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MARCABRU, PROPHET OF FIN'AMORS

DISSERTATION

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the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

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* * * * * *

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INTRODUCTION

There is available only one edition of Marcabru's poetry, that of Jean-Marie-Lucien Dejeanne, a physician who wished to give modern scholars access to the work of the troubadours of his native Gascogne. He died before completing his study of Marcabru's songs, and Jeanroy published in 1909 the notes as he found them. As a result, the quality of the translations is very irregular. Alfred Pillet, Kurt Lewent, and Leo Spitzer have published additions and corrections to Dejeanne's reading of the manuscript and also his translation, but no one has undertaken a new edition until recently. Aurelio Roncaglia is currently preparing one and is publishing each poem as he completes it. Besides a definitive text and translation he gives for each song the manuscript tradition, a bibliography, an analysis of the form, the historical background, and many notes which often compare his own linguistic interpretation with that of other critics. To date, seven

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1 Poésie complètes du troubadour Marcabru. (Toulouse).

2 "Beiträge zur Kritik der ältesten Troubadours," Sonderabdruck aus dem 89. Jahresbuch der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für Vaterland Cultur, 1912, no. II.


4 "Zu Kurt Lewent's Beiträgen zum Verständnis der Lieder Marcabrus," Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, XXXIX (1917), 221-223.
have appeared. When his project is complete, the study of Marcabru's poetry will be much facilitated.

The poetry of Marcabru is very difficult to read because of both the language and the content. My goal in writing this paper has been to find the themes in the songs which would give a continuity to the whole corpus. Before doing this, I found it necessary to establish my own translation, which is given in an appendix to this dissertation. I have tried to make as accurate a translation as possible while at the same time communicating the total sense in English. In the case of some very obscure passages for which I have found no solution, I have offered Dejeanne's translation.

Chapter I will be devoted to a discussion of Marcabru's poetry as a whole and will treat the manuscript tradition, the historical background, the genres and general contents and the style and form. It is the aim of the second chapter to establish a definition of the terms fin'amors and amars as the poet used them and to illustrate his role as prophet of Fin'amors struggling against Amars. In the third chapter I seek to demonstrate that the main theme of Marcabru's poetry comprises the effect on the world of the decline of Fin'amors. A critical bibliography of studies on Marcabru's poetry to date is given in an appendix.

CHAPTER I


The Manuscript Tradition

Marcabru's forty-two extant songs are found in fifteen manuscripts and a Breviari d'amor from the thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Two of the earliest, Manuscripts A and K, each contain the same selection of twenty-seven songs. This is the largest number of poems found in any one manuscript. Manuscript A is in the Vatican Library (5232) in Rome. K is in Paris in the Bibliothèque Nationale (12473). They are both in Italian handwriting from the thirteenth century. The following songs are found in these two manuscripts. As throughout this paper, the songs are numbered according to Dejeanne's edition. The folio number follows the title in parentheses.1


1 The information concerning the location and date of the manuscripts is found in Alfred Jeanroy's Bibliographie sommaire des chansonniers provençaux (Paris, 1916) while the contents of each manuscript are listed in Alfred Pillet and Henry Carstens' Bibliographie der Troubadours (Halle, Niemeyer, 1913), pp. 256-263.
All of Marcabru's poems except five (VI, VII, XIIbis, XXIII, XXVI) are found in a combination of Manuscripts A or K and C. The five songs which are lacking appear only one time each in other manuscripts. Manuscript C, containing twenty-four songs, is in the Bibliothèque Nationale (856) and was written in the southwest of France during the fourteenth century.

Five songs which occur only in Manuscript C are I. A la fontana del vergier (C 173); II. A l' alena del ven doussa (C 173); III. Al
departir del brau tempier (C 172); XIV. Contra l'ivern que s'enansa (C 171); and XXVIII. Languan foillon li boscatge (C 173). The other songs in this manuscript are XI. Bel m'es quan la rana chanta (C 172); XV. Cortezamen voill comensar (C 347), which is attributed to Uc de la Bacalari as it is in the Breviari d'amor; XVI. D'aisso laus Deu (C 172); XVII. Dirai vos en mos lati (C 177); XVIII. Dirai vos senes duptansa (C 174); XXbis. Seigner n'Audric (C 177); XXI. Bel m'es quan la foilla fana (C 171); XXIV. En abriu s'esclairo-ill riu contra-l pascor (C 345), which is attributed to Elias Fonsalada; XXV. Estornel, coill ta volada (C 174), without its sequel XXVI. Ges l'estornels no s'oblida; XXX. L'autrier jost'una sebissa (C 176); XXXI. L'iverns vai e·l temps s'aizina (C 174); XXXII. Lo vers comensa (C 171); XXXIII. Lo vers comens, quan vei del fau (C 177); XXXIV. Oimais dei esser alegrans (C 176); XXXV. Pax in nomine Domini! (C 177); XXXVIII. Pos la foilla revirola (C 174); XXXIX. Pos l'iverns d'ogan es anatz (C 175); XL. Pos mos coratges s'esclarzis (C 58), which is attributed to Bernart de Ventadorn; and XLI. Pos ses foilla son li vergan (C 171).

Located in the Bibliotheque Nationale (854), Manuscript I is in Italian handwriting and was written at the end of the thirteenth century. It contains the texts of twenty-three songs all of which are found also in Manuscripts A and K. Two more, XV. Cortezamen voill comensar and XXXI. L'iverns vai e·l temps s'aizina, are listed in the Index under Marcabru's name, but the texts are not included with the others. The following songs appear in Manuscript I: IV. Al prim comens de l'ivern-nail (I 120); V. Al so desviat chantaire (I 120); VIII. Assatz m'es
bel del temps essug (I 119); IX. Aujatz de chan com enans' e meillura (I 118); XIII. Bel m'es quan son li fruich madur (I 121); XVI. D'aissolaus Deu (I 118); XVIII. Dirai vos senes duptansa (I 117); XIX. Doas cuidas ai compaignier (I 118); Xxbis. Seigner n'Audric (I 117); XXII. Emperaire, per mi mezai (I 119); XXIV. En abriu s'esclairo-ill riu contra·l pascor (I 117); XXIX. L'autrier, a l'issida d'abru (I 119); XXX. L'autrier jost'una sebissa (I 120); XXXII. Lo vers comensa (I 117); XXXIII. Lo vers comens, quan vei del fau (I 117); XXXV. Pax in nomine Domini! (I 117); XXXVI. Per l'aura freida que quida (I 119); XXXVII. Per savi-l tenc ses duptansa (I 120); XXXVIII. Pos la foilla revirola (I 119); XXXIX. Pos l'iverns d'ogan es anatz (I 121); XL. Pos mos coratges s'esclarzis (I 118); XLI. Pos ses foilla son li vergan (I 118); and XLIV. Soudadier, per cui es jovens (I 121).

Manuscript D from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and its sixteenth century supplement, Manuscript d, are found in the Estense Library in Modena (Alpha, R, 4, 4.). D contains six songs: VI. AmicMarcabru, car digam (D 208); XVIII. Dirai vos senes duptansa (D 189--680); Xxbis. Seigner n'Audric (Da 208--761); XXII. Emperaire, per vostre pretz (Da 189--681); XXXI. L'iverns vai e·l temps s'aizina (Da 188-678); and XXXVII. Per savi-l tenc ses duptansa (Da 189--682).

Poems VI and XXIII are found only in this manuscript, and Poems XXXI, XXXVII, and XLIII are listed as anonymous. While Poems VI and XVIII are in the main part of the manuscript, the remaining poems are in an addenda.
The supplement to Manuscript D, known as Manuscript d, contains twenty-three songs, all of which are found also in Manuscripts A and K. These are IV. Al prim comens de l'ivernaill (d 307--129); V. Al so desviat chanteire (d 307--128); VIII. Assatz m'es bel del temps essug (d 306--126); IX. Aujatz de chan com enans' e meillura (d 305--120); XIII. Bel m'es quan son li fruich madur (d 308--131); XV. Cortezamen voill comensar (d 301--109); XVI. D'aisso laus Deu (d 304--119); XVII. Dirai vos en mon lati (d 302--110); XIX. Doas cuidas ai compaignier (d 304--117); XXbis. Seigner n'Audric (d 303--114); XXIV. En abriu s'esclairo-ill riu contra l'is pascor (d 302--111); XXIX. L'autrier, a l'ishsida d'abru (d 305--123); XXX. L'autrier jost'una sebissa (d 307--130); XXXII. Lo vers comensa (d 302--112); XXXIII. Lo vers comens, quan vei del fau (d 303--115); XXXV. Pax in nomine Domini! (d 303--116); XXXVI. Per l'aura freida que guida (d 306--125); XXXVIII. Pos la foilla revir- ola (d 306--127); XXXIX. Pos l'ivers d'ogon es anatz (d 308--132); XL. Pos mos coratges s'esclarzis (d 304--118); XLI. Pos ses foilla son li vergan (d 305--122); XLII. Quan l'aura doussana bufa (d 305--121); and XLIV. Soudadier, per cui es jovens (d 308--133).

Manuscript a², also located in the Estense Library in Modena (App. 494, 427, 426), contains eighteen songs, one of which is found only here, Poem XIIbis. These are IV. Al prim comens de l'ivernaill (a² 301); V. Al so desviat chanteire (a² 307); VIII. Assatz m'es bel del temps essug (a² 303); XI. Bel m'es quan la rana chanta (a² 363); XIIbis. Bel m'es can s'esclarzis l'onda (a² 300); XIII. Bel m'es quan son li fruich madur (a² 297); XV. Cortezamen voill comensar (a² 460),
which is attributed to Bertran de Pessars; XVII. Dirai vos en mon lati
(a² 311); XVIII. Dirai vos senes duptansa (a² 309); XX bis. Seignier
n'Audric (a² 571); XXII. Emperaire, per mi mezeis (a² 302); XXX. L'autrier jost'una sebissa (a² 310); XXXI. L'iverns vai e·1 temps s'aizina
(a² 299); XXXV. Pax in nomini Domini! (a² 293); XXXVI. Per l'aura freida que guida (a² 305); XXXVII. Per savi'l tenc ses duptansa (a² 308);
XXXVIII. Pos la foilla revirola (a² 306); and XXXIX. Pos l'iverns d'ogan es anatz (a² 298).

Manuscript N, written by an Italian hand in the fourteenth cen­tury, is now located in Cheltenham (8335) in the library of Mr. T. Fitz­Roy Fenwick. It contains the following eleven songs, all of which are also found in Manuscripts A and K: IV. Al prim comens de l'ibernaill
(N 266); XIII. Bel m'es quan son li fruich madur (N 267--424); XV.
Cortezamen voill comensar (N 269--427); XVII. Dirai vos en mon lati (N 269--429); XXIV. En abriu s'esclairo·ill riu contra·1 pascor (N 270--430); XXX. L'autrier jost'una sebissa (N 266--422); XXXI. L'iverns vai e·1 temps s'aizina (N 270--429); XXXII. Lo vers comensa (N 271--431);
XXXVII. Per savi'l tenc ses duptansa (N 267--423); XXXIX. Pos l'iverns d'ogan es anatz (N 268--425); and XLIV. Soudadier, per cui es jovens (N 269--426).

Manuscript E, from the fourteenth century, is in the Bibliotheque Nationale (1749). It contains twelve of Marcabru's songs, of which Poems VII and XXVI are found only here. They are VII. Ans que·l termi­nis verdei (E 155); IX. Aujatz de chan com enans' e meillura (E 152);
XVI. D'aisso laus Deu (E 153); XXI. Bel m'es quan la foilla fana (E
Only three of Marcabru's songs have been preserved with musical notations. Two of these, Poem XVIII. Dirai vos senes duptans (R 5-10) and Poem XXX. L'autrier jost'una sebissa (R 5-4), are found in Manuscript R from the beginning of the fourteenth century and now located in the Bibliothèque Nationale (22543). The other eleven poems included in this manuscript are XI. Bel m'es quan la rana chanta (R 29); XV. Corte-zamen voill comensar (R 5-6); XVII. Dirai vos en mon lati (R 5-5); XXbis. Seigner n'Audric (R 5-8); XXIV. En abriu s'esclairo-ill riu contra-l pascor (R 8-48); XXXI. L'iverns vai e-l tems s'aizina (R 5-7); XXXII. Lo vers comensa (R 8-49); XXXIII. Lo vers comens, quan vei del fau (R 5-9); XXXIV. Oimais dei esser alegrans (R 5-2); XXXV. Pax in nomine Domini! (R 5-1); and XXXVIII. Pos la foilla revirola (R 5-3). These songs are all found also in Manuscript C.

