more recent partial re-editions are used, the reference is to be an abbreviation of the first line (see note 7 below)).
3. See, for example, C. Appel, 'Zu Marcabru', ZRP, 43 (1923), pp.403-69: 'Dem Minnelied lassen sich höchstens drei seiner Gedichte zuweisen (VII, XIV, XXVIII)' (p.433). Compare P. Bec, 'Le Problème des genres chez les premiers troubadours', CCM, 25 (1982), pp.31-47: he reviews earlier studies and shows that 'le classement de genres des pièces de Marcabru est particulièrement malaisé' (p.42). See the list of abbreviations above.
4. On the sirventes see D. Rieger, 'Sirventes', in GRLMA, II, 1, fasc.4, pp.9-61.

5. G. Bertoni, 'Due note provenzali: I. Marcabruno', SM, 3 (1911), pp.638-57; A. Pillet, 'Zum Texte von Marcabrus Gedichten', in 89: Jahresbericht der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Cultur (Breslau, 1911), pp.11-19; K. Lewent, 'Beiträge zum Verständnis der Lieder Marcabrus', ZRP, 37 (1913), pp.313-37 and 427-51; L. Spitzer, 'Zu K. Lewents "Beiträgen"', ZRP, 39 (1917-19), pp.221-3; G. Bertoni, Review of Lewent, 'Beiträge', RLr, 61 (1913), pp.496-99. See also the schema of emendations in F. Pirot, 'Bibliographie commentée du troubadour Marcabru: mise à jour et compléments au manuel de Pillet-Carstens', MA, 73 (1967), pp.87-126 (table II).
6. Recent examples of this include L.T. Topsfield, Troubadours and Love (Cambridge, 1975), who proposes a re-reading of Poem XIX line 12 (p.266 n.7), M. de Riquer, who suggests an alteration in the order of lines 5-10 of Poem XXVI (I, pp.216-17), and J.C. Dinguiraud, who puts forward new interpretations of several stanzas of Poem IX ('Pour le texte d'Aujatz de chan', AdM, 93 (1981), pp.439-42).
7. A. Roncaglia, 'I due sirventesi di Marcabruno ad Alfonso VII', CN, 10 (1950), pp.157-83 (Poems XXII and XXIII).
 _____, 'Marcabruno: Lo vers comens quan vei del fau', CN, 11 (1951), pp.25-48 (Poem XXXIII).
 _____, 'Il gap di Marcabruno', SM, 17 (1951), pp.46-70 (Poem XVI).
 _____, 'Marcabruno: Al departir del brau tempier', CN, 13 (1953), pp.5-33 (Poem III).
 _____, 'Marcabruno: Aujatz de chan', CN, 17 (1957), pp.20-48 (Poem IX).
 _____, 'Cortesamen vuocill comensar', Rivista di Cultura Classica e Medioevale (Studi in onore di Alfredo Schiaffini), 7 Part 2 (1965), pp.948-61 (Poem XV).
- E.J. Hathaway and P.T. Ricketts, 'Le Vers del Lavador de Marcabru: édition critique, traduction et commentaire', RLr, 78 (1966), pp.1-13 (Poem XXXV).

A. Roncaglia, 'La tenzone tra Ugo Catola e Marcabruno', in Linguistica e filologia: omaggio a Benvenuto Terracini, (Milan, 1968), pp.302-54 (Poem VI).

P.T. Ricketts, 'A l'alena del vent doussa de Marcabru: édition critique, traduction et commentaire', RLr, 78 (1968), pp.109-115 (Poem II).

F. Pirot, 'A la fontana del vergier du troubadour Marcabru: édition et traduction', in Mélanges de linguistique française et de philologie et littérature médiévales offerts à Paul Imbs (Strasbourg, 1973), pp.621-42 (Poem I).

P.T. Ricketts, 'Doas cuidas ai, compaigner de Marcabru: édition critique, traduction et commentaire', in Mélanges de philologie romane offerts à Charles Camproux, 2 vols (Montpellier, 1978), I, pp.179-94 (Poem XIX).

P.T. Ricketts, 'Lo vers comensa de Marcabru: édition critique, traduction et commentaire', in Chrétien de Troyes and the troubadours: Essays in memory of the late Leslie Topsfield (Cambridge, 1984), pp.7-26 (Poem XXXII).

In order to distinguish satisfactorily between abbreviated references to the re-edited poem (for example, 'Aujatz de chan') and the article, the article references will be underlined ('Aujatz de chan'). Similarly, 'Lo vers' will refer to Roncaglia's re-edition of Poem XXXIII, while 'Lo vers comensa' will denote Ricketts' re-edition of Poem XXXII.

8. A. Roncaglia, 'Per un'edizione e per l'interpretazione dei testi del trovatore Marcabruno', in Actes et mémoires du 1^{er} congrès international de langue et littérature du Midi de la France (Avignon, 1957), pp.47-55. Re-editions by A. Roncaglia of several individual songs have so far appeared in the form of articles (see note 7 above). A new critical edition of the texts of Marcabru's songs is being prepared by Professor P.T. Ricketts and Dr Linda M. Paterson.

9. The unicá are Poems I, II, III, VI, VII, XII^{bis}, XIV, XXVI and XXVIII. Although all Marcabru's works were originally intended to be sung, the manuscripts have preserved the musical notation for only four songs: the music for Poems XIII and XXXV is transmitted by ms W and that for Poems XVIII and XXX by ms R. See A. Jeanroy, J.M.L. Dejeanne and P. Aubry, Quatre poésies de Marcabru, troubadour gascon du XII^e siècle (Paris, 1904). Although account will be taken here of the possible ways in which Marcabru's songs may have been performed, the following chapters are concerned primarily with songs whose music has not been preserved.

10. 'Per un'edizione', p.48. An indication of the lexical sophistication and range of Marcabru can be found in the tables of word-frequency lists produced by computer and published by Dr Paterson as Appendix III to Troubadours and Eloquence (Oxford, 1975). These show that, of the six troubadours analysed, Marcabru has the richest vocabulary and uses the greatest number of rare words.

11. A. Jeanroy, La Poésie lyrique des troubadours, 2 vols (Paris, 1934), II, pp.24-5; Roncaglia, 'Per un'edizione', p.47.

12. Jeanroy, II, p.24; Topsfield, Troubadours, p.107.

13. D.R. Sutherland, 'The Language of the Troubadours and the Problem of Origins', FS 10 (1956), pp.199-215 (p.208).

14. A. Roncaglia, 'Trobar clus: discussione aperta', CN, 29 (1969), pp.5-55 (p.50). See also Topsfield, Troubadours, pp.101-07, and Chapter II n.76 below.

15. Paterson, p.41: see this and her p.42 for a rapid review of assessments of Marcabru in this context.

16. M. Mancini, 'Recenti interpretazioni del trobar clus', SLF, 2 (1969), pp.241-59 (p.244). Compare also Franz's definition of trobar clus:

die bewußte aus ästhetischen Gründen
beabsichtige Erschwerung des Verständnisses
durch den Dichter.

(A. Franz, Über den Trobadör Marcabru (Marburg, 1914), p.10).

Mancini's article deals with two studies: L. Pollmann, 'Trobar clus': Bibelexegese und hispano-arabische Literatur, Forschungen zur Romanischen Philologie, 16 (Munster, 1965), and U. Mölk, 'Trobar clus, trobar leu': Studien zur Dichtungstheorie der Trobadors (Munich, 1968).

17. Mölk argues that Marcabru was neither aware of the distinction between clus and leu styles of composition nor deliberately obscure in his own songs.
18. See Roncaglia, 'Trobar clus', p.11. On these characteristics of Marcabru's songs see Paterson, p.42. On the approximate date of the emergence of trobar clus as a recognized poetic mode, see Mölk, p.55, Roncaglia ('Trobar clus'), p.32 and C. Di Girolamo, 'Trobar clus e trobar leu', MR, 8 (1981-83), pp.11-35 (p.14).
19. See in particular the article by Di Girolamo and his comments on Köhler's contribution to the subject (E. Köhler, 'Marcabru und die beiden "Schulen"', CN, 30 (1970), p.300-314, also translated into Italian in E. Köhler, Sociologia del fin'amor: saggi trobadorici, translated by M. Mancini, Ydioma Tripharium, 2 (Padua, 1976), pp.257-73. Wherever possible, reference will be made to Köhler's works collected in this volume).
20. See Di Girolamo, p.25.
21. F. Pirot, 'Ce n'était point le troubadour Marcabru', AdM, 78 (1966), pp.537-41 (p.537).
22. See for example, L.T. Topsfield, Chrétien de Troyes (Cambridge, 1981), p.4, Köhler, Sociologia, pp.261 and 272, and E. Hoepffner, 'Le Troubadour Bernart Marti', R, 53 (1927), pp.103-150 (p.138).

23. Presumably thereby situating Peire in the distant past (Boutière and Schutz, p.14).
24. Les Troubadours: Jaufré Flamenca. Barlaam et Josaphat, traduction de René Lavaud et René Nelli, 2 vols (Paris, 1960), II.
25. The song is found in eight mss, an indication of its popularity (?), and even ms W, which contains the musical notation but only the first two stanzas of the text, preserves Marcabru's prominent 'signature'.
26. It has been argued that Cercamon alludes to the Vers del Lavador in 'Puois nostre temps comens'a brunezir' (PC 112,3a) when he says, in connection with the Holy Land and the opportunity afforded by the fall of Edessa (December 1144),

Ara's pot hom lavar et esclarzir
de gran blasme, silh qu'en son encombrós (ll. 43-4)
('Now men may wash and cleanse themselves of great sin,
those who are burdened with it.')

(Les Poésies de Cercamon, éditées par A. Jeanroy (Paris, 1922), Poem V). If, however, the Vers del Lavador was composed in 1149 (see Appendix), it would seem rather that Cercamon may have influenced Marcabru's choice of image. See V. Tortoreto, 'Cercamon, maestro di Marcabru?' CN, 36 (1976), pp.61-93, and see below on the question of who influenced whom.

27. Les Poésies de Bernart Marti, éditées par E. Hoepffner (Paris, 1929), Poem IX (PC 104,2). De Riquer suggests that this is an allusion to line 23 of Marcabru's song (I, p.252). On the master-pupil relationship between Marcabru and Bernart Marti, see Hoepffner, 'Bernart Marti', pp.105 and 108, and Mölk, pp.37-8.
28. Text: De Riquer, II, Poem 181 (PC 223,6):

E dels quatre tenrai l'ost'en amor
mielz non fera pel Vers del Lavador. (ll.8-9)

29. Le 'Breviari d'Amor' de Matfre Ermengaud, édité par P.T. Ricketts, V (Leiden, 1976), ll.28231-36; 28246-51; 29607-12; 30995-1001; 32206-14.
30. K. Bartsch, Denkmäler der provenzalischen Literatur, Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins, 39 (Stuttgart, 1856), p.27: cobla 7 (PC 246,63). Compare also the influence which Jeanroy detected on Bertran Carbonel (A. Jeanroy, 'Les Coblas de Bertran Carbonel', AdM, 25 (1913), pp.137-88: coblas LV and LVI (see pp.171-2 and 185) (PC 82,64 and 51).
31. Text: De Riquer, I, Poem 33 (PC 294,1). De Riquer suggests that Roilis was punished or tortured by having his lips cut off (p.262). On entamenar see Rayn.III.130 ('mettre en pièces) and SWB.III.43 ('endommager'; '(Brot usw) anschneiden'): Dejeanne translates: 'leur enlève le morceau (aux hommes vils)' ('Le Troubadour gascon Marcoat', AdM, 15 (1903), pp.358-71.
32. See Chapter II below.
33. Joufroi de Poitiers: Roman d'aventures du XIII^e siècle, édition critique par P.B. Fay and J.L. Grigsby, Textes Littéraires Français, 183 (Paris, 1972): 'Trovere fu molt de gran pris'.
34. Compare W.M. Wiacek, 'Geography in the Provençal Poetry of the Troubadours of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', in Mélanges d'histoire littéraire, de linguistique et de philologie romane offerts à Charles Rostaing, 2 vols (Liege, 1974), II, pp.1235-43 (p.1237). Such evidence as exists for Marcabru's career and movements indicates rather that the troubadour's attention was turned southwards, towards Spain (see Appendix).
35. The word caitivetz here has been shown to have the meaning, 'infelici, dolenti'; it is a description of the negative content and tone of his songs, 'escludendo quindi la possibilità di una presa di posizione negativa da parte del biografo' (V. Bertolucci Pizzorusso, 'Marcabruno e il suo biografo', SMV, 17 (1969), pp.17-19 (p.18).

36. Topsfield, Troubadours, p.70, but see below, p.14.
37. See also Pirot, 'Ce n'était point', p.538, and Recherches, p.249: 'Il est trop clair que le copiste de K ne sait rien de la biographie exacte de Marcabru'.
38. 'Due note', pp.641-44 (p.644). See also Jeanroy, II, p.24, n.1.
39. Pirot, Recherches, pp.249-50. On Gasconisms in Marcabru's songs see Mölk, pp.59 and 86; Roncaglia, 'Al departir', pp.15, 17 and 24; 'Aujatz de chan', pp.37-8; 'La tenzone', p.211 and notes.
40. The Poetry of Cercamon and Jaufre Rudel, edited and translated by R. Rosenstein and G. Wolf, Garland Library of Medieval Literature, Series A, Vol.5 (New York, 1983), p.14. Compare Tortoreto, 'Maestro'. Bertoni ascribes the vida's allusion to Cercamon to the scribe's general knowledge ('Due note', p.644).
41. Pirot, 'Ce n'était point'; S. Mondon, 'D'où était originaire Marcabru Panperdut, troubadour gascon du XII^e siècle?', Revue de Comminges, 35 (1923), pp.153-60.
42. Appel, 'Zu Marcabru'; P. Boissonnade, 'Les Personnages et les événements de l'histoire de l'Allemagne, de France et d'Espagne dans l'oeuvre de Marcabru (1129-1150): essai sur la biographie du poète et la chronologie de ses poésies', R, 48 (1922), pp.207-43. See also P. Meyer, 'Marcabru', R, 6 (1877), pp.119-29.
43. Boissonnade (p.243) thought that a date of some kind could be hazarded for some 12 of Marcabru's poems; recent scholarship has brought that number to 17.
44. Peire d'Alvernha: Liriche, a cura di A. Del Monte (Turin, 1955), Poem XIII.
45. L.T. Topsfield, 'The "Natural Fool" in Peire d'Alvernhe, Marcabru and Bernart de Ventadorn', in Mélanges Charles Rostaing, II, pp.1149-58 (p.1149). On the dating of Peire's poem, see De Riquer, I, p.321.

46. Particularly the Vers del Lavador: see Appendix.
47. For discussion of this and other points, see Appendix.
48. As has De Riquer, for example (I, pp.170-1). Whether Marcabru was a joglar and whether he was of lowly birth may be considered as two separate but perhaps related questions.
49. See Roncaglia, 'Aujatz de chan', pp.33-4, on these lines. Compare also Marcabru's complaints about these barons in 'Empeiraire, per mi mezeis', lines 10-11.
50. See for example XXXI stanza 6; XXXIV stanza 2; XXXIX stanzas 5 and 7; XLII stanza 2; 'Empeiraire, per mi mezeis' passim; 'Lo vers' stanza 6; Lavador stanza 3.
51. M.P. Whitney, 'Queen of Medieval Virtues: "Largesse"', in Vassar Medieval Studies, edited by C.F. Fiske (New York, 1923), pp.181-215 (p.195). On gifts of cups see Whitney, p.194, and Boissonnade, p.238.
52. See De Riquer, I, Poem 28 (PC 17,2).
53. See Boissonnade, p.239, and Molk, pp.92 and 98. Compare also Paterson, pp.39-40, on the significance of the rana, symbol of false loquacity, in this song.
54. Ed. Roncaglia. On esbaluiz see Roncaglia, 'La tenzone', pp.244-5.
55. Roncaglia, 'La tenzone', pp.243-4.
56. My punctuation.
57. See for example, L.E. Kastner, 'Marcabru and Cercamon', MLR, 26 (1931), pp.91-6 (p.96).

58. M. Stevens, 'The Performing Self in Twelfth-century Culture', Viator, 9 (1978), pp.193-212 (p.210).
59. See E. Faral, Les Jongleurs en France au moyen âge, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Etudes: Sciences historiques et philologiques, fasc. 117 (Paris, 1910), pp.123-4).
60. See also Dinguiraud, 'Pour le texte d'Aujatz de chan'. Could the inextricable word also be Marcabru's name?
61. Ed. Roncaglia.
62. See Roncaglia, 'Il gap', p.47, and L. Lawner, 'Marcabru and the Origins of Trobar Clus' in The Medieval World, edited by D. Daitches and A. Thorlby (London, 1973), pp.485-523 (p.510).
63. Sociologia, p.167. See Chapter II below.
64. See Faral, Chapters 5 and 7 (in particular, p.96), and compare W.D. Paden, 'The Role of the Joglar in Troubadour Lyric Poetry', in Essays in Memory of Leslie Topsfield, pp.90-111, especially p.90.
65. F. Pirot, "L'Idéologie des troubadours: examen des travaux récents", MA,74 (1968), pp.301-331 (p.317). Compare Rychner on the chansons de geste: 'Les textes ne permettent pas d'isoler trouveurs et auteurs d'une part, jongleurs-exécutants d'autre part' (J. Rychner, La Chanson de Roland: essai sur l'art épique des jongleurs (Geneva, 1953), p.22). In Poem XXXIV Marcabru commands a courtly, well-spoken messenger to go to Urgel and unfold the song for the admiration of Sir Cabriera (lines 43-9). On the use of messengers/joglars, see Paden, 'The Role of the joglar'. Marcabru's song 'Cortesamen vuoil comensar' is by implication intended to be carried overseas to Jaufre Rudel by a joglar (ll.37-42: see especially enviar): this would seem to preclude identification of Marcabru as a joglar throughout his career.

66. S. Stroński, La Poésie et la réalité au temps des troubadours (Oxford, 1943), p.7: 'Les traits que les troubadours décochent à leurs confrères ou se décochent réciproquement sont plutôt des jeux d'esprit que les dépositions devant le juge'.
67. On the relationship between Marcabru and Uc Catola, see Roncaglia, 'La tenzone', p.219, and on the tone of Poems XX and XX^{bis}, see Chapter II below and the hypothesis that Marcabru was expressing his hostility to Aldric del Vilar (F.M. Chambers, 'D'aisso laus Dieu and Aldric del Vilar', RP,35 (1982), pp.489-500.
68. 'Idéologie', p.319, and see Recherches, p.147. See also Roncaglia, 'La tenzone', pp.218-9, on Marcabru's relations with the knight Uc Catola.
69. Text: Pirot, Recherches, pp.546-62: lines 25-30 (PC 242a,1).
70. Bec, 'Genres', p.44. Compare Lawner, p.487, on Marcabru's name: 'a nickname meaning he who writes darkly or obscurely'(?).
71. See note 60 above. Marcabru names himself in four songs in connection with his poetic skills ('Aujatz de chan' 1.2; XIV 1.51; Lavador 1.2; 'Lo vers' 1.49), and in fifteen in connection with the song's message ('A l'alena' 1.21; IV 1.53; XII^{bis} 1.35; XVII 1.40; XVIII 1.67; 'Doas cuidas' 1.52; XX^{bis} 1.20; 'Empereire, per mi mezeis' 1.37; 'Empereire, per vostre prez' 1.23; XXV 1.60; XXXI 1.54; 'Lo vers comensa' 1.92; XXXVI 1.31; XXXIX 1.47; XL 1.32). See also chapter VIII note 91.
72. On bauducs see Roncaglia, 'Al departir', p.17, and Rayn.II.200: s.m. - 'dispute, confusion, mélange'; and II.201: bauducx, adj. - 'querelleurs'.
73. E. Köhler, 'Sens et fonction du terme "Jeunesse" dans la poésie des troubadours', in Mélanges offerts à René Crozet, 2 vols (Poitiers, 1966), I, pp.569-83 (p.575).

74. Köhler, p.575. See also W.M. Hackett, 'Some Feudal and Military Terms in Girart de Roussillon: Quintane, Mostreison and Soudader', in The Medieval Alexander Legend and Romance Epic: Essays in Honour of D.J.A. Ross (London, 1983). pp.71-83.
75. Cercamon (PC 112,3a) Poem V stanza 6; L'Amour et la Guerre: l'oeuvre de Bertran de Born, édition critique par G. Gouiran, 2 vols (Aix-en-Provence, 1985), Poem 14 stanza 2 (PC 80,41); Sämtliche Lieder des Troubadours Giraut de Bornelh, herausgegeben von A. Kolsen, 2 vols (Halle, 1910, 1935), Poem 55 lines 46-51 (PC 242,46).
76. Rosenstein and Wolf, p.6. Tortoreto agrees with this interpretation of Cercamon's lines (Il trovatore Cercamon, edizione critica a cura di V. Tortoreto, 'Subsidia' al 'Corpus des troubadours', 7: Studi, testi e manuali, 9 (Modena, 1981), pp.175-6). On the connections between the troubadour and the soudadier see also Appel, 'Zu Marcabru', p.428; G. Errante, Marcabru e le fonte sacre dell'antica lirica romana, Biblioteca Sansoniana critica, 12 (Florence, 1948), p.251; Ricketts, 'Doas cuidas', p.188.
77. U. Liebertz-Grun, Zur Soziologie des 'amour courtois', Beihefte zum Euphorion, 10 (Heidelberg, 1977), p.105. See also A.J. Denomy, 'Jovens: the Notion of Youth among the Troubadours, its Meaning and Source', MS, 11 (1949), pp.1-21. Such passages include Poems XVIII line 7; XXI line 25; XXXIV lines 6-7; XXXIX lines 40-42; 'Aujatz de chan' line 13; 'Doas cuidas' line 70.
78. Text: De Riquer, I, Poem 26 (PC 112.3a). This is also Giraut de Bornelh's complaint in Poem 55 lines 36-8 (PC 242.46).
79. On this point see H. Spanke, Marcabrustudien, Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Dritte Folge, Nr 24. zweiter Teil (Göttingen, 1940), p.60, and compare Marcabru's gap, where he talks of taking 'lo pan del fol' (l.18).
80. See Pirot, 'Idéologie', p.317.

81. Compare W. Powell Jones, 'The Jongleurs Troubadours in Provence', PMLA, 46 (1931), pp.307-311 (p.310). Jeanroy notes that 'ils n'étaient pas rares, tant au Nord qu'au Midi, ceux qui étaient capables de "servir" alternativement par l'épée et par le chant' (II, p.181). On the connotations of service and reward attached to the term soudadièr in Marcabru, see also L.M. Paterson, 'The Concept of Knighthood in the Twelfth-Century Occitan Lyric', in Essays in Memory of Leslie Topsfield, pp.112-32 (pp.119-20).
82. A.H. Schutz, 'Joglar, borges, cavallier dans les biographies provençales: essai d'évaluation sémantique', in Mélanges de linguistique et de littérature romanes à la mémoire d'István Frank, Annales universitatis saraviesis, philosophie - lettres, 6 (Saarbrücken, 1957), pp.672-77 (p.677).
83. D. Herlihy, 'Land, Family and Women in Continental Europe, 701-1200', in Women in Medieval Society, edited by S. Mosher Stuard (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1976), pp.13-45. In many of the cases he surveys 'there can be no question of disguising an illicit paternity' (p.22).
84. If, however, 'Marcabru' were a stage-name, this reference to himself as the son of Marcabruna need have no factual, sociological significance.
85. Lines 19-24 of Poem XXIX would seem to indicate that these two figures are one and the same. See Chapter VII below.
86. See Lawner, p.497, and A. Roncaglia, 'Due schede provenzali per gli amici ispanisti: I. Un albero che ha radici in Ispagna', Studi di Letteratura Spagnola, 3 (1966), pp.129-34.
87. Compare L.T. Topsfield, 'Malvestatz versus Proeza and Leautatz in Troubadour Poetry and the Lancelot of Chrétien de Troyes', EC, 19 (1979), pp.37-53, on the overlapping of the courtly, Christian, moralising patterns of thought with that of feudal knighthood in Marcabru's poetry.

88. The glib, misleading men who are responsible for the disappearance of true spotless love (XXI stanza 4) could be identified with the foolish troubadours who confuse true love with false (XXXVII stanzas 2 and 3) and the wicked men with their sharpened tongues who disturb and corrupt amistat fina, dishonouring husbands (XXXVI stanza 3) (see Appel, 'Zu Marcabru', pp.449-50).
89. See, for example, 'A l'alena', Poems XXIX and XXXI and the discussion in Chapter VII below.
90. On the question of the ministeriales see D. Rieger, Gattungen und Gattungsbezeichnungen der Troubadorlyrik: Untersuchungen zum altprovenzalischen Sirventes, Beihefte zur ZRP, 148 (Tübingen, 1976), pp.40-43.
91. See Ricketts, 'A l'alena', p.114, and The Life and Works of the Troubadour Raimbaut d'Aurenga, edited by W.T. Pattison (Minneapolis, 1952), pp.91-2: 'estrag, estraig, "of low birth, bastard"'.
 92. See D. Nelson, 'Animal Imagery in Marcabru's Poetry', Studies in Medieval Culture, 11 (1974), pp.51-55 (p.52).
 93. Compare Gui de Cavailhon's advice to his patron (PC 192.4):

Q'enaissi'us tenra hom per bon,
 Si als estrains et als privat
 Donatz, e'ls enemics baissatz,
 E c'ametz mais dir hoc que non. (ll.18-21)
 ('For then men will think well of you, if you are
 generous to friends and strangers and if you bring your
 enemies low and prefer to say yes rather than no.')

(Die Werke der Troubadours in provenzalischer Sprache, herausgegeben von C.A.F. Mahn, 5 vols (Berlin, 1846-86), III (1886), p.79 (Poem 50). Line 18: Mahn - Q'en aissi us. Line 20: baissatz: PD. baisar - 'baisser, abaisser').

94. Compare p.12 above on Poem XX lines 37-8 (Pan-perdut).

95. Compare Hackett, 'Some Feudal and Military Terms'. The reference to the 'first and second fruits' has been interpreted as meaning that the guardians seduce not only the wives but the daughters of the lord (Errante, p.173, and Spanke, pp.107-8).
96. Re-edited by A. Roncaglia, Venticinque poesie dei primi trovatori, Testi e manuali dell'Istituto de Filologia Romanza dell'Università di Roma, 28 (Modena, 1949), Poem IX.
97. See G. Körting, Lateinisches-romanisches Wörterbuch, 3rd edition (Paderborn, 1907), 4180: gastaus 'Gutsverwalter, Haushofmeister'.
98. Du Cange, VII, 294, s.v. salutes.
99. Rayn.III.468.
- 100.A. Peterson, Le Passage populaire des noms de personne à l'état de nom commun dans les langues romanes (Uppsala, 1929), p.47. See also O. Schultz-Gora, 'Zum Übergange von Eigennamen in Appellativa', ZRP, 18 (1894), pp.130-137 (pp.132-3).
101. In much the same spirit as he refers to the Emperor Lothar II as a gartz ('Aujatz de chan' l.20). Compare G.G. Nicholson, "Français gars, garçon: provençal gartz, garson," R, 50 (1924), pp.94-98, on the connotations and development of this term. An interesting and possibly illuminating parallel can be found in Orderic Vitalis Book XIII (The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis, edited and translated by M. Chibnall, Oxford Medieval Texts, 6 vols (Oxford, 1969-1980), VI, p.350): with reference to this, in his study of the status of the Norman knight, Professor R. Allen Brown points out that 'when the young count Waleran of Meulan, before his defeat at Bourghéroulde in 1124 ... haughtily called the king's knights who opposed him 'pagenses et gregarios' (country bumpkins and mercenaries), he did so as an insult and not a sociological observation'. (R.A. Brown, 'The Status of the Norman Knight', in War and Government in the Middle Ages, edited by J. Gillingham and J.C. Holt (Woodbridge, 1984), pp.18-32 (p.24)).

102. Scheludko calls him 'einer der gelehrtesten Dichter der Troubadour-
schule' (D. Scheludko, 'Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte der
altprovenzalischen Lyrik' AR, 15 (1931), pp.137-206 (p.191)). See
also Lawner, p.487, and Molk, p.23.
103. See N.B. Smith, Figures of Repetition in the Old Provençal Lyric: a
Study in the Style of the Troubadours (Chapel Hill, 1976), pp.38-54.
Compare Pattison, p.22: 'there can be no doubt about the reality of
the influence of the schools on the troubadours; the only questions
open to debate are its extent and its exact form'.
104. C. Leube-Fey, Bild und Funktion der 'dompna' in der Lyrik der
Trobadors, Studia Romanica, 21 (Heidelberg, 1971), p.61 n.134.
105. See in particular Paterson; Topsfield, Troubadours; Roncaglia,
'Trobar clus'. See Chapter V below.
106. Boutière and Schutz, p.335. Compare also the vida of Arnaut Daniel:
- e fo gentils hom. Et amparet ben letras e
delectet se en trobar. Et abandonet las
letras, e fetz se joglars. (Boutière and
Schutz, p.59)
- ('He was a noble man. He engaged in study and took
pleasure in poetic composition. And he abandoned his
studies and became a joglar.')
107. R. Lejeune, 'La Femme dans les littératures française et occitane du
XI^e au XII^e siècle', CCM, 20 (1977), pp.201-16 (p.216).

CHAPTER II MARCABRU'S CONCEPTION OF LOVE

Modern scholars have frequently applied the epithet 'misogynist' to Marcabru and, in addition to the verdict of Marcabru's biographer which has already been noted, the reproaches of an anonymous trôbairitz indicate that he had this reputation:

qu'En Marcabrus, a lei de predicaire,
quant es en glezia oz orador,
que di gran mal de la gen mescrezen,
et el ditz mal de domnas eissamen;
e dic vos be que no l'es gran honransa
cel que ditz mal d'aisso don nais enfansa. (ll.25-30).¹
('For in the manner of a preacher in church or chapel who strongly criticizes unbelievers, Sir Marcabru similarly spoke badly of ladies, and I assure you that the man who says bad things about those who give birth to children derives no honour from it.')

In the opinion of Errante, 'i trovatori del seculo XIII vi avran certo trovato i motivi per la condanna di Marcabruno, da lor considerato come poeta misogino, denigratore di amore' (p.176), and it is certainly true that in a number of his songs Marcabru fiercely attacks women.² Boissonnade speaks of 'sa misogynie invétérée'; Scheludko uses the description 'Frauenhasser'; for Camproux, 'Marcabru se caractérise précisément par une misogynie épique'; while in Lawner's opinion, 'misogyny is the quintessence of his work'.³ More recently, however, some scholars have expressed themselves rather more guardedly on this point: Frank, for example, refers to 'the qualified misogyny of Marcabrun' and René Nelli states that 'Marcabru passee pour un misogyne farouche'.⁴

An examination of the representation of women in Marcabru's poems must, however, be conducted in the light of his attitude towards love in general, for misogynist elements in his works would assume a different significance according to whether he was discussing human love or love of God, or whether he was an exponent or an opponent of fin'amors. Matfre Ermengaud says that

D'En Marcabru non ai auzit
ni en lunn sieu cantar legit
quez ell lunn tems se penedes
en sa vida, ni coffesses
ni reconogues sa error
del mal qu'avia dig d'amor. (ll.28366-71)

('Concerning Sir Marcabru, I have not heard or read in any of his songs that at any time in his life he repented, or confessed or recognised his fault in the evil that he spoke of love.')

Marcabru himself on the other hand proclaims,

Qu'ieu chant per joi de fin'Amor. (XIII 1.7).

He says that he finds solace in fin'amors (XXIV 1.3), and emphasizes that as long as fin'amors, whose witness he declares himself to be (V 1.49), was valued in the past so also courtly virtues were upheld (V 11.37-42).⁵

Although he composed songs which are vehemently critical of love (Amors), Poems VII and XVIII, for example, in others, such as Poem XIII, he appears to praise and sincerely to believe in a love which he describes as fin'amors.

The nature of Marcabru's conception of love has been hotly debated over the years. As recently as 1970 Köhler challenged the interpretations given to love by Lazar and Roncaglia.⁶ In order to establish a basis for examining Marcabru's works, it is necessary here to review and assess the main arguments of the controversy. This involves the following different but related considerations:

- how far and in what respects Marcabru's ideas differed from those of contemporary troubadours (the 'école réaliste - école idéaliste' controversy),
- and, arising from this, whether fin'amors may be identified with love of God in Marcabru's songs,
- and whether by fin'amors Marcabru meant marital love.

The diversity of critical opinion appears to stem from different interpretations of those passages in Marcabru's songs in which he distinguishes between two conflicting types of love. Lines from Poems XXXI and XXXVII are those most frequently cited in this connection:

Ja non farai mai plevina
Ieu per la troba n'Eblo,
Que s'entenssa follatina
Manten encontra razo;

Ai!

Qu'ieu dis e dic e dirai
Quez Amors et Amars brai,

Hoc,

E qui blasm'Amor buzina. (XXXI 11.73-81)⁸

('I will never more pledge myself to follow the trôba of Sir Eble for he (it?) upholds his (its?) foolish understanding against all reason - Ai! - for I said and say and will say that Amôrs and Amârs conflict/ what Amôrs and Amârs shout/proclaim, Hoc, and whoever speaks badly of Amôrs is rambling.')

and:-

Trobador ab sen d'enfanssa
Movon als pros atahina,
E tornon en disciplina
So que veritatz autreia,
E fant los motz, per esmanssa,
E ntrebeschatz de fraichura.

E meton en un'eganssa
Falss'Amor encontra fina. (XXXVII 11.7-14).

('Troubadours with childish minds cause distress to worthy people and turn into torment that which truth grants, and they cause their words deliberately to be interlaced with brokenness.

They equate false love with fin'amors.')

Marcabru associates this conflict with other poets whom he accuses of confusing two types of love: in Poem XXXVII he refers to 'childishly minded troubadours' and, in Poem XXXI, he names his principal opponent, Eble, generally thought to be Eble II of Ventadour.¹¹

Appel and Jeanroy saw in these lines indications of the existence of two opposing 'schools' of troubadour poetry which they defined as the 'école réaliste', which included Marcabru and Bernart Marti, and the 'école idéaliste', which featured Eble, Bernart de Ventadorn and Jaufre Rudel.¹² The alleged differences between the two 'schools' have been summarised by Lazar:

Les idéalistes ou courtois se caractériseraient essentiellement par leur recherche de l'expression noble et décente, par le manque de préoccupations morales ou sociales, par l'exaltation d'un nouvel art d'aimer. Les réalistes, par contre, utiliseraient un langage plus rude et souvent grossier, seraient soucieux avant tout de combattre la nouvelle conception de l'amour (la fin'amors) au nom de la morale traditionnelle. (p.47)

A poem which has been cited to support the idea that Marcabru was hostile to love is 'Ans que'l terminis verdei' (VII), where Marcabru says:

Ben es cargatz de fol fais
 Qui d'Amor es en pantais.
 Senher Deus, quan mala nais
 Qui d'aital foudat se pais! (11.21-4)
 ('He is indeed loaded with a foolish burden, the man who is
 troubled by love. Lord God, he was born under an evil star,
 the man who nourishes himself with such folly!')

In other poems he attacks the adulterous promiscuity rife in society:

Moillerat, per saint Ylaire,
 Son d'una foldat confraire,
 Qu'entr'els es guerra moguda
 Tals que cornutz fa cornuda,
 E cogotz copatz copada,
 Puois eis la coa de braire. (V. 11.19-24).
 ('Husbands, by Saint Hilary, are brothers/confederates in one
 folly, for war has broken out among them such that the cuckold
 has the cuckolded woman and the injured cuckold the injured
 woman, and then the "tail" stops complaining.')¹³

In Poem XXXVI Marcabru complains that Drudaria has exceeded all limits:
 whoredom is extending its domain and this has been seized upon by
 husbands who have transformed themselves into lovers:

Drudari'es trassaillida
 E creis Putia s'onor,
 E'il moillerat l'ant sazida
 E so'is fait dompnejador. (11.25-8).

Such passages have led critics to understand Marcabru as an
 opponent of secular, human fin'amors and to interpret Marcabru's
 condemnation of Eble's poetic approach to and understanding of love as a
 condemnation of the fin'amors of the troubadours.¹⁴ Marcabru has been
 reproached for the lack of precision with which he describes his ideals
 and the values which he defends as a corollary of his attacks on love:
 'Or son idéal, s'il en avait un, ... il l'incarne dans un symbole qu'il a
 la fâcheuse idée d'emprunter à ceux-là même qu'il combat, en la modifiant
 à peine' (Jeanroy, II, p.28). On several occasions he designates his
 ideal by the term fin'amors.¹⁵

Scheludko and Errante, amongst others, have pointed to a strong
 Scriptural and liturgical influence on the criticisms expressed in
 Marcabru's poems.¹⁶ Similar influences have been discerned in those
 passages where the troubadour sings in praise of good love.¹⁷ Together

with Marcabru's ardent advocacy of the crusading cause in 'Empeiraire, per mi mezeis' and the Vers del Lavador, these influences have caused some to identify Marcabru's pure, ideal love with Christian love of God.¹⁸

Marcabru's dualistic view of love has been attributed to 'kirchlichen Quellen', to St Augustine's division of love into the spiritual and the carnal,¹⁹ and the conflict between Amors and Amars in his songs has been understood as a representation of the opposition between caritas and concupiscentia or cupiditas.²⁰

The Scriptural and liturgical influences on Marcabru's songs are nowhere clearer than in Poem XL, the song most frequently cited in support of this thesis. The religious tone of the language with which Marcabru praises fin'amors here prompted Appel to conclude: 'Hier ist kein Zweifel mehr was Fin'Amor bedeute.... Es handelt sich um keine irdische Liebe mehr. Fin'Amor ist zum Himmel aufgestiegen. Es ist die Liebe, die um Gott ist und mit ihm selber eins wird'.²¹ It is in this love that Marcabru places his hopes (XL 11.3-4).

In stanzas 3,4 and 5 the poet lists the criminals and wrong-doers who are rejected by fin'amors (11.10-11), those who speak badly of this love (1.12):

Cill son fals jutg'e raubador,
Fals molherat e jurador,
Fals home tenh e lauzengier,
Lengua-loguat, creba-mostier,
Et aissellas putas ardens
Qui son d'autrui maritz cossens;
Cyst auran guazanh ifernau. (11.15-21)

('These are the false judges and robbers, false husbands and perjurers, false painted men and slanderers, those who hire out their tongues, those who smash monasteries, and those ardent whores who consent to the husbands of others; these will have the infernal "reward".')²²

Homicidi e traidor,
Simoniac, encantador,
Luxorios e renovier,
Qui vivon d'enujos mestier,
E cill que fan faitilhamens,
E las faitileiras pudens
Seran el fuec arden engau. (11.22-28)

('Murderers and traitors, simoniacs and enchanters, lechers, and usurers who live by a wicked trade, those who cast spells and stinking sorcerers will be together in the burning fire.')

Ebriaic et escogossat,
Fals preveire e fals abat,
Falsas recluzas, fals reclus,
Lai penaran, ditz Marcabrus. (11.29-32)
('Drunkards and cuckolders, false priests and false abbots,
false anchoresses and false hermits will suffer there, says
Marcabru.')

This list of wrong-doers has been compared to the catalogue given
by St Paul of sinners who will not inherit the kingdom of heaven:

Know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of
God? Be not deceived: neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor
adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind,
Nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor
extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God
(I Corinthians 6. 9-10).²³

Another possible Scriptural parallel for this list can be found in
Galatians 5.19-21 where St Paul enumerates the ways of the flesh which
are to be avoided by those seeking salvation.²⁴

The wrong-doers of Marcabru's song are depicted as damned and their
'reward' will be that of hellfire (11.21 and 28). Lines 33-5 again
describe the fate of these people, whose common trait is falseness of
some kind, in terms which appear to liken the role and power of fin'amors
to those of God:

Car fin'Amors o a promes,
Lai er dols del dezesperatz. (11.34-5)
('For fin'amors has promised it, there there will be the
lamentations of the despairing.')

There are similarities between line 35 and a number of Scriptural
passages, including Matthew 8.12, 13.42 and 50, and Luke 13.28: 'There
shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth'.²⁵

Stanza 6, in contrast, contains praises of fin'amors and the
rewards it offers to its disciples:

Ai! fin'Amors, fons de bontat,
C'a [s] tot lo mon illuminat,
Merce ti clam, d'aquel grahus,
E'm defendas qu'ieu lai no mus;
Qu'en totz luecx mi tenh per ton pres,
Per confortat en totas res,
Per tu esper estre guidatz. (11.36-42)

('Ai ! fin'Amors, fountain of goodness, you who have illuminated the whole world, I ask you for mercy from that torment; defend me so that I may never languish there; in all places I consider myself to be your prisoner, comforted by you in all things, and by you I hope to be guided.)²⁶

Marcabru here draws on Christian imagery, including the 'fons bonitatis' of St Augustine.²⁷ The light of fin'amors resembles that of the words of St John: 'the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world' (John 1.9).²⁸ Marcabru's plea for deliverance in lines 38-9 may be based on Psalm 18.5-6, and has a resonance similar to the phrase in the Paternoster 'libera nos a malo'.²⁹

As in lines 8-9, where it is said that the person whom fin'amors chooses 'Viu letz cortes e sapiens', stanza 6 shows the benefits accorded to followers of fin'amors, and these rewards have been compared to the fruits of the spirit described in Galatians 5.22-3.³⁰

The language and sources of the imagery show, according to Roncaglia, that fin'amors in this song 'non può essere e non è altro che figura dell'amore divino, metafora di Christo stesso'.³¹

Recently, however, scholars have challenged this identification of fin'amors in Marcabru's works with the love of God. Lazar questions whether it is reasonable or necessary to suppose that Marcabru attaches to the term fin'amors a meaning so completely different from that which the expression has in the works of other troubadours.³² Nelli, moreover, doubts that an audience would have been receptive to or appreciative of 'une transmutation aussi radicale des acceptations reçues' (I, p.319).

Rather than re-examine each case and repeat arguments already solidly advanced, suffice it to say here that the studies of Gilson and Denomy have shown that,

as regards what Errante calls 'the ideological content of early troubadour poetry', there are fundamental differences between the troubadour conception of love and the love of God or charity that preclude the possibility of their identification or even of the influence of divine love on the origin or formation of that conception.³³

Nelli has examined the interpretation of fin'amors as the love of God as applied to Marcabru by Errante, and demonstrated that the moral requirements and interdictions which Marcabru enumerates in connection with fin'amors would be self-evident to the point of being redundant if

love of God were the kind of love under discussion.³⁴ Some of the troubadour's statements would even be contrary to accepted doctrine: Marcabru's fin'amors, which chooses and rejects men (XL 11.8-10), cannot from this point of view be identified with love of God which is always given to all men, although they may turn away from Him.

Those who have sought to show that by fin'amors Marcabru meant love understood according to the traditional religious ethic appear in part to have identified the source of the metaphor with the notion it describes and the forme of Marcabru's songs with their fond.³⁵ That Marcabru should have drawn on the Christian ethic and mythology in order to provide a forceful illustration of the power, purity and qualities of fin'amors is not surprising, since 'l'utilisation des termes, images et structures rhétoriques tirés de l'amour sacré pour renforcer ou pour colorer la littérature de l'amour érotique est loin d'être rare au moyen âge'.³⁶

In Marcabru's poetry, fin'amors 'is profane, but possesses qualities which associate it with Christian love'.³⁷ In his songs there is no discernable conflict between the ideal of profane love and Christian love; on the contrary, Topsfield has shown how these two ideals are integrated in Marcabru's concept of 'whole thinking or entiers cuidars, embracing all that is noble in courtly, feudal, Christian and philosophical thought and faith'.³⁸ Those whom Marcabru describes in the Vers del Lavador as refusing the call to the Crusade can be likened to the evil people rejected by fin'amors in Poem XL. The

luxorios corna-vi,
coita-disnar, bufa-tizo,
crup-en-cami (Lavador 11.46-8)³⁹
('the lustful wine-blowers, dinner-gobblers, ember-blowers,
chimney-squatters/hearth huggers')

are as idly self-indulgent and lacking in honour and rectitude as the wrong-doers the troubadour lists in Poem XL, while the 'courtly virtues required for Fin'Amors are those which impel men to go on the Crusade' (Topsfield, Troubadours, p.101).

The song in which Marcabru defines his understanding of Amors, cortesia and mesura, 'Cortesamen vuoll comensar', is similarly concerned with secular fin'amors. This is clear from the final stanza where the poet sends the song to the Crusaders in the Holy Land,

que Dieus lor o pot perdonar,
o sia pechatz o merces. (ll.41-2)
('for God can pardon them this (listening to the song),
whether it is a sin or a good deed.')

Were Marcabru's love the love of God, the poet would have no reason to worry that listening to his song may be a sin.⁴⁰

In Poem XL the chosen ones live cortes, understood as being part of the secular ethic of cortesia, and Deborah Nelson has shown clearly that this poem can be readily explained in secular terms, consistent with the way in which, in his other songs, 'Marcabru routines describes human love in religious terms'.⁴¹

Certain critics, perhaps influenced by the theory of the two schools of troubadour poetry, have understood Marcabru's fin'amors as married love and seen the troubadour as an apologist for Christian marriage, campaigning for a return to traditional morality in the face of the adulterous love celebrated in song by Guilhem IX and 'la troba n'Eblo'.⁴² This conclusion has apparently been drawn from those poems in which Marcabru criticizes the aristocracy's mores and condemns adulterous lovers. Nowhere in his works, however, does he explicitly praise marriage or express advocacy of marital fidelity. Roncaglia has identified a specific historical allusion in Poem V which in his view justifies identifying Marcabru's fin'amors with married love ('Trobar clus', p.26). Although the historical evidence may fit the tornada and accord with what little is known of Marcabru's movements, it seems slim evidence on which to base such an interpretation of Marcabru's works in general.⁴³ This is the only passage of Marcabru's songs which could be interpreted as advocacy of married love; it is contained in the imagery of two stanzas of the song and in an indirect form in a hermetic tornada.

Desirat per desiraire
A nom qui'n vol Amor traire. (ll.55-6)
('The one who wishes to draw love away from there is called
'desired one' by the desiring one.')

The emphasis which the troubadour frequently places on the notion of the 'perfect pair' similarly need have no connection with marriage, but may rather be interpreted as related to a conception of social and spiritual compatibility, of a harmonious relationship of fin'amors between two suitably matched lovers (see Chapter III below).

Although it is necessary to modify Lazar's assertion that 'la fin'amors adultère est une conception commune à tous les troubadours sans exception' (p.54), there is no evidence in Marcabru's poems to indicate that for this troubadour fin'amors was other than profane human love between the sexes. The mystical, religious language which he sometimes employs in connection with fin'amors serves as an indication, a figurative representation of the power and purity which he attributes to this love, and of the high esteem, approaching reverence, in which he holds fin'amors (see Chapter IV below).

In this Marcabru's attitude may differ in some respects from that of certain of his contemporary troubadours,⁴⁴ but scholars recently have cast serious doubt on the theory of the two schools of troubadour poetry, at least in the form in which the theory was put forward by Appel and Jeanroy.⁴⁵ There was indeed a conception of fin'amors and an approach to love-poetry with which Marcabru disagreed: this false conception involved a failure to distinguish between the pure love of Amors and lust (Amars) (Poem XXXI stanza 9), and this failure is associated with the 'troba n'Eblo'.

Whether this phrase is emended on the basis of ms A to torba⁴⁶ ('Schar, Bande': SWB VIII.278.3, or 'Unordnung, Verwirrung'; Molk, p.29 n.42), or retained and understood to mean 'poetry, composition, way of composing',⁴⁷ it has been noted that line 74 of Marcabru's song contains a reference very similar to that in lines 22-8 of Bernart de Ventadorn's 'Lo tems vai e ven e vire' (PC 70,30):⁴⁸

Ja mais no serai chantaire
ni de l'escola N'Eblo,
que mos chantars no'm val gaire
ni mas voutas ni mei so;
ni res qu'eu fassa ni dia,
no conosc que pros me sia,
ni no'i vei melhuramen.

('Never more will I be a singer nor belong to the school of Sir Eble, for my singing avails me nothing nor my trills nor my melody: I know of nothing which I say or do which could be of advantage to me, nor do I see any improvement.')

Of the two passages, F. Pirot has written: 'le rapport entre troba et escola oblige à penser qu'il s'agit d'un même personnage, tenant d'une certaine conception poétique',⁴⁹ and this conclusion holds whether Marcabru is alluding to a way of composing or derisively dismissing a 'crowd' of people.

Mölk usefully reviews the extensive literature on the shadowy figure of Eble and similarly understands the terms troba and escola as roughly synonymous.⁵⁰ The lines by Marcabru and Bernart de Ventadorn are generally taken to refer to Eble II of Ventadorn who, according to Geoffroi de Vigeois, 'erat valde graciosus in cantilensis' and 'usque ad senectam alacritatis carmina delexit'.⁵¹ Eble was involved in poetic activity. The expression 'escola n'Eblo' could imply that Eble was the central figure around whom a group of poets gathered, perhaps their patron. He may have been the principal exponent of a certain way of composing and his compositions may have served as a model for other troubadours. Marcabru's phrase 'la troba n'Eblo' may be interpreted as reinforcing this impression of Eble as an active artist although, since no songs have survived which can with any certainty be attributed to Eble, any information regarding his 'conception poétique' must be the result of speculative inferences drawn from songs such as those by Marcabru and Bernart de Ventadorn.⁵²

Mölk has examined the above two passages concerning Eble and he concludes that both troubadours reject the manner of composing of Eble and his circle, but for different reasons:

Marcabru wendet sich ja gegen Eble, weil es ihm (und die Sängern um ihn) lediglich auf den sinnlichen Genuß ankomme und er dieses Ziel freilich auch erreiche. Bernart aber dient seine Dame en perdo, in seinen Augen ist Ebles erfolgreiches Werben etwas für ihn Unerreichbares. Daher kann er mit Recht sagen, daß er der 'escola n'Eblo' nimmermehr zugehören werde. (p.30).

While it is personal disappointment which prompts Bernart de Ventadorn to abandon Eble's school,⁵³ it is moral disapproval of the 'troba n'Eblo', of their failure or refusal to discriminate between love and lust which inspires Marcabru's rejection of their manner of composing.⁵⁴

There are two types of love described in Marcabru's poetry, but both are secular: he contrasts a pure, sincere love with a highly developed spiritual dimension with base, self-interested lasciviousness.

Marcabru's songs reveal further traces of an artistic and ideological conflict with other troubadours. In Poem XXXI he names his opponent, Eble, 'offenbar den bedeutesten seiner Gegner' (Mölk, p.29), and a similar disagreement forms the basis of another song in which Marcabru's opponent is not only named but is also an active participant: the tenso between Marcabru and Uc Catola.

Although it has been argued that this piece is a fictional tenso, the work of one author, Marcabru, Roncaglia concludes that the arguments, style and language of the tenso reveal two distinct personalities.⁵⁵ Marcabru responds to Uc Catola's invitation to a debate ('un vers d'amor' 1.2) but makes it clear that it is false love he blames:

mas de faus'amistat me clam. (1.6)⁵⁶
('but I lodge a complaint against false love.')

While it displeases Catola that Marcabru should say anything other than good about love (11.9-10), Marcabru insists on making a distinction between what he understands by love and the love of which Catola speaks (1.29).⁵⁷ From his words in stanza 13, Catola's love would appear to be the sensual love treated of by Ovid and exalted by Guilhem IX (see stanza 10).⁵⁸ Catola reproaches Marcabru for confusing love with deceit -

qu'amor si ab engan mesclaz (1.26)
('that you thus confuse love with deceit') -

but Marcabru accuses Catola of being unable to distinguish between different kinds of love, asking: 'Catola, non entenz rason?' (1.13). Roncaglia, bearing in mind the scholastic nuances of these terms, translates this line: 'Catola, non hai rationale discernimento?'.

The way in which Marcabru conveys his message is conditioned by this poetic form for disputes, but the substance of his argument and of his disagreement with Catola is the same as that which can be found in his polemic attacks on other troubadours.

It is possible that in Poem VII Marcabru also refers to another opponent by name, but the context of this allusion is considerably less clear than that in which the troubadour refers to Eble, and since the poem is preserved in ms E only, there are no variants which might shed light on the lines concerned.⁵⁹ The song is a diatribe against love: a woman has tricked Marcabru (ll.19-20) and he declares that he will have nothing more to do with love, which is full of trickery (l.25). He is glad to be rid of his foolish burden (ll.15-16 and 21-22) and Topsfield suggested a connection between this song and Jaufre Rudel's 'Belhs m'es l'estius' in which Jaufre also abandons treacherous love and speaks of a 'fol fais'.⁶⁰ Marcabru enumerates the faults of love which is deceiving, venal and fickle and warns the dompnejadors to maintain a certain reserve with regard to love (stanza 6). He concludes:

La chansoneta rema
No'n dic plus a En Perma;
Tal s'en fan d'Amor casla
Deurion trichar de pla.
Drutz que's fai semblar Baza
Per Amor que fols i fa.
Ja el no's senh ab sa ma
Cui Amors enguanara! (ll.49-56)⁶¹

('The little song ends and I say no more about it to Sir Perma; those who set themselves up to be the castellans of love should really deceive and have done with it. A lover who tries to be like Basan for the sake of love/ in matters of love really behaves like a fool. May the man whom love will deceive never cross himself with his hand!')

Line 50 reads enperma in the manuscript and Pillet, Bertoni and Lewent reject Dejeanne's reading and interpretation of this as a proper name.⁶² Lewent, on the other hand, confessed himself sceptical about the suggestion that Baza of line 53 represents a personal name, whereas Topsfield has shown that this may be an allusion to the Basan of the Chanson de Roland.⁶³ Marcabru frequently makes use of named exemplary figures to illustrate arguments in his songs. Some of these named figures are drawn from literature, such as Berartz de Montleydier ('Al departir' l.28) and Arthur (Poem IV ms A l.60).⁶⁴ Other names appear to be drawn from popular sources, as is 'En Costans' who appears in 'Al

departir' line 26, XVII line 11 and XXXVII line 53,⁶⁵ or the Bible from which Marcabru's example of Samson ultimately derives (tensó 1.14) and which, it has been suggested, is the source of the allusion to 'N'Artimalec' in Marcabru's reply to Audric (XX^{bis}).⁶⁶ Other names seem to be the products of Marcabru's imagination: in 'Lo vers comensa', for example, Marcabru refers to 'lo seignor Daucadel (1.76), which Professor Ricketts interprets as a soubriquet, and in line 78 to 'Don Chaut-Morsel', which the edition and notes allow one to interpret as a proper name, perhaps constructed along the same lines as 'na Bonafo' of Poem XXXI (see Chapter VII below).⁶⁷ The 'En Perma' to whom Marcabru says no more could be a reference of a similar literary or imaginary nature.

It is also possible that Marcabru may here be employing a 'senhal littéraire',⁶⁸ a nick-name for a real person to whom he is addressing the song. 'En Perma' may designate a person with a reputation for doggedness, if Perma is in any way connected with permaner.⁶⁹

In Poem VII Marcabru uses at least one name, Baza, which recent scholarship has shown is probably that of a fictional character. Elsewhere in his songs Marcabru also uses proper names in the context of a pithy warning against Amars (see Poems XLIV, XXXI, and XVII). The diatribe against love in Poem VII contains elements of the same teaching as Marcabru gives in the overtly polemical songs in which he names his opponents: love is treacherous, venal and destroys those who become involved with it. The name 'En Perma' - if it is a person's name - occurs at the end of the song in a passage in which Marcabru summarizes his essential message, and at a point where Marcabru may be addressing the intended recipient of his song.⁷⁰ One may compare this with the dedication of 'Cortesamen vuoll comensar' 'a'n Jaufre Rudel' and Marcabru's message 'A'n Cabrieira' in Poem XXXIV. Poem VII could perhaps be an attack on the follower of love designated by the soubriquet 'En Perma'.

Marcabru also refers critically to other poets whom he does not name. In Poem XXXVII he criticizes the 'Trobador ab sen d'enfansa' for faults similar to those of which he accuses Eble, and this has prompted several scholars to identify the anonymous poets with Eble's circle.⁷¹ These foolish poets distort the truth (ll. 9-10), that is, the true nature of love:

E tornon en disciplina
So que veritatz autreia,
E fant los motz, per esmanssa,
Entrebeschatz de fraichura.

E meton en un'eganssa
Falss'Amor encontra fina. (11.9-14)

Depending on the interpretation given to 'per esmanssa', this distortion of the truth could be understood as deliberate, achieved by calculatedly twisting the meanings of words, or it could be the result of the illusory opinions of these poets, of their incomplete understanding of the true nature of love. As a consequence of the foolish poets' misrepresentations, worthy, noble people are distressed: the troubadours 'Movon als pros atahina' (1.8).

Mölk's study of Marcabru's songs shows the importance this troubadour attaches to wisdom and understanding (pp.58-61), and Mölk cites several biblical passages which shed light on Marcabru's expression of the contrast between truth and understanding on the one hand and ignorance, blindness and lasciviousness on the other.⁷² The foolish troubadours distort the truth, which is also the true teaching of Marcabru's songs, and while for Marcabru the formal beauty of a song is inseparable from the truth of its contents, this integrity or integration is, in the songs of his opponents, 'Entrebeschatz de fraichura'.⁷³ This stanza of Poem XXXVII is linked with the contrast between the notions of the 'whole' (entier) and fragmented (frait) ways of thinking and expression which runs throughout Marcabru's works and is found most clearly set out in the poem 'Doas cuidas ai, compaigner'.⁷⁴ Marcabru is criticising these poets for their inability or refusal to distinguish good love from bad, truth from what is false, and their fault is clearly bound up with the way they express themselves in song.

Marcabru may be attacking these same poets again in 'Lo vers comens quan vei del fau':

E segon trobar naturau
port la peir'e l'esc'e'l fozill,
mas menut trobador bergau
 entrebesquill
mi tornon mon chant en badau
 e'n fant gratill. (11.7-12)

('And as concerns the natural way of composing, I carry the flint, the tinder and the steel, but foolish, buzzing, muddled little troubadours turn my song into an object of ridicule and mock it.')

To the list of their failings can be added the fact that they make of Marcabru's songs, and the teaching they contain, an empty mockery. The poets are described as entrebesquill, and the word carries the same connotations of wilful, ignorant distortion and confusion as *are* found in Poem XXXVII: the foolish troubadours' songs may in Marcabru's view be 'broken' (compare fraichura in Poem XXXVII) technically, artistically, and they may also be incomplete in a moral sense.⁷⁵

Marcabru here contrasts his own way of composing to that of his opponents, as he does in Poem XXXI, and here calls the art in which he excels 'trobar naturau'. His concept of natural composition involves philosophical, moral and artistic considerations. It may be understood as a conscious attempt to express, partly by means of nature symbolism used in the tradition of biblical exegesis, a spiritual and moral message derived from the divinely-established, harmonious order which is discernible in nature by those who possess the 'whole' way of thinking.⁷⁶ Molk interprets the term as 'Einheit von Inhalt und Form' (p.76), and Roncaglia glosses naturau in this context as 'schietto' ('Lo vers', p.36), the sincere expression of a moral truth. In contrast, the bad troubadours preach confusion of truth and their songs convey an immoral, false message.⁷⁷

They propagate a false doctrine and, if one understands these troubadours to be lovers, they also practise it.⁷⁸ It is possible that the 'disgraced people' ('gen descauzida') whom Marcabru criticizes in Poem XXXVI are false poets and false lovers.⁷⁹ He says of them that they are avaricious and calls them

Mesclador d'avol doctrina
Per Frans'e per Guiana. (ll.35-6)
('Those compounders (?) of false doctrines in France and Guyenne.')

The word mesclador suggests the same notions of mingling and lack of wholeness or integrity as does entrebesquill,⁸⁰ and can be compared to other symbols of adulteration, impurity and the composite which Marcabru associates with false love.⁸¹ In his songs derivatives of

mēsc̄lār are associated on several occasions with sexual licence: the promiscuous union of a wolf and mongrel bitch produces a 'linhatges mesclatz', 'an adulterated race' (Poem XVIII ms C st.10, ms M st.7) and in Poem XLI Marcabru leaves the cuckolds to their sordid devices, saying

Qu'ieu non daria dos deniers
Per lor mesclanhas devezir. (ll.11-12)
('For I would not give tuppence to sort out their disputes
(brawls?).')⁸²

Perhaps the poets whom Cercamon criticizes may also be identified with Marcabru's opponents:

Ist trobador, entre ver e mentir,
afollon drutz e molhers et espos,
e van dizen qu'amors vay en biays,
per que'l marit endevenon gilos,
e dompnas son intradas en pantays,
car mout vol hom escoutar et auzir. (ll.19-24)⁸³
('These troubadours, between truth and falsehood,
confound/corrupt (?) lovers and wives and husbands, and say
that love is devious (goes awry), which is why husbands become
jealous and ladies are in a troubled state, for people are very
eager to listen to and hear these troubadours.')⁸⁴

Cercamon appears to be levelling the same accusations against these poets as Marcabru does against the 'trobador ab sen d'enfanssa': their poems contain an ambiguous mixture of truth and lies and, to the consternation of their audience, they put it about that love is devious, perhaps attributing to Amors the treacherous deceit of Amars (compare Marcabru Poem XXXI).⁸⁵ Marcabru and Cercamon would then be fighting the same battle against false poets. If, however, Marcabru and Cercamon do not have the same view of truth and falsehood, it is quite possible that Cercamon is attacking the attitudes of Marcabru and troubadours like him who do stress that love is or has become corrupt, and in this respect at least, Cercamon could then be numbered among Marcabru's opponents.⁸⁶

The troubadours of 'Lo vers' are described as bergau, a term whose connotations may range from the merely pejorative to the obscene, and which has also been interpreted as meaning 'hornet'.⁸⁷ In Poem XXXVIII Marcabru uses the word bertau in this sense in a list of the disagreeable insects of which 'noble winter rids us' (stanza 3). Storost sees in this a metaphorical and critical allusion to bad, plagiarist poets, and Marcabru may also be referring to this group when in stanza 2 of the same

song he says that in winter the birds and the 'garssos plen de grondill' (1.13) fall silent.⁸⁸ His avowed preference for the cold season which introduces his song could illustrate his 'bewußte Opposition gegen die Frühlingseingänge flötender Liebeslieder' (Franz, p.18).

Several of Marcabru's other songs contain allusive criticisms of figures or groups of men whom it is difficult to identify, although it has been suggested that the 'torbadors d'amistat fina' ('those who disrupt fin'amors') of Poem XXXVI and those men who serve the bad women of Poem XXXIV may also represent poets of whom Marcabru disapproves.⁸⁹ However, his clearest statements regarding a conflict with unnamed troubadours are to be found in 'Lo vers' and Poem XXXVII.

Marcabru's gap 'D'aisso laus Dieu' has been interpreted as an allusive attack on his poetic and ideological opponents.⁹⁰ Although Marcabru does not refer to other troubadours in so many words, in the opinion of Lynne Lawner, 'it is, in fact, poetry that Marcabru is talking about all through the poem'.⁹¹ This song is composed with several different layers of meaning and contains statements regarding Marcabru's views on sexual morality, the use of rhetoric, the poetic métier and, according to Lawner's analysis, the feudal and economic structures of his society.⁹² The immoral attitudes which Marcabru apparently accepts in the gap are the very opposite of the moral teachings contained in his other works and this, for Roncaglia, indicates that the gap is a bitter, polemical parody of the works of the false troubadours he openly attacks elsewhere (Roncaglia, 'Il gap', pp.46 and 52).⁹³

Within the fiction of the first person singular, Marcabru boasts of his gignos sens ('cunning' or 'cunning meanings': 1.13) and his cent colors (1.51), which may represent the figurative meanings of rhetoric with which he can get the better of others. He swears that he is loyal to the fool and boasts of his ability to keep him convinced of this devotion as long as it is in his own interest to do so ('as long as the bread lasts': stanza 4). He steals the fool's bread, a sexual symbol for the woman, but keeps his own safe (stanza 3), and he hunts where he wishes (ll.37-8) while keeping his own 'property', his lady (or wife?), closely guarded (stanza 8). In other songs, however, he fiercely reproaches husbands for sequestering their women (compare Poem XXIX). He is able to kindle and quench the fires of lust (ll.53-4), and his pride in his own hunting and fighting abilities (stanzas 6 and 7) can be interpreted as boasts of his sexual prowess. He concludes:

Cascun si gart,
 c'ab aital art
 mi fatz a viure e morir;
 qu'ieu sui l'auzels
 c'als estornels
 fatz los mieus auzellos noirir. (ll.55-60)
 ('Let everyone beware, for I must live and die by such skill;
 for I am the bird that has my own fledglings brought up by
 starlings.')

Here, on one level, Marcabru would seem to be boasting that his bastard children are raised by other men.⁹⁴ Figuratively, the fledglings may represent his songs and the ideas they express which other birds, joglars, care for and nurture by their performances, and Marcabru makes his living by the poetic art of composition.⁹⁵

Images in Marcabru's gap recall those found in the works of Guilhem IX and it is possible that 'D'aisso laus Dieu' is a sharp and ironic ripost to boasts of sexual and poetic excellence such as those Guilhem makes in 'Ben vuelh que sapchon li pluzor'.⁹⁶ Marcabru's pastorela may also represent a polemic attack upon Guilhem's approach to love and poetry since the knight, whose words parody and echo passages of Guilhem's songs and express attitudes towards love which the peasant-girl argues against, is soundly defeated in debate and ridiculed by the toza who articulates Marcabru's views on mesura and integrity.⁹⁷ Further evidence of Marcabru's opposition to Guilhem's conception of love and love-poetry can be seen in Marcabru's sirventes 'Al son desviat' (V), which is composed of an attack on false love and adultery, followed by an exposition of Marcabru's ideal of love. Marcabru criticizes promiscuous behaviour and says:

De nien sui chastiaire
 E de foudat sermonaire. (ll.31-2)
 ('I criticize "nothingness" and preach against folly.')

These were qualities which Guilhem proclaimed with humorous, burlesque intention were the subjects of his songs; Marcabru, however, castigates the fires of sexual desire and declares, possibly in an ironic understatement, that he is not to blame for encouraging such wanton behaviour (V 11.33-36).⁹⁸

N. Smith has noted that reflections of 'what must have been open debates among the troubadours' are occasionally found in their works, and traces of such a conflict involving Marcabru are discernible in the works of Marcabru's successors Peire d'Alvernhe and Bernart de Ventadorn.⁹⁹

Peire praises Marcabru whose way of composing Peire says he follows in 'Bel m'es quan la roza floris', and defends him against those who consider Marcabru to be a fool who does not understand his own nature or realize why he was born:

Marcabrus per gran dreitura
trobet d'altretal semblansa,
e tengon lo tug per fol,
qui no conois sa natura
e no'ill membre per que.s nais. (11.38-42)¹⁰⁰
('Marcabru, through his great sense of what was right, composed in just this way, and they all consider him to be a fool who does not understand his own nature or realize why he is born.')

Topsfield has argued that Bernart de Ventadorn may have been among these detractors of Marcabru. In 'Chantars no pot gaire valer' Bernart criticises foolish people who blame love through ignorance:¹⁰¹

Amor blasmen per no-saber
fola gens... (11.15-16)

and goes on to describe the essential nature of love, singling out the 'fols naturaus' for particular condemnation:

En agradar et en voler
es l'amors de dos fis amans.
Nula res no i pot pro tener,
si'lh voluntatz non es egaus.
E cel es be fols naturaus
que, de so que vol, la repren
e'lh lauza so que no'lh es gen. (11.29-35)
('The love of two lovers in fin'amors lies in pleasing and in desiring. Nothing can come to any good in love if their desires are not equal. And he is indeed a natural fool who reproaches love for what it desires and recommends what is displeasing to it to do.')

Marcabru rejects the lack of mesura, the undisciplined foudatz which Bernart claims is the inevitable (natural) and not undesirable consequence of being in love when he says in his tenso

Peire, qui ama, desena. (1.46)¹⁰²
('Peire, whoever loves loses their reason.')

Bernart may be criticising Marcabru for being uncouth and uncourtly (fols) since, in attacking lustful love which is not subject to spiritual or mental discipline, Marcabru could be said to be reproaching love for what it desires, refusing to recognise what, for Bernart, is 'the preeminence of physical desire in love'.¹⁰³ It is also possible that Bernart is mocking the 'trobar naturau' of which Marcabru claimed to be the beleaguered exponent.

The conflict reflected in these passages has been understood as an indication of the conflict between the metaphysical and the courtly currents of troubadour poetry in the twelfth century.¹⁰⁴ For metaphysical poets such as Marcabru who are concerned with a whole or integrated way of thinking and living which applies on all planes of existence, a conception of love and of love-poetry which is restricted to the plane of the senses and of the emotional experience of the individual only could be understood as incomplete, fragmented (frait) and imperfect.¹⁰⁵ Broadly speaking, it is for similar reasons that Marcabru opposes the 'troba n'Eblo'.

While bearing in mind that it may have been in the interests of individual performers to accuse their rivals of lacking morals, judgement and respect for the truth, it would still seem possible to conclude that the opposition Marcabru expresses with regard to other troubadours has a basis more solid than that of mere professional rivalry.¹⁰⁶ Marcabru clearly had developed a philosophy of love and of poetic composition which set him in opposition to other troubadours of his time, including Guilhem IX and Eble.¹⁰⁷ His ideal of fin'amors would, if properly understood and sincerely followed, enable the individual to live 'letz, cortez e sapiens' (XL 1.9) and allow society, now disrupted by promiscuity and corruption, to return to that harmonious and virtuous state which he evokes in Poem V when he says:

Tant cant bos Jovens fon paire
Del segle, e fin'Amors maire,
Fon Proeza mantenguda. (11.37-9)
('As long as good Jovens was the father of this world and fin'amors the mother, excellence (Proeza) was upheld.')

In his poems Marcabru presents fin'amors as an abstract ideal to the extent that the notion apparently comes to represent an ethic by which the world is judged.

