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IMAGES OF WOMEN IN THE *TROBAIRITZ*' POETRY (Vocabulary and Imagery)

M. A. Thesis in Medieval Studies

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Images of Women in the *Trobairitz* Poetry (Vocabulary and Imagery)

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Images of Women in the Trobairitz' Poetry (Vocabulary and Imagery) ABSTRACT

The present study has focused on the poetry of the *trobairitz*, who wrote during 1180-1260 in Occitania, in the environment of the court. Its purpose is to extract the images of women as depicted in and through the vocabulary and the imagery. The study of vocabulary and imagery seemed the best way to understand the significance and the richness of the types of women depicted in the poems: the conscious woman, the authoritative figure, the fighter, the lover, the beloved, the uncourtly woman.

The first chapter is a short analysis of the socio-economic status and power of the *trobairitz* and the ideological context of their poetic activity, present at the time when the *trobairitz* wrote, as well as the general view of what they have written, and the discussion on their rhetorical skills is fundamental for the following poetic analysis, of the vocabulary and of the imagery. The socio-economic aspects, as well as the ideological attitudes of the courtly society explain the terminology of the poems, for example the feudal vocabulary, as well as some of the images involved in the present study. The debates about the feminine writing provide the point of departure for the analysis of the texts themselves, which will highlight the skills of the *trobairitz* while attempting to complete the image of women.

The vocabulary of the poems turns out to be extremely rich in terms of address, in terms denoting love and desire, and in terms showing appreciation and depreciation. The terms of address underline the *trobairitz'* desire to communicate feelings and opinions, at the same time, the terms clearly select the audience, dividing it into the group of friends, among whom *amic* is frequently occuring in the discourse, and the group of enemies. At the same time, the terms of address indicate the place of the trobairitz in the hierarchy of the people at the court and in her affective hierarchy. The vocabulary of love, multifarious in expression, reveals their awareness of the complexity of the concept, and their ability to play with the terms, in order to render their feelings as precisely as possible. It is love which conditions the presence of positive qualities, which should be features of the lover. The *trobairitz* also have strong feelings of self-worthiness, which they powerfully assert, with the purpose of making themselves more reliable as lovers. The way they chose their vocabulary clearly shows that the images they construct for themselves contradict the image constructed about them by the troubadours.

In the small corpus of the *trobairitz* poems one can find a wide variety of images abound and are extremely rich in significance. Although the image of winter points to the uneasiness of the *trobairitz* when she speaks with her own voice, the other images have shown extensive confidence in her own power also. The *trobairitz* can be a clear mirror of what happens around her, and especially of what happens in the heart of a lover, whether a man or a lady, or of a whole social group. However, when someone tries to negate her personality by making her a mirror of other's personalities, she will rebel. For her, mirroring means to provide a set of virtues required if the man wants to be loved, to give a kind of help to the others, either by facilitating the (re)union of two lovers, or by mirroring a completely different opinion of her "sisters," the ladies, when attempting to change the deeply rooted, maleoriented, defamatory opinion about women. She directly states that the image of woman that the audience has mits mind by the work of the *antic trobadors* is a fake

one. She also fights against an unjust law forbidding the wearing lavish dresses, which will impede her joy in her beauty and her wealth.

In addition, she proceeds as a conqueror of the man. First she looks at the man, and weighs his value, assessing if he suits her. Then she watches the other ladies, considers their strengths, finally appreciating her worth above theirs. The following step will be telling her discoveries to the man, who should be charmed by her beauty, intellectual and artistic qualities, which will make out of him a prey to be imprisoned. At the same time, she is sincere in her hunting: she wants the man she loves so intensively, because Love itself keeps her in her power. Both the lady and the lover are, in fact, the prisoners of Amor. Unfortunately, there are cases when the lady is trapped in the undesirable prison of the *gelos*, whose only power over her is a physical one. When it comes to measuring the power of the man as counterbalanced by that of the woman, the physical power in the man is acknowledged by the *trobairitz*. However, they preserve for themselves the wit and the shrewdness, which would beat any man down.

The image of the courtly woman as fighter is supplemented by some "uncourtly" aspects. Motherhood is seen as an unpleasant state, because it damages the woman; the presence of the "courtly man" in her immediacy has the same ruinous effect. A jocular image is the erotic woman, highlighted by the Domna in her dialogue with Montan.

The study has emphasised that in the small corpus of the *trobairitz* poems, the portraits of women depicted are various and colourfully painted. The images of women go from those sensitive to the "winter" of unableness of expression, to the fighters for the right to expose ideas and to be rightfully treated, to the tough and shrewed woman in contest with the aimed-at-man, to the woman assertive of sexual desires and to the woman fearful of its consequences.

The present study has mainly concentrated on presenting diverse types of women, by synthesising evidence of the vocabulary and of the images as seen in almost all the poems, which has not been previously done. Other things could also be said about the woman in the *trobairitz* poems, bringing more examples from the rhetoric used, from the versification, or from the analysis of some aspects of grammar (morphologic evidence, types of subordination, negation), which were not the point of this study.

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THE POEMS CONSULTED

I. CANSOS

1. La Comtessa de Dia: "Ab ioi et ab ioven m'apais": (Bruckner, Songs, 2-5),

2. La **Comtessa de Dia:** "A chantar m'er de so q'ieu no volria":Bruckner, *Songs*, 6-9);

3. La Comtessa de Dia: "Estat ai en greu cossirier": (Bruckner, Songs, 10-11);

4. La Comtessa de Dia: "Fin loi me don alegranssa": (Bruckner, Songs, 12-13);

5. Castelloza: "Ia de chantar no degr'aver talan": (Bruckner, Songs, 14-18);

6. Castelloza: "Amics, s'le.us trobes avinen": (Bruckner, Songs, 18-21);

7. Castelloza:"Mout avetz faich long estatge": (Bruckner, Songs, 22-5);

8 Castelloza: "Per joi que d'amor m'avegna": (Bruckner, Songs, 26-9);

9. Azalais de Porcairagues: "Ar em al freg temps vengut": (Bruckner, Songs, 34-7),

10. Clara d'Anduza: "En greu esmay e en greu pessamen": (Bruckner, Songs, 30-1),

11 Bietris de Romans: "Na Maria, pretz e fina valors": (Bruckner, Songs, 32-3),

12. Domna: "Quan vei les praz verdesir": (Bec, Chants, 195-9);

13. Domna: "Oi! Altas ondas que venetz sus la mar": (Bec, Chants, 200-5).

II. SIRVENTES

1 **Domna**: *planh* "Ab lo cor trist environat d'esmay": (Bruckner, Songs, 120-3);

2. **Domna:** *sirventes* "No puesc mudar no diga mon vejaire": (Bruckner, Songs, 98-101);

3. **Anonymous** *sirventes* "Ab greu cossire et ab greu marrimen": (Bruckner, *Songs*, 102-5);

4. Gormonda de Montpellier "Greu m'es a durar": (Bruckner, Songs, 106-19).

III. GENRES IN DIALOGUE

TENSOS

The lady initiates the debate:

1. **Domna** (the Comtessa de Dia?) and Raimbaut d'Orange: "Amics, en gran cosirier": (Bruckner, *Songs*, 88-91);

2. Isabella and Elias Cairel: "N'Elyas Cairel, de l'amor": (Bruckner, Songs, 60-3);

3. **Domna** and Montan: "Eu veing vas vos, seigner, fauda levada": (Rieger, *Trobairitz*, 367-70);

4. **Domna** and **Donzela** "Bona domna, tan vos ay fin coratge": (Bruckner, *Songs*, 92-5).

Man the initiator of the debate:

1. Aimeric de Peguillan and **Domna:** "Domna, per vos estauc en greu tormen": (Rieger, *Trobairitz*, 320-2);

2. Bertran del Pojet and an **Domna:** "Bona domna, d'una re que us deman": (Bruckner, *Songs*, 50-3),

3. Guillem Rainol d'At and an **Domna:** "Auzir cugei lo chant e l crit e l glat": (Rieger, *Trobairitz*, 331-3);

4. Guillem Rainol d'At and an **Domna:** "Quant aug chantar lo gal sus en l'erbos": (Rieger, *Trobairitz*, 341-3);

5. Giraut de Bornelh and Alamanda: "S' ie.us quier conseill, bel' amig' Alamanda": (Bruckner, Songs, 42-7);

6. Joan de Pennas and an **Domna:** "Un guerier, per alegrar": (Rieger, *Trobairitz, All-***5**);

7. Marques and an **Domna:** "Domna, a vos me coman": (Rieger, *Trobairitz*, 356-9);

8. Pistoleta and an **Domna:** "Bona domna, un conseill vos deman": (Bruckner, *Songs*, 56-9),

9. Raimbaut de Vaqueiras and **Domna:** "Bella, tan vos ai prejada": (Rieger, *Trobairitz*, 418-21),

10.Raimon de la Salas and an **Domna:** "Domna, qar conoissenz'e senz": (Rieger, *Trobairitz*, 437-40);

11.Raimon de las Salas and an **Domna:** "Si.m fos grazitz mos chans, eu m'esforsera": (Bruckner, *Songs*, 84-7),

12. Peire Duran and Domna:"Midons qui fuy, deman del sien cors gen" (Bruckner, Songs, 64-5).

PARTIMENS

1 Domna H. and Rofin: "Rofin, digatz m'ades de cors": (Bruckner, Songs, 78-83),

2. Lanfranc Cigala and Guilielma de Rosers: "Na Guilielma, maint cavalier arratge": Bruckner, *Songs*, 74-7);

3. Maria de Ventadorn and Gui d'Ussel: "Gui d' Ussel, be.m peza de vos": (Bruckner, *Songs*, 38-41).

EXCHANGES OF COBLAS

l Bernart Arnaut d'Armagnac and **Lombarda:** "Nom volgr'aver per Bernard Na Bernarda": (Bruckner, *Songs*, 70-3);

2. **Domna** with *Amics*. Only her part has been preserved: "Dieus sal la terra el país": (Bruckner, *Songs*, 136-7),

3. Tibors: "Bels dous amics, ben vos puose en ver dir": (Bruckner, Songs, 138-9);

4. Iseut de Capion to Almuc de Castelnou: "Domna N' Almucs, si us plagues"; (Bruckner, Songs, 48-9),

5. Alaisina Yselda and Na Carenza: "Na Carenza al bel cors avinen": (Bruckner, *Songs*, 96-7);

6 **Comtessa de Proensa** (Garsenda de Forcalquier) and Gui de Cavaillon: "Vos que m semblatz dels corals amadors": (Bruckner, *Songs*, 54-5).

IV. OTHER GENRES

BALADAS

1. Anonymous: "Coindeta sui, si cum n'ai greu cossire": (Bruckner, Songs, 130-3).

2. Anonymous: "Quant lo gilos er fora": (Bec, *Chants*, 224-6).

DAWN-SONG

Anonymous: "En un vergier sotz fuella d'albespi": (Bruckner, Songs, 134-5).

SALUT D'AMORS (Letter)

Azalais d'Altier to Clara (d'Anduza ?): "Tantz saluts e tantas amors": Bruckner, Songs, 124-9).

INTRODUCTION

The appearance of the *trobairitz*¹ (women troubadours) is a unique phenomenon: these women writers expressed themselves in poetry in the Occitan area for a short period of time, 1170-1260. Historically, these poems have been ignored and undervalued for centuries, and it is only in the recent years that serious critical attention has been paid to them². While there has been extensive historical research into the *trobairitz*, there has been less work undertaken on their poems as literary pieces. Work has tended to focus on a few poems rather than the wider corpus. The present work is an attempt to make a more detailed poetic analysis of around twenty poems, which reveals the self-image of these women writers and the image they have about woman's relationship with man and with the people at the court. Of the many types of literary analysis possible, I will examine the vocabulary and the images, which I think give a more complex and rich perspective regarding the *trobairitz* than the other types previously considered.³

Compared to the troubadours⁴, the number of the *trobairitz* and the corpus of their poems is much smaller. For example, Pierre Bec has registered the names of the

¹The term *trobairitz* is mentioned for the first time as such in the romance *Flamenca* (c. 1250). See Pierre Bec, *"Trobairitz* occitanes et chansons de femme francaises." *Perspectives médiévales* 5 (1979): 59. The term *trobairitz* has not been naturalised in English. It is composed by *trobar* ("to find," "to compose") and the suffix *-airitz*, expressing a feminine agent in contrast with the masculine *-ador*. See William Paden, ed. *The Voice of the Trobairitz: Perspectives on the Women Troubadours*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), 13.

²The most recent and the most important studies and editions of texts are those of Pierre Bec, ed., *Chants d'amour des femmes-troubadours: Trobairitz et "chansons de femme"* (Paris: Stock, 1995); Matilda Tomaryn Bruckner, Laurie Shepard and Sarah White, ed., *Songs of the Women Troubadours*, (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1995); Angelica Rieger, ed. *Trobairitz: der Beitrag der Frau in der altokzitanischen hofischen Lyrik: Edition des Gesamtkorpus* (Tubingen: M. Niemeyer, 1991).

³"There are various ways one might tackle the question: a study of the vocabulary of the *trobairitz*, compared with representative contemporary male poets; a study of the imager},'; a comparison of the use of traditional conventions; a study of style; the use of negatives; the use of the second person; the use of different tenses and moods of verbs; rhyme schemes; grammatical plays based on feminine forms; direct references to the male and female patterns of behaviour; a particular stance taken in relation to male rhetoric, to the game of courtly love," Joan M Ferrante. "Notes Toward the Study of a Female Rhetoric in the *Trobairitz*," in *Voice*, 63.

⁴ Martin de Riquier, *Los trovadores: Historia literaria y textos* (Barcelona: Planeta, 1975), 1:15 estimates the number of the troubadours attested to approximately 450.

trobairitz as follows: Na Tibors, Comtessa de Dia, Almucs de Castelnau, Iseut de Capio(n), Azalais de Porcaraigues, Maria de Veantadorn, Alamanda, Comtesa de Proensa (Garsenda), Isabela, Lombarda, Na Casteloza, Clara d'Anduza, Bieiris de Romans, Guilielma de Rozers, Domna H., Alaisina, Iselda, Carenza.⁵ Matilda Thomaryn Bruckner has tried to add to these names, by making a thorough review of the *vidas*⁶ and *razos*⁷ of the *trobairitz*, and of previous scholarship in this area.⁸ She has contributed with the names: Gaudareica, Gormonda (Germonda) de Montpellier, Azalais d'Altier.⁹ These twenty-one names¹⁰ are by no means a complete list of the *trobairitz*, a point which Angelica Rieger¹¹ emphasises when listing more names of *trobairitz* who have not left texts, but who are mentioned in the *vidas* and *razos* of the troubadours.

⁷Razo is a treatise on the art of *trobar*, which contains explanations regarding the content and of the context in which a certain poem was written, also created in the thirteenth-fifteenth century. The *vidas* and *razos* constitute the richest source of information about the Old Occitan poets.
⁸Meg Bogin, *The Women Troubadours* (New York: Paddington Press, 1967); William Paden, "Some Recent Studies of Women in the Medieval Ages, Especially in Southern France," *Tenso* 7.2 (1992): 94-124; Francois Zufferey, "Toward a Delimitation of the *Trobairitz* Corpus," in Paden, ed. *Voice*, 31-44; Frank Chambers, "Las *trobairitz* soiseubudas," in Paden, *Voice*, 45-60 demonstrates that many *trobairitz* are fictitious. Jean Charles Huchet, in "Les femmes troubadours oil la voix critique," *Litterature* 51 (1983): 59-90 denies the existence of any *trobairitz*, in all the genres, commenting that the *vidas* are too late to be considered veritable. Paolo Cerchi, "The Troubled Existence of Three Women Poets," in Paden, *Voice*, 197-210 talks about the existence of three *trobairitz* writing Italian poetry in the thirteen century: Gaia de Camino, Nina Siciliana, and La Compiuta Donzela.
⁹Bruckner, "The *Trobairitz,"* in Akehurst, *A Handbook*, 204.

¹⁰ Bruckner," The *Trobairitz,"* in Akehurst, *A Handbook*, 204 quotes Patricia Anderson, who invites us to read the names as designating types rather than real people. Their names would suggest their characters. She gives examples: Lady Carenza is the one "without assets" (*carenza* in Old Occitan), the name of Alaisina Iselda combines elements from the highest and lowest social orders, "*Na Carenza al bels cors avinen*: A Test Case for Recovering the Fictive Element in the Poetry of the Women Troubadours," *Tenso 2* (1987): 55-64.

¹¹Rieger, *Trobairitz*, 29-47, names also *domna* N. Agnes, Caudairenga, Guilielma Monja, Blanceman, Lisa de Londres, Guiscarda, Blancaflor alias Blanche or Flandrina de Flassans, Huguette des Baulx, Marcabruna, Lauretta de Sade and her aunt Phanetta de Gantehues, the wife of Bertrands de Pizars, Margarida, Elionors, Sancha and Biatriz, daughter of Raimon Berenguiers.

⁵Pierre Bec, " '*Trobairitz*' et chansons de femme: Contribution a la naissance du lyrisme feminin au Moyen Age," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 22 (1979): 235.

⁶*Vida* is a short biography— usually some lines— of a troubadour or of a *trobairitz*. For the *trobairitz*, there are only five *vidas*, according to Bruckner, *The Trobairitz*, in F. R. P. Akehurst and Judith M. Davis, ed. *A Handbook of the Troubadours* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press), 206-10. The *vidas* are written in the thirteenth-fifteenth century, and they are usually following a pattern. For a detailed look over the *trobairitz' vidas* and *razos*, see Matilda Tomaryn Bruckner, "The *Trobairitz,"* in Akehurst, *A Handbook*, 201-36; Elizabeth Wilson Poe, "A Dispassionate Look at the *Trobairitz," Tenso* 7.2 (1992): 142-63; and idem., "The *Vidas* and *Razos,"* in Akehurst, *A Handbook*, 185-97.

As for the corpus of the *trobairitz*, it also comprises very few poems. The most recent research proves the existence of around forty poems. The opinions of the critics range from considering twenty-five attributed (Pierre Bec),¹² to thirty-five (Bruckner), forty-three (François Zuffrey),¹³ and, the largest one, including the anonymous, as well as the poems with a feminine voice, of fourty-six (Angelica Rieger).¹⁴

These few women writers wrote the small corpus of poetry while a new set of attitudes towards love, known as *fin 'amors* was spreading throughout Europe. While *fin'amors* spread in the twelfth-thirteenth centuries in France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, England, even in Germany, only in Provence did women adopt and adapt the troubadour forms in lyrical poetry. It seems probable that the appearance of the *trobairitz* in this particular place and only in this period is primarily a result of socio-economic factors which allowed women a great freedom. An analysis of the socio-economic conditions, as well as a short study on the troubadours view on women will be the focus of the first chapter, in order to better understand the differences between the feminine and the masculine perspectives. It is also important for us to underline which are the main problems facing research into the *trobairitz* poetry. The debate over the intense expression of emotions and consequently their originality are especially of importance. All these debates will make the core of the first chapter.

The second chapter will examine the terms of vocabulary which illustrate the wide range of emotional expression of the women. The focus falls on the variety of terms of address, from which can be derived conclusions regarding the division of the world in the *trobairitz* eyes. The terms of love, ranging from the so-called platomc to the passionate to the experience of yearning and longing will add to the features of the types, as derived from the previous analysis. In addition the terms of self-appreciation

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¹²Bec, Pierre. "Trobairitz et chansons de femme. Contribution a la connaissance du lyrisme feminin au Moyen Age." *Cahiers de Civilisation Medievale* 22 (1979): 235-6.

¹³Zufferey, "Toward a Delimitation of the *Trobairitz* Poems," in *Voice*, 31-44 includes eleven *cansos*, three *sirventes*, sixteen *tensos*, three *partimens*, seven exchanges of *cob las*, two *baladas* and one letter (the *salut d'amor* of Azalais de Porcairagues).

¹⁴Rieger, *Trobairitz*, 21.

and the appreciation of the others, either men or women, as well as the terms of gloom, hopelessness, and intense discouragement will be examined. Due to the problematic fact that the corpus is so small, it is relevant not only to consider the frequently occurring terms, but also to examine terms which occur only once in the poems, and which are pertinent for this study.

The third chapter will investigate the imagery used in the *trobairitz* poems: winter standing for the inappropriate time for the women to express their feelings, the *trobairitz*-mediator, the mirror and the eye, the woman-fighter, the group of ladies as an image of rivals against whom the *trobairitz* has a weapon: her voice; pregnancy as a repulsive image, the woman damaged by the courtly man, the straightforward erotic woman.

The concluding chapter will synthesise the evidence of the texts, and will focus on the types of women as the texts inferred, especially with regard to the women's conception on their power over men, and on the kind of love they conceive of, keeping in mind their image of marital and illicit love, and the evidence of the ironical debates on the courteous and anti-courteous manners.

HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL OVERVIEW

Chapter 1

In the twelfth-thirteenth centuries in Occitania, secular society manifested, among others, a twofold perspective of women, the socio-economic and the poetic, both of which seemed to challenge the powerful religious viewpoint. The two secular perspectives discuss the question of women's social and political power, as well as the issue of women's sexuality. This chapter will focus on a general review of these three viewpoints, with an emphasis on the interaction of literary activity with the socio-economic and religious. It will also provide an overview of the current debates on the quality of the *trobairitz* corpus. In order to analyse the poetry, it is fundamental to understand what was the context of women's writing.