The third song which was recorded with musical notations occurs in Manuscript W, from the end of the thirteenth century, and now located in the Bibliothèque Nationale (844). It is Poem XXXV. Pax in nomine Domini! (W 194) and is listed as anonymous along with the other song which appears in this manuscript, XIII. Bel m'es quan son li fruich madur (W 203).
Manuscript T, written during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and now in the Bibliothèque Nationale (15211), contains the following three songs: XVI. D'aisso laus Deu (T 204); XVII. Dirai vos en mon lati (T 205); XXX. L'autrier jost'una sebissa (T 205).

Also in the Bibliothèque Nationale (12474), Manuscript M was written in the fourteenth century by an Italian hand. It contains two of Marcabru's songs which are listed under his name in the index, but which are attributed to Raimbaut d'Aurenga in the text. These are Poem XI. Bel m'es quan la rana chanta (M 141) and Poem XVIII. Dirai vos senes duptansa (M 142).

Manuscripts G and J each contain only one song and in both cases have the author listed as anonymous. The fourteenth century Manuscript G in Milan is in the Ambrosiana Library (R 71 sup.) and contains Poem XV. Cortezamen voill comensar (G 115). Manuscript J is in the National Library in Florence (Magliab. 776, F. 4) and includes Poem XVII. Dirai vos en mon lati (J 13).

The Breviari d'amor (referred to as source Alpha) was written by Matfré Ermengau in the late thirteenth century and is preserved in many manuscripts, the earliest being from the fourteenth century. The author quotes verses from four of Marcabru's songs: XV. Cortezamen voill comensar (Alpha 32244 and 32251), attributing it to Uc de la Bacalaria; XVIII. Dirai vos senes duptansa (Alpha 28231, 28246, 29607); XXI. L'iverns vai e-l temps s'aizina (Alpha 32206); and XXXII. Lo vers comensa (Alpha 32206).
Genres

Most of the forty-two songs which are attributed to Marcabru are difficult to classify into genres because the subject matter is not neatly organized as in the work of the later troubadours. Ten, however, can be labeled fairly easily. There are three which are generally called romances. *A la fontana del vergier* (I) tells the story of a demoiselle who is sorrowful because of the departure of her lover on a Crusade and who refuses the attempts of the poet to comfort her and relieve her loneliness. Anna Granville Hatcher calls this poem "a woman's song which . . . refuses to develop into a pastourelle."\(^2\) A bird serves as a messenger between quarreling lovers in *Estornel, cueill ta volada* and *Ges l'estornels non s'oblida* (XXV and XXVI). In the first, the poet sends a starling to his lady to accuse her of unfaithfulness and to ask her if she wishes to continue their relationship. After hearing the bird's song in the sequel (XXVI), the lady denies the accusations which have been made against her and tells the starling that if the poet will come to her the next day, she will put an end to their misunderstanding with physical proof of her love.

Carl Appel concludes that the lady in these two poems is a courtisane since she is so willing to comply with the poet's wishes. To him these two songs are obviously parodies of Peire d'Alvernhes' Nightingale Songs.\(^3\) However, in his detailed study of the form of Marcabru's

\(^2\) "Marcabru's A la fontana del vergier," *Modern Language Notes*, LXXIX (1964), 293.

\(^3\) "Zu Marcabru," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XLIII (1923), 435.
poetry, Hans Spanke decides that Peire d'Alvernha imitated Marcabru because the form he used (strophe with two similar parts) is older than that used by Peire. Spanke sees the Estornel songs as parodies of the courtly love lyric. The poet's attitude toward his lady is the opposite of what is expected: he calls her unfaithful and false and expresses his desire for her in an unveiled way. The behavior of the lady is also the opposite of what courtly manners called for (p. 62). She is viewed by René Nelli as Marcabru's conception of the typical aristocratic lady—disloyal and full of lies. Ulrich Molk understands these songs not as a parody of courtly love, but as a satire of non-courtly love. The lady is willing to sleep with the poet, but does not want to take part in a courtly relationship.

The two earliest extant examples of pastourelles in Provençal were written by Marcabru. L'autrier a l'issida d'abriu (XXIX) opens in a pastoral landscape with the poet reporting a knight's attempt to seduce a shepherdess, but quickly becomes an invective against nobles and infidelity in love. L'autrier jost'una sebissa (XXX) is a more typical pastourelle. The poet assumes the role of a knight who encounters a pretty peasant girl in the fields. After the opening strophe, the song consists of a fast-paced dialogue with the shepherdess giving spirited responses to the knight's proposals. The tone of the conversation is at


6 Trobar Clus Trobar Leu (Munich, 1968), p. 27.
first casual, but becomes more and more intense and finally angry as the vilana remains firm in her refusal of the knight's advances.

Along with A la fontana del vergier Karl Vossler finds L'autrier jost'una sebissa the most accomplished and perfect song by Marcabru because of the clarity and simplicity of expression. Appel interprets the knight as a vilain who plays at being a knight only on Sundays and thus concludes that this poem is a parody of an established genre (p. 436), while Spanke explains the usage of the shepherdess in both pastourelles by stating that, as an adherent of natural healthy love, Marcabru chose such a figure to represent it since she was unencumbered with the mores of a courtly society (p. 58). Appel sees in the peasant maid of Poem XXX and the noble's daughter of Poem I the forerunners of Molière's spirited and pleasant heroines (p. 437).

Like the pastourelles, Marcabru's two Crusade Songs are also the earliest extant. They are quite different from each other in tone, but are similar in purpose. The religious inspiration of the well-known Pax in nomine Domini! (XXXV) is more noticeable than that of Emperaire, per mi mezeis (XXII), which contains much ingratiating praise of Alfonso VII. The motivation of the first Crusade songs was Marcabru's desire to call attention to Spain as an appropriate destination of a Crusade. Since Spain had become a second home to him, he felt that the Crusader could fulfill his duty just as honorably and much more easily by going there to fight the Moslems instead of fighting the Turks in the East.

7 Der Troubadour Marcabru und die Anfänge des gekünstelten Stiles, (Munich, 1913), p. 54.
The emphatic position in which the poet places the refrain word \textit{lavador} in Poem XXXV characterizes his concept of the Crusades. The term probably called to the mind of his audience the natural reservoirs so common in the south where women washed clothes and several people could plunge into the water. At the same time, it recalls the large baptismal pool in major churches where those to be baptized, either infant or adult, can enter entirely to have their sins washed away. In his poem Marcabru equates the taking of the cross against the heathen in Spain with the entering of a baptismal pool in that both acts result in a cleansing away of sin, perhaps through death, which would win eternal salvation.\footnote{Kurt Lewent, "Das altprovenzalische Kreuzlied," \textit{Romanische forschungen}, XXI (1908), 397.} This song is directed to the whole of Christianity as well as to individuals. It repels the unworthy, appeals to the consciences of laggards, and to the honor of knights who hesitate, and admonishes all to repentance and a joyous attitude.\footnote{Vossler, p. 30.}

\textit{Amics Marchabrun, car digam} (VI) is a tension which never really gets started, at least, not according to Ugo Catola's plan, because the two men cannot agree on the subject. Ugo wishes to sing praise of Love while Marcabru refuses to do so without including a complaint against false friendship. The result is a poetic argument about the quality of love. Arthur Franz and Appel both believe that this tension is too perfect to have been spontaneous. The regularized and polished form indicates to Appel that it was revised when it was recorded, especially
after comparing it to the first tension between William IX and an unnamed opponent (p. 438). Franz goes so far as to propose that the tension is fictitious.10

Seigner n'Audric (XX\textsuperscript{bis}) is Marcabru's response to this noble in a two poem tension. From the text Spanke reconstructs the events behind the exchange of songs between the two men. Living not far from Blois with many children, Audric was given to enjoying the pleasures of life. He was a troubadour and sometimes paid wages to jongleurs. Temporarily unemployed (Pan-perdut), Marcabru went there looking for work or at least a donation. Audric was unable to contribute, but gave him hope for later help. Marcabru was angry when he had to leave empty-handed and declares that Audric's reference to the poor harvest is just an excuse for stinginess. Spanke suggests that these two songs might have been composed for performance before other troubadours and jongleurs (pp. 59-60).

D'aisso laus Dieu (XVI) is a traditional gap in which Marcabru boasts of his skill with words, his ability to win arguments, and his successes as a lover.

Although love is a central theme of Marcabru's poetry, there exist no love songs in the traditional Provençal vein in which the poet speaks of the beauty and perfection of his lady and his desire and suffering because of her. Occasionally he speaks of love as a participant but never with intense involvement. Perhaps he comes closest in Languan

fuelhon li boscatge (XXVIII) when he describes his heart as full of love as he waits for a message from his lady and begins to think of reasons she might be angry with him. But then he breaks the mood by declaring that, if he loses her through her folly, he already has another picked out who is nicer anyway. For years critics have been baffled by Marcabru's approach to love and have tried to explain it in many ways. Franz (p. 27) and Spanke (p. 92) believe that this poem is a parody of the fictitious love songs written by paid singers. It contains the traditional love motifs, but in a context that makes them comical.

In Contra l'ivern que s'enansa (XIV) Marcabru discusses love in the first person, but in a clinical, not an emotional, way. He objectively gives the advantages and disadvantages of love, but does not become personally involved. Spanke (p. 93) and Appel (p. 434) find in the structure of this song an illustration of Marcabru's ability as an artist. He uses a complicated grammatical rhyme to show that he, too, can play the poetic-musical game by which his scorned contemporaries earn their living.

Appel includes Ans que·l terminis verdei (VII) along with XIV and XXVIII as possible love songs. After telling of a love which no longer exists, VII turns into a battle against love as the poet tells of his lady who betrayed him even though he served her faithfully. Appel finds Poems VII and XXVIII so different from Marcabru's other works that he raises the possibility of their having been wrongly attributed to him since each is found in only one manuscript (Mss. E and C, respectively). However, if Marcabru did write them, Appel believes that he is relating
the incident which caused his permanent estrangement from love (p. 434).

Spanke refuses to designate any of Marcabru's poems as love songs and states that it is singular in troubadour literature that the extant examples of the genre being parodied are of a later period than the parodies themselves. He also includes William IX as a participant in the battle against the popularity of the courtly love song (p. 93).

The remaining thirty-two poems have been called moralistic sirventes which Appel defines as songs which chastise wrongdoers (p. 440). The central theme of this group is the poet's lament concerning the decline of the quality of love and the resulting decline in the behaviour and morals of the noble class. It is from these songs that Marcabru gets his reputation as a moralist. His specific complaints about the behaviour of the nobles include adultery, sexual promiscuity, jealousy, stinginess, boasting, idleness, gluttony, drunkardness, and lack of religious conscience. To make his points he constantly employs the devices of allegory and personification of virtues and faults. These songs are often misunderstood as being basically an attack on courtly love, blaming it for the disintegration of moral behaviour. For example, Appel considers that Marcabru's real concern is the immorality between man and wife. He reproaches the men who run after the wives of others; he rebukes wives who betray their spouses by allowing the husbands of other women to be their lovers. The guardians placed in homes by the husbands to watch their wives only contribute to the immorality. According to Appel, Marcabru gives as the cause of this widespread immor-
aliti the new love poetry which is being spread about by the troubadours, especially those of the school of Lord Eble with whom Marcabru refuses to associate (p. 440). In fact, Franz accuses Marcabru of using all the genres only as a cover for this theme (p. 22).

Spanke finds the source of this genre in the Latin Admonition Songs. He points out that it is conventional poetry and not an attempt to reform society. Marcabru's emphasis on stinginess is not a sign of his personal difficulties as Appel believes since this subject was a traditional theme in the Latin poetry (p. 43-44).

This summary of the general contents of Marcabru's poetry illustrates at least one point—that his work is different from the traditional concept of the Provençal love songs. Three-fourths of his poems are concerned with his immediate world which he believes is becoming progressively worse and can end only in disaster if the nobles continue their evil ways.

Historical Background

Another sign of Marcabru's involvement with his contemporary society is his frequent reference to historical personnages and events. It is only through them that his work can be dated. To reach an understanding of the poet and his philosophy it is worthwhile to try to reconstruct his biography and some of the historical background which formed the framework of his life. Let us begin with the biographies found in the manuscripts.

Biographies of the poet are included at the head of his songs in Manuscripts A and K. These biographies are generally thought to be
Marcabruns si fo gitatz a la porta d'un ric home, ni anc non saup hom qui-1 fo ni d'on. E n'Aldrics del Vilar fets lo noirir. Apres estet tant ab un trobador, que avia nom Cercamon qu'el comensset a trobar: Et adoncs el avia nom Pan percut; mas d'aqui enan ac nom Marcabrun. Et en quel temps non appel-lava hom canson, mas tot quant hom cantava eron vers. E fo mout cridatz et auzitz pel mon, e doptatz per sa lenga; car el fo tant mal dizens que a la fin lo desfeiron li castellan de Guiana, de cui avia dich mout gran mal.