Those troubadours Marcabru attacks have a muddled, limited conception of love and misrepresent it in their songs. Marcabru combats their incomplete interpretation and unprincipled application of the courtly ethic of fin'amors with a moralising rigour which Peire d'Alvernhe recognises when he applies to Marcabru the expression 'per gran dreitura'. It has been argued that Marcabru was composing these moralising sirventes at a time when courtly attitudes to love were still in the process of becoming established,¹⁰⁸ and that his songs played a 'grand rôle dialectique' in the formation of courtly ideology.¹⁰⁹ To a certain extent he could be considered as having contributed to the creation of the notion and poetry of fin'amors.

Marcabru's oeuvre, with its belligerent, dogmatic tone, reactionary in the literal sense of the word, could be viewed as being informed by this polemic and his statements regarding love and women will be considered in the light of this ideological and poetic conflict.¹¹⁰ If the ideal of fin'amors which he describes and advocates is an abstract notion which does not require to be focussed on a physical dompna or on the image of a physical dompna in the way that it does in the poems of other troubadours such as Bernart de Ventadorn, Marcabru does still discuss women, and female figures frequently appear in his songs. The following chapters will explore the range of Marcabru's poetic misogyny through some of the more striking of these figures, and suggest links between Marcabru's images of women and the different types of love he presents in his poems.

Notes to Chapter II

1. (PC 404,5). Falsely attributed to Raimon Jordan (see Appel, 'Zu Marcabru', p.420, and Jeanroy, II, p.25 n.2, who point out that stanza 4 would indicate that the song was composed by a woman), text in De Riquer, I, Poem 106. This stanza is preserved in ms C only, where line 28 clearly begins with the abbreviation \mathcal{C} , which is syntactically apparently meaningless but which seems necessary for the ten-syllable line. Kjellman suggests that the scribe lost track of his sentence construction between the que of line 25 ('car') and line 28: 'il la reprend fautivement par les mots et al ... ainsi le sujet Marcabrus n'a apparemment pas de prédicat' (Le Troubadour Raimon Jordan vicomte de Saint-Antonin, édition critique par H. Kjellman (Uppsala-Paris, 1922), p.117). De Riquer does not comment on the problem.
2. See in particular Poems V, tenso, XXIV, XXXI, XXXIV, XLI and XLIV. These poems and the attitudes they display will be examined in detail in the following chapters.
3. Boissonnade, p.221; Scheludko, 'Beiträge', AR, 15, p.185; C. Camproux, Histoire de la littérature occitane (Paris, 1953), p.26; Lawner, p.502.
4. D.K. Frank, 'On the Troubadour Sense of Merit', RN, 8 (1967), pp.289-96 (p.289); R. Nelli, L'Érotique des troubadours, Collection 10/18, 2 vols (Paris, 1974), I, p.237 (emphasis mine).
5. On Poem V line 49: mostraire, see Paterson, p.14 n.6.
6. Köhler, Sociologia, pp.257-73, in answer to M. Lazar, Amour courtois et 'fin'amors' dans la littérature du XII^e siècle, Bibliothèque française et romane, Series C, Vol. 8 (Paris, 1964), and Roncaglia, 'Trobar clus'. See also Roncaglia's ripost to Köhler's article mentioned above, 'Riflessi di posizione Cistercensi nella poesia del XII secolo', in I Cistercensi e il Lazio: Atti delle giornate di studio dell'Istituto di Storia dell'arte dell'Università di Roma (Rome, 1977), pp.11-22, and Di Girolamo.

7. For a review of the arguments before 1945, see A.J. Denomy, 'Fin'amors: the Pure Love of the Troubadours, its Amorality and Possible Source', MS, 7 (1945), pp.139-207 (pp.139-43).
8. Line 75 - Dejeanne: sentenssa. Compare Ricketts, 'Lo vers comensa', p.17, and see Chapter III below.
9. Most commentators follow Dejeanne's translation of line 79: 'qu'Amour vrai et Amour sensuel se récient d'être ensemble'. Compare Suchier's translation, adopted by Lewent: "'ich werde verkünden, was Liebe (Amors) und Lieben (Amars) ruft", d.h. doch wohl, wie jedes von beiden sich äußert' (p.436).
10. 'Per esmanssa (l.11): Marcabru says of his opponents 'daß sie ihre Worte absichtlich in mangelhafter Weise vermengen' (Mölk, p.74). Compare Paterson, 'Marcabru probably means their illusory opinions rather than wilful vice' (p.10 n.2).
11. See Mölk, pp.29-30.
12. Bernart von Ventadorn: seine Lieder, herausgegeben von C. Appel (Halle, 1915), pp.lxiii-lxxi; Jeanroy, II, pp.14-17.
13. On the complexity of this stanza see Paterson, pp.50-51.
14. See, for example, R.R. Bezzola, Les Origines et la formation de la littérature courtoise en Occident, 3 vols (Paris, 1944-67), II, ii, p.326: Marcabru is 'l'adversaire acharné' of the courtly love-lyric; Franz, p.5: 'Er ist der Gegner der neuen Dichtart, der neuen Dichtkonvention'; and J.J. Wilhelm, Seven Troubadours: the Creators of Modern Verse (Philadelphia, 1970), who devotes to Marcabru a chapter entitled 'In scorn of love'.
15. See Poems XIII line 7; XXXI line 46 (amor fina); XXXVII line 14; XL line 36.

16. D. Scheludko, 'Über die Theorien der Liebe bei den Trobadors', ZRP, 60 (1940), pp.191-234; Errante, pàssim.
17. See in particular, D.W. Robertson, 'Five Poems by Marcabru', SP, 51 (1954), pp.539-60 (pp.544-51 on Poem V).
18. See, for example, Bezzola, II, ii, p.321: 'Le fin'amor, chez lui, va jusqu'à se confondre avec l'amour divin'.
19. See Scheludko, 'Beiträge', AR, 15, (p.187), and De Riquer, I, pp.174-75.
20. See, for example, Errante, p.160, and A. Roncaglia, 'Civiltà cortese e civiltà borghese nel medioevo', in Concetti, storia, miti e immagini del medio evo, a cura di V. Branca (Florence, 1973), pp.269-86 (pp.277-78).
21. 'Zu Marcabru', p.454.
22. PD. tenher - 'teindre'.
23. See, among others, Scheludko, 'Theorien der Liebe', pp.201-2.
24. See Topsfield, Troubadours, p.86.
25. See Scheludko, 'Theorien der Liebe', p.202, and Errante, p.205.
26. Compare Suchier's translation of line 39, adopted by Lewent: 'bitte ich dich um Gnade vor jener Qual (der Hölle), und verteidige mich, daß ich dort nicht weile' (Lewent, p.446).
27. See Roncaglia, 'Trobar clus', p.18, n.26.
28. Compare also John 8.12. See Topsfield, Troubadours p.85, and Roncaglia, 'Trobar clus', p.18.
29. See Errante, p.205, and Scheludko, 'Theorien der Liebe', p.202.

30. Topsfield, Troubadours, p.86.
31. 'Trobar clus', pp.18-19. Roncaglia further argues that 'quando Marcabruno parla di fin'Amor, vuole riferirsi appunto all'amore cristianamente inteso, in tutta l'estensione dei suoi significati' ('Riflessi', p.16).
32. See Lazar, pp.52-4.
33. Denomy, 'Fin'amors', p.147. On these differences, which follow from the essentially carnal nature of human fin'amors and the spiritual character of mystical love of God, see E. Gilson, La Théologie mystique de saint Bernard, 3rd edition, Études de Philosophie Médiévale, 20 (Paris, 1969), Appendix IV, pp.193-216; A.J. Denomy, 'An Enquiry into the Origins of Courtly Love', MS, 6 (1944), pp.175-260 (pp.188-193); Denomy, The Heresy of Courtly Love (New York, 1947); and R. Boase, The Origin and Meaning of Courtly Love (Manchester, 1977), pp.83-6.
34. Nelli, I, pp.314-325.
35. See Roncaglia, 'Trobar clus', p.22.
36. J. Brückmann and J. Couchman, 'Cantique des Cantiques et "Carmina Burana"', in L'Érotisme au moyen âge: Études présentées au Troisième colloque de l'Institut d'études médiévales, ouvrage publié sous la direction de B. Roy (Montreal, 1977), pp.37-50 (p.48). See also P. Dronke, Medieval Latin and the Rise of the European Love-lyric, 2 vols (Oxford, 1965), I, pp.4-7.
37. L.T. Topsfield, 'Jois, Amors and Fin-Amors in the Poetry of Jaufre Rudel', NM, 71 (1970), pp.277-305 (p.303).
38. Topsfield, 'Malvestatz', p.42. See also Topsfield, Troubadours, pp.100-101.

39. Ed. Hathaway and Ricketts. Compare their translation of line 48: 'accroupis-sur-la-route' (and Topsfield, Troubadours, p.100: 'road-squatters'). If çami may also be interpreted to mean 'chimney', this would accord with the reproaches Marcabru frequently makes to men who lounge around by the hearth (compare the bufa-tizo of the preceding line and see 'Al departir' line 25; 'A l'alena' line 30; Poem XXIX line 23; XXXI stanza 7; XXXVIII line 23; XXXIX stanza 9). See also A. Soutou, 'Un Toponyme pseudo-germanique du Massif Central: Sallecrup < Solacrup', Revue Internationale d'Onomastique, 16 (1964), pp.247-58, who compares this passage of Marcabru to Giraut de Bornelh's reference to the 'malvatz crup-en-cendres' (Poem III line 33: PC 242,10). Soutou doubts that crup in either case can be a verb form derived from crupir and suggests that it should be understood as a noun, meaning 'matou, gros chat, chat non coupé' (p.251). The people whom Marcabru criticises for being guilty of luxuria would then include the licentious 'matou-en-vadrouille' or 'coureur de jupons' (p.252), and Giraut de Bornelh's lines would refer to a jealous husband, as Kolsen suggested, but more specifically to a 'personne casanière' who lies by the fire like a lazy cat (p.253). (It would also seem possible to attach this same general meaning to Marcabru's words.)
40. See Lewent, p.331, and Molk, p.35.
41. D. Nelson, 'Marcabru, Prophet of Fin 'Amors', SP, 79 (1982), pp.227-41 (p.228).
42. See Scheludko, 'Beiträge', AR, 15, p.183; Appel, 'Zu Marcabru', p.450; Nelli, I, p.252; Roncaglia, 'Trobar clus', p.26; De Riquer, I, p.174. According to Wilhelm, 'Marcabru defends marriage and morality, his position is easily reconcilable with that of the Church' (p.72).
43. This song and the dating of others are discussed in the Appendix.

44. Compare Di Girolamo: 'Quale che sia il senso della fin'amor di Marcabru, ... esistono ovvie differenze tra la sua visione dell'amore e la concezione erotica cortese che si venne affermando nel corso del XII secolo' (p.19 n.16).
45. See Nelli, I. p.219; Molk, pp.38-9; Köhler, Sociologia, pp.258-9.
46. See H. Suchier, 'Der Trobador Marcabru', Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Sprache und Literatur, 14 (1875), pp.119-60 and 273-310 (p.280). Compare ms R: 'corba'.
47. Compare Molk, p.29: 'postverbal aus trobar', and Roncaglia, 'Trobar clus', p.13: 'modo di trovare'.
48. Bernard de Ventadour: chansons d'amour, édition critique par M. Lazar, Bibliothèque française et romane, Series B, vol.5 (Paris, 1966), Poem 44.
49. F. Pirot, 'Le Troubadour Eble de Saignes (avec des notes sur les troubadours Eble de Ventadour et Eble d'Ussel)', in Mélanges de langue et de littérature médiévales offerts à Pierre Le Gentil (Paris, 1973), pp.641-61 (p.648).
50. See Molk, pp.15-39, and De Riquer, I, pp.142-7 on Eble.
51. Quoted in M. Dumitrescu, 'Eble II de Ventadorn et Guillaume IX d'Aquitaine', CCM, 11 (1968), pp.379-412 (p.384).
52. Compare, for example, A. Tavera, 'Toujours à propos de la genèse du trobar', in Littérature et société au moyen âge: actes du colloque des 5 et 6 mai 1978, publiés par les soins de D. Buschinger (Paris, 1978), pp.305-332 (p.320): 'les indications qu'on trouve à son sujet sous la plume de Marcabru, puis de Bernart de Ventadorn ... en font bien le "maître à penser" probable du nouveau style'. Pirot ('Eble de Saignes', pp.647-8) has argued that it is unwise to attempt - as have Mouzat and Dumitrescu - to reconstruct the chansonier of Eble de Ventadorn (see J. Mouzat, 'Les Poèmes perdus d'Eble II, vicomte de Ventadorn: recherches et suggestions', in Actes et mémoires du II^e

congrès international de langue et littérature du Midi de la France
(Aix-en-Provence, 1961), pp.89-103, and Dumitrescu, 'Eble'.).

Pirot's reservations extend to cover the suggestion by Mólk that PC 112,2 and 3 be attributed to Eble de Ventadorn (Mólk, pp.31-3).

53. Compare Di Girolamo on Bernart's lines 'dove si annuncia il rifiuto della poesia; in questo senso la scuola di Eble starebbe a rappresentare l'arte trobadorica in generale, o meglio la poesia d'amore, e l'allusione a essa non implicherebbe necessariamente il contrasto con un'altra scuola' (p.15 n.9).
54. Could lines 73-4 of Marcabru's song perhaps contain an indication that he did once belong to Eble's school or subscribe to his trobar?
- Ja non farai mai plevina
Ieu per la troba n'Eblo.
('I shall never (again/henceforth?) pledge myself to
(follow) Eble's way of composing.')
55. On this question see the discussion in Roncaglia, 'La tenzone', pp.210-11.
56. See Paterson, p.16 n.4. See Roncaglia, 'La tenzone', p.226 on the technical, legal connotations of the verb.
57. Paterson translates this line: 'Catola, the love of which you speak' (p.16 n.4).
58. See Roncaglia, 'La tenzone', p.228, and compare Guilhem IX Poems VIII stanza 3, IX stanza 6 and X stanza 4. (Guglielmo IX d'Aquitania: Poesie, edizione critica a cura di N. Pasero, 'Subsidia' al 'Corpus des Troubadours', 1: Studi, testi e manuali, 1 (Modena, 1973): PC 183,6,8 and 1).
59. On the doubtful attribution of Poem VII to Marcabru see Spanke, p.101, J.H. Marshall, 'Le Vers au XII^e siècle: genre poétique?', in Actes et mémoires du III^e congrès international de langue et littérature d'oc (Bordeaux, 1965), pp.55-63 (p.56), and Bec 'Genres', p.35.

These arguments against Marcabru's authorship appear to rest on the use of the term chansoneta in this song, while Marcabru describes his own songs by the terms chan and vers (see Bec, 'Genres', p.43).

60. Les Chansons de Jaufré Rudel, éditées par A. Jeanroy, 2nd edition (Paris, 1974), Poem IV line 56 (PC 262,1). See also Topsfield, 'Jois', pp.294-7, and Troubadours, p.57.
61. Line 55 - Dejeanne: nos, also Topsfield, Troubadours, p.57, who translates the line: '... make the sign of the cross with his hand'.
62. Pillet, p.16; Bertoni, 'Due note', p.647; Lewent, p.321. Lewent's suggestion, however, involves emending a of line 50 to tan, and it would seem equally plausible, and simpler, to retain the ms reading and Dejeanne's interpretation. Compare also Chambers, who lists Perma in this song as 'an unidentified place': this interpretation apparently takes no account of en (F.M. Chambers, Proper Names in the Lyrics of the Troubadours, University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, 113 (Chapel Hill, 1971), p.211).
63. Topsfield, Troubadours, p.71.
64. See Roncaglia, 'Al departir', pp.20-22. On Arthur, see Appendix. Compare also Marcabru's allusion to the conquests of Caesar in Poem XX^{bis} line 30.
65. See Roncaglia, 'Al departir', pp.18-20 on 'n'Esteves, en Costans, en Ucs'.
66. Suchier: Ahimelech (I Samuel 21.4) 'dem es wie Audric an Brot fehlte' (p.150). Dejeanne adopts this suggestion of a biblical source (p.228), but refers to Abimelech (see Genesis 20.9-14?). Chambers (s.v. 'Artimalec', p.55) notes that 'the biblical Ahimelech and Abimelech seem unlikely'. Compare G. Contini, 'À propos du Tribu Martel', R, 63 (1937), pp.253-266 (pp.265-6): Contini discusses the various troubadour references to Arumalec, Artimalec, Archimalec, but

does not attempt to resolve the problem as regards Marcabru beyond noting Bertoni's interpretation of Artimalec as 'un maledico' ('Due note', p.650).

67. Ricketts, 'Lo vers comensa', pp.23-4.
68. Compare M. Delbouille, 'Les Senhals littéraires désignant Raimbaut d'Orange et la chronologie de ces témoignages', CN, 17 (1957), pp.49-73.
69. Compare Rayn.IV.150 and the derivatives of permaner: permansiu, 'durable, immuable'; permanen, 'permanent'; permanencia, 'permanence, continuité'.
70. Compare Lewent, p.321: 'Was folgt, ist dann die Quintessenz, die Lehre des ganzen Gedichts'.
71. See, for example, Köhler, Sociologia, p.268 and, by implication, Errante, p.186.
72. See Molk, pp.71-2, and Ephesians 4.17-19 and Job 38.2.
73. See Molk's analysis, pp.71-76.
74. See Topsfield, Troubadours, pp.96-99; Ricketts, 'Doas cuidas', and J.H. Marshall, 'The Doas Cuidas of Marcabru', in Essays in Memory of Leslie Topsfield, pp.27-33.
75. See Roncaglia's interpretation, 'Lo vers', p.38, and Molk, p.76. Appel (Bernart von Ventadorn, p.xlvi n.2) and Hoepffner ('Bernart Marti', p.139) suggest that in these lines Marcabru may have been attacking Bernart Marti, who uses the word entrebescar in a positive sense, to represent technical excellence, but in an image with sexual overtones:

C'aisi vauc entrebescant
Los motz e'l so afinant:
Lengu'entrebescada
Es en la baizada. (PC 63,3: Poem III ll.60-3)

('Thus I refine the melody and entwine the words as the tongue is entwined in a kiss.')

But the way in which Bernart appears to model his songs on Marcabru and the fact that Bernart cannot be shown to have begun composing before 1147 at the earliest would conflict with this theory.

76. See Roncaglia, 'Trobar clus', pp.48-55, and 'Riflessi', where this concept is situated in the context of twelfth-century philosophy and theology. See also Topsfield, Troubadours, Chapter 3, and see Paterson, pp.28-41 on Marcabru's use of nature symbolism and imagery. In contrast, Mr. Richard Goddard of Trinity College, Oxford, situates Marcabru's use of the term and concept of natura in the broad context of contemporary philosophical interests and movements but, while he concedes that the expression trobar naturau may be used by Marcabru in this quasi-technical sense, he casts doubt on the interpretation by these scholars of 'nature' and 'natural' as terms always loaded with a particular learned significance. He argues that in Marcabru's works 'natural' can often be translated simply as 'instinctive, innate, inner', that he frequently employs nature imagery to negative effect, to evoke sterility and discord, and that Marcabru's songs, rather than demonstrating a particular debt to the exegetical and mystical traditions, more probably dimly mirror these scholastic preoccupations. I am grateful to Mr Goddard for sharing with me these results of his research.
77. Compare Roncaglia, 'Riflessi', p.17.
78. See Mólk, p.27.
79. This is what Köhler seems to imply ('Les Troubadours et la jalousie', in Mélanges de langue et de littérature du moyen âge et de la renaissance offerts à Jean Frappier, Publications romanes et françaises, 112, 2 vols (Geneva, 1970), I, pp.543-59 (pp.546-7). But see Appendix below on a possible historical allusion in these lines.

80. Dejeanne translates line 35: 'qui propagent de mauvaises doctrines...'. Compare PD. mēsclār - 'mêler; engager (un combat), soulever (une querelle); brouiller', and mēsclā - 'mélange; méteil; drap mêlé; mêlée, rixe, bataille'.
81. See Chapter V below and compare Mōlk, p.75: 'Der Begriff des "Vielfachen", sodann des "Vermengens" ... ergibt sich als Gegenbegriff ohne weiteres aus der Idee der "Einheit" des Höfischen'.
82. Compare also Marcabru's tenso line 26 ('qu'amor si ab engan mesclaz'), and see SWB.V.248: se mesclar - 'geschlechtlichen Umgang haben'.
83. Text from De Riquer, I, Poem 26 (PC 112,3a).
84. Afollon could also mean 'to make mad' (see Rayn.III.351: afolir) or 'to make sinful' (see SWB.III.520: foldat - 'Vergehen, spec. leichtfertiges Leben', and note 98 below for the connotations of folly which could give the possible translation 'corrupt').
85. See Mōlk, pp.28-9.
86. See Kastner's argument ('Marcabru and Cercamon' pp.91-6), although Mōlk has argued strongly against this interpretation. See the opinions expressed^{ed} in, for example, Marcabru Poems V, VII, VIII and XXXVI.
87. See the discussion by Roncaglia, 'Lo vers', p.37.
88. J. Storost, Ursprung und Entwicklung des altprovenzalischen Sirventes bis auf Bertran de Born, Romanistische Arbeiten, 17 (Halle, 1931), p.83; see also Franz, p.18. See Paterson, pp.36-8 on the symbolic values of the birds and insects mentioned in stanzas 2 and 3 of this song.
89. See Franz, p.22.

90. See Roncaglia, 'Il gâp', p.52.
91. Lawner, p.510.
92. For the various interpretations of this song see Roncaglia, 'Il gâp', pp.46-52, and Paterson, pp.19-28, who review previous discussions; Topsfield, Troubadours, pp.93-5; Lawner, pp.509-14; S. Joseph, 'De foudat sermonaire: la personnalité et les idées du troubadour Marcabru', in Hommage à Pierre Nardin, Annales de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Nice, 29 (Monaco, 1977), pp.83-90.
93. See Mōlk, pp.69-70, and Chapter VII below.
94. Compare Poems VIII, XVII and XXIX and see Chapter I above.
95. In a recent article, Chambers develops the hypothesis that, in the light of the reprise of themes and of metrical structure in the songs, Poem XX may have been composed by Aldric del Vilar as a direct reply to Marcabru's 'D'aisso laus Dieu' (see Appel, 'Zu Marcabru', p.425, and F.M. Chambers, 'D'aisso laus Dieu'). He concludes that the gap, Poems XX and XX^{bis} are a sequence of closely related poems and he understands all three songs as expressions of an acrimonious misunderstanding which disturbed the relations between troubadour and patron, giving the interpretation of the songs a biographical rather than an ideological orientation.
96. Poem VI (PC 183,2). See Topsfield, Troubadours, pp.93-5, and Mōlk, p.70. Compare J. Gruber, Die Dialektik des Trobar, Beihefte zur ZRP, 194 (Tübingen, 1983), p.177 n.140: 'Als Meister der Liebe und der Liebeslyrik versteht sich bereits Guilhem de Peitieu, wenn auch in ganz anderem Sinne als Marcabru', and see below chapter IV note 89.
97. See N. Pasero, 'Pastora contro cavaliere, Marcabruno contro Guglielmo IX', CN, 43 (1983), pp.9-25, for a detailed development of this argument, and compare C. Fantazzi, 'Marcabru's Pastourelle: Courtly Love De-coded', SP, 71 (1974), pp.385-403.

98. See, for example, Guilhem IX Poems I stanza 1 (PC 183,3) and IV stanza 1 (PC 183,7), and Topsfield, Troubadours, p.82. See also Topsfield, 'Jôis', p.294, on the interpretation of fôliã, fôudât as 'wantonness', and compare F.R.P. Akehurst, 'La Folie chez les troubadours', in Mélanges Camproux, I, pp.19-28.
99. Figures of Repetition, p.50. See L.T. Topsfield, '"Natural Fool"'.
 100. PC 323,7: Poem XIII. Line 41 - Del Monte: 'conoissa natura';
 Topsfield, Troubadours, p.73: 'conois sa natura'.
101. Ed. Lazar, Poem 2 (PC 70,15).
102. Ed. Lazar, Poem 28 (PC 70,2)
103. Topsfield, '"Natural fool"', p.1156. He also suggests that Bernart is directing a jibe at Marcabru's possible illegitimacy (compare Marcabru Poem XVIII lines 67-9) and his ignorance of sexual functions.
104. See Topsfield, '"Natural fool"', pp.1157-8, and 'Fin'Amors in Marcabru, Bernart de Ventadorn and the Lancelot of Chrétien de Troyes', in Love and Marriage in the Twelfth Century, Mediaevalia Lovaniensia, Series 1, Study 8 (Louvain, 1981), pp.236-49.
105. Topsfield, 'Malvestatz', p.42. For a detailed discussion of these currents of poetry see Topsfield, '"Natural fool"', 'Malvestatz', and Troubadours.
106. Faral, Les Jongleurs en France, p.67. See also S. Thiolier-Méjean, Les Poésies satiriques et morales des troubadours (Paris, 1978), p.280.
107. See Molk, p.80.
108. See Topsfield, 'Jois', p.277; Nelli, I, p.333 n.22; Bezzola, II, ii, p.321.

109.A. Tavera, 'Hardiesse et conscience de soi chez les premiers troubadours', in Actes du groupe de recherches sur la conscience de soi, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Nice, Series 1, Vol.18 (Nice, 1980), pp.27-50 (p.39).

110. Compare Köhler, Sociologia, p.264.

CHAPTER III THE DIALECTIC OF LOVE

Perhaps as a corollary of Marcabru's disapproval of other poets' conceptions of love and its poetic expression, his own position and views are stated with an uncompromising forcefulness. His view of the world is essentially dualistic,¹ and his message is frequently conveyed negatively, that is to say that his ideals are defined implicitly through his criticisms of faults and abuses.² His attacks on false, deceitful rhetoric, for example, indicate indirectly the importance which he attaches to true eloquence in lyric poetry, and, through his detailed condemnations of false love, the characteristics of his ideal of fin'amors are revealed.³

Again, perhaps in reaction to the attitudes and songs of the false troubadours, Marcabru in his poems casts himself in the role of moral crusader and teacher, with the mission of reforming his society. He calls himself a sérmonaire (Poem V 1.32), for example, and claims to be the advocate of fin'amors (Poem V stanza 9), and on many occasions he clearly announces his intention of describing or explaining the nature of false love or of fin'amors.⁴

The terminology he uses to designate the two types of love reflects Marcabru's didactic purpose. The troubadour frequently gives to the term amors a qualifying adjective indicating its purity, constancy and truth or its corruption and unreliability: expressions such as amör'segurãna (XXI 1.23) and blãñch'amistat (V 1.14) in Marcabru's oeuvre are in contrast to amör piga (XXIV 1.10) or fals'amistat menuda (V 1.3).⁵ Fin'amors stands in opposition to fals'amors or its synonym, Amars. This last term appears to be the infinitive substantivé,⁶ taking its negative colouring from a homophony with amãr, 'bitter',⁷ and it was exploited by Marcabru as a means of emphasizing the dual nature of love and of condemning fickle and facile sexual opportunism which does not contribute to the spiritual improvement of the individual.⁸

Occasionally Marcabru's use of terminology appears to be ambiguous. In Poem VII, for example, he employs the word Amors whereas false love would seem to be the type of love under discussion: this is possibly the result of scribal error.⁹ In Poem XIII, on the other hand, Amars has a positive resonance. Of false love and its victims Marcabru says that corrupt love

Los trai d'amar ab sa doussor. (1.45)
('with its (deceptive) sweetness it lures them away from (true)
love.')¹⁰

In these cases it would seem to be the context which determines the interpretation of these terms,¹¹ while in other instances, such as the polemic 'L'iverns vai e'l temps s'aizina' (Poem XXXI), Amors (true love) is clearly opposed to Amars (lust).¹² In this song Marcabru's conception of love is very clearly defined, and the poem contains two representations of female figures of considerable interest.¹³ Here, assembled in one song, are examples of a range of techniques used by Marcabru throughout his works to represent conflict, opposition and dichotomy. An examination of Poem XXXI may illustrate the implications of J.J. Wilhelm's observation that 'Marcabru was more than adept at creating a full sense of the dialectic of love', and show how Marcabru may have employed various elements of the lyric to serve his polemic intention.¹⁴

As winter gives way to spring, men's thoughts turn to the 'plazenssa corina' of love (1.9). The birds sing and Marcabru is inspired to sing of love (stanzas 1 and 2). He condemns evil love and contrasts the effects of Amars with those which Bon'Amors produces in the individual (stanzas 3, 4 and 5). He describes a scene of seduction featuring a dompna and a 'girbaut de maiso' which can be understood to illustrate the social consequences of an individual's failure to follow fin'amors (stanzas 6 and 7), and this is contrasted in stanza 8 with the serene and honourable life of the person who is ruled by Bon'Amors. The song ends with Marcabru's rejection of the 'troba n'Eblo' and a succinct statement of his conviction that a distinction should be made between Amors and Amars. In different ways, 'Marcabru widmet ... das ganze Lied der Frage, daß es zwei Lieben gibt: eine gute, moralische, erhabene und eine schlechte, niedrige, falsche, die man vermeiden soll'.¹⁵ The images, motifs, symbols and language of the song are employed to mirror and reinforce this antithesis, and the process can be discerned from the beginning of the poem, in Marcabru's treatment of the nature opening.

Scheludko concluded that Marcabru's use of the Natureingang differed from that of other troubadours. The poet refers to the moral state of the world as the mainspring of his poetic inspiration, rather than to the mood of the season alone.¹⁶ He represents the natural world as being in conflict with the spiritual state of man, and this is particularly clear in those of his poems which open on a primaverl note,

as does 'A l'alena del vent doussa'.¹⁷ Stanzas 1 and 2 of this song describe the harmony in nature whereas when in stanza 3 human society is introduced, it is characterised by a foul odour ('um pauc de feton' 1.11), representing social and moral corruption. Marcabru, however, often presents himself as being filled with a joy similar to that of the natural world. In 'A l'alena', for example, he declares:

ai lo cor de joy sazion
contra la dousor del frescum
quan li prat son vermelh e groc. (11.3-5)¹⁸
('my heart is filled with joy in the sweet freshness, when the
meadows are red and yellow. ')

The poet is in harmony with spring, with the natural world which has afforded him 'scienza jauzionda' (XII^{bis} 1.6), but the corruption of the rest of the world conflicts with the natural ambience and this discord is the subject of, for example, the remaining stanzas of 'A l'alena' and Poem XII^{bis}. Those of Marcabru's poems which contain spring openings ('A l'alena', 'Al departir', VIII, XI, XII^{bis}, XXIV, XXXI, XXXIV, XXXIX and XLI) all describe and criticise the corruption of human society, and all but two ('Al departir' and XXXIX) devote attention to condemnation of sexual promiscuity.¹⁹

It could then be interpreted as a deliberate decision by Marcabru to situate Poem XXXI at the very beginning of spring, at the turning point of two seasons when 'franc'ivern' (XXXVIII 1.21) is giving way to the traditionally active, amorous season of which other troubadours sing.

In stanza 1 this amorous impulse is represented in lines 6-9 by the image of joyful people, each attracted to 'sa par'. In Marcabru's songs the idea of a natural partner seems to be a positive representation of fin'amors.²⁰ In 'Lo vers comensa', for example, Marcabru asserts:

c'amors embria
lai on conois son par (11.64-5)
('for love grows there where it recognises its equal/compan-
ion'),

and in stanza 5 of Poem XXXVII he says:

Aitals pareills fai mostranssa,
S'en doas partz non camina,
Pois bon'Amors n'es vezina,
Ab dos desirs d'un'enveja. (11.25-8)

('Such a pair, if it does not separate in two directions, since good love is close to it, bears witness to two desires with a single longing.')21

In Poem XXXI the pair are drawn together according to the heart's delight, ('segon plazenssa corina' 1.9). Ideally, men should behave according to an harmonious impulse, but in other songs Marcabru shows that this is not the case. In Poem XXXIV stanza 1 Marcabru describes how henceforth he should be happy and joyful because of the arrival of spring,

Mas per Joven me desconort
Quar totz jorns lo vey sordejar. (11.6-7)
('but I am saddened on account of Jovens, for daily I see it becoming ever baser.')

And in Poem XLII he describes the spring and says:

Ladoncs deuri'hom chausir
Verai'amor ses mentir. (11.5-6)

But man is perverse; human corruption and an account of conflict and sexual immorality, stemming from man's failure to choose true love without deceit, form the substance of this song.

Lines 10-11 of Poem XXXI depict the contrast of the two seasons as the cold and the frost of winter shiver (frim) in the face of gentle spring. These two seasonal details mirror the two types of love, the metaphysical opposites with which the song will be concerned. Perhaps it is possible to read more into this and interpret the indeterminate season of the setting, an ambiguous mixture of good and bad, as corresponding to the ambiguity of Amors of line 16 which the troubadour announces his intention of describing. This word 'love' represents the general concept which the following stanzas will analyse and separate into two distinct types of love.²² The turn of the seasons in this song can be seen as a time of choice and Marcabru's intention - as stated in line 16 - is to describe how love goes in its different manifestations, to clarify the issue and resolve ambiguities: 'E dirai d'amor cum vai'.

The conflict between the two types of love is foreshadowed by the behaviour of the birds. In stanza 1 they are described as joyful (1.4), like the humans, but in stanza 2 Marcabru hears 'del chan la contensso' (1.13). Like the term tenso, contensso derives from the latin contentio, and Raynouard (V.346) gives this example of its meaning and use:

Contensos, es cant se desmenton l'us al autre, o se
dizon grossas paraulas.
('Contenso is when people contradict each other, or speak
harshly/abusively/violently (?) to each other.')

The discord in nature, among the birds, presages the discord created by the two conflicting types of love. In line 79 the troubadour says he repeats 'Quez Amors et Amars brai', and the verb braire is most frequently employed of birds, to represent their song.²³ The contensso also prefigures the discord in the soul of the individual,²⁴ in society, and the conflict in the field of poetic composition which results from Amars and with which Poem XXXI will also be concerned. Marcabru's song itself can be understood as something of a contensso.²⁵

The seasonal setting and the description of the birds in Poem XXXI's nature opening are used symbolically by the poet to hint at the conflict which will form the body of the song.

In lines 16-18 Marcabru announces the subject of the song:

E dirai d'amor cum vai
... e cum revolina,

the ways and the twistings of love. This general concept is then implicitly divided into two types by the troubadour who first considers Amars, introduced as the very first word of the next stanza. He describes it as tricking by means of a 'dolssor conina', and this phrase echoes and provides a contrast to the 'plazenssa corina' of line 9. Ideally, man, in harmony with nature, should be motivated by 'plazenssa corina' but in stanza 3 the first aspect of love which Marcabru considers, the reality of Amars, is characterised by the 'dolssor conina' of physical lust.²⁶ Amars tricks, torments and burns (stanza 3).

Bon'Amors (in the initial stressed position of stanza 4) has the power to cure its follower or devotee (compaigno),²⁷ whereas Amars torments its companions and damns them (lines 28-31). In these two balanced couplets the two types of love are contrasted in terms of the

effects they produce in the souls of the individuals who follow them. The remainder of stanza 4 and stanza 5 are devoted to the trickery of Amars towards its foolish victim (fól: 11.34 and 45; bricó: 1.38). Stanzas 6 and 7 are similarly concerned with Amars - expressed as an ignorance of 'amor fina' (1.46) - and its social consequences, whereas lines 64-7 describe the social and the moral consequences for the man who has good love as his neighbour.

Of these eight stanzas, it can be argued, the bulk are concerned with Amars, but the good effects of the mezina of Bon'Amors receive emphasis from the lengthy descriptions of the ill effects of Amars. In the frons of stanza 4 the two sorts of love stand in explicit opposition to each other but, by his criticism of evil love in the rest of the song, Marcabru is by implication defining and praising the benefits of Bon'Amors with which he concludes his descriptive classification. In stanza 9 the troubadour sets these definitions in the context of his poetic conflict with Eble's 'school'.

Concerning the terms used of love in this song, the troubadour may be deliberately underlining the contrast between the two types of love by using reinforcing adjectives qualifying Amors whenever he changes the subject from Amars to a consideration of Amors. Bon(a) occurs in line 28 to mark the transition from stanza 3 which was explicitly concerned with Amars. Although in line 46 'amor fina' is presented negatively, the poet may also be using the word fina to give similar emphasis. By the end of stanza 9 one could suppose that the distinction has been sufficiently well established for the terms in line 79 to need no further qualification. Bon'Amors, 'amor fina' and Amors in lines 79 and 81 can be understood as synonyms of fin'amors.

The antithetical nature of the theme is reflected in the double Refrainruf which is part of the song's metrical structure.²⁸ In Poem XVIII Marcabru also uses a refrain, Escoutatz!, but the subject of that song is fals'amors only (XVIII 1.38): in Poem XXXI Marcabru's use of the two different refrains Ai! and Hoc in each stanza parallels the two different types of love. The two different exclamations are suggestive of the paradoxes and conflicts which underlie Marcabru's works in general and this song in particular. Errante has connected Ai! and Hoc, Amors and Amars, with the 'doas cuidas' Marcabru describes.²⁹

Although Ai! and Hòc have been described as purely expletive refrain words, characteristic of 'la poésie popularisante',³⁰ it is possible that the exclamations are not necessarily both positive in colour. Marcabru uses similar exclamations - although not as refrains - six times in his other songs.³¹ On all but one occasion (XL 1.36) the expletives are employed to emphasize a negative point. Ai! in Poem XXXI could represent a cry of pain or shock, and Hoc a shout of approval: Marcabru may be punctuating his song with positive and negative exclamations in order to reflect the emotional responses to the two types of love which he wishes to inspire in his audience. Like Escoutatz! of Poem XVIII, the refrains of Poem XXXI may be interpreted as pedagogical pointers.³² They serve as reminders of the duality of the subject matter of the whole song, even in those passages, such as stanzas 3 and 5, where the ostensible subject is Amars only.

The refrain finds an echo in line 40: 'Entrebescat hoc e no'. This line, like others in stanza 5 referred to below, presents difficulties which have not yet been satisfactorily resolved.³³ In Dejeanne's edition, lines 37-40 read:

Gent cembel fai que trahina
 Ves son agach lo brico,
 Del cim tro qu'en la racina,
 Entrebescat hoc e no.

Entrebescat is understood as a past participle and Dejeanne's glossary also refers to line 12 of Poem XXXVII. Dejeanne translates line 40: 'oui et non sont entremêlés'.

Lewent objects to this interpretation since line 40 'schwebt ... in der Luft, da er kein Verbum finitum aufweist. Ich lese deshalb entrebescan und ziehe den Vers zum Folgenden, wie v.43 zu v.45' (p.435). This emendation is open to question since none of the seven manuscripts have entrebescan; moreover, the structure of the stanzas of Poem XXXI follows a particular pattern in which the first four lines present a self-contained statement which is separated from the rest of each stanza by the first refrain, Ai!, and which the remaining lines of each stanza develop either by a detailed illustration (see stanza 4) or by an explanation of the consequences (see stanza 6). This recurring pattern makes it unlikely that in stanza 5 line 40 should form a grammatical whole with lines 42-5.³⁴

The emendation of entrebescat to entrebescā could solve the problem. One could understand Amars as the subject of the verb, as it is of fai in line 37. This twisting confusion may represent the trap into which the fool is lured. In Poem XLIV the puta also constructs a trap of falsehood (11.49-51),³⁵ and in 'A l'alena' Marcabru reproaches a group of people who cause Malvestatz to grow when they cause the answer no instead of yes to be given (11.34-5).³⁶ The words of false love in line 43 of Poem XXXI ('si farai, no farai') could represent an ambivalence or confusion similar to that which Marcabru describes in line 40.³⁷ Alternatively, the subject of entrebescā could be the fool of line 38 who is hoodwinked by the attractive lure ('gent cembel') with the result that he no longer distinguishes or is no longer able to distinguish between yes and no. This character may be the same as the fol of line 45 who is ground down by the vacillation, the contradictory encouragement and rejection of Amars:

Ab 'si farai! no farai!'
 Hoc
 Fai al fol magra l'esquina. (11.43-5)³⁸
 ('With 'Yes I will! No, I won't!' - Hoc, - Amars wears the
 fool's back thin.')

All the manuscripts except R, however, read entrebescat, and R does not have entrebescar as the verb. This would seem to indicate that all the scribes understood there to be a character after entrebescā. Is it possible that this character could have been an 'l' rather than a 't', giving

Entrebescāl hoc e no?³⁹

Such an interpretation would again give a finite verb whose subject could be either Amars or the fool and the general sense of the line would resemble the meanings suggested above.

It is possible to retain Dejeanne's reading, but understanding lines 38 and 40 to be connected. Entrebescat would then be a past participle used adjectivally of the brico whose sorry state of confusion is depicted in lines 39-40. The lines could perhaps be loosely translated:

'It (Amārs) makes an attractive lure which draws into its trap the fool (who), from top to bottom, (is) mixed up with/ a tangle (of) yes and no.'⁴⁰

The guile of false love and its contradictory nature and ploys, elaborated in line 43, have an effect on its foolish victim who loses all power of rational discrimination and judgement.⁴¹

Both line 40 and the refrains of Poem XXXI may be connected with oc e no which Köhler relates in Provençal to Peter Abelard's 'sic et non' method of dialectic, and Dr Linda Paterson has suggested that in stanza 5 of this song Marcabru may have had in mind the misuse of dialectic.⁴² In Poem XXXI Marcabru certainly seems to be using a technique of dialectic in order to present the contrasting natures and effects of Amors and Amars, and his use of the verb declinar in line 54 can similarly be seen as an indication of a scholastic background to the song. Declinar belongs to the terminology of medieval Latin scholasticism and Marcabru uses it in his tenso with Uc Catola where Roncaglia understands the term to take on the value 'di solenne esposizione retorica e di precisa spiegazione scolastica'.⁴³

Marcabru presents bad love in Poem XXXI as a wilfully misleading confusion of yes and no, but his song makes clear the distinction between true and false and the refrains are used to support this clarification.

In order to illustrate the dialectic of love Marcabru employs images and themes which receive fuller treatment individually in his other songs. Poem XXXI and stanza 5 in particular can be regarded as a synthetic presentation of a number of his favourite motifs.

The power and destructive effects of Amars in stanza 3 are depicted by images of fire (compare for example Poems V ll.33-6 and XVIII ll. 13-18).⁴⁴ It deceives fools (ll.20 and 37-8) with its deceptive 'semblan d'amor' (l.34) (compare Poem V ll.7-12 and XLIV ll.5-8).⁴⁵ It torments its followers (l.31), a theme which is developed in Poem XVIII in particular, and it has a venal disposition (ll.33-6) which Marcabru describes more fully in Poems V and VII, for example. The trap of yes and no could represent equivocation, or lies (compare Poems XVIII and XLIV), the essential falsity of Amars which is also characterised by its evil sweetness (l.21) (compare Poems XIII ll.40-8 and XLIV ll.9-12). Its victims are depicted in terms of colours: 'Tal amei blanc brun e bai' (l.42: 'I loved such a one/man, white, brown and bay' (?)). Lewent emends this line to read:

Tala nier blanc brun e bai
('It destroys black and white, blonde and brunette'),

interpreting the colours as those of the hair of false love's victims,⁴⁶ which would give the interpretation that Amars destroys every type of person. This device is used by Marcabru in his tenso with Uc Catola (stanza 10) and possibly also in Poem XLIV lines 59-60.⁴⁷ In Poems XXIV stanza 2, 'Lo vers comensa' lines 64-7, XXXVII stanza 5 and XVIII (ms C stanza 11, ms M stanza 8), love itself is characterised by means of colour symbolism.⁴⁸

Bon'Amors cures its companion (ll.28-9) and this idea can be compared to the good effects of fin'amors described in Poem XIII.⁴⁹ The close, beneficial relationship of the lover and Bon'Amors is presented in Poem XXXI in feudal terms, where love is the seigneur and the lover the vassal:

Qui bon'Amors a vezina
E viu de sa liurazo,
Honors e Valors l'aclina
E Pretz sens null'ochaio. (ll.64-7)
('Honors and Valors and Pretz do homage, without a doubt, to
the man who has Bon'Amors as his neighbour and who lives on its
stipend.')

Similar images are used in 'Lo vers comensa' lines 61-3 and Poem XLIV stanza 1 (see Chapter VI below). In Poem XVIII stanza 2 and in stanza 14 of ms C, Marcabru depicts the suffering of the follower of false love by means of the image of a harsh, oppressive seigneur.⁵⁰ In Poem XXXVII Marcabru also discusses Bon'Amors and uses the term vezina (l.27), while lines 33-40 of the same song may contain images drawn from the seigneur's role in society.⁵¹

It is interesting to contrast the serene, metaphorical feudal relationship of the lover and true love in stanza 8 of Poem XXXI to the abuse of the feudal relationship which Marcabru describes in stanzas 6 and 7. In stanza 8 the lover is content to live on the stipend (liurazo) of his lord, love, and receives in turn homage from the courtly qualities of Honors, Valors and Pretz, whereas the vassal of stanza 7 (the 'girbaut de maiso') cuckolds his lord (l.63), encumbering him with little bastards, and the social consequences are disastrous (ll.51-2).⁵² Stanzas 7 and 8 are consecutive in all the manuscripts in which they are

transmitted (AKNRa) and it appears likely that the troubadour used the same seigneur-vassal image but in different ways in both stanzas in order further to highlight the contrast between Amars and Bon'Amors.

Pellegrini has examined instances of feudal imagery applied to love in Marcabru's works and concluded that the only occasions on which the poet does not employ it ironically or satirically are those on which it is used in connection with God, and he cites four passages in support of this.⁵³ But it would seem from stanzas 7 and 8 of Poem XXXI at least that Pellegrini's analysis is incomplete and that Marcabru also makes subtle use of the 'vassallagio d'amore' motif in connection with secular fin'amors.

The little scene of stanza 7 is discussed more fully in Chapter VII. Here it is sufficient to note that it serves as a dramatic exemplum of Amars working in society. A dompna's relationship with her lover is depicted and the damaging effects of this on the social order are represented explicitly in lines 51-2 and, in stanza 7, by the implication that a vassal's disloyalty to his seigneur cannot be other than disruptive.

Stanzas 7 and 8 each illustrate the consequences of the two types of love whose incompatibility Marcabru stresses in stanza 9. As has already been discussed, in this stanza Marcabru *dissociates* himself from 'la troba n'Eblo' 'weil er ... encontra razo ... die höfische Minne in den sinnlichen Liebesgenuß verkehrt'.⁵⁴ The 'sentenssa follatina' (as Dejeanne reads it) is clarified by Marcabru's assertion of the difference between Amors and Amars and that the person who speaks badly of Amors is rambling, speaking senselessly. A similar and equally clear statement of Marcabru's beliefs can be found in 'Cortesamen vuoll comensar', which also contains a disquisition on how a true dompna should behave.⁵⁵

The dialectic dispute of the whole song is reflected in the construction of stanza 9 which is also based on a series of oppositions. Marcabru sets himself against Eble; Eble's 'sentenssa follatina' encontra his own razo; the confusion of Amars and Amors against the sharp opposition which Marcabru sees between them.

That Marcabru had a scholastic background may also be inferred from the poet's use of the term razo (1.76). Dr Paterson has demonstrated Marcabru's knowledge of 'certain rhetorical, especially dialectical vocabulary', including the terms razo and entenssa.⁵⁶ Razo can mean 'speech', 'theme' or 'line of argument'. Marcabru refers to the

sentenssa of Eble's school. Professor Ricketts has suggested that this should be read rather as s'entenssa, 'his (Eble's) understanding', which, qualified as follatina, 'rend parfaitement l'idée de la pensée floue et folâtre du seigneur Eble'.⁵⁷ One may, perhaps, conclude from lines 74-6 that Eble's school persists in its so-called 'understanding', its foolish attitude, in the face of all Marcabru's discourses and carefully-constructed lines of argument.

In his tenso with Uc Catola Marcabru asks, exasperated:

Catola, non entenz razon? (1.13)

A. Roncaglia explains razo here, with the aid of examples from Isidore of Seville, as 'la ratio quale risulta tradizionalmente definita dal pensiero medioevale ..., il 'discernimento rationale', ossia la facoltà dell'intelletto che consente all'uomo di giudicare l'esatto valore delle cose e delle parole, distinguendo il bene dal male, il vero dal falso' ('La tenzone', p.229). Marcabru backs up his argument in the tenso in the scholastic tradition by means of references to the authority of the Bible. Both Uc Catola and Eble's followers apparently fail to distinguish Amars from fin'amors, and in both poems Marcabru uses dialectic methods of argument of the schools and elements of the corresponding vocabulary in order to define his own position.

The entenssa of Eble's school is described as follatina. The notion of folia for Marcabru and for other troubadours carried connotations of wantonness as well as of erroneous beliefs and it seems that Eble's school mistakenly confused fin'amors with promiscuous Amars (see Chapter II above). Bearing in mind line 40, it could be said to mix up the positive and negative aspects of love, the Ai! (= Amars) and the Hoc (= Amors) of Marcabru's refrain.⁵⁸ Marcabru, however, can by implication be said to speak 'ab dig verai' (1.69); his song is constructed so as to contrast with the ambiguity, confusion and ambivalence of which he accuses his poetic opponents, whether these are described as 'la troba n'Eblo' or, as in Poem XXXVII, as 'trobador ab sen d'enfanssa' (1.7).

In both these polemic attacks Marcabru uses the verb bozinar of that person who has mistaken ideas concerning the nature of love. This is connected with what the person says; in Poem XXXI it is applied to 'speaking ill of love' (1.81: 'E qui blasm'Amor buzina') and in Poem XXXVII to 'spreading stories'. Marcabru says here:

Fols, pos tot cant au romanssa,
Non sec razo, mas bozina (XXXVII ll.49-50)⁵⁹
('The fool, since he spreads stories about everything that he
hears, does not follow reason but rambles.')

Lines 51-4 shed light on the content of this reproach since Marcabru goes on to defend, by implication, the integrity of love, saying that if love lives by violence and plunder, he will also concede that falseness is rectitude! The stories of the fool can be equated with speaking ill of love and the person who is guilty of this makes a senseless noise.⁶⁰ In Poem XXXVII line 50 this is opposed to razo and one might infer that in Poem XXXI the 'entenssa follatina' of Eble manifests itself as bozinar. The mutterings of 'la troba n'Eblo' are contrasted with the 'dig verai' of line 69 and also with Marcabru's emphatic, unmistakable repetition with its stress on ieu in line 78: 'Qu'ieu dis e dic e dirai'.

The 'dig verai', associated with fin'amors in stanza 8, means that a man need have no fear of the 'trut dullurut n'Aiglina' (line 72). The interpretation of this line poses problems and it has been passed over in silence by textual critics such as Lewent. Given the tight construction of Poem XXXI, it is possible that this line has to do with the poetic and ideological disputes underlying the whole song.

The grammatical construction of lines 69-70 has a bearing on the interpretation of line 72. Dejeanne reads:

Tant la fai ab dig verai
Que no'il cal aver esmai
Hoc,
Del trut dullurut n'Aiglina,

and he translates line 69 'tant qu'il se conduit avec des paroles vraies', making no comment on la in his notes to the song. For Dejeanne, the man who has good love as his neighbour (l.64) is the subject of fai. Perhaps Dejeanne understood la as Bon'Amors, giving the interpretation 'as long as he behaves (towards love) with sincere words,' with la as the object of fai.

Appel questions this reading and accepts 'li fai' of ms R.⁶¹ He translates: 'so viel tut sie ihm mit wahrer Rede an', making Bon'Amors the subject of fai, who treats the man sincerely, her behaviour towards him being characterised by her use of true words.⁶²

In either case, the sense of the passage would appear to be that 'dig verai' protects a man against the 'trut dullurut n'Aiglina': the man is either protected by his neighbour and sèignèur, Bòn'Amòrs, or he is protected by his customary integrity, the fact that he has acquired a habit of rectitude, behaves sincerely and speaks the truth.⁶³

The 'trut dullurut' is then negative and harmful. Dejeanne suggests the emendation 'drut moillerat n'Aiglina' and translates, although with some reservations, 'du galant marié sire Aiglina (?)'. But critics concur in understanding 'n'Aiglina' to represent a female figure.⁶⁴

Appel translates the line: 'of the Trudelru of Lady Aiglina', 'd.h. den Liedern der von Marcabru verachteten Sängers',⁶⁵ and he wonders whether the end of stanza 8 could be explained by stanza 9: 'Gehört zur Charakteristik der "troba n'Eblo" auch schon der Schluß der 8. Strophe?'.⁶⁶ This suggestion is supported by the fact that in Poem XXXVII Marcabru seems to follow a similar pattern. The song includes similar complaints against other troubadours whose songs are, perhaps deliberately ('per esmanssa'), 'entrebeschatz de fraichura' and who are responsible for the 'paraul'escura' of stanza 1 which cause Marcabru such difficulty:

Qu'ieu mezeis sui en erranssa
D'esclarzir paraul'escura. (XXXVII ll.5-6).
('For I myself have difficulty in clarifying obscure speech.')⁶⁷

The allusion in these lines is explained by the following stanza's attacks on the techniques of composition of the foolish troubadours, which makes it clear that in both stanzas 1 and 2 Marcabru is referring to poets of whom he disapproves. The obscurity arises from the fact that these poets confuse Amors and Amars, thus distorting the truth ('so que veritatz autreia': l.10), and this confused distortion is reproduced in the style of their songs. It would seem quite possible to explain Poem XXXI in the same way: is the 'paraul'escura' of the foolish poets of Poem XXXVII represented in Poem XXXI by the bemusing phrase 'trut dullurut n'Aiglina', which Appel interprets as 'ein albernes Gesinge von Frau Aiglina'?⁶⁸ If this is the case, why should Marcabru have chosen the particular phrase 'trut dullurut' to represent the song(s) of the foolish poets?

'Trut dullurut' is in one way reminiscent of a passage from Guilhem IX's song 'Farai un vers pos mi sonelh'.⁶⁹ There, the false pilgrim does not honestly answer ('ab dig verai?') the women who greet him, but babbles in reply:

'Babariol, babariol,
babarian' (V ll.29-30),

thus giving them to understand that he is mute. This may have been part of a plan of seduction - the text does not make it clear. The result, however, is that the women are deceived and, thinking that the mute would perforce observe the courtly celar (see ll.34-6), take him away to satisfy their sexual appetites. Guilhem appears to have used an alliterative babble to counterfeit stupidity and muteness,⁷⁰ perhaps also as a deliberate plan of deceit and seduction.⁷¹ Is 'trut dullurut' chosen and used by Marcabru in a similar way to evoke crafty licentiousness? Is it an alliterative nonsense phrase, perhaps with connotations of seduction, employed to represent the foolish songs of dishonest poets?⁷² Given Marcabru's opposition to Guilhem's light espousal of foudat and nien which Topsfield detected, and Marcabru's repeated criticisms of the feckless and casual adultery which is one of the main features of Guilhem's song 'Farai un vers',⁷³ it would seem quite plausible to suppose an intentional similarity between the two nonsense phrases. In Guilhem's song the fornication of the pilgrim and the two ladies is presented as an amusing anecdote: Marcabru may have reproduced a similar scene in his poem, but his attitude is one of clear disapproval. It may be that Marcabru's song was intended in part as a critical ripost to Guilhem, as something of a parody of Guilhem's song, but it also serves Marcabru's moralising purpose and he attacks the attitudes he depicts.

If 'Farai un vers pos mi sonelh' is not itself the target of Marcabru's song,⁷⁴ it can be said to represent the sort of attitude which Marcabru so deplures in other troubadours (see Poem XXXVII) and, in 'la troba n'Eblo', the failure to distinguish between Amors and Amars. Songs of a tone and displaying attitudes comparable to Guilhem's poem may have provided the inspiration for Marcabru's ripost.⁷⁵

'Trut dullurut' could be a meaningless nonsense phrase of the type Guilhem uses in his poem. The manuscripts containing this stanza certainly transmit line 72 in a confused form:

AN del trut dullurut naiglina
 K del trut lurut de naiglina
 R de trut lut lurut nayglina
 C del bullurut trut nayglina
 a del trut bullurut naiglina
 D detotairo naiglina.

These could be interpreted as attempts by confused scribes to arrive at an approximation of words which they did not understand - perhaps because they were an invented babble.

Dejeanne adopts the reading of AN. Manuscript D is the only one to offer a reading substantially different from the other manuscripts, but D gives of the poem overall the most corrupt or reworked version in that the refrain Ai! is completely missing, as are stanzas 4, 7 and 9, and the stanza order, which is more or less regular in the other manuscripts, is very confused.⁷⁶ Manuscript C gives a different reading of lines 69-70 ('fina mor a dig veray/pueys nol qual tener esglay'), which is hardly surprising,⁷⁷ but interestingly its version of line 72 is nevertheless very similar to those of AKNRa. Did the scribe of C understand this line? The name Aiglina seems to have been known to the scribes, since none of the manuscripts, not even D, deforms this element of the line.⁷⁸

Like Appel and Spanke, Errante understood this line to refer to 'le sciocche canzoni' and, in the context of Marcabru's attacks on other troubadours in stanza 9, suggests that these are foolish songs 'con cui i trovatori riescon a godere di donne più sciocche di loro'.⁷⁹ In his opinion Aiglina, like Bonafo, is a fictitious character and therefore impossible to identify: both women represent ladies who are 'facile preda di falsi trovatori' (p.174). Marcabru frequently employs names of people to represent certain attitudes: this is probably the case of 'na Bonafo' (see chapter VII), but the significance of 'n'Aiglina' is less evident from the context and more difficult to establish.

The name Aiglina appears to have been familiar to the scribes: perhaps one may also assume that it was known to Marcabru's contemporary audience. If the context of Marcabru's reference to 'n'Aiglina' does not provide any indications regarding the interpretation of the name, could this be because Marcabru was drawing on his own and his audience's general knowledge in order to give to the name a particular significance?

Since Poem XXXI is concerned with a poetic and ideological conflict, might the name Aiglina be taken from a song or a lyric tradition already known to Marcabru's audience?

The onomastic dictionaries have little to say about Aiglina. Chambers refers to this line of Marcabru's song but comments of the name: 'Unknown: the text may be garbled' (p.38). Guilhem de la Tor mentions a 'N'Aiglina de Sarzan' in his treva (PC 236,5a), but she has been identified as an historical figure and since this poem dates from c.1220 the reference serves only to attest to the use of this name by later troubadours.⁸⁰

The only instance of such a name which could possibly have a bearing on Marcabru's allusion occurs in a Northern French 'chanson de toile', 'Or viennent Pasques les beles en avril'.⁸¹ The Onomastique des trouvères notes that Aigline here is a 'jeune fille, personnage imaginaire'.⁸² Appel refers to this song in connection with Marcabru but remarks 'aber dieses braucht und wird ja nicht gemeint sein'.⁸³

The content of this song sheds no immediate light on Marcabru's 'n'Aiglina', which might explain why Appel dismissed any connection between it and Poem XXXI. All the lines tell us is that Aiglina and Gui love each other and it would be foolhardy to suggest a direct link between the poem by Marcabru and the very different, anonymous, later Northern French song. However, this reference to Aigline in a song which, as Bec has shown, belongs to the tradition of the lyric 'registre popularisant', could lead one to suppose that Aigline was a woman's name traditionally given to characters in certain songs, as, for example, were those of Marion, Marote and Aelis.⁸⁴ Gui, like Robin, seems to have been a name given fairly frequently to characters in songs,⁸⁵ and two late troubadour pastorelas feature shepherds named Gui and Robin.⁸⁶ Bec has pointed out the differences between the Southern and Northern French manuscript traditions, ~~in particular the fact that the Southern and Northern French manuscript traditions,~~ in particular the fact that the Southern chansonniers have preserved very few songs related to the 'registre popularisant'.⁸⁷ Could one explain in this way the absence of troubadour songs featuring characters with these names?

Perhaps 'trut dullurut' represents the alliterative refrain of such a song in which Aiglina appeared.⁸⁸ Manuscript R's version of line 72 - 'de trut lut lurut nayglina' - appears to support the interpretation of the words as a musical refrain. To this may be compared the ravings of the jealous husband Archambaut of Flamenca:

El det torneja son correig
E vai chantan tullurutau
E vai danza[n] vasdoi vaidau. (ll.1052-4).⁸⁹
(He twists his belt between his fingers and goes around singing "tullurutau" and dancing (to the tune of ?) "vasdoi, vaidau".)

Similar alliterative refrains occur in Northern French songs of the 'popularisant' tradition, particularly in pastourelles,⁹⁰ for example:

Que Guions i vint qui turuluruta,
valura valuru valuraine valuru va,

and, in a song where a character called Gui also appears,

va deurelidele va deurelidot.⁹¹

Bartsch's collection contains other examples of refrains such as 'teureleure', 'dural dure lire dure' and 'dorenlot' which have been catalogued by Van den Boogaard.⁹² If Southern French songs of the 'registre popularisant' featured similar refrains, it is possible that Marcabru is alluding to them by means of the expression 'trut dullurut' and the troubadour may be mocking such songs, perhaps those with a theme of seduction.⁹³ 'Trut dullurut' may be an example of an expression of euphemistic substitution, along the lines of 'How's your father?', where alliteration replaces coy circumlocution.

The words 'trut dullurut' could, however, have a meaning. Dejeanne suggested emending the line to read 'drut moillerat', but these words occur so frequently in Marcabru's songs that it is unlikely that all the scribes of the manuscripts transmitting Poem XXXI failed to recognise them.⁹⁴ Vincent Pollina suggests that the phrase 'trut dullurut' is a neologism, and a derisive play on the term drut.⁹⁵ The words would then have been invented by Marcabru in order again to satirise those husbands who become lovers. In the context of stanza 8 this would give the

interpretation that the fin'aman, with his true, sincere words, need fear no competition in matters of love from the false 'drut moillerat'. But it is equally possible that the troubadour is playing on the similar sounds of trut and drut in a nonsense phrase of his own invention.

There is only one other instance of the word trut recorded in the dictionaries, occurring in a song by Giraut de Bornelh (PC 242,16):

E ja m'agra del tot vencut,
Si Deus m'aiut,
Ma bel'amia, mas del trut
Levet la ma,
Per que mos melher chans rema. (XXV 11.20-4).⁹⁶

Kolsen translates: 'Und ich hätte, so wahr Gott mir helfe, meine schöne Freudin schon völlig besiegt, aber sie wollte höher hinaus (?) [sie hob das Zünglein an der Waage (?) in die Höhe], weshalb besserer Gesang von mir ausbleibt' (I, p.133).

I am indebted to Professor Marshall who has pointed out to me that Kolsen's translation of trut, 'Waage' (SWB.VIII.514), is unacceptable, since it is based on a faulty etymology.⁹⁷ As a tentative hypothesis, Professor Marshall proposes the interpretation 'tap (of a cask)' and translates the passage with several editorial corrections:⁹⁸

And, so help me God, it would be all up with me, my fair one,
since you raised your hand from the tap (i.e. cut off the flow
of my inspiration) so that my best song is left unfinished.

If trut in Marcabru's song represents the same idea of a tap (compare 'la tina' 1.58), and if one links dullurut to dolha, 'bung', line 72 could perhaps contain a sexual innuendo representing the promiscuous 'n'Aiglina' (where it would be a question of her 'bunged-up tap?').⁹⁹ The fin'aman would be protected from such women by his own integrity. Lady Aiglina would then be an exemplary figure, represented as being equally as lustful as 'na Bonafo' of stanza 7 and depicted with the aid of similar images and techniques of sexual innuendo which echo those of the previous stanza.¹⁰⁰

The interpretations suggested for line 72 can be summarised as follows:

- the implicit contrast between 'dig verai' (1.69) and 'trut dullurut' leads one to expect a contrast between Bõn'Amõrs and lechery, where the association of lechery with alliteration would mirror that of fin'amõrs with sincerity. Since in Poem XXXI Marcabru contrasts his own songs with those of other troubadours, could line 72 represent a characteristic of songs by 'la troba n'Eblo'?
- 'trut dullurut' could represent the 'paraul'escura' of other troubadours, whose songs also mentioned a female character called Aiglina. These poets might perhaps have included Eble II de Ventadour whose literary reputation - if nothing else - has survived.
- the phrase 'trut dullurut' may be a nonsense phrase, similar to the babble used by Guilhem IX in his 'fabliau à la première personne',¹⁰¹ 'Farai un vers pos mi sonelh', and Marcabru may be parodying Guilhem's song, attacking its amorality and veneer of spurious courtliness.
- Aiglina could represent a traditional female character in songs belonging to the 'registre popularisant' - such as the 'pastorelas a la usanza antiga' mentioned in Cercamon's vida?¹⁰² Marcabru may be attacking such songs for their promiscuous content (Amars) and 'trut dullurut' may be a parody of their refrains. (Marcabru may be implying that Eble is incapable of composing anything better than this type of unsophisticated doggerel.)
- the phrase may be one of alliterative, euphemistic substitution, taking its colour from the word drut.
- the words may have a real meaning and the image may carry a sexual innuendo which is not present in Giraut de Bornelh's use of the word trut.
- if the figure of 'n'Aiglina' is not as fully developed as is that of 'na Bonafo' (see Chapter VII below), this may be because the name carried obvious associations for Marcabru's public - perhaps because a song in which she featured was popular at the time - and the allusion needed no further elaboration.

Marcabru's Poem XXXI is built around a series of oppositions, contrasts and conflicts. 'N'Aiglina' and her 'trut dullurut', whatever their precise meaning, contribute like the other elements of the song to the lyric expression of these conflicts. In the light of this, the contensso of the song referred to in line 13 may reflect not only the

sound of the birds, the conflict in nature, but may also prefigure the poetic conflict between Marcabru, who declares that 'Ieu'm met de tröbar en plai' (l.15), and the 'tröbà n'Eblo' of line 74.

The root contentiö belongs to the vocabulary of Rhetoric as a figure of style and, 'as a figure of thought involves the comparison of positions which are antithetical to each other'.¹⁰³ In Poem XXXI Marcabru shows clearly the antagonistic natures of Amors and Amars. He attempts to define them in terms of the contrasting effects each has upon the inner state of the individual and upon the individual in his social context. Veiled allusions to and criticisms of irresponsible poets whose songs do not distinguish Bon'Amors from lascivious Amars can be detected in stanzas 7 and 8 and also in the clash between the two antithetical types of trobar which Marcabru mentions. Marcabru associates the opposing philosophy of love and its poetic expression with a named opponent and it is possible that 'the contensso of the song' refers to a poetic and ideological conflict on the plane of troubadour lyric composition in general, a conflict which inspired Marcabru's clear statement of the dialectic of love.

Notes to Chapter III

1. See, for example, D. Scheludko, 'Zur Geschichte des Natureingangs bei den Trobadors', ZFSL, 60 (1935-37), pp.257-334 (p.284): 'In der Marcabrunschen Weltanschauung spaltet sich alles in zwei sich bef^hedende Kategorien', and Köhler, Sociologia, p.45.
2. See, for example, Lazar, who remarks of Marcabru that 'il parle surtout par négations' (p.80), Denomy, 'Fin'amors', p.146, and Topsfield, Troubadours, p.106.
3. On Marcabru's views on rhetoric, see Paterson, p.10.
4. Expressions such as 'dirai vos' are often used by Marcabru and are significant in this respect. See, for example, Poems VII line 33; 'Cortesamen' line 6; 'D'aisso laus Dieu' line 6; XVII line 1; XVIII line 1. See also Chapter IV below.
5. On these descriptions and adjectives see Molk, p.61.
6. See G.M. Cropp, Le Vocabulaire courtois des troubadours de l'époque classique, Publications romanes et françaises, 135 (Geneva, 1975), pp.406-8, although she insists that there is little evidence for according the word a specific semantic content. Wilhelm, p.71, suggests that the word Amars is colloquial. On the formation, compare avers<aver (see Poems VII 1.40; tenso 1.54; XXXI 11.33 and 36; 'Lo vers' 1.15; XLIV 1.60); also volers<volre.
7. On this point see, for example, Roncaglia, 'Trobar clus', p.20, and Nelson, 'Prophet', p.227.
8. On the reasons for Marcabru's condemnation of promiscuous love, see Köhler, Sociologia, p.140: 'La soddisfazione immediata di desideri troppo arditi non conduce al joi, ma solo ad una brutale sensualità... Il possesso ottenuto con troppa facilità sbarra la strada che porta l'uomo alla perfezione'. Marcabru's exploitation of the negative Amars accords with Méjean's conclusions concerning

Marcabru as a prolific inventor of pejorative compound neologisms (S. Méjean, 'Les Mots Composés chez Marcabru et Raimbaut d'Orange: étude de quelques cas', in Mélanges de linguistique et de philologie romanes dédiés à la mémoire de P. Fouché (Paris, 1970), pp.93-107): his stylistic innovations reinforce his negative criticisms.

9. See S. Olson, 'Immutable Love: Two Good Women in Marcabru', N, 60 (1976), pp.190-99 (p.198 n.4).
10. See Mölk, p.20, and compare also Poem XXI line 32 (Amors = negative).
11. It is also thought that the opposition Amors/Amars was well-known to Marcabru's audience, for in 'Lo vers' Marcabru employs the term Amars without explicitly contrasting it to Amors:

Si amars a amic corau,
miga nonca m'en meravill
s'il se fai semblar bestiau
al departill. (ll.43-6)
('If false love has a true lover, I should not be at
all surprised if at the end it shows itself to be
bestial/behaves badly (?) .')

(See Appel, 'Zu Marcabru', p.466, and Mölk, p.61).

12. Compare Nelson, 'Prophet', p.227: 'These two terms can be understood only in their relationship to each other'.
13. 'N'Aiglina' (discussed below) and 'na Bonafo' (discussed in Chapter VII below).
14. Wilhelm, p.75.
15. Scheludko, 'Natureingang', p.284.
16. See Scheludko, 'Natureingang', p.278, and compare Marcabru Poems IV stanza 1, XLI stanza 1 and 'Al departir' stanzas 1 and 2.
17. See Scheludko, 'Natureingang', p.281.