Although the general modern opinion regarding women of the Middle Ages is that they had too few rights in a misogynistic world,¹⁵ there are critics who speak about the twelfth-thirteenth centuries as a positive period for women.¹⁶ From the

¹⁵Alcuin Blanires, Karen Pratt, and C. W. Marx, *Woman Defamed and Woman Defended: An Anthology of Medieval Texts* (Oxford: Claredon Press, 1992); R. Howard Bloch, *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Katharina M Wilson, and Elizabeth M. Makovski, *Wykked Wyves and the Woes of Marriage: Misogamous Literature From Juvenal to Chaucer* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1990).

¹⁶There are other opinions, arguing against this "woman renaissance." For example Burckhard's doctrine proposed in his work *Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy* is that "Renaissance women enjoyed greater individual freedom than their medieval predecessors," Jacob Burckhard, *The Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy* (New York: Modern Library, 1954), 292. W. Paden opposes this doctrine, stating that Burckhard "merely transcribes the self-esteem of the Renaissance thinkers who invented the Middle Ages," Paden, "Introduction," in *Voice*, 2. The well-known critic George Duby regards the importance of woman from another perspective than Finke docs. In his book *Medieval Marriage: Two Models from Twelfth Century France*. (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1991), 15-21 George Duby's perspective is that the feudal model reduces women to the status of transparent objects, subject to transactions between men. In ibid., *The Knight, the Lady and the Priest: The Making of Modern Marriage in Medieval France* (New York: Pantheon, 1983) he affirms: "A woman was an object, a valuable object, carefully guarded because of all the advantages that could be obtained through her," 235.

socio-economic point of view, these critics¹⁷ call this period in the Middle Ages a "woman Renaissance." Their analysis is based on charters, wills, and testaments, which prove that women had a certain power to dispose of wealth. More precisely, Aurell I Cardona makes a thorough analysis of the socio-economic conditions, providing evidence in favour of a feminine renaissance, "rennaissance féministe" between 1180-1230,¹⁸ because the matrilineal lineage predominates over the patrilineal one, and the possibility for women to dispose of their fortune as they wanted to, led to their increasing independence. Noblewomen in southern France were in a more complex and advantageous position within the feudal hierarchy than their counterparts in the North;¹⁹ they could be landowners, land managers, heads of families, at least in name. As known from charters from the tenth-twelfth centuries, inheritance laws did not restrict a woman's freedom to administer a family property (as they did, for instance, in Northern France and Italy) either jointly with her husband, or by herself as a widow²⁰.

There are also other examples of noble women enjoying socio-economic independence and political influence. This was the case of Eleanor d'Aquitaine, and of Comtessa de Dia, who received inheritances from their fathers, while Garsenda, comtessa de Proensa and Maria de Ventadorn, wife of Count Eble V, inherited from their husbands. The wealth gained through inheritance strongly suggested financial independence. In the case of the *trobairitz*, it could even be seen from their names that they were wealthy: the title *Na* (lady) which sometimes stands in front of the name of the *trobairitz* explicitly shows her social status. Also their choice of names indicates their noble provenience: Almuc de Castelnou, or Castelloza (Castle lady), which only occur in the noble milieu. Powerful political women, as Eleanor d'Aquitaine, and

¹⁷Paden, "Introduction," in *Voice*, 1-5; Bruckner, "Fictions of the Female Voice in the Women Troubadours," *Speculum* 67 (1992): 865-91. Marti Aurell I Cardona, "La deterioration du statut de la femme aristocratique en Provence (Xe-XIIIe siecles)," *Le Moyen Age* 91 (1985): 6-32.

¹⁸Aurell I Cardona, "La déterioration du statut," 19-23 According to charters, he finds that before this renaissance, in 970-1030, there had been another period of economic stability for women, characterised by hypergamie: "le rang social de la femme, superieur a celui de son epoux, lui preserve une marge d'autonomie tres large." which is followed (1030-1180) by "une certaine dégradation."

¹⁹Laurie A. Finke, *Feminist Theory: Women's Writing* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1992), 37.

²⁰ Finke, *Feminist Theory*, 33-48.

Ermengarde of Narbonne are not singular examples during this time period. This short overview shows the possibility that women in this period, *trobairitz* included, could be wealthy and influential.

The opportunity for women to dispose of their own wealth allowed them to become educated, both in a religious and a secular area. The daughters of the noble families were trained to read the Psalter in Latin and enjoyed a literacy even higher than their brothers.²¹ Women could be educated in convents, by private tutors, or in schools run by parish priests; education for women declines only later on when the universities appeared, from which they were excluded. It is obvious that the *trobairitz* were wealthy enough to gain some kind of education.

The above information means that we can lend credence to the *vidas* and *razos*. Generally, the *trobairitz* are described there as *gentil* (noble), *bella* (beautiful), *avinens* (charming), *enseignada* (educated). The last qualification is especially important because part of the *trobairitz* education was *trobar* (to find and to compose). For example, Tibors' biographer describes her as "cortesa fo e enseignada, avinens e fort maïstra; e saup trobar" (she was courteous and well educated, pleasant and very learned, and she knew how to compose poems).

Their training in finding words and rhymes could also have come from the contacts with the troubadours. There is evidence that the *trobairitz* associated with the male singers. Some were the wives of well-known troubadours: Gaudareica, the wife of Raimon de Vidal, Guilielma Monja, the wife of Gaucelm Faidit. In other *razos*, the love affairs of the *trobairitz* are recorded; thus we find that the well-known troubadour Clara d'Anduza had an amorous but troubled relationship with Uc de Saint-Circ, and that Comtessa de Dia had an amorous relation with Raimbaut d'Aurenga, about whom she composed "mantas bonas *cansos*" (many good songs). Other examples come also from the texts, especially from the *tensos*,²² joc partis, ²³ exchanged *coblas*, ²⁴ where

²¹ Male literacy was largely restricted to the eldest son of the king, who was likely to inherit the divine office of his father, younger sons of kings and nobles were destined to the clergy. Paden, "Introduction," in *The Voice*, 7.

²² The tenso(n) ("debat" in the poetry of the trouveres), is a discussion between two or more troubadours who utter their different opinions in regard to a problem. The subject might be religious,

the *trobairitz* and the troubadours are in dialogue and ask for each other's opinions. Moreover, in these dialogues, they could ask for a third opinion: of another troubadour or another *trobairitz*.

The fact that the *trobairitz* were generally not financially dependent on their kinsmen, lovers or husbands could give another perspective of their literary activity: they did not write for money, but for themselves.²⁵ Meg Bogin states that "The difference between women and men can partly be accounted for by the fact that women, as far as is known, wrote for personal, rather than for professional reasons."²⁶ Evidence for their writing for personal purposes, comes from the poems, where the *trobairitz* define their writings as *chant, chanso*²⁷ (Beatrice, Azalais, Maria de

literary, poetic, or amatory. "Les *tensons*... sont des textes extravagantes, qui ne rentrent pas dans les 'critères classiques' de la poésie lyrique des troubadours; bien au contraire, très souvent soutenues par une certaine ironie, elles tendent à mettre en cause le système idéologique dominant," Stampinatto-Beretta, "Les *trobairitz, " 26-1*. She argues that they are better called 'anti-textes' as defined by Rieger, than 'contre-textes,' by Bec.

²³The genre the *joc partit (partimen, jeuparti)* involves a debate for the truthfulness of two hypotheses; the judge is necessarily the master of the house. Riquier *Los trovadores*, 67.
²⁴ *Cobla* is "un debate breve, en una o dos estrofas, a veces con tornada, y es término que no debe confundirse con la denomination generica de la estrofa que integra una composition, larga ni con la cobla no dialogada, por lo general moralizadora, epigramática 6 satírica," Riquier, *Los trovadores*, 68.

²⁵ Meg Bogin opposes from this point of view the *trobairitz* to the troubadours who, says the critic, wrote out of the desire to have advantage from their employer: thus they praised his wife, or they wrote because they were assigned to, id., *The Women Troubadours*, (New York: Paddington Press, 1976), 49-50.

²⁶They couldn't have been *joglaressas*, disreputable women, as the troubadours could be (the terms are *joglaror jongleur*). The *jongleur* was a type of medieval artist who sang, danced, played the *viele* and the tambourine, showed animals, and who sometimes was a prestidigitator. *Soldadeira* comes from the terms *soldee* — "salary"; *soldedeir* -- "work". Angelica Rieger admits the ambiguity of the term *soldadeira*, meaning prostitute; she finds that the term could be synonymous with *joglaressa*, Rieger, *Trobairitz*, 570. The critic analyses the *razo* of Gaucelm Faidit who married a *trobairitz*, Guilhelma Monja, qualified by the term *soldadeira*, prostitute. "E si tolc moiller soldadera quel menet lonc temps ab si per cortz, et avia son nom Guilhelma Monja." About Guilhema it is also written: "Fort fo bella e fort enseinganda ..." (very beautiful and very well-learned). See also Elisabeth Poe, "The *Vidas and Razos*," in Akehurst, *A Handbook*, 185-97.

²⁷The *canso* is a poem with a fixed form, accompanied by a melody; all the couplets are of identical structure. The length of the strophe (*cobla*), the rhythm and the rhymes vary (generally it has 8-9 verses). The *canso* usually ends with a shorter couplet, called *tornada*, which contains the name of the *envoi* (the protector of the poet or his *darnel amies* in the case of the *trobairitz*). The "grand chant courtois" is the name given to the high courtly lyric. The apogee of this art lies in the chanson, a complex form obeying subtle rules, making proof of a strict control of the images rendered; the audience of the courtly love lyric was a restricted one. Culled from Riquier, *Los trovadores*, 65; Paul Zumthor, *Essay of Medieval Poetics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992); and Roger Dragonetti, *La technique poetique des trouveres dans la chanson courtoise: Contribution a l'etude de la rhetorique medievale* (Brugge: Tempel, 1960).

Ventadour, Isabella, Na Castelloza, Bieiris de Romans), and their singing as *chantar*,²⁸ but they do not proclaim their skills as acquired for professional purposes. Their wealth allowed them poetic freedom, the possibility to "break out of--or ignore--the more ritualised aesthetic of the men and to use their poems as a vehicle of self-expression."²⁹

Another influence on the *trobairitz* writing, besides wealth and education, is the large cultural movement of *fin'amors*.³⁰ The poetry of the *fin'amors*, interacting with the religious³¹ and the feudal, influenced women because it constructed a particular image of women. It has been commonly considered that *fin'amors* is both a

³⁰ Concerning the apparition of these attitudes, Paden specifies that they are neither a singular, nor an attitude specific to a limited period of time: "The supposed invention of courtly love in the twelfth century has been considered an epoch-making event in the history of civilisation, an event that formed an watershed between uncourtly Antiquity and modern times," Paden, "Introduction." in *The Voice*, 5. Of the same opinion is Peter Dronke, who argues that courtly love is a universal tendency, a *secteur du coeur humain*, expressed in the literatures of the Ancient Egypt and medieval Georgia as well as in medieval Latin and the vernacular. However, Moshe Lazar distinguishes between love as seen by the *fin'amors* of the troubadours, passionate love as in the romance of Tristan and Isolde, courtly love within marriage as in the romances by Chretien de Troyes, and the more general notion of courtliness or *cortezia*. He explains that *cortezia* is "l'apanage de l'homme qui aime selon le code de la *fin'amors*," meaning to love in a courtly manner, to have measure (*mezura*), to obey the requirements of the *jovens* (youth, generosity), Moshe Lazar, *Amour curtois et fin'amors dans la litterature du XIIe siecle* (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1964).

Noticing the expression of the *fin 'amors* with the troubadours, Lacan suggests that it is "truly the most staggering thing that has ever been tried," a "fraud," and he strictly speaks about it as "the only way of coming off elegantly from the absence of sexual relations" in medieval society. *Female Sexuality: Jacques Lacan and the Ecole Freudienne*, ed. Juliet Mitchell and Jacqueline Rose (New York: Norton, 1982), 157. Some scholars manifested a powerful feminist perspective, arguing for an effemination of medieval culture, by *fin'amors*, which expressed "a deep psychological need left unmet by the unrelanting masculinity of the feudal culture," Meg Bogin, *The Women Troubadours* (New York: Paddington Press, 1976), 45.

³¹Lazar, *Amour courtois*, 119: "Les conceptions provençales de l'amour se sont developpées en dehors de toute Eglise, en marge de toute tradition religieuse,. . la *fin'amors* était adultére et amorale dans son essence même"

²⁸ Bruckener, Songs, 12 makes a review of the literature on the trobairitz' music. There is only one stanza of the trobairitz' melody, transcribed in manuscript W. However, there is rich documentation on women as performers and composers during the Middle Ages. The musical troubadouresque notation uses *neumes* (notes) indicating a relative pitch with no measurement of time, that could imply a relative freedom in adapting the melodies to the rhythm of the words. Maria Coldwell, focuses on the little studied female trouveres in her article "Jougleresses and trobairitz: Secular Musicians in Medieval France," in Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950. ed. Jane Bowers, and Judith Tick (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1986): 39-61, as referred in. Edith Borrof, "Women and Music in Medieval Europe," Mediævalia 14 (1988): 1-21, studies the musical education of women in the trivium (music and rhetoric), and in the quadrivium (philosophy of music), and in professional practice (minstrelsy). Vincent Pollina studies the interplay of words and melody to demonstrate how both embody the common medieval esthetic principle of combining continuity and discontinuity, Vincent Pollina, "Melodic Continuity and Discontinuity in *A chantar m'er* of the Comtessa de Dia," in *Miscellanea di Studi Romanzi offerta a Giuliano Gasca Queirazza*, ed. Anna Cornagliotti et al. (Turin: Ediziononi Dell'Orso, 1988), 887-96. Vincent Pollina, "Troubadours dans le Nord: Observations sur la transmission des melodies occitanes dans les manuscrits septentrionaux," Zeitschrift fürliteraturgeschichte 3.4 (1985): 263-78. ²⁹Bogin, Women Troubadours, 68.

reaction against Christianity, and also an assumption of its images of woman and marriage. Courtly love is seen as opposed to the ecclesiastic law and to the church teachings,³² and at the same time it adopts its image of the Virgin, which is promoted by the church.

The Church invested women (particularly female sexuality) with malign agency (the generally mentioned Biblical anti-types are Eve and Delilah).³³ The common opinion is that the Middle Ages was a misogynist period, which painted women as servile, demoniac creatures, responsible for the original sin.³⁴ The daughters of men are thereby marked as dangerous sexual temptresses³⁵ who are the gateway to evil.³⁶ Marriage existed only for the purpose of procreation, and there was no question of pleasure, which was seen as sinful. Moreover, the reality of medieval marriage has led critics to form the opinion that the poetry of *the fin'amors* was the "expression of a collective literary daydream of escape"³⁷ from the rigid Christian values through fiction.³⁸ From the point of view of sexuality, *fin'amors* shocks the commonly spread Christian opinion, by exalting "necessary" adultery.³⁹ As there is no documentation within the historical domain, the adulterous, secret courtly love has been explained as a literary parody.⁴⁰

³²Denis de Rougemont, *Love in The Western World* (New York: Fawcett, 1958), 77: "According to the theory officially received, courtly love arose as a reaction to the brutal lawlessness of the feudal manners." Denomy A. J. "The Pure Love of the Troubadours: Its Amorality and Possible Source," *Mediaeval Studies* 7 (1945): 139-207: "L'amour courtois des troubadours n'est ni moral ni immoral. Il est *amoral*, dans ce sens qu'il est absolument détaché de la morale chrétienne," Lazar, *Amour courtois*, 125.

³³George Duby, *Medieval Marriage: Two Models from Twelfth Century France* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 199), 13.

³⁴Margherita Spampinato-Beretta, "Les *trobairitz:* la voix feminine au moyen âge," *Revue des Langues Romanes* 100 (1996): 21; *Duby, Medieval Marriage*, 10.

 ³⁵ Adornments were banished because considered the instruments of evil. One of the anonymous *sirventes*, "Ab greu cossire et ab greu marrimen" shows women's opposition to the lavish law.
 ³⁶Rosemary Radford Ruether, *Womenguides: Readings Toward a Feminist Theology* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996), 83.

³⁷C. S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love: A Study in the Medieval Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965).

³⁸Bruckner, "Fictions," 211 is sceptical about the power of the ladies as reflected in the troubadour poetry. Her point is that their poetry is above all a "formal, literary game." However, this lyric is claimed to "equate and represent lived experience and song," ibid., 212.

³⁹C. S. Lewis, *The Allegory*, 15. His opinion can be judged as too categorical. One can find counterexamples in Castelloza, who speaks nicely about her husband.

⁴⁰C. S. Lewis, *The Allegory*, 85; and Howard Bloch, *Medieval Misogyny*, 137.

Fin'amors was not only a reaction to Christianity, but it also adopted its positive image of the woman as redeemer. Although positive religious images of women were not as powerful as to make definite changes in the conception of women as evil, consequently damnable, besides Eve and Delilah, the church promoted the image of the mother of Christ.⁴¹ In the poetry of the troubadours, the courtly lady is another version of the Virgin Mary,⁴² who represents "the prototype of a love relationship" in the West, and "the focal point of men's desires and aspirations."⁴³ Thus, it has been commonly agreed that troubadours placed her on a "pedestal."⁴⁴ Scholars have seen in courtliness in general (courtly behaviour included), in *fin'amors* in particular, a secular manifestation of medieval Mariology, seeing in it an attempt to spiritualise the physicality of the body along the lines of Cistercian mysticism, the glorification of suffering, the ecstasy of the lover, the woman as a source of redemption, and the infusion of religious terms within the semantic range of courtly sublimation.⁴⁵ Courtly poetry ends in the universalising glorification of love, and of woman as a means of salvation.

Based on the conception of women as desexualized, unattainable and above all human beings, the troubadours established a special relation between man and

⁴¹"Le culte de la Vierge, universel parmi les populations barbares, tant celtiques que germaniques, fut d'abord réprimé par l'Eglise. Toutefois à l'époque de la rennaissance du XIIe et du XIIIe siecles, cet ancien culte, ainsi que bien d'autres appartenant au paganisme barbare, se voyait entièrement retabli. Celebree par Saint Bernard, denommee 'la grande déesse ' par Albert le Grand, la Sainte Vierge avait déplacé la trinite et la devotion populaire. Dieu le Pere était terrible et inapprochable; le Christ pour doux et compatissant qu'il fût, exercait l'attribution de juge. Seule la reine celeste était à même de temoigner pour les pecheurs une compassion sans aloi," R. Briffault, *Les Troubadours et le sentiment romanesque* (Paris: Les Editions du Chene, 1945), in Lazar, *Amour courtois*, 255.

⁴³ Julia Kristeva, *Tales of Love* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 287. This conception about women meets St Bernard de Clairvaux, who exalted femininity in the worship of the Virgin. ⁴⁴ The critic marvels at the fact that while the epic poetry offers to woman a small place, lyric suddenly offers her a place on the pedestal, as "dispensatrice unique de bonheur pour l'amant-poète et source exclusive de valeur éthique." She is also of the opinion that psycho-sexual reasons are the motifs of this change, Spampinato-Beretta, "Les *trobairitz,"* 23.

⁴⁵ Howard R. Bloch, *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 137.

woman, coming within the scope of feudal ties: the hierarchical relation vassal-lady. It consecrated a special kind of love, generally identified as *amor de loin*, unattainable, sincere, powerful, and, what is most important, never consummated. The poet-lover remains in a position of vassal, while the beloved is the *domna*, *midons*.⁴⁶ She is so powerful, that she can reserve the right to keep away from her lover, and not to submit herself to him. Taking up the question of power, some critics⁴⁷ have speculated that the image of the powerful woman takes on the qualities of her husband, the real possessor of power. As a result, the troubadours' domna is deprived of material sexuality and invested with power over his heart.⁴⁸

The typical lady of the troubadours is a combination of "two unequal fictions: 1) an ideal desexualized lady, embodying virtues her admirer would like to attain, finds her opposite in 2) the erotic yet aloof woman who remains unattainable."⁴⁹ The troubadours' dream⁵⁰ of penetrating her space, in order to watch her undress, or touch her skin never comes to fruition, and they complain that the lady does not share their dream. Some critics today theorise that the troubadours' poetry is not about women, but about themselves. "The texts of the troubadours do not identify the lady, just as they rarely make explicit the nature of the troubadour's feelings toward her. The song

⁴⁷ Laurie A. Finke, *Feminist Writing*, 42: "I suggest that *fin'amor* offers a codified language for the 'euphemerizing' the economic exchanges that take place in patron-client networks." Other critics writing about this poetry in the same terms: Erich Kohler, "Observations historiques et sociologiques sur la poesie des troubadours," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 7 (1964): 27-51; Frederick Goldin, *The Mirror of Narcissus in the Courtly Love Lyric* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1967).

⁴⁶ *Midons* is formed by the feminine possessive *mia* plus the masculine *dons* deriving from the Latin *domnus*. This form is a *senhal* (code name), an ingenious form of flattery and a device alluding to the patron, the lady's husband. Other *sehnals* can also be found in the poetry of the *trobairitz* (i.e., Mirail de *Pretz, Bel Noms*).

Spampinato-Beretta, "Les *trobairitz,*" 19-23, finds a parallel between the existence of social classes and the two sexes, arguing: "la rencontre entre les classes . . . se transforme en une rencontre-conflit entre les sexes, et le transfert sexuel du politique dans le contexte personnel est à la base de cette poésie d'amour."