(Marcabru was left at the door of a powerful man and it was never known who he was or where he came from. And Lord Aldric raised him. Then he stayed with a troubadour named Cercamon until he began to compose; then he had the name Panperdut; from that day he was called Marcabru. At that time the songs were called vers and not canson. He was very well known, heard by the whole world, and feared because of his tongue; for he was so slanderous that finally he was paid back by the chatelains of Guyenne of whom he had said many bad things.)

From Manuscript K 102:

Marcabruns si fo de Gascoingna, fils d'una paubra femna que ac nom Marcabruna, si com el dis en son chantar:
Marcabruns, lo fills na Bruna,
Fo engendras en tal luna
Qu·el saup d'amor cum degruna
--Escoutatz!
Que anc non amet neguna,
Ni d'autra no fo amatz.
Trobaire fo dels premiers c'om se recort. De Caitivetz ser-ventes fez e dis mal de las femnas e d'amor.

(Marcabru was from Gascogne, the son of a poor woman whose name was Marcabruna as he says in his song, "Marcabru, son of Lady Brune, was conceived under such a star that he knows how Love conducts itself; Listen! For he never loved any woman nor was ever loved by one." He was one of the first troubadours that is remembered. He made quarrelsome serventes and said bad things about women and about love.)

Modern scholars have had no better source for their research than did the medieval scribes, but perhaps have proceeded with more accurate methods. Principally through the research of Prosper Boissonnade
but also of Paul Meyer and Appel, Marcabru's career has been dated between the years 1135 and 1150.

The earliest personnage who appears in the poetry is Marcabru's first patron William, the eighth count of Poitiers and the tenth duke of Aquitaine, who was the son of the first troubadour and the father of Aliénor. A kind of giant with panagruellian appetites, he represented the chevalric ideal for the troubadours: impassioned by war, generous to an extreme, elegant in manners, seductive through his courtoisie. Like his famous father, daughter, and grandson, Richard the Lion-Hearted, he, too, was a protector of poets.

Boissonnade attributes with certainty six songs to the period of Marcabru's career when he was enjoying William's patronage. The tornada of the earliest Assatz m'es bel del temps essuig (VIII) refers to a conflict which broke out between the Count of Poitiers and the Count of Anjou in 1129 or 1130. Because of a derogatory reference to the Angevins, Lo vers comens quan vei del fau (XXXIII) can also be associated with this quarrel. Aujatz de chan (IX) mentions a political power play between the Pope and the Holy Roman Emperor who both obtained their positions through mutual support, in 1132 and 1133. Bel m'es can s'es-clarzis l'onda (XII) rejoices in the increasing power of the Duke of Aquitaine and predicts further success if he launches an attack on the pagans. Boissonnade traces this song to the years 1135-1136 when William was enjoying particular good fortune and Marcabru certainly felt it an appropriate moment to encourage a crusade against the Moslems. Unfortunately, this period came to an end with William's death April 7,
1137, on a pilgrimage to Saint James of Compostella. This event was a great blow to his favorite troubadour and Marcabru mentions it in at least two songs, *Pax in nomine Domini* (XXXV) and *A1 prim comens de l'ivernaill* (IV).11 Spanke interprets the enigmatic *A1 departir del brau tempier* (III) as a song of mourning for William composed immediately after his death. Even the spring season is reflected in the allegory of an orchard (p. 64). Appel includes *A1 son desviat* (V) in what he calls the Poitevin Cycle because in it Marcabru swears by Saint Hilarius whose body lay in the cathedral in Poitiers (p. 413).

Boissonnade believes that after William's death Marcabru went to the Castilian court where Alfonse VII had become Emperor of Spain in 1135. His greetings to the King of Portugal and the Count of Barcelona in *A1 prim comens de l'ivernaill* probably indicate his imminent departure from France in late 1137 (p. 225). The scholar estimates Marcabru's stay in Spain as 1138-1145. In this period he places *Emperaire, per miezeis* (XXII), *Emperaire, per vostre prez* (XXIII), and *Pois l'inverns d'ogan es anatz* (XXXIX) (pp. 233-237). Having been disappointed by Alfonse's failure to live up to his reputation of generosity, the poet wrote *Bel m'es quan la rana chanta* (XI), a lament on stinginess, shortly after his return to France (p. 238).

Boissonnade interprets the evil doctrines being spread in France and Guyenne in *Per l'aura freida que guida* (XXXVI) as those preached by

the Henriciens. The praise Marcabru expresses for Alphonse, Count of Toulouse, probably results from his successful attempts to stamp out the heresy in 1144 or 1145 (p. 239).

A la fontana del vergier (I) can be dated in 1147 since the demoiselle blames King Louis for having taken away her lover on the Crusade. Another member of the Second Crusade was Jaufre Rudel to whom Marcabru dedicates Cortesamen vuoiil comenssar (XV) indicating that he is "outra mer." This song was most likely written in the second half of 1148 when the crusaders finally did get "across the sea."

The last poem which Boissonnade is able to date is Ges l’estornels non s’oblida (XXVI) in which the poet mentions the indiscreet behaviour of his lady "beyond Lerida" (part Lerida). Since this region was not won from the Sarrasins until 1149, it is probable that the poem was composed after this event. Its companion piece Estornel, cueill ta volada (XXV) was certainly written at the same time (p. 231). Without attaching a particular year, Appel groups Hueymals dey esser alegrans (XXXIV) with the Estornel songs since it is sent to Lord Cabrieria in Urgel. Lerida is located in the plains of Urgel in northeastern Spain (p. 416).

It is difficult to ascertain Marcabru’s relationship with Eble de Ventadour, but the poem entitled L’iverns vai (XXXI) seems to have been a reply to a satiric song by the noble. In it Marcabru pledges never more to compose for Lord Eble since he is an advocate of sensual love instead of true love. This work had to have been written before 1152 when Eble died (Boissonnade, p. 227).
Drawing conclusions about a man's personality and educational background based solely on his literary production is admittedly quite risky. They may, however, be of some use if considered as theories and not facts. Vossler portrays Marcabru as a man having great confidence in the intellectual and especially the artistic value of his poetry. No poet before him was so concerned with being given credit for his work. He identifies himself in twenty-one of his forty-two poems. According to Vossler, Macabru was driven by a desire to escape his lowly origin, and thus sought distinction in his songs which he valued more for their form than their contents. It is also Vossler's view that this preoccupation with form over contents manifests the limited education of the early troubadours who did not advance so far as the quadrivium. They are not meditative, but social poets who write from everyday experience and not from books and formal schooling. He maintains that among the early troubadours, William of Aquitaine, Jaufre Rudel, and Raimbaut d'Aurenga distinguish themselves mainly in the originality of their personalities, their experiences and ideas, whereas the lower class singers look for individuality in their choice of form. He concedes, however, that Marcabru did combine a peculiarity of style and personality with elaborate form (pp. 12-13).

After studying Marcabru's use of imagery C. D. McIntyre agrees that the poet's learning was very sketchy. The direct literary influences which he has traced in his work are the Old and New Testaments and Ovid, from whom he borrows the image of the Chimera. He makes many biblical allusions, but there is nothing in his poetry to indicate a deeper
knowledge of the Bible than might be obtained from attendance at and misinterpretation of popular sermons of his day.\textsuperscript{12} The complicated detail and patterns in Marcabru's poetry reveal to Appel a trained mind indicating a scholastic background of some sort (p. 423). However, his failure to communicate clearly his message tends to rule out any formal training other than that in music as a troubadour.

From his poetry we can infer that Marcabru traveled from court to court. He does not refer to himself as a joglar or a trobador but as a soudadier, meaning "in the pay of another."\textsuperscript{13} Ugo Catola and Audric both call him joglar, but they may be just trying to annoy him. Diez, Appel, Franz, and Spanke interpret several epithets which occur in the songs as being references to the troubadours of courtly love and thus conclude that Marcabru could not possibly have been a troubadour himself since he criticizes this profession so severely (for example, guirbautz [cad] in XXIX, iv; garssos [scoundrels] in XXXVIII, ii; and acropitz lenguas planas [crouched ones with smooth tongues] in XXXVI, iii). In


\bibitem{13} "Soudadier means simply one who accepts the solidum from another in payment of his service (cf. soudadiera, a prostitute, Daude de Pradas, XIV, 14-18, ed. A. H. Schutz [Toulouse, 1933] p. 70 and 51-53, p. 72). As applied to the troubadours, the word indicates that they are in the pay of a patron or patrons from whom they may expect gifts and rewards as salary. For Marcabru, the word apparently meant those who, like himself, lived by their art. Thus, in addition to III, 20-24; XLIV, 1-4, the poet addresses his fellow troubadours in a third poem concerned with the two ways of thought—one of pure love and liberality, the other of false love and niggardliness (XIX, 19-27)." A. J. Denomy, "Jovens: the Notion of Youth among the Troubadours, Its Meaning and Source," Mediaeval Studies, XI (1949), 12 (footnote).
my opinion, however, the poet in these passages is speaking of the guardians hired by husbands to protect their wives and not the singers of courtly songs. On the whole, it seems most likely that Marcabru was a troubadour, though he was careful to distinguish himself as one who sang of true, not false, love.

Marcabru sought an audience for his poetry on all levels of society. From his grumblings about stinginess, he gives the impression that nowhere was he well-received. Appel feels that the elegant and refined poetry of his fellow artists was more to the taste of the courts of the day and that probably the popular audiences found his songs too baroque (pp. 428-429). If his work was not pleasing to his contemporaries, it was certainly remembered by those who came later. One of Marcabru's songs, possibly the Vers del Lavador (XXXV), was performed at Flamenca's wedding feast (v. 702). Also written about one hundred fifty years after Marcabru's death, Matfré Ermengau's Breviari d'amor declares that he was surely banished to hell for his insults against Love (v. 28375).

Scholars including Jeanroy, Boissonnade, and Vossler have generally accepted as true the theory that Cercamon was the teacher of Marcabru. This assumption is based upon the great similarity in the themes which both poets treat and upon the information given in the manuscript biography probably derived from the fact that, in a tension between Cercamon and Guilhelmi, the former is addressed as maistre. Franz (p. 7) and Appel (p. 438), however, do not agree and even suggest the contrary since they find Marcabru dominant and forceful in the expression of his
ideas while Cercamon is superficial, changing, and conforming. L. E. Kastner adds supporting chronological evidence in that the earliest of Cercamon's works which can be dated is a song mourning the death of William in 1137 and that Marcabru's first has been placed in the year 1130 by Boissonnade. Spanke proposes that Cercamon had worked as a musician in a church and had also composed Latin poetry. It would be from him that Marcabru would have learned about music and metrics. He argues that being Marcabru's teacher would not have prevented his imitating his own student especially with the lavador motif (p. 11).

Style

One generally recognized characteristic of Marcabru's poetry is its obscurity. Partially responsible is the confused manuscript situation which has mixed up the stanzaic order of some poems and presented irreconcilable word variants for others. However, although Suchier has blamed the poet's obscurity for the errors in transmission, the real source of the difficulty in Marcabru's work is his love of neologisms and rare words, his unusual imagery, and his extensive but not always clear use of allegory.

Critics have long debated whether Marcabru was purposely obscure. Diez states flatly that this was the case and blames the poet for his


15 Hermann Suchier, "Der Troubadour Marcabru," Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur, XIV (1874), 288.
inability to understand scarcely one-fourth of his work.\textsuperscript{16} Vossler holds that the difficulty of Marcabru's songs is not intentional, but results from his attempt to combine ideas which were important to him, with his own personality and emotions, and with musical elements. All the songs whose ideas seem broken up have unity through a rhyme scheme. For the troubadour, music, rhyme and strophe structure were of such great importance that sometimes the ideas were only a pretext. Thus, Vossler believes that Marcabru is essentially a poet of forme not fond. He sought ever more refined strophe forms and rhymes. Compared with his predecessors he is a master of form, though, of course, he does not reach the level of an Arnaut Daniel or Guiraut de Bornelh. Because his tone is so rough and uncouth, it is difficult to understand how the refined trobar clus could have originated in such poetry, but for Vossler the fact is undeniable (p. 17).