18. See also M. Picarel, 'Le Début printanier dans les chansons des troubadours: Marcabru et Bernard de Ventadour', Annales de l'Institut d'Études Occitanes, 2 (1970), pp.169-97.
19. According to Roncaglia's interpretation, 'Al departir' would also contain a reference to domnei ('Al departir', p.20, note to l.27).
20. See L. Spitzer, 'Parelh paria chez Marcabru', R, 73 (1952), pp.78-82 and Mölk, pp.84-5. Compare Jaufre Rudel, Poem I (PC 262,6) stanza 1: a great joy enters the poet's heart because of the new delight which reigns, and symbolic of this is the behaviour of the nightingale who gazes often at its mate ('remira sa par soven' l.4).
21. See Lewent, p.442: "'Ein so beschaffenes Paar legt, wenn es, da ihm echte Liebe nahe ist, nicht nach zwei Seiten auseinandergeht, Zeugnis ab von einem einzigen Sehnen bei doppeltem Wunsche"'.
 22. Compare 'Lo vers comensa':

contra'l savai
 es leu amors savaia
 e bona al bo. (ll.43-5)
 ('Love is readily bad towards bad people and good to the good.')

On the interpretation of this passage, see Ricketts, 'Lo vers comensa', p.21.

23. See Chapter VIII below.

24. Compare Poem XXXVII:

Qu'ieu dic que d'Amar s'aizina
 Ab si mezesme guerreia. (ll.15-16)
 ('For I say that he who takes up with Amars is at war with himself.')

Lewent, p.440, agrees with Dejeanne in understanding que as qui.

25. See below, p.91.

26. < con: compare Poem XII^{bis} line 33: 'Porta capel cornut conin' and see Chapter IV below. See Scheludko, 'Natureingang', p.283, on corina as a neologism, and compare Guilhem de Berguedan (PC 210,22):

La mesquina ...
que maystre Rogier enclina,
tan festina
e s'aizina
tro sent la doussor conina.
('Maystre Rogier bends the girl over and she makes
haste and strives until he feels the cuntish
delight.')

(Guillem de Berguedà: edición crítica, traducción, notas y glosario, por M. de Riquer, Scriptorium Populeti, 6, 2 vols (Abadía de Poblet, 1971), Poem XVIII ll.23-8). De Riquer gives other examples of the term conina in troubadour poetry (p.159). According to De Riquer, 'el sujeto de sent es indiscutiblemente la mesquina del verso 23' (p.159), but compare P.T. Ricketts, 'Le troubadour Guillem de Berguedà', in Mélanges Charles Rostaing, II, pp.883-94 (pp.889-90): according to this interpretation, the girl is the subject of the verb in lines 26-7, 'mais ce serait plutôt Rogier qui sent sa douceur intime' (p.159).

27. Compare Guilhem IX, Poem IX line 48 (PC 183,8):

Pus sap qu'ab lieys ai a guerir.
('Since she knows that through her I will be healed/saved.'),

and Marcabru Poem XVIII ms C st.8 (Dejeanne, p.84), where the idea of mezina is used ironically:

E quer la grossa mezina
Per que'l cons es derramatz.
('And it (false love) seeks the coarse remedy whereby
the cunt is torn/destroyed.')

On guerir see Pasero, p.240.

28. See Appel, 'Zu Marcabru', p.451.

29. See Errante, pp.207 and 210 and 'Doas cuidas'.
30. See P. Bec, 'Genres et registres dans la lyrique médiévale des XII^e et XIII^e siècles', Revue de Linguistique romane, 38 (1974), pp.26-39, and Jeanroy, II, p.28 n.1 on the exclamatory refrain.
31. Poems VIII line 21, XII^{bis} line 26 and Lavador line 21 ('A!'); XIX line 28 (but compare Ricketts, 'Doas cuidas', p.190), XXV line 23 and XL line 36 ('Ai!').
32. Compare the refrain 'Oïés pour quoi!' of a song by Gautier de Soignies in 'Chanter m'estuet': Songs of the Trouvères, edited by S.N. Rosenberg and H. Tischler (London, 1981), p.286. This resemblance has also been pointed out by P. Bec, La Lyrique française au moyen âge, 2 vols (Paris, 1977-78), I, p.186 n.11.
33. See in particular the substantial emendations proposed by Lewent, p.435, and the remarks in V.J. Pollina, 'Si cum Marcabrus declina: Studies in the Poetics of the Troubadour Marcabru' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Yale University, 1980), pp.59-60.
34. Compare the analysis of Poem XVIII by S.G. Nichols, 'Towards an Aesthetic of the Provençal Lyric II: Marcabru's Dire vos vuoil ses doptansa', in Italian Literature: Roots and Branches: Essays in Honour of Thomas Goddard Bergin (New Haven and London, 1976), pp.15-37.
35. See Chapter VI below.
36. See Chapter I above.
37. See Lewent, p.435: 'Das "si farai, no farai", daß als Rede zu denken ist, drückt die Ungewißheit aus, mit der Amars den Toren "mager" macht', and compare the doubts and sufferings Marcabru says he experiences in stanzas 1 and 2 of 'Doas cuidas'.
38. "'Si farai? no farai?'" could be understood as teasing, tormenting rhetorical questions asked by Amars.

39. Understanding l as a definite article, referring to the response 'yes'.
- Compare ms R el trebesca loc e no. The other manuscripts offer:
- AN entrebescat hoc e no
 C entrebescat doc e no
 D entrebescat oc ab no
 K entrebescat oc e no
 a entrebescat oc ab no.
40. See ms C and compare Poem XXXVII line 12: 'Entrebeschatz de fraichura' (my emphasis).
41. Compare the opposition of razo and the 'entenssa follatina' of Eble discussed below.
42. E. Köhler, Trobadorlyrik und höfische Roman (Berlin, 1962), p.173, and Paterson, p.9.
43. 'La tenzone', p.235. See also Poem XXXVII line 3 ('So que chascus motz declina') and Chapter V below.
44. See Chapter VII below.
45. See Chapter V below.
46. Lewent, p.435, but this emendation is not entirely satisfactory since this reading is attested by none of the seven manuscripts for the song.
47. See also Wilhelm, p.77, on a possible connection with Ovid, Amores, II.4.39-44.
48. See Chapter V below.
49. See for example, lines 25-8:

Ja non creirai, qui que m'o jur,
 Que vins non iesca de razim,
 Et hom per Amor no meillur,
 C'anc un pejurar no'n auzim.
 ('I will never believe, whoever swears it to me, that
 wine does not come from grapes or that men do not
 become better through love, for we never hear of one
 becoming worse because of it.)

(Line 28: Lewent, p.328: 'no'n auzim' cf. Dejeanne: 'non auzim'.)

50. Compare also Poem XXXVI line 36:

E creis Putia s'onor
 ('And Whoredom increases her honour').

There is surely a deliberate pun here on the word onor, meaning at once 'lands, lordship' and 'good reputation'.

See also Poem VII lines 51-2:

Tan s'en fan d'Amor casla
 Deurion trichar de pla.
 ('Those people turn themselves into the castellans
 of Love who really should just deceive.')

(See Dejeanne, p.221: casla, 'châtelain'), and Poem XLII line 31.

51. In as much as this love governs (seignoreia) with truth (1.34), has sovereign power over many creatures (11.35-6), and Marcabru describes its commitment using feudal images ('se promet e's plevina', 1.39). See Chapter VI below.

52. See Chapter VII below.

53. S. Pellegrini, 'Intorno al vassallaggio d'amore nei primi trovatori', CN, 4-5 (1944-45), pp.21-36 (pp.32-3): his examples are Poems XLI line 37; XXII lines 57-9; I lines 17-21 and XL lines 36-40 (this last example depends upon accepting the thesis that fin'amors = 'love of God' in Marcabru).

54. Molk, p.24.

55. See Chapter VI below.
56. Paterson, pp.12-13.
57. 'Lo vers comensa', p.17.
58. Compare Molk, p.91: 'Marcabru hatte durch Ausdrücke wie entrebescar, entrebessuill usw. die Dichtung der "falschen" Sänger als "lügnerischen Mischmasch" charakterisiert'.
59. My repunctuation.
60. SWB.I.160: buzinar - 'verkehrt, thöricht handeln'.
61. Bernart von Ventadorn, p.lxvi n.1.
62. But surely it is the reverse which would be surprising: according to Appel's interpretation the poet appears implicitly to concede that Bon'Amors could behave insincerely (compare Poem XIII ll.19-20 and XXXVII ll.31-4).
63. Compare Poem XIII lines 25-8 (see note 49 above).
64. See Appel, Bernart von Ventadorn, p.lxvi n.1, Spanke, p.89 and Errante, p.174. Compare Wilhelm, p.70, who suggests the correction deliurat for dullurut and translates line 72: 'of that lecher-livin' Sir Aiglina', while noting of the line 'sense obscure'.
65. 'Zu Marcabru', p.452.
66. Bernart von Ventadorn, p.lxvi n.1.
67. Compare Paterson, p.17, who understands this stanza to contain a modesty topos.
68. Compare Spanke, p.89: '"trut dullurut" ist als "Singsang" zu verstehen'.

69. PC 183,12.
70. Guilhem says he did not say 'ni bat ni but' (1.26): see J. Ziolkowski, "'Ne bu ne ba'", MN, 84 (1983), pp.287-90 on the origins of this expression and its use to teach children their alphabet. Guilhem was pretending to be very stupid, ignorant even of his alphabet.
71. See De Riquer, I, p.133, and M. Scholz, 'Die Allitteration in der altprovenzalischen Lyrik', ZRP, 37 (1913), pp.385-426 (p.410): 'die neugebildeten absichtlich sinnlosen Worte: "babariol, baba riol, babarian"'. .
72. Scholz does not mention this passage in his study but notes that alliteration is a technique frequently employed by Marcabru (p.411).
73. See also Pasero, 'Pastora', on the possibility that Marcabru's pastorela is a polemic ripost to Guilhem's song.
74. See Scheludko, who compares the exordium of Marcabru's song with those of a number of Guilhem's songs and concludes: 'das Lied 31 wurde von Marcabru in direktem Anschluß an Wilhelm IX gedichtet' ('Natureingang', p.283).
75. Compare G. Lachin, "Malas femnas", CN, 40 (1980), pp.33-47 (pp.43-4) on the connections between Guilhem's song and Marcabru Poem XXXI.
76. Order of stanzas in ms D: I, II, III, V, VIII, VI.
77. See I. Frank, 'Babariol-babarian chez Guillaume IX', R, 73 (1953), pp.227-34.
78. It is a first name: see Die Briefe des Trobadors Raimbaut von Vaqueiras an Bonifaz I, Markgrafen von Montferrat, herausgegeben von O. Schultz-Gora (Halle, 1893), p.72.

79. Errante, p.187. Compare Spanke, p.89, who interprets line 72 as 'ein bissiger Angriff auf die Konkurrenten, die sich durch flache, wohl lautende Lieder bei den Frauen beliebt zu machen wissen'.
80. Text in F. Torraca, Le donne italiane nella poesia provenzale: su la 'treva' di G. de la Tor (Florence, 1901), pp.57-8. There is no reference to Marcabru's 'n'Aiglina' in Bergert, but he was following Dejeanne's edition where this is interpreted as a man's name (F. Bergert, Die von den Trobadors genannten oder gefeierten Damen, Beihefte zur ZRP, 46 (Halle, 1913)).
81. Bartsch classifies this poem as a 'Romanze' (see Altfranzösischen Romanzen und Pastourellen, herausgegeben von K. Bartsch (Leipzig, 1870), p.117). Compare Bec, 'Genres', p.38 and La Lyrique, I, pp.58-62 on the 'chanson de femme'. The song is a 'farciture lyrique' found in Guillaume de Dole. Text from Bec, La Lyrique, II, Poem 32:

Or vienent Pasques les beles en avril,
 Florissent bois, cil pre sont raverdi,
 Ces douces eves retraient a lor fil,
 Cil oisel chantent au soir et au matin.
 Qui amors a ne's doit metre en oubli.
 Sovent i doit et aler et venir.

(2 lines missing)

Ja s'entr'amoient Aigline et li quens Guis:
Guis aime Aigline, Aigline aime Guion.

Souz un chastel q'en apele Biaucler,
 En mout poi d'eure i ot granz bauz levez.
 Ces damoiseles i vont por caroler,
 Cil escuier i vont por bohorder,
 Cil chevalier i vont por esgarder;
 Vont i cez dames por lor cors deporter.
 La bele Aigline s'i est fete mener,
 Si ot vestu un bliaut de cendel
 Qui granz .II. aunes trainoit par les prez.
Guis aime Aigline, Aigline aime Guion.

82. H. Petersen Dyggve, Onomastique des trouvères, Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, Series B, 30 (Helsinki, 1934), p.28.
83. Bernart von Ventadorn, p.lxvi n.1.

84. See Bec, La Lyrique, I, pp.33-43, and P. Bec, 'Quelques réflexions sur la poésie lyrique médiévale: problèmes et essai de caractérisation', in Mélanges offerts à Rita Lejeune, 2 vols (Gembloux, 1969), II, pp.1309-29 (pp.1327-9) on the characteristics of the 'popularisant' and 'aristocratisant' registers. He notes that among the characteristics of the 'registre popularisant' are: 'Prédilection pour le refrain (après chaque couplet); goût pour l'onomatopée ...; personnages plus ou moins typisés, effectivement présents et agissants ...; des noms propres typisés (Robin, Marion, Margot, Doon)' ('Réflexions', pp.1327-8).
85. See Bartsch, pp.13, 67, 71 et passim.
86. Joan d'Esteve (PC 266,5) and Gui d'Ussel (PC 194,14) in J. Audiau, La Pastourelle dans la poésie occitane du moyen âge (Paris, 1923), Poems VIII and XVI.
87. 'Compte tenu ... de la seule tradition textuelle actuellement saisissable: ce qui ne préjuge en rien, au contraire, quant à l'existence éventuelle de ces genres [popularisants] (ou de genres similaires) dans l'Occitanie médiévale' (Bec, La Lyrique, I, p.38 n.48). See also Bec, La Lyrique, I, pp.49-52 and p.59 n.8.
88. This is what Levy suggests: 'scheint mir trut Teil eines onomatopetischen Refrains zu sein, so daß durch 'trut dullurut n'Aiglina' ein Lied bezeichnet wird' (SWB.VIII.514) - although he does not explain the reasoning behind this.
89. Lavaud and Nelli. I am grateful to Simon Gaunt of the University of Warwick for drawing my attention to this passage.
90. See also E. Faral, 'La Pastourelle', R, 49 (1923), pp.204-59 (pp.219-220).
91. Bartsch, pp.273 and 203. Compare also Marcabru Poem XXXI ms D - 'detotairo naiglina' - with Bartsch, p.163:

trava delaritondenne
trava delaritondons.

92. N.H.J. Van den Boogaard, Rondeaux et refrains du XII^e au début du XIV^e siècle (Paris, 1969), 'Les refrains onomatopéiques', pp.260-262.
93. Compare Marcabru's pastorela which has been interpreted as a criticism of promiscuity (see Fantazzi, and Pasero, 'Pastora').
94. The word drut does not feature in any of the variants of line 72, but occurs three times in Marcabru's surviving works (Poems V 1.34, VIII 1.30 and XXIV 1.4). Moillerat appears ten times (Poems IV 11.31 and 39, V 1.19, VIII 11.16 and 51, XVII 11.31., 42 and 44, XXXVI 1.27 and in 'Doas cuidas', 1.46) and moilleratz once (Poem XXXIX 1.50).
95. Pollina, p.135 n.32.
96. See Dejeanne, p.233. I have been unable to consult the new edition of Giraut de Bornelh in the thesis of Dr. Ruth Sharman.
97. See H.P. de Rochemont, Essai d'un glossaire occitanien (Toulouse, 1819), trūtīna, and compare REW, 8958.
98. Correcting line 20: agra (ms a) to fora (mss ABCIKNMQRS^U), and line 23: levet (mss Ra) to levest (cf. leves: mss ABCIKNQS^U, and leviest: ms M).
99. PD.dolh - 'tonneau, bonde', from dōlium (REW, 2723). Compare The 'Donatz Proensals' of Uc Faidit, edited by J.H. Marshall, University of Durham Publications (London, 1969), 2724: dolhz, 'dolium vel foramen dolii'.
100. Could trut dullurut have anything to do with the mysterious trutennes of Etienne de Fougères (Etienne de Fougères: 'Le Livre des Manieres', édité par R.A. Lodge, Textes Littéraires Français, 275 (Geneva, 1979)):

Ces dames ont trove .I. jeu;
o dos trutenes funt un eu,
sarqueu hurtent contre sarqueu,
sanz focil escoent lor feu. (ll.1105-08)
('These ladies have discovered a game: with two
trutenes they make an egg (?), they strike coffin
against coffin and without a poker they stir their
fire.')

The editor notes that the passage contains figurative representations of lesbian love but is unable to explain the meaning of trutenes (pp.131-32).

101.Bec, 'Genres', p.36.

102.See E. Köhler, 'La Pastourelle dans la poésie des troubadours', in Études de langue et de littérature du moyen âge offertes à Felix Lecoy (Paris, 1973), pp.279-92 (pp.283-4), and Bec, La Lyrique, I, p.135. Text of Cercamon's vida in Boutière and Schutz, p.9.

103.T. Hunt, 'Aristotle, dialectic and courtly literature', Viator, 10 (1979), pp.95-129 (p.107). See 'Rhetorica ad Herennium', translated by H. Caplan, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1954), IV.15.21:

'contentio est cum ex contrariis rebus conficitur'
('antithesis occurs when the style is built on contraries');

and IV.45.58:

'Contentio est per quam contraria referuntur. Ea est in verborum exornationibus ... in sententiarum Inter haec duo contentionum genera hoc interest: illud ex verbis celeriter relatis constat; hic sententiae contrariae ex comparatione referantur oportet'
('Through Antithesis contraries will meet. ... it belongs either among the figures of diction, ... or among the figures of thought... . Between these two kinds of Antithesis there is this difference: the first consists in a rapid opposition of words; in the other opposing thoughts ought to meet in a comparison.').

CHAPTER IV OBSCENITY AND MARCABRU'S MORALISING STYLE

Scholars have used various terms to describe one of the most striking features of Marcabru's poetic vocabulary: 'gaulois', 'gross', 'rude ... brutal et violent', 'cru'.¹ He employs 'palabras vulgares y obscenas' and he calls a spade a spade with the crudest realism,² while in Franz's opinion, 'Marcabru spricht das Geschlechtliche mit einer auch auf Philologenversammlungen unübersetzbaren Unumschriebenheit aus' (p.23). Hoepffner asked, rhetorically: 'combien de fois ne se laisse-t-il pas aller à des écarts de langage que reprouvaient les lois de la cortezia?'.³ Examples of such critical judgements could be multiplied. They all point, however, to the general conclusion that free use of coarse, indeed obscene, language distinguishes Marcabru's works, setting him apart from contemporary troubadours.

The traditional view of Marcabru as a foul-mouthed 'réaliste' (see Chapter II above) seems to have been informed by a nineteenth-century delicacy,⁴ with the result that critics judged the acceptability of the troubadour's language according to standards which were not necessarily also those of the twelfth century. A different flaw could be found in the general argument, most recently expressed by Siciliano, that since 'medieval man' was essentially naive, 'simple et primordiale', 'il n'était pas du tout sûr que le moyen âge ait eu conscience d'être obscène'.⁵ This view, moreover, conflicts with recent research which emphasizes the self-conscious artistry of troubadour composition.⁶

The assumption made by scholars appears to be that the courtly excludes the coarse,⁷ and, although scholars have underlined the significance of the question of obscenity in medieval literature,⁸ no complete study of the subject has so far been published.⁹ Critics have touched upon this problem in the course of studies of other matters, but have limited themselves to noting the relative absence of obscene terms in troubadour lyric poetry.¹⁰ Marcabru, however, employs the verb fotre and, on several occasions, the term con: if the troubadours generally avoided such words, it is significant that Marcabru uses them.

For reasons of space and scope, this chapter does not pretend to be an exhaustive study of the question, but is rather a brief examination of Marcabru's poetic use of terms which critics have judged to be obscene in

the light of statements by medieval vernacular writers concerning the acceptability of such language and of instances of similar terms in the works of some of Marcabru's near-contemporaries.

It should be said at this point that there is apparently a dearth of contemporary material which might elucidate twelfth-century attitudes towards the use of obscenity in courtly literary works. Very few medieval Occitan works appear to contain clear pronouncements on the question and such statements as there are appear to depend upon the particular interpretation given to phrases such as 'vilas paraulas' and 'vilanaments parlar', while the lack of contextual definition of the phrases reduces their usefulness in this connection.

The Leys d'Amors, being primarily concerned with considerations of poetic form, offers little elucidation of what could be seen as a question of content: the acceptability or unacceptability of obscene words. The work's definitions of lyric genres contain observations which could be understood to concern obscenity.

The guide-lines given for the composition of pastorelas contain a warning:

E deu se hom gardar en aquest dictat maioramen, quar
en aquest se peca hom mays que en los autres, que hom
no diga vils paraulas, ni laias ni procesisca en son
dictat e degu vil fag, quar trufar se pot hom a femna
e far esquern la un a l'autre, ses dire e ses far
viltat e dezonestat.¹¹

('And one should be most careful in these songs, for in these people are more at fault than in others, not to include base or ugly words or procedures (actions), nor any base deed, for it is possible for a man and a woman to joke between themselves and exchange banter without saying or doing anything base or improper.') ?

It is somewhat ironic that the example of a pastorela then given in the Leys d'Amors is the anonymous and obscene porquiera, although this poem may have been included precisely as an illustration of what a poet should avoid. From the context of the passage one might infer that 'vilas paraulas ni laias' refers to coarse words of a sexually explicit nature. The seduction theme of the pastorela's narrative framework would present ample opportunity for a 'fault' of this nature on the part of the composer, whether in the words used by the narrator to describe the procesisca or in the dialogue attributed to the protagonists.¹²

The definition of the cānsó also includes a proscription of 'ugly or base words'. A cānsó should be constructed

am bels mots plazens et am graziozas razos, quar en chanso no deu hom pauzar deguna laia paraula ni degu vilanal mot ni mal pauzat, quar chansos, segon qu'es estat dig, deu tractar d'amors principalmen, o de lauzors, et hom que's red enamoratz, no solamen en sos faytz se deu mostrar cortes, ans o deu far ysshemens en sos digz et en son parlar.¹³

('with beautiful and pleasing words, and gracious (?) ideas. For in a canso one should not include any ugly words, nor any base or badly placed word for, according to what has been said, a canso should treat principally of love or praise, and a man who falls in love should show himself to be courtly not only in his actions but also in his speech and in his language.')

In the opinion of the author courtliness is incompatible with 'laia paraula' and 'vilanal mot'. The pastorela, we are told, should not include base or ugly words. There is more than one way of interpreting these expressions (see below), but it is not implausible to suggest that they may represent 'obscene, coarse words or terminology'.

It is perhaps unwise to rely solely upon prescriptive treatises such as the Leys d'Amors for accurate information or definitive statements regarding twelfth-century tastes and ideas: the treatises are perhaps more descriptive, having been composed 'après la lettre', as it were, and they are most useful for the insights they give into what was considered proper and desirable in the following century.¹⁵

The troubadours' vidas, similarly, are of little help in this matter. Although these texts contain medieval critical judgements on the works of earlier troubadours, they give scant treatment to poets of Marcabru's generation. Marcabru's vidas contain nothing which may really be understood as a criticism of his use of obscene language. Although the vida in ms A calls Marcabru maldizens and that in ms K says that 'he spoke ill of women and of love', these may be understood as judgements of the content of his songs. It would seem to be not so much the way in which Marcabru expressed himself as the ideas he expressed which the biographers considered worthy of note and of their criticism.¹⁶ An examination of the troubadours' vidas produces no remark which could be understood as a reference to obscene language in the poets' works since the biographers limit themselves to bald judgements of 'good' and 'bad' which reflect thirteenth-century opinions of these songs.

Perhaps statements in the songs of Marcabru's contemporaries may furnish the most reliable guide to early twelfth-century opinions of obscenity. Aston points out that in these texts 'observations on technique and style are fleeting and confined to a few, perhaps significant, points: on vocabulary, to the necessity of using courtly as opposed to vilan words' (p.144), and he illustrates this with a passage from a song by Guilhem IX which contains rules governing the behaviour of the courtly lover:

e cove li que sapcha far
faitz avinens
e que's gart en cort de parlar
vilanamens. (VII 11.33-6).¹⁷
('He must know how to behave in a pleasing manner, and at court
must keep himself from speaking vilanamens (basely?).')

Interpretation of these lines depends on what is meant by the phrase 'en cort', which may not necessarily refer to lyric composition or performance, and in particular on the exact meaning of vilanamens. Molk has examined the expression 'vilanamens parlar' in some depth.¹⁸ He concludes that there is insufficient comparative material to show that this phrase means that popular, idiomatic or dialectal forms of speech were frowned upon in courtly society (pp.43-4). He examines Guilhem's use of the word vilan and argues that Guilhem's pronouncement in Poem VII refers to a manner of speaking which should be informed by a true understanding and appreciation of fin'amors and the courtly ethic: what a person says is a manifestation of this understanding or lack of it, and the lack of understanding reveals a person to be vilan. Statements such as that in Guilhem's poem are therefore concerned with the content rather than the style of what a person says, and these lines of Guilhem's song indicate that what is to be avoided is speech which betrays an ignorance of cortesia.¹⁹

It is possible that a similar interpretation should be given to one of the passages of the Leys d'Amors mentioned above. The 'vilanal mot' to be shunned by the composer of a canso may be understood as words which betray a lack of true awareness of the courtly ethic and are therefore described as the words of a vilan as opposed to a cortes.

With reference to the more specific question of coarse expressions ('derberotische Ausdrücke'), Molk cites stanza 1 of Guilhem's gap, where the troubadour praises his own mastery of poetic techniques, 'aber der

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Sorge um eine höfische Sprache gilt noch keine Aufmerksamkeit' (Mölk, p.45). The implication seems to be that Guilhem was never concerned with either using or avoiding obscene words or lewd images such as those which made stanzas 6-10 of Poem VI untranslatable by Jeanroy.

Other early troubadours also made remarks about the nature and quality of their poetic language. Cercamon, for example, says of his song:

Plas es lo vers, vauc l'afinan
Ses mot[z] vila[s], fals, apostitz,
E es totz enaissi bastitz
C'ap motz politz lo vau uzan,
E tot ades va's meilluran
S'es qi be'l chant ni be'l desplei.²⁰

('The vers is smooth and I refine it, without base, false or treacherous words; and it is entirely constructed so that I use polished words, and it will always improve if there is someone to sing it and (unfold)/ present it well.')

Kastner understood this stanza as an indirect attack on Marcabru and the 'motz vilas which abound in his songs', and apparently interpreted motz vilas as an allusion to Marcabru's obscene language.²¹ For Franz, however, motz vilas and the associated expressions indicate 'daß die Formschwierigkeit erfolgreich überwunden ist' (p.7). Cercamon would be saying that all the words have been carefully chosen and skillfully placed in his song. This is then a statement of the poem's technical perfection and of the troubadour's expertise, although Mölk acknowledges Kastner's explanation as a possible additional interpretation of Cercamon's lines (p.56 n.5).

This and other similar passages of songs by Marcabru's contemporaries have thus been interpreted as the troubadour's praise of the Einheit (Mölk, p.56) of his words and ideas within the context of the poet's statement of his own technical achievement and artistic virtuosity, each word being carefully selected and integrated into the song.

The problem would appear to be that each statement by troubadours concerning the suitability or value of words in their songs may have several interpretations. They may refer to the suitable sonority of the words, to the pleasing overall poetic effect the troubadour claims to have achieved, and the harmonious integration of the words with the music of the songs - in short, to the troubadour's technical accomplishment.²² They may refer to the significance of words in the context of the courtly

ethic, to what a person's words reveal about their grasp of and attitude towards còrtēsîâ, that is to say that the emphasis may be placed primarily on content rather than on the propriety of the style.

To explain 'motz vilas' and 'vilanamens parlar' as Mòlk has done is, however, to broaden the terms of the discussion. A troubadour's general statement that his song contains no out-of-place, base or discordant word does not exclude the possibility of interpreting 'base words' as meaning 'coarse, obscene words'. Among the words which may reveal a person (or poet's) lack of cortesia one might include obscene words.

In the sources and passages examined above, no unambiguous or unequivocal proscription of obscene language in the troubadour courtly lyric has been found. Those few remarks by medieval writers which have a direct and unmistakable bearing on this point are to be found in later, Northern French works. These works are concerned with literary genres other than the courtly lyric, with contes and romans, for example. This may, in fact, facilitate interpretation of the texts since it removes from the range of possible interpretations of the passages the concern with lyric poetic technique evidenced by the Southern texts. Since the Northern French pronouncements are concerned with the acceptability of obscene terms in courtly literature and behaviour, it may be helpful to examine them briefly here.

The Roman de la Rose contains well-known and useful indications of terms which were at that time considered to be unacceptable in the speech of a courtly person. Guillaume de Lorris's God of Love instructs the Lover to avoid pronouncing

Ces orz moz ne ces ribaudies:
Ja por nomer vilaine chose
Ne doit ta bouche estre desclose:
Je ne tieng pas a cortois ome
Qui orde chose e laide nome. (11.2098-2102)²³
('those dirty words or improprieties. Your mouth should never open to name anything base: I do not consider a man who names any dirty or ugly thing to be courtly. ')

Jean de Meung's Lover, shocked to hear Reason use the word coilles which he describes as 'une parole/si esbaulevree e si fole' ('such a shameless and shocking word': 11.5671-2), says:

Si ne vous tieng pas a courtoise ...
 Quant ci m'aveiez coilles nomees ...
 Vous, qui tant estes sage e bele,
 Ne sai con nomer les osastes,
 Au meins quant le mot ne glosastes
 Par quelque courteise parole,
 Si come preudfame en parole. (ll.6898-906)
 ('I do not consider you to be courtly since you said coilles to
 me ... I do not know how you, who are so wise and beautiful,
 dare to name them, at least without glossing (over ?) the word
 with some courtly phrase, as a respectable woman does.')

That this may be an over-sensitive reaction to the word is shown by
 Reason's subsequent argument against préciosité and shame and in defence
 of honest and plain language. In concluding that it is desaccoutumance
 (l.7102) which keeps women from calling the things by their proper names,
 Reason also indicates that euphemistic practices were then widespread.
 In the eyes of the Lover, use of words such as coilles is incompatible
 with courtoisie.

The prologue to the Lai d'Aristote contains a pronouncement on
 'vilain mot' in literary works.²⁴ Henri d'Andeli twice announces his
 intention of avoiding vilain mot, 'base (bad or dirty) words' (ll.47-51
 and 54-56). Perhaps here it is a question of the same courtly sensibili-
 ties as are revealed in the passage of Jean de Meung's Roman de la Rose.
 The author states that as a general rule

... oeuvre ou vilanie cort
 ne doit estre contee a cort. (ll.45-6)
 ('a work containing baseness should not be recited at court.')

These lines raise the same problems as did Guilhem IX's words, but are
 also open to similar interpretations and could indicate that, for an
 informed courtly audience, explicit lewdness in literature was un-
 acceptable.

The author of the Lai du Lecheor says that this is the name
 commonly given to the story of which

Ne voil pas dire le droit non,
 C'on nu me tort a mesprison. (ll.121-2)²⁵
 ('I do not wish to say the real name, so that no one will
 despise me/disapprove of me.')

This could indicate that he knows the limits of bienséances and is aware that to go beyond them would shock a courtly audience. The lines may, however, be an ironic reference to the exaggerated sensibilities of this public, since the author does use 'le droit non' (con) several times in the work.²⁶ He says

Faisons du con le lai novel;
Si l'orrenet tel cui ert mout bel (ll.99-100),

and that the composers (who were women) treating of this subject 'Le lai firent cortois et bon'. (l.108). If one takes seriously the author's words in lines 121-2, the use of cortois in connection with the con in line 108 may be understood as an ironic play on incongruity.

The same word is circumlocuted by Jean Renart in Galeran de Bretagne.²⁷ In his descriptive inventory of female beauty, he omits the name but admires the qualities of what lies

Soubz la pelice ou la chemise
Que courtoisie me deffent
Que je ne nomme apertement. (ll.1306-8)

He avoids, he says, pronouncing the word because courtly standards proscribe its use, whether in speech or, more significantly, in literary works.

A passage from Richeut also has implications for courtly taboos of language.²⁸ The author feels the need to justify his free use of obscene language in the scurrilous tale: he indicates that he feels shame (l.68) but adds

Qui de Ri [cheut] conte la vie
Ne puet parler par cortoisie. (ll.70-1)
('A person telling the story of Richeut's life cannot speak courteously.')

He shifts the responsibility from himself onto the subject matter - or at least this is the affectation. Even in this lip service paid to respectability, the author of Richeut reveals a clear awareness of the conflict between obscenity and courtoisie.

These examples represent statements made by medieval writers concerned with social and literary conventions. They refer explicitly to courtoisie and most passages relate to courtly literary works. All indicate a proscription of coarse language in these works. Words such as cõn and cõillès are unacceptable, words described as vilain are to be avoided, and Chrétien de Troyes's refusal to describe Lancelot's night of love-making with Guenevere other than by means of euphemistic terms such as joie and mervoille can be understood to indicate that detailed erotic descriptions should not be included in courtly literary works.²⁹

The prohibitions of vilain mot could be related to the three levels of style of the rhetorical treatises.³⁰ Henri d'Andeli's protestations that he would avoid vilanie or vilain mot were understood by the editor of the Lai d'Aristote to be related to the grandiloquens style, 'style noble ou grave [convenant] aux récits où figuraient des personnes de qualité'.³¹ Base words would be unsuitable in a narrative dealing with noble people and, in the context of the three styles of discourse, such words could not but be categorised as belonging to the humilis style, applicable to the vilain and his coarse and lowly life.³²

However, the vilain ('base') need not in this context include the obscene. Rhetorical treatises influential in the development of medieval notions of style clearly prohibit and reject obscenity under any circumstances. According to the Rhetorica ad Herennium one of the most valuable functions of the metaphor was to enable one to avoid obscenity.³³ Quintilian states categorically that 'our language must not be obscene, unseemly or mean', that there is no place for coarse, low words in the speech of a cultivated man,³⁴ and he draws particular attention to the unacceptability of obscenity in discourse: 'there is no word which is intrinsically ugly unless it be beneath the dignity of the subject on which we have to speak, excepting always such words as are nakedly obscene'.³⁵

Adams's study provides illustrations of the sharp distinction drawn between obscene, unacceptable and acceptable terms in Classical Latin writings.³⁶ Prompted by his correspondent's use of the word mentula ('membrum virile'), Cicero wrote a letter discussing the relative standards of decency underlying the use or avoidance of certain words.³⁷ However playful this discussion may have been, it is deliberately phrased

in what Cicero described as 'guarded (covered) language' (tēctis verbis) and indicates the unacceptability of certain words denoting the naturalia et pudenda in cultivated Roman society.

That medieval courtly writers avoided using such terms could be the result of a general, even universal taboo, having more to do with human nature than with the cultural conventions of a particular period, such as medieval rhetorical theory. The evidence, such as it is, points to the supposition that those terms which are today considered to be obscene and unacceptable were also considered obscene in the middle ages.³⁸ The reticence of classical rhetorical theorists in this respect would support this interpretation, as does Stempel's study of obscenity as a Grenzphänomen in medieval literature.³⁹

The shock effect these words may be assumed to produce when they do occur may be directed to serve a number of different purposes. In the fabliaux⁴⁰ and in certain troubadour lyrics, they would seem to be used humorously. Curtius notes that 'the classification of the erotic under comedy could be copiously documented from medieval texts' (p.435 n.40), and laughter is apparently the reaction aimed for by the anonymous author of 'Us fotaires' who uses in the two coblas as many forms and derivations of the verb fotre as possible, perhaps in a burlesque 'exercice de style'.⁴¹

But obscene words may also be used seriously as weapons of abuse and spiteful attacks: as C.S. Lewis pointed out, 'they are the vocabulary either of farce or of vituperation'.⁴² Guilhem de Berguedan's four sirventes against the bishop of Urgel, for example, are characterised by violent and obscene accusations which reflect the troubadour's hatred of Arnau de Preixens.⁴³

The anatomical obscenities in Marcabru's songs do not, however, appear to be directed in such a personal way against an individual target nor, as it will be suggested below, does it appear likely that the troubadour used obscenity in a deliberately humorous way.

Marcabru chooses to employ the word con ('vagin')⁴⁴ on six occasions in his works, and there are four instances of adjectival derivations.⁴⁵ This term - which in his translations Dejeanne rendered with reticence by 'le c.' - is used by the troubadour as a means of referring indirectly to women as, for example, in Poem IV:

Moilleratz, li meillor del mon
 Foratz, mas chascus vos faitz drutz,
 Que vos confon
 E son acaminat li con
 Per qu'es Jovens forābanditz⁴⁶
 E vos en appell'om cōrnutz. (ll.31-6)
 ('Husbands, you would be the best (men) in the world, but each
 one of you turns himself into a lover, which is what destroys
 you, and the cunts have taken to the road with the result that
Jovens is banished and men call you cuckolds.')

This may represent an obscene use of the term con as ^dsynec_hoche.

To this interpretation can be compared that put forward by Pollmann in his study of the word in the songs of Guilhem IX.⁴⁷ Basing his argument on examples from Horace's Satires, Pollmann suggests that the Latin cunnus was also used of a married woman engaged in an adulterous affair with a young man and, given that Guilhem's song is also concerned with married women, he proposes 'daß auch im altprovenzalischen cons diese Möglichkeit gegeben war' (p.28). A passage from a poem by Gavaudan further demonstrates for Pollmann 'daß cons oft personal aufgefaßt werden muß und es dann nicht so obszön ist' (p.33 n.18). The stanza is a criticism of the deceit of women who paint their faces and whom the troubadour describes as 'lo cons tafurs, desleials enganaire' ('the treacherous con, unfaithful deceiver').⁴⁸ Here con is used for the whole woman with little suggestion of sexual activity. In Pollmann's view the word can be understood to have a secondary meaning of 'femme adultère, putain' and the contexts of Guilhem's use of the term reinforce this interpretation.

In all but two (possibly three) of the cases where Marcabru uses the word or the adjectival derivation (conin), it is in the context of criticism of adultery and promiscuous behaviour. In Poem IV, in the example above, he addresses the moillerat - the word is in a stressed position at the beginning of the stanza - and he refers to their reputation as cuckolds since the con have begun to march. Stanza 7 of Poem XI is also concerned with immoral husbands who set the first bad example:

Maritz qui l'autrui con grata
 Ben pot saber que'l sieus pescha
 E mostra com hom li mescha,
 Qu'ab eis lo sieu fust lo bata. (ll.49-52)

('The husband who scratches the cõn/wife belonging to another man can be sure that his own goes fishing and shows others how to deceive him and beat him with his own stick.')

A similar emphasis on the husbands' fault in leading their own cõn into adultery is found in Poem XVII:

Moillerat ab sen cabri,
A tal paratz lo coissi
Don lo cons esdeven laire. (11.31-3)⁵⁰
('Husbands with goat-like mentality, you prepare the pillow for such people as cause the con to become a thief (?)')

The evil social consequences of this behaviour and these attitudes are illustrated in stanza 8 of Poem XI, and in Poem XVII:

Que tals ditz: 'Mos fills me ri'
Que anc re no'i ac a faire. (11.34-5)
('With the result that a man says 'My son smiles at me', but he never had anything to do with the making of the child.')

In Poem XLII Marcabru says:

E'l jelos bada e musa
E fai badiu badarel,
Car qui l'autrui con capusa
Lo sieu tramet al mazel,
E qui l'estraing vol sentir,
Lo sieu fai enleconir
E'l met en la comunalla. (11.15-21)
('And the jealous husband gawks and dreams and foolishly lounges around, for he who labours over the con/wife belonging to another sends his own to the slaughter-house, and he who wants to feel/experience a strange/foreign one makes others covet his own and puts it at everyone's disposal.')⁵¹

That this passage concerns married people is made clear in stanza 5 where the poet talks of cuckolds and their horned hats, and this elucidates Marcabru's double emphasis on 'lo sieu' of the husbands in the lines above.

In these four poems the expression con appears in the context of criticism of widespread adultery for which Marcabru appears to hold the husbands primarily responsible. As a result of the bad example they set in pursuing the con of other people, their own behave in a similarly

immoral way. Pollmann's interpretation of cõn ('femme adultère') can easily be applied here. Marcabru's reference to the 'joc coní' in Poem XVII can also be understood in this way:

E puois un non vei estraire
Marcabrus d'aquel trahi,
An lo tondres contra'l raire,
Moillerat, del joc coní. (ll.39-42)
('And since Marcabru does not see one (man) leave off this sort
of life, may the shears go in exchange for the razor, husbands,
in the game of the cunt.')⁵²

The troubadour appears to be washing his hands of the whole sorry mess he has described in the preceding stanzas, for no one pays any attention to his reproaches. He talks to the moillerat of an exchange of two almost identical actions or objects, shears and razors, in the 'joc coní', and one may perhaps understand this as a comparison between two women, or wives; both perform the same function in this game and an exchange between tondre and raire could indicate that no one gains anything in adultery.⁵³ The context of cuckoldry in which conin is used in Poem XII^{bis} makes it possible to apply Pollmann's interpretation here also: Marcabru talks of a lord who 'porta capel cornut conin' (l.33), who wears a horned hat because of the con.⁵⁴

There are several instances of the term con in Marcabru's songs where the context does not so obviously support the interpretation of the word as 'femme adultère'. Poem XLI can be generally understood as an outburst of criticism of adultery, the vicious circle of mutual cuckoldry (l.7), and a lament that the troubadour is unable to remedy these ills. In this world where men and women deceive each other in a ceaseless ronde, Marcabru says:

Tans n'i vei dels contraclaviers,
Greu sai remanra conz entiers
A crebar ni a meich partir. (ll.34-6)
('I see so many people with masterkeys that there will hardly
be any whole con left here to break or divide in two.')

The concrete quality of the image here in which the poet talks of a con in physical terms (breaking it or splitting it in two) makes one inclined to understand con here as the organ, as a synecdochic representation of a woman. This impression is reinforced by interpretations of contraclavier as an obscene metaphor similar to that of Guilhem IX's contraclau.⁵⁵

Guilhem says that he will send his 'vers de dreyt nien' to someone in Anjou,

que'm trame²es del sieu estui
la contraclau. (IV 11.41-2)
('so that that person may send me the second key to his
casket.')

For Mōlk this key represents 'der Nachschlüssel zu demjenigen estuy der Frau, für das ihr Gatte der Hauptschlüssel besitzt' (p.42), and for several scholars the idea of a key evokes that of a chastity belt.⁵⁶ Mōlk points to a passage in Bertran de Born's 'Miei sirventes' (PC 80,25) and in Marie de France's Guigemar to show that such devices existed in Western Europe at this time.⁵⁷ However, Marcabru speaks on several occasions of women being sequestered by their husbands and watched by immoral gardadors (see for example 'A l'alena'). In the light of this, a contraclavier could represent at one and the same time a real key (perhaps to the room rather than to a chastity belt)⁵⁸ and an obscene metaphor for the gardadors' physical attributes, as it appears to do in 'Belha m'es la flors d'aguilen' where the gardadors keep the masterkey in their breeches (or at their belts):

Mas selh per cui hom las destrenh
Port'al braguier la contraclau. (11.11-12)⁵⁹
('But the man by whom the women are sequestered carries the
masterkey in his breeches.')

If one accepts this interpretation, with its ambiguity, for contraclavier in Marcabru's Poem XLI, the con there could also be identified with Guilhem's 'cons gardatz', 'sequestered wives' (Poem III), and in the idea of a con divided in two one could understand a wife's sexual favours shared between husband and gardador/lover.⁶⁰ While it would seem possible to apply Pollmann's interpretations of con to Marcabru's Poem XLI, the word here also retains some of the obscene colour and shocking impact of its primary meaning.

In Poem XXIV, however, where the word also occurs, there is no contextual indication of the marital status of the troubadour's amia. Apparently generalising from his experiences with his promiscuous beloved, Marcabru says:

Aquist con son deziron e raubador,
 Tuit cill gartz i clamon partz et ill en lor;
 E qui mieills fa sordeitz a, cum de l'agnel an pastor. (11.21-4)
 ('These cunts are lustful and thieving, all these knaves claim
 their share and they of them, and he who behaves well gets the
 worst of it, as do the shepherds of their lambs.')

Perhaps Marcabru, embittered by personal suffering, lets fly here with the accusation that all women are the same, or perhaps the amia is imaginary, a representative of faithless, immoral womanhood. Marcabru may be using the word con with the sense of 'putain' which Pollmann attributed to it: certainly con in this song appears to be used as a term of abuse, rather as Adams suggests cunnus was in Classical Latin.⁶¹ The fact that in the preceding stanza Marcabru also chooses to employ the 'vulgar specificity' of the verb fotre (1.20) increases the likelihood that con is employed in Poem XXIV in its primary, starkly obscene, anatomical sense.⁶²

The value of the term is equivocal on the other occasions where it is found in Marcabru's works, that is, in those stanzas of Poem XVIII which Dejeanne chose not to include in the main text of his edition. They are found in one or two manuscripts only and the editor may have doubted the attribution of the stanzas to Marcabru. The simple pattern of each stanza, together with the fact that each is a separate statement illustrating the pernicious deceit of Amars and is unconnected by any sustained thematic progression of the poem, would have made it possible, if not easy, for jongleurs subsequently to add to the song. The manuscript compilers, however, evidently did not doubt the attribution, perhaps because the images and language of these stanzas appear to be consistent with those Marcabru uses elsewhere,⁶³ and two of these stanzas contain the word con:

Selh'amor [s] viu de rapina
 Que per un scl non defina;
 Non es amors quan's tahina,
 Escoutatz!
 E quer la grossa mezina
 Per que'l cons es derramatz. (ms C stanza 8).
 ('This love lives by plunder and does not stop at one victim
 (?); it is not (false) love when it dallies/lingers; - Listen!
 - it seeks the rough remedy (medicine) by means of which the
con is ruined (?).')⁶⁴

Enquer jatz bec de tartugua,
Buffa-fuec, salier-issugua;
Lo con soven li effugua,
Escoutatz!

Ab tal vieg sembra verrugua

Tro que sia arressatz. (ms C stanza 18).

('The snail-beak (?), the fire-blower, the salt-drier looks for a lodging-place; the con often enflames him - Listen! - with such a prick (as) resembles a (small) wart until it is erect.')

In these cases, as in that of the adjective conina in Poem XXXI (1.21), the sense intended for con appears to be that of the anatomical obscenity. The term seems to be used, as was the Latin cunus, 'pars pro toto, of women seen usually as the objects of sexual attention'.⁶⁶ It should be noted that Adams's study suggests that cunus was a word with a heavily obscene colouring, even in the Horatian passages which are discussed.⁶⁷ In the other instances of Marcabru's use of con it is possible to understand the term as it is employed, according to Pollmann, by Guilhem IX and also by Alegret, who says:

Pells maritz drutz vei tornat sec
Donnei, qar l'uns l'autre consen;
qi'll sieu con laissa e l'autrui pren
el fron ll'en sors un'estruma
qe lli er jase, mentre viva, parventz,
e coven se q'ab l'enap ab qe'll bec
sai le cogos, beva lai le sufrenz. (11.43-9)⁶⁸

('I see courting frustrated by lovers who are husbands, for they give each other licence; on the forehead of the man who leaves his own con/wife and takes someone else's a bump will appear which will always show while he lives, and the cuckold will have to drink from the same cup as the cuckold.')

Those of Marcabru's contemporaries who employ the term con appear to do so mostly in the sense suggested by Pollmann. From the contexts, con seems to represent an adulterous woman and in several passages of Marcabru's songs the term is also open to this interpretation, which might have attenuated the shock effect of a word which is also regarded as an obscenity. One might suppose that the obscene sense must surely have coloured the word in whatever context it was used: Marcabru may have been playing on this ambiguity and in one or two instances con in his songs seems to be employed as an anatomical obscenity.

No such équivoque surrounds the verb fotré, which hardly ever appears in courtly troubadour poetry.⁷⁰ Of Marcabru's contemporaries, only Guilhem IX employs the word, in the bawdy tale of his encounter with Lady Agnes and Lady Ermessen:

Tant las fotei cum auziretz:
cent et quatre-vinz et ueit vetz,
que a pauc no'i rompei mos corretz
e mos arnes;
e no'us puesc dir los malavegz,
tan gran m'en pres. (V 11.79-84)
('As you will hear, I fucked them so often - a hundred and
eighty-eight times - that I nearly broke my straps and harness;
and I cannot tell you the pain, I felt so bad.')

The little drama of the poem can be seen as an exemplum, illustrating the 'moral' Guilhem announces in line 9 - that ladies who love a 'monge o clerical' (the pilgrim of the tale?) commit a mortal sin. The relationship depicted in stanza 14 is in these and in other terms, 'grossièreté morale - dont le gros mot [fotei] est un symbole "parlant" excellemment choisi'.⁷¹ Guilhem's sérieux here is difficult to determine. One possibility is that he is here using the verb in the same burlesque spirit as the anonymous composer of 'Us Fotaires' and the concluding stanza, with its debunking of Guilhem's vaunted sexual prowess,⁷² more than hints at a humorous intention on the part of the troubadour. In contrast, Marcabru's serious intention is apparently easier to assess, and Poem XXIV may furnish several indications of the poetic and moralising purpose of his use of the 'gros mots'.

Marcabru frequently criticises the practice of adultery among the noble classes. Both a symbol and a cause of social and moral decay in his view, such promiscuity results in bastard children, the adulteration of the noble blood-line and thus of the hereditary noble virtues.⁷³ The very fabric of society is damaged: the sons prove to be unworthy heirs to their 'fathers' ('Al departir' stanza 5 and 'Lo vers' stanza 4); they fail to fulfil the duties of their class and are full only of empty words ('Al departir' stanza 3 and Poem IV stanza 4), they are avaricious (Poems XI stanzas 7 and 8 and XXXIX stanza 5), luxury-loving, cowardly and unprincipled ('Empereire, per mi mezeis' stanza 5 and the Vers del Lavador stanzas 6 and 7). Marcabru attributes this decay to the practice of Amars, antithesis of fin'amors, the natural order and happiness which are 'associated in Marcabru's poetry with the exercise of reason and

virtue which combat the self-interest of the individual who through inner discord sows discord in society'.⁷⁴ On several occasions the poet proclaims himself to be a critic of this and other ills. He says he is a chastiaire ('correcteur, conseiller'; 'Lehrer'),⁷⁵ and forms of this word occur frequently in his songs.⁷⁶

According to the definition of the sirventés in the later Lèys d'Amors, one of the functions of these songs is to teach, to criticise and correct the faults of evil-doers:

E deu tractar de reprehensio, o de maldig general, per
castiar los fols e los malvatz.⁷⁷
('And it should contain reproaches or general blame, to
criticise/correct fools and wicked people.')

In Poem V Marcabru declares that

De nien sui chastiaire
E de foudat sermonaire,
Car puois la flam'es nascuda
Del fol drut e de la druda,
Si'l fols art per l'abrasada,
Non sui mal meire ni laire. (ll.31-36)
('I am the critic/castigator of nothingness, and the preacher
against folly, for since the flame has arisen between the
foolish lover and his mistress, if the fool burns for the
ardent woman, I am not culpable or criminal (I am not to
blame).')⁷⁸

He is the castigator of nien and foudat and his main concern here is to preach against sexual promiscuity, Amars (see Chapter II above). This is a role which he stresses in his works, and the Escoutatz refrain of Poem XVIII could be interpreted as a reflection of this didactic, instructive purpose.

Similarly, in Poem XVII he confesses:

Re no'm val s'ieu los chasti,
C'ades retornan aqui. (ll.37-8)
('It profits me nothing if I castigate them, for straight away
they revert to the same behaviour.')

The behaviour in question is characterised by cuckoldry, deception and adultery (stanza 6), and in line 42 he refers to it as the 'joc coní' of married people.

His discouragement and complaints about the lack of effect of his castièrs are most apparent in Poem XLI. Interspersed with his vehemently critical descriptions of adulterers, of deceivers who in turn are deceived, are clear indications that Marcabru claimed to view his role as that of moral teacher and social critic:

Non puesc, sols, lo fuec escantir
Dels seglejadors ufaniers,
Qui fa'n los criminals doblers,
Pejors que no'us aus descobrir. (ll.15-18)⁷⁹
('I am unable, on my own, to quench in these showy, vain,
worldly people the lustful fire which makes them doubly
criminal, worse than I dare describe to you.')

In lines 37-8 he appears to wash his hands of the whole problem, commending himself to God and rejecting this tumultuous and unreliable world, while in stanza 5 the reason for this attitude is made clear:

E s'ieu cug anar castian
La lor folhia, quier mon dan;
Pueys s'es pauc prezat si'm n'azir,
Semenan vau mos castiers
De sobre'ls naturals rochiers
Que no vey granar ni florir. (ll. 25-30)
('And if I think to criticise (castian) their folly, I seek my
own ruin; since people pay little attention if I get angry
about it, I go sowing my reproaches (castiers) on the bare
rocks which never blossom or flower.')

The following lines perhaps continue this idea:

S'anc fui de la mus'en afan,
Lo musatg'ai rendut muzan,
Tro per aillor no'n puosc issir.⁸⁰
Tans n'i vei dels contraclaviers,
Greu sai remanra conz entiers
A crebar ni a meich partir. (ll.31-6)

These can be understood as meaning that if ever Marcabru was in torment because of a fruitless wait, that is, waiting for his castiers to produce an effect and flower in the hearts of his listeners, he made the delay even longer to the point where he cannot extricate himself from it by any means other than poetic moralising.⁸¹

The grain of his castièrs does not flower, perhaps partly because of the lechers of line 34, and partly, Marcabru seems to be saying, because of his own fault. He may be alluding to the sort of situation which Bernart Marti describes in 'Belha m'es la flors d'aiguilen', a poem which strongly resembles Marcabru's works,⁸² when Marti says:

De molheratz ges no m'es gen
Que's fasson drut ni amador,
Qu'ab las autruis van aprenden
Engienhs cossi gardon las lor.
Mas selh per cui hom las destreh
Port'al braguier la contraclau. (11.7-12)

('It does not please me that husbands become lovers, for with the wives of other men they learn the tricks of how to guard their own. But the man by whom the women are sequestered carries the master-key in his breeches.')

This widespread practice of adulterous deceit merely teaches adulterous husbands how to guard their own wives more closely, but even this engienh is no protective measure, for the women fornicate with their guardians. Perhaps the stanza of Poem XLI can be seen as an indication that Marcabru now believes that his earnest criticisms and brutal revelations of the adulterous circle of husband, wife and married lover (or gardador)⁸³ have merely publicised and served to instruct the aristocracy in the techniques of sexual deception. His castiers have not had the desired effect: on the contrary, they may have worsened the situation. The troubadour would then have defeated his own moralising purpose and made his wait for their reform even longer.

The target of Marcabru's castiers is the short-sighted, foolish promiscuity of the nobility. He uses a form of the word castiar in Poem XXIV and it may be that the reference to a castiador in line 16 is an indirect allusion to Marcabru himself.

Poem XXIV opens with an affirmation of the poet's faith in fin'amors which is followed by a stanza contrasting fin'amors with false love (amor vair[a] 1.6). He illustrates the pernicious effects of treacherous 'amor piga' (stanzas 3 and 4), and in the central three stanzas he describes the behaviour of his amia:

Si l'amia non crezi enganador
 Lauzengier ni mal parlier acusador,
 Sieus seria, si'm volria, ses bauzi'e ses error. (11.13-15)
 ('If my lady did not believe deceiving lauzengier or slanderous
 accusers, I would be hers, if she should want me, without
 trickery or lies.')

She is at fault because she puts credence in the words of treacherous lauzengier and slanderers - she listens to those whom, in courtly terms, she should ignore,⁸⁴ and her fault is compounded by the fact that she does not believe the castiador (1.16). Marcabru is here deliberately contrasting the courtly villains (lauzengier, acusador), who slander and deceive, with the castiador who, from the other contexts in which Marcabru uses such words, can be considered to be honourable critics and truthful instructors. The woman shows herself thus to be uncourtly and her imperfections are further illustrated in stanzas 6 and 7. She ignores the castiador,

Anz de totz malvatz pren patz, cals l'a groissor;⁸⁵
 A la den torna soven la leng'on sent la dolor. (11.17-18)
 ('Rather she makes her peace with all the wicked men, with
 whomever has the biggest one; the tongue often seeks out the
 tooth which hurts.')

She makes her peace with the malvatz (contrasted implicitly with the castiador), with whomever is better endowed sexually, and the poet is left brooding on his hurt, as the tongue repeatedly seeks out the tooth which hurts.⁸⁶ Her way of making peace with, or placating, the slanderers is made clear in stanza 7:

Denan mei n'i passon trei al passador,
 Non sai mot tro'l quartz la fot e'l quinz lai cor.
 Enaissi torn'a decli l'amors e torn'en negror.
 ('Three of them (the malvatz) pass before me in the corridor
 (but) I do not say a word until the fourth fucks her and the
 fifth is running there/to her. In this way love falls into a
 decline and becomes blackened.')

His amia is promiscuous, dishonourable and shallow. Roncaglia suggests that this woman, who at first appears to be a courtly dompna, is in fact a prostitute,⁸⁷ but it is more likely that stanzas 5-7 contain an exaggerated representation of an uncourtly but noble lady. Marcabru may be speaking with the bitterness of a wounded lover, but it is equally

likely that these stanzas concerning the amía, inserted in the middle of generalisations about false love, are an illustration of the perverse insatiability of noble ladies. The poet's relationship with the woman may well be no more than a dramatised exemplum of a message Marcabru conveys elsewhere in general terms and to which he here gives a personal cast, for the sake of added impact.⁸⁸

The same intention also underlies his use of obscene terms, not only in Poem XXIV but also in the passages examined above. The purpose of these songs is to criticise immorality and abuses and, by calling the most intimate aspects of sexuality by their most unmistakable names, by terms which are outside the conventional courtly register, Marcabru exposes the crude, lustful reality.⁸⁹ Perhaps it is also his aim to transfer the disgust and condemnation felt with regard to the words to the unprincipled activities and attitudes he is criticising.

In Poem XXIV Marcabru could have expressed his lady's promiscuity in more periphrastic terms, such as those employed by Gaucelm Faidit in 'Si anc nuills hom per aver fin coratge'.⁹⁰ In the 'mala cobla' he criticises an unnamed woman, saying, 'c'anc non gardet honor sutz sa centura' (1.52). Marcabru would have then conveyed the same overall idea, but not the essential violent condemnation of stanzas 6 and 7. That the troubadour was aware of the acceptable courtly euphemisms for sexual activity is shown in his pastorela by the seductive words employed by the knight to urge the toza to 'far la cauza doussana' (XXX 1.77). By choosing in Poem XXIV to employ the verb fotre, he strips away any possible courtly veneer or pretence and represents by a base, unacceptable word what he regards as base, unacceptable behaviour.

His amí becomes, in stanza 8, assimilated with 'aquist con' who are as insatiable and indiscriminating as the malvatz with whom they fornicate. Here the obscene overtones of con predominate and the amía is reduced by this process of abusive synecdoche to a voracious sexual organ, without the spiritual and moral qualities which a noble dompna should possess. Lawner understands the word con in the anatomical sense in every case in which Marcabru employs it: she suggests that Marcabru stresses the word as 'the symbol and emblem of [the] physical and moral reality' of the women he criticises.⁹¹ The cón may be seen as the corrupt antithesis of his pure ideal of fin'amors.⁹²

Marcabru appears then to be using obscenity with the deliberate intention of shocking, introducing the words into his songs in order to hold them and the attitudes they represent up for condemnation. In this he illustrates Montaigne's pronouncement:

Celuy qui dit tout, il nous saoule et nous desgouste.⁹³

This is one of the ways in which Marcabru's sirventes can be seen to conform to the principle later laid down by the Leys d'Amors; the purpose of such songs is to 'castiar los fols e los malvatz'. Marcabru's use of obscenity is apparently an integral part of his moralising, an aspect of the reforming critic's language of blame, and the reproaches of the anonymous trobairitz show that for later generations Marcabru's caustic and direct style was naturally identified with his self-appointed role, and that he was seen as a secular preacher of the courtly ethic:

qu'En Marcabrus, a lei de predicaire,
quant es en glezia oz orador,
que di gran mal de la gen mescrezen,
et el ditz mal de donnas eissamen. (11.25-8)⁹⁴
('For in the manner of a preacher in church or chapel who strongly criticises unbelievers, Sir Marcabru similarly spoke badly of ladies. ')

Marcabru himself alludes to his words and role in the same terms:

Sermonars ni predicanssa
Non val un ou de gallina
Vas cellui de qu'es frairina
Follia de cor correia. (XXXVII 11.43-6)
('Sermons and preaching are not worth a hen's egg to someone beset by foul, deceitful(?) folly. ')⁹⁵

Although these lines pose problems of interpretation, the general meaning seems to be that Marcabru's moralising about true and false love in the previous stanzas has no effect on the victim of folly (mistaken and wanton beliefs).

The troubadour was very conscious of the way in which he expressed himself. In Poem XL he concludes:

Mon cor per aquest vers destrenh
 Quar mi plus que'ls autres reprenh;
 Que qui autrui vol encolpar
 Dregs es que si sap [c] ha guardar
 Que no sia dels crims techitz
 De que lieys encolpa e ditz,
 Pois poira segurs castiar. (11.43-9)

('I put myself to great trouble with this song, for I admonish myself more than I do others; for he who wishes to accuse others should know how to keep himself from being stained with the same crimes as he accuses others of, then he can safely criticise (castiar).')

He is anxious that he himself should be in a position to castiar, having removed the beam from his own eye, and that his meaning should be clear (1.43), in contrast to those troubadours he criticises elsewhere for the false content of their songs, a falseness compounded by the fractured ambiguity and imprecision of the style in which these untruths are expressed.⁹⁶ One might infer from all these passages that Marcabru may have taken some pride in his own plain-speaking, rather as the upright vilana of his pastorela does not hesitate to use the forthright term putana to describe what the knight would have her become (XXX 1.70).

W.D. Paden suggests that the courtly troubadours chose to refer to love in neutral, metaphorical, euphemistic or ambiguous language because 'such ambiguity masks the poet's reference to chaste or sexual love and calls our attention instead to the language itself, to the literal material of the poetry' (p.73). When the ambiguity is deliberately shattered by the provocative use of explicit words such as con and fotre, one may perhaps conclude that the troubadour's intentions are precisely to draw attention to and underline the form of love under discussion.⁹⁷ Such words cut through the complexity and subtle équivoque of the courtly love-song and, while the effect is not to diminish the poetic artistry of the song as a whole, by the use of unmistakable, explicit obscenity the troubadour gives greater prominence to the idea expressed. The courtly abstractions of the first part of Poem XXIV are in stark and deliberate contrast to the obscenities contained in the later stanzas, and these throw into relief the crude, contemptible reality.

Notes to Chapter IV

1. Nelli, I, p.220; J. Lindsay, The Troubadours and Their World of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries (London, 1976), p.53; E. Hoepffner, Les Troubadours dans leur vie et dans leurs oeuvres (Paris, 1955), pp.35 and 45; Jeanroy, II, p.25.
2. De Riquer, I, p.175; Köhler, Sociologia, p.173.
3. Hoepffner, 'Bernart Marti', p.146. See also Hoepffner, Les Troubadours, pp.29-45 for similar remarks.
4. See Köhler, Sociologia, pp.257-8.
5. I. Siciliano, François Villon et les thèmes littéraires du moyen âge (Paris, 1934), pp.154 and 148.
6. See in particular the recent study by Gruber.
7. This is reflected in the remarks of Hoepffner, for example: 'Dans sa langue Marcabru s'écarte beaucoup de celle de la poésie courtoise' (Les Troubadours, p.45).
8. See P. Nykrog, Les Fabliaux: étude d'histoire littéraire et de stylistique médiévale (Copenhagen, 1957), p.219: 'La question de l'obscénité au moyen âge mérite d'être discutée sur un plan très large, car elle constitue un trait très important, mais sur lequel il est facile de se méprendre, dans le portrait intellectuel de l'époque'.
9. Compare P. Bec, Burlesque et obscénité chez les troubadours (Paris, 1984), which approaches obscenity in the troubadour lyric as a problem of 'le contre-texte ... , juxtaposition concertée, à des fins ludiques et burlesques, d'un code littéraire donné et d'un contenu marginal, voire subversif' (p.11), and does not explicitly address the question of the criteria by which obscenity was judged. See also C. Muscatine, 'Courtly Literature and Vulgar Language', in 'Court and Poet': Selected Proceedings of the Third Congress of the

International Courtly Literature Society, edited by G.S. Burgess,
ARCA Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs, 5
(Liverpool, 1981), pp.1-19.

10. See, for example, W.D. Paden, 'Utrum copularentur: of cōrs', EC, 19
(1979), pp.70-83.
11. C. Appel, Provenzalische Chrestomathie, 6th edition (Leipzig, 1930),
p.199.
12. See E. Köhler, 'Pastorela', GRLMA II,1,fasc.5,pp.33-43.
13. Appel, Chrestomathie, p.198.
14. que's red: see PD. se redre - 'se faire, devenir'.
15. On this point see, for example, S.C. Aston, 'The Troubadours and the
Concept of Style', in Stil- und Formprobleme in der Literatur,^{herausgegeben} von P.
Böckmann (Heidelberg, 1959), pp.142-7 (p.142), and Bec, 'Genres',
p.32: 'Toute codification est par définition tardive'.
16. Perhaps, in the opinion of the biographers, it was regarded as
acceptable for a troubadour to scold, but to do so using obscene
language was to be a maldizens?
17. (PC 183, 11). Compare Pasero's translation: 'E gli si addice il ben
comportarsi, e l'evitare di parlar da villano a corte'. Pasero cites
the Roman de la Rose in this connection (see below).
18. See Mölk, pp.42-5.
19. See Mölk, pp.45 and 64-5. Compare 'Cortesamen' line 19:

Mesura es en gent parlar.
('Mesura lies in noble speech.')

Under this heading one might also include a condemnation of
(excessive) boasting or gabar. Bernart Marti (PC 63,6) attacks Peire
d'Alvernhe for this, and says:

Fols vanars es pagezes (Poem V 1.49)
('To boast foolishly is to behave like a peasant')

Et hom de dir ufanés
Es plus vilas que pages. (11.52-3)
('And a man who boasts is baser/ more vilan than a
peasant')

E selh no par ges cortés
Qui's lauza ni's glorifia. (11.55-6)
('And he who praises or glorifies himself does not show
himself to be courtly.')

Marcabru also condemns such activities (see in particular, 'Al departir' stanzas 3-4) but perhaps for a slightly different reason, since he criticises people for idle boasting which is accompanied by failure to accomplish the deeds boasted of. Marcabru's own gap has been interpreted as a bitter polemic parody (see Chapter II).

20. (PC 112,1c) Poem III lines 31-6, with correction to line 32 by Mölk (p.55 n.3). See the discussion of this passage in Mölk, pp.55-6.

21. Kastner, p.95.

22. Compare for example Guilhem IX Poem VI stanza 1 (PC 183,2), Bernart Marti Poem III lines 60-1 (PC 63,3), and Jaufre Rudel (PC 262,3):

Bos es lo vers, qu'anc no'i falhi,
Et tot so que'i es ben esta. (VI 11.31-2)
('This vers is good, for I never failed in this art,
and everything in it is in its place.')

See also J-C. Payen, 'Lo vers es fis e naturaus: notes sur la poétique de Bernard de Ventadour', in Mélanges Rostaing, II, pp.807-17.

23. Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meun: 'Le Roman de la Rose', publié par F. Lecoy, 3 vols (Paris, 1965-70), I.

24. Le Lai d'Aristote de Henri d'Andeli, publié par M. Delbouille, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, fasc. 123 (Paris, 1951).

25. G. Paris, 'Le Lai du Lecheor', R, 8 (1879), pp.64-6.
26. Compare J. Rychner, Contribution à l'étude des fabliaux, Université de Neuchâtel: Recueil de travaux publiés par la Faculté des Lettres, 28, 2 vols (Geneva, 1960), p.120:

Une fille avoit merveilleuse
 Et tant par estoit desdaigneuse
 Que ne pooit oïr parler
 De foutre ne de culeter
 Ne de rien qui a ce tornast
 Que maintenant ne se pasmast. (ll.5-10)

The plot makes it clear that it is the word to which the girl objects, not the activity, and it may be that the author of the fabliau is poking fun at her exaggerated sensitivity to the word.

27. Jean Renart: 'Galeran de Bretagne', édité par L. Foulet (Paris, 1925).
28. I.C. Lecompte, "'Richeut'", Romanic Review, 4 (1913), pp.261-305.
29. See Les Romans de Chrétien de Troyes: III. Le Chevalier de la Charrete, publié par M. Roques (Paris, 1965), lines 4674-86, and see note 39 below.
30. See E. Faral, Les Arts poétiques du XII^e et du XIII^e siècle (Paris, 1958; repr. 1971), pp.86-9.
31. Delbouille, Le Lai d'Aristote, p.16.
32. These suggestions were put forward by Professor W. Calin in a paper read at Westfield College in February 1985.
33. Rhet. ad Her.IV.34.45: 'Obscenitatis vitandae causa, sic: "Cuius mater cotidianis nuptiis delectetur"'. ('Metaphor is used ... for the sake of avoiding obscenity, as follows: "Whose mother delights in daily marriages"'.)

34. The 'Institutio Oratoria' of Quintilian, translated by H.E. Butler, Loeb Classical Library, 4 vols (London and New York, 1920-22), 2.1: 'nam et obscena vitabimus et sordida et humilia', and 3.17: 'nec sordidis unquam in oratione erudita locus'. On the influence of Quintilian see E.R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, translated by W.R. Trask (London, 1953), pp.436-8, and E. Gallo, The 'Poetria Nova' and its Sources in Early Rhetorical Doctrine, De proprietatis litterarum, series maior, 10 (The Hague, 1971), Appendix I: 'The availability of Quintilian in the middle ages', and Roncaglia, 'Trobar clus', pp.46-8.
35. Quintilian VIII.3.38-9: '... ne inornata sunt quidem, nisi cum sunt infra rei, de qua loquendum est, di nitatem, excepto si obscena nudis nominibus enuntientur'.
36. J.N. Adams, The Latin Sexual Vocabulary (London, 1982): see the discussion on pp.1-3, and, for example, p.80, where Quintilian appears to classify the word cunnus as 'plain Latin'.
37. A Latin Dictionary, C.T. Lewis and C. Short (Oxford, 1879; 1969 impression). See Cicero: 'Epistulae ad familiares', edited by D.R. Shackleton Bailey, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1977), II, number 189.
38. Also in Classical Antiquity, according to Adams. See also Nykrog, p.220, and P. Ménard, Le Rire et le sourire dans le roman courtois en France au moyen âge (Geneva, 1969), p.689.
39. W.D. Stempel, 'Mittelaltliche Obszönität als literarästhetisches Problem' in Die nicht mehr schönen Künste, herausgegeben von H.R. Jauss, Poetik und Hermeneutik, 3 (Munich, 1968), pp.187-207. Stempel concludes that direct reference to the naturalia et pudenda as good as never occurs in courtly literature, and that 'der Bereich des Obszönen in den höfischen Umwelt tabuisiert ist' (p.191).