⁴⁸ Paden, "*Utrum copularentur*: Of *Cors.*" *Esprit createur* 19.4 (1979): 70-83 argues that the troubadours wove their sensuality in artful ambiguities. While analysing some lines from the troubadour Bertran de Born, Finke in her work *Feminist Writing,* 50-2 argues that the poet "cannot have the bodily woman, but he can have the textual one."

⁴⁹E. Jane Burns, "The Man Behind the Lady in the Troubadour Lyric," *Romance Notes* 25 (1985): 268.

⁵⁰Lazar has shown that there are situations when the troubadours are not mere dreamers: "les plus etheres des troubadours n'étaient pas ete toujours des adorateurs frigides." *Amour courtois*, 116

makes a spectacle of the speaker, not of his beloved."⁵¹ The self-centredness of the poems of the troubadours is the main issue in the *tenso* between the troubadour Bernard and the *trobairitz* Lombarda. She rejects the idea of woman being considered a mere mirror of the man. The *trobairitz* do not agree with the image⁵² the troubadours have made about women, and they are angry with the manipulation of the audience because of their attempt to shape male consciousness.⁵³ The *trobairitz* demonstrate in their poems that they are complex personalities who can physically desire a man, invite, tempt and even threaten the man to come into their arms, and that their song is a way of attracting their partner.

The question about how and what the *trobairitz* wrote has provoked significant debate among the critics. The basic problems are how the *trobairitz* render their ideas, and the themes they focus on, and consequently if these themes are new or if they are the same as those of the troubadours. The debate started with the attribution of the poems. Some critics considered that all the *trobairitz* poems were "fiction littéraire,"⁵⁴ and thus there was no reason for a further consideration of them as "female" writing. Others have recognised some of the poems as "feminite genetique," but claimed that they were poor imitation of the troubadours,⁵⁵ stating that the *trobairitz* did not provide anything new, and the poetry had very little value. However, this research was based on just a few poems and did not take into consideration the context of the

⁵¹ Paden, Voice, 6.

⁵²The image created by the troubadours is that of a prideful woman, desirable but not desirous, the male-poets do not depict women as free-talking or imaginative in language and images: John W. Baldwin, *Les Langages de l'amour dans la France de Philippe Auguste* (Paris: Fayard, 1997), 248 affirms that "Presque toutes les chansons lyriques contiennent des declarations d'amour et consistent en un monologue avec sa dame (*qui demeure silencieuse*)" [emphasis mine]. The image the male troubadours present in their writings is a one dimensional image.

⁵³ The *sirventes* is another poem with particular conventions, essentially satirical and violent, which may deal with all kinds of subjects, except for the erotic. There are *sirventes* which treat morality, politics, literature or personal rivalries. ⁵⁴Bec, "*Trobairitz*' et chansons de femme," 235-36: "une feminite genetique (avec un auteur dont on

⁵⁴Bec, "*Trobairitz'* et chansons de femme," 235-36: "une feminite genetique (avec un auteur dont on sait pertinemment qu'il est une femme), et une feminite textuelle, a savoir une piece, dans la très grande majorité des cas amoureuse, et dont le 'je' lirique est une femme (l'auteur pouvant être assez fréquemment un homme)."

⁵⁵Alfred Jeanroy, *La poesie lyrique des troubadours*. 2 vols. (Toulouse: Privat; and Paris: Didier. 1934), 1:311-17.

trobairitz writing. Recent studies have been more substantial, and the critics have tried to look at the socio-economic and ideological context of the *trobairitz'* writing, as well as to more of their texts. However, even this work has not been done on the "maximal corpus" recently discovered and attributed, but has tended to be focused on a small number of *trobairitz* poems. It is of utmost importance to construct arguments from a larger corpus of the poems and to consider the ideas in the text, in order to demonstrate clearly that the *trobairitz* were much more than poor imitators of the troubadours.

The supposed lack of skill of the *trobairitz* seen by traditional scholars led them to claim that they were not able to write the "grand chant courtois." Alfred Jeanroy⁵⁶ claimed that the composition of the "grand chant courtois," was beyond woman's power, such as the *planh*⁵¹ and *sirventes* required greater effort than was possible for a woman. He claimed that they only composed in the minor genres (*tenson, partimen, cobla*). However, his view was discredited by the discovery of at least one Provençal *planh* on the death of a friend, written in the female voice, which has been newly attributed to a *trobairitz* ("Ab lo cor trist environat d'esmay"), a religious *sirventes* composed by Gormonda de Montpelhier in response to Guilhem Figueiras ("Greu m'es a durar"),⁵⁸ and another social *sirventes*, bringing about an interesting image of women concerned with fashion ("Ab greu cossire et ab greu marrimen"). Pierre Bec argues that if they had not composed *planhs* or *sirventes*, it was not because of their incapability, as Jeanroy suggests, but because the socio-political motivations of these two genres did not concern women directly.⁵⁹

⁵⁶Alfred Jeanroy, *La poesie lyrique*, mentioned by Bec, *"Trobairitz* et chansons de femme," 237: "I would imagine that our *'trobairitz*,' slaves of the tradition, incapable of analytic effort, limited themselves to exploiting the existing themes, to using the current formulas, by simply inverting the roles. We would be dealing with mere literary exercises, not, however, entirely deprived of merit."

 $^{{}^{57}}$ The *planh* is an elegy on the death of the mistress or of the lady. It has three parts: the first one expresses the poet's *dolor*, then there is an eulogy of the person who died; the last part is a prayer lo God to save the soul.

⁵⁸ Rieger, quoted in Linda M. Paterson, *The World of the Troubadours: Medieval Occitan Society, c. 1100-c.1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) 237-8: "In her counterblast lo Guilhem Figueiras's *sirventes* against the Pope, during the Albigensian period, Gormonda of Montpellier speaks out vigorously on political and religious matters; however she represents the voice of the Church orthodoxy, and may even be a converted Cathar used for propaganda purposes." ⁵⁹ Pierre Bec, *"Trobairitz* et chansons de femme." 238.

Another point held against the *trobairitz* concerns the way they express themselves across the genres. It was claimed that they have no rhetorical skill.⁶⁰ Even some feminist critics agree to the lack of rhetorical skill, which, they suggest, is sacrificed for emotional sensitivity.⁶¹ Bruckner contests these opinions, calling the critics "enthusiasts," "who tend to insist on the contrast between the troubadours as professional poets whose poetry is a craft or trade and the trobairitz, who, as noble women, keep their amateur status and gain in emotional intensity⁶² what they lose in rhetorical skill."63 This comment shows that even the feminist critics do not seem to agree about the issue of craftsmanship precluding the expression of feeling. However, many of the poems show the contrary, and even one of the poems is in trobar clus or ric,⁶⁴ reveals a subtlety of the play with words. "The only surviving trobar clus by a trobairitz"65 comes from Lombarda, who wrote a tenso with the troubadour Bernard Arnaut d'Armagnac. She proves especially sensitive when refusing to be a mere "mirror," playing with the images of *oilz*(eyes), and *mirail* (mirror), as well as with the antonymic senses of the rhyming words. "The play of "acord"-"record" and their derivatives in lines 29-32 allows Lombarda to express, strongly and concisely, the importance of self-memory, that is, of a deeply rooted awareness of the self as a

⁶⁵ Eva Rosen, "The Discourse of Power: The Lyrics of the *Trobairitz," Comitatus* 21 (1990): 12.

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⁶⁰Alfred Jeanroy, La poesie lyrique, 1:58, in Bec, "Contributions," 240.

⁶¹Bogin, Women Troubadours, 86-7.

⁶²Bogin exaggerates about *trobairitz* as women writing a kind of diaries, or "sometimes there are baffling leaps between the stanzas, as if the poet had been thinking to herself and hadn't left a complete record of her inner dialogue (the poem of Azalais de Porcairague ... is a good example)," *Women Troubadours*, 67. She concludes : "... their poems are remarkably free of formulae," ibid., 68;"... their poems are gems," ibid., 65.

⁶³ Bruckner, "Fictions," 866 argues against the ideas of Francis Hueffer, nineteenth century scholar, and against the contemporary critic Bogin.

⁶⁴ The *trobar clus* is the art of composing hermetic poetry, while *trobar ric* is poetry in a complicated, rich form. Lazar characterises the two kinds of composing: *trobar leu leugier, pla* (absence des subtilites stylistiques, . . . vocabulaire poetique clair et facilement compréhensible, sobriété dans l'expression des sentiments et des idees . . . *Le trobar clus, ric, sotil, cobert, car* etc.) . . . se complait dans la difficulte et le raffinement des conceptions amoureuses, use a l'excès d'un vocabulaire ambigu, et s'adonne a de veritables acrobaties dans le domaine métrique; il degenère en une poèsie d'autant plus obscure et hermétique, que certains mots, compréhensibles probablement pour les auditeurs du XIIe siècles, ne le sont plus du tout pour nous. Le *trobar ric*, obéissant a des mobiles différents, recherche la beaute de la forme, la sonorité des mots et la richesse des rimes, el se choisit un vocabulaire chatie et epure, un ton noble. Le contenu est sacrifié a la forme," Riquier, XVIII-XXI: "Le *trobar clus* tire son origine de la condition humble des poetes realistes, ceux-ci s'opposant aux conceptions amoureux des poetes idealistes; le *trobar ric*, au contraire, serait d'origine aristocratique et de ces milieux ou l'on exaltait l'amour courtois parfait." Taking in consideration Riquier's dichotomy, we could consider that Lombarda writes in *trobar ric*.

continuous and inalienable core of identity, reflected and recorded by one's proper name."66

Another point of comparison between the *trobairitz* and the troubadours is the problem of the themes they focused on, which seemed to be mainly the same. Antoine Tavera answers this problem by listing the main topoi he finds in both the *trobairitz* and the troubadours' poems: the desire for the unattainable, the total abandonment to love, and the sorrow that nothing could retain the lover, and hence the pride and cruelty of the beloved, and subsequently the fear and dismay leading to dreaming and illusion.⁶⁷

The existence of common themes does not mean that there are no noticeable differences between *trobairitz* and troubadours. Focusing on the features noticeable of these themes, Tavera lists specific traits of these feminine writers, taking his examples from the incomplete collection of courtly poetry of Schultz-Gora.⁶⁸ Tavera mentions the excessive abandonment to desire (the sensuality expressed "sans fard," the regret of not having submitted herself to the man), and sensitivity (the remembrance of pleasurable moments, and the present 'joie minimale', while beseeching her lover or expressing her hope for a future encounter). He also notices the weakness of character, the tolerance (begging the lover in spite of public opinion, the capacity for imploring the rude and treacherous man, the seeking for a third person's opinion about the lover, pride of having a courted lover). The critic also mentioned the presence in the poems of the traits: consciousness of her superiority (her wish to transmit the record of her love to posteriority, the idea of winning in love), others (consciousness of her beauty, moral blackmail ("chantage") because of his cruelty).⁶⁹ Tavera concludes that the *trobairitz* have a special manner of writing, dominated by "l'exces, meme candidement

⁶⁶ Tilde Sancovitch, "Lombarda's Reluctant Mirror: Speculum of another Poet." in *Voice of the Women Troubadours*, 191.

⁶⁷As an example, Tavera mentions Na Castelloza, "A la recherche," 142-3.

⁶⁸Oscar Schultz-Gora, ed. *Die provenzalischen Dichterinnen. Biographien und Texte nebst Anmerkungen und einer Einleitung* (Leipzig: Fock, 1888; reprint Geneve: Slatkine, 1975). Also published in *Einundachtzigste Nachricht von dem Friedrichs-Gymnasium zu Altenburg* (Altenburg: Oskar Bonde, 1888).

⁶⁹Tavera, "A la recherche." 159.

avoue, de sensualité, de désir, d'abandon au désir."⁷⁰ Pierre Bec, however, contests this extremist opinion, adding that one can find good counter-examples in the troubadouresque poetry,⁷¹ but he admits that the affirmation is true in general.

This short analysis of the socio-economic status and power of the *trobairitz* and the ideological context of their poetic activity, present at the time when the *trobairitz* wrote, as well as the general view of what they have written, and the discussion on their rhetorical skills is fundamental for the following poetic analysis, of the vocabulary and of the imagery. The socio-economic aspects, as well as the ideological attitudes of the courtly society explain the terminology of the poems, for example the feudal vocabulary, as well as some of the images in discussion. The debates about the feminine writing provide the point of departure for the analysis of the texts themselves, which will highlight the skills of the *trobairitz* while attempting to complete the image of women. The following chapter will also try to flash out the variety of emotional aspects represented by a single term, as well as the variety of terms used for one experienced feeling.

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⁷⁰Tavera, "A la recherche," 144. He opposes the *trobairitz* sensuality lo that of Guillaume IX "le paillard." He considers that the difference is in favour of the *trobairitz* authenticity: "Aussi n'hésiteraije pas plus longtemps a le dire: on peut renverser le hâtif jugement de Jeanroy; en vigueur, en authenticité de sentiment, si petit que soit le nombre de compositions, les *trobairitz* l'emportent indoubitablement sur les troubadours."

⁷¹The examples provided by Bec are: Bernard de Ventadour, Jaufre Rudel, Gaucelm Faidit, plus the *chansons de femme* written by male poets, *"Trobairitz,"* 247-48.

THE VOCABULARY OF THE TROBAIRITZ

Second Chapter

In this chapter a deep survey of the poems of the *trobairitz* in regard to the vocabulary employed will add to the portrait of the *trobairitz* as a poet and of the women which appear in their poetical discourse, a portrait who has been constructed only partly by previous scholars. The highlighted vocabulary will reveal the *trobairitz* as they talk about themselves and about other people, and the complex female personality as seen in their texts. In order to survey the vocabulary in the *trobairitz* poems, I have chosen the terms of address whose multifarious employment might provide pertinent conclusions; the terms for love, which show that the concept can be complexly expressed by means of a variety of words alluding to a variety of senses; the terms for worthiness, which reveal the *trobairitz*' consciousness of their sense of self-esteem; the terms for sadness, that portray woman who is sometimes sorrowful or even violent when deserted.

TERMS OF ADDRESS

The analysis of the terms of direct address can support the counter-image to that of the troubadours, of a forthright and direct woman. As the lady of the troubadours remained silent, and she would not answer at the request of the troubadours, the following study will show a counter-image: the *trobairitz* wanted to establish sociable, affective contacts with other people and to speak their mind: "no puese mudar no digua mon vejaire" (anonymous, 1: I can't help it: I must speak my mind).⁷² The terms of address⁷³ were the

⁷²All the translations given below arc mine, using Rene Levy's *Petit Dictionnaire Provençal-Français* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1973), except when I mention Bruckner's translation, in Matilda Tomaryn Bruckner, Laurie Shepard, and Sarah White, ed. *Songs of the Women Troubadours* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1995).

⁷³Terms of direct address: second person pronouns, proper names, common names, alternating with common names accompanied by adjectives.

first ones that the critics paid attention to, terms whose pattern and variety was perceived and debated by them.

The critical attention on the terms of address resulted in a complete survey of these terms. Angelica Rieger, who proposes four methods of identification of the feminine lyrical "I,"⁷⁴ has also compiled a list of the occurrences and variants of the direct address of the *trobairitz* to her lover, of the address of the *trobairitz* to another *trobairitz* / woman, of a man to the *trobairitz* (in the lyric and the dialogue poems). This detailed but incomplete list she drows gives an initial view of the frequency of the terms in the second person singular. Joan Ferrante is another critic who analyses the terms of direct address in a study which stops, unfortunately, with the *cansos*.⁷⁵ The fact that the study of these various terms is limited to only a small corpus of poetry is a motivation to extend the analysis to a longer corpus and to suggest more broadly-based interpretations.

The present study considers the terms of address very important because of their placement in a certain position within the poem, in a certain environment of qualifying terms. The variation within the pattern reveals a particular attitude on the part of the *trobairitz* towards the addressee, along with the persistent expectation that the person will listen to their song. In her comparative study between troubadours and *trobairitz*, Joan Ferrante notices that "the women are more given to the direct approach. They address the objects of their feelings, while the male poets are as likely to address their fellow men as

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⁷⁴ Rieger, *Trobairitz*, 30-91 mentions the language (in the terms of address between man-woman, woman-woman), the content of the poems, the transmission of the texts / manuscripts, vidas and razos, pictures of women in illuminations are the ways in which one manuscript can be attributed to a woman. She notes that the *trobairitz* indirectly names the partner using, besides the common: *amic*, *mos amics, meus amics, mon ami*, in the direct address, *cavalliers, un / mon cavallier. pro cavallier vale, pro e en ohm, drutz* (intimate friend, who has already received the lady's graces), in one case *jin'aman-* in Tibors' poem, *amadors. Marit* appears only once with a positive connotation: in the *tenso* between Raimbaut de Vaqueiras and a Domna (*bello marit*).

⁷⁵Ferrante, "Notes," 64. Unfortunately, her study concerns only the *cansos*.

their ladies."⁷⁶ The leading idea is that the *trobairitz* desire direct communication by means of which they can better express their feelings.

The placement of the terms of address in the poem can be of major significance. Usually, the terms of address appear at the beginning of each stanza, as if to make contact with and to announce the addressee to the audience; this could be the case with the cansos. The *tensos*, presumably real interpolations between two singers, resemble parts in a play. In this genre, the terms of address appear in the beginning of the poem where the *trobairitz* is the initiator of the dialogue.⁷⁷ Initiating the dialogue means for her taking the step to express her feelings: in asking for a solution to a disturbing question, or in complaining about her being misunderstood or dejected; consequently, she persuades her partner to follow her discourse and learn about her dilemmas. There are other cases, where the direct discourse is framed into a third person narrative so that the direct terms of address do not open the poem, but they break into it because she is so full of grief that she must share it with the speaker. For example in the anonymous *alba* in a female voice ("En un vergier sotz fuella d'albespi"), the commonly used bels dous amicx occurs only in the middle of the trobairitz direct discourse, after she has lamented the shortness of the night: "Plagues a Dieu 1a la nueitz non falhis" (5: Would to God the darkness were not ending), and complained about the troublesome existence of the watchman "ni la gayta iorn, ni alba no vis" (that the watchman saw no day or dawn). The trobairitz calls for her friend in order to make a request for kisses and cuddling games, all to take place in the locus amoenus of the forest. The discourse ends with the pronouncement phrase: "La dompna es agradans e plazens / par sa beautat la gardon mantas gens / et a son cor en amar levalmens, / Oy Dieus! Oi Dieus! de l'alba tan tost ve" (21-4: The lady is agreeable and lovely, admired by many for her beauty, while her heart stays loyally in love). In "Per ioi," the discourse of the anonymous trobairitz continues in the third person, when it suddenly turns to direct

⁷⁶Ibid., 65. She takes a control group formed by five troubadours who wrote in different generations: Bernart de Ventadorn, Peire d'Alvernhe, Arnaut Daniel, Peire Cardenal, and Sordello and compared them to the *trobairitz*.

⁷⁷ Na Maria de Ventadorn e N' Gui d' Ussel, Almuc de Castelnou e Iseut de Capion, La Comtessa de Proensa (Garsenda de Forcalquier) e Gui de Cavallion, Ysabella e N'Elias Cairel, Domna H. e Rofin, Domna e Raimbaut d' Aurenga. Domna e Donzela, N'Alaisina Yselda e Na Carenza.

discourse in line 35: bels amics, si faz fort vos / on tenc los oilos ambedos" (Fair friend, so great is my desire for you, on whom I train both eyes). The meaning could be that when her feelings are so burdensome, she no longer bothers with form, or that the words bring him effectively in front of her eyes. The unstable placement of the terms of address add to variation in the poems, while the sudden turn in narration could even add to the artistic expression.

However, there are cases when the vocative of the address occurs in the middle of the phrase; the assumption is that the discourse is interrupted in favour of gaining the attention of the listener. For example, this is the case with Clara d'Anduza, when she assures her beloved of her devotion: "Ia no.us donetz, belhs amicx, espaven / que ia ves vos aia cor trichador." (17: Have no fear, fair friend, that my heart will ever be false to you). Placing the term after an interjection: "Ai! bels amics" (Castelloza, "Ia de chantar"), or: "Hai! amies, valenz e bos" (anonymous *canso* "Per ioi que d'amor," 25: Oh, worthy and good friend) is a double way of attracting the attention of the auditor: that of the vocative and the interjection.

Critics analyse the terms of address for meaning, but in a limited way. Bruckner refers to the way on the *trobairitz* address their partners as a means for the *trobairitz* to assert her position in society, which is a reversal of the image the troubadours present of the lady and the lover.⁷⁸

When she speaks of herself or of him in the third person, she is the *domna*, he is *cavalier*, addressed in the *tensos* by his first name. In some sense then, the lady who begins to sing does not completely vacate her position in the asymmetrical balance of power between domna and lover.⁷⁹

Rather, her conclusion is that hierarchy is preserved by the way of addressing or referring to her partner, and by maintaining a distance when using the third person singular. The critic noticed that, even when praying for love, the *trobairitz* does not give up this

⁷⁸A patron-client connection, in Finke's terms, *Women Writers*, 56.

⁷⁹ Bruckner, "Fictions," 876.

image of haughty *domna*. However, the references of the critic touch only the area of indirect address.