Vossler finds another reason for Marcabru's obscurity and artificiality in his lowly birth. The feeling of the courtly ideal of life is never complete in his poetry. He is not at home in the courtly attitude and must look at it from the outside since he was not born to it. If one considers the great skill of Bernard de Ventadour, one sees that sensitivity to the courtly manner was not given to Marcabru. Neither was he completely successful as a satirist. His lust for battle was perhaps more profound than his opposition to adultery. His stylistic expression was so varied, now uncouth, now proverbial, abstract,

\footnote{\textsuperscript{16} Friedrich Diez, \textit{Leben und Werke der Troubadours} (Leipzig, 1882), p. 42.}
allegorical and veiled, that his opinions are often obscured. His thoughts again become an artificial excuse for an elaborate form (pp. 39-40).

Kastner (p. 95) and Appel (p. 462) disagree with Vossler's designation of Marcabru as the first employer of the *trobar clus*. They find that the only thing his poetry has in common with that of Raimbaut d'Aurenga and Arnaut Daniel is that it is often difficult for the modern reader to understand. The reason, in their opinion, is the everyday vocabulary he uses which made his songs live for his contemporaries but which was not used in more elegant style.

Franz settles the polemic by stating that if one defines obscure poetry as a conscious effort on the part of the poet for aesthetic reasons to create poems which are difficult to understand, Marcabru is not a proponent of the *trobar clus*. The difficulty in understanding his poems results from his style and not from artistic motives (p. 9). It is interesting to note, however, that the later poets who were purposely obscure have many stylistic traits in common with Marcabru.

According to Vossler, Marcabru worked above all else for a musical quality which already existed in popular poetry (p. 17). Thus, he uses feminine rhyme much more than William IX and Cercamon. Six songs contain feminine rhymes and fourteen mix masculine and feminine rhymes. He also introduced a shorter line. Before him the masculine four-syllable line was the shortest known. He introduced the three, five, six and feminine four-syllable line. He actually avoids long lines and the one time, early in his career, when he used a ten-syllable line he
made it more sonorous with internal rhymes and assonance. He uses the refrain in six songs for musical effect. To avoid too much repetition of sounds, he often does not employ the same rhyme scheme in every strophe. The varieties of intermixing are almost endless. Since he is the first poet for whose work any melodies have been preserved, his contemporaries must have felt his efforts to be worthwhile.

Spanke proposes that the beginning of Poem XXXII *Lo vers comenssa a son veil, sen antic* probably does not refer to the usage of an old strope form but to the melody. The early troubadours paid much attention to the music they used. Spanke maintains that, if we could ever discover the melodies of their songs, we would find that they came from religious music, folk music, or were occasionally new creations. The scarcity of musical themes is parallel to the scarcity of motifs in the contents. Spanke claims that poets used church music to accompany their songs since many of them could not compose melodies but only poetry. By comparing the number of syllables and the rhyme schemes, he provides a chart of which poems by William, Marcabru, Cercamon, and Rudel could fit with extant church music (pp. 37-39).

As has been implied, Vossler does not find Marcabru usually so skillful with ideas as he is with form. In some of his songs the artistic unity lies almost solely in the music and metrics because of the chaotic intermixing of ideas (e.g. IX, VIII, XII, IV). The succession of ideas often does not seem logical. In these songs the poet seems to dump into one bag all the things which move him: joy from spring weather, his pessimistic outlook, religious sentiment, political satire, and
so forth (pp. 20-21). The poet often moves quickly from popular and lyrical elements to didactic and rhetorical ones. A prime example is the pastourelle (XXIX) in which the troubadour after describing a pastoral setting uses the shepherdess to mouth his laments on the decline of pretz, joven, and joi. The decadence of the nobles should be emphasized by the purity of the shepherdess, but her character is not established since she speaks like an educated troubadour. The first three strophes of Poem XXI Contra l'ivern que s'enansa contain graceful nature images complemented by the form with feminine seven- and five-syllable lines. But then the poet turns to unpleasant didacticism retaining this form and the combination is not pleasing.

Franz finds the same sort of aesthetic flaw in the more famous pastourelle (XXX) because the poet uses the old form to teach a lesson. To him the knight represents the false courtly love which was becoming fashionable while the maiden, with whom the poet really identifies, stands for simple, natural, unartistic love (p. 20). The custom of beginning a song of criticism with a nature description and then abruptly changing the mood is one of the enduring characteristics of Provençal poetry. Marcabru likes this pattern in part because he can use nature and lyrical imagery to attract listeners before plunging into the didactic (p. 28).

The technical introductions, including the traditional boasts of skill and the seasonal descriptions are thought by some to be one type of disjointedness in the poetry but were probably just tricks of the troubadour trade. Actually Marcabru often blends the introduction
successfully into the themes of his song and does not cause a break in subject matter. For example, twice (III and XXXIX) blooming gardens are transformed into allegorical images of the world of the troubadour.

McIntyre calls Marcabru the great nature poet and theorizes that weather plays an important role in his poetry because of his lowly station in life and his obviously extensive travels (p. 51). He mentions spring fifteen times, winter ten times, summer five times and autumn three times. With him the standardized nature paysages take on specific detail when he names particular birds and plants and when he includes other elements, such as meadows, orchards, frogs, flowers, and the wind.

Each one of Marcabru's nature introductions is different from the others. He is equally skillful at describing all the seasons and generally describes the state of his soul in relation to the natural environment. The nature introduction usually sets the tone and mood for what is to follow. Examples from Poems III and XI can illustrate his great talent for this traditional topos of Provençal poetry.

Al departir del brau tempier
Quan per la branca pueja-l sucs,
Don reviu la genest' e-l brucx
E floreyssson li presseguiier
E la rana chant' el vivier
E brota-l sauzes e-l saucx,
Contral termini qu'es yssucs
Suy d'un vers far en cossirier. (III)

(At the end of the disagreeable weather, when through the branches the sap rises which revives the broom and the heather, and the peach trees flower and the frog sings in the fish pond, and the willow and the elder grow in contrast with the dry season, I am preoccupied with making a verse.)
Bel m'es quan la rana chanta
E·1 sucs pueja per la rusca,
Per que·1 flors e·1 fueilhs e·1 busca
E·1 frugz reviu en la planta,
E·1 rossinhols crid'e brama
Sa par, qu'a per joi conquisa,
Ples d'orgueilh, car el no sen
Freg ni gel ni glaz ni bisa. (XI)

(It is beautiful to me when the frog sings and the sap rises through the reed which causes the flowers, the leaves, the branches and the fruit to live again in the plant. The nightingale cries out and calls his mate whom he has conquered by joy. He is full of pride because he no longer feels cold nor frost nor ice nor wind.)

Appel points out that in spite of his obvious awareness of nature, no poem was inspired solely by a desire to describe its beauties. The fact that he crossed the Pyrenees two times seems not to have made an impression on the poetry even though he does mention mountains in a general way in Poem III (p. 459).

Marcabru uses animals to a great extent in his imagery. In all, twenty-seven of the forty-two poems mention animals. Seventy-two separate references are made to forty-one different animals and birds. Animals are especially favored as objects of comparison. The woman who sleeps with the guardian of the household is like a greyhound in heat who runs after a common cur (XXXI, 48). The courtisane of the Estornel songs is more cunning than an old female fox (XXV, 35). He compares Love to a mare who leads ever upward (XVIII, 49). He who, because of greed, loses shame and mezura is like a hedgehog and a cur (IX, 20). A
husband who tries to be a lover is comparable to an ass who attempts to frolic with his master as do the dogs (XXXIX, 54-56).

Marcabru uses many other homely images in addressing aristocratic audiences. In Poem VII Love is a cabbage and excessive desire is devouring even the core of this vegetable. False Love is seen twice separating the honey from the honey-comb presumably leaving the loved one an emptied shell (XVIII, 31-33; XLIV, 49-52). Cuckolded husbands are seen as dogs fighting over a plate of scraps (XXIV, 22-24). The wolf is noted not for savagery but for mongrelizing the blood of mastiffs (XVII, 55-60). Lechers of both sexes lose the ability to distinguish between houseflies and the noble sparrow hawk (XIX, 64-66).

The poet's popular origins are also revealed in his awareness of what is going on in the mind of the peasant. He refers to what the miller in his mill and the farmer behind the plow are saying (XVII). The vilana in the pastourelle (XXX) speaks in popular proverbs or in sentences which sound like proverbs if they are not. Appel has made a formidable list of all the expressions in Marcabru's poetry which are or which sound like proverbs. He concludes that Marcabru consciously uses proverbs to contrast his work to that of the courtly poets (pp. 461-462). It seems, however, more logical that they are a spontaneous reflection of his background along with the animal imagery and his appreciation of nature.

Marcabru also makes extensive use of allegory, a fact which leads Dimitri Scheludko to make the following statement: "Nothing in his work is without a hidden inner meaning." ("Kein Ding ist bei ihm
For Marcabru, Scheludko continues, the world is a battlefield of good and evil principles: the longings of the flesh struggle with the efforts of the spirit, good love comes forth against the urgings of lust.\footnote{"Marcabrun (Klagen über den Verfall der Welt Allegorische Darstellungen des Kämpfers der Tugenden und Loster)," \textit{Neuphilologische Mitteilungen}, XXXVIII (1937), 31.}

Vossler maintains that Marcabru thinks allegorically and does not just compose allegorically. The tree in Poem XXXIX is to the poet an image and a concept at the same time. This tree, whose root is Evil, has spread so much that it can be seen everywhere in the world. It has stretched from Spain over the mountains into France and Poitou. It has stifled all virtue. Kings and counts, princes and emirs have all been hanged by the neck from its limbs. Vossler believes this image to be of Dantian greatness, but the poet is so preoccupied with the fantasy of his image and the form that he does not take time or space to interpret the concept fully. It is already unusual for him to maintain the same image through four strophes. But at the point he is pushed on by the exuberance of his ideas to other concepts and images within the rigidity of the form. He is caught between two kinds of art: the music of the folksongs and the allegories of didactic poems. He wavers back and forth between the two using elements of each without staying with either (p. 29).

The same situation occurs in Poem III with even greater imbalance. The allegorical is so entangled with the musical element that the
clarity of the imagery and the concept are damaged in the most severe way. The refrain word saucx (elder trees) is used as part of the scenery in the first strophe. In the next it serves as an image of the world in the garden and stands for a fault--inner hollowness. Suddenly one sees in place of the trees individuals who play in tournaments and brag, and a gardner who is leaving with a ring of keys to the great sorrow of the poet. Tied to allegory on one side and refrain on the other, the troubadour has not been able to embrace the reality he has taken as a target. Even if we could guess at a meaning, the impression of tortuous artificiality remains.18

In Pax in nomine Domini (XXXV) Marcabru uses the same trick with much more success. Here also the musical element is tied to the allegorical--the concept of the crusades as a cleansing device. Throughout the whole song the masculine rhymes sound like a solemn slowly changing echo as the thought of the listener wraps itself around the refrain lavador without destroying it and constantly illuminating a new side of its meaning. First, it is a healing washing place, then a bath of spiritual beauty, a sacramental union with God, a test of courage and finally salvation in death. Here the poet overcomes his obscurity and refines his artificiality into mastery.19

Marcabru uses allegory much more than do the other early poets (William IX, Cercamon and Jaufre Rudel), but his message is often

18 Vossler, pp. 29-30.
19 Vossler, pp. 30-31.
unclear. More often than not I find no refrain word to add a sense of music or unity to the allegory, and the poet seems to throw out ideas almost at random. Unfortunately, it is his method merely to personify ideas by giving them names without bestowing on them any life of their own. *Bel m'es quan la rana chanta* (XI) is a good example of his stilted usage of allegory. After the nature introduction, the poet relates that Prowess is being sieged in a castle. Only the tower in which Joy and Youth and Prowess are enclosed has not been taken. Everyone is shouting, "Fire and Flame! Let us torture Joy and Youth!" Prowess has no choice but to become a recluse in a convent. The reader or listener is left to draw his own conclusions as to meaning.

**Conclusion**

Attempts to trace the development of Marcabru's poetic skill have proved fruitless. Datable poems whose meaning is clouded by obscurity of expression are found throughout his career, while those in which he displays great talent range from the middle and end. Beginning to write about 1130, he composed *Pax in nomine Domini* (XXXV) in 1137 and *A la fontana del vergier* (I) and *Cortesamen vuoll comenssar* (XV) in 1147 and 1148. These three along with *L'autrier jost'una sebissa* (XXX), whose date is unknown, are the ones which appear in most anthologies, and the poet's talent is generally evaluated on the basis of their merit. In fact, they do represent a refinement and perfection of stylistic traits which are contained in the other thirty-eight: complicated form, concern for musical effect, homely images, use of proverbs and allegory. However,
the didactic elements, which are so evident in the majority, pass almost unnoticed here.

Vossler has said that Marcabru does not stand above human foolishness and viciousness to illuminate these vices in a clear way, but functions right in the midst of them and participates. However, he can preach water and drink wine without being a hypocrite because while preaching he forgets his own actions. But for Vossler his words smell of wine (pp. 28-29).