40. See Stempel, pp.197-201, and T.D. Cooke, 'Pornography, the Comic Spirit and the Fabliaux', in The Humor of the Fabliaux, edited by T.D. Cooke and R.L. Honeycutt (Columbia, 1974), pp.137-62. Compare also in the same volume R.J. Percy, 'Modes of Signification and the Humor of Obscene Diction in the Fabliaux', pp.163-96.
41. PC 461,241 see the edition and translation in Bec, Burlesque, pp.167-9 (Poem 36), in particular the notes on elements indicating that the piece is a burlesque parody.
42. C.S. Lewis, 'Four-letter Words', Critical Quarterly, 3 (1961), pp.118-22 (p.122).
43. Guillem de Berguedà, ed. De Riquer, I, p.182: see Poems VI, VII, VIII and IX of this edition, also Poem XVIII against Roger of Poitiers (PC 210,7,21,15,4 and 22).
44. PD. p.88. Compare Rayn.II.455: 'vagin, utérus'.
45. Con: IV line 34; XI line 49; XVII line 33; XXIV line 22; XLI line 35; XLII line 17. coni(na): XVII lines 42 and 44; XII^{bis} line 33; XXXI line 21. See below for discussion of two further instances of con in versions of Poem XVIII.
46. Dejeanne's emendation and translation. The manuscript readings all differ here and none is clearly understandable. This line has given rise to discussion, most recently by Dinguiraud who, by a complex series of analogies, suggests estrop-banditz - 'désarçonné' ('Pour le texte d'Aujatz de chan', p.441).
47. L. Pollmann, '"Companho tant ai agutz d'avols conres"', N, 49 (1963), pp.24-34.
48. A. Jeanroy, 'Poésies du troubadour Gavaudan', R, 34 (1905), pp.497-539: Poem IV line 47 (PC 174,5).

49. Topsfield translates lines 49-50: 'The husband who scratches the wife of another man knows well that his own wife sins...' (Trôubadours, p.79). All four manuscripts -CMRa - have pesc(h)a. But is it not more likely that peschâ comes from pescar than from pecar? Dejeanne translates 'pêche de son côté' but in the glossary places this instance under pescar from 'Empeiraire, per vostre prez' (XXIII) which is clearly 'to fish':

 jamais a gorc qu'auza lauzar
 non ira Marcabrunz pescar. (Ed. Roncaglia, ll.22-3)
('Marcabru will never (again) go fishing in a pond
which he hears people praising.')

Compare Guilhem IX (PC 183,5) Poem III line 5:

'cons gardatz ni gorcs ses peis'.

50. See Lewent, p.332: '"A tal paratz coissi": einer solchen bereitet ihr das Kissen, deren ...'. Don of line 33 may refer to coissi. Compare De Riquer who repunctuates:

Moillerat, ab sen cabri:
a tal paratz lo coissi
don lo cons esdeven laire. (I, Poem 16)

51. Capuzar: 'charpenter; tailler' (PD). Lawner translates lines 17-18: 'whoever pushes head-on into the cunt of another sends his own to slaughter' (p.495). Compare S.G. Nichols, 'Canso→ conso: Structures of Parodic Humor in Three Songs of Guilhem IX', EC, 16 (1976), pp.16-29, on the repetition of the con element.

52. Line 41: an - third person *singular* present subjunctive of anar.

53. Compare Rayn.V.35: 'Atertan vos es del ras com del tondut', and see J-C. Dinguiraud, 'Une Lecture de Marcabru', Via Domitia, 26 (1981), pp.6-45 (p.7), on this proverbial expression. Compare also Marcabru Poem XII^{bis} stanza 8 where Marcabru uses a comparison between pela and tonda to show that cuckoldry is widespread.

54. See Lewent, p.328, and Chapter VII below.

55. On this particular interpretation of contraclāu in Guilhem IX Poem IV (PC 183,7), see Pasero, p.112.
56. See Pellegrini, 'Intorno', p.30 n.25; Roncaglia, 'Tròbār clūs', p.31 n.50; Mōlk, p.68.
57. Mōlk, p.68. See Bertran de Born, sein Leben und seine Werke, herausgegeben von A. Stimming (Halle, 1879), p.275, note to line 12 of 'Miei sirventes' (PC 80,25). Compare Spanke, p.51, who believes that chastity belts were not introduced into Western Europe until after the second half of the twelfth century.
58. As Thiolier-Méjean understands it (Les Poésies satiriques, p.277).
59. Ed. Hoepffner: PC 323,5.
60. Thiolier-Méjean understands contraclaviers as a compound neologism ('contra-claviers'), meaning 'voleurs' ('Les Mots composés', p.95).
61. Adams, p.81.
62. Paden, 'Utrum copularentur', p.72.
63. Compare Smith, Figures of Repetition: 'Another thing we can learn ... from the false attributions made by the compilers of manuscript anthologies, is those features that were held to be the individual characteristics of different poets' (p.37).
64. Compare Rayn.III.331: definar: 'Que per un sol non defina' ('qui ne se borne pas à un seul'). Could 'per un sol non defina' be translated 'does not stop for one penny (sou)'? Compare Rayn.V.249. sol with an example from Guilhem Magret (PC 223.6: text in De Riquer, II, Poem 181):

... tan es lo monz deliz
 qe per dos solz serai meillz acollitz,
 si'ls port liatz en un de mos giros,
 que per cent vers ni per dos cenz cansos. (11.2-5)

('Standards have so fallen that for tuppence I would be better welcomed if I carried them tied in one of my shirt-tails than for a hundred vêrs or two hundred cānsôs.')

(PD. giron - 'pan de robe?') The idea of Marcabru's lines is that this sort of love (selh') is greedy, fickle and promiscuous.

PD. taīnar - 'tarder'. May one assume that Marcabru's song contains a reflexive form?

The last two lines could also be translated: 'it seeks the rough medicine because the con is ruined/torn'.

65. See Rayn.III.99: eisugar: the example is taken from Marcabru's song and salier'issuga is translated 'essuie la salière'. This expression, like bec de tartugua and buffa-fuec, appears rather to be a term of abuse for the licentious man Marcabru attacks in the following lines. Could the salier-issugua designate the man who dries or cleans the salt-cellar after the meal, a greedy and lowly man (compare the girbaut)? On enfuguezir see SWB.II.498. Is the man or the vieg the subject of sembla? On verrugua, see Coromines. I.773-4: Berruga, and Rayn.V.511.
Arresatz: see Coromines.I,409: arreçar, arrassor, 'posar-se en erecció'. Compare Bec, Burlesque, Poem 36 (Us fotaires) line 3: areis (<erectus).

66. J.N. Adams, 'Anatomical Terms used pars pro toto in Latin', Proceedings of the African Classical Association, 16 (1982), pp.37-45 (p.40).

67. Adams's interpretation here may conflict slightly with Pollmann's.

68. Text: De Riquer, I, Poem 28 (PC 17,2).

69. De Riquer translates con by 'vagina' and Nelli, I, p.227 also gives the word an anatomical interpretation.

70. See Paden, 'Utrum copularentur', p.72, and Stempel, p.191.

71. A.R. Press, 'Quelques observations sur la chanson V de Guillaume IX: Farai un vers pòs mi sonelh', in Études de civilisation médiévale: mélanges offerts à Edmond-René Labande (Poitiers, 1974), pp.603-11 (p.607).
72. Compare Guilhem IX Poem VI line 51: 'Don, vostre datz son menuder' (PC 183,2).
73. See Chapter VII below.
74. Topsfield, 'Malvestatz', p.38.
75. Rayn.II.354 and SWB.I.226.
76. Poem V line 31. See also Poems XVII line 37; XXIV line 16; XXV line 43; XL line 49; XLI lines 25 and 28.
77. Appel, Chrestomathie, p.198. Compare the versified Leys d'Amors:
- Tractans de mal dig general
Per castiar cels que fan mal.
('Containing general criticism to correct those who
behave badly.)
- (Las Leys d'Amors, publié par J. Anglade, Bibliothèque Méridionale, 1st series, 17-20 (Toulouse, 1919-20), 18, p.181).
78. On malmeire see Paterson, p.51 n.5.
79. Line 17: Dejeanne: fan; Lewent, p.446: fa'n.
80. Dejeanne: 'non puosc'issir'.
81. 'Tro per aillor no'n puosc issir': 'To the point where I cannot otherwise extricate myself from it'.
82. On the attribution of 'Belha m'es' see C. de Lollis, 'Intorno a Pietro d'Alvernia', Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana, 43 (1904), pp.28-38 (p.33); Die Lieder Peires von Auvergne, kritisch

herausgegeben von R. Zenker (Erlangen, 1900), pp.10-11; Hoepffner, 'Bernart Marti', p.108; Lirica moralistica nell'Occitania del XII secolo: Bernart de Ventadour, a cura di M. Picchio Simonelli, 'Subsidia' al 'Corpus des troubadours', 2: Studi, testi e manuali, 2 (Modena, 1974), p.17. Given the number of debts which the vocabulary and ideas of 'Belha m'es' so obviously owe to Marcabru's songs, it seems unlikely that this poem is the work of Marcabru himself (see Hoepffner, pp.141-2).

83. See Chapter I above and Chapter VII below.

84. Compare 'Lo vers comensa' lines 50-54, where true fin'amors is not perturbed by the gossip of lausengier.

85. See Lewent, p.429 on line 17: 'wobei l' auf das männliche Glied hinweist'.

86. Compare Poésies complètes de Bertran de Born, publiées par A. Thomas, Bibliothèque Méridionale, 1st series, 1 (Toulouse, 1888), Poem XV line 49 (PC 80,28):

Lai vir on la dens mi dol.

Thomas notes that this is an allusion to a proverb frequently cited by troubadours and refers also to a passage in Folquet de Marseille:

Sai, a la dolor de la den
vir la leng'... (Poem I ll.51-2)

Le Troubadour Folquet de Marseille, édition critique par S. Stroński (Cracow, 1910) (PC 155,5).

87. 'Trobar clus', p.36.

88. See the criticisms of false love and immorality in Poems V, VIII, XII^{bis}, XVIII, XXXIV, XXXVI et passim.

89. Compare Stempel, p.193. Gruber has shown that Poem XXIV imitates Guilhem IX's 'Companho-Lieder', 'wobei die formalen Entlehnungen wiederum mit semantischen Entsprechungen verbunden sind' (p.174). He suggests that Marcabru's use of obscenity in this poem is intended as a contrast to Guilhem's frivolity (p.177). Marcabru's song could then be interpreted both as a general moralising attack and as a ripost to Guilhem (see Chapter II above).

90. Les Poèmes de Gaucelm Faidit, édition critique par J. Mouzat (Paris, 1965), Poem 41 (PC 167,52).

91. Lawner, p.501.

92. Compare Lawner, p.504.

93. Les Essais de M. de Montaigne, édités par P. Villey (Paris, 1924; repr.1965); III.v (p.800). In his use of coarse, unacceptable language to do this, Marcabru may have found justification in Quintilian's remarks concerning suitable styles:

Nec augenda semper oratio sed summittenda nonnumquam est.
Vim rebus aliquando verborum ipsa humilitas adfert.
(VIII.3.21)

('Again, our style need not always dwell on the heights: at times it is desirable that it should sink. For there are occasions when the very meanness of the words employed adds force to what we say.')

But see pp.113-14 above.

94. On the value of simplicity and directness in the style of a preacher, see H. Caplan, 'Classical Rhetoric and Medieval Theory of Preaching', in Historical Studies of Rhetoric and Rhetoricians, edited by R.F. Howes (New York, 1961), pp.71-89 (p.79).

95. Line 44: val - on a singular verb with two closely related subjects, see Roncaglia, 'Al departir', pp.28-9. On the difficulties of lines 45-6, see Paterson, p.17 n.7, whose interpretation I follow here.

96. See Chapters II and III above.

97. The word fòtre occurs once in Marcabru's songs (twice, if one includes Poem XXXVIII ms R line 31: 'E sobre fotre faysola'), còn six times and the adjective on four occasions. This does not represent statistically overwhelming evidence in support of the judgement that Marcabru's poetic production is characterised by his use of obscenity. Rather, this impression of scurrilous crudeness may have been created by the number of figurative expressions and allusive images employed by Marcabru slyly but specifically to evoke the immoral sexual activity of which he disapproves. Figurative expressions rely for their effect on associations made in the mind of the audience and can become as shocking as the obscenity itself would have been once the association has been made and the image interpreted, with the difference that the effect depends not upon the actual words employed by the troubadour but upon what the audience has understood the poet to mean (see Ménard, p.687, and in particular the analysis of figurative expressions, euphemisms and obscenities by Percy). Clusters of such expressions and images occur in certain of Marcabru's songs and these are examined in detail in Chapter VII below.

CHAPTER V THE HARLOT AND THE CHIMERA

Although Marcabru does not shrink from using the stark word côn as a term of abuse in his criticisms of promiscuous women and false love, on occasion he also employs negative images of great complexity and sophistication in order to depict and warn against the evils of Amars. This chapter will concentrate on the figure of the harlot, the puta, in the light of what Paden observed to be the 'pervasive ambiguity of reference' which distinguished the language of troubadour poetry.¹ It will be suggested that the term puta in Marcabru's songs takes on several layers of meaning which the troubadour exploits in order dramatically to convey his message and that this exploitation involves use of symbols, the traditions of biblical exegesis and of the 'colours' of rhetoric.

Whilst this chapter will be concerned first and foremost with Marcabru's song 'Soudadier, per cui es Jovens', it is necessary to consider these layers of meaning and Marcabru's exploitation of them within the context of Marcabru's ethical or moral position.² One of the clearest and most explicit expositions of this can be found in his song 'Doas cuidas ai, compaigner', in which Marcabru distinguishes between two ways of thinking. Bona cuida, a clear-sighted, integral moral rectitude, is difficult to attain (stanza 2), but folla cuida represents an illusory, presumptuous and muddled outlook which 'mène au dérèglement, à la lubricité, au vice'.³ 'Les réverbérations de cette doctrine se sentent dans toute l'oeuvre de Marcabru' (Ricketts, p.179) and it establishes the system of values according to which Marcabru judges his fellow men. As far as the application of these values to love is concerned, as Scheludko has remarked, 'die bona cuida ist erfüllt, wenn man sich an die wahre Liebe hält, die fola cuida haben demgegenüber diejenigen, die der amor volatgier folgen'.⁴ Elsewhere in his songs Marcabru appears to represent certain frankly promiscuous, unprincipled aspects of amor volatgier, fickle love, by the term Putia, and thus the notion of whoredom and the figure of the puta are integral to the poet's ethical framework.⁵

An example of this can be found in Poem XXXIV, where Marcabru uses the term putas figuratively. The poet complains of those people who betray Cortesia and says:

Ja Dieus no'l sia perdonans
Qui las vol onrar ni servir,
Estas putas ardens cremans
Pejors que ieu no'us saubra dir. (11.29-32)
('May God never forgive the man who wishes to serve or pay
homage to those ardent, burning whores, worse than I would know
how to tell you.')

These women are treacherous (1.22), making their husbands bring up and care for children fathered by other men (stanza 4). Marcabru makes the same criticisms of women in several other songs.⁶ But the poet reproaches the putas particularly because

Tan lor sap bo la clau copar,
Que non hi guardon dreg ni tort,
Mas selh que mielhs las sap ronsar! (XXXIV 11.33-55)
('It pleases them so much to strike the nail that they pay no heed to right or wrong, but only to the man who knows best how to roll them over.')

As Falk has noted, the phrase lo clau copar has a 'sens obscène en parlant de la femme'.⁷ It would seem that these women are at fault because they are so anxious to satisfy their lusts that they pay no attention to questions of morality - or perhaps to the courtly qualities and virtues (dreg ni tort) - which should determine their relationships and, instead of choosing the most worthy lover, give themselves to the most virile. As Marcabru says of their favours,

... aytans s'en aura us truans
O mais, si mais li post bastir. (XXXIV 11.38-9)⁸
('A rogue would get as much from them, or more, if he could labour more.')

In this way the women fail to behave according to the high standards of a true domna (although in lines 22, 37 and 41 Marcabru uses this term) but act instead with the lack of discrimination of a prostitute. Their crimes against the secular ethic of fin'amors are so great that even the men who serve them are not deserving of God's pardon (11.29-30). The context makes it clear that the poet is not discussing actual prostitutes, but rather women who do not conduct themselves as a courtly dompna should. They betray fin'amors.

This is how the Breviari d'Amor, with reference to Marcabru's Poem XXXI, terms a woman who loves a garson d'ostal:

e pert nom de dona gentil
 e pren nom de putana vil. (11.31007-8)⁹
 ('She loses the name of noble lady, and takes that of vile
 whore.')

So Marcabru designates the promiscuous, unprincipled woman as 'whore', using the misogynistic lieu commun of female insatiability to represent his strong disapproval. This is an example of what Blumstein has seen as the moral overtones of misogynistic elements in courtly literature, when these are intended 'to instruct by negative example'.¹⁰ Marcabru describes a woman's unacceptable conduct using coarse, striking language and defines, but by implication, how a truly courtly woman should behave.¹¹ The term puta in these instances takes on the meaning of 'woman who behaves in an uncourtly way'.

The most famous example of Marcabru's use of the figure of the puta is found in the song 'Soudadier, per cui es Jovens'. Scholars have deplored the state of the text: at least one stanza appears to be missing and, of the total of nine preserved, stanzas 7 - 9 are found in one manuscript only.¹² This renders a sustained examination of the poem as a whole difficult, but it is nevertheless possible to put forward several observations, taking as a basis for these a suggested revised reading of the song.

I Soudadier, per cui es Jovens
 Mantengutz e Jois eisamens,
 Entendetz los mals argumens
 4 De las falsas putas ardens;
 En puta qui s'i fia
 Es hom traïtz;
 Lo fols, quan cuid'il ria,
 8 Es escarnitz.

II Salamos ditz et es guirens,
 C'al prim es dousa cum pimens,
 Mas al partir es plus cozens,
 12 Amar'e cruzels cum serpens;
 Tant sap de tricharia
 La pecairitz
 Que cel qu'ab leis se lia,
 16 S'en part marritz.

- III De [G]uimerra porta semblan
 Qu'es serps detras, leos denan,
 Bocs en miei loc, que'l fai trian
 20 De caval bai e d'aurifan;
 Qui despeis la bestia
 Non es faillitz
 D'aquo que entendia
 24 De la trairitz.
- IV Puta sembla leo d'aitan:
 Fers es d'ergueill al comensan,
 Mas pueis quan n'a fag son talan,
 28 Tro que son mil no's prez'un gan.
 Quar soven per putia
 Put la metritz,
 Cum fai per bocaria
 32 Carnils poiritz.
- V En talant ai que vos decli
 L'us de putana serpenti
 Que pan'a l'auzel son pouzi;
 36 [E] sab l'auzels [s] 'ab leis s'afi,
 Can l'a feita bauzia
 De sos noiritz,
 Aten com per leis sia
 40 Mortz o delitz.
- VI Eisamen qui sec son traï
 Fai del ric putana frairi;
 Quan n'a trag la bresch'e'l saï,
 44 Li fai de la lengua bossi;
 Ben es de gran folia
 Sals e gueritz
 Qui's destol de sa via
 48 Ans qu'ela'l fitz.
- VII Putan'es de tan mal engenh
 C'ab dous parlar cueill et asenh
 Totz cels que pot metr'en congrenh;
 52 Quan l'avens faill, de si'l [s] enpenh;
 Donx qui de sa paria
 Es encobitz
 Soven mud'e cambia
 56 L'enfoletitz.
- (Missing stanza(s))
- VIIISavis senatz lai no s'enpen,
 Si lo ten car ni l'onra ben,
 Quan l'aura fag de blanc moren,
 60 No'l torn de roal en bazen.
 Totz es de garsonia
 ...
 Qui met gran manentia
 64 Pel cap puditz.

IX Puta per usatge's defen
 Al ric, si gran loguier no'n pren
 Lai on l'arbalesta desten.
 68 On sap lo pa e vi aten
 Molt fai gran glotonia
 La trichairitz,
 Quan los pros lais'e tria
 72 Los achaïtz.

- I Soudadier, by whom Jois and similarly Jovens are maintained, you pay heed to the evil arguments of the false, burning whores, (but) the man who trusts a whore is betrayed; the fool, when he believes she is smiling at him, is deceived (or 'in fact, is scorned').
- II Solomon says, and he bears witness to it, that at first she is sweet like spiced wine, but at the parting she is more caustic, bitter and cruel than a snake ('s bite). The sinner (puta) knows so much about trickery that he who associates closely with her leaves her a distressed man.
- III She bears a likeness to the Chimera, which has the back end of a snake, the front of a lion and the middle of a goat, which distinguishes it from the bay horse and the elephant. He who described the beast was not mistaken in what he understood (or 'heard') about the traitress.
- IV The whore resembles a lion in this much: at the beginning she is fierce with pride, but when she has had her will of them (her lovers), until there are a thousand of them, she does not value herself as highly as a glove. For often, through her whoring, the prostitute stinks like rotten meat in a sheep-slaughterer's.
- V I have a mind to explain to you the ways of the snake-like whore (or 'the snake-like ways of the whore'), who robs the bird of its chicks, and the bird knows that, if it associates with her, when she has tricked it of its young, it must wait to see in what manner it will be killed or destroyed by her.
- VI Similarly, the whore turns the rich/noble man who follows in her train into a pauper; when she has taken the sweetness (honey) and fat (lard) from him, she sticks out her tongue at him in derision. He is indeed safe and cured of great folly (madness), the man who turns aside from her path before she seizes on him.
- VII The whore is so evil and deceitful that with sweet talk she welcomes and reasons with all those she can put to work. When the money runs out she pushes them away from her. Therefore she often swops and changes the bewitched fool who is greedy for her company.
- VIII The wise man with sense does not trouble himself with her, for if she holds him dear or has consideration for him, when she has changed him (it?) from white to black, she will not transform him from Roal to Bazen (from an uncourtly man to a courtly one?). All this is knavery ((and he is a fool) who spends great riches on a reeking head?)

IX The whore usually withholds herself from the rich/noble man unless she gets a big reward for it (or 'from him') there where she fires the crossbow. (In the place) where she knows that bread and wine are waiting the traitress behaves in a very greedy way indeed, when she leaves the worthy men (prós) and chooses (instead) the worthless wretches (ácháitž).

Notes:

Order of stanzas adapted from Lewent, p.448. The song appears in five manuscripts: A, I, K, E and N; stanzas 5 and 6 are in E and N only, and stanzas 7-9 in E alone.

- Line 1. Soudadier: Hoepffner and Boissonnade believed that this song was composed for an audience of rough soldiers and mercenaries, but compare Chapter I above, (Hoepffner, Les Troubadours p.38, and Boissonnade, p.229).
- Line 2. Mantengutz: Appel's interpretation of soudadier is possibly underlined by Marcabru's use of the word mantengutz in this context. These expressions seem to imply a system of relationships in which Jois and Jovens are likened to segner who depend upon their trusted, faithful and paid retainers for their continued seigneurie. These retainers would be 'paid' with the spiritual, moral rewards which come to those people - fin'amans and troubadours, for example - who serve Jois and Jovens. Similar examples of such images of service are to be found in Poems XXXI lines 64-67; XVIII lines 7-12; XVIII ms C st.14; 'Lo vers comensa' lines 61-63 (see Chapter III above). Compare also Poems XLII lines 29-32 where Marcabru says that cuckolds uphold courting ('Mantenon la drudaria'): this is undesirable and the feudal mantener is here applied to a wicked, adulterous love.
- Lines 3-4. These lines have been interpreted as 'the bad things said about the whores' by Appel and Hoepffner but, when this passage is considered in the light of lines 49-51, it becomes evident that Marcabru is referring to the sweet, specious, evil arguments used by the putas themselves. See Paterson, p.9: she translates lines 50-51; 'with sweet speech she welcomes and reasons with all those she can put to work'.
- Line 5. See 'Cortesamen' line 28: 'e per un no s'i vol fiar'.
- Line 8. Is there perhaps a double meaning here: the fool, when he believes she is smiling at him favourably to encourage him, is in fact being mocked by the woman, and he is deceived, misled by this impression? (See Rayn.III.190, and SWB.III.156).
- Line 9. Marcabru refers to Solomon by name in the tenso line 32 and Poem XXIX line 25, and he alludes in XVII line 4 and XVIII line 63 to the testimony of the Bible.
- Line 10. Compare Proverbs 23.27-33. Quoted below, pp.165-66. Marcabru may have used the same biblical source in Poem XXIV stanzas 3 and 4 where, in the context of a warning against Amars, he makes the comparison with wine which takes away a man's strength.

Line 17-19. One of the sources of medieval references to the chimera was Ovid, Métamorphoses, IX.647: 'quoque Chimaera iugo mediis in partibus hircum pectus et ora leae, caudam serpentis habebat'. But there are two versions of Ovid's description, as Errante points out (p.225). The other reads: 'mediis in partibus ignem, pectus et ora leae'. Dejeanne's reading of bous is rejected because a 'boeuf' does not appear in any account of the chimera, but scholars differ over the emendation. Errante's suggestion of fuocs on the basis of ignem accords well with the notion of the lustful puta and is reminiscent of several other instances of the similarly Ovidian image of physical desire in Marcabru's works (see Poems V ll.31-36, VIII ll.11-15, XXXI ll.13-15 and 55-63). However, the goat was also a common symbol of lust, used in Poem XVII line 31 to describe lecherous, adulterous husbands: 'Moillerat, ab sen cabri' (see D. Nelson, 'Animal Imagery'). Appel suggested bocs on the basis of hircum in Ovid and justified this emendation by pointing out that as the lion and the snake elements find their continuation and gloss in the following stanzas, the explanation of the middle section of the chimera is found in stanza 4, suitably sandwiched between the references to the lion and the snake, in lines 29-32 (Appel, p.422). He suggested 'Bocaria wird hier im ursprunglichen Sinn als Fleischstand der Bockschlachter zu nehmen sein', and noted that 'Hs E liest im letzten Vers, aber mit Mangel einer Silbe, Box poiritz'. Did perhaps the scribe of ms E take it upon himself to correct line 32 to accord with an allusion he recognised, although his correction damaged the metre? In support of Appel's suggestion, it should be noted that ms I appears to have Bouc in line 19. The editors of Horace's Carmina 27 noted that 'the word [chimaera] is Greek and denotes a she-goat' (Horace: Odes Book I, edited by A.H. Allcroft and B.J. Hayes (London, 1890), p.61.)

Line 20. caval bai e d'aurifan: Appel believed that these allusions were included as mere stopgaps, inserted with the rhythmic continuity of the stanza in mind (p.457). Perhaps it is the chimera as a whole, and not merely the lion and snake elements, which is contrasted with the horse and elephant. It would then be the composite nature of the chimera which distinguishes it from the equally exotic elephant and from the horse, which was sometimes represented in bestiaries as a symbol of licentiousness (see Marcabru's Poem XVIII lines 49-54). Is it possible that d'aurifan is a scribal error for d'alferan, 'cheval d'une qualité supérieur' (PD)? If so, Marcabru may then be comparing the fantastic chimera and two different types of horse. Compare the two horses of Guilhem IX's dilemma (PC 183,3: Poem I). In a recent conference paper presented to the Third Conference in Medieval Occitan Language and Literature, Mr Richard Goddard of Trinity College, Oxford, suggested that the medieval Spanish iconographical tradition of the Beatus of Liébana manuscripts (to which Marcabru was probably referring here) shows that the comparison in Marcabru's poems is indeed between a horse and an elephant, and that the poetic intention is humorous since the two types of animal would be indistinguishable in some illustrations if they were not labelled.

Line 21. See Pillet, p.17, on dèspèis.

Lines 27-28. Appel (p.427) translated these lines:

'Doch wenn sie ihre Lust an Euch gebüßt, hält
sie sich nicht eines Handschuhs Wert, bis
ihrer tausend sind',

but there may be an alternative reading. Ms A is the only one to transmit 'tro que son mil'; mss I and K both have 'tro queis humil', and ms N gives 'tro que sumil' while E has 'tro ques humil'. All four, that is, give some variation of '(h)umil'. Could this not have something to do with 'to humble oneself' or 'to be humbled'? This stanza can be compared to stanza 2, which begins with a general statement: 'Salamon ditz et es guirens' line 9 (compare 'Puta sembla leo d'aitan', l.25), then goes on to describe the initial aspect of the puta: C'al prim (compare l.26, al comensan), which is in sharp contrast (Mas in the initial position in both lines 11 and 27) to the reality which is later revealed (al partir, l.11, and pueis quan, l.27). The sweetness described in stanza 2 becomes 'cozens, amar'e cruzels' and in stanza 4 the puta's initial leonine ferocity and pride could then be contrasted to s'(h)umil. Does she humble herself (s'umiliar), or is she humbled (giving sia umil)? As the troubadour Cercamon says (PC 112,3):

Anc res no fo no s'umelis
Vas Amor, mas ill n'es fera. (Poem VIII ll.17-18)
('Never was there anyone who did not humble himself
before Love, but she (however) is haughty towards
him.')

This meaning of fer as 'proud, haughty' could be the particular sense employed in Marcabru's Poem XLIV, and s'umil would then indicate that the puta 'becomes humble, meek'. (See also L. Spitzer, 'Le Lion arbitre moral de l'homme', R, 64 (1938), pp.525-30 (p.526).) It is possible that the word has a sexual connotation: compare 'corpus, quod humiliatur in passionibus' (PL 1.524). In keeping with the medieval taste for etymologies, could s'umil here also be connected with the

same sort of sexual activity which the Monk of Montaudon refers to in his tênso with God (PC 305,7)? Of women, God says:

e no·us pissetz ges que lur tir
quant hom las fai corbas estar?
('et ne croyez-vous pas que cela leur fasse mal quand
les hommes les obligent à se tenir courbées? ')

(Les Poésies du Moine de Montaudon, édition critique par M.J. Routledge (Montpellier, 1977), Poem XIV ll.59-60). Compare Gaucelm Faidit's words in his tenso with Bernart (PC 165,2: ed. Mouzat, Poem 67):

Mas si·l voletz ben servir
Ni sos talans ademplir,
Corba·ill be soven l'esquina. (ll.49-51)
('But if you want to serve her (false love) well and do
her wishes, bend her back often'.)

That corba here has the same sense and implications as in the previous example (despite Mouzat's note, p.554: 'corbar, courber, ne donne pas un sens satisfaisant') is indicated by Bernart's reply, implicitly disapproving of Gaucelm's 'vilas mots ni lagz' (l.56). A similar allusion occurs in Marcabru's Poem XVIII ms C st.10, ms M st.7: 'plec l'esquina'. Lines 27-28 of Poem XLIV could then be interpreted as meaning: 'but then when she has had her will with them (her lovers), (contrarily and perversely) until she herself is bowed low/ brought low/ humbled, she does not value herself as highly as a glove'.

Line 28. no·s prez'un gan: see Rayn. IV.640.

Lines 29-32. Compare Marcabru's 'A l'alena del vent doussa' line 11: 'de sai sen um pauc de feton', where a foul odour is associated with promiscuity, in a song which also refers in line 38 to a puta. See Chapter III above.

Line 33. declinar: 'd.h. als "Ausführungen, Erklärungen, Aufhellungen" (sc. über fals'amor usw.) geben' (Mölk, pp.73-4).

Lines 33-40. With reference to this stanza Errante (p.226) cites Prudentius's Hämärtigēneia, the passage concerning the viper. It would appear more likely, however, that Marcabru is drawing on the traditional belief that a snake enchants or hypnotises its victims with its gaze (see Appel, p.458), since stanza 5 begins with the phrase 'l'us de putana serpenti', indicating the poet's intention of explaining the general ways of the snake rather than the 'serps detras' allusion.

Line 48. fitz: Lewent (p.449) saw fitz as a derivation of ficar, and Nelli appears to follow this explanation in his translation 'avant qu'elle ne l'ait asservi' (R. Nelli, Écrivains anticonformistes du moyen-âge occitan, 2 vols (Paris, 1977), II, p.51).

Line 52. Compare lines 41-44 and 65-67, also Poems V lines 1-12; VII lines 25-40; XVIII mss ADIK st.9, ms a st.15; XVIII ms C sts. 19 and 20; XXXI lines 33-36; 'Lo vers' lines 43-48; XXXVII lines 17-18.

Line 57. Lewent thought that s'enpen was connected with se penar, 'to take trouble to' (p.448 note 1). Perhaps it may be related also to s'empenher/s'empendre, 'to advance', giving an interpretation 'to venture there' (see SWB.II.387)?

Lines 59-60. Dejeanne suggested that Roal and Bazen were the names of people (p.238). This would accord with the use Marcabru makes of exemplary figures (see Chapter II above). Forms of the word bazen occur elsewhere in his songs. In Poem VII (ll.53-4) the poet alludes to the worthy Frankish knight of the Chanson de Roland, Basan, killed whilst on an embassy to the Saracens (Topsfield, Troubadours, p.71). This instance can be compared to line 72 of Marcabru's song 'Doas cuidas':

e Jois es entre·ls francs faillitz,
tornatz de basan en bertau. (ll.71-2)

Professor Ricketts reviews the interpretations of the words basan and bertain suggested by previous scholars and concludes: 'il suffit de noter qu'il s'agit ici d'un grand déclin. Si bertain signifie 'imbécile', il s'ensuit que basan est le contraire', and he understands lines 71-72 to mean that 'Joie, le paragon d'amour, est devenue une idiote' (p.194). (See also Schultz-Gora, 'Eigennamen', pp.136-7). Concerning the lines of Poem XLIV, Lewent equated moren with black (p.448 note 1), and Nelli speculated of stanza 7 that 'le sens général doit être 'Quand la pute change en noir ce qui était blanc, et en fou celui qui était sage, elle ne rendra pas à l'un sa blancheur, ni à l'autre sa sagesse' (Anticonformistes, p.53). This would seem to be the most plausible guess to date although, in the light of previous studies of basan (if bazen is the same thing), it might be best to modify Nelli's interpretation slightly, taking into account the fact that Marcabru clearly equates the colour white with fin'amors and represents evil promiscuity by blackness (see, for example, Poem XXIV ll.4-6 and 19-21):

When the whore changes to black that which was white (when she has debased fin'amors), and to an uncourtly fool he who was a model of cortesia, she will not give back to the first its whiteness, nor to the other his cortesia (refinement?).

(Roal would then seem to represent the same quality or characteristic as bertain in 'Doas cuidas'.) It is also interesting in this context to consider Ecclesiasticus 25.17:

nequitia mulieris inmutat faciem eius
et obcaecabit vultum suum tamquam ursus.
('The wickedness of a woman maketh black her look, and darkeneth her countenance like that of a bear'.)

The editors note that 'wickedness makes a woman sinister of aspect and fierce' (see The Apocrypha and Pseudepigraphica of the Old Testament, edited by R.H. Charles et al. (Oxford, 1913), p.276). The preceding verse 16 of Ecclesiasticus 25 reads:

commorari leoni et draconi placebit
quam habitare cum muliere nequa.
('I would rather dwell with a lion and a dragon, than
keep house with a wicked woman'),

containing elements which are reminiscent of Marcabru's
chimera and evil puta. (See also the reference to the snake
in verse 15). Verses 19 and 21 curse 'malitiam mulieris'
('the malice of a woman') and warn:

ne respicias in mulieris speciem
('Fall not because of the beauty of a woman'),

to which may be compared lines 47-8 and 57 of Poem XLIV.
Perhaps one should also bear in mind the possibility that the
l' of XLIV line 59 may be a reference to the puta's
appearance or attitude in matters of love. These similari-
ties, and that between Ecclesiasticus 26.19 and Poem XLIV
lines 65-7 (see below), may indicate that Ecclesiasticus
might have had an influence upon Marcabru's similarly
misogynist poem. The traces of this biblical book appear
especially in stanzas 5 onwards, that is to say in those
stanzas which are transmitted by mss E and N only: can
anything useful be inferred from this regarding the scribes
of these mss?

Lines 61-4. These lines do not form a grammatical whole since ms E, in
which they appear, does not contain what would be line 62. In
the translation I have suggested what may have been the
overall sense of these lines. One could, perhaps, suppose a
past participle in the rhyme position of line 62 (compare ll.
38, 46, 54).

Line 64. Puditz may be an example of the rhetorical figure 'meta-
plasm', 'a deviation from the grammatical norm which is
permitted to poets in consideration of the demands of the
metre, (Curtius, European Literature, p.44). Puditz could
perhaps be understood as a participle, adjectivally used,
describing cap, 'head'(?): although one would expect puans or
pu dens (from pu dir), these would not fit the rhyme scheme.

Compare Alanus de Insulis on the chimera as a symbol of lust: 'in medio cāprām foetesae libidinis' (PL 210.121-122). Could cāp in Marcabru's song be connected with cābrē/cāprē, perhaps the result of some scribal error?

Lines 65-7. Punctuation from Lewent, p.449. Line 67 could be translated: 'there where he (the ric) fires the crossbow', or, since destendre could be used intransitively (see Rayn.V.325), the meaning of the line may be 'there where the crossbow fires' ('there where intercourse takes place').

Line 68. Compare Guilhem IX (PC 183,12) Poem V line 47:

e'l pans fo blancs e'l vins fo bos.

Pasero notes here with reference to Marcabru Poem XLIV line 68 that the puta 'si dirige ... dove è accolta liberalmente' (p.150).

Correct interpretation of the song depends to a certain extent upon identifying the audience for whom it was intended. Marcabru addresses his purported audience directly in the very first line as soudadier.¹³ This group of young men in the solda or 'pay' of someone would include 'les jeunes chevaliers et soldats', as Professor Ricketts interprets the term in 'Doas cuidas', the troubadours, and those men

... per cui es Jovens
Mantengutz e Jois eisamens (XLIV 11.1-2),

who have an appreciation of and are concerned with the ways of cortesia, and who would understand the allusions contained in the poem.

The song warns these people against the puta in terms very similar to those which Marcabru uses in Poem XVIII of fals'amors (1.38). In both these songs the poet describes the corruption, treachery and destructive effects of false love and of the puta in emotive language, with the aid of images drawn from classical literature and the Scriptures.

The puta, like fals'amors, is treacherous:

En puta qui s'i fia
Es hom traïtz (XLIV 11.5-6),

and

Amors soli'esser drecha,
Mas er'es torta e brescha. (XVIII 11.25-6)¹⁴
('Love used to be straight but now it's twisted and broken.')

Marcabru draws on the misogynist commonplace of women's deceit, as he does in several other songs, and, fusing the notions of Amars and Woman, applies the commonplace in exactly the same way to the personification of love in Poem XVIII and to the whore in Poem XLIV. These two songs illustrate the confusion which Jeanroy described when he remarked of love in troubadour poetry: 'aussi est-il capricieux et fantasque, comme la dame elle-même, dont il se distingue au reste si peu que parfois on ne sait duquel des deux il s'agit'.¹⁵ This use of the idea of treachery here serves already as an indication that the puta may not be a real prostitute, who would have no call to deceive.

Love/the whore deceives by means of her hypocritical semblan: at first she presents a pleasing attractive appearance, but later her real corruption is revealed and she is seen to be predatory and motivated solely by self-interest. At first she is as sweet as spiced wine, but in the end she is more cozens, bitter and cruel than a serpent's bite (XLIV 11.9-12).¹⁶ Both the puta and fals'amors seek only their own profit in their liaisons: they change their behaviour according to where their own advantage lies, exploiting their partners, or those who become involved with them:

Greu sera mais Amors vera
Pos del mel triet la cera
Anz sap si pelar la pera (XVIII 11.31-33)
('Henceforth it will be difficult for love to be true, since she separated the honey from the wax: rather she knows how to peel the pear for herself'),¹⁷

and the whore gives her services only when she is sure of great rewards (XLIV stanza 9). They are rapacious, taking everything they can from their victims. Fals'amors

De totz cessals a ces prisa,
Escoutatz!
Chascus en pren sa devisa,
Ja pois no.n sera cuitatz. (XVIII 11.9-12).¹⁸

('She has levied a tax on all her people - Listen - each one owes his due and no one will ever be quit of it.')

False love takes the good things (XVIII stanza 6) just as, in Poem XLIV,

Fai del ric putana frairi;
Quan n'a trag la bresch'e'l saï,
Li fai de la lengua bossi. (ll.42-44)

The whore takes everything, reducing the man to a pauper, and then sticks her tongue out at him in derision.

Of false love Marcabru says

Fams ni mortaldatz ni guerra
No fai tan de mal en terra
Quon amors qu'ab enguan serra¹⁹
(Neither famines nor epidemics nor wars do so much evil in this world as love, who imprisons men treacherously),

and in Poem XLIV the association of the puta with the crossbow in stanza 9 reinforces the impression that the puta is a dangerous creature. Weaponry in general and bows in particular are found in a variety of sources as sexual images. Godefroy lists an example from an Old French poem where, 'en langage libre', li gieus d'arbalestiaus, 'the game of little crossbows', is figuratively used to represent the game of love.²⁰ An Arab chronicler of the Third Crusade describes the behaviour of Frankish women, probably prostitutes, in similar terms, saying 'they made themselves targets for men's darts ... offered themselves to the lance's blows ... they invited swords to enter their sheaths ... (and) fitted arrows to the bow's handle'.²¹ A similar image is to be found in at least one passage in the Bible, in the Book of Ecclesiasticus which Marcabru seems to draw on several times for this poem. The passage is concerned with whoredom, and warns against the shameless behaviour of women:

sicut viator sitiens ad fontem os aperiet et ab omni
aqua proxima bibet
et contra omnem palum sedebit et contra omnem
sagittam aperiet faretram donec deficiat.

(Ecclesiasticus 26.12)

('As a thirsty traveller that openeth his mouth, and drinketh of any water that is near,

so she sitteth down at every post, and openeth her quiver to every arrow'.)

The passage of Marcabru's poem runs:

Puta per usatge's defen
Al ric, si gran loguier no'n pren
Lai on l'arbalesta desten. (ll.65-67)

This additionally recalls a passage from Huon de Méry, Li tornoiemenz Antecrit:

Venus, qui virges et pucelles
Asaut, tendi sans atendue
L'arc amoreus, s'a destendu (ll.2568-70)²²
('Venus, who assails virgins and young girls, without waiting
drew the bow of love and fired it')

Whereas the female figure of Venus is described as drawing and firing the bow of love, in Marcabru's poem it is a question of the evil puta malevolently firing her deadly crossbow.²³ Marcabru, like Huon de Méry, appears to be parodying the traditional symbol of Venus, perhaps he is drawing on the classical and medieval symbols of the two contrasting Venuses which are found in the works of Ovid, John Scotus and Bernardus Silvestris, among others. The troubadour would here be employing the evil, negative figure in Poem XLIV. Economou has analysed the instances and significance of the two Venuses in medieval literature and shown that the evil Venus - whom Bernardus Silvestris described as 'carnis concupiscentiam, quia omnium fornicationum mater est' -illustrates not only lustful, impure love, but also the sinful, selfish, unthinking immoral attitude which is both a feature and a result of the practice of this type of love.²⁴

The conduct and vices ascribed to the puta in Poem XLIV are found in many of Marcabru's other poems, where they are attributed to false love. In Poem XLIV the harlot's treachery is further emphasized in lines 68-72:

On sap lo pa e vi aten
Molt fai gran glotonia
La trichairitz,
Quan los pros lais'e tria
Los achaïtz.

In Poem XXXI a similar connection is made between greed and sexual misconduct:

Amars creis et atahina
Tric'ab coratje gloto (11.19-20)²⁵
(*'Love grows, and torments, and tricks with a greedy heart'*),

and in Marcabru's tenso with Uc Catola, fals'amistatz is described as leaving the courtly pros, worthy men, for inferior wretches, achaïtz:

Catola, Ovides mostra chai,
e l'ambladura o retrai,
que non soana brun ni bai,
anz se trai plus aus achaïz. (11.37-40)²⁶
(*'Catola, Ovid shows us here and amply demonstrates that Love does not reject blondes or brunettes but rather is drawn more to worthless wretches.'*)

The whore of Poem XLIV is equally lacking in discrimination: she has no regard for inner worth and is motivated by self-interest only. The theme of false love rejecting men for financial gain (XLIV stanzas 7 and 9) is found in several poems by Marcabru and is linked with false love's treachery and faithlessness.²⁷ In one of these diatribes against false love Marcabru says that even if a man had the inner worth (valors) of a nobleman, love would reject him if he had not the money to back up his courting:

Si valiatz un marques
Ja no'us en fasatz cortes,
Pos d'aver non aures ges (VII 11.34-6).

Courtly considerations and qualities would be of no help to him, for this love's esteem depends on wealth:

Ja no'us hi valra merces
Pos vos er faillitz l'avers (VII 11.39-40)
(*'Merce will be worth nothing to you once you have run out of money.'*)

Similarly, in Poem XLIV, Marcabru appears to be playing on the ambiguity of terms denoting wealth, value and worth in order to expose love's mercenary, venal nature.

It would seem to be a commonplace to label a woman of suspect morals a prostitute, but that both promiscuity and venality are connected in the behaviour of a true prostitute is evidence of Marcabru's play on words and ideas. Women who accept gifts and who entertain as lovers only the most prodigal of men seem to be acting with the same lack of principles as a prostitute, and this renders his use of the word puta to indicate his disapproval of their behaviour all the richer in associative values: to the meaning of 'uncourtly lady' are added misogynist connotations of venality.

The inconstancy and hypocrisy of the puta, who changes her appearance and attitudes, are represented by the image of the Chimera:

De [G]uimerra porta semblan
Qu'es serps detras, leos denan,
Bocs en miei loc (ll.17-19).

In his Dictionary of Symbols, Cirlot described the monster and noted that 'like other teratological beings, the chimaera is a symbol of complex evil'.²⁸ These negative connotations of the beast were used in literature with reference to women: 'the more imaginative misogynists saw women as tri-form beasts, ... part lion (= man-hunter), part flame (= desire) and part devouring dragon'.²⁹ Here, as in the examples below, is found a certain confusion regarding exactly which parts of which creatures constituted a chimera.

This misogynist application had been a tradition since classical antiquity when the Greek comedian Anaxilas said that 'the whore is worse than Chimera and other beasts', and the image was retained by Plautus in his representation of courtesans.³⁰ Drawing perhaps on Lucretius's De rerum natura (V.900-905), Horace uses the image of the chimera in one of his odes: talking to a love-sick youth, upon discovering the boy's problem, he exclaims:

quae saga, quis te solvere Thessalis
magus venenis, quis poterit deus?
vix illigatum te triformi
Pegasus expediet Chimaera.³¹
('What wise woman, what magus with Thessalian potions, or which
god can release you? Pegasus can hardly free you from the
triform chimera'.)

This traditional association of the image with women was continued by, among others, Walter Map in the letter 'Valerius Rufino ne ducat uxorem' which appears in Map's De nugis curialium.³² According to the Revised Medieval Latin Word-List, the term chimaera was used in thirteenth-century England in the sense of 'harlot', an indication, perhaps, that the identification of immoral, wicked women with the classical monster had become a commonplace by then.³³

Following the allusion to and description of the chimera in stanza 3 of Poem XLIV, Marcabru says

Qui despeis la bestia
Non es faillitz
D'aquo que entendia
De la trairitz. (ll.21-24).

He speaks of 'he who described the beast', thus apparently referring to Ovid and his Metamorphoses.³⁴ Marcabru was familiar, or at least acquainted with Ovid's writings: he cites him as an authority in his tenso with Uc Catola and is probably referring there to Amores II.4: 34-44.³⁵

But it is more likely that, in this section of Poem XLIV, Marcabru is referring to Marbod as his source. Marbod (1035-1123), bishop of Rennes, was noted for his Latin verse and, among other works, composed a ten-chapter poem in Latin. The second chapter is entitled De Meretrice and it contains, following an enumeration of all the terrible evils and sins for which women are responsible, these lines:

Hujus in exemplum monstri gravis atque cavendi,
Finxit terribilem sapientia prisca chimaeram;
Cui non immerito fertur data forma triformis;
Nam pars prima leo, pars ultima cauda draconis,
Et mediae partes nil sunt nisi fervidus ignis.
Haec ad naturam meretricis ludit imago,
Ut praedam rapiat quae praefert ora leonis,
Egregio simulans quiddam quasi nubile vultu;
Hac specie captos flammis exurit amoris,
In quo nil solidi, nil ponderis esse videtur,
Sed levis, et ratione carens, fervensque libido,
Ultima sunt cujus lethali farta veneno,
Quippe voluptates mors et damnatio finit.³⁶

('As an example of this fearful and awesome monster (the Meretrice), ancient learning has designed the terrible Chimaera, to which it was said, not incorrectly, was given a three-fold form, for the fore part is a lion, the rear part the

tail of a dragon, and the area between nothing but raging fire. This image suits the nature of a harlot, as she seizes the prey which passes before the lion's jaws, simulating something like a noble and nubile countenance; and by her false appearance, in which there is nothing of substance or weight, but only trivial, reasonless and fervent lust, she burns up her captives by the flames of love; and her end parts are filled full of lethal poison. In fact, death and damnation are the end of sensual pleasures.'

Marbod presents the courtesan, through the image of the chimera, as the symbol of complex evil, the epitome of evil for mankind.

In Marbod's poem are found the same ideas as occur in Marcabru's song. The puta is like a lion, traditionally a proud and rapacious beast, and is described as

Fers es d'ergueill al comensan,
Mas pueis quan n'a fag son talan,
Tro que son mil, no's pretz'un gan. (ll.26-8)

In this passage the notions of the puta's pride, insatiability and man as victim are brought together.³⁷

In stanza 5 Marcabru explains the general ways of the snake, 'l'us de putana serpenti', echoing Marbod's dragon. As Madame Thiolier-Méjean has noted, 'depuis Ève, la femme et le serpent ont des affinités',³⁸ and Marcabru uses this association in his tenso to criticize false love and treacherous women:

mas de faus'amistat mi clam,
q'anc pos lo serps baissa lo ram
non foron tant enganairiz. (ll.6-8)³⁹
('but I am complaining about false love, for never since the
serpent lowered the branch were there so many deceitful
women.')

Marbod's poem contains an allusion to Adam's betrayal by Eve, and the similarities between his De Meretrice and Marcabru's song are underlined by Marcabru's use of the word metritz in line 30, a term he eschews elsewhere in his songs, preferring the more colloquial puta. Marbod's poem contains exempla of biblical and historical characters, including Solomon whom Marcabru cites in stanza 2, brought low by women, and his chimera passage is followed by the injunction:

O genus hominum! mellita venena caveto,
 et dulces cantus tractumque voraginis acrae,
 nec te compositi seducat gratia vultus,
 flammis urentes, saevumque timeto draconem.⁴⁰
 ('Oh, Mankind, beware the honeyed potions and sweet melodies
 and the lure of the fateful chasm. Let not the beauty of a
 false face seduce you. Fear the burning flames and the brutal
 dragon.')

This recalls the words of Marcabru in stanzas 2,6,7 and 9 of Poem XLIV and his warnings to the audience to beware of the false, attractive lies of the puta (ll.3-4 and 50-1).

Scheludko suggested that Marcabru was influenced in composing one stanza of another of his songs (Poem XXXVIII stanza 2) by a poem by Marbod, and this critic elsewhere pointed out the possible influence on the early troubadours of Marbod's writings concerning rhetorical technique.⁴¹ These possible influences, together with the striking similarities of theme and image between Poem XLIV and De Meretrice, suggest that Marcabru was familiar with Marbod's works.

Alanus de Insulis later described lust as 'a monster with the head of a virgin (for the image of desire), the body of a goat (for stinking appetite), and the back of a wolf (for the depredation of virtue)'.⁴² The general similarities of thought and expression in all three works are indicative of a certain current of ideas prevalent in the mid-twelfth century, at least in clerical circles, and the resemblances would seem to provide yet another intriguing indication that Marcabru himself received an education and had a clerical background. It seems likely that Marcabru took Marbod's poem as a basis for his own, but that he elaborated and developed the notion of the whore to suit his own needs. De Meretrice would then have been an inspirational influence, but not a model to the extent of restricting Marcabru's own invention and adaptation: the differences between the two works are sufficient to suggest that the troubadour did not slavishly copy the bishop.

Like the meretrice, the puta of Poem XLIV and love of Marcabru's Poem XVIII are evil and destroy men. They trap men in their snares and bring them to ruin and death:

Amors es de mout mal avi;
 Mil homes a mortz ses glavi,
 Dieus non fetz tant fort gramavi;
 Escoutatz!
 Que tot nesci del plus savi
 Non fassa, si'l ten al latz. (XVIII ll.43-8)⁴³

('Love belongs to a very wicked race: she has killed a thousand men without a sword, God never made such a powerful magician -Listen ! - who can turn the wisest man into a complete fool if she holds him in her nets.')

In Poem XLIV Marcabru advises his audience that

Ben es de gran folia
Sals e gueritz
Qui's destol de sa via
Anz qu'ela'l fitz. (ll.45-8)

He who associates with and trusts the puta then

Aten com per leis sia
Mortz o delitz. (ll.39-40).

Marcabru contrasts this foolish confidence (l.7) with the attitude of a wise man: 'Savis senatz lai no s'empen' (l.57). Such a person avoids the puta because of her negative effects:

Quan l'aura fag de blanc moren,
No'l torn de roal en bazen. (ll.59-60)
('when she has changed to black that which was white (when she has debased fin'amors), and changed to an unworthy fool he who was a paragon of cortesia, she will not restore to the first its whiteness, nor to the other his cortesia (refinement?).')

Other passages in Marcabru's poems makes it clear that the troubadour represented fin'amors as white, and the most explicit contrast which he makes in these terms between false love and fin'amors is to be found in Poem XXIV:

Qui a drut reconogut d'una color
Blanc lo teigna, puois lo deigna ses brunor;
C'amors vair'al mieu veiair'a l'usatge trahidor. (ll.4-6)⁴⁴
('The person who has a recognised lover of one colour, let them keep it white, without blemish, for piebald love in my opinion has treacherous ways.')

Describing the amia's promiscuity in stanza 7 of Poem XXIV, the poet continues the analogy, saying:

Enaissi torn'a decli l'amors e torn'en negror.
(1.21)

('In this way love goes into a decline and becomes blackened.')

Sexual licence and fornication are the black enemies of fin'amors, the amia is responsible for blackening love, and the puta of Poem XLIV, who 'fag de blanc moren', is the incarnation of these vices.

Madame Thiolier-Méjean, in a footnote, draws an interesting conclusion from the images of these songs: the chimera of Poem XLIV, 'un animal sans unité, fait de parties disparates, et une couleur changeante, indéterminée [vair of Poem XXIV], deviennent l'illustration de la tromperie'.⁴⁵ This recalls the stanza of Poem XVIII where bad love is described as 'un'entrebescada cauza', a 'mixed-up, disorderly thing'.⁴⁶

It is the lack of stability (white becomes black), the lack of inner integrity or wholeness, and the moral corruption of the puta and of Amars which lie at the root of Marcabru's complaints. For these reasons love represents a foolish burden for him:

Ben es cargatz de fol fais
Qui d'Amor es en pantais. (VII 11.21-22)
('He is indeed loaded with a foolish burden, the man who is troubled by love.')

A clear-sighted person, one who has achieved bona cuida, should discern this, as the girl in Marcabru's famous pastorela perceives the knight's lack of integrity, but a fool is deceived, easily persuaded of the apparent truth of what he sees and hears, and is destroyed. This antithesis of folly and wisdom underlies all Marcabru's works.

The sources on which Marcabru draws to illustrate this conflict are not only classical but also biblical, as is shown by his references to Solomon in the tenco, Poems XVIII, XXIX and here in Poem XLIV. It is possible that these references represent more than a glib attempt to add authority to his arguments, and that they indicate that his songs may possess a deeper significance or message additional to the superficial, surface meaning.

The reference to the chimera, in such detail and in such a context, would indicate that Marcabru had a knowledge perhaps of Ovid's monster and probably of Marbod's use of the image in his work. Marcabru appears to have received an education: Dr Paterson, for instance, gives examples of Marcabru's use of images and symbols drawn from the Latin and

Christian moralising tradition, which suggest that Marcabru knew of the rhetorical and exegetical examples and was familiar with their application.⁴⁷

The probable source of stanza 2 of Poem XLIV, where the troubadour refers to Solomon's words, is a passage in the Book of Proverbs which, like the other Wisdom books (The Wisdom of Solomon and Ecclesiasticus), was attributed in the middle ages to Solomon:⁴⁸

fovea enim profunda est meretrix et puteus angustus
aliena insidiatur in via quasi latro et quos incautos
vederit interficit ...

nonne his qui morantur in vino et student calicibus
epotandis ne intuearis vinum quando flavescit cum
splenduerit in vitro color eius ingreditur blande
sed in novissimo mordebit ut coluber et sicut regulus
venena diffundet. (Proverbs 23.27-8 and 30-2).

('For a whore is a deep ditch and a strange woman is a narrow
pit

She also lieth in wait as for prey and increaseth the
transgressors among men ...

Look thou not upon the wine when it is red, when it giveth his
colour in the cup,
when it moveth itself aright.

And at the last it biteth like a serpent, and stingeth like an
adder'.)

Here also are found the notions of betrayal, the evil trickery of the prostitute, the analogy of the deceptive sweetness of wine which contrasts with its later sharpness, cruel as a snake's bite. The religious ring of line 14 of Marcabru's song, la pecairitz, reinforces this impression of a biblical basis for this stanza, and perhaps of a similar influence on the poem as a whole.

One of the most obvious influences, and one of the most often used in medieval literature, is the Great Whore of Babylon of the Book of Revelations,⁴⁹ but Marcabru also seems to draw heavily on the Book of Proverbs. In Poem XVIII, in the clerical tradition of misogyny, he warns against false love, which is represented as a female figure, saying

Qui per sen de femna reigna
Dreitz es que mals li'n aveigna,
Si cum la letra*ns enseigna;
Escoutatz!
Malaventura*us en veigna
Si tuich no vos en gardatz! (11.61-6)

('As the Scripture tells us, it is right that evil befall the man who is governed by (rules by means of ?) a woman's reason - Listen! - ill-fortune will come to you through it unless in everything you do not guard yourself against it.')

M. de Riquer remarks of line 63 that it is an 'alusión general a los pasajes salomónicas de la Escritura contra las malas mujeres',⁵⁰ and there are many striking similarities between Poem XVIII and the Book of Proverbs.⁵¹ The above stanza, for example, can be compared to Proverbs 6.20-27, where a young man is advised to 'keep to the commandments of thy father and to the law of thy mother',⁵² and to guard himself against 'the evil woman, from the flattery of the tongue of the strange woman'.⁵³ In other words, he should not allow himself to be ruled 'per sen de femna'.

As the Book of Proverbs carries warnings against the wiles exercised by wicked women and the destruction which they bring to men, so Marcabru's Poem XVIII describes the evil trickery of false love. Errante, who has researched possible biblical and liturgical sources of inspiration for Marcabru's poetry, makes surprisingly few allusions to the Book of Proverbs or Ecclesiastes in connection with this song. Wilhelm points to two passages from the Book of Proverbs - although there are more - and says that 'Solomon clearly aligns folly with the adulterous love of women', citing Proverbs 5.3-4 and 6.32 in support of this.⁵⁴

The first of these two passages was later used by Innocent III to explain and define the effects of lust:

O extreme shame of lust, which not only makes the mind effeminate but weakens the body; not only stains the soul but fouls the person ... Always, hot desire and wantonness precede lust, stench and filth accompanying it, sorrow and repentance follow it. 'The lips of the strange woman drip as an honeycomb, and her mouth is smoother than oil;

But her end is bitter as wormwood, sharp as a two-edged sword.'⁵⁵

Economou remarks that this explanation is quite traditional, and the biblical passage would seem to be used frequently by medieval moralising writers with a misogynistic bent.⁵⁶

The second passage cited by Wilhelm (Proverbs 6.32) refers to adultery, but the first is concerned with a 'strange woman': this figure is and was traditionally glossed as 'prostitute, harlot'.⁵⁷ Folly is not only clearly aligned with adultery but, even more frequently in the Book of Proverbs, with harlots.

There was a strong tradition, both in Old Testament times and in medieval biblical exegesis, of representing heresy, apostasy and false beliefs by the figure of a whore. The Old Testament books, including those ascribed to Solomon, made use of this tradition and it would appear that there were sound historical reasons for this since holy prostitution features prominently in the pagan religions which were attacked by Old Testament writers. False beliefs were depicted by images of whoredom:

et tulisti vasa decoris tui
de auro meo et argento meo quae dedi tibi
et fecisti tibi imagines masculinas et fornicata es
in eis.

(Ezekiel 16.17)⁵⁸

('Thou hast also taken thy fair jewels of my gold and of my silver, which I had given thee, and madest to thyself images of men, and didst commit whoredom with them.')

From early biblical times whores were closely associated with heresy, not only through images such as these but, a point which was taken up by the exegetes, in exempla.⁵⁹ Solomon and David were figures widely used by writers wishing to illustrate the pernicious influence of women who lure men away from the paths of righteousness.⁶⁰ Solomon, for example, was led into idolatry by his concubines:

numquid non in huiusmodi ne peccavit Salomon rex
Israhel et certe in gentibus multis non erat rex
similis ei et dilectus Deo suo erat
et posuit eum Deus regem super omnem Israhel
et ipsum ergo ad peccatum duxerunt mulieres
alienigenae.

(Nehemiah 13.26)

('Did not Solomon king of Israel sin by these things? Yet among many nations was there no king like him, who was beloved of his God, and God made him king over all Israel; nevertheless even him did outlandish women cause to sin.')

In medieval exegesis women continued to be very closely associated with heresy, responsible for it and symbolising it. Alanus de Insulis, in his Liber in Distinctiones Dictionum Theologicalium (thought to have been written between 1175 and 1185), says that women typify heresy:

dicitur haeresis, unde mulier quae typum haereseos
tenet, callidis persuasionibus blanditur, dicens in
Salomone: 'Aquae furtivae dulciores sunt', id est
sententiae haereticorum dulciores sunt simplicibus et
idiotis dogmatibus Catholicorum, quia haeretici

semper volunt esse in delectatione carnis, sed
Ecclesiae doctrina jubet abstinere a carnalibus
desideriis.⁶¹

('It is called heresy from Woman who possesses the figure of heresy and who entices with crafty persuasions, as it is said in Solomon, "Stolen waters are sweet", that is, the words of the heretic are sweeter to the simple idiot than the dogma of the Catholics, because the heretics always want to delight in the flesh, but the teachings of the Church order one to abstain from carnal desires.')

Alanus is here commenting on the Book of Proverbs (9.17), on the beguiling words of a bad woman seducing men away from wisdom and righteousness.⁶² Of the mechanics of this close association in medieval exegesis Joan Ferrante has said that

[man's] seduction may be either physical or intellectual. Whores are connected with heresy as well as with carnal lust: indeed, fornication and heresy (the allurements of superficial beauty, whether of body or word) are almost synonymous in much exegesis. The whore seduces with sweet words and the beauty of her body as the heretic seduces with attractive doctrines.⁶³

Such was the intellectual and exegetical background against which Marcabru was composing his songs. His use of biblical sources and of Marbod's work argues a certain familiarity with religious writings and it is probable that, having this knowledge, he was also aware of its intellectual foundations. Marcabru seems to have drawn on the Book of Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus for his Poem XVIII, and similar parallels can be made between these biblical texts and passages in Poem XLIV.⁶⁴

The similarities of ideas and language between Poems XVIII and XLIV point to the conclusion that the figures of false love and the whore are representations of exactly the same concept, that of evil licentiousness, an aspect of Malvestatz. Both striking figures are presented with the aid of images whose origins can be traced to, inter alia, the Book of Proverbs, and in both poems Marcabru draws attention to his biblical sources (XVIII 1.63 and XLIV 1.9). Both poems contain savage attacks on a female figure and both make much of the notions of deceit and sweet lies:

Putan'es de tan mal engenh
C'ab dous parlar cueill et asenh
Totz cels que pot metr'en congrenh. (XLIV 11.49-51)

In Poem XVIII Amors

Sos digz aplan'et entosca,
Escoutatz!
Plus suau poing qu'una mosca
Mas plus greu n'es hom sanatz. (11.57-60)
('She smoothes and polishes her words - Listen! - she stings
more gently than a fly but it is more difficult for a man to be
cured of it.')

Dr Paterson points out that Marcabru is here drawing on the Latin moralising tradition which likens sin to insect bites: as flies sting imperceptibly but poison the whole body, so sin steals unnoticed into the soul and corrupts it.⁶⁵ The beginnings of false love and its lies are similarly insidious.

The whore and false love seduce with their lies as the 'strange woman' of the Book of Proverbs entices men away from the true ways of believing and behaving:

et ecce mulier occurrit illi ornatu meretricio
praeparata ad capiendas animas ...
inretivit eum multis sermonibus et blanditiis
labiorum protraxit illum. (Proverbs 7.10 and 21)⁶⁶
('And behold, there met him a woman with the attire of an
harlot, and subtil of heart ...
With her much fair speech she caused him to yield, with the
flattering of her lips she forced him.')

It is possible that Marcabru was not only influenced by the vivid biblical images, which accorded well with his apparent misogyny, but chose to include the figure of the puta also because of its deeper connotations of false beliefs.

It was conceded and perhaps even expected that poetry could contain a message deeper than the surface meaning. Alanus de Insulis, for example, in the De Planctu Naturae, speaks of the 'superficial, literal bark of the poem' and of the 'sweeter nucleus of truth secreted inside it' which is there to be interpreted by the listeners.⁶⁷ Marcabru appears to have composed his songs in just this way, with regard both to the principles of symbolism as revealed in biblical exegesis and to the kinds of images and their explanations which were found in this moralising tradition. Following the patterns of biblical exegesis and influenced by the principles of rhetoric, Marcabru developed and embroidered on such traditions in his own lyric creations. As Lazar has

suggested, 's'il n'y a pas eu d'influence du mysticisme chrétien sur la formation de l'idéologie amoureuse courtoise ... peut-être a-t-il eu une influence du vocabulaire mystique sur le langage des troubadours, un décalque de la rhétorique ecclésiastique?'.⁶⁸ Without adopting the totality of these mystical ideas, troubadours such as Marcabru may well have been influenced stylistically by such writings, and it is possible to consider the use of the figure of the whore as one aspect of secular, troubadour use of ecclesiastical rhetoric.

Marcabru elsewhere borrows images and uses language which have religious associations. In Poem XL he says

Et aissellas putas ardens
 Qui son d'autrui maritz cossens;
 Cyst auran guazanh ifernau (ll.19-21)
 ('And those ardent whores who consent to the husbands of others
 - these will have the prize of hell.')

'Burning whores' are here connected with other women's husbands: promiscuous sexual relations - indeed, amorous relations of any kind - with such men were prohibited in Marcabru's courtly canon,⁷⁰ and the 'terme particulièrement blessant' of puta is applied, as in Poem XXXIV, to women who fail to live up to the standards of fin'amors.⁷¹ With reference to this song, Poem XL, Topsfield observed that 'in attempting to define the qualities of fin'amors, ... Marcabru contrasts two ways of life and thought.'⁷² This technique mirrors, in a less explicit way, that of the song 'Doas cuidas'. Among those consigned to hell are those who act against fin'amors, those with wrong thoughts or beliefs concerning love, and many whose crimes are connected with wrong beliefs. The word fals is stressed throughout: a false philosophy of life or set of beliefs and values is the common trait of the different types, including the putas, who feature on the list of criminals in Poem XL.

The terms in which these women and other wrong-doers are condemned are Christian in colouring. This does not mean that Marcabru is setting himself up as an apologist for an exclusively orthodox Christian morality, but rather that he is saying that 'the virtues required by fin'amors exclude uncontrolled behaviour which is dominated by deceitful self-interest and carnal desire, and which is as offensive to the Christian ethic as it is to the concept of mesura and the "natural" order of life in society'.⁷³ The troubadour has borrowed well-known and emotionally charged images of damnation and punishment from the Christian

tradition in order powerfully to illustrate his condemnation of those whose behaviour offends the secular ethic of pure fin'amors. The religious elements are used in a figurative way, to colour the style, and not in their original literal sense.

The implication of the figure of the puta in Poem XLIV is not that Marcabru is employing the symbolism of heresy as a means of condemning secular fin'amors as a deviation from Christian caritas.⁷⁴ If a 'heretical' set of false beliefs is here in question, it is unlikely to be fin'amors itself that the troubadour is criticising, but rather those forms of behaviour and those attitudes which are a departure from and a corruption of the pure, ennobling fin'amors which he praises in his poems.⁷⁵

The promiscuous puta is the enemy of fin'amors, fin'amors being one of the guiding principles of life which, when followed truly, can confer the greatest spiritual, emotional and social benefits on man.⁷⁶ But, in order truly to follow fin'amors and obtain these benefits, a man must be clear-sighted, aware and disciplined, and must first develop cuida entiers. Only one way of thinking, one philosophy of life can bring good results, enable man to see beyond superficialities and behave in accordance with truth and goodness. What betrays man is the fola cuida, which brings chaos, social and moral disorder and spiritual death. He is misled by his false beliefs and following fola cuida interprets wrongly what he sees: 'la fola cuida mène à la déception chez les soudadier, à l'amour inconstant chez les amoureux, à une perte des valeurs courtoises qui se communique aux maris'.⁷⁷ Here again appears the idea of superficial, deceptive semblan, in association with folly (or wrong thought), and contrasted with reason (or the right way of thinking). This antithesis is reflected in Poem XVIII, and it is also present in Poem XLIV. In the allusion to sen de femna (XVIII l.63) Marcabru seems to understand folly and wrong thinking, which is made clear by the presentation of 'women's reason' in the Proverbial source of his images, where folly includes the connotation of false beliefs.⁷⁸ In Poem XLIV, lines 7-8 show that wrong belief betrays a man:

Lo fols, quan cuid'il ria,
Es escarnitz.