Continuing the discussion of a hierarchy which is maintained, it is also necessary to look at the direct address which include titles and proper names. In the dialogue texts, one can find the *Seigner / Seingner* in the *tenso* Pistoleta--Domna, Guillems Rainols dAt— Domna in Aimeric de Peguilhan⁸⁰; and in the erotic dialogue Montan--Domna (in the last case making the dialogue even more shocking by combining courtly address and the use of straight terms for the genitals in a boasting discourse). In the *tensos, partimens* and *coblas*, usually the *trobairitz* name their partners, and at the same time, refer to them as lord or friend: Gui d'Ussel, Giraut, (Amics) Bertran, N'Elias Cairel (Lord Elias Cairel), (Amic) Lanfranc, Rofin, Seign'En Giraut. The use of proper names together with titles not only reflects the individualisation of the partner, but it also preserves the acknowledgement of the social status.

Within all these types of terms of address, the most common choice of term is amics (friend),⁸¹ and, less frequently, drutz (also friend, lover, only in indirect address)—twice in Guilielma. The sense of *amies / amic / amix* can be enriched, and can achieve contrasting interpretations while it is alone, as opposed to its being placed in different attributive environments. For example, Clara d'Anduza uses the formula *belhs amicx*, when assuring her lover about her faithful heart: "Ia no.us donetz, belhs amicx, espaven / que ia ves vos aia cor trichador" (17-8: Have no fear, fair friend, that my heart will ever be false to you) then uses *amicx*, when she is animated by negative feelings (from despair to anger): "Amicx, tan ai d'ira e de feunia / quar no vos vey . ." (25: Friend, Im in such a rage and torment that I cannot see you . . .). This variation could allow one to conclude that it is particularly when she is overwhelmed by feelings of love and she directs her thoughts to him, that she uses positive accompanying adjectives such as *belhs* (handsome, good),

⁸⁰The exchange of replies in their *tenso* or half-*tenso* (Chambers, "Las *trobairitz* soiseubudas," 55) is a double discourse between the troubadour, who, refused by the Domna, turns to Love itself for help. Because of the introduction of Love as a speaker, the *tenso* has been considered fictitious, and composed by the male author only

⁸¹The pattern is also current in the troubadours poetry, where they used *arnica* to designate the beloved.

corals (heartfelt, in the heart), *pro e valen* (courageous, renowned, with qualities physical, intellectual, worldly, which make him suitable to be the subject of a song), *dolç* (sweet). The pronominal adjectives appropriate the lover to the *trobairitz: mens amicx* (my friend). Preference for a simple term of address (when talking to him as *amicx*) can be a mere signal for establishing communication.

However, this placement of *amix* in different contexts of words cannot constitute a rule with the *trobairitz*, because, with Comtessa, "A chantar m'er de so q'ieu no volria" the situation seem to be just the other way around: when talking about the good reasoning of her lover, she uses the noun *amicx*, while when talking about his cruelty she employs *lo mieus bels amies gens* (33: my fine fair friend). This could be interpreted either as a means of persuading the lover to return to her and making him change his mind, or as irony on her part towards the "charming traitor." The interpretation corresponds to the common opinion that the adjective and the noun go well together if they are both charged with the same value; if they are charged at different poles, the result is plain irony.

To conclude this analysis of the terms of address, a review should be made of the *trobairitz* directly referring to other interlocutors or at least using terms of direct address to describe the audience. There are (more rarely) cases when the *trobairitz* addresses another *trobairitz*, or the gossiper. The female interlocutor is usually named: Na Maria (In Bieris de Roman's *canso*), N Iseut, Na Carenza, N'Alascina, or called *domna*, or accompanied by positive qualifying adjectives: "bella dompna." At times, the *trobairitz* directly addresses the gossiper: "E vos, gelos⁸² mal parlan" (Comtessa, "Fin ioi," 17: And you, foul-tongued jealous man . . .). Before the term of address she uses the adversative conjunction 'e'. Thus, the term achieves a negative tone. However, it is rather rare that the *trobairitz* speaks directly to the "foul-tongued, jealous man"; she usually complains about him in a monologue (see also the *chansons de femme* or the *chansons de alba*) The reference to

⁸²*Gilos*, *gelos* is the husband of the lady. "Pero este marido, o gílos, es al propiotiempo un señor poderoso, que puede hacer favores y otorgar prebendas, debido a lo qual a su lado polula la infame caterva de los *lausangiers*, 'lisongeras,' 'aduladores' que con la finahdad de hacer meritos y de prosperar estan al asecho de la dama y de su enamorado, dispuestos a informaral señor de la mas pequeña muestra de infidelidad que pueda cometer su esposa," Riquier, *Los trovadores*, 1:94. That is why from "adulator," *lausangiers* becomes "calumniator." This obliges the troubadour to be discreet and to dissimulate.

"the jealous man" addressed in a direct way might also show that the *trobairitz* is ready to fight to attract the man, that she in a way is provoking the bad-tempered people, who are always disapproving, always putting obstacles in the way of the lovers.

The direct terms of address illustrate the *trobairitz'* desire to establish and to maintain contact with the others, to approach or to reject their audience of the court, to individualise their interlocutors. The direct terms of address are thus charged with significance, especially when the common nouns are enriched by various combinations with approving and disapproving adjectives. The evidence endows us with the conclusion that the *trobairitz* creates around her two very well delimited groups: the friends, amoung which the lover is the supreme figure, and the enemies, lead by the jealous husband and his coalitionists. This study of terms of address has demonstrated that the *trobairitz* want to communicate and that they are sensitive to expressing love or antipathy toward their interlocutors by means of direct address.

The following analysis is concerned with the terms within the scope of desire and love In choosing these terms, the main guide was the frequency of occurrence of the terms, and the multitude of the synonyms which present individual facets of the meaning of the concepts. The power source of the *trobairitz* life is love,⁸³ experienced in all its many aspects, from ethereal to carnal, from aspiration for it, to the agonising consciousness of loss and abandonment.

TERMS OF LOVE

Around the word *cor* "cluster the heart's oscillating sensations--the experience of loyal and disloyal love, sorrow and joy, dying and reviving, languishing and being

⁸³Spampinato-Beretta, "Les *trobairitz":* 24, "l'erotisme provencal confere un statut culturel et mondain a la femme de condition inférieure par la possibilité, au moins virtuelle, d'un sentiment amoureux fibre, en contraste probablement avec son manque effectif and sa dependance reelle a l'égard du mari, qui, malgré l'adultere courtois, se prolonge au long des siècles dans tous les milieux."

healed."⁸⁴ In the *trobairitz*'s poems, feelings and moods, from love to rejection, from jubilation to mourning revolve around the word *cor*, the repository of polar emotions.

Cor, the most precious constituent of the *trobairitz'* existence, is also the most representative for her interpersonal relations, as it can stand for guarantee of loyalty and faith in love. The *trobairitz* speaking in the *tenso* between Domna and Raimon de la Salas, "Si.m fos graziz" affirms her abandonment to the lover and proclaims that, in case of physical estrangement from her sweetheart, she will leave with him that which should not be estranged from its symbolic owner: her *cor*: "a cui m'autrei leialmen senz engan / e.us lais mon cor en gauge on qu'eu m'an" (31-2: I give myself to you with loyalty without deception; wherever I go, I leave you my heart as a pledge).⁸⁵ The *trobairitz* leaves her heart willingly in the power of her lover⁸⁶; this traditional image of surrender alludes to the imagery of imprisonment and power. Loyalty and faith of *cor* ultimately find their dwelling in the lover's domain.

Cor can also play an active role, providing a sincere opinion on important problems tormenting the lives of the lovers. Honesty comes from the heart *(cor)* expresses the *tenso* between Domna H. and Rofin. Core of high principles, *cor* is the one who distinguishes between truth and falsehood, between the most honourable lover and the one who does not want to give his word: "Rofin, digatz m'ades de cuors, / cals fetz meills, car etz conoissens" (1-2: Rofin, now tell me from the heart, which one does better, for you know many things). The *trobairitz* accredits the heart with a power of discernment between truth, loyalty and faith, and their opposites. *Cor* is not passive, it does not wait that truth come from another place; instead, it distinguishes the values against the non-values.

The trustworthy activity of *cor* guarantees the best answer and reliable advice. *Cor*, symbol of perfection, *pretz* in *fin 'amors* terms, is paramount to the whole being of the *trobairitz*. In order to give prominence to the meaning of *cor*, the *trobairitz* associate it

⁸⁴Dronke, "The Provençal," in Medieval Women Writers, ed. Katharina M. Wilson (Athens:

University of Georgia Press, 1984), 134, referring to the trobairitz Castelloza.

⁸⁵The same eagerness to yield her heart to the man undergoes the *trobairitz* in the *tenso* Marques-Domna, "Domna, a vos me coman." "Amics, lo meus cors ioyos / e vostres totas sazos" (11-12: Friend, my joyful heart is yours in all season). The *trobairitz* here does not impose any limitation in time: her heart is in all time at the lover's service.

⁸⁶See below my study on the imagery of imprisonment and power.

with other words denominating love. Clara d'Anduza uses *cor*,⁸⁷ *amors*,⁸⁸ and *dezir* in the same stanza, in three successive lines, a placement comparable with the use of bricks when constructing a manifold concept of love: "Selh que.m blasma vostr'amor ni.m defen / no podon far en re mon cor mellor / nil dous dezir qu'ieu as de vos maior." (9-10: He who blames and forbids my loving you / cannot in any way amend my heart / nor increase the sweet desire I have for you) (transl. Bruckner). Here, "vostr'amors" means the love she has for him. The *trobairitz* rejects the idea of being a passive participant, of others intervening in her love affairs. The meaning rendered by these verses is that the heart is the most precious thing with the *domna;* moreover, it is only herself that can have access to it with respect to whomever she wants to love. Nothing can change her deep heartfelt conviction that who and how she chooses to love is perfect, because her heart is perfect, and it will be the best guide for her.

Associating *amors* and *cor*, the *trobairitz* create a forceful expression with a double significance: *amor coral.*⁸⁹ Azalais d'Altier, for the sake of underlining that never in her entire life has she felt such profound feelings toward a lady about whom she had heard the best reports from the lover, coins a superlative out of the two synonyms *cor* and *amors*: 17: *amor coral* (love in the heart): "Et dic vos ben aitan en ver / quez anc donna senes vezer / non amei tan d'amor coral" (And I tell you truthfully that for no lady ever sight unseen, have I had such heartfelt love) (transl. Bruckner). In her expression, *amor corals* has the sense of pure love coming from the heart. *Amors corals* comprises respect and admiration, having as consequences her declared submission: "et dic vos ben, si Deus mi sal, / quez el mon non es nulla res / q'eu penses qez a vos plagues / qes eu non fezes volentiera / senes mant e senes priguiera" (18-22: and I tell you, God save me, that there is

⁸⁷Will and heart are one: she does not want her lover to be able to say that she wants to fail him or has ever failed him. When Castelloza tries to alienate herself from herself, she finds it impossible to sustain the mask of *domna* who shows "cor felon ni enic" (Castelloza, "Amies, s'ie.us trobes avinen," 23: a harsh or evil heart). Three times she uses the word *cor* in this stanza: "bon cor" (good, merciful heart), "cor de faillir" (false heart), "cor fellon ni enic" (evil, unmerciful heart), twice to imagine different hearts, the last time to come back to the reality of her own. See also Bruckner, "Notes," 866. ⁸⁸For the troubadours, *amor* is the equivalent of "grace," "favour," "pact," "alliance," which belongs lo the language of feudalism, Riquier, *Los trovadores*, 84-6.

⁸⁹Comtessa de Proensa and Gui: *coral amadors* (1: lover from the heart); Domna and Bertran del Pojet: *amies corals* (37: lover in the heart).

nothing in the world--if I thought it might please you--that I would not do willingly, without hearing a command or request). However, the same expression *amors corals* could acquire other connotations, for example, when it occurs in a context hinting at physical love: after Domna H. speaks about man's intense desire for a woman, she adds: "c'ab iazer et ab remirar / l'amors corals recaliva / tant fort que non au ni non ve / ni conois qan fai mal o be." (27-31: For, as he lies with her and gazes at her, heartfelt love becomes so hot that he can neither hear, see nor know if he does harm or good). Located in the environment of the term *recaliva* (hot), the significance of *amors corals* is that of passionate love burning the senses and the power of differentiation to ashes.⁹⁰ The combination *amors corals* reveals at what point heart and desire overlap; the symptoms of the resulting sickness show the man disabled of his senses and of his power of discernment between values.

Physical desire, appetite, which are, as the poems show, recommended manifestations of the lover, are termed as *talan, desir, quier, voter.*⁹¹ Desire should not frighten the man; on the contrary, he is expected to be bold in expressing his wishes.⁹² Domna H. affirms in her *partimen*⁹³ with Rofin: "A fin amic non tol paors, / Rofin, de penre lauzimens, /qe.l *desirs* e.l *sobretalens* / *lo destreing* tant qe per clamors / de sidons nominativa / noi.s pot soffrir ni capdellar;" (Rofin, a true lover does not let fear prevent him

⁹⁰ As a reflection of the *trobairitz* speech, Rofin uses the same expression, in the same sense, making out of it an action: *puois ama coralmens* (32: loving from the heart).

⁹¹ The *trobairitz* can attribute desire (termed as *voler*) to the man, with a definite negative sense, when she talks about his love for money, which love is a folly: "N' Elyas Cairel, amador / no vi mas de vostre *voter* / qi cambges dompna per aver" (Lord Elias Cairel, I never saw / a lover who desires as you do, / to change a lady for money), Isabella and Elias Cairel, "N'Elias Cairel, de l'amor." The desire for money is forcefully rejected by the *trobairitz*, in a woman as well as it is in a man. It is a folly in her opinion. See further the analysis on the *folia*.

⁹²Bec compares in his *Chants d'amour des femmes-troubadours* (Paris: Stock, 1995), 39, the desire in the troubadours' poems and the desire in the *trobairitz'* poems, and his conclusion is that "alors que pour l'homme troubadour, le désir éternellement inassouvi (du moins en principe), joint aux tensions sociales qui les dinamisent, se fixe sur l'image idéalisée d'une dame poétesse, la sensualité continue de maintenir une valeur bien précise de preuve de l'amour. On voit d'autre part que la discrétion (le *celar*), valeur fondamentale chez les troubadours, ne semble pas exister chez les *trobairitz* qui, au contraire, parlent d'amour avec ostentation." See below, my comment, and the example in the *tenso* between Domna and Montan.

⁹³"El trobador que toma la palabra plantea a su adversario un problema que puede tener dos soluciones y se compromete a defender la alternativa contraria [my italics] a lo que escoja su interlocutor," Riquier, Los trovadores, 67. Peter Dronke, Women Writers of the Middle Ages: A Critical Study of Texts from Perpetua (d. 203) to Marguerite Porete (d. 1310) (Cambridge: University Press, 1991), 98 is more cautious în attributing woman voice in a tenso: "it is hard lo identify characteristic women's thoughts and feelings or to distinguish these from genres of poetic debate."

from enjoying pleasure; for desire and excessive ardor press him so that, despite the pleas of his honoured lady, he can't contain or rule himself)⁹⁴ (transl. Bruckner). Perplexedly, the part of the provocative man is supported by the *trobairitz*, and not by the troubadour. The *trobairitz* speaks about the overwhelming desire of the man, which impedes him from keeping himself under control, suggesting that she would rather have him disobey the *mezura*. The partners in this have different opinions on the issue of being daring in the contest of love. As they do not come to an agreement, they will ask another *trobairitz*, N'Agnesina, to give her opinion on this important matter. It is significant that they will ask for another woman's opinion, and not for a man's.⁹⁵ This means that woman is an authoritative figure, that she pleads that a set of qualities are to be taken in account by the man, to his benefit, and also to his pleasure.

This analysis of *amors corals* has pointed out that love is a mixture of respect and admiration and physical desire (*talan*). Love, and, more precisely, desire, attracts a series of other words and expressions to the same sphere: *bais amoros* (amorous kiss), *bratz nut* (naked arms), *cosseiller* (pillow, occurring in a suggestive comparison between her body and the physical object), that make her joyful--jouissance?--and, moreover, *abellida* (shining with beauty). Physical desire is a requirement for the lover and, at the same time, it adds to the worthiness of the lady. In "Estat ai en greu cossirier," there is a whole stanza which deals with the theme of physical desire⁹⁶: "Ben volria mon cavallier / tener un ser en mos bratz nut, / q'el s'en tengra per ereubut / sol q'a lui fezes cosseillier; / car plus m'en sut

⁹⁵Investigating the poems, we have noticed that if the debates of the *tensos* did not come to a solution, the interlocutors always agree to call as another judge a *trobairitz*, and not a troubadour.

⁹⁴ The *tenso* speaks about the test which two men are asked to take, a test to which men are usually submitted to. *L'assag* (essai), is a kind of sexual test which was imposed by the lady to the lover; this permitted her to learn if the lover loved her with the heart (*amor coral*) or if it is a carnal love. *Desir* is thus put to test. R. Nelli, *L'Erotique des troubadours* (Toulouse: Privat, 1963), 199-200 writes that "si l'amant poete cedait a ses instincts et trahissait le serment fait a sa dame, c'est parce que il ne l'aimait pas assez. L *assag* apparait donc absolument distinct de tous les exercices érotico-spirtuels auxquels on pourrait être tentes de l'assimiler: il se situe a l'interieur de l'amour inter-sexuel, qu'il specific par la continence temporaire; il assure la mise a l'èpreuve de l'homme par la femme et, par consequent, la préponderance symbolique du sexe feminin." See further, 62-3.

⁹⁶In Comtessa's plaintive song "A chantar," desire is not clearly stated by means of terms; the Comtessa is content to use terms to delimit pure love. Castelloza proves a non-liniar writer: two of her poems are overwhelmed with sadness — and no hint of desire.

abellida / no fetz Floris de Blancheflor" (9-14: I'd like to hold my knight in my arms, one evening, naked, for he'd be overjoyed were I only serving as his pillow, and he makes me more radiant than Floris his Blancheflor). *Cosseiller* and *abellida* are connected by the selfish relation of giving-and-getting that usually characterises love: as long as the man will rejoice in making use of the 'pillow,' the woman will shine with beauty. A commentary on the *bratz nutz* is required: in Comtessa's "Estat ai" the expression would not be so hinting to the act of making love, if it were not contrasted with *vestida* in the preceding stanza. Comtessa expresses her misfortune in an image of distress "in bed and fully clothed."⁹⁷ The modes, conditional present and perfect, or verbal expressions such as *ben volria* (I'd like) articulate longings and yearnings for tender moments. The anonymous poem "Per ioi" reveals the same feeling of longing for eroticism which apparently adds to her *pretz:* "Dieus prec c'ab mos bratz vos segna / c'autre no.m pot enriquir" (God, I pray that I may press you in my arms, for no one else can so enrich me). Desire enriches the woman with the required qualities for the perfection of *cor:* beauty (*beltatz*) and jubilation (*ioi*)⁹*

Love, desire, admiration are beneficial for *cor*. However, what happens when the *cor* is affected by distress? The absence of love means affliction, and sometimes the death of the *trobairitz*. Sadness of *cor* is richly expressed in the realm of adjectives. A wide range of feminine forms of epithets is listed by A. Rieger, with the purpose to demonstrate the assertion of femininity in the *trobairitz'* poems. Among the adjectives listed, she mentions *estraigna, fenida, garida, trahida, marrida; amorosa, cobeitosa, lassa* (heavy with thoughts), *trista* (sad), *cautiva* (miserable), and *de greus trebalhs plena* (full of heavy thoughts). What is notable, and at this point Rieger does not make any remark, the meaning of the adjectives she lists is mostly a negative one. The general remark over this point is that

⁹⁷Lazar explains that the troubadours were extremely unhappy that their ladies went to bed undressed, because that meant that the ladies shared the bodily pleasures with someone. Lazar, *Amour courtois*.
59. Lazar differentiates between the ideals of the *fin'amors* and the conceptions of André le

Chapelain's ideals on the *purus amor*. *Purus amor* is an ideal which authorises the erotic games, but which excludes the erotic pleasures. *Mixtus amor* does not forbid the sexual intercourse, *Andreae Capellani de Amore libri tres*, A. Pages, ed, Castello della Piano, n.p., 1930.

⁹⁸Riquier, *Los trovadores*, 75: *loi l ioi* translates undoubtedly an intrinsic exaltation, a state of spirit which elevate the man, a joy so violent that the whole being finds itself renewed. Sometimes the *ioi* personifies the lady or it is a symbol of the *fin'amors*. Paden, "*Utrum copularentur*": 72 notes that in troubadours verse the noun *ioi* can, in certain contexts, "denote sexual satisfaction."

the number of adjectives connected with sadness outnumber the adjectives denoting joy. In the realm of feelings of dejection are included all the adjectives-epithets connected with *cor*, for example the adjective *deseubut* (disarray) (in Azalais of Porcairagues, it is the symbol of a feeling of estrangement from the others); other terms are *ultratge* (outrage), *esmay* (trouble), *pessamen* (difficulty), *dol / dolor* (pain), *ira* (rage), *feunia* (sadness), *planh* (complaint), *sospia* (sobbing), *cosirier* (sadness), *grieu pena* (heavy pain), *mal* (evil, wickedness), *mar / maritz / marida*⁹⁹ (deep sadness, distress, sad), *encombrier* (burden), *dan* (pain), *cor deseubut* (disarray), *estraigna* (estranged), *esglais* (grief), *a gran tort laidir* (encumber), *sufier / suffrir* (to suffer), *afan coral* (saddens of the heart), *enoiosa* (troublesome), *fera* (savage), *salvatge* (savage), *cor fol e leu e volatge* (heart vain, mad and inconstant), *foldat* (folly). As it is visible from the list, the *trobairitz* use an amazingly rich vocabulary of expressions which denote sadness of the heart.