Marcabru's preaching is so overt and his passion so strong that his poetry has confused many scholars through the centuries, and I wonder if his contemporaries really understood what he was trying to say. His ideas, however, were, in my opinion, more than an excuse to compose complicated poetical and musical creations. Through a study of the whole corpus I have established a continuity of content which enriches the understanding of each individual poem. The knowledge of the lesson he was trying to convey in those obscure and didactic allegorical passages illustrates his individuality and originality of approach among his contemporary poets. It is my contention that love plays a major role in Marcabru's songs. So before proceeding to a discussion of his message, it is necessary to determine just what his conception of love was.
CHAPTER II

FIN'AMORS VS. AMARS

Critical work on subject of love in Marcabru's poetry. p. 38. 

Critical opinion of Marcabru's stand on the question of love has evolved through the years and has moved from one pole to the other. The earliest critics, Diez, Suchier and Franz, interpreted Marcabru as an opponent of women and of the adulterous love which was corrupting his society and as the particular enemy of the troubadours who sang praise of this false love. Appel, while agreeing, proposed that for Marcabru fin'amors was not only chaste love between man and woman, but was extended to mean the love of God.\footnote{Carl Appel, "Zu Marcabru," \textit{Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie}, XLIII (1923), 454.} Jeanroy carries this idea even further stating that Marcabru exalts divine love as opposed to profane love.\footnote{Alfred Jeanroy, \textit{La Poésie lyrique des troubadours} (Paris, 1934), II, 17.}

Dimitri Scheludko carried on the development of the theory and plunges Marcabru into the role of a Christian-moralizer, tracing the history of his theological ideas back into the writings of the Church fathers.\footnote{"Uber die Theorien der Liebe bei den Trobadors," \textit{Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie}, LX (1940), 204-205.} Continuing this approach, Guido Errante examines closely...
Marcabru's work and interprets passage after passage in light of a definition of fin'amors as caritas, pointing out many verses in the poetry which he believes to have been taken directly from the Bible.  

Shifting emphasis, Hans Spanke traces in detail the influence of the form of Latin poetry on that of Marcabru. As an extension of his economic theory that the troubadours were at the mercy of their audiences and had to please them in order to survive, Spanke believes that Marcabru indeed opposed courtly love and poetry on moral ground, but that he was forced to change his theme in order to keep an audience and, for that reason, became its advocate. In that way he accounts for apparent contradictions in content.

Then Hatzfeld completes the cycle by stating that Marcabru does use the language of the church when speaking of courtly love, but that he is parodying religion and not courtly love. Alexander Denomy carries this theory further by placing Marcabru's poetry in context with that of the other early troubadours. He examines the kind of love expressed in the songs of the early poets and finds that Marcabru, Guillaume, Cercamon, and Bernart Marti are proponents of courtly love just as much as Jaufre Rudel and Bernard de Ventadour. For all of them

4 "Old Provençal Lyric Poetry, Latin and Arabic Influences," Thought, XX (1945), 326.


this love is human and not divine. They differ in choice of language
and style, but not in their conception of love.7

My position is basically that of Hatzfeld and Denomy, but while
these scholars base their theory on the content of only a few poems, my
study is much more comprehensive. Through a close analysis of the total
corpus of Marcabru's poetry I will define his conception of love showing
that he is a consistent defender of courtly love and that, while he of-
ten uses language which echoes that of the Bible, he remains simply a
sincere religious man without intent to moralize.

In his songs Marcabru distinguishes between two kinds of love,
which he names fin'amors and amars. Let us first determine his under-
standing of fin'amors.

Fin'amors

In strophe ix of Al son desviat, chantaire (Poem V), Marcabru
describes the environment in which thrives the kind of love he is advo-
cating. It is born in a noble atmosphere, and flourishes in a place
surrounded by leafy boughs and heat and cold, so that a stranger cannot
remove it from there.8 Cortezia and mezura must be present. In an at-
tempt to define these vague but ever-recurring terms, Marcabru states in
Poem XV, Cortesamen vouill comenssar, that a courteous person is not one

7 "Fin'amors, The Pure Love of the Troubadours, Its Amorality
and Possible Source," Mediaeval Studies, VII (1945), 142-143.

8 L'amors don ieu sui mostraire / Nasquet en un gentil aire, / E·l luoe [s] on ill es creguda / Es claus de rama branchuda / E de chaut
e de gelada, / Qu'estrains no l'en puosca traire.
who believes he has already learned everything there is to know. He
knows how to keep mezura—moderation in all things. He cannot wish to
hear all things or to collect everything he sees. Mezura is talking in
a noble fashion and cortezia consists of loving. To be courteous one
must avoid all vulgarity, refrain from ridiculing others and doing fool-
ish things. The courteous man must reflect before he acts. A lady who
has more than one lover at a time is not courteous.9

In lo vers comenssa (Poem XXXII) Marcabru again points out the
close relationship between cortezia and fin'amors. Whoever wishes to
shelter Love in his house must also have Cortezia there. Love is the
mate of Cortezia and hastens to join it. To entertain Cortezia anger
and idle words must be thrown out and worth and generosity without
pretext must be welcomed.10 In his complaints about the absence of

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9 ii. Assatz pot hom villanejar / Que Cortezia vol blasmar, / Que-l plus savis e-l mieills apres / Non sap tantas dire ni far, / C'om no li posca enseignar / Petit o pro, tals hora es. iii. De Cortesia is pot vanar / Qui ben sap Mesur' esgardar; / E qui tot vol auzir quant es, / Ni tot cant ve cuid'amassar, / Del tot l'es ops a mesurar, / O ja non sera trop cortes. iv. Mesura es de gen parlar, / E cortesia es d'amar; / E qui non vol esser mespres / De tota vilania'is gar, / D'es-carnir e de folleiar, / Puois sera savis ab qu'el pes. v. C'assisi pot savis hom reignar, / E bona dompna meillurar; / Mas cella qu'en pren dos ni tres / E per un non si vol fiar, / Ben deu sos pretz asordeiar, / E sa valors a chascun mes.

10 vii. Qui ses bauzia / Vol Amor albergar, / De cortesia / Deu sa maion jonchar; / Get fors feunia / E fol sobreparlar; / Pretz e donar / Deu aver en baillia, / Ses ochaio. viii. C'Amors s'embria / Lai on conois son par. / Blanch' e flora / E presta de granar, / Ses feli-lonia / Fai contr'amic ausar; / Ops l'es que Is gar / Cel cui bon'Amors guia, / De mespreiso.
Cortezia in his world\textsuperscript{11} Marcabru is at the same time mourning the absence of \textit{fin'amors} since the latter cannot exist without the former.

A traditional attribute of \textit{fin'amors} is that he who experiences it is better because of it. Marcabru states his complete support of this idea, "Never will I believe, whoever swears it to me, that wine does not come from raisins and that man because of love does not become better, for we have never heard about one getting worse."

\textit{Jo non creirai, qui que m'o jur,}
\textit{Que vins non iesca de razim,}
\textit{Et hom per Amor no meillur;}
\textit{C'anc un pejurar non auzim. (XIII, iv, 25-28)}

Because of the close ties between \textit{fin'amors} and cortezia, \textit{fin'amors} causes the lover to improve and steer away from sinful acts.\textsuperscript{12} He who participates in \textit{bon'amors} (a synonym for \textit{fin'amors}) is true and gay.\textsuperscript{13} Good love is comforting and has a cure for its companion. He who does not stray from the principles of \textit{bon'amors} enjoys honor, valor and prowess.\textsuperscript{14}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[11] Poem XXXIII, v, 27-30. \textit{Qu'ieu non trob, de que molt m'es mau, / Qui maestrill / Cortesia ab cor leiau, / Que noi's ranquill.}
Poem XXXIV, ii, 11-14. \textit{Vas qualque part me torn ni-m vir / Cortezia ni Bel Estar / Ni Pretz ni Valor ni Deport / Vas nulha part no vey renhar.}
\item[12] See note 10: \textit{Lo vers comenssa (XXXII, viii).}
\item[13] Poem XXXII, vi, 46-49. \textit{Mout pretz m'en aia / D'amor que no mesfai, / Qu'es ver' e gaia / Contra-l ver amic gai,}
Poem XXXVII, vi, 31-34. \textit{C'Amors a signifianssa / De maracd'o de sardina, / E [s] de Joi cim'e racina, / C'ab veritat seignoreia,}
\item[14] Poem XXXI, viii, 64-67. \textit{Qui bon'Amor a vezina / E viu de sa liurazo, / Honors e Valors l'acrina / E Pretz sens nuill'achaio.}
\end{footnotes}
Fin'amors is represented by the color white signifying its purity in the sense of lack of falseness and deceit between the lover and beloved. Faithfulness is a basic element of fin'amors. The white color of pure friendship, however, can easily become tarnished as has been Marcabru's sad experience. He has scarcely found a lady who had not openly deceived him.

The lying words and deceitful acts of false lovers do not lower the value of fin'amors. It always remains of a pure color and one appearance. No man knows the end or beginning of its value. Marcabru's world is full of lovers claiming that their relationship is one of pure love, but who consistently deceive one another. The poet feels the necessity of pointing out that the intrinsic value of fin'amors is not harmed by such people and that what they are experiencing is in reality amars, or merely physical desire, with none of the other attributes of fin'amors. In spite of widespread usage of the term, Marcabru insists that fin'amors is hard to find in his society.

Le cors m'esglaia,
Ja non o celarai,
Amors veraia
Trob'ar greu fina sai. (XXXII, 37-40)

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15 Poem XXIV, ii. Qui a drut reconogut d'una color/ Blanc lo teigna, puois lo deigna ses brunor; / C'amors vair'al mieu veial'ar a l'usatge trahidor.
Poem XXXVII, v. Aitals pareills fai mostranssa, / S'en doas partz non camina, / Pois bon'Amors n'es vezina / Ab dos desirs d'un'en-veia / Ab segurana fianssa / Blanca cara ver'e pura.


17 Poem XIII, ii. Fals amic, amador tafur, / Baisson Amor e levo'1 crim, / E no'us cuidetz c'Amors pejur, / C'atrestant val cum fetz al prim; / Totz temps fon de fina color, / Et ances d'una semblansa, / Nuills hom non sap de sa valor / La fin ni la comensansa.
Its decline is closely associated with that of mezura and cortezia. Marcabru cannot find sure love without flaw because of all the lying cowards.\(^ {18} \)

In strophe vi, verses 50-54 of Lo vers comenssa (Poem XXXII) Marcabru again points out that fin'amors is not harmed by gossips and slanderers.

\textit{Tant cant vol braia}  
Lausengiers et abai,  
Qu'ieu sai on jai  
L'amors que no s'esmaia  
De lor sermo.  

The meaning of these verses can be developed on two levels. He is saying that the inherent value of fin'amors as a concept is not affected by those who wish to confuse it with other kinds of love. At the same time he may be speaking of the relationship between two individuals which cannot be damaged by idle words spoken about the lover or beloved.

In a comparison between fin'amors and amars in Per savi·l tenc ses doptansa, Marcabru makes very plain that physical desire is not absent in the former. Bon'amors travels in two parts; that is, it is a combination of spiritual and physical love.

\textit{Aitais pareills fai monstransa,}  
S'en doas partz non camina,  
Pois bon'Amors n'es vezina,  
Ab does desirs d'un enveia  
Ab segurana fianssa  
Blanca cara ver'e pura. (XXXVII, 25-30)  

Marcabru makes no apology for the presence of physical desire in fin'

\(^ {18} \) Poem XXI, iv. Volpils lengua traversana / Qu'a lairo cos-silha, / Ab sa messorgua baussana / Desert'ez essilha, / So per qu'amor segurana / No truep ses ruyilha.
amors nor does he anywhere speak of wanting to overpower it. Its presence is expected and accepted. There is nothing to be criticized in physical desire, so long as a spiritual love accompanies it.

Marcabru obviously assumes that his audience knows what kind of love he means when he uses the term fin'amors and does not bother to explain it. From the poetry, however, we can infer that fin'amors is associated with spring and that other elements are necessary for its presence, especially cortezia and mezura. Physical desire is also a part of this love, but does not dominate the relationship. Fin'amors requires a nobility of attitude as well as of behavior. With the many criticisms he makes of the behavior of the nobles, Marcabru infers that he does not believe that cortezia is an inborn trait of this class. He points out that those who wish to participate in fin'amors must strive for intellectual humility and refinement in manner and speech. Thus, these qualities are not innate.