('The fool, when he believes she is smiling at him, in fact is mocked.')

In 'Doas cuidas' the soudadièr are described as misled and deluded, and in Poem XLIV Marcabru again shows his concern for this group of men and their inner welfare by warning them against the misleading, evil puta. The dangerous folly of believing such a woman is stressed in lines 45-8:

Ben es de gran folia
Sals e gueritz
Qui's destol de sa via
Anz qu'ela'l fitz.

Folia, with its connotations of sexual promiscuity,⁷⁹ can be equated with folia cuida, incarnated in Poem XLIV by the harlot. The puta represents Malvestatz as this manifests itself in matters of love, and on the broader philosophical level, the wanton figure of the harlot also carries connotations of the false beliefs of Malvestatz, and represents a certain deviation from fin'amors and cuida entiers. This interpretation would be one of the 'colours' of the word puta, and is far from constituting the whole interpretation or accounting for all the nuances of the term.

As Guiette indicated, the preponderance of symbols, signs and images - such as those of the classical chimera and the Proverbial puta - in medieval literature would imply that the authors were addressing a public sensitive to such nuances and aware of the deeper implications of the images.⁸⁰ That each sign was not restricted in the number of meanings it carried has been explained by Guiette, M.R. Jung, M.W. Bloomfield and other scholars.⁸¹ Guiette showed that 'le symbolisme n'est pas nécessairement précis et unique. Il peut changer de sens librement, superposer divers sens', Jung has remarked that both profane and Christian exegetical traditions 'admettent une pluralité de significations, où une explication n'en exclut pas les autres', and Topsfield spoke of the troubadour's technique of interweaving in their works extra levels of meaning.⁸²

In Poem XLIV Marcabru appears to be playing deliberately on several connotations of the term puta. He uses it to designate the dompna who behaves with unacceptable, uncourtly promiscuity. He employs it of self-interested, venal women who, he says, give their favours in return for financial rewards, although this is perhaps a misogynistic commonplace. And in his song 'Soudadièr, per cui es Jovens', Marcabru appears to draw on exegetical traditions - including the way in which the fearsome chimera seems to have been associated in misogynist writings with whores - and uses the puta to represent the false beliefs and folia

çuidá which the troubadour associates with Mälvēštātž and abuse of fiñ'amórs.⁸³ Poem XLIV with its harlot can be interpreted as an exposition of one way of life, love and thought, the wrong way, which is to be avoided; the other, true, courtly way is present in this song only implicitly.

Notes to Chapter V

1. Paden, 'Utrum copularentur', p.73. A version of this chapter appeared as an article in Reading Medieval Studies, 10 (1984), pp.39-78.
2. Dejeanne, Poem XLIV. A suggested new reading of and notes to 'Soudadier, per cui es Jovens' is given below and subsequent references to 'Poem XLIV' are to this version.
3. Ricketts, 'Doas cuidas', pp.179-80. See also Topsfield, Troubadours, pp.97-100, and Marshall, 'The Doas Cuidas', pp.27-8.
4. Scheludko, 'Beiträge', AR, 15, p.181.
5. See Poems XXXVI lines 19-30; XXXVIII; XII^{bis} lines 26-35; XVIII ms C stanza 10, ms M stanza 7 (Dejeanne, p.84).
6. See Poems XII^{bis}, XXIX, XXXI, XXXVI, XXXVIII and Chapter VII below.
7. P. Falk, 'Le Couvre-chef comme symbole du mari trompé', Studia Neophilologica, 33 (1961), pp.39-68 (p.55). Dejeanne and Spitzer understood copar to mean 'couvrir', while Falk thinks that copar, 'tailler' is more likely (p.55 n.1.).
8. Compare Poem XII^{bis} lines 28-30.
9. *Ed. Ricketts.*
Compare also Bernart Marti (PC 63,3) Poem III lines 16-18, where it is said that a woman who goes looking for more lovers in addition to her husband and one lover is a proven puta (see Chapter VI below).
10. K. Blumstein, Misogyny and Idealisation in the Courtly Romance, Studien zur Germanistik, Anglistik und Komparistik, 41 (Bonn, 1977), p.10.
11. Compare 'Cortesamen vuoil comensar' and see Chapter VI below.
12. See Lewent, p.448; Errante, pp.224-5; Appel, 'Zu Marcabru', p.422.

13. See above Chapter I. It is interesting that references to the soudadiër occur in three of Marcabru's most learned songs (here, and in 'Al departir' and 'Doas cuidas').
14. Compare Poem VII lines 9-10.
15. Jeanroy, II, pp.117-8.
16. Compare Poem XXI lines 31-6.
17. Compare also Hugh of Saint Victor (PL 176.1207), De nuptiis, Book I Chapter 2:

in favo mellis duo sunt id est mel et cera.
 In facie meretricis similiter duo scilicet
 decor et gratia hoc est pulchritudo oris et
 dulcendo sermonis. Cera succendit ignem, mel
 praebet dulcendinem, sic pulchritudo
 meretricis igne libidinis inflammat carnem
 ... stillat mel ex cera dum meretrix verba
 sua mollit et facit dulcia.

('There are two components of the honeycomb - honey and wax. So there are two aspects of the harlot - comeliness and grace, that is, a beautiful countenance and a sweet voice. The wax kindles the fire, the honey supplies the sweetness, and so the beauty of the harlot inflames the flesh through the fire of lust ... the honey drips from the wax while the whore softens her words and makes them sweet.')

See the remarks concerning Marcabru's clerical background below.

18. Compare Poem XVIII ms a stanza 15 (Dejeanne, p.83).
19. Poem XVIII ms C stanza 3, ms M stanza 3, ms a stanza 8 (Dejeanne, p.84).
20. Godefroy, I.377a.
21. Arab Historians of the Crusades, edited by F. Gabrieli, translated by F.J. Costello (London, 1969), pp.205-6.

22. Huon de Méry 'Li tornoiemenz Antecrit', herausgegeben von G. Wimmer, Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der romanischen Philologie, 76 (Marburg, 1888); see Godefroy, IX.361.
23. The use against Christians of the crossbow, described as 'illam mortiferam et Deo odibilem ballistariorum', was forbidden by the Second Lateran Council in 1139 (quoted in P. Fournier, 'La Prohibition par la 2^e concile de Latran d'armes jugées trop meurtrières', Revue générale de droit international public, 23 (1916), pp.471-9).
24. G. Economou, 'The Two Venuses and Courtly Love', in In Pursuit of Perfection: Courtly Love in Medieval Literature, edited by J.M. Ferrante and G. Economou (London, 1975), pp.17-51 (p.22). For a positive image of the bow of love, see Peire Vidal, who calls his lady 'mos bels arquiers' who has shot her arrow into his heart (PC 364,27: Les Poésies de Peire Vidal, éditées par J. Anglade, 2nd edition (Paris, 1966): Poem IX lines 15-18).
25. See Lewent, p.434.
26. Ed. Roncaglia. Hoepffner, commenting on Peire Vidal (PC 364,21) Poem XXXIV lines 45-9, pointed out that according to medieval bestiaries, the female wolf, 'étant en chaleur, ... s'attache au mâle le plus vile de la bande et repousse les meilleurs' (E. Hoepffner, Le Troubadour Peire Vidal; sa vie et son oeuvre, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, fasc. 141 (Paris, 1961), p.90).
27. See Poems V, VII, XXXVII, XVIII ms C stanza 20 and Bernart de Ventadorn (PC 70,15) Poem II. Raimon de Miraval says he knows a 'dona a vendre' (PC 406,21); Les Poésies du troubadour Raimon de Miraval, éditées par L.T. Topsfield, Les Classiques d'Oc, 5 (Paris, 1971), Poem 8 line 50 which Leube-Fey understands to mean 'daß die Dame ihre Gunst allein nach dem Gesichtspunkt des materiellen Vorteils vergeben hat' (p.81).
28. J.E. Cirlot, Dictionary of Symbols, translated by J. Sage (New York, 1962), p.44.

29. Blumstein, p.23.
30. Quoted in K.L.M. Rogers, The Troublesome Helpmate: a Study of Misogyny in Literature (Seattle, 1966), p.45. On the possible influence of Plautus and his place in medieval education, see Scheludko, 'Beiträge', AR, 15.
31. The Odes of Horace, translated by J. Michie (London, 1967), pp.68-71 (Odes I, 27).
32. Walter Map's 'De nugis curialium', translated by M.R. James, Cymmrodorion Record Series, 9 (London, 1923), p.161. Once falsely attributed to Saint Jerome, this letter is also found in PL 30.255. I am grateful to Dr. C. Luttrell of the University of Leicester for locating this reference.
33. The Revised Medieval Latin Word-List, R.E. Latham (London, 1965), p.84.
34. Ovid: Metamorphoses, translated by F.J. Miller, 2 vols (London and New York, 1916), II, pp.48-9.
35. See Wilhelm, p.77.
36. PL 171.1698-99. See also A. Wulff, Die frauenfeindlichen Dichtungen in der romanischen Literatur des Mittelalters bis zum Ende des XIII. Jahrhunderts, Romanistische Arbeiten, 4 (Halle, 1914), p.21.
37. Compare Poem XVIII ms C stanza 14, ms M stanza 11, ms a stanza 5 (Dejeanne, p.85).
38. Thiolier-Méjean, Les Poésies satiriques, p.535.
39. Walter Map's letter also contains biblical exempla of Eve, Solomon and others.
40. See also H.R. Hays, The Dangerous Sex (London, 1966).

41. Scheludko, 'Natureingang', p.282. See also Paterson, pp.36-8. On Marbod's influence on rhetoric, see Scheludko, 'Beiträge', AR, 15, especially p.140 on the exposition of these ideas in the decem capitulorum.

42. J.M. Ferrante, Woman as Image in Medieval Literature (London, 1975), pp.7-8: Alanus de Insulis, Summa de Arte Praedictatoria, Chapter V, 'Contra luxuriam', PL 210.121-2. See also D.W. Robertson Jnr, A Preface to Chaucer: Studies in Medieval Perspectives (Princeton, 1962), p.155 and the references there given to Odo of Cluny and Alexander Neckham on the chimera as the representation of lust.

43. Compare Poem XVIII lines 13-18 and XVIII ms C stanza 3, ms M stanza 3, ms a stanza 8 (Dejeanne, p.84).

44. See Lewent, p.429. Compare 'Lo vers comensa' lines 64-7 and Poem XXXVII lines 27-30.

45. Thiolier-Méjean, p.535.

46. ms C stanza 14, ms M stanza 11, ms a stanza 5 (Dejeanne, p.85).

47. See Paterson, pp.38-40. See also, for example, A.H. Schutz, 'Marcabru and Jehosaphat' RN, 1-2 (1959-61), pp.59-63; Hathaway and Ricketts, 'Le Vers del Lavador', pp.6-7.

48. B. Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages, 2nd edition (Oxford, 1962), p.62.

49. See Rogers, p.7.

50. De Riquer, I, p.188.

51. Compare Marcabru XVIII lines 43-8 cf. Proverbs 6,7 and 8,
 especially 7.22-3 and 25-7.
 XVIII ms C st.11, ms M st. 8 cf. Ecclesiastes 7.27 and 9.3.
 XVIII lines 13-18 cf. Proverbs 6.27 and Ecclesiast-
 icus 9.7.
 XVIII lines 57-60 cf. Proverbs 6.24-6, 5.3-5 and
 7.5.
 XVIII lines 19-24 cf. Proverbs 6.12-14 and 8.8
 (Wilhelm) and Isaiah 3.16
 (Errante).
52. 'Conserva fili mi praecepta patris tui et ne dimittas legem matris
 tuae' (6.20).
53. 'Ut custodiant te a muliere mala et a blanda lingua extraneae'
 (6.24).
54. Wilhelm, p.78.
55. Quoted in Economou, p.18. The passage is taken from De miseria
 humanae conditionis.
56. See Rogers, p.5.
57. See Charles, p.345.
58. See also Ezekiel 16.25-40 and 23.2-49 where the association of
 whoredom with heresy is amplified.
59. See J. Hastings, A Dictionary of the Bible, 2nd edition by F.C. Grant
 and H.H. Rowley (Edinburgh, 1963), p.365.
60. See Rogers, pp.2-5, and compare Villon: Poésies, édition présentée
 par P. Michel (Paris, 1972), 'Double ballade' lines 5-8; Le Roman de
 Troie, par L. Constans (Paris, 1909), lines 18044-48; Le 'Breviari
 d'Amor', lines 34048-57. See also the references to other instances
 of such exempla in Latin works in Scheludko, 'Beiträge', AR, 15,
 p.188.

61. PL 210.704.
62. See also Ferrante, Woman as Image, p.22.
63. Woman as Image, p.21. See also M.T. d'Alverny, 'Comment les théologiens et les philosophes voient la femme', CCM, 20 (1977), pp.105-131.
64. Compare Marcabru Poem XLIV lines 5-8 cf. Proverbs 7.21-3
XLIV lines 29-32 cf. Proverbs 12.4
XLIV lines 39-40 cf. Proverbs 5.5-6
XLIV lines 41-2 cf. Proverbs 6.26 and
Ecclesiasticus 9.6
XLIV lines 45-8 cf. Ecclesiasticus 9.2-5 and
Ecclesiastes 7.26.
65. Paterson, p.38.
66. See Errante, p.203 on knowledge of Proverbs 7 in the middle ages.
67. PL 210.451. See also Topsfield, Chrétien, pp.2-3.
68. Lazar, p.84.
69. See Nelson, 'Prophet'.
70. Compare Poems XXXIX lines 50-6, XXXVI lines 25-30 and IV lines 31-6.
71. Nelli, I, p.240.
72. Troubadours, p.84.
73. Troubadours, p.85.
74. See Chapter II above.

75. See, for example, Poems XIII, XXXI, 'Lo vers comensa' and XXXVII, and Chapter VI below.
76. See Poem XIII lines 9-32, 'Cortesamen', 'Lo vers comensa' lines 37-63 and XXXVII lines 31-42.
77. Ricketts, 'Doas cuidas', p.179.
78. Compare 'Doas cuidas' lines 53-4.
79. Topsfield, 'Jois', p.294 n.1. See Chapter II above.
80. R. Guiette, 'Symbolisme et senefiance au moyen âge', in Questions de littérature, Romanica Gandensia, 8 (Ghent, 1960), p.39.
81. M.R. Jung, Études sur le poème allégorique en France au moyen âge, (Bern, 1971); M.W. Bloomfield, 'Symbolism in Medieval Literature', Modern Philology, 56 (1958), pp.73-81 (p.77).
82. Guiette, pp.48-9; Jung, p.11; Topsfield, Chrétien, p.302.
83. It is interesting to note that Philip II of Spain later took as his device 'Bellerophon fighting the chimera ... the monster being intended by him for a type of England's heresies' (J. Vinycomb, Fictitious and Symbolic Creatures in Art (London, 1906), p.103).

CHAPTER VI CORTESIA AND THE EXAMPLE OF ELEANOR OF AQUITAINE

The passages in which Marcabru explicitly praises fin'amors contain positive images and the terminology of approval deriving from the Christian and courtly traditions. The passages of Poem V examined in Chapter II express Marcabru's praise of the particular type of love which he advocates and defends,¹ and the imagery of the hortus conclusus there employed could indicate that the poet 'is using this image of exalted Christian love to convey the idea of the exalted profane love to which he aspires'.²

This technique is also present in Poem XIII, an analysis of love and an affirmation of the troubadour's belief and faith in fin'amors. He makes use here, as he does in 'Lo vers comensa', of biblical images of fruitfulness,³ and draws on the Christian tradition in order to emphasize the excellence, ineffability and eternal constancy of pure, sincere fin'amors. He says

E no'us cuidetz c'Amors pejur,
C'atrestant val cum fetz al prim:
Totz temps fon de fina color,
Et ancse d'una semblansa;
Nuills hom non sap de sa valor
La fin ni la comensansa. (ll.11-16)

('And do not believe that love becomes worse/declines, for it is worth as much now as it was in the beginning; it was always pure in colour and always had the same appearance; no man knows the beginning or the end of its worth.')

He claims that he is venturing into that sort of love where there is no trickery or scandal or gossip:

Qu'en aital Amor m'aventur
On non a engan ni refrim. (ll.19-20)

This pure love is like that which he describes in 'Lo vers comensa', which is without any falseness (l.32), which does no evil (l.47) and which is not troubled by the gossip of lausengiers (ll.53-4).

In Poem XXXVII the stress is laid on the power and integrity of fin'amors, the source and summit of Joi (l.33), and among Marcabru's inspirational sources for the symbolism of this song is the lapidary of Marbod.⁴ Marcabru says

C'Amors a signifiassa
De maracd'o de sardina. (11.31-2)

According to Marbod the emerald curbed lascivious impulses while the sardonyx signified purity.⁵

The vocabulary and approach associated with the courtly troubadour tradition is also employed on occasions by Marcabru in order to portray fin'amors. He draws often on the notion of the vassalage of love, and refers to the seigneurie of Amors.⁶ The love of Poem XXXVII which 'promises and pledges itself' ('se promet e's plevina', 1.39)

... ab veritat seignoreia,
E sa poestatz sobranssa
Sobre mouta creatura. (11.34-6)⁷
('governs with truth, and its power rules supreme over many creatures.')

In 'Lo vers comensa' the beneficial influence of amors veraia is again portrayed in terms of an harmonious social relationship. The man who wishes to play host to love must strew his house with the rushes and herbs of Cortesia and must be sure to have Pretz and Donar under his dominion (stanza 7).⁸

Marcabru uses abstract courtly values and qualities such as Pretz and Donar, and Honor and Valor (Poem XXXI) in order to evoke the general notion of fin'amors honourably followed by an individual. On the rare occasions when he speaks of love as a personal experience he adopts a pose similar to that of a courtly lover.⁹ This can be seen in Poem XIII where in stanza 3 Marcabru praises sincere love and says:

Qu'estiu et invern e pascor
Estau en grand alegransa,
Et estaria en major
Ab un pauc de seguransa. (11.21-4)¹⁰

Throughout the year the poet is very happy because of this love, but he would be even happier with a little reassurance, which one may understand as reassurance on the part of his lady. In stanza 4 he states his belief that true love, by its nature, ennobles a man, adding:

Qu'ieu vaill lo mais per la meillor,
 Empero si'm n'ai doptansa,
 Qu'ieu no'm n'aus vanar, de paor
 De so don ai m'esperansa. (ll.29-32)
 ('For I am worth the most because of the best one, however, I
 do feel anxious about it because I do not dare to boast about
 it for fear of that in which I place my hopes.')

One may understand, as does Dejeanne, that la meillor means the best of ladies. Marcabru then fears to boast of or openly proclaim his love, from fear or awe of 'that in which he places his hope', that is, his lady. Here Marcabru depicts himself as the timid lover, seeking some sign of reassurance from his lady, not daring to speak or sing of the happiness she gives him for fear of offending her. But the terms in which he refers to her are so neutral, so de-personalised as to make interpretation of these passages a matter for inference, and the lady herself has become disincarnate, idealised to the point where, even grammatically, she is indistinguishable from the notion of love itself.¹¹

In contrast to these evocative expressions of praise, Marcabru's castiers are more often couched in concrete, physical terms. The evil and promiscuous corruption which he decries is then presented as firmly embodied in the figures of bad women, personifying Amars.¹² In the passages examined in Chapter IV, unthinking, undisciplined sexual indulgence is forcefully depicted in graphic detail with the aid of obscene words and images, and the very harshness of the terms con and fotre, which appear to lie outside the courtly repertoire, reinforces Marcabru's vehement disapproval. The two extremely different types of language - the pure and courtly and the base and obscene - can be understood as complementary features of Marcabru's style and both serve his didactic purpose.

Marcabru's moralising ideas are apparently most clearly expressed in 'Cortesamen vuocill comensar', a programmatic exposition of what the troubadour understood by the term cortesia.¹³ In this song he describes the qualities which truly courtly people should possess, the way in which they should regulate their behaviour and the sort of love which they should practise and venerate. This rather unusual song has interesting implications, both in the context of Marcabru's other works and in relation to those of his contemporaries.

According to Marcabru, the most important element or guiding principle of cortesia is mesura:

De cortesia·is pot vanar
qui ben sap mesur'esgardar. (11.13-14)
('The man who knows well how to observe mésurá can pride
himself on possessing còrtèsia.')

Folquet de Marselha later makes the same point when he says

Cortesia non es als mas mesura.¹⁴
('Cortesia is nothing other than mesura.')

The following lines of Marcabru's song make it clear that mesura includes an attitude of vigilant and thoughtful moderation. A man should not feel a desire to hear every word that is said, nor to possess everything that he sees. With the insistent repetition of tot, the accent is on avoiding excess:

e qui tot vol auzir quant es
ni tot quant ve cuid'amassar
lo tot l'es ops amesurar,
o ja no sera trop cortes. (11.15-18)
('And he who wants to hear everything that is said and aims to
possess all that he sees must control himself in all this or he
will never be courtly enough.')¹⁵

Stanza 4 contains the now oft-quoted definition of the courtly terms covering the social and emotional spheres of a nobleman's life:

Mesura es en gent parlar
e cortesia es d'amar. (11.19-20)
('Mesura lies in noble speech, and cortesia in love.')

A man who wishes to avoid being misjudged or in the wrong must keep himself from all foolish, deceitful or wicked behaviour and speech and then, provided that he thinks (ab qu'ill pes, l.24), provided that this outer control is part of and stems from a conscious inner effort and clear-sighted sciencia jauzionda (Poem XII^{bis} l.6), he will be wise:

e qui no vol esser mepres
de tota vilania·is gar,
d'escarnir e de folejar,
puois sera savis, ab qu'ill pes. (11.21-24)

Marcabru's emphasis here on the right way of thinking is probably related to the 'doas cuidas' he discusses elsewhere. In his pastorela, the peasant girl stresses the importance of mēsura and its connection with sen, wisdom, or the right attitude to life which the knight has so ignored in his unrestrained behaviour:

En tal loc fai sens fraitura
on hom non guarda mezura (XXX 11.82-3)
('Wisdom is missing there where people do not observe
moderation.')

The pastorela can be regarded as a dramatisation, in the form of a debate, of the same opposition between reasoned mesura and thoughtless, unprincipled self-indulgence.

By governing himself in this way, a wise man may lead a good life and, by implication, by following these same precepts, a good, courtly lady may become even more worthy of esteem:

C'aissi pot savis hom reignar
e bona dompna meillurar. (11.25-6)

But Marcabru follows this with a negative criticism:

mas cella qu'en pren dos o tres
e per un no s'i vol fiar,
ben deu sos pretz adordejar
e sa valors a chascun mes. (11.27-30)
('But the lady who takes two or three lovers and who does not
want to pledge herself to one alone indeed damages her
reputation and decreases her worth each time.')

The idea of avoiding excess, expressed in stanza 3, is implicit in this stanza. Just as a man must exercise self-control and avoid covetousness, so must a courtly dompna be moderate and discriminating in fin'amors, taking one lover only. More than one lover puts her in the category of puta.¹⁶

Marcabru passes from criticism of the uncourtly lady to praise of 'that type of love which holds itself dear', which is discriminate and which is, by implication, based on the principles laid down in the previous stanzas:¹⁷

Aitals amors fai a prezar
que si mezeissa ten en car. (ll.31-2)
('Such a love is to be prized which holds itself dear.')

Again the image of the lady merges with the notion of love, and the message is that ladies should conduct themselves in the same way.

This general statement is followed by a clarification of Marcabru's attitude towards love which is at least as significant for a full understanding of his songs as the final stanza of Poem XXXI which contains a clear prise de position by the troubadour:

Qu'ieu dis e dic e dirai
Quez Amors et Amars brai,
Hoc,
E qui blasm'Amor buzina. (ll.78-81)
('For I said and say and will say what Amors and Amars proclaim
- Hoc, - and whoever speaks badly of Amors is rambling.')

He condemns categorically the person who speaks badly of Amors and to this may be compared lines 31-6 of 'Cortesamen':

Aitals amors fai a prezar
que si mezeissa ten en car;
e s'ieu en dic nul vilanes
per lieis, que m'o teign'a amar:¹⁸
be'ill lauzi fassa'm pro musar,
qu'ieu n'aurai so que'm n'es promes.
('Such a love is to be prized which holds itself dear, and if,
because of it, I should say anything base about it, may this be
attributed to false love (Amars) in me; rather I praise love
for keeping me waiting in vain because I shall have from it
what is promised to me.')

If while waiting for a love which does not give in to sinful sensuality Marcabru should ever curse or criticise such love, this would not indicate that he loved truly, but rather that he had succumbed to false love and his words should be attributed to Amars.¹⁹ These lines reflect the opposition of Amors and Amars which underlies Marcabru's works.

Here, as in stanza 2 of 'Lo vers' and in lines 5-7 of Poem XL, Marcabru seems to recognise that his broad criticisms of (false) love are open to misinterpretation - witness the interpretation placed upon them by his biographers - and he intends here to set the record straight.²⁰

As Hoepffner, among others, points out, the language in which the poet expresses his ideas about còrtèsia and love in this song is very different from his usual style.²¹ This poem is composed of clear, explicit statements concerning the nature of courtly qualities and behaviour. Marcabru employs straightforward, simple constructions and syntax rather than his customary convoluted, allusive style of composition. He makes use exclusively of expressions drawn from the courtly tradition which can be found in the works of troubadours such as Bernart de Ventadorn (cortesia, prezar, vilanejar, cortes, gent parlar, bona dompna and so on). One has only to compare the text of this song with that of 'Lo vers', for example, or of Poem XIV, in order to appreciate that here Marcabru is composing in a manner which differs considerably in construction, vocabulary and tone from his customary approach.²²

Marcabru deliberately announces his intention of changing his style and approach in the opening stanza of the song. He stresses that he will begin in a courtly manner - 'Cortesamen vuocill comensar' - and adds:

e puois tant m'en sui entremes
veirai si'l poirai afinar,
qu'era vuocill mon chan esmerar
e dirai vos de mantas res. (11.3-6)
('And since I have occupied myself with it so much, I will see
if I can refine it, for now I wish to purify my song and I
shall speak to you of many things.')

He states clearly that he will adapt his style - to suit the content of the poem, praise of cortesia. This is again in contrast to the subjects Marcabru treats of most frequently in his songs: his customary blame and criticism of uncourtly behaviour and corruption is often expressed in harsh and abusive terms, but here he is singing explicitly about his ideals and he modifies his style accordingly, censoring his language. The only other opening stanza in which Marcabru similarly refers to his technique of composition and announces his intention of 'purifying' it is that of Poem XL, also a song of praise, this time of fin'amors. The troubadour says

Ben dey tot mon chan esmerar,
Qu'om re no mi puesca falsar,
Que per pauc es hom desmentitz. (11.5-7)
('I should indeed perfect my whole song so that no one can
distort anything in it for me, for on the slightest pretext one
is given the lie.')

In his overall composition of the song 'Cortesamen', Marcabru may also have had in mind the principle which he states in line 19, that 'Mesura es en gent parlar'. It would only be fitting that a troubadour composing something of a catechism of cortesia and mésura should not infringe one of the principles of mesura, but rather should adopt what Goldin has described as 'an indicative elegance of diction'.²³

The fact that Marcabru intends the song to be sent to Jaufre Rudel may have influenced its style and content:

Lo vers e'l son vucill enviar
a'n Jaufre Rudel outra mar. (11.37-8)
('I want to send the words and the melody to Sir Jaufre Rudel, outramar.')

Even if Marcabru was not deliberately composing in the leu style as Pollmann suggests, in this song he expresses ideas about love and the correct, courtly way of behaving which certainly do not conflict with those of Jaufre Rudel, and Marcabru may have attempted to esmerar and afinar his song in order that it appeal the more to the crusader.²⁴

In the second stanza Marcabru stresses the didactic nature of his song:

Assatz pot hom vilanejar
qui cortesia vol blasmar,
que'l plus savis e'l mieills apres
no'n sap tantas dire ni far
c'om no li puosca enseignar
petit o pro, tals hora es. (11.7-12)
('A man who wishes to speak badly of cortesia can greatly debase himself, for (even) the wisest and most cultivated man cannot say or do so much in this respect that one cannot still teach him a few things from time to time.')

Perhaps one could understand this stanza to contain a complimentary allusion to the intended recipient of his poem - the 'plus savis e'l mieills apres' who can still nevertheless profitably receive instruction - given that in 'Belhs m'es l'estius e'l temps floritz' (PC 262,1) Jaufre himself makes the points that wise men can still make mistakes (11.33-5 and 47-9),²⁵ that wisdom is a matter of mésura and patience (11.12-14), and that a man is better off without the fol fais of false love (1.56).²⁶ This attitude is similar to that which Marcabru expresses in stanza 3 of

his song 'Ans que'l terminis verdei' (Poem VII), and 'it is possible that Jaufre's ideas in "Belhs m'es" can be related to those of Marcabru in "Ans que" and "Cortesamen"'.²⁷

Whilst there may be similarities between this unusual poem by Marcabru and Jaufre Rudel's song, there is also a possible connection between 'Cortesamen' and Cercamon's song 'Ab lo pascor m'es bel q'eu chan' (PC 112,1a).²⁸

According to his vida in manuscript A, Marcabru 'estet tant ab un trobador que avia nom Cercamon, qu'el comensset a trobar'.²⁹ On the basis of this it has been suggested that Cercamon was Marcabru's teacher.³⁰ The fact that both poets allude in their songs to the death of Guilhem X of Aquitaine - Cercamon composed a full planh and Marcabru a closing stanza of Poem IV - would indicate that they both had connections with Poitiers over the same period, and the form of the laments would suggest that they were both under the protection of Guilhem X:

Puois lo Peitavis m'es faillitz
Serai mais cum Artur perduitz.

(Marcabru, Poem IV 11.59-60, ms A)

('Since the Poitevin is lost to me, henceforth I shall be lost as was Arthur (to the Britons).')

Del comte de Peitieu mi plaing
Q'era de Proeza compaing;
Despos Pretz et Donars soffraing,
Peza'm s'a lonjas sai remaing.

(Cercamon, 'Lo plaing comenz iradamen' 11.13-16)

('I lament (for) the count of Poitou who was a companion of Proeza; since Pretz and Donars are gone, it grieves me to stay long in this place.')

The two troubadours may at one time have been colleagues; they were both associated with the court of Guilhem X.³¹ Cercamon, at least, remained connected with the house of Poitiers and in the planh and in his tenso seems to be anxious about his future.³²

Parallels can be drawn between passages in Cercamon's 'Ab lo pascor', particularly in the first five stanzas, and passages of Marcabru's songs.

Lines 8-10 of Cercamon's poem express an idea which is found in songs by Marcabru. Cercamon asks

Per qe d'amor an atretan
Li malvas enoios savai
Con li meillor e'l plus prezan?
('Why do the wicked, cowardly socundrels obtain as much love as
the best and most worthy men?'),

and Marcabru says of love that a rogue could get as much of it as anyone,
or more.³³ Marcabru also makes the point that in general terms the baser
men are more fortunate than the good:

Li sordeior ant del dar l'aventura
e li meillor badon a la peitura. ('Aujatz de chan' ll.13-14)
('The basest men have the good fortune to receive gifts while the
best people gawp at unreal mirages.')

According to Cercamon, the malvas have a share in love equal to that
enjoyed by the 'plus prezan'. While this could be a courtly common-
place,³⁴ the similarity with Marcabru's complaints is striking.

Line 11 of Cercamon's song has a particularly marcabrunian ring to
it:

Jovenz e faig fraing e dechai.
('Jovens and youthful exploits are broken and fall into
decline.')

Echoes of the lament for the decline of courtly virtues and values can be
found throughout Marcabru's works, and the parallel with Cercamon's words
is especially evident in Poem XVIII line 7:

Jovens fail e fraing e brisa.³⁵
('Jovens fails, breaks and shatters.')

The idea of the domination of the personification Malvestatz is
found in Marcabru's Poem XXXIX in particular, and Poems XI, XXXIV and
XXXVI, and it occurs in lines 12-14 of Cercamon's song:

E Malvestatz a son luec pres
En amistatz, c'amics non es
Amatz ni d'amiga no's jau.
('And Malvestatz has taken its place in relationships since the
lover is not loved and does not delight in his lady.')

In lines 15-17 Cercamon declares that it is unsuitable for mòillèratz to become 'domneiador ni drudeian', a point of view which Marcabru, more than any other troubadour, espouses and which he frequently expresses in his songs:

Non puosc sofrir qu'als moilleratz
Non diga lor forfaitz saubutz;
Non sai la cals auctoritatz
Lor mostra c'om los apel drutz;
Semblant fant de l'ase cortes,
C'ab son seignor cuidet bordir,
Cant lo vic trepar ab sos ches. (Poem XXXIX 11.50-56)³⁶
('I cannot keep myself from telling husbands their well-known crimes; I don't know which authority teaches them that they might be called lovers; they resemble the courtly donkey which thought it could gambol with its master when it saw him playing with his dogs.')

Cercamon follows his criticism of maritz-drutz with an ironic comment concerning the 'reward' which will be theirs, and which he illustrates with a proverb:

E'l guizardos qe lor n'eschai.
Ditz el reprocher lo paies:
'Qi glazi fai, a glazi es
Feritz d'eis lo seu colp mortau.' (11.18-21)
('And the reward which falls to their share. The peasant says in the proverb, "Who uses the sword is struck by the sword's same fatal blow."')

In Poem IV, in a similar context, Marcabru also speaks of a reward of a sort:

Lo pretz del dan e del barat,
De calque part sia vengutz,
Ant moillerat. (11.37-39)

Lewent remarked of this passage: 'die ganze Strophe ... vermag ich nur ironisch zu verstehen, so daß pretz (v.37) wirklich "Ruhm, Ehre" bedeutet' (p.318), and the lines could be translated:

'The glory for the harm and deceit, from wherever it originates, belongs to the husbands.'

Phrasing more crudely than Cercamon his description of husbands who become lovers, Marcabru says

Maritz qui l'autrui con grata
Ben pot saber que'l sieus pescha
E mostra com hom li mescha,
Qu'ab eis lo sieu fust lo bata. (Poem XI 11.49-52)
('The husband who scratches another man's wife can be sure that his own "goes fishing" and shows how men can deceive him and beat him with his own stick.')

He goes on to illustrate the consequences of this with a proverb:

Et aura'n tort si s'en clama,
qe drechs e raços devisa:
'car deu comprar qui car ven',
a segon la lei de Piza. (11.53-56)³⁷
('And he would be wrong to complain about it, for right and reason teach that "Who sells dearly must buy dearly", according to the custom of Pisa.')

Frank interpreted the lines as an allusion to political events of the year 1144 and suggested that Marcabru is here commenting with malicious glee on the misfortunes of the Pisans. The political undertones aside, Marcabru, like Cercamon, is making use of a proverb with a general meaning in order to convey the idea that husbands who make love to other men's wives (become drutz) will receive their just deserts and will themselves be cuckolded.³⁸

Just as Cercamon talks of the sin of a trio comprising husband, lover and lady (11.26-28), so does Marcabru. In Poem VIII he refers to 'Las moillers e'il drut e'il marit' (1.30), and in the same poem he introduces the notion of the repeated sin (1.7), speaking of 'the deceivers who have piled sin upon sin' (literally, 'whom one sin leads to another').³⁹

In stanza 2 of Marcabru's Poem VIII there may be an allusion to hellfire, although these lines are better understood as an image of the sinful fires of lust. The closest parallel to Cercamon's explicit reference to the fires of the last judgement (Cercamon, stanza 5) is in Marcabru's Poem XL, where Marcabru condemns

Fals moillerat ...
Et aissellas putas ardens
Qui son d'autrui maritz cossens;
Cyst auran guazalh ifernau. (11.13-21)

give themselves

('False husbands ... and those burning whores who/to other women's husbands; these will have that infernal reward.')

This resembles lines 29-32 of Cercamon's song:

El fuec maior seretz creman
Al juzizi del derrer plai,
Enganador fel desleian,
En la pena qe non trasvai.
('In the great fire at the last judgement you will burn,
deceivers and unfaithful felons, in the torment which has no
end.')

While several of these images and themes may be courtly or moralising commonplaces, the comparisons above point to similarities of moral attitudes and their poetic expression in the works of the two troubadours. The similarities reinforce the impression of an association between the two poets which is indicated by Marcabru's vida and by the two poets' apparent concern for the linhatge of Poitou.

Madame Lejeune has argued that Cercamon's song was composed in the Holy Land and that Cercamon alludes in stanza 6 to the alleged misconduct of Eleanor of Aquitaine at the court of Antioch.⁴⁰ Cercamon says:

Non a valor d'aissi enan
Cela c'ab dos ni ab tres jai.
E tal enqer lo cor Tristan⁴¹
Qe Dieus tan falsa non fetz sai.
Miels li fora ja non nasqes
Enanz qe failliment feses
Don er parlat tro en Peitau. (ll.36-42)
('She has no worth from this time forth, the woman who lies
with two or three men; such a one seeks for the heart of
Tristan but God never made such a false woman here. It would
have been better for her never to have been born rather than to
have committed the fault which will be talked about as far away
as Poitou.')⁴²

The unfaithful falsa is here seeking the heart of the most faithful of lovers,⁴³ who was, moreover, the lover of a married lady and queen. Eleanor of Aquitaine was held by Cercamon to have behaved like Iseut, who gave her body to two men and, in the opinion of Chrétien de Troyes, caused love to become debased:

Je ne me porroie acorder
A la vie qu'Iseus mena.
Amors en li trop vilena,
Car sos cors fu a deus rantiers.
(Cligès 11.3150-53)⁴⁴

Eleanor's failliment is described by twelfth-century chroniclers. John of Salisbury reports that the remnants of Louis VII's crusading army reached Antioch in March 1148, where they were received and entertained by Prince Raymond, brother of Guilhem X of Aquitaine: 'but whilst they remained there to console, heal and revive the survivors from the wreck of the army, the attentions paid by the prince to the queen, and his constant, indeed almost continuous conversation with her, aroused the king's suspicions.'⁴⁵ According to this account, a conflict then developed between Louis, who was anxious to leave for Jerusalem, and Eleanor who, supported by her uncle, wanted to stay at Antioch. Louis's confident and advisor, Thierry Galeran, 'whom the queen had always hated and mocked', intervened:

He boldly persuaded the king not to suffer her to dally longer at Antioch, both because 'guilt under friendship's guise could lie concealed', and because it would be a lasting shame to the kingdom of the Franks if in addition to all the other disasters it was reported that the king had been deserted by his wife, or robbed of her. So he argued, either because he hated the queen or because he really believed it, moved perchance by widespread rumour.⁴⁶

As E.R. Labande remarks in his summary of the chroniclers' reports of the incident, 'tous les éléments que l'auteur apporte conspirent à proclamer l'adultère: pour lui, il ne se prononce point'.⁴⁷ Eleanor was suspected of an adulterous affair with her uncle, Raymond. The supposed affair was the cause of a great scandal and was reported by several other chroniclers, among them Gervase of Canterbury, Gerald of Wales, and the Cistercian, Hélinand de Froimont, who went so far as to call Eleanor a whore: 'hanc reliquit Ludovicus, propter incontinentiam ipsius mulieris, quae non sicut regina, sed fere sicut meretrix se habebat'.⁴⁸ All these writers suspected the queen of adultery.

Odo of Deuil, who accompanied Louis's party of crusaders, strangely does not mention the incident at all in his De profectioe Ludovici VII in orientem.⁴⁹ His narrative concludes with the royal arrival at Antioch: 'l'on peut se demander si c'est fortuitement. L'ancien abbé de

Ferrières en Poitou a peut-être craint d'avoir à se prononcer sur le compte de la duchesse d'Aquitaine' (Labande, p.184). There are indications that the account was composed in the summer of 1148 and it may be that Odo also hesitated to record events which reflected badly upon the king personally. Additional signs, moreover, indicate that the history was revised, by Odo or by another of Louis's propagandists, after Eleanor's divorce and remarriage in order to excise all offending references to the disgraced queen.⁵⁰

William of Tyre does not exercise as much tact. He describes Raymond's resolve 'to deprive Louis of his wife, either by force or by secret intrigue', and Eleanor's consent to the plan, and he remarks: 'her conduct before and after this time showed her to be, as we have said, far from circumspect. Contrary to her royal dignity, she disregarded her marriage vows and was unfaithful to her husband'.⁵¹

The chronicler does, however, suggest another, more innocent explanation for the closeness of Eleanor and Raymond, and for the latter's hostility to Louis. Raymond had expected Louis's forces to assist him in a campaign to capture the cities of Aleppo and Shaizar, in order both to safeguard Antioch and to reduce the Saracen threat to the other Frankish kingdoms, but Louis piously insisted on going to Jerusalem first. Raymond enlisted the help of Eleanor to influence her husband and therefore had long private conversations with her. These intimate talks would have been open to misinterpretation by outsiders and, whether or not Louis believed the rumours, the royal party left Antioch precipitately.

The troubadour Cercamon alludes to the scandal in terms which resemble those used in stanza 5 of Marcabru's song 'Cortesamen vuicill comensar':

Non a valor d'aissi enan,
cela c'ab dos ni ab tres jai. ('Ab lo pascor', 11.36-37)

Compare Marcabru's words:

mas cella qu'en pren dos o tres
e per un no s'i vol fiar,
ben deu sos pretz asordejar,
e sa valors a chascun mes. (11.27-30)

Both songs may on one level be considered as courtly songs with didactic aspects, and the above passages may be reflections of what subsequently became a courtly commonplace: the idea of opprobrium being directed towards a lady who takes several lovers, a dòm̄pna who is not faithful to one courtly fin'amàn, is later found in the works of several troubadours. Bernart Marti, for example, says of the number of lovers a noble lady may decently be allowed:

Dona es vas drut trefana
 De s'amor, pos tres n'apana;
 Estra lei
 N'i son trei.
 Mas ab son marit l'autrei
 Un amic cortes prezant.
 E si plus n'i vai sercant,
 Es desleialada
 E puta provada.⁵²

('A lady is disloyal in love towards her lover if she gives it to three men; it is against the law that there should be three of them. But I allow her, beside her husband, one worthy courtly friend. And if she goes looking for more, she is dishonoured and a proven whore.')

Both Bernard de Venzac and Gavaudan later comment with cynical disapproval that a lady involved with two lovers will certainly become entangled with a third.⁵³ It is interesting in this connection that the songs of these three troubadours are acknowledged by scholars to owe much, both in style and moralising content, to those of Marcabru:⁵⁴ these passages may be further examples of the debt. Marcabru himself makes use of the numbers two and three to illustrate his disapproval of promiscuity in Poem XVIII.⁵⁵

Yet this notion may be more than a topos. Marcabru's 'Cortesamen', like Cercamon's song, may contain a particular allusion to the scandal surrounding Eleanor's stay at the court of Antioch. This possibility does not rest solely upon the similarities between the two passages, nor upon that between line 48 of 'Ab lo pascor' ('zo qe m'a promes') and line 36 of 'Cortesamen' ('so que m n'es promes'), but is indirectly supported by those lines of Marcabru's song which indicate an approximate date for the song's composition:

Lo vers e'l son vuocill enviar
 a'n Jaufre Rudel outra mar. (ll.37-8).⁵⁶

It seems likely that, after taking the cross, Jaufre did not set out overland for the Holy Land with Louis VII, but accompanied the second main contingent of crusaders: 'the southern noblemen took the sea route and landed at Acre in the first half of 1148. All three of Jaufre's named friends, as well as his immediate overlord (Guillaume IV Taillefer, count of Angoulême), took part in this expedition'.⁵⁷ Whichever route Jaufre followed, he would not have reached the Latin territories in the Holy Land until the spring of 1148. Several weeks or even months may have been necessary for news of the arrival to reach those who remained in Europe, so Marcabru's 'envoi à Jaufre Rudel ne peut être placé qu'au milieu de la seconde croisade (2^e moitié de 1148)' (Boissonnade, p.229).

It would not appear unreasonable to suppose that news of the arrival of the crusading parties in the Holy Land would have been accompanied or closely followed by news of what was rumoured to be happening at approximately the same time at Antioch. Marcabru could well have heard of the scandal surrounding Eleanor at the time that he was composing 'Cortesamen vuouill comensar' for Jaufre, since he seems to have been apprised of subsequent events of the Second Crusade - and, again, events which concerned Antioch - shortly after they occurred. The Vers del Lavador shows that Marcabru knew, for example, before October 1149, of the death of Prince Raymond which had taken place in the Holy Land in late June of that year.⁵⁸

That Marcabru is referring intentionally and critically in 'Cortesamen' to Eleanor's behaviour at Antioch is suggested by the way in which, while he announces that the song is intended for the Southerner Jaufre Rudel, he singles out the French for particular attention (ll. 37-40). In his other songs Marcabru distinguishes between Fransa and Poitou, Guyenne, and Berry and Poitou,⁵⁹ and it is reasonable to assume that here li Frances designates the inhabitants of the royal domain of the Île-de-France.⁶⁰ The only two instances in Marcabru's surviving works where the troubadour specifically refers to li Frances are connected with the Northern French participants on the Second Crusade. In the Lavador song he says critically:

Desnaturat son li Frances
si de l'afar Dieu dizon no. (ll.64-5)
('The French are degenerate if they say no to God's cause.')

Pirot has explained this allusion by the fact that in the summer of 1149 Eleanor and Louis were in the Holy Land and, after the unsuccessful siege of Damascus, were planning to return home, thus abandoning the holy cause of the crusade, reneging on their Christian obligations.⁶¹ In 'Cortesamen' Marcabru says that he particularly wants the French to hear his song -

e vuocill que l'aujon li Frances
per lor coratges alegrar (ll.39-40)
('and I want the French to hear it, to cheer their hearts') -

and this in the second half of 1148, after Jaufre's arrival in the Holy Land and therefore after the Antioch incident.

From this passage it seems that Marcabru's poem was sent to Jaufre Rudel but intended for the ears of the French, not only to cheer the troops in a general way after the terrible experiences they had suffered simply in order to reach the Holy Land, but also to convey to them the disapproval felt in European courts of the misconduct of one of the most prominent members of the French party, Eleanor.⁶²

The scandalous rumours reported by chroniclers and by Cercamon present Eleanor as the opposite of 'that love which holds itself dear' (Marcabru, 'Cortesamen', stanza 6). She does not seem to have regulated her conduct in that careful, measured way which Marcabru recommends in lines 21-3, where the nuances of 'wantonness' carried by the notion folia are again significant:

e qui no vol esser mespres
de tota vilania'is gar,
d'escarnir e de folejar.

If she lay with two or three men, as Cercamon insinuates, her behaviour would certainly not be that of someone concerned with cortesia and mesura, and yet Eleanor was held to be greatly interested in such matters; she may have been the object of Bernart de Ventadorn's poetic veneration, and she was the patron of writers and troubadours who propagated the attitudes and principles of fin'amors.⁶³

The coincidences of date, of allusions to the Holy Land and of turns of phrase in the two songs provide intriguing indications that Marcabru's song may also contain distant echoes of a scandal which was widely reported. This topical allusion would be an additional layer of meaning

of a song in which the troubadour is concerned to convey a clear, didactic message, but Marcabru's lines could also be considered as a fulfilment of Cercamon's prediction that Eleanor's failliment will be the subject of scandalised talk all over Western Europe, trō`en`Pèitau.

In the context of an exposition of his views on cōrtesia, mesura and love, Marcabru may be taking up a point and phrase in Cercamon's poem in order subtly to criticise an individual whose conduct illustrates precisely how not to behave. In a song dedicated to Jaufre Rudel, Marcabru may be deliberately couching his criticism of a scandal in the Holy Land - which could not have escaped Jaufre's attention - in terms more delicate than those he customarily employs to condemn promiscuous women, perhaps out of deference to Jaufre. Instead of an explicit and outspoken attack on putas, Marcabru here criticises uncourtly behaviour using exclusively courtly terminology and references. His usual, apparent misogyny is attenuated: he does not crudely discuss the bad dompna's base and lustful motives as he does in Poems XXXIV and XLIV, for example, but he refers to the courtly qualities of Pretz and Valors which she will lose as a result of her actions. As has been noted, Pretz and Valors are among the qualities which bow down to the man who is a true follower of fin'amors (XXXI ll.64-7),⁶⁴ and the two terms may be key concepts in this context, indicative for Marcabru of courtly perfection.⁶⁵ In 'Cortesamen vuocill comensar' women's promiscuity is condemned in terms of the moral damage it does to the dompna herself.

Here Marcabru's vocabulary and terms of reference correspond to and reflect the courtly subject matter of his song. The song is seen as a positive exposition of Marcabru's views on love and courtly matters and scholars frequently refer to it in this way,⁶⁶ but if the interpretation of stanza 5 is accepted, Marcabru may be understood to be reinforcing these positive statements with a topical allusion of a negative nature. There may be here a clash between the courtly style and the scandalous associations of the subject of the stanza, and it is possible in this respect that the song may have been misread.

Notes to Chapter VI

1. Compare Poem V lines 43-4 and 49, and see Paterson, p.14, on Marcabru arguing his ideas using judicial terminology.
2. Topsfield, Troubadours, p.83, and compare Paterson, p.52, on the Christian symbolism of this passage.
3. See 'Lo vers comensa' lines 64-7 and compare Matthew 7.16-20. Other examples of similar imagery in Marcabru are discussed by Paterson, pp.31-2.
4. See Scheludko, 'Theorien der Liebe', p.201, who quotes the passage from Marbod.
5. These and many other parallels between Marcabru's works and Christian sources and traditions are well-known to critics and have been examined by the scholars referred to in Chapter II above.
6. Marcabru uses the notion of lordship and associated images both to express the goodness of love and to emphasize the oppressive evil of powerful Amars: see Chapter III above. See Pellegrini, 'Intorno', p.21, on the significance of this notion in troubadour poetry, and compare P. Ourliac, 'Troubadours et juristes', CCM, 8 (1965), pp.159-77 for a more nuanced view.
7. Compare ms N line 33: tota, which stresses the omnipotence of love. Ourliac's study brings out the importance of fidelity for Marcabru - 'il n'est pas de mots qui reviennent plus souvent chez lui que ceux de "foi", de "plévine"' (p.164) - but it is unusual that in Poem XXXVII it should be love itself, rather than the fin'aman, which pledges itself and makes promises: compare for example Bernart de Ventadorn (PC 70,33) Poem 10 line 31: 'Vostr'om sui juratz e plevitz'.

8. Compare Marcabru's pastorela where the intellectual tòzà uses the same image: rejecting the knight's notion of companionship (pareillària), she tells him

Que tals la cuid'en bailia
Tener, no'n a mas l'ufana. (XXX ll. 27-8)
('Some people think they have it in their power, but
really they only possess the illusion of it.')

9. Marcabru appears to sing of his personal experience of love in Poems VII, XIII, XIV, XXIV and XXVIII (on the veracity of this personal note, see the discussion by Roncaglia, 'Trobar clus', pp. 32-7). Of these songs, however, only Poem XIII appears to evoke a wholly positive experience, real or imaginary. Even in his tirade against (treacherous) love in Poem VII, Marcabru preserves this stance: 'Fols fui per Amor servir' (l.15). On Poems XXV-XXVI see Chapter VIII below.
10. There is a misprint in the numbering of these lines in Dejeanne's edition. I refer to the first lines numbered 21-24.
11. See Chapter V above on bad women/bad love, and compare Dejeanne's translation of line 19: 'car je m'aventure en un Amour (dame) tel que...'. See also Cropp, Le Vocabulaire courtois, pp.44-6, on neutral and reifying terms used for the lady in troubadour poetry.
12. See for example Poems V stanzas 1-3, VII, XVIII and XLIV, and Chapter V above.
13. Forms of the word occur five times in the song (see ll.1, 8, 13, 18 and 20).
14. Ed. Stroński Poem XII line 41 (PC 155,16).
15. On the possible nuances of the word cuidar, see Marshall, 'The Doas Cuidas', pp.27-8. Given the context of the word in 'Cortesamen', perhaps it could be interpreted to mean '[presumptuously] to intend (to do something which one fails to accomplish)' (see Marshall, p.27).

16. See below, p.197.
17. See also L.T. Topsfield, 'Three Levels of Love in the Poetry of the Early Troubadours, Guilhem IX, Marcabru and Jaufre Rudel', in Mélanges de philologie romane dédiés à la mémoire de Jean Boutière, 2 vols (Liege, 1971), I, pp.571-87. (p.584).
18. Line 34: Dejeanne - 'Per mal que la'n vueilh encolpar' (ms C only).
19. See Roncaglia, 'Cortesamen', p.959.
20. See Chapter II above.
21. Hoepffner, Les Troubadours, pp.33-4, and 'Bernart Marti', p.112 n.5.
22. See the edition of and commentary on Poem XIV in Paterson, pp.43-9.
23. F. Goldin, 'The Array of Perspectives in the Early Courtly Love Lyric', in In Pursuit of Perfection, pp.51-101 (p.91). Compare 'Lo vers comensa' stanza 7 where Marcabru criticises 'fol sobreparlar' (l.60), and see Chapter IV above.
24. Pollmann, p.27. Compare Mancini, on Pollmann's central argument.
25. Compare P.G. Beltrami, 'La canzone Belhs m'es l'estius di Jaufre Rudel', SMV, 26 (1978-79), pp.77-105 (p.100) where it is suggested that the 'plus savis hom' to whom Jaufre alludes in line 33 is Marcabru, who in turn takes up the reference in 'Cortesamen'. This interpretation depends on establishing the chronology of the two poems and, while a date can be suggested for 'Cortesamen', this is not true of 'Belhs m'es l'estius'.
26. Poem IV. See also Beltrami's re-edition.
27. Topsfield, Troubadours, p.58. See also Topsfield, 'Jois', pp.295-7. But see P. Skåmp, 'Quelques strophes de Jaufre Rudel dont la syntaxe a été mal interprétée', Revue Romane, 19 (1984), pp.71-84, who shows

that stanza 4 of Jaufre's song, the one used by Topsfield in particular to demonstrate the ideological affinity of Marcabru and Jaufre, can only mean that Jaufre is cured not of (bad) love but of his estrangement from love (p.82). 'Dans le texte il n'y a qu'un amour, appelé fin'amor ou amor tout court, duquel le poète s'était éloigné, et auquel il est revenu' (p.83). See also Beltrami, who argues that 'il termine fin'amor del v.35 non presuppone alcuna contrapposizione con amor dei versi precedenti' (p.80). These interpretations, in common with those of earlier commentators, point to the existence of a hidden poetic dialogue between the two troubadours, involving the three songs mentioned by Topsfield and perhaps also 'Puois nostre temps comens'a brunezir' (PC 112,3a) by Cercamon, who takes up the matter of fin'amors and betrayal (ll. 55-6: see Skåmp, p.83). These studies indicate that Jaufre's conception of love is not close and may even be opposed to that of Marcabru. If this is the case, the style and message of Marcabru's 'Cortesamen', and the fact that it is intended for Jaufre Rudel, should perhaps be understood more as a polemic ripost to the crusading troubadour than as a friendly dedication: Topsfield's conclusion, cited in the text, would still hold but the nature of the relationship between the ideas and the three songs would be very different. I should like to thank Mr Simon Gaunt of the University of Warwick for drawing my attention to this possible interpretation.

28. I use the re-edition of this song proposed by Professor J.H. Marshall in a paper given to the Second Conference on Medieval Occitan Language and Literature at the University of Birmingham in March 1982.
29. Boutière and Schutz, pp.12-13.
30. See Tortoreto, 'Maestro', and Chapter I above.
31. In addition to this instance Marcabru alludes to Guilhem X in 'Aujatz de chan' line 25, Poem XII^{bis} lines 46-9 and 'Lo vers' lines 23-4, and to events concerning Guilhem in Poem VIII lines 54-61 and 'Lo vers' stanza 7. See Appendix below.

32. Poems VI and VII of Jeanroy's edition (PC 112,1 and 2a).
33. See Marcabru Poem XXXIV lines 38-9: this parallel was noted by J.M.L. Dejeanne, 'Le Troubadour Cercamon', AdM, 17 (1905), pp.27-62 (p.51). In Marcabru's Poem VII it is again the worthy men who lose out in love to the wicked ones, since love chooses the latter:

E'ls plus pros torn'en soan,
 Que'l malvatz l'aura enan. (11.27-8)
 ('And it scorns the worthy, for the wicked will have it
 before them.')

34. Bernart de Ventadorn makes similar reproaches in his songs, (see Poems 23 11.9-12, 26 11.27-30, 34 11.31-2 PC 70,29, 37 and 23), and Daude de Pradas complains that evil men with no redeeming courtly qualities receive as much from love as do 'vers amics de bona fe' (Poésies de Daude de Pradas, publiées par A.H. Schutz, Bibliothèque Méridionale, 1st series, 22 (Toulouse, 1933), Poem IX 11.17-24 (PC 124,18)).
35. See also Marcabru 'Aujatz de chan' line 21, Poems XI line 38, XVII line 8, 'Doas cuidas' lines 70-71 and XXIX line 17.
36. See also Marcabru Poems IV lines 31-33, XII^{bis} lines 41-43 and XXXVI lines 25-30.
37. Lines 54-56 re-edited by I. Frank, 'La Plus Ancienne Allusion à l'Italie dans la poésie des troubadours', CN, 6-7 (1946-47), pp.33-8. See Appendix below.
38. See E. Cnyrim, Sprichwörter, sprichwörtliche Redensarten und Sentenzen bei den provenzalischen Lyrikern, Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der romanischen Philologie, 71 (Marburg, 1888), p.27, numbers 111-113. Compare Matthew 26.52. See also Marcabru Poems XVII lines 31-6, XLII lines 17-21 and V lines 19-30 on the cuckolding of cuckolders.
39. See Lewent, p.322: 'C'an l'un pechat a l'autr'aduig'.

40. R. Lejeune, 'L'Allusion à Tristan chez le troubadour Cercamon', R, 83 (1962), pp.183-209 (pp.200-207). Her arguments are based on Cercamon's use of proper names in the concluding stanzas and on an analysis of their associations. Marshall agrees with both her conclusions. Compare Tortoreto, who makes no comment on the presence of proper names and who feels that Cercamon's allusion to two or three lovers in stanza 6 is no more than an echo of a topos of Latin poetry ('Maestro', p.67).
41. ms a: 'et ai nenqer lo cor tristan'.
42. According to Marshall's emendation, qe of line 39 is the relative adverb dependent on tal (l.38), and in the light of the suggestion that 'Ab lo pascor' was composed in the Holy Land and the fact that fals (compare l.39) was a word frequently applied to the Infidel by the troubadours, sai of line 39 could be understood to mean 'here, among the heathen'.
43. See Lejeune, 'Tristan', p.197.
44. Quoted in I.M. Cluzel, 'Les Plus Anciens Troubadours et la légende amoureuse de Tristan et d'Iseut', in Mélanges István Frank, pp. 155-70 (p.157). See also Chapter VII note 19 below on early traces of the Tristan legend in troubadour poetry.
45. John of Salisbury: 'Historia Pontificalis', edited and translated by Marjorie Chibnall (London, 1956), p.52: 'Sed dum ibi morarentur ad naufragi exercitus reliquias consolandas, fouendas et reparandas, familiaritas principis ad reginam et assidua fere sine intermissione colloquia regi suspicionem dederunt'.
46. Historia Pontificalis, p.53: 'Erat inter secretarios regis miles eunuchus quem illa semper oderat et consueverat deridere, fidelis et familiarissim~~is~~ regi ... Terricus scilicet Gualeranicus. Is ei persuasit audentius ne ipsam Antiochie morari diutius pateretur, tum quia 'cognato poterat nomine culpa tegi', tum quia regno Francorum perpetuum opprobrium imminabat si inter cetera infortunia rex diceretur spoliatus coniuge vel relictus. Hoc ille, vel quia reginam

oderat vel quia sic sentiebat, divulgata/ fortasse motus opinione'.

47. E.R. Labande, 'Pour une image véridique d'Aliénor d'Aquitaine,' Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, 4th series, 2 (1952), pp.175-234 (p.185).
48. PL 212.1057-1058: 'Because of her incontinence Louis cast off this woman, who behaved not like a queen but like a whore'. Hélinand's comment is in the entry for the year 1152; he is referring to Eleanor's divorce and marriage to Henry Plantagenet but alluding to her past reputation. See also Georges Duby, Le Chevalier, la femme et le prêtre: le mariage dans la France féodale (Paris, 1981), p.209. That this scandal continued to cause a great stir can be seen in the fact that it is reported or alluded to, sometimes with ostentatious regret, in the chronicles of Gervase of Canterbury, Gerald of Wales and Richard of Devizes (see The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury, edited by W. Stubbs, Rolls Series, 2 vols (London, 1879-80), I, p.149; Giraldi Cambriensis: Opera, edited by J.S. Brewer et.al., Rolls Series, 8 vols (London, 1861-91), VIII (1891), edited by G.F. Warner, p.299; The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes of the Time of Richard the First, edited and translated by J.T. Appleby, Nelson's Medieval Texts (London, 1963), p.25 and see plate facing p.xvi). This last allusion would indicate that the rumours of Eleanor's conduct at Antioch continued to be carefully nourished in the 1190s, during her old age. Regarding traces of the episode in vernacular literature, see R. Louis, Girart, comte de Vienne, dans les chansons de geste, 3 vols (Auxerre, 1947), I, ii, pp.335-69, who detects ripples of the incident in the situation of fictional characters in Girart de Roussillon (Oxford version).
49. Odo of Deuil: De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem, edited and translated by Virginia G. Berry (New York, 1948).
50. See Berry, De profectione, p.xxiii.

51. William of Tyre's History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea, translated by E.A. Babcock and A.C. Krey, 2 vols. (New York, 1943), XVI.27 (pp.180-181): 'Erat, ut praemisimus, sicut et prius et postmodum manifestis edocuit insidiis, mulier imprudens et contra dignitatem regiam legem negligens maritalem, tori conjugalis oblita' (PL 210.670).

52. (PC 63,3) Poem III lines 10-18. Mólk (p.38) understands these lines as a commentary on Marcabru's theory of love.

53. Bernart de Venzac, (PC 293,12) Poem IV (msC) lines 37-8:

quan son duy en la carruga,
si'l tertz no'y ve, be'm meravelh.
('When there are two of them in the cart, if the third
does not appear, I am indeed amazed.')

Gavaudan, (PC 174,8) Poem VII lines 21-2:

Sella qu'ab dos s'entressima
Greu er del ters non tressim.
('It will be difficult for the woman who entwines
herself with two not to entwine with a third.')

54. On the relationship between Marcabru and these three troubadours, see Hoepffner, 'Bernart Marti', the introduction to Maria Picchio Simonelli's edition of Bernart de Venzac (resumed by De Riquer, III, pp.1331-2), and Jeanroy, 'Gavaudan', pp.500-501.

55. Poem XVIII ms C stanza 10, ms M stanza 7 (Dejeanne, p.84):

Amors qui ves dos s'aclina
quer lo ters que'l plec l'esquina,
plus es puta que maustina
- Escoutatz! -
c'ab lo lop s'acoatina.
('Love which bows down to two and seeks the third to
bend her back is more of a whore than the mongrel bitch
- Listen! - who mates with the wolf.')

Roncaglia refers to this passage and to the Latin proverb 'Amors est inter duos et non inter tres' to argue that this idea can be seen as something of a topos and is not infrequent in Marcabru's songs ('Cortesamen', p.958).

56. See Boissonnade, pp.228-9, and Appendix below.
57. The Songs of Jaufre Rudel, edited by R.T. Pickens, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Studies and Texts, 41 (Toronto, 1978), p.3. Pickens identifies the three friends as Alfonso Jordan of Toulouse, his bastard son Bertrand (VI 1.36: PC 262,3) and Hugh VII, count of Lusignan (II 1.32: PC 262,5) (numbering of poems from Jeanroy's edition). See also P. Cravayat, 'Les Origines du troubadour Jaufre Rudel', R, 71 (1950), pp.166-79 (p.177).
58. See Pirot, Recherches, pp.150-57, and Appendix below.
59. See Poems XXXIX line 18, XXXVI line 36, and 'Empereire, per mi mezeis' lines 55-57 where it is clear that these three regions are part of the fief Louis VII holds from God.
60. See also Cercamon's planh for Guilhem X (PC 112,2a) and the enumeration there of all those who will mourn the duke (Poem VI): Gascons, Burgundians (see De Riquer, I, Poem 27 note to l.9), Normans and franceis, and see Wolf and Rosenstein, p.64: 'these are the inhabitants of the royal domain strictly speaking'. Compare also Bertran de Born's planh, 'Mon chan feniscab dol et ab maltraire' (PC 80,26) where a similar list of mourners includes 'Fransa tro Conpeigna' (ed. Gouiran, Poem 13 l.66). That the Frances were to be distinguished from the Southerners is evident from a song by Arnaut Daniel who complains that women are so unreasonable that on a whim they could even hold men responsible for the fact that Frances are not Gascons:

qu'el'us encolpara, si's vol,
 quar li Frances no son Guascon.

(Arnaut Daniel: Canzoni, edizione critica a cura di G. Toja (Florence, 1960), Poem VI ll.17-18 (PC 29,7)).

61. Rèchêrçhês, p.156. See also 'Empeiraire, per mi mezeis', whose tòrnàdá summons the lord of France, Poitou and Berry to fight in the Spanish crusading campaign, and which is also critical of the failure of the corrupt barons north of the Pyrenees to perform their Christian, knightly duty.
62. See The History of the Crusades, edited by K.M. Setton, I. The First Hundred Years, edited by M.W. Baldwin (Philadelphia, 1955), pp.463-512. In this case, line 40 of Marcabru's song would have to be understood as sarcasm.
63. See, for example, R. Lejeune, 'Le Rôle littéraire d'Aliénor d'Aquitaine et de sa famille', CN, 14 (1954), pp. 5-57, and Topsfield, Chrétien, Chapter I. There is no evidence that Eleanor was ever a patron of Marcabru (see below Appendix), and it has been assumed that this was because Marcabru's abrasive moralising did not appeal to her (Boissonnade, p.221). It is also possible that Marcabru's particular conception of fin'amors did not find favour with the patron of Bernart de Ventadorn (see Chapter II above).
64. See Chapter III above.
65. In Poem XXXIV Marcabru laments the disappearance of Pretz and Valors along with Cortesia (ll.11-14), and in the Vers del Lavador Pretz and Valors are (interestingly) associated with Antioch, and Guyenne and Poitou lament their loss (ll.67-8).
66. See for example Topsfield, Troubadours, pp.87-8; A.J. Denomy, 'Courtly Love and Courtliness', Speculum, 28 (1953), pp.44-63 (p.58); and Mòlk, p.35. Even in this song, however, a somewhat negative note can be discerned: in lines 27-30 the 'bona dompna' is defined essentially by means of a description of what she is not.

CHAPTER VII THE SATIRICAL USE OF A COURTLY EXPRESSION: SI-DONS

On the basis of the examples examined in the previous chapters, it is possible to conclude that Marcabru employs misogynist images and crude language in order to condemn the attitudes and behaviour which he associates with Amars. In Poems XI, XXIV and XLI, for example, licentious women are evoked with anatomical precision. Similarly, his use of images and vocabulary drawn from the courtly and Christian traditions serves to represent his approval and praise of fin'amors. In these contexts Marcabru occasionally evokes a female presence, but in terms so imprecise that the lady is as if disembodied and is almost indistinguishable from the idea of fin'amors. This allusive evocation can be seen in Poem XIII and in stanza 9 of Poem V. In both cases Marcabru's poetic language harmonizes with the type of love under discussion, or rather, with the troubadour's attitude towards the subject treated. In this sense, the style of his songs can be said to correspond to and reflect their content, and the congruity of fond and forme serves his didactic purpose.

It is possible that there exists another level of this relationship between the style and the subject matter of Marcabru's songs, lying between the two extremes ^{of} approbation and condemnation. On several occasions as, for example, in 'Cortesamen', Marcabru uses language drawn from the courtly vocabulary but with reference to behaviour which has little to do with cortesia or fin'amors. A particularly striking example of this is Marcabru's use of the term si dons which is usually considered to belong to the conventionally courtly vocabulary of the troubadours. Several scholars have commented on the use of this expression in Marcabru's poetry and the different conclusions which have been reached could serve as an indication that Marcabru may well not be using the expression in an orthodox, conventional way.¹

Dr Mary Hackett has interpreted si dons, in the two instances of the expression which she considered in Marcabru's works, in the sense of 'sa femme (légitime)'.² Referring to Poem XI, she says

'le poète flétrit en même temps les riches avares et les maris adultères, qui par leur mauvais exemple sont responsables des écarts de conduite de leur femme. Il continue:

... Cest vest la blancha camiza
E fai son seïnhor suffren
E ten si dons a sa guiza. (XI 11.62-64)

L'identité de la personne dont il s'agit dans ces derniers vers n'est pas claire, mais c'est sans doute un séducteur, peut-être l'intendant d'un seigneur riche et avare, et si dons doit signifier la femme de ce seigneur. (pp. 287-288)

The second example occurs in Poem XII^{bis}, 'Bel m'es can s'esclarzis l'onda', where, in a figurative allusive style, Marcabru again deploras the triumph of vice over virtue. He describes Avolenza, ('baseness'), flooding in waves over the world and the ascendancy of Putia ('whoredom'). In this context he mentions a baboïn, which Dr Hackett interprets as a representation of the same sort of person as the intendant of the first example. This figure

'besogne souvent':
Car el n'a la clau segonda
Per qe'l segner, so'us afin,
Porta capel cornut conin,
C'ab sol un empeut redonda
Si donz, lo ditz Marcabrus. (ll.31-35)
C'est la femme du seigneur (si dons) qui devient enceinte par
'une greffe', c'est-à-dire par l'intermédiaire d'un séducteur.
(Hackett, p.288)

Cropp, in her study of the courtly vocabulary of the troubadours, has re-examined these interpretations in conjunction with a third instance noted in Marcabru's works (Poem XXXVIII). She concludes that, in the examples considered by Dr Hackett, 'connaissant à fond les valeurs courtoises, Marcabru n'aurait-il pas employé avec un double sens un terme courtois spécialisé?'.³

In Poems XI and XII^{bis}, the third person possessive pronoun si can refer to the lord, giving the meaning 'his wife', and to the seducer, giving the meaning 'his mistress'. The construction of the lines, affording the possibility of either interpretation, suggests that the ambiguity is intentional and that the poet is thus once again commenting on the confused state of the aristocratic mores of his time.