Even more distressing for the *trobairitz'* heart are the traumatic feelings of death which connect *cor*, *amor* with unworthiness. If *morir* is a rather frequent verb in the *trobairitz'* poetry, a stating verb,¹⁰⁰ *auzire* carries the active meaning, here attributed to a presumable cruel lady. The fact that her lover lets her die (*morir*) is *pechat* and the lover will be blamed while she is tormented (Castelloza: "Amics, s'ie"). In "Mout avetz," Castelloza uses the term *auzire* with respect to the lover who kills her by his wicked deed: "e si d'autra vos perte / mi avetz *morta* e *trahida*" (and if you attend to another, you'll have me dead and betrayed). In the anonymous "Per ioi que d'amor m'avegna," the *trobairitz* even seems to give up pride, and let the man court another on condition that he returns to

⁹⁹ In Azalais: "vostr'amics tristz e *marritz*" (friend downcast and sad). Talking about the term *mar* in the OF literature (epic poetry and hagiography), Bernard Cerquiligni, "The syntax of Discursive authority: The Example of the Feminine Discourse," *Yale French Studies* 70 (1986): 191: "The first attention of our adverb in OF provides the archetype of an extensive paradigm of female laments over a dead son, being suddenly empty and without purpose, wretched things no longer of use to anyone: "Sempres regrete: "Mar te portal, bels fils!..." [La vie de saint Alexis 437] She mourns incessantly: 'What a waist that 1 bore you, my handsome son!''' 192: detrimental connotation of *mar* structures feminine discourse.

¹⁰⁰Especially in the context *laissatz morir*, for example "enans que me *la is morir"* (before I let death come), and "e si m *laissatz morir* / faretz pechat . . . " (and if you let me die, you'll commit a sin), both examples in Catelloza's *canso*, "Amics, s'ie.us trobes avinen," the woman is the passive bearer of the meaning of the verb, while the man is the one who cruelly lets her die, that is the logical agent of the verb.

her and that he will preserve her life: "Leis serva mas mi.n revenga / que no.m lais del lot morir" (Let him serve her but return to me / in order not to let me die entirely). Like torturing, morir has degrees, is the idea that can be withdrawn from her expression. Death weighting heavily on the *cor*, that is the inability to find joy in life (and here it is the connection of *cor* and *joven* in the *fin'amors*) because of the man's lack of discretion or his desertion.

TERMS OF VALUE AND NON-VALUE

The study of *cor* has pointed out that it comprises a wide field of other terms, combining respect and admiration with terms alluding to physical desire. At the same time, the study has suggested that the pain of the *cor*, expressed by a multitude of adjectives and nouns, comes from a deep distress provoked by her desertion by the man or by unworthiness.

When examining the vocabulary used by the women poets, the clear distinction the *trobairitz* make between virtue and vice, quality and unworthiness is visible in the way they attribute these features to their lovers, to themselves. The others are also divided in separate groups of "the noble hearted" and "the miserable," or "the friends" and "the detractors" (the "patron-lady," the lover,¹⁰¹ and the rest of the world, that is the other ladies, the *lauzangiers* (calumniators), the *mal parlan* (gossipers)). The code of love of the *fin'amors* imposes a series of fundamental virtues falling within three dimensions: the social, the psychological, and the moral. The key concepts of these three dimensions are *cortezia* (courtesy),¹⁰² *mezura* (measure),¹⁰³ *and jovens* (youth),¹⁰⁴ features also found in

¹⁰¹ Angelica Rieger, "Was Bietris de Romans Lesbian? Women's Relations with Each Other in the World of the Troubadours," in *Voice*, 73-94. She analyses the pros and the cons in terms of vocabulary in order to determine if the *trobairitz* interlocutor is her lover, or if the *trobairitz* simply sings the song in the name of a man. The evidence for the poem's acknowledgement to be true is. however, scarce. She proposes another solution for interpretation, that of poetry expressing affection towards another woman, in a conventional manner at the time. The letter of Azalais d'Altier stands for the same idea; Azalais talks to the lady to whom dedicates the *salut d'amors* in terms of the highest admiration and intimacy. Pierre Bec, *Burlesque*, 197-200 notes that the poem would have been written by a man, this *canso* would not be a problem, otherwise, he considers it a contre-texte, a travesty of a *canso*.

¹⁰²Cortezia is an ideal and a virtue of the courtly lover; *courtoisie* is the virtue and the ideal of the knight. Lazar, *Amour courtois*, 46, referring to the words of Dupin H., *La Courtoisie au Moyen Age* (Paris: Champion, 1924), 59.

the poetry of the *trobairitz*. The *trobairitz* cloak themselves in the courtly love code by the use of terms and concepts connected to it, at the same time shaping their own way of expression. It is by the attribution of worth and vice to the various figures of the court that the *trobairitz* cause the man to know their love and desire, and it is by naming their own strengths that they attempt to conquer the male. On one "balance pan" of the scale is the lady and her lover, while on the other are placed the other ladies and the people around, presented usually as animated by bad intentions, as being less worthy, or even as completely devoid of *pretz*.

The choice of the following terms of praise and blame that repeatedly occur in the poems is representative of the vocabulary employed by the *trobairitz*, and consequently, for their rhetoric. Differences in the key vocabulary of the *trobairitz* also occur in a chronological frame, allowing the poets to contrast emotions associated with past, present, or future and allowing the reader to become aware of the clear division of the world in the eyes of the *trobairitz*.

In the *trobairitz*' poems, worthiness does not remain alone, but its value attracts value. *Pretz* is a concept to which the *fin 'amors* attributes a series of other qualities necessary for the perfection of the courtly man. The term *pretz*, and its synonym, *valor*¹⁰⁵

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¹⁰³*Mezura* is not a term used as such by the *trobairitz*. For the Latin authors, it meant 'moderation,' for Saint Augustin it had a Christian sense. "La mezura supone un sentido de la justicia, de lo razonable y sensato, que implica a la par dominio de uno mismo y cierta humilidad." Riquier, *Los trovadores*, 89; Lazar, *Amour courtois*, 28-32.

¹⁰⁴*Jovens*constituye un conjunto de cualidades o virtudes en cierto modo independiente de la edad. Riquier, *Los trovadores*, 69; Lazar, *Amour courtois*, 83.

¹⁰⁵In the *trobairitz* poems we can extract a definition of *valor* as a term opposing what is non-value. In the partimen between Domna H. and Rofin, after the trobairitz presents the subject of debate (two lovers of a lady are asked by her to pledge and swear that they will not embrace and kiss her before she lets them lie beside her; one swears without delay, the other withdraws ("shrinks"), Domna H. makes the distinction between a good and a bad lover. She uses strong, charged with sense words: 41-50: "Rofin, des crois envazidors / aunitz e flancs e recrezens, / sapchatz qe fon l'aunitz dolens / qe se perdet en mieg dels cors, / mas l'arditz on pretz s'aviva / saup gen sa valor enansar / qant pres tot so qe.il fon l'amors aiziva / e domna q'aital drut mescre / mal creira cel qui s'en recre" (Rofin, a cowardly invader is shameful, soft, and shrinking; to be sure he was a shameful swine when he gave up in midcourse; the bold man in whom merit thrives can raise his noble reputation by seizing all that he holds dear, while his love is close by him; a lady who mistrusts that lover, trusts wrongly one that shrinks from her). The *trobairitz* supports the courageous one, while her partner backs the one who does not dare show his desire, hoping for the lady to help him. In the same partimen, another definition of valor 15 provided by antithesis with the terms auniz (shameful). flacs (soft willing, coward). recreazens (shrinking), and, most colourful, aunitz dolens (shameful swine), attributes of crois envizador (cowardly invader), which are exactly the opposite characteristics of valor.

can be attributed to the lover, to the lady, and to the people holding them in respect. There is a noticed interrelation between the qualities of two people in love, noted and encouraged by the *trobairitz*: "Dompna que en bon *pretz* s'enten / deu ben pausar s'entendenssa/ en un *pro cavallier valen*." (Comtessa. "Ab ioi e ab ioven": 17-8: The lady who has faith in virtue / surely ought to put her faith in a knight of heart and worth.). The *trobairitz* acknowledges that there should be a correspondence between a woman and a man's value, and, in fact, this *trobairitz* equals faith in *pretz* with faith in *pro cavalier valen*.

The words ver / fei (truth) appear very often in courtly literature; the trobairitz use these words frequently, so they always seem to be questing for truth, incessantly asking for digaz ver (truthful words). In the example of Domna and Bertran, the troubadour and the trobairitz are each asking for sincere opinions from the other. Bertran initiates the dialogue: "Bona domna, d'una re que.us deman/ mi digaz ver, segun vostre semblan" (1-2: Good Lady, on the point I'm consulting you about, tell me the truth as you see it), asking for her opinion about a true lover courting a lady, what will she do if he becomes hers: will she love him or will she reject him? To which the trobairitz replies that her answer will correspond in worth to that of her lover, if he truthfully tells her the name of the person he loves: "E vos digaz, fei que m devez, Bertran, / cals es l'amics qe l vol saber enan," (8-9: And tell me, Bertran, by the truth you owe me, who is that friend, for I want to know that first . . .). This appears to mean that attribution of worth is individual, cannot be generalised, and, therefore, truth too can only apply to individual people or circumstances. Generalisations do not yield truth. In another poem, Pistoleta¹⁰⁶ interests the lady by saying that he is a lover of a lady whom he does not dare to ask permission to sing for and about her, making no hint of her name, and the *domna* becomes curious to find out the truth: "qu'ie us en sabrai la vertat descobrir, / e far vos n'ai asina e cosensa / maintas sasos, s'en leis non trob faillenssa." (44-5: that I'll know how to find the truth, and I am able and willing to help you often, if I find no fault in her). If the trobairitz knows the individuals and the details, she hears the truth, and she will be able to give a reliable answer and be *fei* and ver.

¹⁰⁶Pistoleta is the pen name of a troubadour.

The *pretz* of the lover is a condition for the woman's love and trust, for the deliverance of her song, for "the worthies" appreciation for the two of them. This realm of the lover's worthiness contains terms embracing different areas: the social and the moral, the psychological and the physical.

The lover should be on a high scale of the social hierarchy and should have a wide range of moral qualities which make him a worthy man to be loved and a respectable man from the social point of view. He should be *de bon paratge* (of high rank) because the *trobairitz* also has a high social rank. However, when courting the man, the *trobairitz* should not look specifically to the rich man because "ges per ricor non vai" (Azalais de Porcairagues, 22: love does not go with the riches." Following wealth would be an act of folly (*folia*). Love and wealth are not compatible in the sense that primarily of importance are the feelings, and not money.

The moral qualities in him makes the lover trusting: *sens* (good sense), *merces* (mercy), *cortesia* (courtliness), *francs* / *francx* (gracious, true), *vertadiers* (truthful), *non trichaire* (no deceiver), *fis* / *ficels* (perfect), *umils* (humble),¹⁰⁷ *selans* (discreet). The existence of all these qualities in the man is, in fact, the condition for love, for acquiring and for maintaining an amorous relationship.

On the contrary, excessive qualities in the lover could be either dangerous for the life of the man or positive for the accomplishment of *pretz*. In the anonymous *planh* "Ab lo cor trist environat d'esmay," terms can be found denoting his worth, the nobility buried together with his body. These qualities are potentially undermined by the *ardit* (ardent, burning), a quality of *the joven* in the proper sense of the word: "El era *franch*, *valent*, *d'onor complida* / e tant *ardit* que ell n'es estat mort" (He was so frank, brave, completely honourable, but so ardent that he nearly died of it). *Arditz* can also mean flourishing worthiness. From her perspective, Domna H. opposes the "cowardly invader" to the worthy man: "mas /'arditz on pretz s'avina / saup gen sa valor enansar / gant pres tot so ge.ill fon

¹⁰⁷An aspect of *mezura*: its opposite is *ric*, *orgoillos*.

plus car <u>mentre.il</u> fon l'amors aiziva" (45-9: the bold man in whom merit thrives / can raise his noble reputation by seizing all that he holds dear, while his love is close to him). The *trobairitz* highlights that the lady makes his striving to success possible: excess of admiration for the woman could not but heighten the lover's features. The examples show the *trobairitz* active in her attempt to educate the man, raise him to a higher level of emotional and psychological consciousness.

The area of *pretz* can be confined by the lack of *mezura*. For example, the *trobairitz* affirm that the eligible man should be discreet, but, at the same time, they were not content when the man was too concerned for their reputation: "Amics, nul gratz nos refier / quar le mieus ditz vos refrana / de vezer me qe.us enquier" (Domna and Raimond de la Sala, 29-3 1: My friend, I give you no thanks for letting my name prevent you from seeing me, as I ask). That which seems to be disturbing for the *trobairitz* is an instance of disrespect for one of the courtly features: *mezura*. The *trobairitz* is angry that the manifestation of his *pretz* goes against her commands. She is ironic: if he thinks he is a better guardian than she is, then he is more loyal (*sobreplus leyal*) then the Knights Hospitaller. But he could not be so, as his value could not exceed hers.

Other qualities that complete the portrait of the perfect lover through the *trobairitz'* eyes are the psychological and, not in the least, the physical, which make him desirable. The psychological features pull together items referring to his intrinsic value: *adreitz / adreig* (agile), *conoissen* (knowing), *conoissenssa* (knowledge), *enseignaz* (learned).¹⁰⁸ They also refer to sociability which determines the positive response of people around him, as well as of the lady: *larc* (generous), *bon / bos* (good, generous), *amoros* (loving), *avinen* (agreeable), *gais* (happy, cheerful, convivial), *de bella paria* (sociable), *valent / valens*. The physical qualities required are generally expressed, but no specific mention can be found about the parts of the body: *bo / bel / bels* (beautiful, handsome), *tan be/* (so handsome). Physical features remain general and stereotype. The woman looks for these qualities in a man, and, at the same time, they are noted by the others. Comtessa

¹⁰⁸*Ensehamen* means a good education. When the concept is applied to a lady, it could mean discreet In the Catalan literature of the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries the meanings function in the reversed way: *dama discreta* means instructed and intelligent, Riquier, *Los trovadores*, 89.

justifies her choice by stressing that others, meritorious as well admire her lover "Floris, la vostra valenssa / saben li pro e li valen" (33-4: Floris, those who are honourable and worthy acknowledge your worth). The qualities enumerated give the man the possibility of establishing fruitful and beneficial interrelationships, which will bring him the praise of the other ladies who will sing about him, as well as public appreciation, in a word, which will enlarge the group of worthy people.

The public admiration and her awareness of the man's worthiness is a precondition for the *trobairitz* to give voice to their feelings in their poetry and to reveal their love: first, they have a good subject for their verses, and then, that they are protected from blame. A good example for this issue are Comtessa's songs, for example "Ab ioi et ab ioven": "pos ill conois sa valenssa/ que l'aus amar a presenssa" (20-1: when she knows how worthy he is, / let her dare reveal she loves him). Praising his value results not only in feelings of Joy in her heart, in healing the "wound" in her heart, but first of all, the *trobairitz* is accredited with public approbation.

The multitude of the qualities extant in a lover elevate the man beyond compare: he is so noble that he enriches nobility itself. It follows then, that at the death of her lover, the *trobairitz* expresses her sorrow for the man who, because of his unique, irreplaceable perfection, is lost forever: "eu no crey horn de trobar dejus / tan *bo*, tant *gay* ne de *valor* aytal." (Anonymous *planh*, "Ab lo cor trist" I don't think I 'll find a man in this world as good, as cheerful, or as worthy as he was). Perfection can be expressed by synecdoche: "sol non trob en lui faillensa" (I find no fault in him) and by superlatives: "car es lo meiller c'anc fos" (Anonymous, "Per ioi que d'amor m'avegna": for you're the best that ever was). The lady has chosen "un *pro* e *gen / per cui pretz meillura e gensa*" (one who's brave and noble in whom worth becomes ennobled). It is the *trobairitz*, who desires or perceives and consequently rejoices when it is the case, that her lover is so good and so irreplaceable.

LACK OF WORTH IN THE MAN

This discussion of the man's *pretz* has shown that the quality is either to be found in the present, or unfortunately, in the past (in case of his death, and, worse perhaps, in a past where he proved the best of men, contrasted to the case of his present desertion of the woman). In contrast, the words denoting man's lack of worth are always used to refer to the unpleasant result persistent in the present: the lover is mean, compromising or ignoble, in a word, is despicable. The terms that denote his lack of worth are *fegnedor* (deceiver) which is a flaw causing Ysabella to give Elias the good advice to go to the monastery, the best place for a sinner to repent (38-41), doptanz (hesitant), vulpillatge (timidity), trop parliers (indiscreet), ianglos (indiscreet), gabaire (boastful), faillimen (wickedness), desavinens (ugly), orgoill (pride "in words and looks"), mals talens (malice), salvatges (fierce and cruel, wicked), ¹⁰⁹ fals(cunning), mal parlan(gossiping). In the tenso of Domna H. and Rofin, the trobairitz enumerates the flaws of a lover: "Rofin, dels crois envazidors / aunitz eflacs e recrezens / sapchatz qe fon l'aunitz dolens / qe se perdet en mieg dels cors" (Rofin, the cowardly invader is shameful, soft and shrinking: be sure he was a shameful miserable / "swine"¹¹⁰ when he gave up in mid-course). Other expressions denoting anger appear when she complains about the indiscretion of the lover about their love, for example the tenso between Domna and Donzela: el gaba (he mocks), ni se vana de me (boasts about me), consequently, she could burn and hang him ardre e pendre--alluding to the imagery of prison, a mixture of resulting from man's unworthiness and his willing submission to his lady. As she is the keeper she can do whatever she wants to with him: "res non es qu'el vos puesca defendre" (Donzela: he cannot protest in any way). This

¹⁰⁹It seems that the connection between Castelloza, who keeps on singing, and the lover's wickedness, makes the critics consider her a masochist. In Castelloza's poems it is obvious that "the gap between them [the lovers] widens: the more cruel he may be, the better, more loving, more singing she will be, as she covers the reality of his rejection with the praise of his worth, the memory of anticipation of joy shared," Bruckner, "Fictions," 881. Her reference is addressed to the following lines in "Amics. s'ie us trobes avinen," 5-10: "e fauc chanssos per tal q'eu fassa auzir / vostre bon *pretz*, dond eu no puosc sofrir/ que no.us fassa lauzar a tota gen, on plus mi faitz mal et adiramen" (1 sing in order to make known your great worth and therefore cannot stand not to have you praised by everyone at the point when you harm and rile me most). H. Jay Siskin and Julie A Storme, "Suffering Love: The Reversed Order in the Poetry of Na Castelloza," in *Voice*, 144: "Although she has been mistreated, although her singing will not advance her cause, and in spite of her suffering, har masochism drives her to compulsive actions that will only increase her despair."

¹¹⁰Aunizis translated by Bruckner with the stronger word "swine."

section of vocabulary, which is connected with the terms referring to the heart *cor* as well as to the terms of distress, alludes also to the imagery of power over one's own loving heart. Inferring from the occurrence and meanings of the terms, the conclusion could be drawn that the undesirable attributes of the man basically regard his disinclination to perpetuate a closer relationship with the lady, or his spoiling of it by bragging when he succeeds.

Folia / folhor / folhs / folatge/ muzatge / foldat(all meaning folly) appears when the *trobairitz* label the lover or generalise the lover's actions as faulty. In the *tenso* between Pistoleta and Domna, the word *folia* appears four times in the short space of two lines, a repetition looking like tautology to the reader, but for the *trobairitz*, resulting in a sententious formulation: "Seigner, totz temps *fols* a *foillia* cor, / mas cel *esfols* qui la *follia* fa" (25-6: Lord, the fool always runs after folly, but he's a real fool who does foolish things). The poem continues with an example which explains in fact the term *folia:* "e quant horn serf la on non a *valor* / pois s'en penet que nuill gazaing non a," (27-8: and when a man serves where no merit lies, / then he laments that he has had no gain. Just as death can have degrees, human folly can also be measured, says Domn' Ysabella, after accusing N' Elyas of infidelity resulting from his lust for money: "mas ben podetz doblar vostra folia" (22: but you can go ahead and double your folly).¹¹¹ *Folia* is subject of sorrowful remarks, and, because defamed, it is closely connected with the public appreciation.

Folia is discounted in the same way by Castelloza ("Amics, s'ie.us trobes avinen"), who rebels against those whose mind is so rigid that they cannot conceive of a woman courting a man: "Assatz es *fols*qui m'en repren / de vos amar, pois tant gen mi cove" (25-6: He's a great fool who blames me for loving you, because it suits me well). The flaw applies to all those who interfere with her life, mainly the gossipers (*mal par lan*). With Azalais d'Altier, the term applies to human behaviour and deeds: *folia bruda* (foolish gossip), *mal retrach* (wicked gossip), expressions which underline the uselessness and the

¹¹¹Measuring feelings and states is a commonplace with the *trobairitz*. See below my analysis for *morir* and *auzire* and for other terms of the vocabulary of pain.

harmfulness of people's vain talk. In the *trobairitz* poetry, *folia* is a very strong and suggestive noun, in the sense that it can be attributed to any excess of negative feelings and qualities seen in a man a man or in an action. Because of its force, the term *folia* is representative for the rhetoric of the *trobairitz*, connected with her sorrow and with the affection of *her pretz*.