Amars

The word amars, a pun on amar meaning bitter, with reference to love seems to have originated with Marcabru. Perhaps feeling the necessity of explaining the term to his audiences, he treats it at greater length than he does fin'amors. An examination of these passages will clarify what he means when he uses the term amars as well as aid further understanding of his usage of fin'amors.

Amars or False Love is based solely on physical desire and is completely self-seeking. It comes from the line of Cain traditionally
associated with sin and sorrow, always makes its followers unhappy and pulls them away from the sweetness of loving. It does not fear shame or blame and can confuse a fool to the point that he would not remain faithful to the person who gave him all of France.\textsuperscript{19} It can lead to nothing but misery. Instead of improving its follower, Amars is a weakening agent preventing its victim from knowing his own mind. It ambushes a man and makes his spine weak.\textsuperscript{20} While Good Love is soothing and leads to happiness, False Love puts its follower in perdition.\textsuperscript{21} Its effects can be compared to those of wine: a small amount invigorates while too much results in a loss of vigor.\textsuperscript{22} If sensual love had a sincere friend, he would have to be bestial in appearance after an association of any length of time at all. Sincerity and lust just cannot exist together. The sincere friend would appear bestial because of his loss of sincerity and trust.\textsuperscript{23} Because of the great pain caused to its victim

\textsuperscript{19} Poem XIII, vi. Que l'Amistat [s] d'extraing atur / Falsa del lignatge Caïm / Que met los sieus a mal ahur, / Car non tem anta ni blastim, / Los trai d'amar ab sa doussor, / Met lo fol en tal erransa / Qu'el non remanria ab lor / Qui·l donava [n] tota Fransa.

\textsuperscript{20} Poem XXXI, v. Gent cembel fai que trahina / Ves son agach lo brico, / Del cim tro qu'en la racina, / Entrebescat hoc e no; / Ai! / Tal amei blanc brun e bai / Ab si farai no farai? / Hoc, / Fai al fol magra l'esquina.

\textsuperscript{21} Poem XXXI, iv, 28-31. Bon'Amors porta meizina / Per garir son compaigno, / Amars lo sieu disciplina / E·l met en perdicio.

\textsuperscript{22} Poem XXIV, iv. Dieus maldiga amor piga e sa valor/ / Per sa lecha pren delech'al bevedor, / Qui trop beau plus que non deu lo vins li tol la vigor.

\textsuperscript{23} Poem XXXIII, viii. Si amars a amic corau, / Miga nonca m'en meravill / S'il se fai semblar bestiau / Al departill, / Greu veiretz ja joc comunau / Al pelacill.
deceiving love, Marcabru says that Amars curries with lust the one whom it causes to burn. A vivid image is communicated when one thinks of the metal bristles used to curry horses being drawn with force over the skin of a man. Lust or false love leads to more than just the immediate dangers of inflicting pain. It is literally destroying the noble families because husbands and other men's wives are crossbreeding to the point that no man knows for sure which of the children he is supporting were truly sired by him.

Amars attracts only through the senses. It has the ability to hide its real self and appear to be good before its prospective victim, disguising its inclination for evil. But no one who has been involved with it has ever escaped being burned (XXXI, 19-27). Marcabru uses a fire image extensively in connection with false love; since he equates Amars and lust, the image of the fire of lust is most appropriate. Marcabru compared Amars to a spark which smolders in the ashes...

24 Poem XXI, vi. Pieger es que gualiana / Amors que guespilha, / Cruzels cozens e baiana / Calens e frezilha / Quar molt tratz mal e safrana / Selhuy cui estrilha.

25 Poem VIII, ii. Ben son l'enganador destruig, / Can l'uns pechat a l'autr'aduig, / El fuoc del malign esperit, / Que fai dir de l'enfan: "so-m cuig, / Mieus es," ditz cel que l'a noirit.

26 Poem XXXI, iii. Amars creis et atahina / Tric'ab coratje gloto / Per una dolssor conina / Que^is compren d'un fuoc fello. / Ai! / Ja non er nuills s'i dechai / D'averas o per assai; / Hoc, / No^i lais del pel en l'arsina.

27 Poem XXIV, iii, 7-8. Denan vos fara semblan bon per meillor, / Per servir gen, a talen mal per pejor;

and burns the wood and the straw. A person consumed by this fire does not know in which direction to flee. There can be no cure.29

Deception is an integral quality of False Love. Its words are soothing and its prick more gentle than that of a fly, but much more difficult to cure.30 Amars is two-faced and tricky. On one side it looks; on the other it gestures. On one side it kisses; on the other, it grimaces.31 False Love is fickle. Since he is not bound by any spiritual ties, a person who loves with false love can change lovers with no emotional qualms. For this reason, the pain caused by Amars can be compared to shaving without water.32 Marcabru dwells extensively on the suffering brought about by an involvement with false love. He does not make explicit a necessary factor: if the love of both the man and the woman is based solely on physical desire, neither one is likely to be grieved deeply when his partner decides to take another lover or change lovers. The situation with which Marcabru is concerned is one in which one person loves falsely and the other loves truly. It is, of course, almost impossible to determine what kind of love another feels

29 Poem XVIII, iii. Amors vai com la belluja / Que coa-l fuec en la suja / Art lo fust e las festuja, / --Escoutatz!-- / E non sap vas qual part fuja / Cel qui del fuec es gastatz.

30 Poem XVIII, x, 57-60. Ses digz aplan'et entosca, / --Excou-tatz!-- / Plus suau poing qu'une mosca / Mas plus greu n'es hom sanatz.

31 Poem XVIII, iv, 19-21. Dirai vos d'Amor com signa; / De sai guarda, de lai guigna, / Sai baiza, de lai rechigna.

32 Poem V. i. Al son desviat, chantaire, / Veirai si puos un vers faire / De fals'Amistat menuda, / C'aisss leu pren e refuda, / Puois sai ven e lai mercada, / E morrai si no-m n'esclaire. ii. Cest' amors sap engan faire, / Ab engan ses aigua raire, / Puois, quand l'a ras, se remuda / E quier autrui cui saluda, / A cui es douss'e pri-vada, / Tant que-l fols deven musair.
when, as Marcabru often says, it is so extremely difficult to diagnose what kind of love oneself feels.

A person can think that he is loving nobly and discover that he has been sadly deceived by his own emotion. In Doas cuidas ai compaignier (XIX) Marcabru is concerned with two thoughts— one bringing joy and the other trouble. These thoughts are best interpreted as the spiritual and physical aspects of love. The effect on the poet of the bad thought— lust— which is both sweet and bitter, is to make him brutish. Only a sorcerer can at all times distinguish between the two parts of love and know if he is experiencing only lust without spiritual love. For Amars is so deceitful that it can convince a lover he is feeling an emotion beyond mere physical desire when in reality all he feels is lust.

After wine and a good dinner husbands are especially susceptible to foolish thoughts about love, and they play an important role in the decadence of the world. Ladies also fall victim to thinking about only the sensual aspect of love. Ultimately, however, actions are more important than thoughts. So, a person must continue to examine his

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33 Poem XIX, i. Doas cuidas ai compaignier / Que·m donon joi e destorbier, / Per la bona cuida m'esjau / E per l'avol sui aburzitz; / D'aital cuidar / Doutz et amar / Es totz lo segles repenitz, / Si qu'ieu for'ab los esmaiit / Si tant no saubes ben a mau. ii. En dos cuidars si conssirier / A triar lo frait de l'entier, / Be·l teing per devin naturau / Qui de cuit connoiser es guitz; / De fol cuidar / No·m sai gardar, / Que s'ieu cuich esser de bon fiz / E·l fols m'en bruig long los auzitz, / E·m tornara(n) d'amon d'avau.

34 Poem XIX, vi, 46-49. Moillerat cuidan voluntier / E seguentre·l vin e·l sabrier / Mouta folia cuida esgau, / Per que·l segles deven mestitz;

35 Poem XIX, vii. Dompnas follas de fol mestier / Son per cuit e fol cavallier, / Paub'orgoillos de cuida brau / Acolza Dieus acattietz! / C'anc per cuidar / Non vim granar / La cima plus que la razitz; / Qu'en bona cuid'es hom peritz / Si mieiller obra no·i abau.
emotions in order to determine whether Fin'amors is really present or whether in this relationship he is subject only to lust. One way of being sure is by observing his own actions. If he tries to deceive his lady or if he is overly concerned with material benefits, only Amars is present.36

The theme of _Per savi·1 tenc ses doptanssa_ (XXXVII) is the differentiation between Noble Love and Sensual Love. After having said many times that they are difficult to distinguish, Marcabru here states that those who say the two types of love cannot be separated are wrong. In strophe v he makes as clear a distinction as can be found in his poetry by saying that Fin'amors has two parts: two desires in one desire. Sensual Love has only one, which is physical. The presence of physical desire in Fin'amors is assumed. If the lovers remain faithful to each other, Joy and Truth will result from their relationship

\begin{verbatim}
Aitais pareills fai mostranssa,  
S'en doas partz non camina,  
Pois bon'Amors n'es vezina,  
Ab dos desirs d'un'enveia  
Ab segurana fianssa  
Blanca cara ver'e pura.
\end{verbatim}

If one loves with his soul as well as with his body, he cannot so easily be unfaithful. Fin'amors is concerned with improvement of lover and beloved in _Cortezia_ and with physical expression of their emotion. Some troubadours attempt to ingratiate themselves with wealthy patrons by singing what they want to hear: that Fin'amors and Amars cannot be

\begin{verbatim}
36 Poem XXXVII, vii, 37-40. Segon dich, faich e semblanssa, /  
Es de veraia corina / Car se promet e·s plevina, / Ab sol que·l dos no  
sordeia.
\end{verbatim}
separated. But Marcabru can sing only what he knows to be true. Fin'amors and Amars can never go together. That is, a relationship based only on lust cannot be said to be Fin'amors. Such a distinction needed to be made because of all those who were claiming Fin'amors to be the basis of their relationship when actually only Sensual Love was involved.

Marcabru emphasizes the connection between wealth and false love. A lady will bestow her affections generously, so long as the lover is willing to spend his fortune on her. But once his money is gone, she turns her attention elsewhere. Ladies even bargain for the lover who will spend the most money. As long as money lasts, a fool cannot distinguish false love from true, but when the funds are used up, Amars loses interest. Fin'amors, of course, would not be affected by acquisition or loss of wealth.

37 Poem XXXVII. ii. Trobador, ab sen d'enfansa, / Movon als pros atahina, / E tornon en disciplina / So que veritatz autreta, / E fant los motz, per esmanssa, / Entrebeschatz de fraichursa. iii, 13-14. E meton en un'egansa / Fals'Amor encontra fina.

38 Poem XXXI, ix, 78-79. Qu'ieu dis e dic e dirai / Quez amors et amars brai.

39 Poem VII, v. D'Amor(s) vos dirai com es: / Si valiatz un marques / Ja no-us en fasatz cortes, / Pos d'aver non aretz ges. / Si n'avetz donat e mes / No-us er prezat un puges; / Ja no-us hi valra merces / Pos vos er faillitz l'avers. Poem XXXVII, iii, 15-18. Qu'ieu dic que d'Amar s'aizina / Ab si mezesme guerreia. / C'apres la borsa voianssa / Fai fols captenenssa dura.

40 Poem VII, iv, 29-31. Ja non anetz domnejan / Ses deners et ab afan. / Amors que vai mercadan / A diabès la coman.

41 Poem XXXI, iv, 33-36. Tant cant l'avers dura, sai, / Al fol, semblan d'amor fai, / Hoc, / E quan l'avers faill buzina.
While the color of Fin'amors is white, the color of Amars is vair, or vari-colored, representing its changeability. An animal or bird whose coat of feathers is vair changes colors according to the way in which the sun shines on it. False Love is just that fickle and un­dependable. Marcabru most often accuses the lady of changing the color of a pure white friendship to vair and calls on God to curse vari-colored Love which causes so much difficulty in the world: "Dieus maldiga amor piga e sa valor." (XXIV, iv, 10).

An unspecified previous epoch was to Marcabru a much more noble time when fin'amors was practiced openly and in secret both. But now Lust is the ruler of the day and the world is much worse because of it. Cortezia and Fin'amors have declined hand in hand just as they once reigned together. Since for one of them to survive, they must both survive, the world is now lacking both. Love used to be true, but now is twisted and chipped. Where it cannot bite, it licks more roughly than a cat. It does all the damage it possibly can. In the old days when Fin'amors was practiced by almost everyone, adultery was considered

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42 Poem XXIV, ii, 6. C'amors vair'al mieu vieair'a l'usatge trahidor.


44 Poem V, vii. Tant cant bos Jovens fon paire / Del segle e fin'Amors maire, / Fon Proeza mantenguda / A celat et a saubuda, / Mas er l'ant avilanada / Duc e rei et emperaire.