The third instance of si dons occurs in Poem XXXVIII of Dejeanne's edition.

Ges l'afilatz bec d'aissola
Non pert son luoc al fogau,
Anz porta pic e massola
Don son gran li dui mau.
Cest tol si donz al jazer
La dolor del penchinill
Pel feminiu don se breia. (11.22-28)

Cropp believe that si dons 'désigne ici le partenaire féminin de l'acte sexuel, sans plus' (p.31).

Lewent remarked of this poem: 'vv.22ff. gehören zum Unverständlichsten, was uns von Marcabru überliefert worden ist', and saw in the large number of manuscript variations an indication of the difficulties which Marcabru's contemporaries experienced in understanding this song.⁴ Topsfield, however, translated and commented on the poem in such a way as to show clearly the coherence of the song's message: all the evils, annoyances and corruption of nature are swept away by winter, 'but man has no pure season and continues in carnal lust'.⁵ He translates the lines in question (26-28): 'He lies with and takes from his lady the pain of her pubic hill, in exchange for the feminine gift by which he is shortened' (p.77).

There is one further instance of the term si dons in Marcabru's poems. In Poem XXXI Marcabru refers to a 'girbaut de maiso', a member of the household, possibly a servant, mentioned in the preceding stanza, and says

Aquest intr'en la cozina
Coitar lo fuoc el tizo
E beu lo fum de la tina
De si donz na Bonafo. (11.55-58)
('This one goes into the kitchen to quicken the fire and the embers, and drinks the smoke from the butt of his lady na Bonafo'.)

This example, not present in the index to Dejeanne's edition of Marcabru's poems, occurs in a context which bears many similarities to Poem XXXVIII, and a comparison of the two poems might cast light on the way in which Marcabru uses the term si dons in all four cases.

Both poems express Marcabru's criticism of what he saw as the social and moral disorder of human society, which he contrasts in Poem XXXVIII with the cleansing and purifying effected by winter in the natural world,⁶ and in Poem XXXI with the honourable order which would result from bôn'Amórs, if only men would follow that path.⁷ Instead,

Cazen levan trobaiola
Va'l segles ... (XXXVIII ll.36-7)
('The world of men heaves up and down in turmoil').

Men are governed by Amars and behave in response to the impulses of lust.

In both cases the social and moral corruption is exemplified by the adulterous relationship of si dons and her lover. While bearing in mind that the question of the essentially adulterous nature of fin'amors is a vexed one, and that there are arguments against making such a general assumption,⁸ in many of Marcabru's poems he explicitly condemns adulterous promiscuity, and there is often no doubt that the lovers he is criticising are married.⁹ It is possible to deduce from several indications in the texts of Poems XXXI and XXXVIII that the relationship is adulterous and that the lover is probably a social inferior. These indications establish a context of a relationship which is not one of fin'amors and which could form the basis of a reinterpretation of the expression si dons as Marcabru uses it.

Although it is possible that Marcabru is using allusions to low-born lovers in a figurative way, in order to suggest that such men are vilan in a courtly rather than a social sense, this interpretation does not appear to accord so well with those passages mentioning the man's work, and the various social consequences of his liaison. In stanzas 4 and 5 of Poem XXXVIII Marcabru describes a journeyman, a lowly hired labourer who 'fai de nuoch son jornau' (l.33). He sires an illegitimate son 'through whom he lords it over everyone' (Topsfield, Troubadours, p.77). If the begetter of this son were himself a nobleman, this consequence would not be worthy of mention. Moreover, this passage echoes a theme expressed elsewhere in Marcabru's poems, that of the adulteration of the noble blood of the ruling classes through the illegitimate offspring of such irregular, adulterous unions.¹⁰ Not only is the purity of the bloodline contaminated in this way, but the bastard children lack the courtly qualities associated with the nobility: they

are unworthy successors to power and influence, presiding over and incarnating the decline of Próezā and the other values which Marcabru so often laments. In Poem XXXIV, for example, the troubadour says

Eyssamens son domnas trichans
E sabon trichar e mentir,
Per que fan los autrus enfans
Als maritz tener e noyrir;
D'aqui naisso'l malvat avar
Qu'us non ama Joy ni Deport
Ni n'auza hom entr'elhs parlar. (11.22-28)

('Similarly, women are treacherous and know how to deceive and lie, because they make their husbands bring up and care for the children fathered by other men; thus are born the avaricious evil men, not one of whom loves Joy or Deport, and no one dares to speak of such things in their company.')

That the extra-conjugal lover of Poem XXXVIII has the opportunity thus to lord it over everyone is clearly unnatural and deplorable.

The theme of mésalliance is again taken up in Poem XXXI. Marcabru criticises the domna 'c'ama girbaut de maiso' (1.47). In associating with an ill-bred, ill-mannered household servant, she does not act in accordance with the principles and elevated requirements of fin'amors. The social and ethical distance which separates these two partners and which makes them as incompatible as lovers in fin'amors as are the lady and man of Poem XXXVIII is represented by the image of the cur and the greyhound, by the comparison between a mongrel and a prized pedigree dog:

Sa voluntatz l'amastina¹¹
Cum fai lebrieir'ab gosso. (XXXI 11.48-49)
('Her desire overmasters her as the cur covers the greyhound bitch.')

The lady should not give in to base animal instincts, nor corrupt the aristocratic pedigree by such a relationship with an inferior, especially since

D'aqui naisso'ill ric savai
Que no fant conduit ni pai. (XXXI 11.51-52)
('From this are born the wicked rich men who give neither banquets nor payment.')

A woman who behaves in this way is no courtly lady.

The 'girbaut de maiso' and his activities are described in the following stanza in terms as allusive as those which the poet uses in the corresponding passage of Poem XXXVIII:

Aquest intr'en la cozina
Coitar lo fuoc el tizo
E beu lo fum de la tina
De si donz na Bonafo;

Ai!

Ieu sai cum sojorn'e jai
E part lo gran e'l balai,

Hoc,

Son seignor engirbaudina. (XXXI 11.55-63)¹²

('This one goes into the kitchen to quicken the fire and the embers, and drinks the smoke from the butt of his lady na Bonafo - Ai! - I know the way he lingers and lies down and separates the grain from the chaff - Hoc - and encumbers his lord with little bastards.')

In both cases the man is the physical lover of si dons. The poet makes no reference to any spiritual or emotional tie between the two people, and this very omission can be interpreted as being significant and revelatory, especially in a poem such as XXXI which is concerned with defining fin'amors. The lovers' relationship is merely carnal, and this is emphasized by Marcabru through his use of sexually allusive imagery alone to describe their liaison.

Fire images predominate in this stanza of Poem XXXI. A significant proportion of images of fire and flames in Marcabru's works illustrate the promptings and indulgence of physical desire, and on no occasion can he be said to approve of this.¹³ In such a concentration of these images here Marcabru may be stressing the licentious nature of the relationship between si dons and the girbaut. A few lines earlier the poet established the connection between lust and fire, the better to prepare the audience for these implications. He describes the growth in power of Amars:

Amars creis et atahina
Tric' ab coratje gloto
Per una dolssor conina

Que'is compren d'un fuoc fello. (11.19-22)¹⁴

('False love grows, torments and deceives with a greedy spirit, by means of a sexual sweetness which flares up into a wicked fire.')

Here he traces the progression from the wrong kind of love, Amàrs, to sexual desire and the growth of this into a fire which is in his opinion evil and wicked.

This fire is tended and encouraged¹⁵ by the girbaut: this calls to mind the bufa-tizo of the famous Lavador song. In that poem Marcabru attacks those men who fail in their Christian and courtly duties:

E'il luxurios corna-vi,
coita-disnar, bufa-tizo,
crup-en-cami
remanran inz el folpidor (11.46-49)¹⁶

The bufa-tizo do not heed the call to the Crusade, but stay safely at home, near the hearth. This group of reprehensible characters has in common a certain sensuality, a preoccupation with pleasures of the flesh. In a similar way, in his poem 'A l'alena del vent doussa', Marcabru criticises other indulgent men who take advantage of their position of trust so as to enjoy sexually the married women they guard. In an image strikingly reminiscent of one used in Poem XXXI, he says that these guards behave according to the nature of a dog:

pus lo guos ro e'l lebriers gron,
de sus ves del plat bufa'l foc. (11.29-30)
('As the cur gnaws and the greyhound growls, so do they blow on
the fire from above the dish.')

The girbaut of Poem XXXI could be said to resemble both the bufa-tizo and these guards, encouraging licentious behaviour by blowing on the smouldering coals of Amars and fanning them into a blaze.¹⁷

The fire-filled lines of Poem XXXI can be interpreted as portraying by suggestion the same kind of sexual activity as the poet describes in a similarly allusive way in Poem XXXVIII:

Cest tol si donz al jazer
La dolor del penchinill
Pel feminiu don se breia. (11.26-28).¹⁸

In Poem XI a social inferior injures (cuckolds) his lord and does as he likes with si dons.¹⁹ The other three poems containing this expression also contain allusions to false love, adultery, and the resulting birth of illegitimate children who are reared, cuckoo-like, as

the unworthy, degenerate heirs to their cuckolded 'fathers' but who are, in fact, sired by inferiors, men of arguably lowly birth.²⁰ These elements form a context which could be regarded as the antithesis of fin'amors, and yet Marcabru judges it appropriate to introduce the courtly term si dõns.

It has been suggested by Rita Lejeune that the use of the term midons reflects 'une transposition, sur le plan amoureux, du sentiment de l'amour et de l'abandon de soi que la société féodale exigeait pour le suzerain ou la suzeraine'.²¹ W.D. Paden has described it as 'a term of respectful deference'.²² It is often held that the use of midons indicated that the lover placed himself in the subordinate position of a suppliant with regard to his lady. While the term might not necessarily always have reflected a social reality, that of the lady's superior status, it is interpreted as expressing the emotional perspective of the poet/lover.²³ Si dõns carries similar connotations when employed in a conventionally courtly way, designating 'la dame aimée par un autre que le poète' (Cropp, p.31).

Bernart de Ventadorn, for example, ends his song 'Ara no vei luzir solelh' with the words

Bernard clama sidons mercei
vas cui tan gen se merceya. (11.57-58)²⁴
('Bernard begs for mercy from his lady whom he implores so
nobly to take pity on him.')

Referring to himself in the third person, he expresses his inferiority to and dependence on his lady. Instances of orthodox, or conventional, usage of si dõns can be found in the works of a number of troubadours, the expression occurring for the most part in poems concerned with the question of how a lover should behave with regard to his lady.²⁵ Uc de Saint-Circ compares his own joy, caused by the very small favours his lady bestows on him, with what he considers to be the lesser joy of a lover who is granted much more by si dõns.²⁶ In this stanza the poet describes his own relationship, saying

Sos amics e sos servire
E sos hom sui e serai (11.34-5)
('I am and will be her lover and her servant and her
liegeman.')

In Marcabru's poems, however, si`dõns indicates no such hierarchy of personal relations or distribution of emotional power and influence: the positions of the lovers have, if anything, been reversed. The lover of Poem XI 'ten si dons a sa guiza' (1.64): it is he who has power over the lady who, as is indicated by the designation si`dõns, should be his superior in matters of love. Marcabru's choice of words produces a stylistic clash indicative of irony. In the other three examples, only the lover is portrayed as taking the initiative; he is the decisive partner, the lady merely experiences his will. If Lewent's reading of Poem XII^{bis} is accepted, lines 34-35 represent the dominant and decisive role of the lover even more clearly than does Dejeanne's text:

C'ab sol'un'empencha'n donda
 si donz ... (Lewent, p.328)
 ('For with only one blow of this - the obscene "master-key" of
 line 31 - he tames si dons.')

The incongruity of a courtly domna being subjugated by a 'blow', instead of being wooed and won by the patient service of a humble lover, reinforces the impression that Marcabru is writing with heavy irony. The relationship we are led to expect in association with the term si dons fails to materialize; we are presented instead with a description of a relationship conspicuously lacking in almost every element which is customarily associated with fin'amors.

The relationships are of an exclusively carnal nature, no reference whatever being made to the personal qualities, virtues or admirable attributes of either party. All we learn of the lady of Poem XXXVIII, for example, is that she has a 'dolor del penchinill' (1.27), and the only quality which makes the man a suitable partner for her is that he 'pot la coa mover' (1.32)!²⁷ It is significant that, in the only other allusion to the lady in this poem, Marcabru chooses to employ the word 'feminiu' (1.28). This is reminiscent of Bernart de Ventadorn's words in 'Can vei la lauzeta mover':

D'aisso's fai be femna parer
 ma domna, per qu'e'lh o retrai (11.33-34)²⁸
 ('In this way my lady does indeed show herself to be a woman,
 and that's why I reproach her for it.')

Dòmna is here deliberately contrasted with femna to bring out the latter's disparaging, negative connotations. Cropp notes that 'en ancien provençal le mot dòmna s'oppose à femna ... qui n'est pas de la langue courtoise' (p.26).

Apart from the designation si dons, the lady of Poem XXXVIII has nothing of the expected attributes of presentation of a lady in troubadour poetry.²⁹ The woman of Poem XXXI, however, rejoices in what could well be called a senhal; certainly Marcabru follows a similar process in the building of her surnom poétique, Bonafo. The name is laden with the same sexual connotations as is the passage in which it occurs; from the fires of lust Marcabru passes to a lady whose nickname implies her unbecoming or unsuitable enthusiasm for such activity.³⁰

Marcabru makes use elsewhere of an ironic and bitter pseudo-senhal. In Poem XXXIV he rails against the base duplicity of women and says that he could prove his general argument with a specific example, that of the lady with whom he would have us believe he is involved.

Et ieu poiri'o ben proar
Per ma domna na Cropa-fort
Mas ja no la vuelh decelar. (ll.40-42)

Adopting the pose of a discreet courtly lover, Marcabru declares himself reluctant to reveal the identity of the lady who epitomises not all that is noble, virtuous and refined, but all the evil and depravity which he has attributed to the female sex. So he follows the letter, if not the spirit, of courtly practice and gives her an insulting senhal: 'my lady Sturdy-Rump'. 'Si donz na Bonafo' should be read in the same way.

The honorific na is ironically accorded. Raynouard notes that the masculine title don 'fut quelquefois donné par dérision', citing as an example don glotz ('don glouton').³¹ In this passage of Poem XXXI the usually deferential marks of respect, na and si dons, serve to underline the mocking, disrespectful significance of Bonafo.

There is a similar example of the use of nicknames to indicate the libidinous proclivities of figures in Provençal poetry. In 'La tenzon de Seigner Montan e de la Domna', a gentleman named 'en Montan' makes an indecent proposal to a lady whose response is enthusiastic.³² Nelli notes that 'pour la dame, le nom de Montan a manifestement une signification prometteuse'. The same can be said of the name Bonafo: this senhal is indeed 'une espèce de personnification d'un aspect important de

l'amour ou d'un attribut de la dame' (Cropp, p.29), with the qualification that Marcabru does not approve of the lady's behaviour or attitudes at all. 'Si donz na Bonafo' is a representative example of the type of woman Marcabru has defined a few lines earlier, the lady who knows nothing of 'amor fina' (1.46), and whose conduct - allusively referred to but resulting in the fact that the girbaut 'son seignor engirbaudina' (1.63) - is unacceptable within the poet's exigent courtly frame of reference.

Topsfield remarked that the frequency and violence of Marcabru's attacks on false love, together with his advocacy of fin'amors, could be interpreted as an indication that 'courtly attitudes to love' were still in the process of being fixed at the time that Marcabru was composing, and that the aristocratic audience might not yet have fully adopted the attitudes which are associated with the type of love sung by later troubadours, those Nelli has called 'les troubadours classiques'.³³ Several of the didactic Marcabru's poems are devoted to distinguishing between the mere promiscuity of Amars and the experience of spiritual and emotional endeavour and fulfilment which belongs to the true follower of fin'amors.³⁴

Marcabru attacks men and women who continue unreflectingly in a pattern of self-indulgent wrong living, which includes adulterous promiscuity.³⁵ He complains that his is the only voice raised in criticism of this conduct:

D'aquest flagel
 Marcabrus se coreilla,
 ses compaigno. ('Lo vers comensa' 11.91-93)
 ('Alone, without companion, Marcabru complains about this
 scourge.')

He deplores the fact that he criticises in vain (see Poem XLI 11.25-30, and Chapter IV. above).

It has already been suggested in Chapter III that Poem XXXI is at the same time an exposition of Amors and Amars, of what in Marcabru's terms were right and wrong, and an attack upon those people, including troubadours whom he here characterises as 'la troba n'Eblo', who confuse the two.³⁶ He represents this confusion by including, in a description of a relationship far from courtly, terms belonging to the courtly vocabulary, but 'si donz na Bonafo' has only the appellation, the outer forms of a courtly domna.

Marcabru is criticising unthinking, undisciplined promiscuity, represented by the lover and si dons, which has thus only the sēmlān of fin'amors. This theme of hypocritical appearances is to be found throughout his works.³⁷ Through the person of the clear-sighted girl of his pāstōrelā, Marcabru reveals that the noble, courtly knight is fundamentally lacking in cortesia; he is masking his decidedly base intentions with the language and forms of fin'amors.³⁸ The peasant girl sees through this hypocrisy; she can distinguish true from false.

The lady of the four poems containing the expression si dons may be accorded this title in order to show that she falls far short of what should be expected of a true domna. Cropp has remarked that the term si dons in Poem XXXVIII designates 'le partenaire féminin de l'acte sexuel', no more, and such is indeed the case. But, when this usage is considered in conjunction with that of Poem XXXI, it is possible to conclude that si dons represents an ironic attack upon the woman precisely because she is involved in nothing more than sexual activity. The figures of Poems XI, XII^{bis}, XXXI and XXXVIII are not following fin'amors but Amars. It is the social and moral destructiveness of Amars which Marcabru is attempting to demonstrate and combat. The negative effects of Amars on society are illustrated by the recurring picture of degenerate, illegitimate children whose accession to positions of authority damages the bases of the feudal order. The moral destructiveness is illustrated by the personifications of virtues defeated or banished by vices, whereas:

Tant cant bos Jovens fon paire
 Del segle e fin'Amors maire
 Fon Proeza mantenguda. (V ll.37-9)³⁹
 ('As long as good Jovens was the father of the age and
fin'amors the mother, Proeza (excellence ?) was upheld.')

It is possible that the unorthodox, distorted use of the term si dons in Marcabru's poems is intended to symbolize a distortion of fin'amors by the lovers he is criticising. Through the irony of si dons the poet is attempting to demonstrate that fin'amors requires more from its followers than mere adoption of the outer forms, and to give to his audience the scienza jauzionda of discrimination and mesura (Poems XII^{bis} stanza 2).

It is interesting to note that many of the criticisms Marcabru levelled at society were later reiterated by Bertran de Born. In his song 'Bel m'es quan vei chamjar lo senhoratge', Bertran defines a courtly, as opposed to an uncourtly person, using terms developed within the courtly register.⁴⁰ Stimming called this poem 'eine Erklärung der Begriffe jung und alt, diese allerdings in besonders weitem Sinne genommen und namentlich auch auf das moralische Gebiet bezogen' (p.47). In defining a woman unacceptable in courtly terms, Bertran says

Et es vielha, si avols hom lo'lh fa;
Vielha la tenh, si ama dintz son chastel. (ll.12-13)
('And she is old if a common man does it to her; I consider her
to be old if she loves within her castle.)

If the lover in the four poems by Marcabru which have been considered is indeed of lowly birth and status, then Marcabru's message is in this respect essentially the same as Bertran's, the difference lying in the language and techniques which each poet uses to convey the message. Marcabru, writing at a period when the terminology and concepts of cortesia and fin'amors were perhaps not yet well established, had recourse to an ironic use of a quasi-feudal, courtly term in order to define and draw attention to attitudes and behaviour which in his view were incompatible with the ethics of an aristocratic, courtly society.

Notes to Chapter VII

1. A version of this chapter appeared as an article in MLR, 78 (1983), pp.24-33.
2. W.M. Hackett, 'Le Problème de midons', in Mélanges de philologie romane dédiés à la mémoire de Jean Boutière, 2 vols (Liege, 1971), I, pp.285-94 (p.288).
3. Le Vocabulaire courtois, p.31.
4. 'Beiträge', p.443.
5. Troubadours, pp.76-78 (p.77).
6. See Poem XXXVIII lines 5-7:

Mais pretz lo freich temporau
Que l'estiu plen de gandill
Don nais puti'et enveia.
('I value the cold season more than the summer full of
subterfuges from which are born whoredom and desire.')

7. Poem XXXI lines 64-67. See Chapter III above.
8. See A.R. Press, 'The Adulterous Nature of Fin'Amors: a Re-examination of the Theory', Forum for Modern Language Studies, 6 (1970), pp.327-341.
9. See Poems IV, V, XI, XXXIV, XXXVI et passim, and Chapter IV above.
10. See Poems XXXIV, XXIX, XVII and VIII, especially Lewent's remarks on stanza 2 (p.322).
11. Dejeanne: 'la mastina'; Lewent: 'l'amastina' (p.435).
12. Dejeanne translates line 63 'donne de petits goujats à son seigneur' (p.150). Compare Poem XXIX stanzas 4 and 5.

13. See Poems V, VIII, XXXIV, XL (1.19) and Chapter V above.
14. Compare Lewent's translation, p.434.
15. PD. coitar - 'souffler (le feu)?'.
16. Ed. Hathaway and Ricketts. See their notes on pp.7-8 for a discussion of folpidor.
17. This is the way of false love: see Poem XVIII lines 13-15.
18. In this 'feminine gift by which he is shortened', as Topsfield translates line 28, it would not be unreasonable to understand an allusion to detumescence. Topsfield's translation appears to render don twice. Marshall suggests the translation 'through that feminine whereby he is shortened'. The line would then contain a sexual allusion conveyed by means of a sophisticated play on grammatical terminology, the humour lying in the fact that feminine formations are longer than masculine. Compare PC 461,143 (text in Bec, Burlesque, Poem 25, pp.125-8). Other examples of grammatical sexual or erotic metaphors are discussed in P. Lehmann, Die Parodie im Mittelalter (Munich, 1922, repr. 1963), p.107 and pp.223-4, and Paterson, p.28 note 4 with reference to Marcabru's ironic gap. Adams cites an example of metrical terminology used in the same way by Matthew of Vendôme (p.39). Line 28 of Marcabru's song may then contain a rather learned erotic joke.
19. Simon Gaunt of the University of Warwick has recently proposed an explanation of Poem XI line 62 which would accord with and reinforce this interpretation of lines 63-4 (see his forthcoming article in Medium Aevum: 'Did Marcabru know the Tristan Legend?'). Marcabru's allusion to the white shirt would, like Raimbaut d'Aurenga's reference to the shirt which Yseult gave to her lover as a symbol of their sexual relationship (ed. Pattison Poem 27 lines 33-40: PC 389,32), derive from a version of that episode of the Tristan legend which Bédier refers to as 'Bringvain livrée aux serfs' (J. Bédier, Le Roman de Tristan par Thomas, 2 vols (Paris, 1905), I, pp.161-2).

As Tristan cuckolded King Mark, the object of Marcabru's criticism cuckolds his séigneur and wears the white shirt such as that which Yseult gave to Tristan.

20. Compare Poem XXIX stanzas 4 and 5.
21. R. Lejeune, 'Formules féodales et style amoureux chez Guillaume IX d'Aquitaine', in Atti del VIII congresso internazionale di studi romanzi, 2 vols (Florence, 1959), II, pp.227-248 (p.232).
22. 'Utrum copularentur', p.71.
23. See W.D. Paden, 'The Troubadours' Lady: her Rank and Marital Status', SP, 72 (1975), pp.28-51.
24. Poem 5 (PC 70,7).
25. See Peirol, Troubadour of Auvergne, edited by S.C. Aston (Cambridge, 1953), Poems XVII line 39, XXI line 29, XXX line 28 (PC 366,16,27a, 17), Raimon de Miraval Poems VI line 46, XIV line 31, XXII line 20, XXIII line 39 (PC 406,7,38,22,42), and Daude de Pradas Poems I line 36, VI line 10, XI line 34 (PC 124,1,14,10).
26. Les Poésies de Uc de Saint-Circ, publiées par A. Jeanroy and J.J. Salverda de Grave, Bibliothèque Méridionale 1st series, 15 (Toulouse, 1913), Poem V (PC 457,1).
27. Compare Marcabru Poem V line 24, where coa is used in the context of cuckoldry (see Paterson, p.51), and Adams, p.37, on cauda.
28. Poem 31 (PC 70,43).
29. Compare Poem XXVIII lines 32-39. See Cropp, Chapters 3 and 5, and Leube-Fey, passim.
30. The implication here, in the article as it appeared in MLR, seemed to be that Bonafo was related to foc (open 'o'). Since the rhymes of the second and fourth lines of every stanza require a closed 'o'

(máiso(n), tizo(n)), this is impossible. Rather one should understand Bonafò to derive from fòn (PD. 'fontaine, source') and the implications of the senhal to be related to the béu and tinà of line 57. Compare Wilhelm, p.70, where Bonafò is translated 'Goodfount'. Compare Marcabru XXXI lines 55-58 to the passage in Aliscans where Guillaume attacks Blancheflor as a 'pute lise provee' (l. 2772):

Quant vos tenés la coupe coverclee
 Joste le fu, dalés la ceminée,
 Tant que vos estes rostie et escaufée
 Et de luxure esprise et enbrasee,
 La glotornie vos a tost alumee;
 Quant lecherie vos a si enflamee,
 Et Loeïs vos a bien retournee,
 .ii. fois ou .iii. desous lui defolee. (ll.2780-87).
 (Aliscans: chanson de geste, kritischer Text von E.
 Wienbeck, W. Hartnacke and P. Rasch (Halle, 1903)).

31. Rayn.II.66.

32. Text in Nelli, Anticonformistes, I, pp.199-203. See also Bec, (PC 306,2) Burlesque, Poem 34.

33. Topsfield, 'Jois', p.277; Nelli, L'Érotique.

34. See Chapters II and III above.

35. See Ricketts, 'Doas cuidas', and Chapter V above.

36. See also Chapter II above.

37. See Poems IV, VII, XXIV, XXV-XXVI et passim. See also Poem XIV and Paterson, pp.43-49.

38. See Fantazzi.

39. See for example Poems XI, XII^{bis}, XXXIX and XLII.

40. Bertran von Born: Gedichte, herausgegeben von A. Stimming (Halle, 1892), Poem 40 (PC 80,7).

CHAPTER VIII THE ESTORNEL SONGS

It is possible that play on the relationship between the style and content of Marcabru's Estornel songs (Poems XXV-XXVI) may be at the root of the conflicting interpretations of the songs proposed by critics over the years. Lazar believes that in these songs 'il n'est pas question de fals'amors et des femmes, mais de l'amour entre le poète et une femme bien déterminée', and Bec has similarly concluded that they are 'deux cansos d'amour [dont] le contenu est bien celui d'un amour malheureux (fin'amor)'.¹ Few commentators, however, are now prepared to accept the poems at face value. Nuances of irony and parody have been recognised in the Estornel songs, notably by Roncaglia, and these have led scholars to view the songs as essentially satirical parodies,² although the reasons for this interpretation vary considerably.

In Köhler's view the poems are criticisms of the woman's uncontrolled sexual appetite, and Nelli suggests that the satire is directed against 'la dame déloyale et parjure'.³ Roncaglia goes further and considers that the whole message entrusted to the starling is a parody of courtly songs and that Marcabru is using this technique to attack the carnal nature of the love that inspires them, while Mölk disagrees:

Anders als Roncaglia ... meinen wir, Marcabrun's Gedicht als Satire auf die nicht-höfische fals'amor, jedoch nicht auf die hohe Minne (fin'amor) verstehen zu müssen.⁴

Rita Lejeune has shown several ways in which these two songs by Marcabru parody courtly literary conventions: 'l'étourneau messenger est choisi ironiquement, l'amoureux n'en est pas un, la bien-aimée est une renarde'.⁵ These elements contribute to the overall interpretation of Poems XXV-XXVI, and other critics have similarly examined details which point to the ironic essence of the songs.⁶ By collating these arguments and examining these songs in detail it may be demonstrated that they contain more elements indicative of irony than have hitherto been considered and that such an analysis provides further illustration of one way in which Marcabru expressed his ideas concerning fin'amors and combatted those of his opponents.

These poems contain both courtly and grivois elements which interact and which colour the final interpretation of the songs as a whole. The poems are composed with regard to these two levels: superficially courtly aspects of the works are subverted by the underlying uncourtly reality.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION OF THE ESTORNEL SONGS (WITH NOTES)⁷

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| I | <p>1 'Estornel, cueill ta volada:
Demam, ab la matinada,
Iras m'en un'encontrada</p> <p>4 On cugei aver amia:
Trobaras
E veiras
Per que vas</p> <p>8 Comtar l'as,
E'ill diras
En eis pas</p> <p>11 Per que <u>se</u> trasliã.</p> | <p>'Starling, take flight: tomorrow in the morning you will go on my behalf to a land where I thought I had a (lady-) friend. You will find her and see her, and you are to tell her why you come, ask her straight away the reason why she is treacherous.</p> |
| II | <p>No sai s'aissi's fo fadada
Que no m'am e si'amada;
C'ab una sola vegada</p> <p>15 Fora grans la matinia
Si'll plagues
Ni volgues
Qu'o fezes;</p> <p>19 Per un mes
N'agra tres
Aqui es</p> <p>22 De sa companhia.</p> | <p>I do not know if she was bewitched in such a way that she does not love me and (yet) is loved; for with only one go the reward would be great, if it pleased her or if she wanted me to do it; for right here (?) in place of one reward for her company she should have three.</p> |
| III | <p>Ai ! com es encabalada
<u>Na</u> Falsa Razos-aurada.
Denan totas vai triada.</p> <p>26 Va ! ben es fols qui s'i fia.
De sos datz
C'a plombatz
Vos gardatz,
30 Qu'enganatz
N'a assatz,
So sapchatz,
33 E mes en la via.</p> | <p>Ah ! how powerful she is, Lady False Gilded-Words. She goes first/foremost before all others. Away with it ! He is indeed a fool who places his trust there (in her). Beware of the dice that she has loaded for, know this, she has tricked many and cast them down (sent them packing?).</p> |
| IV | <p>Per semblant es veziada,
Plus que veilla volps cassada;
L'autrier mi fetz far la bada</p> <p>37 Tota nueg entruesc'al dia.
Sos talans
Es volans
Ab enguans;
41 Mas us chans</p> | <p>In her manner/appearances she is more cunning than an old hunted fox (vixen); the other day she made me keep watch (?) all night until daybreak. She is fickle in her inclinations, and deceiving, but one song dissuades children from their wickedness.</p> |

	Fa'n enfans Castians	
44	De lor felonia.	
V	Selui fadet gentils fada A cui fo s'amors donada; No fo tals crestianada	A kind fairy enchanted the man to whom her love was given; there never was such a woman between here and Elijah's rock.
48	De sai lo peiron Elia; Vol'e vai Tot dreit lai, E'l retrai	Fly and go straight there, and tell her that I will die if I do not know how she sleeps, clothed or naked.
52	Qu'ieu morrai Si no sai Consi jai,	
55	Nuda o vestia.	
VI	Sa beutatz fon ab leis nada, Ses fum de creis ni d'erbadada; De mil amicx es cazada	Her beauty was born with her, without traces of herbal potions; she is provided with a thousand lovers and is the lady (-friend) of a thousand lords. Marcabru says that the door is not shut, (but) he who wants more from her must gape and muse for, beaten back, he retreats from (leaves) the traitress.
59	E de mil senhors amia. Marcabrus Ditz que l'us Non es clus;	
63	Bad'e mus Qui'll vol plus, C'a raüs	
66	Part de la traia.	
VII	De fin'amor dezirada Az una flor picvairada Plus que d'autruna pazada.	Desired with <u>fin'amors</u> she has a multi-coloured flower more (so) than any other courtesan (?). A small fool soon commits great folly. I forgive (her for) the favours of the abbot of Saint Privat, (but) I thought, without much reflection (?), that if she says 'mat' to me, then love approaches.
70	Paucs fols fai tost gran folia. Perdo'l grat De l'abat Saint Privat;	
74	M'ai pensat Ses cujat Si'm ditz: 'mat',	
77	Que l'amors embria.	
VIII	Del deslei Que me fei Li fauc drei, E'il m'autrei,	I will pardon the disloyalty she shows towards me and give myself to her provided that, lying beneath me, she clasps me and twines herself around me.
81	Mas sutz mei Aplat sei, Qu'ela'm lass'e'm lia.'	
84		
I	1 Ges l'estornels no s'oblida: Quant ac la razon auzida, C'ans ha sa vida cuillida,	The starling does not forget itself at all: when it heard the speech, and even before it had eaten?, it is not slow to fly off directly. It went and flew so far and found the (lady's) retreat; it warbled and began to sing.
4	Del dreg volar no s'alensa. Tant anet E volet E seguet	
8	E trobet Lo devet; Orguanet,	

11	A chantar comensa.	
II	Sobr'una branca florida Lo francx auzels brai e crida; Tant ha sa votz esclarzida	On a flowery branch the noble bird screeches and cries; it has cleared its voice so well that she has
15	Qu'ela n'a auzit l'entensa. L'us declui, Lai s'esdui, Truesc'a lui.	understood what it is trying to say. She opens the door, it backs away, hops up to her and says: 'I am a bird.'
19	'Auzels sui,' Ditz:- 'Per cui Fas tal brui,	'On whose behalf are you making such a noise, or what love torments you?'
22	Ho cal[s] amor[s] tensa?'	
III	Di l'estornels: 'Part Lerida A pros es tan descremida C'anc no saup plus de gandida,	The starling says: 'Beyond Lerida you have skirmished so much with a noble man that he no longer knows how to
26	Plena de falsa crezensa. Mil amic S'en fan ric: Per l'abric	protect/cover himself, you false woman. A thousand lovers behave as if they have become rich/great/powerful through you, (but) because of the
30	Que'us servic, Lo meric Del chairic	discretion with which he serves you, he will surely be rewarded for his donations/generosity.'
33	N'aura ses faillensa.'	
IV	'Auzels, a tort m'a'nvazida; Mas pos amor no'm rezzida, Mas qu'ieu no sui sa plevida,	'Bird, he has attacked me wrongly; but since he does not awaken my love and since I am not his pledged
37	En cug aver m'entendensa. C'autr'amieu No vueill ieu, E badi [e]u	lady, I think that I am mistress of my own affections. For I do not want another courtly suitor, a charmless fool, and from such a man I distance
41	Ses aisi [e]u Don m'eschi [e]u Tug de bri [e]u,	myself very rapidly, without observing any formalities.
44	Ses far contenensa.	
V	Az una part es partida Ma fin'amistatz plevida; Son joc revit, si'l m'envida.	I have pledged my <u>fin'amistat</u> in another direction (to another man), (but) if he challenges me (to a game)
48	Auzels, per ta conoisensa, So'l diguatz Qu'en un glatz Lev'e jatz	I accept a return match. Bird, through your judgement/wisdom, tell him this: that desire rises and falls (is awakened and dies) in an instant:
52	Desiratz: Er l'abatx Ans <u>sasatz</u>	the abbot will be satisfied before we part.'
55	Que n'ajam lezensa.	
VI	La cambr'er de cel guarnida, D'un ric jauzir per jauzida, C'ab dous baizar s'es sentida	The room will be adorned/crowned by the sky, with a great delight for she who takes delight (?), for, with a
59	Desotz se plat de plazensa. Vai e'l di Qu'el mati Si'aisi,	sweet kiss she felt herself, beneath him, filled with pleasure (?). Go and tell him to be here in the morning and that/so that under the pine tree,

63	Que sutz pi Farem fi, Sutz lui mi,	with me beneath him, we will put an end to this enmity/dispute.'
66	D'esta malvolensa.'	
VII	Gent ha la razon fenida, L'estornels cui l'aura guid'a [Vas] son senhor: 'Com qu'estia,	It graciously finished the speech, the starling which the breeze guided to its lord: 'As it was
70	Vos ai amor de valensa. C'als mil drutz Ha rendutz Mil salut	before (?), I bring you a love of great worth. For, to a thousand lovers she returned a thousand greetings and she satisfied them with banquets
74	E pagutz Per condutz Ses traütz	without the tribute of false seed.
77	De falsa semensa.	
VIII	S'al mati L'es aqui, On vos di	If you are there in the morning where she tells you and commands you to make a hide for an ambush in the garden,
81	E'us mand Que s'ardi Del jardi,	may she check-mate and conquer you!'
84	E que'us mat e'us vensa!'	

Notes (XXV: 'Estornel; cueill ta volada')

The entire song (in mss C and E) is the speech of the lover.

5-8 Re-punctuation from De Riquer.

10 Lewent (p.430): en eis pas - 'sogleich'.

11 Compare Lewent (p.430): per qu'es trasalia (= trasalhida)
'bedeutet dasselbe wie "per qu'es falhida"'.
'

14-15 Dejeanne translates: 'avec une seule entrevue, bien belle
serait pour moi la matinée'. He also suggests the correction
matinia > manentia (both mss C and E have matinada), giving the
interpretation, adopted by Bertoni, 'io sarei ricco qualora mi
trovassi con lei una sola volta' (p.651). Roncaglia interprets
matinia as an allusion to a donum matinale or Morgengabe, an
ironic reference to the reward given to a courtesan ('Per
un'edizione', pp.51-2). 'The reward' then would refer to 'her
reward'.

19-22 Roncaglia understands mes of line 19 as an indication of the
way in which the thanks of the matinia are expressed,
suggesting that mes be read as an hapax, derived from metre
used as a synonym for donar, meaning 'gift'. Accordingly he
translates lines 19-20: 'ne avrà triplo compenso' (pp.52-3). He
does not, however, even print line 21 'Aqui es' in his
discussion of the text: should one understand this to mean
'here'? (Compare ms E: 'Aqui eis', 'there when I leave her
company'(?)).

23-26 These lines must be understood to refer to the lady. Appel
sees in line 24 a pseudo-senhal: 'Vielleicht ist, entsprechend
na Cropa-fort, hier zu lesen: "Na Falsa Razos-daurada"' and
lines 23-5 would then be ironic praise of the woman (p.435).
Compare Lewent's difficulties in interpreting line 26 ('Ach,
wohl ist ein Tor, der ihr (ihm, dem Satz?) vertraut'). But if
line 24 is understood to be an ironic senhal, line 26 could
then mean that whoever trusts either (the woman and/or the

(her?) words) is a fool. The subject of stanza 3, apparently the false eloquence, and the subject of stanza 4, which can only be the woman herself, are one and the same, and any incoherence is removed if Appel's suggestion is adopted. Compare Dejeanne (p.231) who modifies his translation: 'Ah! comme sont puissants les faux raisonnements dorés (captieux); [sur ce point] elle l'emporte sur toutes les dames', in an attempt to explain the link between the woman and the words.

25 Lewent (p.430) understands this line as direct speech (perhaps to represent the ironic praise of the lady or the glib hyperbole of false eloquence?).

26-33 Here are found the misogynistic commonplaces of lies, deceit, treachery and destruction already noted in Chapter V above.

36 Both Dejeanne and De Riquer give to the expression 'far la bada' the meaning 'to stand gaping' (compare 1.63). However, 'far la bada' can mean 'faire la sentinelle' (Rayn.II.165 and compare PD. bada - 'guet; guetteur'), and Marcabru's lines may then be translated: 'keep watch'. In both cases the general meaning would appear to be that the woman made the lover wait and, if the second interpretation is accepted, it is possible that the lover may be complaining that she made him wait and stand guard, rather in the manner of the look-out in the alba: would the woman have spent 'the other night until daybreak' with another man? (On the alba, see Bec, La Lyrique, I, pp.90-107).

41-44 Bertoni interprets these lines as meaning 'un solo canto può bastare a fare rinunciare ai fanciulli di commettere cattiverie' (p.651), a reading accepted by Roncaglia ('Per un'edizione', pp.54-55) who understands Marcabru's lines to contain an allusion to an exemplum used in medieval schools in the teaching of musical theory and sees here a 'documento della cultura scolastica di Marcabruno' (p.55). See also A.

Roncaglia, 'Valore e giuoco dell'interpretazione nella critica testuale', in Studi e problemi di critica testuale (Bologna, 1961), pp.45-62 (p.54) where this reference is developed.

48

In his notes, Dejeanne emends peiron to pairon (p.231). This is adopted by De Riquer, who notes 'alude, pues, al profeta Elías en atención a su antigüedad o longetividad, como Guilhem Augier Novella' (p.213 n.). This text (PC 205,4a) is reproduced in De Riquer, II, Poem 236: in lines 15-18 the poet says that he does not believe anything could save him, even if he lived as long as Elijah (who was taken to heaven in a fiery chariot and therefore did not truly die). This comparison does not seem relevant to Marcabru's song. Marcabru may be alluding to Elijah to emphasize the notion of antiquity: if one understands de sai as 'this moment', the meaning of line 48 would appear to be 'from (the time of) the prophet Elijah until now there never was such a lady'. Compare Guilhem IX Poem VIII (PC 183,6):

qu'anc no cug qu'en nasques semble
en semblan del gran linh N'Adam (ll.33-34)
('For I do not believe that a similar
woman was ever born of the great race of
Sir Adam. ')

and Jaufre Rudel Poem II (PC 262,5):

Qu'anc genser crestiana
Non fo ... (ll.17-18)
('For there never was a nobler Christian
lady'.)

In both cases the emphasis is on the passage of recorded history. However, both the manuscripts containing Poem XXV read peiron, which 'allude certo al monte Horeb de III (sic) Re 19, 8-9' (Errante, pp.218-219). Peiron then would indicate a place, as de sai usually does in Marcabru (see for example 'A l'alena' 1.11; V 1.28; 'Aujatz de chan' 1.26; XVIII 1.20; Lavador 1.9), and the comparison in Poem XXV would involve geography and distance. It would seem equally possible to retain the reading peiron (see discussion below).

57 erbada - 'formentation avec des herbes' (Dejeanne, p.231). See Lewent (p.430) and Spitzer (p.222) who agree that this line contains references to some kind of cosmetic. Compare also Flamenca:

De la testa semblet cabeissa
Quar las canas foron fumadas (ll.5780-81)

which Lavaud and Nelli translate: 'Sa tête ressemblait à une tête-de-loup, parce que ses cheveux blancs étaient teints de noir', noting that Raynouard translates afumar 'enfumer, noircir' (Rayn.III.408). See also Mistral.I.43. Could fum of line 57 of Marcabru's song have anything to do with a 'dye' in this connection?

58 cazada: compare PD. cazat - 'qui a obtenu une concession, à titre viager, sur les terres de son seigneur'.

60-64 See below, n.91.

65-66 Roncaglia has examined the derivation and significance of the phrase a raüs ('una spunta all'indietro') and concludes that it is used with the connotations of 'precipitosa e vergognosa ritirata' ('Il gap', pp.66-7). See also Mòlk, p.68. Lewent (p.431) emends fraia to traïa: see the note to these lines in De Riquer, I, p.214.

68 Az: no commentators remark on this, but translate it as a third person singular present indicative form from aver. Compare ms C: a una.

69 It is difficult to see how 'plus que d'autruna pauzada' relates to the fact of the woman having a pie-coloured flower (1.68) (where plus que modifies aver), although this is the interpretation made implicitly by most scholars (see, for example, Topsfield, p.92: 'Desired with true love, she has a pie-coloured flower, and more so than any other prostitute'). Would it not make better sense to understand line 69 to relate

to line 67, giving the interpretation 'the woman, who has a pie-coloured flower, is desired with true love and desired more than any other prostitute'? Compare De Riquer, who seems to understand lines 67-8 to be closely connected, translating: 'Tiene una flor multicolor de leal amor deseado más que cualquier otra prostituta'.

71-73 'Abatz ha il senso gergale osceno' (Roncaglia, 'Per un'edizione', p.49). Compare Poem XXVI line 53.

75 Dejeanne translates: 'sans trop réfléchir'. In the context of a lover waiting for a sign from his lady, perhaps 'without being presumptuous' would be a more appropriate translation (see Marshall, 'The Doas Cuidas', pp.27-8 on this nuance of cujar/cujat).

77 Should one read here 'Que l'amors s'embria'? Compare 'Lo vers comensa' line 64. The dictionaries do not give an example of embriar used intransitively (which is how Dejeanne and De Riquer seem to understand it), but s'embriar can mean 'se hâter, s'approcher vite; prospérer, croître' (PD). Although ms C has embria and ms E enbria, the scribes' omission of the reflexive s' would be easy to understand.

83 Aplat sei: PD. 'se coucher'. See Anglade (p.247): 'pronom réfléchi', third person singular '(sei très rare)'.

XXVI 'Ges l'estornels non s'oblida'.
In ms E only.

1 s'oblida: De Riquer (I, p.216) notes the meaning s'oblidar -'tarder' (PD). See below, n.87.

2 Razon: Paterson (p.11): 'speech, argument'. Compare also Poem XXV line 24 and Poem XXVI line 67.

- 5-11 Emended line order and interpretation from the most recent commentator, De Riquer. He understands tròbet to be transitive ('to find'), with lò devet as its object, and he translates lines 8-9: 'encontró el retiro [de la mujer]'. In this De Riquer appears to have given to 'devet' the meaning which Levy attaches to 'devè(n)s' (PD. 'd'èfense d'èntre dans un pré etc.; d'èfens, terrain r'èservé': compare devet, all of whose listed meanings are abstract: 'd'èfense, interdiction; interdit, banvin'), but the rhyme requires open 'e', which would seem to exclude this possibility. Compare the original line-order in the only ms: 'Tant anet/ E volet/ E seguet/ Lo devet,/ Orguanet,/ E trobet,/ A cantar comensa'. Trobet could perhaps be used intransitively here, in the sense of 'to compose': the association of verbs ('trobet ... orguanet ... cantar') hints at this. On orguanet see SWB.V.518 ('Ist organar etwa "singen"?') and the Donatz Proensals (793: glossary: organar - 'to sing in an ornamented or decorated manner (?)'). In this case, retaining the order of lines in the ms, the only verb to refer to 'lo devet' would be seguet. Devet could not then logically have the meaning of 'a place', although the lines would make sense if devet were in some way linked to 'dever, deure', with the meaning 'duty, obligation; order, instructions'. (Compare PD. segre, seguir - 'obéir'.) See SWB.II.197, where Levy quotes from Bartsch's glossary (devet - 'Befehl, Auftrag'), although he asks: 'Aber wie sollte das Wort zu der Bedeutung kommen?'.
- 13 brai e crida: see Paterson, p.53, on the notion of shouting and discordant clamour in Marcabru and in the Estornel songs in particular.
- 15 'The meaning, the essential message of it (the bird's song)'?
- 17-18 See Topsfield, Troubadours, p.93, and PD. s'esduire - 's'écarter'; trescar - 'danser, sauter'.

- 19-22 Paterson (p.53) follows Lewent (p.431): 'Auzels, ui/ditz, per cui/ fas tal brui/ ...', where the lines are understood as the speech of the woman as she opens the door. Compare Topsfield, Troubadours, p.93, who sees in these lines two speeches. Paterson translates line 22: 'or what kind of love is he quarrelling about?'
- 24 Lewent suggests that es should be understood as etz and the pros as the bird's master (the lover), with line 26 as an insulting attack upon the women, and he translates: 'Gegen einen Trefflichen jenseits Lerida seid ihr so grausam (habt ihr so gekämpft)...' (p.431). De Riquer accepts this interpretation (note, p.217). Tan descremida presents problems. Lewent translates the line as if the first d of descremida were not there (implicitly emending to escremida?). Pillet reads 'tant escremida' (p.16), and this is noted by Appel, who also suggests the reading 'tan d'escremida (?)' (p.416). The verb appears to be escremir (PD: 'défendre'). (Should the line perhaps be emended: 'es tant escremida'?)

Compare Gavaudan Poem VII (PC 174,8):

Fals'Amor sap tant d'escrima
 Que ben de lieys no ss'escrim
 Segurs es de gran batalla
 Cum es lo senhs del batalh. (ll.31-34)
 ('False love is so skilled at fencing that
 the man who does not defend himself against
 her can be sure that he faces a great
 battle, just as the bell is certain of
 being struck by the clapper.')

Jeanroy translates lines 31-2: 'Faux Amour est si habile à l'escrime que celui qui ne s'escrime pas contre lui ...' (p.527). The escrima of Gavaudan line 31 would appear to refer to fencing, while ss'escrim of the following line is perhaps better understood as 'se battre, combattre; se défendre' (PD). Could the text of Marcabru's song contain a similar ambiguity or play on terms and sounds? That gandida of XXVI line 25 (PD. 'refuge, protection; lieu de refuge') could also be related to gandir as a technical term used in fencing also points to this

possibility (see the examples cited by Roncaglia with reference to Marcabru's use of ēsćrīmīr in line 33 of 'D'aisso laus Dieu', 'Il gáp', p.65). The English translation 'skirmish' might convey both these interpretations. Here again, perhaps, the notion of false love in Poem XXVI is associated with images of battles: compare the puta's crossbow in Poem XLIV and the military connotations of XXV line 65 (raüs) and XXVI line 82 (s'ardi) and the reference to the Lerida campaigns (see Appendix).

Compare also the coincidence of imagery between Gavaudan's reference to the bell in these lines and Marcabru XXVI line 50 ('Qu'en un glatz'). See note below.

- 27-28 'Tausend Freunde tun vor aller Welt, als wenn sie durch euch beglückt (reich) wären' (Lewent, p.432). En would represent the woman. On the connotations of the term ric, see A. Sakari, 'Le Thème de l'amour du ric ome au début de la poésie provençale', in Actes et mémoires du III^e congrès international de langue et littérature d'Oc, 2 vols (Bordeaux, 1964), II, pp.88-95, who reviews themes developed by Köhler (see Sociologia). Although this metaphor may flatter the woman by hinting at the power she has to ennoble and transform her lovers, given Marcabru's attitude towards the ric discussed by these scholars, the compliment may be two-edged.
- 29-30 'Durch die Verborgenheit, mit der (que relatives Adverb) er euch diente...' (Lewent, p.432).
- 31-33 The demands of the rhyme require meric instead of merit (see MÖlk, p.88), 'recompense, reward'. Roncaglia ('Per un'edizione', p.53) understands chairic as an hapax and interprets it with the aid of Du Cange, caricium:, 'offering made out of charity or as a gratuity'.
- 34-43 Commentators have proposed conflicting interpretations of these lines, which may be crucial for the overall interpretation of the songs since it is here that the woman expresses her

attitude towards love. Lewent understands the general sense of the stanza to be: 'Aber die Dame mag keinen Liebhaber, der nach höfischer Sitte um Liebe wirbt und dafür auch Treue von Seiten der Dame verlangt' (p.432). According to Lewent's understanding, lines 35-37 can be interpreted: 'But if he does not want to inspire fin'amors in me, he may consider - provided that I do not need to pledge to be faithful to him - that he has won my affection'. I follow Lewent in emending L' of line 38 to C' and So of the following line to No: in his view the woman is rejecting a courtly lover, derisively referred to as a 'badiu/Ses aisiu', but saying that she would view the bird's master favourably as long as he did not demand fidelity from her and provided that their liaison was purely physical. Spitzer, however, accepts Dejeanne's translation of lines 35-37 ('... mais puisqu'il n'éveille pas mon amour, puisque je ne lui ai pas engagé ma foi, je pense être maîtresse de mon inclination'), suggesting only the correction of mas (l.36) to mes. The lady is arguing that since she has made no formal promises to the bird's master, she can dispose of her affections as she wishes. According to Spitzer's interpretation, she then goes on to say (ll.38-44) that she already has one lover and rejects the idea of another courtly suitor, which is how the man is presenting himself. Both critics interpret her reply as a rejection of the courtly lover: Lewent because she finds the idea displeasing, and Spitzer because she already loves someone else (compare l.38: autr').

- 38-43 On the rhyme -iu, see Lewent, p.433, who retains the ms reading and rejects Dejeanne's emendation -i[e]u.
- 45 The lady's fin'amistat is already promised 'in another direction', to someone else, which would support Spitzer's interpretation of stanza 4.
- 47 revit: a gaming term (see Guilhem IX (PC 183,2) Poem VI line 52 and Pasero, p.183: 'sfido di nuovo, in riposta').

- 48 She is referring (false flattery ?) to the bird's sound, wise judgement.
- 49 Punctuation from De Riquer.
- 50-52 Roncaglia understands glatz to derive from glässus (see Du Cange: 'the sound of bells') and remarks: 'l'oscillare della campana, che ad ogni rintocco lev'e jatz, rappresenta la rapidità con cui lev'e jatz, sorge e s'estingue, il desiderio carnale' (p.51). The rhyme demands desiratz instead of desirans (Mölk, p.88).
- 53-55 Reading 'Ans sazatz', Roncaglia translates the lines: 'l'abate ... sarà soddisfatto prima che ci separiamo' p.50).
- 56 cel: 'ist wohl eine Art Decke', representing 'ein besonderes feines Zimmer' (Lewent, p.434). But if the lady talks a few lines later of an outdoor rendezvous under a pine tree, and then of a garden, it is difficult to see how cel can be anything other than the sky; rather the cambr' could be understood as a figurative 'room', an enclosed place where they will meet privately (?).
- 57 Translating the lines of Marcabru's song poses problems: compare Dejeanne, p.231: 'jauzir; corr. jauzit (?)': De Riquer ('interpretación conjetural'): 'del rico gozar para la gozosa'. If jauzida is taken to represent the speaker alluding to herself, then the following lines in the third person are also understandable. Could this be a rhetorical flourish by the woman, perhaps evidence of her 'falsa razos daurada'? Line 57 is somewhat reminiscent of a device used on several occasions by Jaufre Rudel: compare

Per qu'ieu la jau jauzitz jauzen (Poem I 1.18:
PC 262,6),
Don ieu sia jauzens jauzitz (Poem III 1.12: PC 262,4)

which, it has been suggested, is a technique of stylistic intensification, commonly used in the Bible, and taken up by Jaufre as a device to add emphasis (see H. Diament, 'De la possibilité d'une structure sémantico-syntaxique hébraïque dans la langue des troubadours provençaux,' RN, 20 (1979-80), pp.125-34). See the uses of derivatives (jauzimens, jauziray) in 'Lanquan li jorn son lonc en mai' (PC 262,2), where in stanza 3 Jaufre also appears to refer to himself in the third person:

E, s'a lieys platz, alberguarai
 Pres de lieys, se be'm suy de lonh:
 Adoncs parra'l parlamens fis
 Quan drutz lonhdas er tan vezis
 Qu'ab bels digz jauzira solatz. (Poem V ll.17-21).
 ('And if it pleases her, I shall lodge near
 her, however far away I am now: then shall
 the exchanges/conversation seem delicate
 indeed, when the distant lover will be so
 close that he will enjoy the solace of
 sweet words.')

In the light of J. Gruber's thesis that 'Die einzelnen Lieder ('Vers', Canzone) sind virtuell Fragmente eines verschlüsselten Minnedialogs zwischen "Verstehenden", die einander an gedänklicher Subtilität und formaler Virtuosität zu überbieten streben' (p.256), could these echoes be seen not so much as coincidental but rather as part of the deliberate Aufhebung which Gruber describes and of the complex network of inter-textual allusions indicated by Pasero ('Pastora', pp.19-20)?

59 Ms E: plat; Bartsch: plen; Dejeanne proposes the correction plac (?). If the term is taken to refer to the woman, as seems most likely, should Bartsch's suggestion of plen then be plena, and would this not make the line too long? The general meaning would appear to be that the woman is coyly referring to a past joc when, beneath the man, with a kiss, she was pleased by pleasure/filled with pleasure.

67 Dejeanne translates: 'Il a gentement rempli sa mission', without explaining how razon can have this meaning.

68-69 The ms reads 'son senhor com questia': compare Dejeanne's edition: '[Vas] son senhor, com qu'estia'. In his notes Dejeanne suggests the correction 'son senhor vas cui s'escrida' (presumably on the grounds of the rhyme scheme which would require -ida at line 69) and, although Bertoni objects to it (arguing that com qu'estia is there to fill out the line and Dejeanne's emendation does violence to the ms reading: p.651), the correction is adopted without comment by De Riquer:

Estornels cui l'aura guid'a
Son senhor, vas cui s'escrida.
('the starline, whom the breeze wafts to
('a) its lord, to whom it shouts...').

Pillet suggested that 'com qu'estia' should be retained, but that the phrase represented the opening words of the bird (p.16): this would give the overall meaning 'I bring you a love of great worth, just as it was before (?)'. Lines 67-9 seem to mark a transition, suggesting that the bird is at that point returning to its master to transmit the lady's reply, but line 67 seems to mean that the bird finished the speech. Should line 69 mark the end of the narrative link and lines 70 - 84 be understood as representing the speech it was finishing: '(In this way/with the following words) the starling graciously finished the speech'? The bird's speech continues to the end of the song (compare Dejeanne's punctuation at line 77).

71-72 De Riquer translates: 'pues a los mil amantes [sólo] ha dado mil saludos'.

82-3 See Roncaglia ('Per un'edizione', pp.53-54): s'ardir - 'se mettre en embuscade'. He translates: 'che del giardino faccia a sé nascondiglio per l'agguato'.

84 Compare Poem XXV lines 76-77.

Most of the conventionally courtly aspects of the poems concern the presentation of the human dramatis personae: the lady and, to a lesser extent, the lover are depicted with the aid of vocabulary and expressions which are customarily associated with a courtly dompna and her sóupirant and which recall phrases used elsewhere by other troubadours.

That the lover needs to send a messenger, the bird, to his lady 'en un'encontrada' (XXV 1.3) indicates that she is at some distance from him or, at least, that she is as suitably inaccessible as a dompna should be (compare Jaufre Rudel's amor de lonh).⁸ Unable to contact her himself, the lover needs a go-between, the bird, while Bernart de Ventadorn, for example, wishes that he himself were a bird in order to be able to meet his lady:

Ai Deus! car no sui ironda
que voles per l'aire
e vengues de noih prionda
lai dinz so repaire? (Poem 4 ll.49-52: PC 70,44)
('Ah God, why am I not a swallow so that I may fly through the
air and come in the middle of the night into her dwelling?')

Marcabru describes her as his amia (1.4) but this relationship is qualified by the use of the past tense: cugei. No longer sure of her attitude towards him, the lover suspects the lady of faithlessness and the bird is charged with asking her the reason for her treachery (11.8-11). In line 66 he also refers to her as la traïa, the traitress. The doubting lover is apparently the victim of a 'belle dame sans merci'. She uses the power of a dompna to command his obedience cruelly to make him wait, fruitlessly, all night long (11.36-7). His love is apparently unrewarded and unrequited and, in lines 12-13, he speculates that this may be due to some kind of spell working on her. These lines recall Jaufre Rudel's complaints of an enchantment working on him:

Qu'enaissi'm fadet mos pairis
Qu'ieu ames e no fos amatz (Poem V ll.48-9: PC 262,2).

A power beyond appeal - perhaps all-powerful Amors - has so arranged the lives of the two poets that their passions are not reciprocated.

The notion of enchantment recurs in XXV stanza 5, where the lover praises his lady. He seems to be saying that any man who won her love would be so lucky that only the ministrations of a kind fairy could

explain his good fortune. Continuing in the same laudatory vein, he describes his lady as unique and better than any other woman, and again he uses terms very similar to those employed by Jaufre Rudel (PC 262,5), who says:

Quar anc genser crestiana
No fo ... (Poem II ll.17-18).

Compare Marcabru Poem XXV lines 47-8:

No fo tals crestianada
De sai lo peiron Elia. 9

The panegyric of the amia includes the information that, by implication, her worth and excellence are such that she is admired by many and is at no loss for suitors: 'De mil amicx es cazada' (1.58). The lover also praises her natural beauty (ll.56-7). These lines contain an allusion to potions or cosmetics: the lady is beautiful without them - a compliment and also an implied virtue, for other troubadours reproach women for using artificial cosmetic aids.¹⁰

The lover's passion is so great that he says he will die if he does not find out how she sleeps, 'nuda o vestia' (1.55). By giving him the answer she can save his life. Lines 52-5 could be understood to mean that he is asking to become her lover - at least in the sense of her recognised suitor - and to be present at her déshabille. It is also possible that whether she sleeps naked or clothed is determined by whether or not she sleeps alone, and the lover would in this case be asking whether she is faithful to him.¹¹

The lover alludes to the lieu commun of the folly of love, the madness which robs an ordinary man of his reason (1.70), and to the possibility of her giving him a sign, cause to hope that she views him with favour. (ll.74-7). She has treated him badly and made him suffer but he says he will give himself to her ('E'il m'autrei' 1.81), and forgive her the wrong she has done him, using terms similar to those employed by Guilhem IX in 'Farai chansoneta nueva' (PC 183,6): Marcabru's lover promises that 'Del deslei/Que'm fei/Li fauc drei' (ll.78-80), while Guilhem fears that he will die of suffering

si no'm faitz dreg dels tortz q'ie'us clam. (Poem VIII 1.24)

The courtly illusion is continued by the woman when she appears in person in Poem XXVI in that in some of the words she uses she appears to do and say what one would expect of a lady involved in a relationship based on fin'amors.

She justifies herself to the bird by saying that she is not the lover's sworn lady, she has promised him nothing (XXVI 11.36-7), and she uses the phrase 'fin'amistatz plevida' (l.46). But she does promise to reward the lover and designates the time, place and conditions of their rendezvous (stanza 6). The setting is one which other troubadours also describe: a cambra is mentioned, also a garden (11.56 and 83). Lazar draws attention to the 'expression-cliché', 'en *cambra* o dintz vergier', noting that these were 'les lieux de rendezvous les plus goûtés des troubadours, parce qu'ils offraient l'intimité et la discrétion' (p.133). The lady refers to a 'dous baiser': the troubadours considered the kiss to be a rare privilege and, in describing the occasion of this 'geste à valeur symbolique' ^{de} 'l'amour courtois', they also sometimes refer to the setting.¹² There, in the morning, she says:

Parem fi ... d'esta malvolensa (stanza 6).

(Compare Guilhem IX: Poem X lines 19-20 (PC 183,1):

Enquer me menbra d'un mati
que nos fezem de guerra fi.)

The lady summons the lover to a rendezvous in a garden; she is making the arrangements and, as the conventionally dominant partner, she is dictating the terms (see also XXVI 11.80-81).

The bird pays her an indirect compliment: in saying to the lover 'vos ai amor de valensa' (l.70), it implies that she is worthy of his love. It transmits to the lover what are presumably the lady's reassurances that she has behaved towards her other suitors with fitting courtly reserve and has merely entertained them socially (stanza 7).

Alongside this representation of the amia must be placed Marcabru's evocation of himself as a humble, devoted, suffering fin'aman.

But almost every one of these courtly elements or lieux communs associated with fin'amors is found in juxtaposition to another element of a far from courtly nature which reveals the thinness of the courtly veneer and gives the lie to such posturings and descriptions.¹³

As far as the pose of the devoted lover is concerned, the impression of timidity and wronged humility is shattered when it becomes apparent that the little the lover is asking of the lady is, in fact, 'lo plus':¹⁴

Si'll plagues /Ni volgues/Qu'o fezes (ll.16-18).

As Topsfield points out, 'the poet's thoughts of his lady ... change abruptly from courtly fantasy to earthly reality' (Troubadours, p.92). This is the first serious flaw to appear in the courtly illusion. In choosing the expression 'lo faire', although Marcabru avoids the stark obscenity of fotre, he employs a phrase 'prégnant von geschlechtlichen Vereinigung' (SWB.III.380-81) which is found in the works of other troubadours.¹⁵ In such a context one would expect rather to find a more subtly erotic allusion in keeping with the observation that 'l'imprécision et la discrétion du vocabulaire permettent aux troubadours de soustraire au public courtois le côté sensuel de leur amour' (Cropp, p.378). 'Lo faire' is more explicit than suggestive,¹⁶ and the expression serves to underline one of the early indications that the lover is not a true courtly suitor.

The deference with which he appears to make the suggestion (ll. 16-17) is revealed as mere lip-service to the lady's wishes since this favour is in fact the price he demands for pardoning her the deslei and for forgiving the 'grat/De l'abat/ Saint Privat'(ll.71-73). Lewent thought that this reference to the abbot might be an obscene allusion (p.433), and Spanke drew a parallel between this expression for the pudenda and medieval Latin usage (p.62). Roncaglia's reading of XXVI lines 53-55 confirms the allusion.¹⁷ The lover will forgive her infidelity provided that she accords him exactly the same favours:

... sutz mei/ Aplat sei/ Qu'ela'm lass'e'm lia (XXV ll.82-4).

The wording of lines 82-4 of Poem XXV closely resembles that of the passage in the pastorela where, as the debate progresses, the knight abandons his flowery circumlocution and swears to the girl:

E seria'us ben doblada
Si'm vezi'una vegada
Sobiran e vos sotrana (11.47-9).
('And you would be doubly beautiful if (just) once you saw me
above you with you beneath.')¹⁸

The intentions of the lover in the Estornel poems would seem to be similar to those of the unprincipled, lecherous knight of the pastorela. The incongruity of such a request by a courtly lover has been remarked on by Nelli, Lazar and Rita Lejeune, who notes that the request represents 'le contrepied de la doctrine classique' and constitutes an allusion to a type of love symbolised by the starling.¹⁹

It is not, in fact, the lady who is in command of the situation and, rather than being content with whatever favours the lady deigns to offer, the lover is dictating the terms. In the poems examined in the preceding chapter, despite the presence of the courtly expression si dons, the man plays the dominant role and has the lady in his power. Courtly roles and procedure have again been overturned and this incongruous reversal is underlined here by the explicit way in which the lover frames his 'request'.

The lover calls his lady his amia. Cropp notes that, although this term does not necessarily indicate a specifically courtly relationship, it does imply that an emotional link exists between the man and woman concerned. She goes on to remark, however, that 'amia, proche de ses emplois dans la poésie latine où le mot correspondant suppose un amour passionné et illégitime, apparaît parfois dans un contexte marqué de sensualité' (p.46).²⁰ Initially the courtly ambience of the context colours the interpretation of the term in Poem XXV, but its equivocal value in this respect facilitates the transition of the poem's tone from the courtly to the sharply contrasting tone of crudeness which exposes the masquerade of fin'amors.

In stanza 4 the lover points out that the lady is well-provided with suitors, implying also that she responds favourably to all of them:

De mil amicx es cazada
E de mil senhors amia. (XXV 11.58-9)²¹

If he is accusing her of giving to a thousand other men the same considerations as he receives from her, this could be said further to devalue any connotations of emotional involvement which his use of amia in line 4 may have carried.

The detail 'a thousand' - even when this is taken to represent 'a great number' - has something of a burlesque of courtly lyric conventions about it and, as if this multitude were not enough, the gate is not shut:

Marcabrus/ Ditz que l'us/ Non es clus, (ll.60-62),

that is to say that the number of her lovers has not yet reached a definitive total.²² Spitzer wondered 'Ist us obszön zu fassen?' (p.222) and Adams's examples of 'door' used metaphorically in Latin literature for cunnius would seem to confirm this interpretation.²³ The scurrilous nuance may be intended further to colour the accusation that the woman is not selectively restricting the number of her lovers.

Although it is therefore possible that still more men, including the speaker, may yet have access to the woman, 'anyone who wishes for more from her' must gape and muse (ll.63-66), 'more' (plus) being understood as 'etwa echte, treue Liebe'.²⁴ Although the woman is called amia, the relationship cannot be one of fin'amors since it excludes fidelity. Because the lady will not plight her troth, any man who wishes for more from her than the sort of physical favours which she grants to many must be reduced to that unproductive, foolish and negative state which Marcabru castigates in other poems.²⁵ The peasant girl of the pastorela, for example, tells the knight that his flattering advances avail him nothing:

Per so n'auretz per soudada
Al partir: bada, fols, bada,
E la muz'a meliana. (XXX ll.54-6)
('For this you will have as payment/reward in the end: 'gape,
fool, gape', and a wasted afternoon (and a fruitless wait has
the afternoon ?).')

In the light of the distinction Marcabru draws between two attitudes or ways of thinking in 'Doas cuidas ai, compaigner', it is possible to suggest a connection between this vacuous state of mind and the folia referred to in XXV line 70. Perhaps overwhelmed by the number of her other lovers ('mil amicx'), or maybe disappointed in his illusory hopes

of obtaining a commitment to faithful fin'amors from her (he is left to 'bad'e mus' while she will not give him the plús he wishes for but betrays his hopes and expectations: compare lines 11 and 66), a lover is ignominiously defeated. A man deluded into behaving like this has no inner worth for, in Marcabru's terms, he lacks cuida'entiera.

In the lines immediately following this stanza which casts doubts on the lady's integrity, the lover calls her a pauzada (1.69):

'Marcabruno assimila ad una cortegiana la donna cui invia lo stornello'.²⁶ She possesses a 'variegated flower' and, although this distinguishes her, such praise is of little value because the flower makes her unique only among courtesans. Flor, moreover, was a euphemistic expression used in Latin literature for the female pubenda (Spanke, p.62) and its variegated colour indicates that her love is impure and not to be trusted.²⁷ Neither is that of the man, however, for, although he says that she is 'desired with true love' (XXV 1.67), his own words give the lie to this declaration.

Roncaglia's interpretations of matinia (1.15) as an ironic 'reward' and mes (1.19), 'gift, reward', show that already in stanza 2 the lover is impugning the lady's honour ('Per un'edizione', pp.52-3). If cazada (1.58) is closely associated with cazat (see Notes above), this line could represent another instance of Marcabru's subtle use of feudal terminology in positive and negative images of love, and carry the implication that the lady, again the inferior partner in the love relationship, has been rewarded by such feudal grants and has sold herself to the senhors, her lovers.