HER PRETZ

One of the main ideas to come of the *trobairitz* poems is that the *trobairitz*-lady is precious because of all her qualities, especially because of her intrinsic features. There are basically two important differences between the troubadours and *trobairitz* in terms of the self-attribution of worth. The difference between worth as an attribute of the troubadour as opposed an attribute of the *trobairitz* has enabled the critics to draw the conclusion that the women rely more on the value of their personalities than do the male singers.¹¹² Moshé Lazar says that the troubadour only rarely mentions the moral qualities of the beloved. Moreover, in almost all the songs, the troubadours applaud the physical beauty of the lady. In their poems, the *trobairitz*, praise not only their own beauty, but also emphasise the intrinsic strengths of the woman.

The *trobairitz are* conscious of their *own pretz*¹¹³: they use for themselves or for the ladies to and about whom they sing, terms for intellectual qualities: *bon pretz* (virtue), *sens* (mind), *fins corages* (pure heart), for the qualities provided by rank, *paratges*

¹¹²" While the troubadour lover bases his claim for love not on his innate worth but rather on his love service, the Comtessa affirms that she deserves to be loved for her virtues, her beauty, courtesy, intelligence and so on," Bruckner, "Fictions," 881. From the attitude of this *trobairitz*, Bruckner infers that Comtessa "retains her seat at the apex of courtly virtues, but at the same time she paradoxically assumes the lower position of complainant," idem.

¹¹³Speaking about Comtessa's "A chantar," Simon Gaunt rightfully notes: "As she says in the last stanza of the poem her *pretz* and *paratges* ought to make her *bels amics gens* loyal and loving, but they do not. The Comtessa's song is an effective demystification of the *canso*. She evokes the qualities the genre ostensibly requires of the *domna* [indifferent, haughty], but shows that when a woman has them, she is not necessarily treated with respect. In the light of her criticism of her lover, one wonders if the description of him as *bel* and *gens* is ironic," Gaunt, *Gender and Genre in Medieval French Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 64. The opposite happens with Casteloza: she affirms that "the *bien pensants* arc wrong--because (and here we have the first hint of one of Castelloza's pervasive themes) her fulfilment lies far more in herself and in her poetry, than in her lover. Even if he provokes harsh thoughts (*greu pesamen*) in her, because of his failure to respond lovingly, it 1s her own expression of her outgoing love (*preiar*) that revives her as poet," Dronke, "The Provencal *Trobairitz* Castelloza," 137.

(lineage), *nom* (name, reputation), and *semblanza* (opinion, manner), and for physical qualities such as *beltatz*, *belatz* (beauty), *coindeta* (lovely).

One of the most complete images of the worthy woman is that provided in the canso written by Bietris de Roman "Na Maria, pretz e fina valors." Addressed by the trobairitz to another woman, without mentioning any name of lover, on the contrary, affirming strongly her admiration for Na Maria, has provoked the critics to consider this canso the unique example of lesbian poetry in Provencal. Matilda Tomaryn Bruckner legitimately adds that "the interpretative problems arise, at least in part, because our understanding of troubadour lexical registers is based on the standard situation in which a man addresses a woman or another man." Bietris notices gioi (joy), sen (wisdom), fin 'amors (pure beauty), acuglir (graciousness), pretz (virtue), onors (honour), gent parlar (sweet speech), avinen solatz (lovely company), douz cara (nice face), gata cuedansa (cheerful way of being), ducz esgart (sweet gaze), amoros semblan (amorous expression). All these qualities which name physical features, features of nobility, and of sociability, as well as features of a clear mind, make the trobairitz love the lady with all her heart and body: "car en vos ai mon cor e mon talan." The fact that a woman praises so strongly another lady could also add to the portrait of woman the quality of assuming and giving voice to a desire, which could contradict the sermons of the Church.

Youth and beauty are opposed to the old and ugly. As has been stated before, value attracts value, therefore youth and beauty are not suited to ugliness and old age. In the anonymous "Coindeta sui," the *trobairitz* declares herself a *malmariée*, rebelling against her fate. The *refranh* (refrain) "Coindeta sui" (I'm lovely) is repeated after each line, except for the first stanza when the *trobairitz* informs the audience about her status: "Coindeta sui! si cum n'ai greu cossire / per mon marit, qar ne.l voil ne.l desire. / Q'eu be.us dirai per que son aisi drusa, / Coindeta sui! / qar pauca son, loveneta e tosa, / Coindeta sui! / e degr'aver marit dunt fos ioiosa / ab cui toz temps pogues iogar e rire. Coindeta sui!" (1-9: I am lovely, and so my heart grieves about my husband, whom I neither love, nor desire. I'll tell you why I'm so amorous—/ *am lovely!--/* for I am small and young and fresh--*Iam lovely!--* and should have a husband who gives me

joy / jouissance⁹/ with whom I could play and laugh all day. / *I am lovely!*). The verses show the confidence of the *trobairitz* in her beauty.

LACK OF WORTH IN THE WOMAN ?

Although the man in the *trobairitz* poems is accused of lack of worth, the *trobairitz* refuse to admit their own flaws. When the lady is accused of unworthy deeds by a man, or by the *trobairitz* who has a role of mediator, she is called *truanda* (treacherous), *leu cor iauzionada* (heart easily made joyful), *camiaritz* (changing), *leugiera* (vain), *ergulhos* (arrogant), *avara* (avaricious).

Some of the enumerated terms are all rephrases of qualities attributed to Alamanda by Giraut, as a reply when he states that she could be the most beautiful of the maidens, but that he cannot accept *orguoill* coming from a woman. Alamanada does not admit the reproaches addressed to her, on the contrary, she defends herself.

The *trobairitz* themselves describe lack of worth in a woman, with the purpose of inducing the lady to change her mind and pay more attention to an unfortunate lover. Thus, the *trobairitz*, that is the *sorors* (sisters) in gender of the lady, could call her *avara* (miserly in graces towards the lover), or prideful. The term avara appears, for example in Azalais' salut d'amors (lettre of love), where its meaning is contrasted to fina e clara. About the lady's cor, the trobairitz can also use the feature ergulhos. The case of folly caused by or resulting from money-hunting 15 not unique. Azalais de Porcairagues affirms that a lady looking for someone richer than she is could cause her to fall into dishonour: "e s' ill o fai il folleia, car so diz om en Veillai / que ges per ricor non vai, / e dompna que n'es chauzida / en tenc per envilanida." (20-4: If she does, she's acting foolishly, for people in Velay say this: love does not go with the rich. If a lady is known for that, I consider her dishonoured and of a low quality) In the tenso between Domna and Donzela, prideful is the attribute of the heart of the Domna, because of her unmerciful behaviour to her admirer. Due to the toughness of the arguments of the lady, the Domna's opinion changes from a cruel to a milder one just to show that the appellative given to her by the man was unjust. As she has a voice to answer, the lady is able to prove untruth coming from the man who loves her.

This could be the most significant issue about the lady's alleged lack of worth: she can answer back and protect herself from being defamed.

One can notice rage and anger when she talks about the *lauzangier* and the *fals devinador* (the false speaker), whom she blames,¹¹⁴ claiming that they are the ones who have stolen her beloved. This means that the unworthiness of the people around her determined the unfortunate change in the lover, but neither this change could not affect her intrinsically. For example, in "En greu esmay et en greu pessamen / an es mon cor et en granda error / li lauzangier e.lh fals devinador, / abayssador de ioy e de ioven, / qar vos q'eu am mais que res qu'el mon sia / an fait de me departir e lonhar." (Clara d'Anduza, "En greu esmay," 1-4: In grave distress, grave trouble, / and great confusion my heart is thrown / by slanderers and treacherous spies, / bringers down of joy and youth, / for you whom I love best *in* all the world / they' ve stolen and sent away from me . . .). The *trobairitz* are not disturbed by the lack of value of the others, instead, they will rely on their strength and defend themselves or fight the hostile people.

By the way they put it, the problem of the lack of worth in the woman is, in fact, not an intrinsic lack of worth, but an image coming through the eyes of the defamers. In the *trobairitz*' poems, the terms denoting the man's flaws are never the attributes of the *domna;* instead, they characterise the lover, who has changed from the valiant man into a prideful person, or other people, especially the *lausengier* who is always there, the unworthy, to gossip and to bring sadness into her heart.¹¹⁵

This chapter has demonstrated that the *trobairitz* can be considered as multidimensional: they speak for themselves and for others, they prove confidence because they have all these rare qualities of personality, they have admiration for the worthy man, and desire him as a perfect lover, they are very sad when in their heart

¹¹⁴In the *tenso* Guilhem Rainol d'At-Domna "Auzir cugei lo chant e.l crit e.l galat," the lady wishes she had cut off the nose of the person who started the rumour: a 'puta color de Sarrazin' (16: a harlot with face of Sarasin). The gossiper is a lady, a 'ric' e de gran parentat lady (in the man's terms). The Domna feels that her worth is offended because of another women's lineage.

¹¹⁵ In one of Comtessa de Dia's poems I found a term very rarely used in the troubadour's poetry and which renders a very suggestive image of the gossipers: *nivol* (fog): "li lausangier . . . semblan / com solhehs en pert sa raia" (they are like/ the fog that spreads / and makes the sun lose brighteness).

something is deeply affected, but the blame is not theirs. The variety of terms of address enables us to show that they have the desire to communicate, and that they assign to people places on her own hierarchical scale. The vocabulary of love, multifarious in expression, reveals their awareness of the complexity of the concept, and their ability to play with the terms, in order to render their feelings as precisely as possible. It is love which conditions the presence of positive qualities, which should be features of the lover. The *trobairitz* also have strong feelings of self-worthiness, which they powerfully assert, with the purpose of making themselves more reliable as lovers. The way they chose their vocabulary clearly shows that the images they construct for themselves contradict the image constructed about them by the troubadours

THE IMAGERY

The Third Chapter

The study of the vocabulary in the *trobairitz* poems has shown the woman as eager for social interaction at court, as well as to have physical intercourse with the man, while the variety of terms for concepts such as cor, pretz, cossire reinforces the complex portrait of the woman. To this picture, the study of the images in the text will add other features. The study of the image of winter, the season which does not allow birds to sing, will contribute to the discussion about the significance of the terms of address, which depicted the woman as a person desiring to express herself. Furthermore, the analysis of images will concentrate on the woman as mediator between other ladies and the audience, and between the lover and the beloved. Emphasis will be placed on the rhetorical skills of the trobairitz in their attempt to persuade their audience. Significant are the image of the woman as mirror mediating between the troubadour and himself, an image rejected by the trobairitz, and also the image of the eye as mediator between the trobairitz and the lover. The active woman will be elaborated upon in the image of the woman fighting the group of ladies (the *loindana*, *vezina*, and the *domna*), conquering the man and willingly letting herself be conquered by him (the image of the prison and power). The image of the woman, a courtly one, will come to completion after the study of three aspects seen as realistic or grotesque by the trobairitz: the pregnant woman, the ugly woman, and the vulgar woman. The following discussion will be based on the socio-economic and ideological aspects of courtly life, and to the terminology discussed in the preceding chapters.

THE WINTER

Although the previous chapter has shown that in their writing the *trobairitz* exemplify the woman as confident when expressing their opinions, one of the rare

images of nature occurring in their aristocratic poetry¹¹⁶ could divulge a vulnerable side her character, brought about by the restriction of manifestation.

Especially important for the present study is the image of winter, because of its striking symbolism. However, it only occurs once in a *trobairitz* poem, in the first stanza of Azalais de Porcairagues. The feeling of winter is carried throughout the poem by a mood of desolation and deep sadness, which the poet associates with this season. The season of spring, which the poet links with hope, is far from the *trobairitz* at this time. However, the nightingale "who wakes my soul in May" suggests that a change in fortune is possible. The nightingale is symbolically associated with the legend of the girl who had her tongue cut out and who wove the story of her rape in a tapestry, thus revealing the truth: "I'aucellet estan mut / c'us de chantar non s'afraigna" (the little birds are mute, they do not dare to sing). The *trobairitz* is waiting for the metaphorical spring, when the nightingale will sing again, a symbol for the liberty of expression she is longing for. Simon Gaunt differentiates between this particular image in the troubadours' poems and the same in the *trobairitz* poems: "The silence of winter is a common *topos* in the troubadour lyric, but is it more charged in a

¹¹⁶ While for the first troubadours the spring image is common, with the *trobairitz* the first stanza is very rarely a so-called "debut printannier." It is true that the "exode printannier" appears in the "genres popularisants," (in Pierre Bec's terms) in the anonymous *baladas, dansas, chansons de femme* or *chansons d'ami*, poems whose attribution is problematic. In the *trobairitz* courtly songs the "nature opening" occurs only with Azalais de Porcairagues.

This study has not the purpose to insist on the "nature opening" in the poems, as they are most common motifs in the twelfth-thirteenth centuries Occitan popular poetry; however, for the variety of images in feminine poetry, it is worth mentioning the images of the spring as a favourable setting for the act of love, or as setting for bitter feelings, as well as the only extant marine image. In the anonymous balada "En un vergier sotz fuella d'albespi," the images of spring open and continue along the poetic discourse. The trobairitz talks about the locus amoenus for the development of the love scene: an orchard under the hawthorn leaves, as the very first line says, during night time. The meadow (pratz), where songbirds (auzellos) sing, is the best setting for the game of love she proposes to the lover. Another interesting piece is the anonymous canso-dansa, hybrid between the canso aristocratique and the popular dance, "Quan vei lo praz verdesir." The setting is propitious/ favourable for recalling her painful love: "Quan vei lo praz verdesir / E pareis la flor granada, / Adoncas pens e consir / D'amors qu'aissi mal agrada, /Per un pauc non m'a tuada." (1-5: When I see the field in green and when the purple flower appear, then I think and I suffer because of the love which affects me, so that for little il did not kill me). The popular chansons d'ami in a female voice contains the Gallic motif of the waves of the sea, and the very common motif of the sweet breeze (doussa aura): "Oi! Altas ondas que venetz sus la mar, /Que fai lo vent cai c lai remenar, / De mon amic sabetz novas contar / Qui lai passet?" (Oh! High waves coming over the sea, what does the wind bring, do you know news of my beloved, what happened to him?). The interjections and the interrogative sentences are necessary accompanying terms for the "nature opening" scenes, that become thus strongly affectively charged.

poem by a woman, particularly here where her song is positioned over the silence of the nightingale, which often symbolises courtly song. It is as if Azalais can make herself heard when the courtly singers are muted."¹¹⁷

Restriction of voice, which is symbolised in Azalais's poem as winter, also appears in the poems of Castelloza and of the anonymous "No puesc mudar." The *trobairitz* fights against "winter" while singing about a knight, which in the court appears as improper and contemptible. However, the singer finds expressing not only proper for her, but also a source of joy: "Mout aurai mes mal usatge / a las autras amairitz, / c'om sol trametre messatge / e motz triatz e chausitz, / et eu tenc me per garida, / amics, a la mia fe, / c'an vos prec, c'aissi.m cove" ("Mout avetz," 21-4: I'll set a very poor example to other loving ladies: usually a man sends messages, wellchosen and elaborated words, while I consider myself healed, friend, I mean it, when I court you, for that suits me). While acknowledging rigidity of public opinion, the poets fight against it.

The anonymous *trobairitz* in "No puesc mudar" expects reactions of amazement to her incisive discourse from the dominantly male audience: "Ia no sia negus mervellaire / s'ieu aisso dic vuelh mostrar alhor / que quascus hom deu razonar son fraire / e quela domna sa seror" (31-4: Let no one be amazed if I speak in this way, and even wish to prove that every man should argue for his brother, and every woman for her sister). Her critique is twofold: against the *antic trobador*, Marcabru (1130-1149) in particular, and against the manipulated public. The choice of the verb *mostrar* (to demonstrate, make clear, explicate, expound) is significant: she forcefully thinks that it is the right time to banish the winter of ignorance surrounding the woman's voice. The image of the *trobairitz* in "No puesc mudar" is the image of mediator between the *seror's* (her sisters in gender) opinions and the public's opinions, which she attempts to change. The examples have shown that although there was the pressure of the courtly intrigues on the women which impeded their expression, the *trobairitz* considered their time proper for speech, and proper for giving voice to

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¹¹⁷Simon Gaunt, Gender and Genre, 168.

daring feelings, but they expected public's amends, or at least astonishment among the public.

THE TROBAIRITZ-MEDIATOR

The job of trobairitz-mediator was a very difficult and very important one. The mediator counters received ideas, reflects, clarifies, discerns truth from falsehood, and promotes moral values. In order to show that knowledge of truth is a condition for her competence, Alamanda, in her tenso with Giraut de Bornelh "S'ie us qier conseill, bella amia Alamanda" (If you want to give me advice, beautiful friend Alamanda) formulates sentential phrases alluding to the importance of being in possession of important details to discern the truth: "vuoill pelar mon prat c'autre.l mi tonde" (28: I want to trim my field before another person mows it). Because Alamanda has previously learned the story of the man's betrayal from the lady's perspective, she now implies that the story seen through the eyes of the man will enable her to clarify the truth before giving advice or help, before reuniting the two lovers. There is a movement of image, each time enriched by the reflection back and forth: to the one-sided opinions of the man, she gives her comments, adding to them reflections of the domna's speech. Addressing the man who is revolting against woman's pride, the trobairitz retorts with the advice that the requirement for the man to receive love is to accept without shrinking whatever comes from the lady. Providing the male lover with the remarks previously made by the domna, the trobairitz provokes him to response and confession: "d' autr' amistat ai talan q' ie.us enquieira" (37: I have a mind to ask about a different friendship). She risks comparison with another trobairitz to her detriment, for not giving the "proper" advice to the light-hearted lover: "si no.us callatz, / meillor cosseil dava Na Berengieira / que vos no m'en donatz" (38-40: if it's all the same to you, for Lady Berengeira gave me better counsel than you are giving). The trobairitz then

applies to the man's sentiments of fear and despair of losing his love. The resulting pressure makes him ask once again for the help of the *trobairitz*.

The analysis of the *tenso* Alamanda--Giraut implies that successful persuasion succeeds rhetorical perspicuity. Also by rhetorical eloquence, the lady in "No puesc mudar" aims to destroy the deep-rooted, distorted image of women apparent in the troubadours' songs. She brings to the stage, in one of the first lines, the burdensome feeling of her heart (cor) attacked by error. Error as a word occurs three times in the first stanza, once in connection with her heart and twice with the word segle (world, people). The cause of the sensation weighing over her soul is that the troubadours "dig mal de domnas" (tell evil things about the ladies). She does not specify which are the wicked (mal) words about the domnas, probably because she considers that the content of the troubadours' poems already permeated the conscience of the public. Consequently, she finds them grave sinners (5: "son fort peccaire"). She says the troubadours only pretend to be loyal lovers, and are traitors, because they defame a woman whom they previously claimed to be the reason for their entire life, moreover, she says that they coalesce in their mean, evil deed. The trobairitz" comparison of Marcabru who is vilifying his *domnas* with a preacher against the unbelievers (27: "gen mescrezen") could be meaningful, when thinking about the powerful influence of the church at that time, and especially its discriminatory ideology. The introduction of litotes when she refers to the denigrators disregarding the image of the woman as mother imposes irony: "E dig vos be que non l'es gran honransa / selh que ditz mal d'aisso don nays enfansa"(7: And I tell you there is not a great honour to those who tell wicked things about ladies). By her position, the trobairitz undermines the troubadours' opinions with their own weapons: their pretended truthful love for their ladies. She restates, in the end of the poem, that the speech was delivered to protect the honour of ladies: "e s'ieu per vo vuelh far razonamen / a las domnas, no m'o reptes men, / quar dona deu az autra far onransa / e per aisso ai.n dig ma semblansa" (37-8: if I wish to make an argument for ladies, don't scold me for this at all, because one lady

should do honour to another, and that's why I give my opinion). The rhetoric of the two poems analysed points out the clear mind and the powerful voice required and used for burning down the old-fashioned wrong opinions.

The clear and powerful voice of the *trobairitz* as a mediator between the other ladies, the traders losing their job and the highest fores can be heard in the anonymous sirventes "Ab greu cossire et ab greu marrimen," when the woman feels that the sumptuary law¹¹⁸ restricting women from wearing lavish dresses is so unjust that she has to fight it, with this artistic form. The trobairitz explains how disappointed she is to have such rich and embellished clothes "ricx e onratz / e ab aur fi frezatz / e d'argen mealhatz" (5-9: rich and noble, trimmed with fine gold worked with silver) and to be forbidden to wear them. "Sesta costuma ni sest establimen / non tenra gaire" (12-3: I will not observe this law) is a very strong expression of revolt against it. The trobairitz' method is supporting her fight by praising remarks addressed to the Pope and to the King of Aragon, from whom she expects help: "bon rey," "que es semenza de pretz e de valor" (24-5: the good king, who is the core of all merit and valour). She is angry with the "cosselhs e cosselhiers / e los fraires menors" (37: the council and the councilmen) who are to be blamed for their law, and also with the servants of the King, who reinforce it: "per merce.] prenda c'auia nostra clamor / de la offensa que fan sieu rendador, / que.ls vestirs an naffratz / e desencadenatz / e dezenbotonatz, per que nostras personas / ne van pus vergonhozas" (25-9: let pity move him to hear our outcry against the offence brought on by his stewards, who have torn from our clothing its chains and its buttons. See that our persons are no longer shamed) (trans. Bruckner). The line of her rhetoric is the following: the *trobairitz* states her sadness about the harmful law, then she blames those who made the law, without naming

¹¹⁸ Bruckner, *Songs*, 181-2, "Such laws, imposed for reasons of puritanical piety or as an economic measure, were associated with the Northern French royal household and the mendicant orders that supported and were supported by the French crusading army in Occitania in the first decades of the thirteenth century. . . Rieger suggests that the author was a woman, someone who could approach King James I of Aragon (the only women with the right to dress as they pleased). The offensive law was enacted, according to the poet, while James was absent from the court, perhaps during his military campaign in Mallorca in 1230. See also Rieger, *Trobairitz*. 698-703.

them. She declares rebellion, and although her reference to the quality of the clothes shows her as one aristocratic person, she mentions the traders obliged to lose their job. Then she again blames "the author of the law," this time identified as "nostre marit felo" (47: our ignoble husbands), and she prays for understanding to the highest administrative and religious authorities, the King and the Pope. She brings a second time, in the discourse, her dismay for not being able to wear clothes, she directly addresses the lords to make her a coarse cloak ("esclavina") to wear instead of her trimmed clothes. In the end, for the third time she expresses the distress caused by the law. The *sirventes* shows the *trobairitz* deeply concerned about the social events going around her, not only as a lady, but as someone concerned with the life of the other courtiers, probably lower in hierarchy. The *trobairitz* opposes the sumptuary law forcefully, with her song and reason.