45 Poem XVIII, v. Amors soli'esser drecha, / Mas er'ës torta e brecha / Et a coillida tal decha / --Escoutatz!-- / Lai our non pot morder, lecha / Plus aspramens no fai chatz.
evil, but now it is so widely and openly committed that it is accepted. Once a forbidden act is committed, it becomes easier and easier to do because the path has been discovered.

\[
\begin{align*}
A! \text{ cum fo tan fer ni esquiu} \\
Q\text{'estrains quezes en autrui niu!} \\
Mas aras s'en son esbaudit \\
Si qu\text{'el camin descobertiui} \\
Van assegurat e plevit. (VIII, v)
\end{align*}
\]

Dirai vos senes duplansa (XVIII) is concerned entirely with a description of False Love. Whoever gets involved with Amars is trafficking with the devil.\(^4^6\) It is too strong an enchanter to have been made by God and has killed thousands of men without a sword.\(^4^7\) Amars is compared to a mare which wants to be followed and climbs league after league without rest. Like this mare, Amars demands more and more service from its follower without giving lasting satisfaction, but leading ever onward.\(^4^8\)

Bel m'es quan la fuelh'ufana (XXI) further illuminates our discussion of Marcabru's concept of love—true and false. In this spring song Marcabru contrasts the type of love felt by the bird, the frog, and the owl for their mates with human love. In the springtime these simple creatures prepare for love as do the human beings, but they seek their joy in an honest way while people, because of lust, mislead one another.

\(^{4^6}\) vii, 37-38. Ab diables pren barata / Qui fals'Amor acoata.

\(^{4^7}\) viii, 43-45. Amors es mout de mal avi; / Mil homes a mortz ses glavi, / Dieus non fetz tant fort gramavi;.

\(^{4^8}\) ix. Amors a uzatge d'ega / Que tot jorn vol c'om la sega / E ditz que no-1 dara trega / --Escoutatz!-- / Mas que puej de leg'en lega, / Sia dejus o disnatz.
Sesta creatura vana
D'amor s'aparilha,
Lur joys sec la via plana
E'l nostre bruzilha;
Quar nos, qui plus pot enguana,
Per qu'usquecx buzilha. (vv. 13-18)

The quality which is to be emulated in the animals' springtime love is that they remain faithful to one mate while men burn with lust for many women and try to seduce them under false pretenses. In making this comparison Marcabru is not condemning the sexual aspect of human love. For him love--be it true or false--and sexual desire go hand in hand. It is promiscuity and making a game of cortezia for selfish ends to which he objects. (Cf. also En abriu, s'esclairo il riu contral Pascor [XXIV]). In this poem he approves the infidelity of a spouse, but only with one lover at a time.

Amics Marchabrun, car digam (VI), the amusing tension between Marcabru and Ugo Catola, never really gets started, at least not according to Ugo's plan, because the two men cannot agree on the subject. Ugo wishes to sing praise of Love while Marcabru refuses to do so without including a complaint against false friendship. Ugo, not wanting to get involved with such technicalities as distinguishing between types of love, sees no need to bother with qualifications and tells Marcabru that his problem is that he has never had the opportunity to enjoy a woman. If so, he would not have an argument. Poor old Marcabru admits freely here, as elsewhere, that Love has never taken a step toward him without
departing immediately. Strophes iv, v, and vi\(^9\) illustrate the analytic quality of Marcabru's mind in comparison with Ugo's and probably that of most of his fellow troubadours. Marcabru uses Samson as a prime example of a man who was deceived by Love. Ugo, however, points out that no one has ever said that Delilah had stopped loving Samson when she betrayed him. For Marcabru the quality of fidelity to the beloved above all else is inherent in the term as he tells Ugo that Delilah's love for Samson lost its value the moment she betrayed him for a stranger.

Thus, in summary, in his distinction between the two types of love Marcabru emphasizes the selfishness of amars and the selflessness of fin'amors. The former is concerned with material gain and sexual satisfaction, neither of which can ever be satiated, and is notorious for its willingness to deceive. While one who loves with fin'amors experiences serenity and joy, the follower of amars causes and wins only suffering. Amars often disguises itself as Fin'amors in order to be more readily accepted, but its true identity can be discovered by those who try.

Marcabru, Prophet of Fin'amors

Those who wish to exclude Marcabru from the courtly love tradition base their interpretation of his whole corpus on a religious explication of Pus mos coratges s'es claritz (XL). It is more realistic,
however, to interpret this one song in light of the forty-one others.
The poet begins, traditionally enough, by describing the Joy which il-
lumines his heart and by stating that he who chooses Fin'amors lives
gaily, courteously, and wisely and that whoever refuses it and blas-
phemes it is destroyed. All this he has said elsewhere. But then in
strophes iii, iv, and v he lists all those who, in his opinion, have re-
fused or blasphemed Fin'amors, ending each strophe with words to the ef-
fect that these sinners will burn in the fire of hell.50 The term fuec
is not here equated with the fire of lust alone as it is virtually every-
where else in Marcabru's poetry, but also represents the fire of hell.
Those he names as condemned sound like Paul's list of those who are
damned for refusing the love of God in First Corinthians 6:9-10: "Do
you not know that the unrighteous will not inherit the kingdom of God?
Do not be deceived; neither the immoral, nor idolaters, nor adulterers,
nor homosexuals, nor thieves, nor the greedy, nor drunkards, nor re-
vilers, nor robbers will inherit the kingdom of God." Marcabru's sin-
ners, however, are transgressors against Fin'amors: false judges and
robbers, unfaithful husbands and false witnesses, false men and slan-
derers, hired tongues and monastery piercers, and ardent whores consent-
ing to the husbands of others; murderers and traitors, simoniacs and

50 iiii. Cill son fals juts'e raubador, / Fals molherat e juri-
dor, / Fals home tenh e lauzengier, / Lengua-loguat, creba-mostier, / Et aissells putas ardens / Qui son d'autruj maritz cossens; / Cyst 
auran guazanh iferna. iv. Homicidi e traí dor, / Simoniaic, encanta-
dor, / Luxurios e renovier, / Que vivon d'enujos mestier, / E cill que 
fan faitihamens, / E las faitéileiras pudens / Seran el fuec arden en-
gau. v. Ebriac et escogossat, / Fals preveire e fals abat, / Falsas 
recluzas, fals reclus, / Lai penaran, ditz Marcabrus, / Que tuit li fals 
y an fuec pres, / Car fin'Amors o a promes, / Lai er dols dels dezesper-
atz.
enchanters, lustful ones and userers, those who live from deceitful trades, and stinking sorcerers; drunkards, bribers, false preachers and false abbots, false recluses--both male and female.

When viewed in the light of the total corpus of his poetry, the thieves in this list would have stolen money to satisfy the greed of the beloved or would have stolen the affection of another's lady (cf. Poem XXIX). The false judge would be a person who has been too easily swayed by gossip against his lover or beloved (cf. Poem XXIV). A murderer need not to have killed physically, but only spiritually by lack of fidelity (cf. Poem VII). Since Marcabru speaks of Fin'amors in almost religious terms, it would not be strange for him to call a person whose love was motivated by wealth a simoniac (cf. Poem VII). Marcabru expresses contempt in other songs for enchanters or those believing in auguries (XXbis, 12; XXXV, 44-45). It is easy to see what role a sorcerer could play in a love affair (cf. Poem XXV).

Those who violate the rules of Cortezia also act against Fin'amors. Since religion plays a role in this code, those who break the rules of the Church are not courteous. So Marcabru includes religious hypocrites: false recluses, preachers, and abbots, and those who penetrate monasteries for sexual reasons in his list of the damned. Anyone whose actions are based on lust is serving Amars and not Fin'amors. Because Fin'amors is a relationship which must exist between an unmarried man and a married woman, husbands are to be condemned for extramarital affairs. Because of the importance of honesty and truth in a relationship based on Fin'amors, any kind of falseness or deceit must also be
condemned. Drunkards do not observe the mezura required by Cortezia.
Thus, while sounding at first like a list of sinners against God, these
people have, in fact, violated the code of Cortezia.

In strophes v and vi of this poem Fin'amors is given the posi-
tion of a deity of sorts who has promised damnation for all false people
and to whom Marcabru prays for guidance, so that he may be saved from
burning eternally in hell. Marcabru often casts himself in the role
of a prophet crying out against an evil world which refuses to listen.
The message he preaches is one of adherence to the creed of Fin'amors.

He frequently mentions the loneliness of his position. No one ever
seems to heed his words; yet, he must continue to speak out against
false love (V, vi; XII, iii, viii; XVII, vii; XXXII, xi; XLI, iii). At
one point he dejectedly states that he does not even expect results any
more. People make fun of his songs by writing parodies of them, call
him a jackdaw, and patrons are scarce because of his disagreeable words.
He refuses to say what he does not believe just to keep his stomach full
(XII, iii; XXXIII, ii; XXXVII, ii) as other troubadours do. Sometimes
he even fears for his safety and gives this reason for writing in such
an obscure fashion (XXXII, iv; XLII, v). I see a strong parallel be-
tween Marcabru and the Old Testament prophets sent by God into an evil

51 See footnote 50 for strophe v.

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

52 Poem XLI, v. E s'ieu cug anar castian / La lor folhia, quier
mon dan, / Pueys s'es pauc prezat si-m n'azir, / Semenan vau mos cas-
tiers / De sobre-ls naturals rochiers / Que no vey granar ni florir.
world to preach his message to unhearing ears, often against their will, as was the case with Jonah. Marcabru is the self-proclaimed prophet for **Fin'amors** against False Love.

The many biblical allusions in his songs reveal the kind of familiarity with the scriptures which might have led him to the assumption of the role of a secular prophet. In the song we have been discussing he points out his awareness of the dangers involved in accusing others and wishes to make clear that he does not consider himself without guilt. These verses echo Matthew 7:3-5: "Why do you see the speck that is in your brother's eye but do not notice the log that is in your own eye? . . . First take the log out of your own eye, and then you will see clearly to take the speck out of your brother's eye." In *Pus s'enfulleysson li verjan* (XLI) Marcabru speaks of sowing chastisements over rocky ground and not seeing them bear fruit (see footnote 52). This is the same imagery that Christ uses in the Parable of the Sower (Matthew 13:3-23). Also from the New Testament comes one of his favorite images: "For no good tree bears bad fruit, nor again does a bad tree bear good fruit; for each tree is known by its own fruit. For figs are not gathered from thorns, nor are grapes picked from a bramble bush." (Luke 6:43-44). Marcabru uses this image three times: in *Bel m'es quan*

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53 Poem XL, vii. Mon cor per aquest vers destrenh / Quar mi plus que ls autres reprenh, / Que qui autrui vol encolpar / Dregs es que si sap[c]ha guardar / Que no sia dels crims techitz / De que lieys en­colpa e ditz, / Pois poira segurs castiar.
son li fruich madur, and Per l'aura freida que guida. He consciously echoes the scripture in Dirai vos en mon lati, referring to the bastards being born into noble families, when he says, "I do not think that the world will last long, according to what the scripture says, for now the son is false to the father, and the father to the son likewise." These verses catch the meaning of Christ's comments on the end of the world cited in Matthew 24 and Mark 13, but are not a quotation from any certain passage. In Luke 13:30, Christ said that at the end of the world "Some are last who will be first, and some are first who will be last." Without citing the scripture as source, Marcabru echoes this statement in Lo vers comens quan vei del fau when he says, again referring to the bastards resulting from crossbreeding, "Lord will be serf and serf will be lord, thus they are doing." The poet claims to have taken from the Bible these lines from

54 Poem XIII, v. Greu er ja que fols desnatur, / Et a follejar non rectim / E follas que no-is desmesur, / E mals arbres de mal noirim, / De mala branca mala flor / E fruix de mala pesansa / Revert al mal outra'l pejor, / Lai on Jois non a sobransa.

55 Poem XVII, iv. Le mouniers jutgal moli; / Qui ben lia ben desli; / E.l vilans ditz tras l'araire: / Bons fruix eis de bon jar-di, / Et avols fills d'avol maire / E d'avol caual rossi.

56 Poem XXXVI, iv. D'entre domplas es fugida / Vergoigna e non sai cor; / Las plus ant coa forbid / E mes lo segl'en error, / Mas lor semensa frairina / Geta malvatz fruix quan grana.

57 Poem XVII, i, 3-6. Non cuich que-1 segles dur gaire / Segon qu'escriptura di, / Qu'eras faill lo fills al paire / E-1 pair' al fill atressi.