There is a further possible indication that the lady is a whore or, at least, that she does not give her favours gratuitously, in stanza 7 of Poem XXVI. Reporting to the lover what the lady has said in her own defence, the bird reassures him on the subject of her 'mil amicx':

C'als mil drutz
 Ha rendutz
 Mil salutz,
 E pagutz
 Per condutz
 Ses traütz
 De falsa semensa. (11.71-7)

She reacted to the many suitors with becoming còrtèsia, greeting them and entertaining them socially, 'sans tributs de fausse semence (sans leur accorder ses faveurs?)' (Dejeanne, p.130). Träütz has the same meaning as träütage.²⁸ Levy refers to Meyer's interpretation of träütage as 'tribut' in several passages of Guillaume de la Barre, noting that in others it can be understood in the sense of 'Zoll, Eingangszoll' (SWB. VIII.403). In this, träütage closely resembles the intratge mentioned in a similar context in the pastorela where the girl refuses the advances of the knight. Suspicious of the glib promises of suitors, she says:

Mas ieu, per un pauc d'intratge,
 Non vuoill ges mon piucellatge
 Camjar per nom de putana. (ll.68-70)
 ('But I don't want to exchange my virginity for the name of
 'whore' just for a little entry-fee.')

According to Levy, intratge means 'droit d'entrée' (PD) and it would seem that, by having the peasant girl use a legalistic, commercial term denoting the fee or toll payable upon entering a city, Marcabru is contrasting the girl's virtue with the whorish behaviour of the high-born ladies with whom the knight is accustomed to associate.²⁹ Her spirited reply also contains an example of the sort of pun which the Leys d'Amors calls equivocatio, corresponding to the Latin ambiguitas and annominatio, since intratge may also be understood as 'entrée', 'the act of entering' which the knight seems to have in mind.³⁰ Although the rhetorical figure is not present in the Estornel songs, the notion of prostitution and payment occurs, expressed in similar terms. The term träütz hints that the lover has suspected his lady of behaving in the same way.³¹ She denies it but, bearing in mind the implied description of her in XXV lines 23-26, she is probably not to be believed (see below). Taken in conjunction with the interpretation of chairic as 'donation' and Roncaglia's comment that 'l'affermazione che chi è stato generoso con la donna ne sarà rimeritato è evidentemente ironica' ('Per un'edizione', p.53), it would seem that the lover is accusing his beloved of being, literally, a whore. However, in the light of Marcabru's use elsewhere of the term puta, it seems probable that here too such an accusation should be understood in the figurative sense and that Marcabru is describing in an unmistakably pejorative way a lady who takes several lovers (see Chapters V and VI above).

The woman's promiscuity and deceitful, uncourtly behaviour are evoked in a number of different ways on several occasions in the two poems.³² She responds with alacrity to the lover's suggestion of a reconciliation. She speaks of a 'dous baisar' (1.58) which can be interpreted as the 'témoignage d'un amour récompensé', but the verb also carries connotations of a more directly sexual nature and can signify 'coucher avec (une dame)', especially when it is found in contexts which would suggest physical contact more intimate than that of a kiss (Cropp, pp.369-70). Placed in an apparently courtly context but occurring just before the courtly ambience is shattered in line 59, the word baisar is perhaps employed with intentional ambiguity by Marcabru, who may be playing on its more carnal connotations. Baisar may carry echoes of its apparently more chaste use in the works of other troubadours, but may also in the context of Marcabru's song be used as synecdoche.

By using in lines 59 and 65 the same graphic formula as the lover employs ('sotz lui mi'), the lady indicates that she envisages the same manner of resolving their differences and, in line 59, implies that she finds this an attractive proposition. In this way 'i mille amanti antichi cedono il passo al nuove vincitore'.³³

She promises that the 'abbot' will be satisfied before the lovers part (XXVI ll.53-5) and she is still very willing to grant the lover's uncourtly request even though she is conscious of the transient nature of physical desire (XXVI ll.50-52).³⁴ This behaviour is quite unsuitable in a domna and conflicts with the image of her, on one level, as a lady concerned with fin'amors. Apparently courted as a domna, she gives her favours easily, to many, and responds as a puta.

The lover's insulting references to her as a whore may be inspired by jealousy and wounded pride, but this is not the only way in which she is revealed to be an uncourtly woman. In Poem XXV, in the middle of the section devoted to praise of his lady, the lover breaks off to attack her and compares her to an old fox:

Per semblant es veziada
Plus que veilla volps cassada. (11.34-5)

According to the bestiaries, the fox is a very cunning and wily animal, one of its characteristics being that it never runs in straight lines, but in circles.³⁵ This tortuous progress, the following of the twisted path, is one of the images Marcabru uses to represent the corruption and folly of people deluded by 'fola cuida':

Cuidan s'en van lo tort sentier ('Doas cuidas' 1.64).³⁶

A lady who has the attributes of an old fox, reputedly adept at giving hunters the slip,³⁷ is obviously to be numbered among the corrupt and deceitful people the poet criticises elsewhere, while the word veilla cannot be understood as a compliment, whether the lady is old in real or in courtly terms.³⁸

The association of women with foxes was a misogynist commonplace representing female deceit. Northern French fabliaux include such phrases as 'Femme est goupil por gent deceyvre', and 'Molt set feme de renardie',³⁹ while the Roman de Renart contains an example of etymological word-play concerning the 'significance' of the female wolf and fox:

Se l'une est chate, l'autre est mite.⁴⁰

Chate-mite is the 'décomposition du vieux mot chattemite: "fourbe et doucereux".⁴¹

Rita Lejeune believes that the allusion to the old vixen is sufficient proof that the lady of the Estornel songs is not literally a prostitute ('Thèmes', p.86 note 37). Implicit in her view is that there is no good reason why a prostitute should keep her client waiting all night (XXV 11.36-7), or cunningly try to elude him; a whore would surely not bother to deceive 'per semblant', nor would a client trouble to accuse her of unseemly behaviour. But a lady concerned that her reputation should not suffer as a result of her amorous activities would be anxious to put her moral accusers off the scent, so to speak, and would employ various subterfuges, assume different appearances (semblant) in order to accomplish this.

One of the means she employs is alluded to in stanza 3 of Poem XXV. At a point where the apparent panegyric could be expected to continue, the lover abruptly changes the tone, exclaiming:

Ai! com es encabalada
Na Falsa Razos-daurada.
Denan totas vai triada.
Va! ben es fols qui s'i fia. (11.23-6)

Understood as an ironic senhal, the expression implies that her lying, flattering tongue is an essential part of the image the lover has of her and that this fusion is perhaps represented in the structure of the poem itself.⁴² Both the wily woman and her glib razon, the manifestation of her unreliability, parade themselves foremost before all others. The lady is ironically praised as the first among women and the false impression of praise is helped by the use of the word encabalada, 'well-perfected' (Paterson, p.11), while the notion of 'gilding' belongs to the terminology of rhetoric and, applied to a song, means to give a very special 'colour' to it.⁴³ If the subject of line 25 is taken to be 'words' Marcabru could be implying that women prefer lying flattery to the ungilded truth. Through this emphasis on her treachery and deceitful speech, the amia can be seen to resemble other female figures the troubadour singles out for attack (see Chapters III, V and VII above).⁴⁴

The senhal with which one would expect the lover to praise his lady is, in fact, another insult. The atmosphere of respectful praise (already arguably somewhat damaged by the connotations of lines 15 and 19-20) is completely shattered, both by the Ai! of line 23 which recalls the exclamatory, negative refrain of Poem XXXI, and by what the lover goes on to say, although he resumes in conventional, courtly vein in line 45.⁴⁵

During the course of the attack, the lover calls his lady a liar (11.23-6). Depending on the exact interpretation placed on lines 34-47 of the lady's self-justificatory reply (Poem XXVI), it could be said that the woman herself is providing an example of 'false'razos daurada'. The lady seems to be rejecting fin'amors and another courtly lover who would require her fidelity - that she already has one lover is implicit in her use of the word autra (1.38) - and from stanza 5 it seems that she has already promised herself to another (11.45-6).⁴⁶ On the one hand she uses the language of fin'amors, but on the other she is quite willing to become involved in a much less elevated 'game' (1.47) such as that of which Guilhem IX claims mastery (PC 183,2: Poem VI stanza 2). Lines

50-55 of Poem XXVI indicate clearly what sort of game the lady has in mind (see below). There is an obvious conflict between the two sorts of activity.

It is possible that the lady is aware of this discrepancy and that it is deliberate. According to Roncaglia's understanding of lines 35-37, she is conscious of the ephemeral nature of physical desire. It is possible that Marcabru is here attacking a type of woman who has understood that fin'amors requires fidelity - that one is allowed only one fin'aman at a time - but who does not fully appreciate that fin'amors and Amars are incompatible. Rejecting the man as a courtly suitor, at the same time she accepts him as a partner in casual fornication because she fails to grasp that fin'amors also excludes this sort of behaviour. If she is indeed indulging in specious courtly casuistry in order to allow herself the option of fornication, then her razos are false and gilded. Her speech illustrates dramatically the complaints of the lover in that she is acting out his critical name for her, 'Na Falsa Razos-daurada'.

Her speech may also be understood to exemplify the hypocritical or, at best, uncomprehending attitude towards fin'amors, the ignorance of its real requirements which Marcabru criticises as a poet and which he attempts to correct in his works. Lines 41-44 of Poem XXV provide an indication that the Estornel songs may also be understood as songs of correction:

Mas us chans
Fa'n enfans
Castians
De lor felonia.

By means of this song (the bird's message?), it could be that the lover hopes to show the lady the error of her ways and stop her from being deceitful and fickle in the future. But this allusion to correcting the behaviour of children may also be read as an explicit statement by Marcabru the poet - stepping momentarily out of his role as the pseudo-lover (see note 91) - of his intentions in composing the Estornel songs.⁴⁷ Marcabru may again be attempting to castiar the attitudes of those people who are represented by the figures of the man and the woman in the poems. The lover can be seen to be no less blameworthy than the lady, and the implication may be that Marcabru regards their conduct as

felonia.⁴⁸ Fantazzi has remarked that in these songs Marcabru 'brands the elaborate ritual of words and gestures as a deliberate camouflage for an adulterated mixture of profane and spiritual love' (p.387). It has been argued that this process and the attitudes lying behind it are the targets of Marcabru's criticisms in those poems containing the expression si`dõns. In all these poems the lovers' ideas of what constitutes fin'amors can be seen to be mistaken and incomplete, and this results in an abuse of fin'amors. Similarly, in Poems XXV-XXVI, although the relationship at first appears to be courtly, it becomes obvious that a courtly outer form covers an uncourtly reality.

The consensus of critical opinion is that these songs are satires, and it has also been suggested that they are parodies with a polemical intention.⁴⁹ Roncaglia proposes to understand the terms fin'amors and fin'amistatz here in a 'senso ironico-parodistico: non solo ironico ... ma propriamente parodistico, in quanto Marcabruno [ne] usa questa volta non solo con riferimento alle prestazioni erotiche d'una pauzada, ma entro un contesto che ricalca ostentatamente i modi delle canzoni cortesi' ('Trobar clus', p.28).

It has been suggested (see Chapter II) that traces of a literary and ideological conflict involving Marcabru can be detected in Marcabru's own works and in the songs composed by his immediate successors. The basis of this conflict would appear to be the distinction Marcabru believes should be made between true and false love. These two poems apparently deal with a courtly relationship but they contain such gross discrepancies between the terms and the uncourtly reality that the contrast must surely be understood as intentional. In composing the songs, Marcabru may not only be holding up to ridicule and criticism a caricature of people who behave in this way but also attacking those poets who compose in that manner. He may be understood to be attacking, by means of parody, troubadours who employ the refined language and poetic forms of fin'amors but who mean by these a form of love not far removed from that practised by the characters of the Estornel songs.

Support for this interpretation may be found in the way Marcabru as a troubadour employs certain courtly motifs of troubadour love poetry, such as the senhal (see above). The reference in Poem XXV to 'lo peiron Elia' (1.48) forms part of the apparently conventional hyperbole praising the lady. In the light of the view expressed by Roncaglia that Marcabru's poetic language should be interpreted in the context of

medieval moral and religious symbolism, it could be tentatively suggested that a deeper significance can be found in the troubadour's unexpected allusion to a rather obscure Old Testament rock.⁵⁰

Errante follows Lewent in rejecting Pillet's identification of Elijah's rock as Mount Carmel and understands line 45 to allude to Mount Horeb, 'wo Elias in einer Höhle lebte' (Lewent, p.430). Given Marcabru's detailed knowledge of the Scriptures,⁵¹ it can be no coincidence that the place he chooses to mention in this particular context, Mount Horeb, is closely connected with Elijah's solitary fight against Jezebel and the false beliefs of the priests of Baal who had corrupted the majority of the population.⁵² Marcabru may be employing the biblical allusion in order to provide a clue to the existence of a serious message in these songs, to the didactic intention underlying the parody, and it may be that this reference to a place connected with false beliefs indicates that in the Estornel songs the troubadour is attacking the same détournement and abuse of fin'amors which he criticises in 'Soudadier, per cui es Jovens'.⁵³ Both Jaufre Rudel and Guilhem IX employ religious references in their praise of the woman. Marcabru follows their example in this, but the unexpected allusion to Horeb can be seen as an example of Marcabru making clever use of a convention of the courtly lyric in order to mock that convention, perhaps because it was also misused by poets lacking a true appreciation of fin'amors.

In his allusions to dice and chess in both poems, Marcabru makes use of the lieu commun of the 'jeu d'amour [qui] revient dans toutes les chansons dramatiques et dans toutes les pastourelles'.⁵⁴ In the Estornel songs both games carry sexual connotations. Guilhem IX's use of dice imagery in an obscene context is well-known:⁵⁵ the three dice have a strictly sexual significance, and troubadour poetry contains similar examples of this metaphor.⁵⁶ Guilhem says:

E quan l'aic levat lo tauler
Espeis los datz:
E'l dui foron cairat valer,
E'l tertz plombatz. (ll.57-60)
(*'And when I had lifted up her apron, I threw the dice: two were square and true and the third was loaded.'*)⁵⁷

There is a connection between this passage and lines 27-29 of Marcabru's Poem XXV, and the similarity aids interpretation of Marcabru's lines where the allusion to dice can be seen both as an indication of the perfidy of the woman or her words,⁵⁸ and as a reference to her lustfulness.⁵⁹

It would seem that the allusions to chess should also be read in this way. The lover says that such a reference by his lady would represent for him the approach of love, a sign for hope:

M'ai pensat
Ses cujat
Si'm ditz: 'Mat',
Que l'amors embria. (XXV 11.74-77)

But these words are spoken immediately following the lover's obscene reference to the abbot of Saint Privat (11.71-73) and, although a courtly interlude then follows (11.78-81), the love for which mat would be the signal is presented in its unmistakable carnality in lines 82-4. The other evocation of the game of chess (XXVI 1.84) similarly occurs in a context of apparent courtliness. Here it is a question of the lovers' morning rendezvous in a garden, but the woman has already made it clear that the sort of meeting and reconciliation she has in mind is one where

Farem fi
Sotz lui mi
D'esta malvolensa. (11.64-66).⁶⁰

While both games are used as erotic metaphors in troubadour poetry, in Marcabru's songs they are specifically associated with Amars, with the 'joc coní' of which Marcabru disapproves (Poem XVII 1.42). There is at least one other allusion to gambling in Marcabru's songs. In 'Lo vers' with reference to the fundamental incompatibility of Amors and Amars, the troubadour says:

Si amars a amic coral
miga nonca m'en meravill
s'il se fai semblan bestiau
al departill;
greu veiratz ja joc comunau
al pelacill. (11.43-48)
('If Amars has a true lover, I would not be at all surprised if it behaved like a beast at the moment of parting; you will be hard put to find a fair (equal) game of pelacill.')

The last two lines can be interpreted as expressing the unlikelihood of there being partners who are quits in a popular, contemporary game of chance, which Roncaglia suggests was famous for duping fools.⁶¹ Perhaps in Poems XXV-XXVI the game of love has similar connotations of deceit in which the semblance of fin'amors conceals a bestial reality. The lady of Poem XXVI declares her willingness to participate in this dubious game (1.47) immediately after revealing that her fin'amistatz already belongs to another. These courtly terms are rendered meaningless by her ready agreement to infidelity, to fornication, and her lack of cortesia becomes obvious, just as in 'Lo vers' Amars finally reveals its true nature.

The choice of the bird as messenger is in itself significant and heavily ironic. It is not merely the 'gentile mezzano' described by Savj-Lopez (p.166). Rita Lejeune has examined the question of the nature of the starling and found that it has the reputation of being 'un affairé, bruyant, souvent importun' ('Thèmes', p.85). In this alone it is a most inappropriate choice of messenger for a courtly lover. It is also 'un sédentaire', rarely flying outside its own territory, and yet the lovers sees fit to send it 'en un'encontrada' (1.3), and starlings are gregarious birds, flying in noisy flocks (Lejeune, p.86), whereas one would have thought that a fin'aman, concerned for secrecy and discretion (compare Poem XXVI ll.29-30), would have chosen as his messenger a creature known for these qualities rather than one which could even be said to resemble the figure of the lauzengier.

The only factor which would recommend a starling as a go-between is its reputed parrot-like ability to reproduce speech.⁶² Unthinking and uncritical, it is able to repeat mechanically what is said to it. Lejeune also notes that the starling is a bird 'dont le ramage naturel n'est pas agréable' (p.85). This is not the sweet bird-song referred to by other troubadours: on the contrary, stanza 2 of Poem XXVI contains a burlesque of troubadour rhetoric since the starling 'sings so badly that it has to declare itself a bird':⁶³

Sobr'una branca florida
 Lo francx auzels brai e crida;
 Tant ha sa votz esclarzida
 Qu'ela n'auzet l'entensa. (11.12-15)

Although braïrè and cridar can be interpreted in the sense of 'to sing' when applied to birds in a conventional courtly context,⁶⁴ it seems likely that Marcabru intends that the more negative nuances of 'retentir, crier, pleurer, se lamenter' should colour the description here.⁶⁵ Braïrè and cridar may represent a discordant sound, as ^{these terms} apparently do in 'Aujatz de chan' where Marcabru wryly applies the terms to himself:

Per so sospir, car mouta gens ahura
de malvestat c'ades creis e pejura:
so m'en somon qu'ieu sia guerrejaire,
c'a lieis sap bon quan m'au cridar ni braire. (11.5-8)
('But I sigh because many people foretell evil consequences for
Malvestatz is constantly increasing and growing worse: this
calls me to fight against it, for people like to hear me shout
and complain.')⁶⁶

This usage can also be compared to that in Guilhem de Berguedan's satirical attack, 'Un trichaire', (PC 210,22), where he says: 'per vos vuelh un sonet brayre' (1.14).⁶⁷ De Riquer notes that the verb 'se suele aplicar a la emision de sonidos estridentes y a menudo para criticar a los juglares que cantan roncamente'.⁶⁸ Given that in Marcabru's gap, the estornels of stanza 10 may be understood on one level as jongleurs, perhaps here in Poem XXVI the bird embodies a satire on Marcabru's contemporary troubadours or jongleurs, a way of criticising false singers who merely repeat, unthinkingly, what they have heard or who produce songs which are displeasing - to Marcabru, at least - both in content and in the manner in which they are sung.⁶⁹

The starling is not a conventional messenger for courtly lovers.⁷⁰ Given the ambiguous nature of the poems as a whole, when the starling declares on returning to the lover

Vos ai amor de valensa (XXVI 1.70),

these words may also be interpreted in an ironic way. Either the bird itself has been duped by the lady's words and Marcabru causes it to come to a conclusion which the audience can recognise as false, or the starling may have perceived the truth and is itself speaking ironically, perhaps alluding to the 'value' of a traütz which the lady did accept.

The motif of the bird messenger can be seen to provide one of the strongest indications that the Estornel songs may be understood as satirical parodies. Is it possible to identify the target of Marcabru's attacks here?

The striking similarities between Marcabru's two songs and Peire d'Alvernhe's 'Rossinhol, el seu repaire' (PC 323.23) have been noted often.⁷¹ Scholarly interpretations of these similarities vary, however, although all commentators have drawn attention to the different treatments accorded by the two troubadours to the basic theme of the lover and his distant lady communicating by means of a bird messenger.⁷² While Marcabru's songs are considered to be satirical parodies, stress is laid on the contrasting seriousness and courtly delicacy of Peire's composition.⁷³

It was thought that Marcabru's Estornel songs could not be intentional parodies of Peire's poem since it is a critical commonplace that serious treatment of a theme precedes the burlesque or parody,⁷⁴ and Peire's known period of literary activity (1158-1180)⁷⁵ appears to postdate Marcabru's (1129-c.1150). A number of scholars assumed that Peire took Marcabru's songs as a model for his courtly poem.⁷⁶ It has also been suggested that the songs may have been composed at the same time, perhaps during a poetic competition, and that the two poets took as a model a lost piece which may have more closely resembled the pre-courtly archetype of the later 'romance' type of lyric.⁷⁷ Marcabru and Peire would then have treated the same popular lyric theme in different ways.⁷⁸ De Riquer sees no need to posit the existence of a lost song: moreover, in his opinion, 'después del estornino de Marcabru, un hombre como Peire d'Alvernhe no hubiera escrito una poesía que se prestara a la burla' (I, p.311).⁷⁹ He accepts that Marcabru was parodying Peire's song.⁸⁰ Since Marcabru's Poem XXVI was probably composed during or shortly after the second half of 1149 (see Appendix), 'Rossinhol, al seu repaire' must already have been composed by then and would then be the oldest of Peire's datable works. It would not seem unreasonable to assume that Peire's poetic career began some nine years earlier than has hitherto been supposed and that the two troubadours may well at one time have been active contemporaries.

However, Spanke has noted that one of the distinctive features of the troubadour lyric is that 'in ihrer Überlieferung die Parodie zum Teil fast älter ist als die Parodierte' (p.93). Köhler's explanation of the

Estornel songs as parodies of a lost archaic model finds support in the analogous arguments, illustrating Spanke's observations, which have been put forward to explain the problem of Marcabru's pastorela. The oldest extant example of the genre in the troubadour corpus, Marcabru's 'L'autrier jost'una sebissa' is considered to be 'un clef thématique, stylistique et sémantique [dont] la perfection de la forme, la connotation courtoise et la vivacité du contrasto en font déjà une pastourelle "classique", solidement constituée de ses éléments essentiels'.⁸¹ This song is thought to be a parody,⁸² perhaps of the 'pastoretas a la usanza antiga' which Marcabru took as a model 'pour en faire une polémique et une critique des moeurs courtoises qui à ses yeux étaient dépravées'.⁸³ If Marcabru's song were a sophisticated development of this sort, it would rely for its impact partly on comparison with the usual type of pastorela.⁸⁴ Again one must assume the existence of earlier and lost examples of the genre, and it is possible that in the Estornel songs Marcabru is similarly parodying a type of lyric in order to illustrate his arguments.

In both the Estornel poems and the pastorela Marcabru could be said to be portraying and criticising the vices and faults which he associates with Amars and, in particular, to be attacking those people (the couple in Poems XXV-XXVI and the knight of Poem XXX) who use the 'courtly forms which disguise carnal desire' (Topsfield, Troubadours, p.91). In addition, Pasero has shown that a number of close textual similarities link the Estornel songs with the pastorela⁸⁵ which he has called 'una polemica a distanza con Guglielmo IX', identifying the words and attitudes of Marcabru's knight as a critical parody of those of Guilhem IX ('Pastora', p.21). Other motifs and expressions in the Estornel songs discussed above may also echo and parody passages of Guilhem's poems.⁸⁶ Such intertextual references indicate that Poems XXV-XXVI may link Marcabru not only with Peire d'Alvernhe but also with Guilhem IX or with troubadours whose ideas concerning love, like those of Guilhem IX, did not accord with Marcabru's rigorous conception of fin'amors.⁸⁷ Marcabru's two songs, perhaps parodies of 'Rossinhol, el seu repaire', need not be understood as polemic attacks directed specifically and solely at a young troubadour whose later songs show him to have been an admirer and follower of Marcabru.⁸⁸

The significance of the Estornel diptych in Marcabru's ideological and stylistic polemic is more complicated than the phrase 'parodies of Peire d'Alvernhe's song' would imply. Marcabru may, for example, have adopted the basic form and theme of 'Rossinhol, el seu repaire' as a framework for a satirical attack upon other troubadours whose works may not have been preserved in the manuscripts.⁸⁹

Poems XXV-XXVI can be considered as a dramatic expression of ideas, especially the criticism of vices, which are found throughout Marcabru's works; rather than expounding explicit arguments in the abstract, Marcabru here teaches by means of a dramatised exemplum.⁹⁰ A similar message is presented in a similar manner in the pastorela where "'amor de cavalier", masquerading as fin'amors, is pitilessly unmasked' (Fantazzi, p.387) by the peasant girl who expresses Marcabru's judgement and represents the voice of reason, mesura and integrity. In Poems XXV-XXVI, however, the human dramatis personae are both corrupt since, although the lover's words show that the lady is promiscuous and untrustworthy, he nevertheless continues to press his suit and demands lo plus from her. There is no identifiable voice of honour and apparently no explicit authorial comment to direct the audience's sympathies or judgement.⁹¹ In this respect, the Estornel songs seem to differ in tone, approach and construction from the majority of the troubadour's songs. From the opening lines of Poem XXV where the lover evokes his distant amia and describes his situation, a fictional world is created. Far from directly pronouncing upon the situation, Marcabru himself adopts the first person singular voice and assumes the role of the pseudo-courtly lover, consistently displaying the 'tipi e comportamenti opposti al proprio ideale' as he does in his gap and in 'A la fontana del vergier'.⁹²

Marcabru's condemnation of the attitudes and behaviour epitomised by the two lovers appears to be conveyed implicitly in the construction of the songs themselves. They are organised in such a way as to present conflicts and clashes at once stylistic and ideological. Courtly elements are juxtaposed with grivois and courtly terminology alternates with coarse allusion; words are revealed as empty rhetoric (compare 'falsa razos daurada') or are used equivocally in order to emphasize the discrepancies between the courtly semblan and the uncourtly intentions of the lovers. In the absence of explicit authorial comment, however, it is for the audience to draw the inferences and formulate the final judgement. In this the troubadour seems to be composing with the

deliberate ironic intention described by D.H. Green: 'it is the author who consciously decides that his pretence shall be seen through and arranges by his choice of signals that this shall be possible'.⁹³

In this respect the anonymous porquiera poem could present illuminating similarities with Marcabru's Estornel songs. Grivois elements in the narrative are placed side by side with courtly forms in the man's speeches.⁹⁴ The narrator describes his first sight of the porquiera:

Et ac son cors fer e lag,
Escur e negre cum pega;
Grossa fo coma tonela,
Et ac cascuna mamela
Tan gran que semblet Engleza. (ll.7-11)⁹⁵
('She was coarse and ugly, swarthy and black as pitch, fat and round as a barrel, and her two breasts were so big that she looked like an Englishwoman.')

The narrator's reactions are negative (ll.12-13) but his words to the girl are courtly and in sharp contrast to the impression conveyed by the description:

Et ieu dishi'l: 'Na Corteza,
Bela res e gent apresa' ... (ll.15-16)
('And I said to her: 'Courtly Lady, beautiful and cultivated creature'....)

The approach here seems to be one of burlesque irony with a humorous aim. Poems XXV-XXVI may have had a similar comic appeal, although the discrepancies in Marcabru's songs are less grossly obvious and had also a more serious didactic purpose.⁹⁶ The Estornel songs are parodies, and allusive irony would seem to be the technique Marcabru chooses to employ on this occasion to criticise ways of thinking and behaving which are illusory and hypocritical, characterised by frait cuidar.⁹⁷ In the light of the discrepancies outlined above, Marcabru could be said to have composed two songs which are deliberately 'Entrebeschatz de fraichura' (Poem XXXVII l.12). If, moreover, the polemic nature of these parodies is stressed (compare the pastorela), Marcabru could be understood to be composing in a way which he elsewhere criticises in other troubadours who

Mi tornon mon chant en badau
E'n fant gratill. ('Lo vers' 11.11-12)
('They turn my song into an object of ridicule and mock it.')

If this is the case, Marcabru would have turned two of his early complaints into weapons of criticism against his rivals, critics and those false troubadours whose songs displayed an attitude towards love of which Marcabru disapproved (see Chapter II above).⁹⁸ He could be understood to be combatting his poetic opponents by mocking them just as they once mocked him.

The contradictions contained within the Estornel songs serve to indicate that they are not to be accepted at face value. This could be understood as a more sophisticated development of the technique which Marcabru often employs in those of his songs where fin'amors is defined, implicitly, by means of explicit and detailed criticism of its opposite, Amars. Here, by being obliged to consider all the courtly and uncourtly elements of the poems, the audience is prodded towards the conclusion that the conduct and ways of thinking of this pair of lovers is to be avoided by those who would follow true fin'amors. As J.J. Duggan has concluded, 'the troubadours were practising an art which left a creative role to the audience, inviting conjecture and interpretation. Ambiguity was for them, not an obstacle to be surmounted, but a poetic value.'⁹⁹

Notes to Chapter VIII

1. Lazar, p.58, and Bec, 'Genres', p.42. See also Denomy who concludes that there is nothing to suggest satire or cynicism in these songs ('Fin'amors', p.148).
2. See Roncaglia, 'Per un'edizione', p.48; De Riquer, I, p.211; and compare Köhler: 'Nul ne songe à contester que cette romance de l'étourneau a été conçue par Marcabru comme une méchante parodie de l'amour courtois' ('Remarques sur la "romance" dans la poésie des troubadours', in Mélanges Camproux, I, pp.121-29 (p.125)).
3. L'Érotique, I, p.284.
4. Roncaglia, 'Per un'edizione', p.55 (re-iterated in 'Trobar clus', pp.27-31); Molk, p.26.
5. R. Lejeune, 'Thèmes communs des troubadours et vie de société', in Actes et mémoires du II^e congrès de langue et littérature du Midi de la France, 2 vols (Aix-en-Provence, 1961), II, pp.75-87 (p.87).
6. See Lewent, Spanke, Topsfield (Troubadours), and Paterson.
7. Based on Dejeanne's edition and taking into consideration corrections suggested by Pillet, Lewent, Spitzer and Bertoni and, more recently, by Roncaglia and De Riquer.
8. See Jaufre Rudel (PC 262,4) Poem III lines 17-18, and compare Köhler's study of Jaufre's amor de lonh as a 'spatialisation de la distance sociale dans la psychologie amoureuse', Sociologia, pp.1-37, and the summary in Molk, p.36. (The phrase is from D. Rieger, 'Guillaume IX d'Aquitaine et l'idéologie troubadouresque', R, 101 (1980), pp.433-450 (p.438).)
9. Compare Leube-Fey, p.41: 'Dieses allgemeine Lob kleidet oft der Dichter in die Form einer Hyperbel'. She points out the parallel but seems to accept Marcabru's praise of the woman at face value.

10. See for example the two humorous tensos which the Monk of Montaudan devotes entirely to this matter (Poems XIV and XVI PC 305,7 and 11) and Gavaudan, Poem IV (PC 174,5):

Amors, per que vos no vezetz
L'engan qu'elhas nos fan vezer
Quan s'an pencha lur cara? (11.52-54)
('Love, why do you not see the trick which the women
make us look at/see when they paint their faces? ')

11. See Lazar, p.58-59.
12. Cropp, p.378: see also pp.369 and 372 on the kiss as a sign recognising the lover and rewarding him.
13. Compare Lawner's general observation: 'Many of the topoi of traditional courtly love poetry already appear here [in these poems], but slightly twisted into something vulgar and unsavoury' (p.504).
14. Compare Poem XXV lines 14-15, where the suppliant lover talks in terms of 'una sola vegada'.
15. See Paden, 'Utrum copularentur', p.72, and Chapter IV above.
16. Compare Cropp, p.379: normally the troubadour 'suggère, il ne s'explique pas'.
17. See the note to these lines above.
18. Dejeanne does not translate line 49, but see C. Brunel, 'Provençal soteiran, sobeiran', R, 55 (1929), pp.253-54. See Pasero, 'Pastora', p.20: in the course of his study of possible connections between Marcabru's pastorela and Guilhem IX Poem V (PC 183,12), Pasero draws attention in passing to a few of the passages in Marcabru's Estornel poems which link the songs with those of other troubadours and which are discussed below, but he does not develop the point.

19. Lejeune, 'Thèmes', p.86. Compare Nelli, I, p.284: 'curieux amant "courtois", qui "se donne" à elle comme serviteur et la possède aussitôt de la façon la plus ... cheval^eresque', and Lazar, who remarks of XXVI line 47: 'où sont les règles du code courtois? c'est l'amant qui dicte ses lois!' (p.131).

20. Compare Marcabru Poem XXIV where the promiscuous woman is also referred to as the poet's amia: see Chapter IV above.

21. Compare Poem XXVI lines 27-8.

22. See Lewent, pp.430-31, who suggests that these lines may be derived from the expression eissir a l'us de, 'to bring something to a conclusion'. Compare Paterson, p.23 n.3, who notes that the phrase eissir a lutz de has the same meaning.

23. See Adams, p.89, and his examples taken from Isidore of Seville's Etymologia.

24. Lewent, p.431, and see Spitzer, p.222: 'plus, "Treue"'.
25. Perhaps to be related to the 'broken' cuida of 'Doas cuidas': compare XXV line 4 (cugei); V line 29; XLII lines 15-16; XIV stanza 6.

26. Roncaglia, 'Per un'edizione', p.49.

27. See Roncaglia, 'Trobar clus', p.27 note 45, and the discussion of colour imagery in Chapter V above.

28. See SWB.VIII.401: traüt, and 402: traütage ('tribut').

29. See Fantazzi, pp.397-8. Compare Ourliac, p.165 n.43: 'l'allusion à l'accapte ou intragium du fief paraît certaine'. Both interpretations give the general meaning of 'entry fine' or 'entry fee'.

30. See Smith, p.264.

31. Compare 'falsa semensa' (XXVI 1.77) and XXXVI lines 23-4 (of dòmpnas):

Mas lor semensa frairina
Geta malvatz fruit quan grana.
('But their base semensa produces evil/bad fruit when
it bears seed. ')

- Dejeanne appears to have seen a carnal allusion in Poem XXVI, hence his discreet paraphrase '[sans leur accorder ses faveurs]?' . Compare Rayn.V.193: semensa 'race'. If the 'falsa semensa' represents the people who gave the tribute (rather than the tribute itself), could line 77 be interpreted as meaning that the lady accepted no bribe or entry toll from unworthy people, from girbaut?
32. Köhler remarked of this amia that 'la disposition de la femme à l'amour [est] à peine nuancée par ce que la société impose de retenue' ('Romance', p.125), and Topsfield points out that she is presented as being 'as sensually urgent as her suitor' (Troubadours, p.93).
33. P. Savj-Lopez, Trovatori e poeti: studi di lirica antica (Milan, 1906), p.167.
34. See above, notes to these lines of the woman's reply to the bird.
35. See F. McCulloch, Medieval Latin and French Bestiaries, University of North Carolina Studies in Romance Languages and Literatures, 33 (Chapel Hill, 1962), referring to the bestiary of Pierre de Beauvais: 'The fox in the allegory is said to resemble the devil, who pretends to be dead for those who live by the flesh until he has them in his jaws' (p.120). Could this allusion to 'those who live by the flesh' be of significance in this poem dealing with Amars?
36. Compare 'la via plana' followed by creatures in harmony with their natura (Poem XXI 11.15-16).
37. Bertoni, 'Due note', p.651.

38. Compare Bertran de Born, 'Bel m'es quan vei chamjar lo senhoratge' cited in Chapter VII above.
39. Quoted in T.L. Neff, La Satire des femmes dans la poésie lyrique française du moyen âge (Paris, 1900; repr. Geneva, 1974), p.53 and p.50. See also Jean de Meung's comparison of a woman to a wolf, a fox and a cat, since the cat seeks, the fox waits and the wolf rends and tears: all are beasts of prey (quoted in Hays, p.120).
40. Le Roman de Renart: Branches II-VI, éditées par M. Roques (Paris, 1951), line 3872.
41. Le Roman de Renart, translated by J. Haumont (Paris, 1966), glossary. Marcabru may have been familiar with the Renart tradition, and allusions to the amours of Hersent and Renart are found in the works of other troubadours (see for example, Raimon de Miraval (PC 406,21) Poem VIII line 44: 'volpil bastart'; see Topsfield's notes, p.117, and compare Peire Vidal (PC 364,21) Poem XXXIV lines 45-49: 'Be*m par que loba es' (1.45)).
42. See the discussion of 'na Bonafo' in Chapter VII above. On the subject of Poem XXV stanza 3, see the notes above.
43. See Smith, p.44; Paterson, p.189 note 4.
44. The reproaches or insinuations which the lover directs at the lady are essentially the same criticisms as Marcabru levels at the personification of Amars in other poems. Like Amars, the lady has a venal, mercenary approach to relationships (XXV stanza 2; XXVI stanza 7); she is fickle (XXV ll.38-9), deceitful (XXV l.39) and lustful (XXVI stanzas 5 and 6). Moreover, she has many lovers: unfaithful and promiscuous, in this alone she is shown to be the antithesis of a courtly domna. Again, in these poems Marcabru employs the full panoply of misogynist lieux communs.
45. See also the effect of the abrupt exclamation 'Va!' (1.26).
46. See the notes to these lines above.

47. Compare 'Doas cuidas' lines 53-4:

que femnas et efans petiz
an una decha comunau.
('For women and small children have the same defect'.)

48. It has been suggested that both the girl and the lover in Marcabru's 'A la fontana del vergier' are similarly equally deserving of blame, since the man is an unscrupulous seducer who has obviously not responded to the call to the crusade himself and the girl's selfish passion for her absent lover is in conflict with the priorities of a Christian: her blasphemous obsession with secular love is not integrated into an overall morality. See A.G. Hatcher, 'Marcabru's A la fontana del vergier', MLN, 79 (1964), pp.284-295, and W. Pagani, 'Per un'interpretazione di A la fontana del vergier', SMV, 20 (1972), pp.168-174.

49. See Mólk, p.56; De Riquer, I, p.211; Lawner, p.511; Spanke, p.62.

50. 'Per un'edizione', p.48, and see Chapter V above.

51. On this point see for example Schutz, 'Marcabru and Jehosaphat', and Hathaway and Ricketts, 'Lavador', p.7, on the Old Testament.

52. Compare Marcabru, 'Lo vers comensa':

D'aqest flagel
Marcabrus se coreilla,
ses compaigno. (ll.91-3)
('Marcabru complains about this scourge, alone,
without a companion.')

53. Could it be significant that the only other geographical reference in the Estornel songs is to Lerida, recently recaptured from the Moors and thus perhaps also associated with false beliefs (see Appendix).

54. M. Delbouille, Les Origines de la pastourelle (Brussels, 1926), p.22.

55. Guilhem's gāp (Bec, Burlesque, Poem I (PC 183,2)). See, for example, the discussion in Pasero, pp.184-86, and Pasero, 'Pastora', p.20.
56. See Rieger, 'Guillaume IX d'Aquitaine et l'idéologie troubadour-
esque': 'les deux dés = "testicules"; datz plombatz = "pénis"
(p.442). See also Bec, Burlesque, Poems 2 and 6 (PC 458,1 and
57,4), and Roncaglia, 'La tenzone', p.237.
57. Text from Bec. On espeis see Pasero, pp.184-5. On the difficulties
and various interpretations of line 59, see the summary in Pasero,
pp.185-6.
58. See, for example, Topsfield, Troubadours, p.267.
Compare Marcabru's tenso lines 29-30:

Catola, l'amors dont parlaz
camja cubertement los daz.
('Catola, the love of which you speak secretly
changes the dice'.)

Roncaglia notes that the metaphor camjar los daz means 'barare al
giuoco' ('La tenzone', p.237).

59. Compare Marcabru Poem XVIII ms C st.14, ms M st.11, ms a st. 5
(Dejeanne, p.85), where one might infer a parallel between obsessive
gambling and the insatiable appetite of lust. See above, Chapter
V̄.
60. The lady seems to refer to both a garden and a room as their
meeting-place (see discussion above, and note to Poem XXVI 1.56):
could this represent a further example of the burlesque of courtly
lyric conventions in these poems where Marcabru would be mocking
through exaggeration?
61. 'Lo vers', pp.44-5. See Lachin, p.44, on the imagery of thieving
Amars in several of Marcabru's poems: 'Il cattivo amore vive de
furto: interessato a privare la sua vittima degli avere, appena

questi vengono a mancare la caccia: è un baro, e il rapporto che con esso si istituisce è ineguale, come spesso avviene al gioco del pelacill'.

62. See W. Hensel, 'Die Vögel in der provenzalischen und nordfranzösischen Lyrik des Mittelalters', RF, 26 (1909), pp.584-670 (p.623).
63. Topsfield, Troubadours, p.93. Compare note to Poem XXVI lines 5-11 above where singing is emphasized.
64. Compare Poem XXXVI line 3: 'L'auzeill qu'us no'n brai ni'n crida'.
65. PD. pp.53 and 102.
66. Roncaglia translates line 8: 'ché alla genta piace quando m'ode gridare e invenire'. On ahura, see Roncaglia, p.30.
67. Guillem de Berguedà, ed. De Riquer, Poem XVIII.
68. Guillem de Berguedà, II, p.157. Compare Elias Cairel, Text: De Riquer, II, Poem 229 (PC 133,1):

Ges quil
ni bray
non enten
de pervers
lauzenjadors que son plen de mal'art. (ll.61-65)
('I hear no screech or chirp from the cunning lauzengier,
who are full of wicked trickery.')

See also Der Trobador Elias Cairel, kritisch Textausgabe von H. Jaeschke, Romanische Studien, 20 (Berlin, 1921), p.94: 'quil ni brai: Beides ursprünglich Ausdrücke für (schrilles) Vogelgeschrei'.

69. Compare Lawner, who understands lines 58-60 of the gap to mean that 'the poet lets his poems (the little birds) grow up in a perverted, bastardised form ... because they necessarily correspond to the reality that produced them and that they reflect' (p.511).

70. Compare, for example, Guilhem de Berguedan (PC 210,2a), 'Arondeta, de ton chantar' (Poem XXV).
71. See for example, Zenker on the metrical similarities. See also E. Müller, Die altprovenzalischen Versnovellé, Romanistische Arbeiten, 15 (Halle, 1930), p.25, and Lejeune, 'Thèmes', p.82. Leube-Fey refers to these songs by Marcabru and Peire as 'Gegenstücke' (p.116 n.52). Text of 'Rossinhol, el seu repaire' in De Riquer, I, Poem 44.
72. On the bird messenger, see Savj-Lopez, pp.167-68, and O. Cadart-Richard, 'Le Thème de l'oiseau dans les comparaisons et les dictons chez onze troubadours, de Guillaume IX à Cerveri de Girone', CCM, 21 (1978), pp.205-30 (p.207).
73. See, for example, Müller, p.25; Mölk, p.107; Paterson, p.55.
74. See Spanke, pp.14 and 62, and compare Vossler, p.50 n.1.
75. On the dating of Peire's career, see Zenker, pp.24-40 and compare De Riquer, I, pp.311-12. For Marcabru, see Appendix.
76. See, for example, Dejeanne, p.230; Zenker, p.45; Hoepffner 'Bernart Marti', p.139; Müller, p.25; Del Monte, p.24.
77. See Köhler, 'Romance'. See also Zenker, p.46, and Vossler, p.50 n.1, who thought that the lost piece may have been a 'Volkslied', and compare Bec, La Lyrique, I, p.118, and 'Genres', p.38 on the 'romance' and the 'chanson de femme'.
78. This interpretation tacitly assumes that the literary careers of Peire and Marcabru may have overlapped.
79. Compare Spanke, p.62: 'Peire hat ... die hübsche Erfindung Marcabrus aufgenommen und ins Ernstliche umgebogen'. See also note 72 above.

80. As was argued by Pillet (p.15), Appel ('Zu Marcabru', p.435) and Lejeune ('Thèmes', p.87). See also Pirot, Récherchés, p.149, and Pasero, 'Pastora', p.19.
81. Bec, La Lyrique, I, p.127.
82. See Köhler, Sociologia, pp.195-215 and 'La pastourelle', for a résumé of previous discussions of the question. See also Pasero, 'Pastora'.
83. Köhler, 'La pastourelle', p.284. On the 'pastoretas a la usanza antiga' see Bec, La Lyrique, p.135. See also Chapter III above.
84. See W.T.H. Jackson, 'The Medieval Pastourelle as a Satirical Genre', Philological Quarterly, 31 (1952), pp.156-170 (p.159).
85. 'Pastora', pp.18-21: the notion of enchantment as a means of flattering the woman (XXX 11.43-46 cf. XXV 11.12-13 and 56-7); the term bada indicating that the suitor's desires were frustrated (XXX 11.54-6 cf. XXV 11.36 and 63-4); the play on kindred terms (vegada; doblada cf. per un ... tres; sobiran ... sotrana cf. sotz mei) to convey the seducer's argument that the woman would gain if she made love with him, if only once.
86. For example, the idea of the return match, the game of dice (compare Pasero, 'Pastora', p.20), the exaggerated praise of the woman, the image of concluding a peace agreement.
87. Compare Pasero, 'Pastora', p.20. Bernart de Ventadorn, whose career can be situated between 1147 and 1170 (De Riquer, I, pp.342-45) may be counted among these troubadours (see Chapter II above). While I am not suggesting that the Estornel songs are a satirical attack upon Bernart's 'Can vei la lauzeta mover' (PC 70,43), the different uses to which both poets put the symbolic figure of the bird are striking. Bernart's picture of the lark contrasts with Marcabru's presentation of the starling in Poem XXVI:

Can vei la lauzeta mover
 de joi sas alas contral rai,
 que s'oblid'e's laissa chazer
 per la doussor c'al cor li vai ... (Poem 31 lines 1-4)
 ('When I see the lark through joy beating its wings
 against the sunbeam, forget itself and let itself
 fall because of the sweet feeling which enters its
 heart ...'.)

Ges l'estornels non s'oblida:
 Quant ac la razon auzida,
 C'ans ha sa vida cuillida,
 Del dreg volar no s'alensa. (11.1-4)

This coincidence of images can be viewed as a detail in keeping with the opposition which scholars have noted between Marcabru's conception of fin'amors and Bernart's. Bernart's inspiration and experience of love is 'the oblivion of the mind, the moment of ecstatic identification with the skylark ... which for him is purest joy' (Topsfield, Chrétien, p.8). In Marcabru's poem an ordinary starling, as opposed to the much more attractive skylark, does not 'forget itself' at all. It is far from being lost in an unthinking, euphoric élan of joi, but rather listens to its master's razon (meaning 'speech', but carrying connotations of 'what is right, reasonable': see Chapter II above), and attention is drawn to mundane matters of food before it flies off directly and purposefully (compare 'se laissa chazer'). (Compare also D.R. Sutherland, 'The Love Meditation in Courtly Literature', in Studies in Medieval French presented to Alfred Ewert (Oxford, 1961), pp.165-193 (p.169): 's'oblidar can mean "to be unmindful of one's duties or obligations"' and "'Il ne s'oublia mie" is an epic cliché, used to introduce an account of a great exploit by an epic hero, in order to emphasize that in performing his great deed he is living up to the demands made on him by his rank and position'. Perhaps Marcabru employed the phrase 'Ges ... non s'oblida' in Poem XXVI with this connotation, but with ironic intent.) Rational control and mesura are essential to Marcabru's conception of fin'amors. He deplores the unreasoning, sensual and indulgent folly of love which Bernart exalts and in his use of the bird motif, he may be parodying a topos of the courtly lyric such as that later composed by Bernart and pastiching an approach towards love and its poetic expression.

88. See Chapter II above and Topsfield, Troubadours, Chapter 6. There is to all appearances nothing in 'Rossinhol' indicative of the promiscuous or hypocritical Amars which Marcabru frequently and virulently attacks.
89. Compare Spanke, p.93: 'von dem was Wilhelm IX und Marcabru lächerlich zu machen suchen haben wir wenig direkte Belege'.
90. Compare Marcabru's technique in Poems XXXI and XXIV, for example, discussed in Chapters III and IV above.
91. In Poem XXV Marcabru's name occurs ('Marcabrus/Ditz que l'us/Non es clus' ll.60-62) but it is not clear whether these should be understood as the words of the poet himself or of the lover. If the troubadour is here commenting in his customary poetic role of castiador, it is the only occasion in the Estornel poems on which the 'je' does not belong to one of the dramatis personae. Could Marcabru here still be speaking with the voice of the lover and referring to the words of a troubadour well-known for his criticism of uncourtly immorality in women? That the words attributed to this 'Marcabru' by the lover have something of the tone of a proverb or figurative sententia would reinforce this impression that an authority is being cited. If this interpretation is accepted, the introduction of Marcabru's name at this point would serve to remind the audience of the troubadour's customary outspoken moralising and of the judgements he expresses in his other songs where he frequently refers to himself by name (see the discussion in Chapter I above and compare, for example, 'A l'alena' ll.16-25, where Marcabru claims to know who the corrupt people are; Poem XVII ll.37-42, where he complains that his criticisms have no effect in reforming adulterers; XXXI ll.46-54, where he reveals that the adultery of uncourtly ladies produces bastards and results in social and ethical degeneration). The reference in Poem XXV line 60 could represent one of the signals which alerts the audience to the true message of the song (see below).
92. Roncaglia, 'Trobar clus', p.35. See also note 48 above.

93. D.H. Green, Irony in the Medieval Romance (Cambridge, 1979), p.8.
See also note 88 above.
94. Leube-Fey points out the 'forwährenden Widerspruch zwischen objektiver erzählenden Beschreibung der Häßlichkeit und unrealistisch-berechnendem Lob in der Anrede' (p.122).
95. Text from Bec, Burlesque, Poem 41.
96. Bec talks of the porquiera's 'intention grossièrement parodique vis-à-vis de la pastourelle courtoise' (p.185).
97. See 'Doas cuidas'. There is an appropriateness in this: form and content, appearance and substance lack congruity and are dislocated both in Marcabru's ironic song and in the behaviour and incomplete understanding of the people Marcabru is criticising.
98. On the dating of 'Lo vers', see Appendix.
99. J.J. Duggan, 'Ambiguity in Twelfth-century French and Provençal Literature: a Problem or a Poetic Value?', in Jean Misrahi Memorial Volume (Columbia, 1977), pp.136-149 (p.149).

CONCLUSION

Marcabru's didactic approach to the subject of love can be regarded as closely bound up with the poetic and ideological conflict in which his songs show him to have been involved. Those compositions in which he alludes to his disagreements with other troubadours are precisely those in which he is at great pains to stress the two-fold nature of love, to express his own point of view and to demonstrate the truth of his message (see Poems XXXI and XXXVII).

The language and imagery he employs reflect his attitude towards the type of love he is illustrating. While Marcabru uses the evocative terminology of religious love and draws on the Christian tradition to represent and encourage reverent approval of ennobling fin'amors, his condemnation of false love is reinforced by unpleasant, explicit images of corruption and by his occasional use of coarse expression. The targets of his criticism, Amars and folia, are frequently embodied in female figures - personifications or representative types of reprehensible women - who are emblems of venal promiscuity. Female figures in his works appear to encapsulate and symbolize the different types of love, but as a moralising critic he gives a more detailed treatment to the negative examples. With the elusive courtly abstraction of la meillor in Poem XIII or the apostrophised ideal in Poem XL, one may contrast the vivid incarnation of Amars and the treacherous puta in Poems XVIII and XLIV.

On a number of occasions Marcabru's language does not correspond so closely to the nature of his subject, and he employs courtly expressions and lyric conventions together with misogynist commonplaces in depicting the behaviour of a puta. Such satirical stylistic clashes as are found in his portrayal of 'si donz na Bonafo' (Poem XXXI) may be interpreted as a sophisticated didactic device, the dislocation of fond and forme being contrived by the poet in order to reveal the corruption and hypocrisy of Amars which adopts the outer forms but lacks the inner integrity of fin'amors. Viewed in this way, the language of these passages does correspond to Marcabru's message concerning love.

Marcabru stresses the unprincipled licentiousness of wicked women (see Poems V, VII and XXXIV). In adopting this negative view of the female sex, however, his misogyny is turned to serve a didactic purpose.

Like Bernart de Ventadorn who describes his fickle dòmpana by means of the ungallant term femna, Marcabru employs misogynist lieux communs in order to reprove an uncourtly type of women who 'non sap d'amor fina' (XXXI 1.46).

A variety of sources supply Marcabru with material to illustrate his arguments. He draws on an age-old misogynist tradition in several songs; the Bible and the Church's exegetical writings elucidate his condemnation of the puta in Poem XLIV, while 'Cortesamen vuoil comensar' suggests that in his moralising songs Marcabru may also have made allusion to current events and their reflection in the works of his contemporaries. In this sense, exactly what took place during Eleanor of Aquitaine's sojourn at the court of Antioch is less significant than the possibility that Marcabru's song may play on or echo rumours and scandalised gossip about topical events. A dislocation of style and content similar to the stylistic clash already noted may feature also in this song, in that a didactic exposition of courtly matters, couched in appropriately refined, courtly language to which Marcabru is careful to draw attention, may for the cognoscenti in his audience have contained an allusion to a scandalously uncourtly incident to which his confrère, Cercamon, refers.¹

Marcabru's words may echo Cercamon's criticism, and point to a concealed dialogue in the works of the early troubadours.² Pasero discerns a network of intertextual references pervading the works of Guilhem IX, whom he describes as a highly polemic artist, and Pasero's conclusions seem particularly applicable to Marcabru, who declares his polemic interests on several occasions:

si ha insomma la ben fondata impressione che una fitta rete di riferimenti 'intertestuali' (di tipo ... più 'controverso' che 'affermativo' e il più delle volte solo intuibili, perché ci mancano i referenti materiali) costituisca un connettivo essenziale per la sua attività poetica ('Pastora', p.12).

Marcabru's works display similarly problematic characteristics, illustrated by the way in which his message is conveyed partly by means of examples drawn from the vernacular lyric tradition. It is possible that a trait of popularisant lyric poetry supplies the exemplary figure of 'n'Aiglina' in Poem XXXI, and, given the context of Marcabru's evocation, this character and her mysterious 'trut dullurut' may be associated with 'la troba n'Eblo'. In his denunciation of 'na Bonafo' in

the same song, Marcabru applies to this figure the incongruous courtly epithet 'si donz'. The full mordancy of the troubadour's satirical use of the expression depends upon it having achieved some measure of recognition and currency in the courtly love-lyric, although few contemporary examples survive. Marcabru's satirical pastorela shows most clearly how he adapts a recognised lyric form to express his own moralising message: more important than the love of the peasant girl in Marcabru's debate is 'tutto il modo d'intendere l'amore e i rapporti sociali che esso coinvolge' (Pasero, 'Pastora', p.9). In the Estornel songs Marcabru may be giving a burlesque treatment to another lyric model in order to express the same polemic against false love and foolish troubadours as dominates Poems XXXI and XXXVII. The lack of contemporary contextual material means that the identity of Marcabru's human targets is not always clear, but it seems reasonable to assume that they were in some way connected with the aspects of lyric poetry on which he focusses.

If Marcabru's involvement in controversy sheds light on the underlying purpose of his parodies and satirical attacks, it may also help to explain his belligerently dogmatic tone: the poet's emphasis on the truth of his utterances (compare Poems XII^{bis} line 35: 'lo ditz Marcabrus' and XVIII lines 67-69) suggests that he is reacting against the songs or ideas of his contemporaries. His contestataire approach is reflected in the way in which he frequently presents himself as a castiador, while his play on the nuances of the term folia (compare Poem V lines 31-2) indicates the broad scope of his targets which include folly, wantonness and muddle-headedness. In his role of critic he employs brutal, sometimes obscene language, particularly when describing women and sexual activity. His intention here seems to be to outrage his audience, to draw emphatic attention to what he regarded as unacceptably base behaviour on the part of the nobility in order to reform its mores. Coarse misogynist vituperation is directed to serve a noble purpose, although the potentially humorous effect of his outrageousness is almost impossible to assess at this distance.³

The frequency with which Marcabru names himself in his moralising sirventes reinforces the impression that he deliberately created for himself the poetic persona of castiador and that he was anxious to impress upon the mind of his audience the association between the stage personality, the name and the critical message of his songs.⁴ In this way the name could serve as a signal evoking this association and setting

any one castigation in the context of other outspoken criticisms by the same persona.⁵ This emphasis upon the first person singular and upon his name invites the conclusion that Marcabru made it his poetic stock-in-trade to tell the nobility unpleasant home-truths and that he took a certain pride in his own plain-speaking bluntness. If his words suit their subject and convey the truth clearly and directly, his approach stands in implicit contrast to the fraichura of which he accuses his opponents (Poem XXXVII stanza 2). The message of the castiador and its frank expression could thus represent a coherent ideological and poetic riposte, an affirmation of Marcabru's position in the two-fold conflict with his fellow troubadours.

The nature of his poetic persona offers a further insight into his use of parody. In the Estornel songs the troubadour assumes the voice of a character whose attitudes contrast starkly with the outlook of the exacting castiador. He adopts the role of corrupt lover and yet refers to, perhaps cites "Marcabru" (Poem XXV lines 60-62). Poems XXV-XXVI are among Marcabru's last datable songs (see Appendix), the work of his mature years, and it is likely that by then his other songs, his views and his castiador persona were well-known to his audience. In referring to 'Marcabru' in this song, the poet may be deliberately underlining the contrast between this poetic role and the familiar persona of the moralist: the name may serve again as a signal to the audience and recall his uncompromising pronouncements which establish a context for the interpretation of the Estornel songs. To a lesser extent the pastorela relies for its effect upon a similar contrast between Marcabru's identity as a rigorous moralist and the mauvais rôle he again plays there, but the distinction is not crucial since the troubadour's moral message, his positive teaching is expressed in the words of the pastora.

Marcabru's presentation of his ideas is dramatic in the broadest sense of the word. In addition to criticising the female sex, he depicts female characters as active figures whose actions illustrate his arguments (Poems XXIV, XXV-XXVI and XXXI), and while on occasion he himself adopts the complementary roles of embittered, deceived lover or unscrupulous seducer,⁶ he also creates for himself a distinctive and vigorously abrasive poetic persona whose enduring impact is reflected in the perception by later writers of Marcabru as maldizens.

Notes to Conclusion

1. Compare Cercamon's more explicit allusion and the suggestion that he was in the Holy Land during this period (Lejeune, 'L'Allusion', p.206).
2. Compare Gruber's study of the process of Aufhebung, although he pays relatively little attention to Marcabru's works. See also Pasero, 'Pastora', pp.18-21.
3. Compare for example the work of Stempel and Bec (Burlesque), which indicates that the use of obscene invective may have been regarded as legitimate in certain moralising compositions.
4. Compare Limentani's analysis of the Vers del Lavador as the context for the interpretation of 'A la fontana del vergier' (A. Limentani, 'A la fontana del vergier: discorso lirico e discorso narrativo nella poesia dei trovatori', in Annali della Facoltà di Lingue e Letterature Stranieri di Ca' Foscari, 11 (1972), pp.361-80).
5. See Chapter 1 note 71. Compare Sutherland's suggestion that 'chaque troubadour se fait une spécialité d'un certain tempérament d'amant', clues to which survive in the texts of the songs. (D.R. Sutherland, 'L'Élément théâtral dans la canso chez les troubadours de l'époque classique', Revue de Langue et de Littérature d'Oc, 12-13 (1962-63), pp.95-101 (p.96)), and see Joseph on the possibility that Marcabru's 'D'aisso laus Dieu' shows that he assumed the role of court jester for an audience of corrupt malvatz.
6. See Roncaglia, 'Trobar clus', pp.34-5 on Marcabru's presentation of himself as a lover in Poems VII, XIV and XXVIII.

APPENDIX

Part I: The Dating of Marcabru's Songs

Enormous difficulties attend upon any attempt to link historical events and accurate dates with the vague and often generalised allusions contained in the literary works of an hermetic, allusive troubadour such as Marcabru.¹ Doubts remain concerning any conclusion arrived at by these means and, rather than assert that a song was composed at a particular time, it is often possible only to suggest that it may contain references to events or circumstances for which a date can be established. Nevertheless, on the basis of historical allusions in his songs, Appel and Boissonnade attempted to construct a biography of Marcabru. Their work could perhaps usefully be revised to take account of more recent scholarship: this appendix represents a mise à jour of suggestions concerning the career and itinerary of Marcabru (based, again, on inferences drawn from the troubadour's poems) and a review of the conclusions which have been drawn regarding his patrons and protectors.

That Marcabru appears to have begun his literary career in Poitou has been deduced from the fact that the earliest datable allusions in his songs are concerned in some way with Poitou and the interests of Guilhem X of Aquitaine, count of Poitou (1099-1137), 'den wir als ersten uns bekannten Gönner Marcabrus ansehen dürften'.² Poem VIII is held to be the earliest of these poems (Boissonnade, p.213). In stanzas 11, 12 and 13,³ Marcabru alludes to a conflict between Poitou and Anjou in terms which indicate that a campaign against Anjou is imminent:

Et ieu guiarai ves Angau. (l.54)
('And I will guide/lead (the Poitevins) against Anjou. ')

These stanzas are considered to refer to the expedition mounted in the early months of 1130 by Guilhem X to support his rebel kinsman, Thibaut de Blaizon, besieged in the castle of Mirebeau by his overlord Geoffrey of Anjou: 'ce sont donc les impressions [de Marcabru] à propos de la guerre féodale de 1129-30 qui se trouvent exprimées dans la poésie' (Boissonnade, p.213).

It would seem that another of Marcabru's songs, 'Lo vers comens quan vei del fau', also alludes to this episode, although scholarly opinions conflict. Roncaglia dates this song to the autumn of 1133,⁴ and bases this on the reference in lines 13-15 to 'venal Rome':

Pretz es vengutz d'amont avau
e casegutz en l'escobill,
puois avers fai Roma venau.
('Pretz has tumbled from high to low, and fallen into the dirt,
since wealth/money has put Rome up for sale.)

This he takes to be a reference to events which took place during the papal schism of the early 1130's, to which Marcabru also refers in his song 'Aujatz de chan'.⁵ Lines 13-15 of 'Lo vers' would refer to the coronation of Innocent II which took place in Rome in April 1133 with the help of Lothair, whom Innocent crowned Holy Roman Emperor in June and whom he rewarded by enfeoffing him with the possessions of the dead Countess Matilda in Tuscany and Emilia in return for an annual tribute of one hundred pounds of silver payable to the papal treasury.⁶ Roncaglia concludes that these lines of Marcabru's song contain an indication of the attitude to these events of the supporters of the antipope Anacletus II, who included Marcabru's patron, Guilhem X.

There is another possible datable allusion in this song, in lines 41-2. Marcabru says:

Cel prophetizet ben e mau
Que ditz c'om iri'en becill,
Seigner sers e sers seignorau,
E si fant ill,
Que'i ant fait li buzat d'Anjau
Cal d'esmerill. (11.37-42)⁷
('He was a prophet of good and evil who said that the affairs of men would go to the bad; lords would behave like serfs and serfs like lords, and they do. The buzzards of Anjou have behaved like merlins.)

Roncaglia comments of these lines that they allude to the upheavals in Anjou during the early years of Geoffrey's rule, either to the rebellions of 1129-31, 'forse a qualche episodio più vicino al 1133 di cui le cronache non ci serbano precisa notizia' (p.48). Falk, however, in an article written in ignorance of Roncaglia's new edition of this song,⁸ has studied the expression 'far cal', applied to birds, and he translates lines 41-2: 'car les buses d'Anjou ont fait preuve d'une ardeur

d'émérillon' (p.50). He connects stanzas 11-13 of Poem VIII with these lines and suggests that the latter express 'les sentiments du dépit du poète aussitôt après l'échec foudroyant [des Poitevins] devant les murs de Mirebeau' (p.51). Marcabru would then be according his despised enemies, the Angevins, grudging praise for their military prowess. Falk then suggests that 'Lo vers' was written towards the end of 1130 and he notes that 'le conflit armé auquel les pièces VIII et XXXIII font allusion fut le seul qui mit aux prises Geoffroi le Bel et Guilhem VIII. La paix fut conclue en 1131, et en 1136 Guilhem devint l'allié de son ancien adversaire et l'aida à conquérir la Normandie' (p.51 n.2).

Admittedly, in making this suggestion, Falk pays no attention to lines 13-15 which, for Roncaglia, furnish a datable allusion, but Roncaglia himself says of line 15 'l'allusione ... parrebbe a prima vista troppo generica per dar luoga a inferenze cronologiche' (p.47), and 'superfluo ricordare che Roma venalis è un luogo comune della pubblicistica anticuriale mediolatina' (p.38). This last point has been amply demonstrated by J.A. Yunck in his study of the venality topos, and troubadours such as Peire Cardenal later attacked the avarice and corruption of the Church.⁹ In a sirventes attacking widespread corruption and declining moral standards, it is not surprising that Marcabru should have included Rome in his wide-ranging criticism.

According to Roncaglia's interpretation of stanzas 3 and 7, this poem contains allusions to events occurring in 1133 and 1130 respectively. He has offered a revised interpretation of stanza 7 and believes that 'il riferimento storico che meglio spiega l'allusione ... è alla salita di Folco d'Angiò sul trono di Gerusalemme nel 1130'.¹⁰ But this would surely be equally stale news in France in the autumn of 1133. It would seem more likely that Marcabru's reference to the corrupt papacy in lines 41-2 is a lieu commun, and that the song was probably composed in or after the autumn of 1130, shortly after two 'hawkish' triumphs by the Angevins (the accession of Fulk of Anjou and the defeat of the Poitevins at Mirebeau).

Whichever interpretation is adopted, Marcabru appears to be alluding to events which involved Guilhem X and adopting anti-Angevin attitudes consistent with the count's position and interests. This, as has been suggested by Robertson, might also be the case in Marcabru's song 'Al departir del brau tempier', which may contain allusions to the papal schism. Robertson notes that 'for a time, Poitiers was a centre of

activity for Innocent's opponents', and he suggests that the 'statement that the "head" is void probably reflects Marcabru's feeling that the garden of the Church was, at the time of the schism, without a true gardener, and that the supporters of Innocent among the noblemen were not worthy' (p.542).¹¹ This is based on lines 15-18:

E pus lo caps es ba [da] lucs,
Dolen(s) son li membr'estremier.

Mort(z) son li bon arbre primier,
E'l(s) viu(s) son ramils e festucs. (Ed. Dejeanne)
('And since the head is vacant, the distant members are sad.

The good old trees are dead, and the living ones are twiggy and straggly. '),

and on Marcabru's scorn of this last group in lines 23-4. If this interpretation is correct, the poem would pre-date Guilhem X's reconciliation with St Bernard and Innocent II in the autumn of 1134 (Robertson, p.542).

Other passages in the poem, particularly stanza 6 which Robertson uses to support his interpretation, are based on Lewent's suggested re-readings. These are rejected by Roncaglia on grammatical grounds: he interprets the song as a series of images representing '[la] decadenza dei costumi' (p.30), and rejects historical explanations of the poem.¹²

Roncaglia assigns to this period (the mid-1130's) the tenso between Uc Catola and Marcabru, whose composition he dates 'verso il 1133, in ogni caso prima del 1137'.¹³ This is based on Roncaglia's identification of the troubadour Uc Catola with the destinee of a letter by Peter the Venerable, addressed to 'Charissimo amico nostro domno Hugoni Catulae'.¹⁴ In the letter the man is urged to keep his vow to become a monk and not to substitute for this a mere pilgrimage to Jerusalem (Roncaglia, p.209). Roncaglia dates the letter to the period 1134-6, based partly on the order of Peter's letters in the manuscript collection and partly on the absence in the letter of any reference to the (Second) Crusade, proclaimed in 1146. He concludes that the tenso predates the letter by some time, since the worldly attitudes displayed by the troubadour in the tenso are not consistent with those of a man contemplating either entry into a religious order or a journey to the Holy Land (p.212).

The letter appears as number 51 of the edition of the letters of Peter the Venerable by Constable,¹⁵ who notes that the arrangement and dating of the first 57 letters are not easily explicable: they could have been written between 1133 and 1138 or, equally probably, before or after this period (II, p.180). Constable also remarks that 'the date of 1146-7 assigned to the letter by Berry ... is based on the presumption that Hugh's pilgrimage was associated with the Second Crusade'.¹⁶ There is no stylistic feature which would conflict with this, for the word used by Peter to denote the proposed journey, iter, was, like peregrinatio, used to denote pilgrimages, crusade journeys or simple travelling.

As a footnote, Constable adds that 'the knight Hugh Catola is mentioned in the chronicle of Cluny ..., quoting this letter and saying that as a result Hugh gave up his resolve to visit Jerusalem and became a monk instead' (II, p.131), but there appears to be no way of dating this entry.¹⁷

It is possible that Roncaglia was influenced in his presentation of this evidence by a desire to show that, since his interlocutor could be identified, Marcabru's tenso was genuine and the first known example of the genre, predating Cercamon's which is thought to have been composed in May 1137.¹⁸ But there would seem to be no way of dating Marcabru's tenso accurately.

To the years 1133-7, however, belongs Marcabru's poem 'Aujatz de chan'. Meyer (pp.125-9), Boissonnade (pp.214-6), Appel (pp.407-8) and Roncaglia ('Aujatz', pp.44-8) are among the scholars who have examined the song's historical allusions which, they conclude, are datable to the years 1133-5. Roncaglia's study is the most recent and the most exhaustive. His conclusions may be summarised as follows:

1. Line 20 is an allusion to the coronation of Lothair II as Holy Roman Emperor (June 1133) (see above).
2. The count of Poitou who is praised in line 25 is Guilhem X and therefore the song was composed before his death in 1137.
3. Lines 26-8 refer to Alfonso Jordan of Toulouse, who recovered Toulouse which had been annexed by Guilhem IX during the absence of Alfonso Jordan's father in the Holy Land, and who obtained recognition from Ramon Berenguer III of Barcelona of his rights over Beaucaire, Avignon and that part of Provence between the Durance and the Isère.