The image of woman mirroring either the man's feelings towards his lady or the lady's feelings towards her beloved rounds out the portrait of the *trobairitz* as a mediator (*garda*)¹¹⁹. Among the poems comprising this image is "Tanz salutz," where the rhetorical portrait comes through the form of a letter: Azalais writes a *scalut d'amors* to another lady, and sends it by an intermediary.¹²⁰ The *trobairitz* uses all the tools available for the "reconquiste amoureuse": she praises the lady "vos aves ben tan de sen / de *valor* e d'ensegnamen" (41-2: because you have so much good sense, worth and learning); she presents the lover in a miserable state of mind because he lost her love "amics tristz e marritz" (29: sad and dejected), then she powerfully states his true love towards his lady, in slightly menacing tone: "Pero s'auzire lo voles, / vostra er la perda el danz" (50-1: but if you want to kill him, tt is your perdition and damnation), reinforcing her words by the example of Troilus and Briseida. She then switches to begging the lady for mercy towards the lover, stating again his love: "qe.us vol e.us desire e.us ama" (67: that I want you and I desire you, and I love you).¹²¹ The

¹¹⁹ In the *tenso* Domna and Donzela: "e vos siatz garda entre nos dos," (53: And you will be the arbiter between us).

 $^{^{120}}$ The three lines intervention (6-8) of the *joglar* is less important, as far as the text says that it is the *trobairitz* who composed the poem.

¹²¹See further, my comparison with Bietris de Roman.

trobairitz intimidates the *domna* by referring to the public hostility she could encounter if she refuses the poor man, then, by adding a sagacious threat for the courtly lady: "et pois per totz los finz amanz / devres en esser meinz prezada / per totz temps ez uchaisonada" (52-3: and then all perfect lovers will have to cease admiring you forever). This reminds one of Bertran de Born, the well-known troubadour, who made the following distinction between the old and the young lady: the old one no longer has a knight at her service, while the young one, could even have more knights at her command.¹²² In the rhetorical movement of the *trobairitz* discourse, some movements are of note, fluctuations between praise and condemnation, begging and menace. In the role of mediator the main quality is of eloquence and perseverance, which make one a master of the art of persuasion.

It is notable that the *trobairitz-mediator* Azalais has heard so many praises from the lover of the lady that she has now the figure of the lady inscribed in her heart: ". . . per lo ben qu'el me n'a dich l'ai tant inz mon cor escrich / vostre semblant que, si.us vezia, entre milh vos conoisseria" (11-4: from the good things he has told me, I have your face inscribed in my heart, that I could recognise you among a thousand). The image of the heart of the *trobairitz* scratched by the words of the loving man for another woman completes the portrait of the *trobairitz*-mediator. It adds to eloquence and steadfastness the features of sympathy, all-comprehension, desire to discover the truth and to unite the lovers. This movement is the same as between a candle and a mirror. The candle represents the male lover, who reflects truthfully the source of light which is his beloved. The *trobairitz* gets into contact with the lady by the intermediary of the *domna*'s reflection in the mirror, the image of which is again projected, this time over her own heart.

¹²²Lazar, Amor courtois, 75.

THE MIRROR AND THE EYE

An image closely related to the mediator is the image of the mirror, paralleling and completing the image of the eye. Mirrors are like eyes where one can watch oneself watching. While the eyes radiate light, and in the special case of love they are the messengers of love, whereas in the case of mediation by mirror, reflection is rather dangerous, because the exchange is not a simple turn/return of image. The projection eye to eye or eye to mirror can be infinite. This is an instance of knowing oneself by knowing the other. The pupil is a mirror for the eye, which knows itself by watching the eye of the other. It is as if the soul knows itself while seeing another soul. The lover looks at himself in her eyes.

The two partners in the *tenso* between Lombarda and Bernart Arnaut d'Armagnac discuss the perspective upon the mirror as reflection. The problem is that the mirror is the woman. Bernard had previously tried to find the sweetness of love in the eyes of Alamanda and Giscarda. However, "nuls no,l pot mover" (8: no one can move her). Consequently, he decides to come to persuade "Mirail de *Pretz*"¹²³ (Mirror of Worth), in whose eyes he can see love for her, not to give up the long-looked-for-feelings of love for him. This could mean not only that Lombarda transmits love through her eyes, but that Bernard sees his own love (as an ideal?)¹²⁴ mirrored.¹²⁵ At a closer examination, in Bernard's speech *mirail* (the mirror) is the lady, while *pres* (worth) is himself.¹²⁶ The situation exposed by the lover does not seem to conform to the expectations of the lady. She pretends to feign understanding. Thus she expresses her contentment when Bernard names her together with two great ladies: Alamanda and Giscarda. Asking the two questions: "voil qe.m digaz / cals mais vos plaz / ses

¹²³At the first sight, this *senhal* can be considered as a high praise addressed to the lady.

¹²⁴The ideal is continuously searched for. The *trobairitz* explains that he wants to see this image in too many mirrors, that is the reason for which he finds it distorted.

¹²⁵"Bernard's gaze is caught in a mise-en abyme of narcissistic reflection; his gaze is transferred from his eyes, to the reflection in Lombarda's eyes, to his eyes, to the mirror. and back to his eyes. This abyss of reflection prevents Bernard from perceiving Lombarda as an individual," Labbie, 23. ¹²⁶Erin F. Labbie, "The Vacant Mirror in Lombarda's *Tenso," Romance Notes* 36 (1995): 13-26. Tilde Sancovitch, "Lombarda's Reluctant Mirror: Speculum of another Poet," in *Voice*, 185: "By exalting the domna as superior to him, the lover fills his mirror with an image of superiority which, since he gazes in it as his reflection, is also an image of himself." Consequently, "focusing on his own reflection, Bernard's gaze completely prevents Lombarda's desires from being perceived."

cuberta selada, / e.1 mirail on miraz" (27-8: I want you to say which one pleases you the most, and in which mirror are you gazing), the woman shows disapproval of him as a narcissist and her discontentment at being one of the mirrors. She protests against his desire for a mirror, and his possible absence: his wish cannot be fulfilled, otherwise, she will reflect nothing. "Lo mirailz e no veser"¹²⁷ (mirror without eye) suggests the death of love and the death of poetry.¹²⁸ When Lombarda speaks, she "speaks in terms of subversive imitation ... as Lombarda adopts Bernard's vocabulary of name and mirror, but only to subvert in a first movement the name-as-mirror ploy, and then in a second movement to fracture the mirror once and for all and to recuperate, from the shadows, her name."¹²⁹ The image of the mirror overlaps with that of the name, representative for her own whole personality. The mirror 15 presented in the *tenso* discussed above as a symbol of distorted images.

There are two opposite ideas which stay for the debate of the image of the mirror One is that of the emblematic image of woman's submission to man, presented above.¹³⁰ At the same time, a contrary interpretation on the mirror can be provided: that of *speculum* for the man: the authoritative voice who selects and exposes the positive features for the lover she wants. The name she is given supports this idea: Mirail de *Pretz*. If the admirer wants to receive love, he should conform to the lady's demands.

The image of the eyes is another image that can be used in the process of communicating desire to the partner. As a term, for the eyes as organ of seeing, is used *oilz* (eyes), for the action of the eyes, *vezer* and *remirar*, while its results are expressed by *parvensa*, *(bel) semblan* (good looks, favourable gaze).

¹²⁸Labbie, "The Vacant Mirror," *Voice*, 25: "If the vacant mirror disturbs Lombarda's artistic will. then it would seem to follow that her artistic principle claims that she mirrors nature." ¹²⁹Sancovitch, "Lombarda's Reluctant Mirror," 188.

¹²⁷Labbie, "The Vacant Mirror," *Voice*, 23 writes that the female genitals--"the horror of nothing to look at. Lombarda is rendered invisible as Bernard looks only at his own image, completely blind to her presence."

¹³⁰Luce Irigary, Speculum de l'autre femme (Paris: Minuit, 1974), 98.

The *trobairitz'* sight can perceive the presence of the man, as well as his absence. If the *trobairitz* perceives the lover's eyes, the quality of their gaze is paramount. The most notable cases are those when his gaze does not meet the trobairitz preference, with the consequence that she falls into the deepest distress, and, moreover, she loses her voice. The disquieting absence of the lover has the same effect. The eyes of the *trobairitz* are endowed with the power of appreciation; they help her see that he is so desirable that she is wholly involved in the process of admiring him: "bels amics, si fatz fort vos / on tenc los oilz ambedos" (in the anonymous "Per 101 que d'amor m'avegna"; fair friend, so great is my desire for you on whom I train both eyes). The eyes can perceive his absence as well, which will be catastrophic for the *trobairitz*, as it is the immanence of death as grasped by Clara d'Anduza: "si q'ieu no.us puesc vezer ni remirar, / don muer de dol, d'ira e de feunia" (if I cannot see you, nor gaze at you, I will die of grief, torment and anger). At the end of the poem, the *trobairitz* adds more rings to the chain of causality: the disappearance of the man from her visual range provokes such negative feelings in her, that they will, in their turn, damage her voice: "Amicx, tan ai d'ira e de feunia / quar no vos vey, que quant yeu cug chantar, / planh e sospir per qu'ieu no puesc so far / a mas coblas que.l cors complir volria" (Friend, I'm in such a rage and torment because I don't see you, that when I try to sing, I complain and sigh, for I cannot, with my verses, accomplish what I wish). Clara d'Anduza clearly articulates that the sight and the voice are interconnected, and the absence of *vezer* and *remirar* determines the disappearance of the words, the power to sing, which is the distinguishing characteristic of the trobairitz from the other ladies. The absence of visual communication damages what is most important in the singing woman: the power to sing.

When the lover looks at her, the quality of his gaze towards her is not only effective, but is comparable in attributes to other kinds of gazes. The image of his gaze towards her can be contrasted to that of his gaze towards the other ladies. Comtessa, in the *canso* "A chantar" notices differences in the quality of gaze. His eyes are directed to her as to an undesirable person: "mi faitz orgoil en digz et en parvenssa" (13: you

offer me prideful words and glances to me), while to the others they contain more good-will: "e si etz francs vas totas autras gens" (but are gracious to every other person). The sad remark about the cruel gazes towards her is especially important.

If the lover would not change the quality of his gaze from a destroying one to a healing one, the trobairitz could die, as it is the case in the anonymous "Per ioi que" "amics, no.m laissatz morir, / pueis de vos no.m puesc gaudir / un bel semblan que.m veregna / faiz que m'ausiza.l consir" (47-50: Friend, don't let me die ; since I can't leave you, keep a kind look that revive me and kill the painful thought). This suggests that a favourable look would have the power to change her mood and revive her. The result is the trobairitz' imploring her man for a gracious look: Castelloza, "Ia de chantar": "Ai! bels amics, sivals un ben semblan / mi faitz enan" (Oh! fair friend, show me one gracious look).¹³¹ Other cases show the *trobairitz* in rage because of her impossibility to rely on her song, another kind of death, also because of the absence of the man, perceived by the eyes: "Amicx, tan ai d'ira e de feunia / quar no vos vey, que quant yeu cug chantar, / planh e sospir per qu'ieu no puesc so far / a mas coblas que 1 cors complir volria. (Friend, I'm in such a rage and torment / because you're out of sight, that when I try to sing, / I complain and sigh, for I cannot, with my verses, / accomplish what I wish. Clara d'Anduza, "En greu esmay et en greu pessamen"). In fact, the poet declares her awareness that there is no single successful modality to reappropriate the man she has lost.

The eye and language are means of reflection and communication. The play between the eye of the man with the eye of the woman, or the eye of the man with the other ladies' eyes is desirable and dangerous for the *trobairitz*: desirable, because by

¹³¹Begging for merciful looks is a commonplace in courtly literature, as well as in the romantic literature. See also Roland Barthes, *A Lover's Discourse* (London: Penguin Books, 1978). The troubadour in the *tenso* between Domna and Raimon de la Salas states that he has no longer power over his eyes, which have wept so much that all his heart is in pain: "E dunc mer hueill, cum la pogron vezer? / Car n'ai perdunt d'els e de mi poder" (So how can my eyes ever look at her when I have lost all my power to govern them or myself?) He is praying, for a humble glance from her part, exactly the way the *trobairitz* use to beg for a favourable glance from the beloved's part: "Ha! bella domn'aras cum be m semblera / que, on que fos, degues humilitaz/venir en vos que tant humil semblaz/ vers mi . . ." (Ah, lady, how good it would seem now to me if, wherever you might be, humility would find you, and you'd turn a humble glance on me . . .).

this game she can evaluate the man's gaze. From this evaluation there follows the dangerous part of the game, the play between voice and lack of voice. By voicing her feelings, the *trobairitz* also tries to ameliorate the any negative qualities of her lover's eyes. Her strengths, among which the voice is crucial, help the *trobairitz to* conquer the male and, at the same time, to cast aside her possible rivals.

THE WOMAN AS FIGHTER: TACTICS AND WEAPONS

The tactics and weapons of the *trobairitz* are important when constructing the image of herself as a fighter. Four particular methods are noticeable in the poetry: measuring the "force" of the other ladies against hers, faking retreat in front of the "powerful rival," praising his *pretz*, and refusing the man simply for him to desire her more.¹³²

Comparison with other ladies is one of the methods the *trobairitz* use to fight for their lover. The *trobairitz* are either aware that they cannot conquer a lover so easily or they might imagine the many obstacles just to demonstrate that they are worthy and powerful enough to overcome them. In addition, the *trobairitz* feel the need to compare and to weigh themselves or their lover against the other people at the court For this reason, a recurrent image of the *trobairitz* is that of herself as opposing a group of ladies. For example, it is by the construction of this kind of conflict that Clara d'Anduza underlines that she will not surrender even if a thousand ladies will come and pray for the release of her lover. The *trobairitz* uses the direct address and the imperative sentence, then she employs the subjunctive clause for the purpose of opposition herself to the other: "Ia no us donetz, belhs amicx, espaven / que ia ves vos ala cor trichador, / ni qu'ie.us camge per nul autr'amador / si.m pregavon d'autras donas un cen," (Have no fear, fair friend, / that my heart will ever be false to you, / or that I'll exchange you for another / even if a hundred other ladies beg me). The image of a hundred ladies contributes to this exaggerated declaration of love, as if her power

¹³² Elster, Ion. Ulisses and the Sirens: Studies in Rationality and Irrationality. Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press, and Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1993, 165-79.

could outweigh the strength of one hundred others. By this statement, the *trobairitz* not only establishes once more the proof of her faithfulness, but she believes herself capable of resisting any petitions that would come between she and her lover. Competition with other women for the lover incites the *trobairitz* to use this occasion to demonstrate her strength of mind.

In addition, the *trobairitz* as fighter uses the method of comparison to prove that she is better than any other woman who would court him. She enumerates her virtues, her "trump cards," as against those of her rivals, in order to display all her worth in front of the man. An illustration of this are Comtessa's lines: "Valer mi deu mos *pretz e* mos paratges / e ma beautatz e plus mon fin coratges, / per q'ieu vos man lai on es vostre estages . . ." ("A chantar," 29-30: My rank and lineage should be of help to me, and my beauty, and still more, my true heart; this song, let it be my messenger). By expressing clearly her value in an elaborate artistic form, the *trobairitz* could defeat her competitors with another weapon: her song. This comparison within song, which will be heard by the intended audience, will highlight her in his eyes, allowing her to defeat all other rivals.

The image of the rival as singing ladies occurs rather frequently: they can be differentiated in terms of hierarchy. For example, in the anonymous "Coindeta sui," 28-29, "tota *domna enseignada*" (each learned lady) sings the worth of the *trobairitz*' lover, and this situation does not make her jealous; moreover, she prays that people will sing the good name of her beloved everywhere. However, when talking about her own song, she says that "on that note," she makes a *lovely* ballad. By adding this appreciative adjective to her contribution to his praise, she already places herself higher as a poet. If one should ascribe a general statement to the *trobairitz* comparing herself and confronting the other ladies, Alamanda's lines would be suggestive: "c'autra.n pretatz cum fols tot a saubuda / qe non la val ni vestida ni nuda" (59-60: because you, like a madman, court another, who, clothed or naked no other is her equal). She says that it is a folly to court a woman intrinsically inferior to herself.

Expressing "retreat" in front of the "more valuable" rival is a device for winning the attention of the man. The *trobairitz* seems to withdraw before the lady who is wealthier than she: "ric pretz qe.us mante / e sai ben qe.us cove/dompna d'aussor paratge" (when I remember the high rank you enjoy / that you deserve a lady of higher lineage than me). At a closer look, one can see that the value of her rival lies only in her high rank, not in the intrinsic qualities which the *trobairitz* praise as extant in herself. This acknowledgement of being "lower" can be considered a shrewd device to attract the male, or is it false modesty? Both solutions lead to another step, a more direct one.

Because she imagines the lover as a sort of target toward whom all women's attention is directed, she uses all her weapons. He is like a prey, nevertheless, her intention is to make him believe that it is she who is the hunted one; and that he is the one who chooses and has good judgement: "mas vos, amics, ez ben tant conoissens / que ben devetz conoisser plus fina"("A chantar," 26-7: but you, friend, are so knowing, you surely ought to know the truest one). By stating that he is so knowing, so able to choose well, she implies that he is the best man, the most worthy (*proessa grans, rics pretz*).¹³³ This tactic of combining the awareness of the existence of other ladies interested in him with her praise for his good judgement shows that she is truly confident in herself and in him.

Another tactic is the use of her authority to reject the man or to destabilise him. Usually the *trobairitz* motivation for refusing the man is because of his lack of manners, mainly his lack of discretion. The woman proves strong even in the manner she refuses her undeserving lover: "Na donzela, be m deu esser salvatge / can el gaba, ni se vana de me" (Domna and Donzela, 9-10: Maiden, I'm right to be harsh / When he mocks me and he boasts about me"). Later, in the same *tenso*, the lady proves

¹³³See above my analysis of the terms for worthiness.

stubborn about her: "non o fas mal si m'amor li defen / car ia per el no vuelh *ma pretz* dissendre (31-32: "I do no wrong if I refuse him my love; / never for his sake would I abase my honour). Another type of rejection is seen in the words of Azalais de Porcairagues which suggest a fake refusal. She proposes a sort of game in the test of love (*assag*) "tost en veirem a l'assai / qu'en vostra merce.m metrai; / vos m'aves la fe plevida / que no.m demandes faillida ("Ar em al freg temps vengut," 37-40: Soon we'll come to the test: / I'll put myself at your mercy. / You have given your word / to ask nothing wrong of me). Because he has given his word to her, she seems to expect him to confine himself within her limits. Paradoxically, the lines also suggest the antipodean roles of submissive lady and knight. She sets up the rules for the man, thus placing herself above him, but then she is the pawn in the game. Thus, playing with her authority is apparently a tactic of destabilising the man.

IMAGE OF IMPRISONMENT AND POWER

After fighting and taming the man, bringing him into the lady's arms, the following step of the lady is to make him prisoner. To play a "game of imprisonment" is a sort of serious game for lovers, who are kept there, confined in a cell, unable to dedicate themselves to another love.

Metaphorically speaking, the imprisoned one can be in turn the keeper of the prison. Clara d'Anduza says "qu'amors que.m te per vos en sa *bailia* / vol que mon cor vos estuy e vos gar / e farai o, e s'ieu pogues emblar / mon cors, tals l'a que iamas non l'auria." (21-4: love that has me in the prison because of you / wants that my heart should enclose and keep you, / which I will do; yet someone has my body / who never should have it). The metaphorical image of the prison is used here both for the body and for the heart. The woman feels imprisoned only in regards to her body: if her husband, who in her opinion is not entitled to control her body does so, she is deprived of her liberty. However, even if the image of the prison is negative when applied to the laws of marriage, it suggests strength in regards to her heart. The prison is a threefold image: the woman is imprisoned by her husband--unfortunately and by Love itself--a

blissful feeling, and at the same time she captures her lover's heart, whose love for her preserved in her heart. Another example of the lover's heart kept imprisoned, is that given by the *trobairitz* (Donzela) in her *tenso* with the Domna, when she also provides an explanation regarding the results of this imprisonment: "bona dona, que.l sieu cor avetz vos / que el non a poder c'ad autr'entenda." (50-1: for you have his heart, that he's incapable of loving another). Keeping his heart in prison means not allowing the lover to leave her, and moreover, also disabling him from directing his sentiments towards another woman.