4. The references to the 'rei n'Anfos' (1.36) 'lai vas Leon' (1.31) are to Alfonso VII of Castille and Leon before his coronation as Emperor in May 1135 at which his cousin Alfonso Jordan was also present.
5. The reference 'n'Anfos de sai' (1.26), together with 'aquest n'Anfos' (1.29), indicate that Marcabru was with Alfonso Jordan, 'in Francia, probabilmente proprio al sua corte' (Roncaglia, p.47).

Roncaglia concludes that 'il vers va collocato certamente nei mesi fra l'estate 1133 e l'autunno 1134, e con ogni probabilità più vicino al secondo che al primo termine'.¹⁹

Appel, like Roncaglia, concludes that, at the time that 'Aujatz de chan' was composed, Marcabru had left the entourage of Guilhem X and was presently at the court of Toulouse, en route for Leon.²⁰

Marcabru does not appear to have lost interest in Guilhem X, however, for there are two further references to the count, in Poems XII^{bis} and IV. Marcabru concludes Poem XII^{bis} with the lines:

Se'l segnoriu[s] de Gironda
Poia, encar poiara plus,

Ab qe pense com confonda
Paia, so'ilh manda Jhezus. (11.46-9)
('If the lordship of Gironde rises, it will rise still further
if it/he gives thought to defeating the pagans, for Jesus
commands him to do this.')

Boissonnade sees here a reference to the rise in the fortunes of Guilhem X in the period 1135-6, following his reconciliation with St Bernard (p.217). His good fortune included the bloodless reconquest of Gascony (1135-6), alliance with his erstwhile enemy Geoffrey of Anjou (September 1136), and the marriage of his sister Agnes to Ramiro II of Aragon (October 1135).²¹ In addition, Alfonso VII of Castille and Leon had sought alliance with Poitiers and, according to Boissonnade, during the celebrations following his imperial coronation he had secured the support of a number of the barons of Aquitaine for his Crusade against the Moors (Boissonnade, p.217).²² The appeal to Guilhem in lines 48-9 would seem to place the poem's composition in the period following the summer of 1135.

These lines contain the only reference to permit any dating of the song. On Boissonnade's evidence, the seigneur could be Guilhem X, although Appel points out that the 'seignoriu[s]de Gironda' could also refer to Louis VII, 'und dann wird die Datierung des Gedichts sehr unbestimmt' (p.409).²³

Poem IV alludes regretfully to Guilhem X:

En Castell'e vas Portegau
On anc no fo trames salutz
 E Dieus los sau!
E vas Barcelon'atretau;
Puois lo Peitavis m'es faillitz
Serai mai cum Artur perduz. (ms A 11.55-60)
('To Castille, and to Portugal where greetings were never sent
(before), and to Barcelona as well, (I send this greeting:) God
save them! Since the Poitevin is lost to me, henceforth I shall
be lost as was Arthur (to the Britons). ')²⁴

Boissonnade thinks that this song was composed in 1137, after the death of Guilhem X (p.225).

Avalle and Frank believe that this stanza, like stanzas 10 and 11 found in manuscripts INKa, are 'varianti d'autore ..., l'espressione di una diversa volontà del poeta e non solamente delle innovazioni da imputare alle solite traversie della tradizione manoscritta'.²⁵ Avalle situates the poem's composition in 1137 and suggests that the above stanza was composed in Poitou when Marcabru was preparing to go to Spain in search of new patronage. As Dejeanne prints it, stanza 10 of INKa runs:

En Castell'et en Portegal
Non trametrai autras salutz,
 Mas Dieus los sau!
Et en Barcelon'atretal ...
E neis la valor son perduz.²⁶
('To Castille and Portugal I will send no more greetings (no
greetings) other than: God save them! And the same to
Barcelona ... and even worth are lost. ')

Avalle conjectures that Marcabru modified the stanza on his return and that this shows that the troubadour, 'partito per la Spagna pieno di speranze, deve esserne tornato piuttosto deluso' (p.68).

Given that the next stage on his travels was Béarn, Marcabru then added a second tornada (Avalle, p.68):

En Gascoigna, sai, ves Orsaut,
Me dizo qu'en creis uns petitz,
O'm trobarez s'ieu sui perduz. (IKNa 11.61-3).
('In Gascony, here, towards Ossau, they tell me that a young
person is growing up, with whom you will find me if I am
lost.')²⁷

This is one way, perhaps the most plausible, of explaining the conflicting attitudes displayed in these stanzas.²⁸

The next date to which it may be possible to attach a song by Marcabru is late in the year 1140. Roncaglia argues that the last stanza and tornada of Poem V contain a precise historical allusion:²⁹

L'amors don ieu sui mostraire
nasquet et un gentil aire,
e'l luocs on ill es creguda
es claus de rama branchuda
e de chaut e de gelada,
qu'estraïns no l'en puesca traire.

Desirat per desiraire
a nom qui'n vol amor traire. (11.49-56)
('The love of which I testify was born of noble lineage; the
place where it grew up is surrounded by branching boughs,
protected from heat and ice so that no stranger can take it
away from there. '

The name of 'desired one' is given by the desiring one to he who wishes to take love away from there.')

According to Roncaglia, the poem was composed to celebrate the betrothal of the young Sancho of Castille and Leon to the equally young Blanche of Navarre, a marriage which was arranged to cement the treaty of Ebro (25 October 1140) between Navarre and Castille-Leon (p.25). The desirat of the tornada represents Sancho, the longed-for heir of Alfonso VII, who is in turn designated by the term desiraire. The hortus conclusus image of stanza 9 'traspone sul piano figurale la realtà geograficamente determinata della Navarra, mentre la fanciulla Bianca, colà allevata, appare come l'incarnazione della blanch'amistat (line 14) opposta alla fals'amistat' (Roncaglia, 'Trobar clus', pp.25-6).

If Roncaglia's interpretation of the historical allusions in this song is correct, Marcabru would have been in Spain (again?) in the last months of 1140. He was certainly in Spain when he composed 'Empeiraire, per mi mezeis'. Roncaglia has carefully analysed all the passages in this song which could furnish any historical evidence for dating it and,

whereas Boissonnade (p.222) and Appel (pp.411-13) situate the poem's composition in the years 1137-8, Roncaglia tentatively assigns it to the autumn of 1143.³⁰

The Emperor of line 1 is Alfonso VII (thus after 1135); the one seigneur of France, Berry and Poitou of lines 55-7 is Louis VII (thus after 1137); the Almoravids (l.50) were expelled from Cordova (l.54) in the spring of 1145, whereas the song indicates that the city has yet to be captured. Marcabru anticipates a union of the Christian princes (stanza 8) and, from an examination of alliances and treaties between these powers, Roncaglia concludes that the only period during which conditions corresponded to those alluded to by the troubadour was after 1140, and most probably during the autumn of 1143 (pp.178-83).

From this song it would appear that Marcabru was closely involved with the Reconquista campaigns of Alfonso VII: the troubadour was present in the imperial entourage and was certainly enthusiastically interested in the campaigns for which he was an active propagandist and in which he may also have participated as an active combatant.³¹

In 1143 he praises Alfonso VII extravagantly ('Empeiraire', stanza 1). That his great expectations (of personal reward?) were disappointed is suggested by the song 'Empeiraire, per vostre prez'. The reproachful note of stanzas 1,2 and 6 in particular - if they contain accurate reflections of Marcabru's true feelings - would lead one to think that the poet has not obtained the recognition and rewards he expected. This song, 'evidentemente posteriore' to 'Empeiraire, per mi mezeis', has been similarly dated to the period 1143-5 and 'anteriore al ritorno di Marcabruno in Francia' (Roncaglia, p.183).

Boissonnade detected traces of Marcabru's disenchantment with Alfonso VII in his Poem XI. There Marcabru complains of the uncourtly avarice of 'duc e rei' (stanza 6), proclaims that Proeza has no friend from Portugal to Friza (l.40: thus including the whole Iberian peninsula),³² and says that 'one should not accord empty praises to a man who starves his household' (ll.60-1). He goes on to reproach Alegret (see Chapter I above). This song has been similarly dated to before Marcabru's return to France (Boissonnade, p.239) although, from the work of Frank, it would appear that Marcabru may already have been in France at the time he composed this poem, in which he alludes to circumstances

which concerned Alfonso Jordan and which belong to the years 1144-5. In stanza 7 Marcabru criticises adulterous husbands for setting a precedent and also thus showing others how to cuckold them. He goes on to say:

Et aura'n tort si s'en clama,
qe drechs e raços deviza:
'car deu comprar qui car ven',
a segon la lei de Piza. (11.53-6)³³
('And he would be wrong to complain about it, for right and
reason teach that 'Who sells dearly must buy dearly', according
to the custom of Pisa. ')

The situation described in these lines is the result of a series of events beginning in 1141 when Alfonso Jordan supported the townspeople of Montpellier in their revolt against their overlord Guilhem VI. Enlisting the aid of the Pisans and Genoans (for a price), Guilhem defeated his rebellious subjects and, in 1143, finally defeated Alfonso Jordan. The Italians again profited and the Pisans exacted reparations and commercial concessions from Alfonso Jordan's town of Saint-Gilles (September 1143). Then, in the spring and summer of 1144, the Pisans became involved in local conflicts with their neighbours and 'c'en fut fait de leur participation à l'hégémonie dans le commerce italien avec le Midi de la France; trop embrouillés dans leurs luttes locales, ils durent y renoncer' (Frank, p.37). Having profited greatly from conflicts in which they participated from purely mercantile motives (1141-3), the Pisans soon after sustained great losses as a result of conflicts inspired by similar motives. Frank suggests that the people of Saint-Gilles followed these setbacks with a certain feeling of malicious glee and that, as Alfonso Jordan was one of Marcabru's protectors, 'il ne serait point étonnant que celui-ci fût au courant des événements ... auxquels nous a semblé se rapporter la comparaison malicieuse [of lines 55-6]' (p.37). Frank places the date of the poem's composition shortly after these events, that is, late 1144-1145 (p.38).³⁴

At approximately the same time, according to Boissonnade, Marcabru was composing Poem XXXVI, whose tornada may also contain a reference to Alfonso Jordan (Boissonnade, p.225). The song is a sirventes on the decline of courtly values, the way love has become corrupted and on the immorality of dompnas and moillerat. Marcabru ends the song with a rejection:

Tant cum Marcabrus ac vida,
Us non ac ab lui amor
D'aicella gen descauzida,
Que son malvatz donador,
Mesclador d'avol doctrina
Per Frans'e per Guiana.

N'Anfos, ab patz segurana
Que tengua, Valors l'aclina. (ll.31-8)
('Never in his life did Marcabru have any love/friendship for those fallen people who are mean givers, and who spread vile teachings through France and Guienne.

If only Sir Alfonso keeps/maintains a secure peace, Valors will do homage to him.')

Appel suggests, with caution, that 'Herrn Alfons (von Kastilien?) ist das Lied 36. gewidmet' (p.416). The troubadour, he thinks, was in Spain and thinking of Guienne and France, united under the rule of Eleanor and Louis VII. He compares the 'avol doctrina' in these lands to the malvestatz which Marcabru discerns in Poitou and France in Poem XXXIX (l.17). Boissonnade, however, suggests that the "'mauvaises doctrines" propagées en France et Guienne sont celles des Henriciens ou disciples de Pierre de Bruys et d'Henri de Lausanne' (p.239). In his view the poet is using the phrase 'avol doctrina' to denote heretical doctrines, rather than employing it as a metaphor for avarice and Amars.³⁵ Henry of Lausanne's activities in South-West France caused such concern that in 1145 St Bernard travelled to the area to preach against the heresies and also wrote a letter to Alfonso Jordan, accusing Henry of promiscuity and of preaching immorality (part of what Marcabru understood by Amars), and urging the count of Toulouse to take action on the matter.³⁶ Henry was hunted down and imprisoned in the episcopal dungeons of Toulouse where, according to Boissonnade's sources, he died 'peu avant 1145' (p.240 n.1).³⁷ Lines 37-8 of Poem XXXVI refer to Alfonso Jordan in this connection as the 'défenseur de la paix religieuse' (Boissonnade, p.241) and 'la poésie du troubadour serait à peu près de l'époque qui vit la fin de l'hérésie des Henriciens (1144 ou 1145)' (p.240).³⁸

There is little to indicate when Poem XXXIX may have been composed, save that line 18 appears to refer to the period after 1137.³⁹ Marcabru says that the tree of Malvestatz has so grown

Que lai d'outra'ls portz es passatz
En Franss'et en Peitau vengutz. (ll.17-18)
('That from there, beyond the Pyrenees, it has spread and
arrived in France and Poitou.')⁴⁰

The tree would seem to have its roots in Spain and Roncaglia, like Boissonnade (p.224), sees in this implicit criticism further evidence of the poet's disillusionment with the court of Alfonso VII ('Due schede', pp.130-1). The way in which the spread of the tree is expressed in lines 17-18 would indicate that the song was composed some time after Marcabru's return to France (thus, after 1144-5).⁴¹

In Marcabru's famous 'romance', 'A la fontana del vergier', the 'filha d'un senhor de castelh' (l.9) laments her desertion by her lover who has gone on the Crusade. She reproaches Jesus, since it is to avenge the shame which he suffers from the Saracens that her lover has left her (ll.17-21),⁴² and she curses Louis VII, whom she also sees as responsible for her grief:

Ai! Mala fos reis Lozoicx!
Que fai los mans e los prezicx
per que'l dols m'es el cor intratz! (ll.26-8)
('Ah! Cursed be King Louis, who orders the call to arms and the preaching which are the cause of this grief entering my heart.')

Boissonnade believes that 'puisque'il s'agit de la prédication de la croisade' (p.223), one may place the composition of the poem between May 1146 and June 1147. The presentation of these events by such obviously fictional, dramatised means makes attempts to date this song hazardous, but it is possible to say that Marcabru is basing the girl's speech on events preceding the Second Crusade, and possibly the mans of line 27 refers to the summoning of the French troops to Metz in June 1147: the 'romance' would then have been composed at some time after this.⁴³

Marcabru's song 'Cortesamen vuocill comensar' is dedicated to 'Jaufre Rudel outra mar' (l.38) and, although it contains no indication of where it may have been composed, beyond the fact that Marcabru was somewhere in Western Europe, this reference fixes the date of its composition at not before the second half of 1148, after the arrival of the Crusaders in the Holy Land.⁴⁴

In the following year Marcabru was again in Spain, where he composed the 'Marseillaise religieuse', the Vers del Lavador.⁴⁵ Over the past 150 years much has been written in an attempt to date the allusions contained in the song. The most recent and comprehensive study has been carried out by Pirot who establishes the date of the song's composition between the end of June and the end of October 1149.⁴⁶ In stanza 1 Marcabru contrasts two Lavadors, 'deux domaines exposés aux attaques des Sarrasins',⁴⁷ one 'lai debes Josaphas' (l.8), and one sai, in Spain, to which he summons the audience (l.9). In stanza 7 the poet declares himself to be in Spain 'avec les troupes du Marquis et des Templiers' (Pirot, Recherches, p.152). Pirot follows traditional identification of the Marques with Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona (p.152), who in November 1143 settled his differences with the Order of the Temple and enlisted its help in his reconquest of the valleys of the Ebro and Segre in return for concessions in towns still to be taken (Pirot, Recherches, p.154). Pirot shows that Marcabru has good reason to refer to Ramon Berenguer by the title of Marques since, in several acts dated December 1148 and October 1149, Ramon Berenguer calls himself respectively Marquess of Tortosa and Lerida. Line 58 implies that the city of Lerida has not yet fallen to the Christians and that the composition of the Lavador song can therefore be dated to shortly before 24 October 1149. The count whose death is lamented in stanza 8 is Raymond of Antioch, who died on 27 June 1149. Pirot adduces additional evidence to explain other references in the song (pp.150-7), all of which accord with his suggested dates, and he concludes that

Marcabru a dû participer d'assez près aux campagnes
militaires pour investir Lerida et Tortose (p.156).

There is a possible further allusion to crusades in Marcabru's Poem XXI. The final stanza of this sirventes attacking human corruption and false love reads:

Sist falsa gent crestiana
Qu'en crim pec fremilha,
A la fi ves Corrossana
Vira l'escobilha,
Que'l baptisma de Jordana
Lur notz e'ls perilha. (ll.37-42)

('These false Christians who tremble in senseless/foolish crime turn the refuse (of their virtue ?)/ their refuse towards Khorassan, for the baptism of the Jordan brings them harm and danger.')48

Khorassan is not a river, as Dejeanne interprets it, but a region of North-East Persia, and F. Chambers lists it as such in his Proper Names in the Lyrics of the Troubadours.⁴⁹ From the reference to the Jordan it has been deduced that this passage refers to the Second Crusade,⁵⁰ and it has been pointed out that the approximate date of 1157 which Dejeanne assigns to the poem's composition (p.229) is a printing error for 1147.⁵¹ But Appel remarked that 'die Erwähnung Khorassans erst historisch gedeutet werden muß, ehe man dem Lied ein genaueres Datum geben kann' (p.412), and this has not so far been done.

The name Khorassan may be used in Marcabru's song as it seems to be used in a number of twelfth-century works, to refer generally to the sultanates of Eastern Asia Minor and beyond, to the East.⁵² The Gesta Francorum uses the name, associated with 'the rivers of the Amazons', apparently to represent the legendary heartland of the Saracen domains and it 'is sometimes used by the author to denote Persia in general'.⁵³ For Albert of Aachen the name refers to the destination of the Frankish women captured and carried off in chains 'by stern enemies into an unknown and alien land'.⁵⁴ Would Marcabru's use of the term accord with the tradition of similar contemporary early Western sources where Khorassan, something of a topos, denotes exotic, unknown Saracen lands situated somewhere vaguely to the north and east of the Holy Land?⁵⁵

The passage of his song focusses on the Holy Land, and has been seen as criticism of the immoral and criminal nature of participants on the Second Crusade ('sist falsa gent crestiana').⁵⁶ Concern over this was also voiced by other twelfth-century writers who deplored the motives and conduct of members of the 1147 expeditions. In his study of these views, Professor Constable draws particularly on German sources, especially the Annales Herbipolenses whose author attributes to the crusaders such impious motives as idle curiosity, evasion of debts, feudal service and well-deserved punishment for crimes committed at home, although he does concede that 'with difficulty, however, there were found a few who had not bowed the knee to Baal' and who were responding to a more exalted impulse.⁵⁷ It is possible that a similarly critical view of participants was taken in northern and southern France, particularly

since the presence of women in the party was sanctioned by Eleanor of Aquitaine who accompanied Louis VII. Shock at the promiscuous character this lent to the enterprise was expressed by William of Newburgh ('our camps were not chaste, for there the lusts of many were raging through ill-starred licentiousness'), and the scandal of Eleanor's conduct at the court of Antioch was widely reported.⁵⁸

Despite its pious purpose, the expedition may also have been seen as offering temptation and an opportunity for evil-doing. The sins of the crusaders, their greed and crimes were reasons later given to explain the failure of the Second Crusade, and the theme of peccatis exigentibus became something of a topos in such contexts.⁵⁹ This was also the explanation advanced by chroniclers to account for the disastrous fate of the expeditions of 1101, a débâcle which involved Raymond of Saint-Gilles and Guilhem IX, the fathers of two of Marcabru's patrons.⁶⁰ The crusaders of 1147 'abandoned themselves to open fornication and to adulteries hateful to God and to robbery and every sort of wickedness': Marcabru's attack on 'false Christians who tremble in crime' may have been composed under the influence of similar opinions.⁶¹

He appears to imply that these people are not following the right route: they are not heading for the 'baptismes de Jordana', another lavador in which Christ was baptised (and, so it was said, Alfonso Jordan), and which has the power to cleanse their sins.⁶² This is an elliptical figure for the Crusade: Errante draws attention to Luke 3.3. as a source for Marcabru's line, but he does not focus on or quote the last words of the verse, where it is a question of the baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins: 'predicans baptismum paenitentiae in remissionem peccatorum' (Errante, p.238). Marcabru's song draws on one of the biblical passages which most closely resembles the formula of the crusading indulgence. The poet seems to be saying that the false Christians ignore the 'baptismes de Jordana' in favour of Khorassan, which thus could represent a deviation from the true Crusade, a dissipation of fervour and resources, an opportunity for crime and a potential disaster such as overtook contingents of the 1101 expedition. Their departure from the established route to Syria in order to attack the Muslim powers of Asia Minor 'to win themselves fame' resulted in their destruction as an effective military fighting force.⁶³ Ekkehard of Aura employs the name Khorassan of the crusaders' objectives here, another illustration of how the term could be used to denote any Muslim

land whatever its geographical location, and if his usage is representative of the way in which this débâclé was referred to in the West, Marcabru may be employing 'Corrossana' symbolically, alluding to a previous crusading failure in order to criticise the expedition of 1147.⁶⁴

The symbolism of Khorassan and the 'baptism of the Jordan' invites a similarly metaphorical interpretation of the rest of the stanza: a considerable effort of imagination is required now in order to unravel Marcabru's elliptical reference to a state of affairs which the specific sist ('these') suggests was known to his immediate audience. If one may understand by Marcabru's images that 'these false Christians direct their dregs (even what remains of their virtue is misdirected, misused) towards the Infidel instead of taking part in the Crusade', the poem may then reflect the hardline attitude of Western purists who, ignorant of the political complexities of life in the Holy Land, were shocked at the corruption of Outremer Franks, their adoption of native mores and their cooperation with the Saracens.⁶⁵

A striking contemporary illustration of the Western reaction to supposed collaboration of this kind is provided by chronicle accounts of the abortive siege of Damascus by Western and Syrian crusading armies in July 1148. A number of Western writers attributed the failure to treachery of some sort on the part of the Latin inhabitants of the Holy Land: some said that the crusaders were betrayed for Damascene gold.⁶⁶ If Marcabru's song does contain a topical allusion to events Outremer, the widely-reported failure of this undertaking would form the likely object of his criticism, especially since he mentions Damascus as a scene of conflict in another song composed the following year (Lavador line 36). His 'false Christians' would then be the Syrian Franks, their 'crime' their betrayal of the crusade and the fact that they renege on their Christian duty to fight Khorassan by instead turning towards it.⁶⁷

This stanza of Poem XXI may also contain an allusive criticism of Western knights who participated in the Second Crusade. In Pirot's opinion 'Marcabru se présente comme un chantre vibrant des Croisades d'Espagne et comme un adversaire de l'expédition capétienne de 1147', and he discerns reflections of this negative attitude towards the Second Crusade in the words of the girl in Marcabru's 'romance'.⁶⁸ In the Vers del Lavador, Marcabru acknowledges the existence of the Holy Land Crusade (lines 5-9 and 35-6), but his energies and interests are engaged rather

in the Spanish campaigns. Poem XII^{bis} and 'Empeaire, per mi mezeis' show that he had consistently encouraged French participation in the Spanish Reconquista, and the Vers del Lavador could be understood to indicate 'that the need for a crusade in Spain is seen to be far more urgent than the defense of the Frankish kingdoms to the East'.⁶⁹

It may be that Marcabru accorded particular importance to the Spanish campaigns because, as Lewent suggested, the troubadour spent at least part of his career in Northern Spain where the Moors posed at the same time a threat to Christianity and a military threat on the doorstep of the Midi.⁷⁰ His songs in favour of the Spanish campaigns could be understood as a reaction against the emphasis placed upon the Outremer expeditions which was to the detriment of the Spanish struggle. The Outremer expeditions may have drawn knights away from the holy war in Spain in considerable numbers: a number of papal letters stress that the enterprise in Spain was as worthy as that in Palestine and, by way of encouragement, promise to the Spanish crusaders the same indulgences as the Outremer knights enjoyed.⁷¹ Echoes of the promise made in December 1148 to participants in the campaign of Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona can be detected in stanza 4 of Marcabru's Vers del Lavador.⁷² Marcabru may then have seen the Crusade of 1147 as a threat to the success of the Spanish war. By using the phrase 'falsa gent crestiana' in Poem XXI, he may also be criticising those who followed Louis VII, having ignored Marcabru's previous appeals to join the crusade against the Almoravids, and who were yet again failing to support an enterprise close to the troubadour's heart.

Although Marcabru's Spanish leanings should not be overlooked, Marcabru was also clearly aware of the equally valuable struggle 'lai vas Damas' (compare the Vers del Lavador stanza 1). In Poem XXI it is likely that he is directing his criticisms primarily against treacherous Christians who have betrayed the crusading effort. If he is alluding to Damascus, this would suggest a date of composition for this song roughly contemporary with the Vers del Lavador (late 1148-1149).

Poem XXVI, the second of the Estornels songs, contains a reference to the Spanish campaigns. The bird, messenger of the lover, accuses the amia of cruelty to the lover 'part Lerida' (line 23). Pirot points out that these two words could be an allusion to campaigns which followed the fall of Lerida but that, since it is impossible to tell exactly where the troubadour was at the time of the song's composition, 'part peut très

bien désigner le Nord ou le Sud de la ville conquise' (p.149). It seems nevertheless reasonable to assume that Marcabru's reference to the city is an indication of its topicality, an allusion to recent events, and that the song was probably composed soon after October 1149. This song remains 'la dernière [pièce] de la vie de Marcabru à laquelle on puisse assigner une date plausible'.⁷³

This survey of the troubadour's songs may be schematised to indicate, with all due caution, where Marcabru may have been at various points in his career (compare the schema in Appel 'Zu Marcabru', p.418).

Approximate date (of events referred to)	Poem (Dejeanne nos.)	Place of composition(?) (or ** events/places referred to).
Early 1130	VIII	Poitou
Late 1130	XXXIII	Poitou
(1130-1134?)	*III?	**Poitou?)
Summer 1134	*IX	Toulouse (→Leon)?
1135-1136	XII ^{bis}	**Poitou
Latter half 1137	IV	Partly in Poitou, partly returning from Spain (?) (→Béarn?)
End 1140	*V	Castille
Autumn 1143	XXII	Castille
c.1143-1145	XXIII	Castille
1144-1145	*XXXVI	Toulouse (?)
1144-1145	*XI	**Toulouse/Saint-Gilles
c.1145 →	XXXIX	France
1145 →	*XXI	**Outremer
1146-1147	*I	**France
Latter half 1148	*XV	**Outremer
Summer 1149	XXXV	Northern Spain
Later 1149 →	XXVI	**Northern Spain

NOTES:

(Suggested connections with Alfonso Jordan marked *Poem.)

Roncaglia's suggested date for tēnsó is rejected.

R. Lejeune suggests that at some point Marcabru may have visited Paris and seen 'los baus Gaifier' ('Doas cuidas' 1.20) at Saint Denis.⁷⁴

No date can be suggested for Marcabru's visit to Blois which Appel infers from stanza 6 of Poem XX ('Zu Marcabru', pp.417-8).

PART II: MARCABRU'S PATRONS AND HIS CONNECTIONS WITH SPAIN.

It has been suggested that from the beginning of his poetic career until the death of Guilhem X in 1137 Marcabru was under the protection of the count of Poitou (Boissonnade, p.221). Certainly, in his songs, the poet espouses points of view which coincide with the count's interests and, on several occasions, he praises Guilhem. In Poem XII^{bis} he refers to the rise in prestige of Guilhem, in 'Aujatz de chan' (1.25) this idea is repeated, and in 'Lo vers' he complains of a widespread decline in courtly standards, saying,

que non aug dir, fors en Peitau,
c'om s'en atill. (11.23-4)
('for I do not hear it said that anyone takes any trouble over
this, except in Poitou. ')

Boissonnade discerns in these lines 'le plus bel éloge' of Guilhem X (p.211).

The lack of references in Marcabru's poems to Guilhem's successor, Louis VII, as a patron, together with the pious king's hostility towards entertainers, lead one to assume that Louis gave Marcabru no encouragement or protection.⁷⁵ Poem IV, however, gives some indication of where Marcabru hoped then to find favour: he mentions the courts of Castille, Portugal, Barcelona and Béarn. If Avalle's interpretation of the two versions of stanza 10 is correct, his overtures to the courts mentioned there do not appear to have been well received. The allusion in stanza 11 is the only reference to Béarn in Marcabru's surviving works, and there is no means of discovering whether he actually went there.

Boissonnade suggests that Marcabru 'n'a eu quelques années de faveur qu'auprès du roi de Castille' (p.229). Roncaglia shares this view. Although there is no study by this scholar (which I know of) which

surveys Marcabru's career, remarks in several of his articles indicate that in his opinion relations between Marcabru and Alfonso VII were close, and Roncaglia speaks of 'la presenza di Marcabruno alla corte di Castiglia dal 1134 fin dopo il 1140'.⁷⁶ In 'Due schede' he mentions the court of Alfonso VII 'dove ... troviamo [Marcabru] fra il 1135 e il 1145' (p.130), apparently implying that Marcabru's stay with Alfonso VII was continuous, and that the Emperor was his protector throughout this period.

But is this necessarily so? Three of the four songs on which this is based can be approximately dated (Poem V, 'Aujatz de chan' and 'Emperaire, per mi mezeis'). But the events to which Marcabru alludes in two of these (Poem V and 'Aujatz de chan') also concern Alfonso Jordan of Toulouse. From the allusions to Alfonso Jordan which he traced in Marcabru's works, Boissonnade concluded 'qu'il fut pour Marcabru un protecteur occasionnel, et non le protecteur constant qu'avait été Guilhem VIII' (p.225). While not entirely disagreeing with Boissonnade's conclusion, I would suggest that there are more and closer links between the troubadour and the count of Toulouse than Boissonnade describes and that these may also shed light on Marcabru's relations with Alfonso VII.

In addition to those two instances in Poem XXXVI and 'Aujatz de chan', Boissonnade also perceived a flattering allusion to the influence of Alfonso Jordan in Marcabru's song 'Al departir del brau tempier' where, in lines 35-6, Marcabru asks whether Cazères (an insignificant place) is worth Toulouse (Boissonnade, p.225).⁷⁷ If there is any likelihood that in this song Marcabru is in some way alluding to the papal schism, this may situate the poem's composition at some time before 1134, when Marcabru was at the court of Toulouse, and the flattery could be seen as an attempt by the poet to ingratiate himself with the count.

Roncaglia has commented that the song 'Aujatz de chan' was probably composed at this court. Marcabru says of Alfonso Jordan that his prestige is rising like that of the count of Poitou:

e a'n'Anfos de sai, si gaire'ns dura,
 car Avignon e Proens'e Belcaire
 te miels per son no fes Tolzan sos paire (ll.26-8)
 ('And Sir Alfonso here, if indeed he lasts, for he holds
 Avignon, Provence and Beaucaire as his better than his father
 held the Toulousain.')

Roncaglia interprets this as an expression of admiration for Alfonso Jordan's strong government ('Aujatz', p.46), but omits to comment on the rather curious phrase 'si gaire'ns dura' (l.26). Marcabru's doubtful reservation accords ill with such admiration.

It is possible that Marcabru is referring to trouble stemming from Alfonso Jordan's annexation of Narbonne in June 1134, immediately following the death of his vassal Aimeric II of Narbonne at the battle of Fraga.⁷⁸ Alfonso Jordan occupied Narbonne as its suzerain since Aimeric had left a young daughter as his heir, but A. Graboïs sees in Alfonso's action further evidence of his long-standing policy to reunite Narbonne with his comital possessions, and he notes that 'lorsqu'il saisit la vicomté, Alfonse-Jourdain dut faire face à l'opposition de ses vassaux, comme à celle de son adversaire traditionnel, le comte de Barcelone' (p.28). The conflict which followed continued in one form or another until 1143 when Alfonso Jordan was forced to renounce his claims to control over Narbonne.⁷⁹

It would seem to be the danger Alfonso Jordan was running as a result of his bold and controversial step of June 1134 to which Marcabru is referring in 'Aujatz de chan' line 26.⁸⁰ If this is so, it is possible to suggest a closer dating of this song than is put forward by Roncaglia ('fra l'estate 1133 e l'autunno 1134, e con ogni probabilità più vicino al secondo che al primo termine', p.48). The song would then have been composed between June and September 1134, when Alfonso Jordan left Toulouse for Spain, after which the sai/lai distinctions (corresponding to the North/South of the Pyrenees) which Marcabru establishes for the two Alfonsos would no longer apply.

Stanzas 7-9 raise the question of who, if any one person, should be regarded as Marcabru's patron at this time. In line 25 Marcabru addresses Guilhem X in the second person ('vostre pretz s'assegura'), whereas his references to Alfonso Jordan and Alfonso VII are in the third person singular. This could be seen as an indication that Marcabru's ties with Guilhem are still strong, although the troubadour is clearly casting his eye elsewhere (ll.26-36).⁸¹ Against this interpretation must be set Marcabru's far more effusive praise of the two Alfonsos and, in particular, of Alfonso Jordan's military prowess. Marcabru specifically refers to that fact that Alfonso Jordan holds his lands per son, 'for his own' (l.28), and better than his father held Toulouse. If 'Aujatz de chan' is intended for Guilhem X, this explicit reference could be

considered as singularly tactless in view of the fact that it was Guilhem X's father who laid claim to the county of Toulouse and actually took possession of it after the departure of Alfonso Jordan's father to the Holy Land, and this on two separate occasions (during the periods 1098-1100 and 1114-c.1119). Although it does not seem that Guilhem X made any serious attempt to exercise his claim to the county, the house of Poitou's claims passed to Eleanor of Aquitaine and were later, if unsuccessfully, asserted by military expeditions by Louis VII in 1141 and by Henry II in 1159.⁸² While it is not inconceivable that a troubadour should simultaneously seek protection from several mutually hostile parties, it is surely surprising that in a song apparently dedicated to Guilhem X but which also seems to be an approach to Alfonso Jordan, Marcabru should explicitly invoke one of the more recent and significant causes of antagonism between Poitou and Toulouse. Only three lines after the troubadour praises Guilhem X, he chooses to flatter Alfonso Jordan by means of a reference to one of Guilhem IX's less successful ventures, to the city where Guilhem X was born but which he did not inherit.

Stanzas 7, 8 and 9 indicate that Marcabru is clearly anxious to find another patron. His flattering attentions may have been so concentrated on Alfonso Jordan (and Alfonso VII) that he was indifferent to the effect his words might produce in Poitiers and line 25 may represent a perfunctory flattering reference to Guilhem X, perhaps as a safeguard should Alfonso Jordan show him a 'contenenssa dura' (l.29).

Did Marcabru remain, even if only loosely, under the protection of Guilhem X until 1137, as Boissonnade suggests? The allusion to Guilhem's rising fortunes in Poem XII^{bis} would seem to indicate this, as would the final stanza of Poem IV (ms A) in which Marcabru laments the loss of the count and appears to be searching for a new patron at the courts of Castille, Portugal and Barcelona. If Marcabru accompanied Guilhem X to Santiago de Compostella, as Frank appears to think, this would help to explain why the poet then chooses to address his overtures to these three Iberian courts.⁸³

Frank, however, understands Marcabru to have visited Spain several years previously ('Portugal', p.205). In his opinion Marcabru would not have sent 'Al prim comens' (Poem IV) 'à des gens inconnus ou indifférents' and he suggests that Marcabru and the princes concerned 'ont dû se rencontrer au couronnement "impérial" à Léon, en 1135' (pp.206-7). The song 'Aujatz de chan' shows that the troubadour

apparently has every intention of ingratiating himself with Alfonso Jordan and line 36 would seem to indicate that Marcabru also expects to approach Alfonso VII in Leon. Was this song composed in Toulouse, or with a journey to Toulouse and thence to Leon in mind? Did Marcabru accompany Alfonso Jordan to Leon, as is assumed by Roncaglia, and by Menendez Pidal, who speaks of Marcabru, 'encomendándose a la favorable mediación del Conde de Tolosa Alfonso Jordan, primo y vassallo del rey español', in order to secure an introduction to Alfonso VII?⁸⁴

Roncaglia presumes that this ploy succeeded and that Marcabru was under the protection of Alfonso VII from 1134 until at least 1143. However, during this period the only datable poetic reference in Marcabru's works to events which concern Alfonso VII is to the betrothal of his son to Blanche of Navarre and this, like the treaty of Ebro which it sealed, was the result of the diplomatic mediation of Alfonso Jordan (Poem V: c.October-November 1140).⁸⁵

Moreover, it is possible that Alfonso Jordan himself remained in Spain until some time early in 1137 and, during this time, Marcabru may well have remained in his entourage, rather than attaching himself to Alfonso VII. There are several pieces of evidence hinting at the continued presence of Alfonso Jordan in Spain. Like many of the Southern French and Spanish nobles, he seems to have left for Leon immediately after learning of the death of Alfonso the Battler in September 1134.⁸⁶ The will of the Aragonese king, in which he left his kingdom to the three military orders, was unacceptable to all interested secular powers and this, following so shortly after the deaths of so many Southern French leaders in June at the battle of Fraga, precipitated a political crisis involving Southern France and Northern Spain.⁸⁷ Those with interests in the region gathered before the imperial coronation of Alfonso VII to resolve the issues.

Alfonso Jordan was with Alfonso VII when, during the confusion following Alfonso the Battler's death, the future Emperor asserted the claims of Leon - Castille to the kingdom of Saragossa and annexed the city in December 1134.⁸⁸ He was also present at Alfonso's coronation in May 1135.⁸⁹ The count of Toulouse was closely involved with Alfonso VII not only because of their family relationship but also because they both had interests in opposing the expansionist ambitions of Aragon and Barcelona.⁹⁰ This was already evident in, for example, the immediate support given by Alfonso Jordan to Alfonso VII at his accession to the

throne of Leon in 1126.⁹¹ Fighting in the interests of Alfonso VII, Alfonso Jordan also appears to have been present, opposing Alfonso the Battler, at the latter's siege of Bayonne (1130-31) and the most recent biography of Alfonso the Battler speaks of a policy of alliance between Toulouse and Castille-Leon.⁹²

Committed by his participation in the annexation of Saragossa, it is conceivable that Alfonso Jordan remained with Alfonso VII until this complicated issue and that of the Aragonese succession were eventually resolved, and that he participated in the negotiations of the settlements. With the betrothal of Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona to the infant daughter and heir of Ramiro II of Aragon in the summer of 1137, Ramon Berenguer became the ruler of Aragon.⁹³ He honoured the agreement made between Ramiro and Alfonso VII in 1136 whereby Aragon would retain Saragossa but do homage to Alfonso VII for this kingdom (Schramm, pp.7 and 12).

Alfonso VII seems to have rewarded Alfonso Jordan for his support over Saragossa by giving him the office of tenente in several areas. The tenente was the judicial, administrative and military official of a region, and it was customary for scribes to date documents of local importance by a reference to the individual holding the office at the time.⁹⁴ One 'Jordan' appears as tenente of Pina during the period December 1134 - September 1137, of Ujué from 1136 to July 1138 and Villafranca de Navarra in July 1138, and Ubieta Arteta claims to have conclusively identified this man with Alfonso Jordan of Toulouse.⁹⁵ It is interesting that the dates attesting to his office in Pina (near Saragossa on the river Ebro) correspond to the period between Alfonso VII's annexation of Saragossa and the assumption of direct control over the kingdom by Alfonso Jordan's enemy, Ramon Berenguer IV.⁹⁶ It is improbable that Alfonso Jordan would have retained office under these new conditions, even given that the tenente did not always exercise office in person. With the lack of any other documentary evidence of Alfonso Jordan's whereabouts during the period 1135 - mid June 1137, these indications reinforce the likelihood that he was in Spain and Marcabru, if he did go to Spain at the end of 1134, may have been in his entourage.⁹⁷

The references in Poem XII^{bis} - if Boissonnade's dating is correct - need not conflict with such an hypothesis. Marcabru's appeal to Guilhem X to join the crusade would certainly accord with the poet's

presence, along with Alfonso Jordan(?), in Leon in 1135, when the Emperor ordered his subjects to continue vigorously campaigning against the Moors. Moreover, if he were in Spain, Marcabru would also know of an event which more than most enhanced the prestige of the 'seignoriu[s] de Gironda' (1.46), the marriage of Ramiro II of Aragon to Agnes of Poitou at the end of 1135. Marcabru's words need not be understood as an indication that the poet was in the entourage of Guilhem X and his appeal need not argue a close relationship of patronage but is rather early evidence of the poet's apparently enduring enthusiasm for the Spanish crusades. In 1143 Marcabru issued a similar appeal to Louis VII although there is no hint that the king was ever a patron of Marcabru:

Mas Franssa, Peitau e Beiriu
aclin'a un sol seignoriu,
veign'a Dieu sai son fieu servir! (11.55-7)
('Since France, Poitou and Berry are subject to one lord(ship),
may he come here to do service to God for his fief! ')

It is possible that lines 46-9 of Poem XII^{bis} represent an attempt by Marcabru indirectly to curry favour with Alfonso VII by exerting pressure on his old patron to support the Spanish Emperor's crusading enterprise, just as in 'Empeiraire, per mi mezeis' Marcabru urges the French ruler to support Alfonso VII's campaign.

As far as the suggestion of a long and close relationship between Marcabru and Alfonso VII is concerned, Marcabru's 'componimento di circonstanza' for the betrothal of Sancho of Castille-Leon and Blanche of Navarre could be understood to argue as well for a close association of the troubadour with Alfonso Jordan as it does for one with Alfonso VII.⁹⁸ Marcabru may have been in the retinue of the count of Toulouse and his veiled flattering reference to the betrothal could be seen as an attempt to ingratiate himself with Alfonso VII.

The style and tone of the opening stanza of 'Empeiraire, per mi mezeis' is suggestive of a first direct appeal for patronage by Marcabru. If, as Roncaglia believes, the poet had been enjoying Alfonso VII's favour at his court since 1134, it is perhaps rather strange that in 1143 he should begin a song by emphasising that he came of his own accord and without delay to Alfonso VII because of the sovereign's ever-increasing Proeza. The troubadour says:

Empeiraire, per mi mezeis,
sai, quant vostre proez'acreis,
no'm sui jes tarzatz del venir;
que jois vos pais, e pretz vos creis,
e jovens vos ten baut e freis
que'us fai vostre valor techir. (11.1-6)

('Emperor, since your valour is increasing, I did not delay at all in coming here of my own accord; may Joi nourish you, may your prestige be enhanced, may Joven, which causes your worth to grow, keep you happy and spirited/in good spirits.')

Could it be that in this song he is stressing the difference between this independent approach and any contact which may have occurred while Marcabru was in the entourage of Alfonso Jordan in 1134 or 1140? In 1143, moreover, Marcabru may have been in dire need of Alfonso VII's protection, for Alfonso Jordan was in France, losing the war for the control over Narbonne, and at one point in that year was actually imprisoned by his opponents.⁹⁹

In 1144, before June, Alfonso Jordan was in Spain again, once more acting as peace-maker between Alfonso VII and Garcia IV Ramirez of Navarre (HGL.III.731). Their eventual reconciliation was cemented by the marriage of Garcia to Urraca, daughter of Alfonso VII, which was celebrated in Leon on June 24 of that year. Alfonso Jordan may have been present at the ceremony but 'était de retour dans ses États au mois d'octobre suivant' (HGL.III.731). It is at some time in these years 1144-5 that Marcabru himself appears to have returned to France and composed two songs (XI and XXXVI) which may concern Alfonso Jordan.¹⁰⁰ Did he perhaps abandon his attempts to win favour with Alfonso VII and accompany the count of Toulouse back to France? Poem XXXVI contains the reference to N'Anfos and Marcabru alludes to the 'patz segurana' (1.37) which he should maintain. This could be the religious peace of his county, as Boissonnade suggests, but it could also be a reference to several other 'peaces' in which Alfonso Jordan was involved: to the conclusion of the long conflict over Narbonne which had recently been settled, to that peace between Castille and Navarre for which Alfonso Jordan was responsible, or to the resolution of the differences between the bishop and the lords of Uzès on which Alfonso Jordan ruled at a court held at Uzès in 1145.¹⁰¹

It is not surprising that an influential figure such as the count of Toulouse should have participated in important events which are also referred to by Marcabru, but it is nevertheless interesting to note that several of Marcabru's last datable songs can also be connected in some way with Alfonso Jordan.

In March 1146 Alfonso Jordan took the cross at Vézelay with Louis VII (compare Marcabru's 'A la fontana del vergier').¹⁰² At the end of August 1147 he embarked for the Holy Land with other noblemen of the Midi including, in all probability, Jaufre Rudel (compare the dedication of Marcabru's 'Cortesamen vuocill comensar'). It is consistent with the suggestion that Marcabru was closely associated with Alfonso Jordan that only after Alfonso left for the Holy Land - and possibly only after his sudden death there in late April 1148¹⁰³ - is Marcabru to be found in the company of Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona, for the two counts were old and lasting enemies.¹⁰⁴ It is possible that Marcabru's reference to the 'baptismes de Jordana' (XXI 1.41) contains an allusion to Alfonso Jordan.¹⁰⁵ While the count of Toulouse departed for the Holy Land, Marcabru himself went to join a powerful Spanish ruler's Crusade against the Infidel there (Vers del Lavador).

It must be said, however, that there is one passage of one of Marcabru's poems which conflicts with the suggestion that Alfonso Jordan became a patron of the troubadour at an early stage, although it would also seem to contradict Roncaglia's assertion that Marcabru was at the court of Alfonso VII from 1134 until 1145. From stanzas 10 and 11 of Poem IV it would seem that this song was composed shortly after the death of Guilhem X, whose demise Marcabru laments and which caused him to seek new patrons. Avalle has suggested that Marcabru was in Poitou when he composed stanza 10 of ms A. This supposition is not necessary, however: Guilhem died while on pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostella and if Marcabru were in Spain, news of this would have reached him there equally quickly.¹⁰⁶

It is curious that in this stanza Marcabru makes no mention of Toulouse. The court of Alfonso Jordan would appear to be an obvious place to approach in such circumstances, given the poet's intentions as they were expressed in 'Aujatz de chan'. Marcabru does, however, refer to Barcelona, the traditional enemy of Toulouse. Does this point to a temporary rupture in close relations between the troubadour and Alfonso Jordan?

It is equally curious that Marcabru should appeal to Castille. If, as Roncaglia suggests, Marcabru was at the court of Alfonso VII from 1134 until 1145, there would be no need for him to seek protection in 1137, and no reason for him to send greetings to Castille if he were already there. The IKNa version of stanza 10 indicates that these appeals were unsuccessful and in stanza 11 the troubadour announces his intention of going to Ossau. He was later to frequent the courts of Castille and Barcelona, so his apparent échec was not definitive.

While these lines represent a flaw in the theory that Marcabru found continuous protection at the court of Alfonso VII, they are also irreconcilable with the suggestion of a close and sustained association of Marcabru with Alfonso Jordan from 1134 onwards. Stanza 10 (ms A) of Poem IV might indicate that Marcabru did not obtain secure patronage from Alfonso Jordan until after 1137. Perhaps Marcabru did leave the entourage of Guilhem X in 1134 only to rejoin him - or think of rejoining him - in 1137, so that Guilhem's death came as a heavy blow? The stanzas of Poem IV should perhaps be interpreted to mean that Marcabru was unsuccessful in securing the patronage of the Alfonsos praised in 'Aujatz de chan' and that, in 1137, Guilhem X still represented for Marcabru a consistently generous and reliable protector.

Given all the uncertainties involved in attempting to reconstruct elements of the troubadour's career, it would still appear possible to conclude that there is at least as much evidence to connect Marcabru with Alfonso Jordan as with Alfonso VII, and that Marcabru's relations with Alfonso VII may have been conditioned by the activities of the count of Toulouse.

Notes to Appendix

1. Compare Lawner, p.487. While it is true that many of these allusions to current political events and personages elude the modern reader, it seems unlikely that many 'must have eluded his contemporaries as well'.
2. Appel, 'Zu Marcabru', p.407.
3. These stanzas, however, are found in only one manuscript, A, of the four containing the song.
4. 'Lo vers', p.48.
5. See below.
6. See Roncaglia, 'Lo vers', p.48.
7. Dejeanne's text, with correction by Pillet, p.16: d'esmerill (l.42): Roncaglia: cols.
8. P. Falk, 'Sur les vers de Marcabru: "Que.i ant fait li buzat d'Anjau, cal desmerill"', Studia Neophilologica, 32 (1960), pp.41-52 (p.52).
9. J.A. Yunck, The Lineage of Lady Meed: the Development of Medieval Venality-satire Publications in medieval studies, 17 (Notre Dame, 1963), see in particular pp.47-83 and 93-117. See De Riquer, III, Poems 314, 315, 317, 318 (Peire Cardenal: PC 335,29, 55, 31 and 1) and Poem 256 (Guilhem Figuera: PC 217,2). See also Thiolier-Méjean, Les Poésies satiriques, pp.354-60.
10. A. Roncaglia, Principi ed applicazioni di critica testuale (Rome, 1975), p.148, quoted in Tortoreto, 'Maestro', p.78.

11. See Robertson, 'Five Poems', pp.542-44. Although, if Marcabru espoused Guilhem's point of view, as Robertson implies, this interpretation does not stand up to scrutiny. Poitiers supported Anacletus and the 'head' would therefore not be void since this position was filled by Anacletus.

12. 'Al departir'. Spanke's suggestion (p.64) that the song is a planh on the death of Guilhem X (and therefore composed in the second half of 1137) is one whose basis Roncaglia thus destroys. These three different interpretations of Marcabru's song illustrate the difficulties involved in attempts to date his poems.

13. Roncaglia, 'La tenzone', p.213.

14. Quoted in Roncaglia, 'La tenzone', pp.208-9.

15. The Letters of Peter the Venerable, edited by G. Constable, Harvard Historical Studies, 78, 2 vols (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), I, pp.151-2.

16. Constable, II, p.131. Emphasis mine.

17. Bibliotheca cluniacensis, [edited by] M. Marrier and A. Duchesne (Paris, 1614; repr. Mâcon, 1915), col.594 D. Roncaglia also mentions a chronicle reference to this effect in PL 189.54 ('La tenzone', p.209), but this is part of a poem by Peter the Venerable. Tortoreto remarks that she pursued some researches in this connection and checked the Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny, but could find no trace of a Hugones Catulus ('Maestro', p.80 n.50).

18. Compare Franz (pp.23-4) who thought that the tenso was entirely the work of Marcabru.

19. 'Aujatz de chan', p.48. But see below, p.305.

20. Appel, 'Zu Marcabru', p.407.

21. Boissonnade, p.217, cites a document in support of the statement that Guilhem X reconquered Gascony 'sans coup férir'. Compare the account, drawn from the Historia pontificum et comitum Engolismensium, in A. Richard, Histoire des comtes de Poitou, 2 vols (Paris, 1903), II, p.53. On the alliance with Anjou, see Orderic Vitalis, XIII.26. On the date and details of the marriage of Agnes, see S. de Vajay, 'Ramire II le Moine, roi d'Aragon, et Agnès de Poitou dans l'histoire et dans la légende', in Mélanges René Crozet, II, pp.727-50.
22. Boissonnade, p.217, cites España Sagrada, XXI, p.347 in support of this. The reference corresponds to para.72 of Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris, edited by L. Sanchez Belda (Madrid, 1950), where there is no indication that Alfonso VII's measures involved the Aquitainians, but rather were intended for the officials of Toledo and the inhabitants of the Extramadura: 'Iussitque alcaydis Toletanis et omnibus habitatoribus totius Extremi facere exercitus assidue et dare Sarracenis infidelibus bellum per singulos annos et non parcere civitatibus vel oppidis eorum, sed totum avindicare Deo et legi christianae'. This passage does, however, serve to illustrate the Emperor's interest in the Reconquista.
23. These lines of Poem XII^{bis} are reminiscent of the tornada of 'Empereire, per mi mezeis', where Marcabru appeals to Louis VII to join the Spanish campaign, although the fact that in 'Empereire' (written in Spain c.1143 - see below) Marcabru names three of Louis's territorial possessions would make it more likely that by naming only the Gironde in Poem XII^{bis} Marcabru is referring to Guilhem X.
24. Compare Dejeanne's translation (p.18). It would appear possible to understand line 56 to refer particularly to the increasingly independent Portugal which, under Alfonso Enriques, began to assert its independence after 1126, declared itself independent in 1139 and was recognised as a separate kingdom, a papal fief, in December 1146. (For a summary of these developments see C. Brooke, Europe in the Central Middle Ages: 962-1154 (London, 1964), pp.379-80). See also I. Frank; 'Les Troubadours et le Portugal', in Mélanges

- d'études portugaises offerts à Georges Le Gentil (Lisbon, 1949), pp.199-226 (pp.205-7). Pirot, Recherches, pp.441-443 understands line 60 as an allusion to the disappearance of King Arthur, for whose return the Bretons waited so long.
25. A.S. Avalor, La letteratura medievale in lingua d'oc nella sua tradizione manoscritta, Studi e ricerche, 16 (Turin, 1961), pp.67-8; I. Frank, 'De l'art d'éditer les textes lyriques', in Recueil des travaux offerts à Clovis Brunel, Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société de l'École des Chartes, 12, 2 vols (Paris, 1955), I, pp.463-75 (pp.468-9).
26. Line 59 is missing in all four manuscripts.
27. This would be Pierre de Gabaret, a child, viscount of Béarn since the death of his uncle in 1134. Little is known about this figure: (see P. Tucoo-Chala, La Vicomté de Béarn et le problème de sa souveraineté des origines à 1620 (Bordeaux, 1961), pp.27 and 37), although it is perhaps interesting in this connection that Pierre de Gabaret later participated in the sieges of Fraga and Lerida in 1149 (see M. Defourneaux, Les Français en Espagne aux XI^e et XII^e siècles (Paris, 1949), pp.177-78), and that Marcabru seems to have been closely involved in these campaigns (see below). The designation petitz does not help to situate the date of the second version of Poem IV much more closely. Pierre de Gabaret was no longer a minor by 1147 (see P. de Marca, Histoire de Béarn (Paris, 1640), pp.443-4), and thus would probably no longer be referred to as lo petitz, but the second version of Poem IV could then have been composed at any time between 1137 and 1147.
28. See below, pp.311-12.
29. 'Trobar clus', pp.23-5.
30. Roncaglia, 'Il due sirventesi', p.183.
31. See the discussion of the soudadier in Chapter I above.

32. This expression may have been used by Marcabru to represent the extreme limits of the Christian or civilised world.
33. Lines re-edited by Frank, 'La Plus Ancienne Allusion à l'Italie'. Compare Ourliac, p.169, who believes that lines 53-6 of Marcabru's song allude to the 'découverte quasi miraculeuse' of the summary of the writings of the Roman jurists, a copy of which was, according to legend, discovered 'at Amalfi in 1135, whence the Pisans carried it off' (C.H. Haskins, The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century (Cleveland, Ohio, 1957), pp.196-7).
34. On the basis of the spring opening of the song, Frank suggests the spring of 1145, but compare Franz (pp.15-16) who emphasizes the commonplace nature of seasonal openings, which therefore cannot furnish any reliable indication of the date of a poem's composition.
35. This metaphorical use is the interpretation implicit in Roncaglia, 'Due schede'. In fact the two interpretations are not necessarily mutually exclusive: see below.
36. The Letters of Saint Bernard, translated by B.S. James (London, 1953), Letter 317.
37. See also W. Williams, St Bernard of Clairvaux, Historical Series, 69 (Manchester, 1935), pp.341-3.
38. Compare, however, A. Loeb, 'Les Relations entre les troubadours et les comtes de Toulouse (1112-1229)', AdM, 95 (1983), pp.225-59, who notes that nothing allows one to decide whether this is an allusion to Alfonso Jordan (p.118). According to Wilhelm, 'Bezzola's suggestion of Alfonso VII of Castille makes better sense because of continuity with other poems' (p.213 n.5), but see below, Part II.
39. See Roncaglia, 'Due schede', p.130.

40. On the term pörtz see R. Lejeune, 'Les "Ports" et les Pyrénées dans la Chanson de Roland', in Études de philologie romane et d'histoire littéraire offertes à Jules Horrent (Liege, 1980), pp.247-53.
41. Appel, p.416 understands these lines as evidence that the song was composed in Spain.
42. With reference to line 19 Pirot remarks 'La anta n'est autre que la prise d'Edesse [December 1144] ' ('A la fontana', p.635). On the interpretation of this song see Hatcher, 'Marcabru's A la fontana del vergier', and Bec, 'Genres', p.42.
43. SWB. V.82: man- 'Aufgebot'. Compare Appel (p.412): 'man wird nicht meinen, daß dieses Lied anderen Orts als in den Landen Ludwigs gedichtet ist'.
44. Boissonnade, p.228 and Roncaglia, 'Cortesamen', p.960. See above Chapter VI.
45. A. Jeanroy, 'Les Troubadours en Espagne', AdM, (1915-16), pp.141-75 (p.159).
46. Recherches, pp.150-7 (p.156).
47. Hathaway and Ricketts, p.8.
48. Translation from Topsfield, Troubadours, p.79.
49. See Storost, p.87 and Chambers, p.102.
50. Storost, p.87; Bertoni, 'Due note', pp.640-1; Appel, p.412; P. Hölzle, Die Kreuzzüge in der okzitanischen und deutschen Lyrik des 12. Jahrhunderts: das Gattungsproblem 'Kreuzlied' im historischen Kontext, Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 278, 2 vols (Göppingen, 1980), II, p.691; K. Lewent, 'Das altprovenzalische Kreuzlied', Romanische Forschungen, 21 (1905), pp.321-448.
51. Appel, 'Zu Marcabru', p.412.

52. I have developed these points in a study of Marcabru's depiction of the crusades in Spain and the Holy Land to be published in Forum for Modern Language Studies in 1986.
53. Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum, translated by R. Hill, Nelson's Medieval Texts (London, 1972), p.4 - see also p.51.
54. Quoted in N. Daniel, The Arabs and Medieval Europe, Arab Background Series, 2nd edition (London, 1979), p.200.
55. Compare the tone of the three references to Khorassan by later troubadours. Daude de Pradas claims that if he won his lady, he would be happier (or 'richer') with one penny than the sultan would be with Khorassan (PC 124,5):

qu'ieu ai mai, s'aquesta conquerier,
de benanans'ab un denier
que'l soudas ab Corrosana. (lines 19-21)

(C. Appel, Provenzalische Inedita aus Pariser Handschriften (Leipzig, 1890), p.87). See also Bertran de Born, Poem 2 (ed. Gouiran: PC 80,19):

Mais aic de joi que qi'm des Corrozana,
car a son grat m'en esgau. (lines 39-40)
('I felt more joy than if someone had given me
Khorassan, for she allowed me to enjoy the sight of
her. ')

For Guilhem de Berguedan, Khorassan is an exotic place among others such as Syria or the Sea of Azof which he cites in connection with Maître Rogier's debauches (Poem XVIII stanza 6 (PC 210,22): see the editor's remarks, p.163). For all these troubadours Khorassan seems to indicate a strange, rich and distant place. Marcabru's allusion, apparently the first reference to the place in vernacular lyric poetry, is nearer in spirit to the twelfth-century chronicles than to later poetic tradition.

56. Lewent, ('Kreuzlied', p.325, n.1) identifies escobilha with the crusaders. See also Hölzle, II, p.691, Errante, p.238, and Palmer A. Throop, Criticism of the Crusade: a Study of Public Opinion and the Crusade Propaganda (Amsterdam, 1940), p.99.
57. Quoted in G. Constable, 'The Second Crusade as seen by Contemporaries', Traditio, 9 (1953), pp.213-280 (pp.243-4).
58. The Church Historians of England, translated by Joseph Stevenson (London, 1856), IV: Historia rerum anglicarum, I.xx (p.427): see also I.xxxi (p.442). See Chapter VI above.
59. See Constable, pp.270-71, and P.A. Throop, 'Criticism of Papal Crusade Policy in Old French and Provençal', Speculum, 13 (1938), pp.379-412 (pp.379-80).
60. See Sir Steven Runciman, A History of the Crusades, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1951-54), II, pp.18-21, and Baldwin, pp.343-367.
61. The Chronicle of Henry of Huntingdon, translated by Thomas Forester (London, 1853), VIII.27 (pp.280-81).
62. See Storost, p.87, although a literal interpretation of Marcabru's words seems unlikely in this context. Alfonso Jordan, 'qui sic dictus, eo quod fuerit in Iordanis flumine baptizatus', Rodrigo Jimenez de Rada, Historia de rebus Hispaniae, in Opera (Valencia, 1968; reprint of 1793 edition), VI.20 (p.134).
63. Ekkehardi Uraugiensis abbatis: 'Hierosolymita', herausgegeben von Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Tübingen, 1877), XXV.1-5 (pp.239ff): 'Insuper militia haec nomen sibi facere' (XXV.3, p.243). See Baldwin, p.343 on the reliability of Ekkehard and Albert of Aachen as sources for these events.
64. Compare Baldwin, Gazeteer, p.646: the name Khorassan was 'misapplied to Pontus in the medieval period'. This interpretation could perhaps be modified. Compare A. Adler, 'Die politische Satire. 3. Das polemische Kreuzzugslied', GRLMA, VI, I, pp.290-293 on the

troubadours' use of historical references and names which
'metaphysisch als signa für die Realität dahinter gelten können'
(p.290).

65. See PD. virar - 'virer, tourner, retourner; détourner, changer'. On Western views of Syrian Franks see Runciman, II, pp.315-321. A similar argument is advanced by K. Heisig, 'Zu Marcabrus Vers del Lavador', Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen, 204 (1967-68), pp.366-68, who seeks to date the Lavador song to 1137.
66. See Constable, pp.272-73, and A.J. Forey, 'The Failure of the Siege of Damascus in 1148', Journal of Medieval History, 10 (1984), 13-23, who analyses accounts of these events and concludes that Western sources report rumours which 'provide an explanation ... acceptable to Western criticism' (p.21).
67. The last line of the stanza still poses problems: how could the 'baptism of the Jordan' harm any Christian? Perhaps Marcabru's words are meant sarcastically: true participation in the crusade would 'damage' the other quality attributed to these people, their falseness (line 37) by forcing them to abandon their evil, corrupt ways (compare line 38)?
68. F. Pirot, 'Lavador dans la Pax, in nomine Domini du troubadour Marcabru: une nouvelle interprétation du mot', in Mélanges Camproux, I, pp.159-69 (p.159).
69. Lawner, p.500.
70. On Marcabru and the Spanish crusades see Lewent, 'Kreuzlied', pp.372 and 398; Jeanroy, II, pp.200-08.
71. See Baldwin, p.475 on the actions of Urban II, Pascal II and Innocent III.

72. See De Riquer, I, p.206 and compare Thioliier-Méjean (Les Poésies satiriques, p.397), who argues that 'les arguments qu'utilisent les troubadours dans leurs pièces ne sont ... guère différents ce ceux qu'employaient les religieux pour prêcher la croisade'. This point is developed and illustrated by Suzanne Schöber, Die altfranzösische Kreuzzugslyrik des 12. Jahrhunderts, Dissertationen der Universität Salzburg, 7 (Vienna, 1976), pp.61-90.
73. Boissonnade, p.232.
74. R. Lejeune, 'Pour le commentaire du troubadour Marcabru: une allusion à Waïfre, roi d'Aquitaine', AdM, (1964), pp.363-70 (pp.369-70).
75. Boissonnade, p.225.
76. 'Trobar clus', p.25 n.38, with reference to his studies dating 'Aujatz de chan' and 'Empereire, per mi mezeis'. De Riquer also accepts this (I, p.171).
77. Using Dejeanne's edition. Roncaglia's interpretation of this line is quite different: in his edition Cozer and Sarlucs (which he agrees are insignificant places) are scornfully contrasted with Toulouse and Montpellier in order to emphasize that the answer to the poet's question: 'Do the sons resemble their fathers?' (1.33) is a resounding negative. One might still infer that Marcabru is flattering Alfonso Jordan if Marcabru could be understood to be alluding to some incident involving one of the count's sons and a tiny hamlet called Cozer.
78. See A. Graboïs, 'Une Étape dans l'évolution de la désagrégation de l'état toulousain au XII^e siècle: l'intervention d'Alphonse-Jourdain à Narbonne (1134-1143)', AdM, 78 (1966), pp.23-35, and J.J. Vaissète and C. de Vic, Histoire générale de Languedoc, 16 vols in 25, Facs. repr. of edn. publ. Toulouse, 1872-1904 (Osnabrück, 1973), III, 697.
79. Graboïs, pp.31-2, and HGL.V.col.1069.

80. 'Si gaire*ns dura' could also be glossed: 'if, indeed, he stays (here with us)': compare Alfonso Jordan's father and half-brother, Bertran, both of whom left for the Holy Land, and on both occasions, in the absence of the rightful overlord, the county was seized by Guilhem IX (see below). If the subject of dura is understood to be the pretz ('worth, reputation'?) of Alfonso Jordan, the line could be interpreted as a rather acid reservation voiced by Marcabru, perhaps a threat that if the count of Toulouse is not generous (compare 11.29-30), the troubadour's songs will reflect this and his Pretz will vanish(?). On the nuances of durar, meaning 'to last, to remain, to stay, to continue or endure', see Rayn.III.89, and SWB.II.309.
81. I am grateful to Simon Gaunt for these observations.
82. This information was summarised in a research paper by Richard Benjamin entitled 'Henry II's Expedition to Toulouse: 1159' presented to the Early Medieval Seminar of the Institute of Historical Research, University of London, in 1983. I owe much to the many stimulating discussions I have had with Richard Benjamin and should like to acknowledge his valuable and generous help. Guilhem X did, however, sign at least two documents, dated before and after the presumed period of composition of 'Aujatz de chan', with the words 'Signum Willelmi ducis Aquitanorum illius qui Tolosana matre natus est', thus stressing his claim in principle (quoted in Richard, II, p.3. n.3).
83. Frank, 'Portugal', p.206. He suggests that Cercamon accompanied Marcabru. Should any significance be attached to the fact that in the first version of Poem IV Marcabru uses two different terms: en Castella but vas Portegau and vas Barcelona? Could this be understood to mean that the poet was somewhere in the kingdom of Castille at the time Poem IV was composed or first performed?
84. R. Menendez Pidal, Poesía juglaresca y orígenes de las literaturas románicas, 6th edition (Madrid, 1957), pp.106-7. See also Roncaglia, 'Trobar clus', p.25.

85. See HGL.III.718, and M. Recuero Astray, Alfonso VII; Emperador: el imperio hispánico en el siglo XII, Fuentes y estudios de historia leonesa, 23 (Leon, 1979), p.218.
86. Alfonso Jordan must have left Toulouse for Spain early in September for he concluded a peace agreement with Ramon Berenguer IV in Spain on the 18th of that month (see HGL.III.697, and G. Zurita, Anales de la corona de Aragon, 6 vols (Saragossa, 1610), I, I.54).
87. See P.E. Schramm, 'Ramon Berenguer IV', in Els primiers Comtes-Reis, E. Bagué, J. Cabestany and P.E. Schramm, Història de Catalunya: Biografies Catalanes, 4, 2nd edition (Barcelona, 1980), pp.1-53 (pp.1-7), and Defourneaux, pp.165-6.
88. See Chronicon Adefonsi para.67, and Documentos para la Reconquista del Valle del Ebro, J.M. Lacarra, in Estudios de la Edad Media de la Corona de Aragon, II (Saragossa, 1946): document 86, issued by Alfonso VII from Saragossa, on 29 December 1134, is witnessed by Alfonso Jordan.
89. Chronica Adefonsi, para 72.
90. Alfonso Jordan's mother, Elvira, was the half-sister of Urraca, mother of Alfonso VII.
91. HGL.III.665, and see Defourneaux, p.162.
92. J.M. Lacarra, Alfonso el Batallador, Colección básica aragonesa, 1 (Saragossa, 1980), pp.105-6.
93. See Schramm, pp.10-11. Ramiro abdicated in November 1137.
94. A. Ubieto Arteta, Los 'tenentes' en Aragón y Navarra en los siglos XI y XII (Valencia, 1973), p.7.

95. On these dates and offices, see Ubieto Arteta, Los 'tenentes', p.241. On the identification, see A. Ubieto Arteta, 'Aproximación al estudio del nacimiento de la nobleza aragonesa (siglos XI y XII): aspectos genealógicos', in Homenaje a Don José María Lacarra de Miguel en su jubilación del profesorado: Estudios Medievales, 2 vols (Saragossa, 1977), II, pp.7-54 (p.31 n.114): unfortunately he supplies no detailed evidence for this conclusion.
96. See A. Ubieto Arteta, Toponomia Aragonesa Medieval (Valencia, 1972), map P.J.Z. That the dated indications of his office in Ujué are slightly later could perhaps be explained by the relative distance of Ujué from Saragossa and by the fact that administrative adjustments necessarily postdate political changes: the scribe of the local document may not have been au fait with very recent developments.
97. The next chronological evidence of the whereabouts of Alfonso Jordan is supplied by Geoffrey de Vigeois: he was at Limoges at the end of June 1137 (quoted in HGL.III.708 and Richard, II, p.59).
98. ^{Compare} Roncaglia, 'Trobar clus', p.25.
99. See Graboīs, pp.31-3, who documents 'l'effondrement général de la position du comte' in 1143 (p.32).
100. If these interpretations are accepted, it is necessary to modify Pirot's assumption (Recherches, pp.156-7) that Marcabru left Castille in 1145 but then travelled to Catalonia where he was later involved in the crusading campaigns of Ramon Berenguer IV.
101. See HGL.III.734 and reference to documents in Vol.V. See also Dictionnaire de Biographie Française, J. Balteau, M. Barroux and M. Prévost, II (Paris, 1936), col.306.
102. HGL.III.735-6 and see Runciman, II, p.253.
103. See HGL.III.755, Runciman, II, p.280 and the chronicles there referred to.

104. See Graboīs, p.28, and the contemporary chronicler quoted on pp.25-6, and C. Higounet, 'Un Grand Chapitre de l'histoire du XII^e siècle: la rivalité des maisons de Toulouse et de Barcelone pour la prépondérance méridionale', in Mélanges d'histoire du moyen-âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen (Paris, 1951), pp.313-22 (pp.315-17).
105. See note 62 above.
106. According to Suger, news of Guilhem's death reached one of the most interested parties, Louis VI, father of Guilhem's proposed son-in-law, in Northern France in the first days of June 1137 (Suger: Vie de Louis VI le Gros, éditée et traduite par H. Waquet, 2nd edition (Paris, 1964), p.281). On Guilhem's death on Good Friday 9 April 1137, see Orderic Vitalis, XIII.30.

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