The image of the prison appears also in the anonymous *canso-dansa* "Quand vei," where the described enclosure suggests erotic interpretations: "Dins ma chambra encortinada / Fon el a lairon, / Dins ma chambra ben daurada / Fo el en prison" (30-4: In my curtained room he entered spying, inside my room was he spying). The room has curtains, and, at the same time, is made of gold. The place where the lover is kept prisoner is erotically suggestive because of the reference to the veiling curtain and of the room's colour, which resemble the outer female genitalia. The continuation of the poem also suggests the experience of sexual intercourse.

This image of the prison of love is connected with the image of the power in love. These two images are both instances of comparison between qualities. In addition, the image of power can also mean manipulation, as in the case of the Domna and Raimon de la Salas: "Pero eu mi avez tant de poder / q'ab vos venrai quant me.l farez saber, / mal grat de cels / q'ieu queron nostre dan" (37-9: But you have enough power over me to make me come to you when you send for me, in spite of those who seek our harm). The lady is in his power, but, at the same time, she herself is endowed with courage; she will be able to confront what seems mostly feared by the courtly lovers, the gossipers, because of her strong love for him.

The lady has to be the more powerful in a relationship, says Guilielma de Rozers, who advises the man to attend first to his lady: "servic sidonz premeiramen" ([the knight has to] to serve his lady before anyone else). To Guillelma's discourse

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follows the tirade "qe no vos platz q'autre pelegrinatge / fassan li drut mas ves vos tota via" (35-6: for you, there's no other pilgrimage lovers should make, except, by all the roads, to you [you, the ladies]). However, nobility obliges the others to behave in the same manner, exposes Guilielma de Rozers while preaching to Lanfranc the basic knowledge that ugly habits do not suit the presence of a lady, who, by her grace, permitted him to come on her domain: "deu aver bailia"(44: lets him into her domain). To this discourse, Lanfranc's reply is very bold: the man seems to accept with difficulty the balance of power weighting in the lady's favour. Thus he tries to balance again the power, retorting that his force exceeds hers when it is a matter of sexual contest: "Domna, poder ai eu and ardimen / non contra vos, qe.us venzes en iazen" (49-50: Lady, I have power and boldness, though not against you, for I could beat you lying down). The jocular dialogue ends with the woman asserting again her power, which she finds extant in the feminine nature: "... tant mf sen de cor e d'ardimen / c'ab aital gien con domna si defen / mi defendri'al plus ardit qe sia" (54-6: I feel so much courage and boldness that, by the wit ladies use in their defense, I will fend off the boldest man). In this dialogue, she uses her gieu (wit), apparently as any other lady, in her non-physical, verbal defence, and she feels as much power of mind as to defend the boldest man.

The verbal game of power is rhetorically practiced. Felipa and Arnaut also use in their talk a rhetorical game of power, in which neither of them is willing to give up. In terms of form, their dialogue does not have the usual genteel form of one stanza with one voice, but instead it is a *cobla* where the replies are more rapidly and sharply exchanged. The same formula of quick, witty retorts appears in the *tenso* between Domna and Aimeric de Peguilhan: 35: "Lady, what can I do⁹" "Friend, suffer and serve!" The idea expressed by the *trobairitz* in all the quoted examples 15 that woman prepares the domain for her rulership. The battle of the sexes is age-old, however, always renewed, this time with woman's victory.¹³⁴ although at Lanfranc's remark bout the male greater physical force, the woman changes the topic to her favour: her wit.

There are no cases when the *trobairitz* plead for plain equality in terms of power. For example, Maria de Ventadorn: "E.l drutz den far precs e comandamen / cum per amiga e per domna aissamen / e.il dompna den a son drut far honor / cum ad amic, mas non cum a seignor" (21-4: And the lover should fulfill pleas and commands for her who is both his friend and his lady, while the lady must honour her lover as a friend, but not as overlord). The *trobairitz* makes clearly the distinction between the requirements of the lady and those of the knight; as a result, the lady is always placed above the man.

In order to develop the contest of power in a more various play, the fin'amors has invented the *assag* (essay). In the *trobairitz* poems, it is the probation through which the man should pass in order to be considered eligible by the woman. The test could be dangerous for the reputation of the lady who submits herself to the power of the man. Azalais de Porcairagues uses the term *assag* in the sense of test in the nobility of the man by how well he can resist his desire.¹³⁵ His worthiness can be proved by doing this. It is nevertheless sure that the lady does not consent to offer herself, but she confines herself to some limits, imposed by this *assag* / *assai* to which she freely agrees. "Tost en veirem a l'assai / qu'en vostra merce.m metrat; / vos m'aves la fe plevida / que no.m demandes faillida." (37-8: Soon we'll come to the test that I will submit myself at your mercy. You have given your word to ask nothing wrong of me) (transl. Bruckner). By this, she mentally tests his word and physically tests his ability to resist sexual impulses. *Assag* could also be a sort of initiation ceremony, comparable to

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¹³⁴ Although at Lanfranc's remark bout the male greater physical force, the woman changes the topic to her favour: her wit. Bruckner, "Debatable Fictions": 22, These two tornadas contrast a male and a female construction of power. While Lanfranc's earlier metaphor had linked the power of the lover to the image of the horse well-trained or abused (37-40), Guilielma locates her own power in terms of cunning and courage. She specifically repeats Lanfranc's vocabulary, either directly (*ardimen*) or in reverse (*autrei*, *consen*, *defen*), but links it to the key concept *geing*, intelligence, ingenuity, talent. .." ¹³⁵ "Women want to say no when they yield to a man's aggression," Bruckner,"Debatable Fictions": 23: Sarah Kay,"Subjectivity": 98-9.

the vow of fidelity in the vassalic homage,¹³⁶ and the last probation before stepping or not onto the sexual domain of love.¹³⁷ This is the ultimate temptation in the test of power.

"UNCOURTLY" IMAGES OF WOMEN

After fighting for her beloved, displaying her virtues by raising herself above the other ladies, displaying his virtues, putting him to test, conquering and emprisoning him, it seems the image of woman is only of a courtly lover or beloved. However, there are uncourtly images of women (from *the fin'amors* perspective and code), the image of the pregnant woman as unsightly, the woman whose looks and behaviour are damaged by the "knighthood whims" of a man who finally proves himself a coward, and the woman who expresses erotic desires directly.

The image of the "unlovely" pregnant woman appears once in the *trobairitz* poems as a subject of debate between two women¹³⁸ in the *tenso* "Na Carenza al bel cors avinenz." Alaisina Iselda, the lady, is anxious about the importance and necessity of marriage in a woman's life. Thus she comes to ask the *trobairitz* Na Carenza her

¹³⁶See Bec, *Chants*, 42-3. For an analysis of the patron-client relationship (Finke's term), see the chapter of Laurie Finke, "The Rhetoric of Desire in the Courtly Lyric," in *Feminist Theory*, 29-7 A. She discusses terms such as *umil*, *senhals* (code names), and *servidor/senhor* (mainly in male writing) which occur in the troubadour poetry. Then she comparatively analyses from the point of view of the vassal relationships Comtessa de Dia's *canso* "A chantar," contrasting it to one of Bertran de Born's poems. She mentions in the *trobairitz* poem the "unspoken invulnerability of the patron rather than that of the client," while her conclusion will be that "for the female poet, her public display of betrayal is a signifier of her failure as a patron to cultivate a clientele, at the same time as it affords her a means of self representation," Finke, *Feminist*, 64.

¹³⁷Bec, *Chants*, 43 concludes that "Du cote feminin, au contraire, 1' *assag* serait l'epreuve finale (au sense initiatique) que la femme imposerait encore, le couronement de ce merce que le poète implore des jours et des mois durant. Après cela, la fin'amor, tombant, eventuellement dans le desir satisfait, n'aurait plus de raison de survivre. Ni le texte d'exister"

¹³⁸Bogin and Dronke read the work as a conversation among three women Carenza, and two sisters (Alais and Iselda), Bogin, *Women Troubadours*, 144-45; and Dronke, *Women Writers*, 101-2. Bec reads it as of two persons "Avoir des enfants ou rester vierge?Une tenson occitane du XHIe siècle entre femmes." *Mittlelalterstudien: Erich Köhler zum Gedenken* (1984): 24-5. Anderson, "Na Carenza," 55-64 interprets the poem as a satire of Midons who would rather choose the convent for vanity's sake. The names, representing the three estates of women, the virgin Carenza, the noble Isolda, and the peasant Alaisina, denote midons as everywoman; Bruckner, "Debatable Fictions: The *tensos* of the *Trobairitz,"* in *Lierary Aspects of Courtly Culture: Selected Papers from the Triennial Congressof the International Courtly Literature Society*, ed. Donald Maddox and Sara Sturm-Maddox (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1994), 178. Pierre Bec, "Avoir des enfants?," 21-30 Carenza recommends mariage to a clerk in order to produce a glorious son.

opinion on this vital issue. The *trobairitz'* position is that it is preferable to be married to the "coronat de sciencia" (the one crowned with knowledge) than to an ordinary man. The young woman is repelled by the image of motherhood: "las tetinas penden aval jos / e lo ventrilh es ruat e noios" (19-20: the breasts are flaskly falling down and the belly stretches and gets ugly), seeing it as too repulsive not to think very seriously about the consequences. Consequently, Na Carenza invites them to take a husband to whom, as a spouse, she will remain a virgin, and the child will also be worthy: "per far bona semenza" (13: in order to deliver a worthy descendant), "fruit de filh glorios" (15: a fruit of a glorious son).¹³⁹ Although her desire is to have a husband, bearing children is repellent for the young woman. What appears shocking is that *penitenza* does not refer to the difficulty of childbirth, instead it refers to the loss of her beauty, driving her to a ruin.

The other "uncourtly" image is also that of the damaged, ugly woman. Peire Duran initiates the dialogue that he would like to know what happened to the lady he had known as a beautiful and courteous creature. He asks explicit questions regarding the repulsive changes to her body, to which accusations she answers rather sharply.¹⁴⁰ The reverential direct terms of address, contrasted with the content of the dialogue, make a parody of the poem. The grace and the nice behaviour of the lady have disappeared due to the "benefic" influence of the lover visiting the tournaments, then cowardly retiring from them.¹⁴¹ The result of this exchange of replies that the image of the spoiled man is intimately connected with that of the spoiled woman, the ugly with the ugly. This exchange resembles cross-references: the man depicts the ugly grotesque

¹³⁹The metaphoric expression of the advantage of being married to "a pure one" endows one to consider that the woman shall be the bride of Christ

¹⁴⁰ In a way, the woman accepts the critique, but her reply is a parody of the courtly *tenso*. On the whole, this dialogue is a play of uncourtly images based on the courtly ones (the dancing, the witty talks at the court, the tournaments).

¹⁴¹This reminds one of the dialogue—"romance parodique"~between Guilhem Rainol d'At and Domna, "Quant aug chantar lo gal sus en l'erbos": the Seinger affirms that the lady tames him, then her reply is that she hides when seing him, then he says that he has never taken her part in a tournament, since this was her order, so he prefers to eat cheese-cake and bread dunked in broth: "auz lo fugist com eu tornei rengat / qu'anc no.i fos pois, pos m'o agues vedat. / Mais am flauzons e sopas en sabrier." The Domna's mentioning the necessity to sell the pig in order to buy Miquel the shepherd some clothes which will transform him into a knight shows that the poem is a parody of the courtly space.

face of the woman, while the woman talks about herself referring to the man with a flaccid body never washed, then as a coward resorting to a millers work, his arms rusting in the farthest corner of the house. The image of the "lady in ruins" from both the aspect of her lost good looks and wrecked courtly behaviour is a result of the unfortunate influence of the same aspects in the man.

Both images of the "damaged" women are seen as a consequence of the near presence of the undignified man. The unexpected image of a courtly woman indulging in an erotic straightforward dialogue with Montan might initially shock the reader. The Domna opens the discourse, by praising Montan as a well-learned person in sexual games. She also boasts that she is as well endowed, and also an expert in the field, and she challenges him to a joust to see which of them is really better equipped and more experienced in the erotic domain. The image of the lady animated by erotic desires which she directly comunicates to the man in a straightforward, blustering manner, could be considered as another facet, and a very colourful one, of the courtlyuncourtly woman.

In the small corpus of the *trobairitz* poems one can find a wide variety of images abound and are extremely rich in significance. Although the image of winter points to the uneasiness of the *trobairitz* when she speaks with her own voice, the other images have shown extensive confidence in her own power also. The *trobairitz* can be a clear mirror of what happens around her, and especially of what happens in the heart of a lover, whether a man or a lady, or of a whole social group. However, when someone tries to negate her personality by making her a mirror of other's personalities, she will rebel. For her, mirroring means to provide a set of virtues required if the man wants to be loved, to give a kind of help to the others, either by facilitating the (re)union of two lovers, or by mirroring a completely different opinion of her "sisters," the ladies, when attempting to change the deeply rooted, male-oriented, defamatory opinion about women. She directly states that the image of woman that the audience has in its mind by the work of the *antic trobadors* is a fake

one. She also fights against an unjust law forbidding the wearing lavish dresses, which will impede her joy in her beauty and her wealth.

In addition, she proceeds as a conqueror of the man. First she looks at the man, and weighs his value, assessing if he is suited for her. Then she watches the other ladies, considers their strengths, finally appreciating her worth above theirs. The following step will be telling her discoveries to the man, who should be charmed by her beauty, intellectual and artistic qualities, which will make out of him a prey to be imprisoned. At the same time, she is sincere in her hunting: she wants the man she loves so intensively, because Love itself keeps her in her power. Both the lady and the lover are, in fact, the prisoners of Amor. Unfortunately, there are cases when the lady is trapped in the undesirable prison of the *gelos*, whose only power over her is a physical one. When it comes to measuring the power of the man as counterbalanced by that of the woman, the physical power in the man is acknowledged by the *trobairitz*. However, they preserve for themselves the wit and the shrewdness, which would beat any man down.

The image of the courtly woman as fighter is supplemented by some "uncourtly" aspects. Motherhood is seen as an unpleasant state, because it damages the woman; the presence of the "courtly man" in her immediacy has the same ruinous effect. A jocular image is the erotic woman, highlighted by the Domna in her dialogue with Montan.

The study has emphasised that in the small corpus of the *trobairitz* poems, the portraits of women depicted are various and colourfully painted. The images of women go from those sensitive to the "winter" of unableness of expression, to the fighters for the right to expose ideas and to be rightfully treated, to the tough and shrewed woman in contest with the aimed-at-man, to the woman assertive of sexual desires and to the woman fearful of its consequences.

CONCLUSION

This study has focused on the poetry of the *trobairitz*, who wrote during a short period in Occitania, in the environment of the court, with the purpose of extracting flashes, or even whole images of women as depicted in and through the poems. Their contribution is a very important one, because the information about women as seen through their own eyes contrasts and adds to the portrait drawn by the troubadours. The socio-economic conditions in Provence have shown that the women had an important role, and that they could enjoy freedom of expression. The study of vocabulary and imagery seemed the best way to understand the significance and the richness of the types of women depicted in the poems. By surveying the poetry of the *trobairitz*, this study has shown the variety of perspectives of the lady: regarding herself, her lover, the other ladies, other members of the court which has not been synthesised on a large corpus of poems. The study has pointed to a combination of the features of the conscious woman, the authoritative figure, the fighter, the lover, the beloved, the uncourtly woman.

The vocabulary of the poems turns out to be extremely rich in terms of address, in terms denoting love and desire, in terms showing appreciation and depreciation. The terms of address underline the *trobairitz'* desire to communicate feelings and opinions; at the same time, her choice is paramount, as the terms clearly select the audience, dividing it into the group of friends, among whom *amtc* is recurrently occurring in the discourse, and the group of enemies. At the same time, the terms of address indicate their place in the hierarchy of the people at the court and in her affective hierarchy.

First, the terms of address, as well as other terms discussed along the analysis (for example *mostrar, chantar, dic*, or expressions such as *no puesc mudar no digua*) demonstrate that the *trobairitz* has a voice; the images extracted will add to this conclusion. She is not, and would not remain silenced, as was the common image in the troubadours' poetry. She is authoritative. By her speech she rejects the "winter"

freezing her expression. For the purpose of dispelling the cold season, she addresses her interlocutors, calling for attention and approval. Moreover, she does not want her speech to be vain talk. She suggests interpretations and impose their judgements and models. The *trobairitz* decided that it is worth fighting to straighten the deformed opinions of the audience which has been imbued with distorted ideas about women. She has decided to speak for the whole group of courtly women: either to protect their good name, or to protect their right to be themselves as feminine and fashionable. Dressing nice is also a way of putting herself in a good light in the eyes of the man. From the moment when she feels misunderstanding or malevolence, the fighter is prepared for war, armed with voice and rhetoric, endowed with a variety of qualities, and with clever tactics.

The *trobairitz* needs to provide self-appreciation in order to win. She confidently displays her virtues, weighing intelligence and song, using for this purpose various terms of vocabulary. There are differences among the ladies, and she points out this variety. She states the differences between herself and the other ladies, and she uses the contest in her favour. Because she knows that her prey is not easy to catch, and that there are other women at the court who could attract his attention, she presents herself as balanced against a large group of women. It is no paradox that from them all, she is the most faithful, she has the strongest force not to give up, in spite of all the voices gathering together--be they of other ladies or of defamers--and she has the fairest song of all the ladies anywhere. When she seems to withdraw in front of a rival, she brings as support for the other lady's *pretz* only wealth, while she herself is presented--modesty?--as displaying intrinsic qualities: faith, love, ardour, intelligence, artistic talent. Moreover, in order to be sure of her success, she asks the man to make use of his good judgement: he knows which is the most worthy of all the ladies at the court.

Here another tactic is put into practice: he is the best of all the lovers, because he has the capacity of discernment between what has value and what has not. She praises him with a large range of positive attributes; thus he will beguile him into

loving her. In order to paint to him the portrait she expects her lover to have, either she makes herself a mirror of price, which she places in front of his eyes--that is she authoritatively states--the pre-requirements of her love: good glances towards her, submission to her whims, ardour in desire, in a word, *pretz*. Both of them will be winners in this contest of love: he will rejoice in their physical intercourse, she will gain in beauty.

However, in order to weigh his value, she does not content herself in appreciating from a distance his value: she wants him to come closer to her, because she has a test for him: the most tricky of the tests. She exposes herself to his touch, at the same time she extracts the promise that the man will not touch her body. But later, if he would not touch her, he will not pass the test. It is in the same sense as rejecting him just for him to desire her even more strongly.

The type of woman-warrior and of woman-authority is contrasted with that of the sensitive woman. Her heart is not devoid of sensitivity, consequently it can be wounded. She can sense all the fluctuations of the man's love for her. When she feels she has lost his love, she is distressed. She feels her voice dies away. However, this is only an unpleasant feeling, because she will further voice her distress, consequently she will find herself healed and she will be successful. Who are the detractors⁹ Usually, the court is divided in the group of her friends and the group of her enemies. The friends appreciate her and her lover, certainly they are worthy people. The other group is always spying and gossiping. They defamed their names as illicit lovers, and made her jealous husband even angrier. Sometimes the reason of her sadness is her own lover. He could be mean, or he could become sensible to the charms of another lady. Or sometimes, from excess of "worth " and scruples, he ignores his heart and listens to the gossipers: thus, with the idea that he wants to protect her name, he disobeys the rules: he is the traitor.¹⁴² The woman as an authoritative person appears also when she refuses the man genuinely, because "c'a mi non tanh horn fel m erguhlos / per que mon

¹⁴² The idea of the man as traitor is rounded by the *trobairitz* trying to dispel the wicked ideas about the woman's cold soul: the troubadours were pretenders.

pretz dechaya ni discend" (Domna and Donzela, 31-2: what suits me is not a mean and prideful man who would harm and diminish my worth). She will continue her fight for him, to bring him back into her arms, only when she feels that his worth makes him irreplaceable.

In the world whose culture was basically permeated by *fin'amors* and its code of behaviour and qualities, what else could it be praised other than love? The *trobairitz* seems to have proved it: from admiration, when the feeling affected the *cor* only, to an overwhelming physical longing. When the unworthy ones tried to spoil the beauty of the feeling, she revolted against and protected her love. When the lover listened to the unworthy words, forgetting to pay attention to his heart, the woman qualified the people's behaviour as well as the man's behaviour as *folhor*. When she is accused, she defends herself, stating her own point of view on the misunderstanding or contest. She is a fighter--either with the man's weapons, or with her own wit. She has a whole strategy to display to attract and to conquer the man, in a courtly manner.

Sometimes she gets tired of the codes of *fin'amors* and of ethereal admiration: eroticism is not foreign to her mind and desire. Sometimes she suggests sexual intercourse, other times she expresses it straightway, shockingly, boasting about it. Sometimes she is afraid of getting ugly and disgusting, as a result of marriage. The man is the reason of the woman's beauty faded away.

The present study has mainly concentrated on presenting diverse types of women, by synthesising evidence of the vocabulary and of the images as seen in almost all the poems, which has not been previously done. Other things could also be said about the woman in the *trobairitz* poems, because she is so complexly and varied painted, bringing more examples from the rhetoric used, from the versification, or from the analysis of some aspects of grammar (morphologic evidence, types of subordination, negation), which was not the point of this study

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