58 Poem XXXIII, vii, 37-40. 'Cel prophetizet ben e mau / Que ditz c'om iri'en becill, / Seigner sers e sers seignorau, / E si fant illi,
Dirai vos senes duptansa: "He who conducts himself according to the whim of a woman, it is right that evil come to him from it, as the scripture teaches us."

Marcabru makes several direct references to biblical figures. In *Amics Marchabrun, car digam*, he and Ugo Catola discuss the quality of love which existed between Samson and Delilah. Twice he refers to the line of Cain as the source of evil. Once he is named as the ancestor of those who do not honor God and once as the ancestor of Amars. In *Quan l'aura doussana bufa* the connection of his allusion to manna and the tribes of Israel to the rest of the poem is not clear.

Twice Marcabru uses biblical references to indicate a remoteness of time. In the tenson with Ugo Catola, he says, "Never since the snake descended the branch have there been so many deceitful women." And in

59 Poem XVIII, xi, 61-63. Qui per sen de femna regina / Dreitz es que mals il-n aveigna, / Si cum la letra-ns enseigna;

60 Poem VI. iv. Catola, non entenz razon, / Non saps d'Amor cum trais Samson? / Vos cuidaz e-ill autra bricon / Qe tot sia vers quant vos diz. / Marcabrut, no-s troban auctor / De Sanso-l fort e de s(a)'uxor / Q'ela n'avía ostat s'amor / A l'or [a] que ce fo deliz. / vi. Catola, qar a sordejor / La det e la tolc al meillor, / Lo dia per-det sa valor, / Qe-l seus fo per l'estraing traiz.

61 Poem XXXV, v, 37-40. Probet del lignatge Caï, / Del primeiran home felho, / A tans aissi / C'us a Dieu non porta honor;

62 Poem XIII, vi, 41-43. Que l'Amistat [s] d'estraing atur / Falso del lignatge Caïn / Que met los sieus a mal ahur,

63 Poem XLII, iv, 22-23. Ges non viu de manna dreicha / Cum fetz lo trips d'Israel,

64 Poem VI, ii, 7-8. Q'anc pos la serps baisset lo ram / No foron tant enganairitz.
Estornel, cuill ta volada, speaking of a lady by whom he has been enchanted, he says, "There has not been such a baptized one since the prophet Eli."65

On many occasions he uses the name of God in a general way, citing him as the sender of the gentle wind of spring (II, 1-2), calling upon him to bless his friends and himself (IV, x; XXXVIII, viii; XLI, vii; XLII, v; XXIII, vii) and to curse his enemies (XII{\textsuperscript{bis}}, ix; XXIV, iv; XXXIV, iii) or he names him in a mild oath (VII, iii). Searching for someone to blame for her misery, the maiden in A la fontana del vergier momentarily directs her anger toward Christ. It is because of the desecration of his tomb in the Holy Land that her lover, abandoning her, had to become a Crusader. The poet indicates awareness of Christian teaching by her words in the last strophe, "I believe, indeed, that God will have mercy on me in the other world forever, as on many other sinners."66

The poet's religious devotion is particularly evident in the two Crusade songs. He indicates in both Emperaire, per mi mezeis (XXII) and Pax in nomine Domini! that the nobles have an obligation to defend from the pagans religious shrines both in Spain and the Holy Land. He berates those who have become accustomed to a soft life and make excuses not to serve God actively on a Crusade. In Pax in nomine Domini! the

65 Poem XXV, v, 45-48. Selui fadet gentils fada / A cui for s'amors donada; / No fo tals cristianada / De sai lo peiron Elia;

66 Poem I, vi, 36-39. Senher, dis elha, ben o crey / Que Deus aya de mi mercey / En l'autre segle per jassey, / Quon assatz d'autres peccadors;
drunkards, the gluttons, the seducers, and the idlers who refuse to serve God are among those named in *Pus mos coratges s'es claritz* (XL) for not serving Fin'amors.

Marcabru's usage of the Bible is typified by his references to Solomon. He catches the spirit of his words, but does not quote him correctly. For example, he says in *L'autrier, a l'issida d'abriu* "According to what Solomon said, those could not worse thieves welcome than these companions (the guardians of ladies)." 67 And in *Amics Marchabrug car digam*, "Love of which you speak changes secretly the dice. After the throw of the dice, pay attention. Thus say Solomon and David." 68

Even more important, however, than the fact that Marcabru mistakenly attributes these quotations is the fact that he has caught the meaning of Solomon's warnings against associating with prostitutes and evil companions. Perhaps the best illustration of Marcabru's use or misuse of scripture is in *Soudadier, per cui es Jovens*: "Solomon says, and his truthfulness is guaranteed, that at first she (a whore) is sweet as a wine and honey drink, but at separation she is more a causer of violent, bitter and cruel pain than a snake." 69

The essence of this statement is to be found in Proverbs 5:3-4: "For the lips of a loose woman drip

67 Poem XXIX, v. E segon que ditz Salamos, / Non podon cill pejors lairos / Acuillir d'aquels compaignos / Qui fant la noirim co­

68 Poem VI, viii. Catola, l'Amors dont parla­

69 Poem XLIV, ii, 9-12. Salamos ditz et es guirens, / C'al prim es dousa cum pimens, / Mas al partir es plus cozens, / Amar'e cruzels cum serpens;.
honey, and her speech is smoother than oil; but in the end she is bitter as wormwood, sharp as a two-edged sword." But an even closer parallel can be found in the following passage from Proverbs 23:27-33:

27 For a harlot is a deep pit; an adventuress is a narrow well.
28 She lies in wait like a robber and increases the faithless among men.
29 Who has woe? Who has sorrow? Who has strife? Who has complaining?
30 Those who tarry long over wine, those who go to try mixed wine.
31 Do not look at wine when it is red, when it sparkles in the cup and goes down smoothly.
32 At the last it bites like a serpent, and stings like an adder.
33 Your eyes will see strange things, and your mind utter perverse things . . . .

Note that in verse 32, when Solomon uses the image of the serpent which Marcabru borrowed, he is no longer speaking of harlots, but of wine.

Marcabru makes allusions to the scriptures much more often than do his poet contemporaries, but his references indicate that his familiarity with the Bible was second-hand, and no greater than that of a religiously conscientious layman who faithfully attended mass. It could hardly be said that he is a religious scholar as Scheludko and Errante infer. He simply caught the spirit of the sermons and texts he heard read in church, but, more often than not, he did not remember them exactly. In church he would have become inbred with the concept of the prophet crying out in the wilderness and calling upon the people to return to the service of God and then transferred the concept to himself
as a prophet of Fin'amors who beseeches his contemporaries to return to the code of Cortezia in order to save an evil world. Any parody of religion which he makes in his assumption of the role of prophet of Fin'amors is not meant to be blasphemous and he means no disrespect for the church by it. A. J. Denomy points out in The Heresy of Courtly Love that the medieval man kept his religious and secular philosophies quite separate and could, without any awareness of contradiction, speak of two completely different truths. 70 In Marcabru we have a kind of merger of the religious and the secular. He believed in God as the source of eternal salvation, to be sure, but, at the same time, he made religious duty a part of the code of Cortezia which had to be followed in order for Fin'amors, his secular deity, to exist.

Pus mos coratges s'es clarzitz (XL) would thus represent the ultimate expression of Marcabru's role as the prophet for Fin'amors against Amars. He has pleaded with his audiences by telling them of the immediate benefits of the Love he preaches and now he is threatening eternal damnation for transgressors in the manner of the biblical prophets he had learned about in church. He believes strongly in Fin'amors and is distressed to see its decline through the power of Lust.

This love he advocates is not the love of God, but the love of woman. It is an emotion with a double base—spiritual and physical. It requires a special atmosphere for birth and growth and demands truth, honesty, and fidelity from its servants. Under such conditions, how

70 (New York, 1947), p. 34.
could those who experience this kind of love not improve? Many untruths about Fin'amors are spread by false lovers through their ignorance. Most people claim to love with Good Love, but if they would honestly examine their motives, they would discover that their complaints result from their involvement with Amars and not Fin'amors.

Subjective Poetry

Although most of Marcabru's poetry is objective a few poems are entirely concerned with his personal emotions and others contain lines in which we can catch a glimpse of this man's feelings. In Contra l'ivern que s'enansa (XIV) Marcabru examines his relationship with a lady. He is unsure of his own feelings as well as those of his beloved. The only thing of which he is certain is the physical aspect of their relationship. He is suffering from not knowing if he and the lady feel anything but physical desire, but he does not call attention to his doubts for fear of ruining the whole affair. Evidently he has succumbed to the same situation he so loudly criticizes everyone else for: he is having an affair with a lady perhaps based only on lust. He is honest enough with himself, however, not to call his emotion fin'amors if he is not sure.

Marcabru reminisces about the intense suffering he experienced at the hands of an unfaithful lady in Ans que·l terminis verdei (VII)

71 Poem XIII, ii, 9-10. Fals amic, amador tafur, / Baisson Amor e levo·l crim.

72 Poem XXXVII, iv. Per so-n port ir'e pesanssa / C'aug dir a la gen frairina / C'Amors engan'e trahina / Cellui cui Amara reneia; / Menton, que lor benananssa / Es Jois, Socrirs e Mesura.
and calls himself a fool for having become involved with Love. As a result, he momentarily condemns all love as evil and leading to suffering. To interpret this song in the context of the whole corpus, the poet loved his lady with fin'amors while she felt only amars for him. Because of the deep hurt he feels, Marcabru swears never to get involved with love again and compares his distress with that of a man dying from hunger and cold. The most harmful aspect of love is deceit and the poet is sure that he will never recover from the pain he is suffering. His lady was only interested in money and cheated him out of as much as she could. A person who gets too amorous loses the cabbage and is left only with the stump; that is, he loses all his possessions.73 With more emotion than reason, Marcabru concludes by saying that lovers ought to cheat openly, not secretly as did his lady, and by hoping that Christians will not be deceived by love.

In Bel m'es quan son li fruich madur (XIII), while praising fin'amors, Marcabru claims that he loves a lady with pure love and because of it is in great joy. His happiness could be increased only by some sign of assurance from his beloved. In the tradition of fin'amors, he has been improved because of his love and fears to say anything which might displease his lady. Such elation is very unusual on the part of Marcabru. In fact, this song could be seen as preceding Ans que·l terminis verdei (VII), which shows the sad result of one of his love affairs.

73 Poem VII, vi, 47-48. Que qui trop es amoros / Ben torna del caul au tros.
Remaining consistent with his complaints against those who blame Fin'amors for their problems, Marcabru makes very plain in the next-to-last strophe of Cortesamen vuoiull comenssar (XV) that he does not wish to be interpreted as criticizing Fin'amors when he is complaining of his treatment by a lady. He is finding fault with an individual, not with Love.

Aitals amors fai a prezar
Que si meteissa ten en car;
E s'ieu en dic nuill vilanes
Per mal que la'n vueilh encolpar,
Be'ill lauzi fassa'm pro muzar,
Qu'ieu n'aurai so que'm n'a promes. (strophe vi)

Marcabru makes no attempt to paint a virtuous image of himself. For example, he confesses openly that he is able to write about lust so knowledgeably because he once experienced it. With considerable humor he attributes his present virtue to the fear of getting caught with another man's wife and only wishes that his courage to love justly had a more honorable source.74 D'aisso laus Dieu (XVI) is a gap in which Marcabru boasts of his amorous exploits and of the children he has left to be supported by unsuspecting husbands. If one wishes to take the poet seriously, one now sees him as a sensualist thoroughly enjoying the purely physical side of love giving no thought to any responsibility toward the woman involved or any child she might bear.

In En abriu, s'esclairo-il riu contra'l Pascor he picturesquely compares his attachment to a woman who has refused his offer of honest

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74 Poem VIII, vili. De sol la paor ai faich fre / Que majormen aura faich me / Plus fort d'un caval arabit, / E si l'agues faich d'autra re, / Mos ardimens m'agr'enriquit.
love to a situation in which one's tongue returns again and again to a sore tooth. After describing at length the pain and misery to be gained from involvement with False Love in Languan fuelhon li boscatge, Marcabru boasts in the last strophe that he has never loved a woman nor been loved by one. This statement, which sounds like wishful thinking, is contradicted directly in many other poems and indirectly in this one. How could he describe so vividly the dangers of Love if he himself had not experienced it? As Vossler pointed out, his words smell of wine.

Estornel, cueill ta volada and Ges l'estornels non s'oblida (XXV and XXVI) relate an amusing anecdote in the love-life of our poet. Marcabru or the protagonist believes that his beloved is betraying him, relates his feelings to an estornel and sends it with a message to his lady. He wonders if a fairy is responsible for his being in love with this lady and, at the same time, for her not loving him.

No sai s'aisis-s fo fada
Que no m'am e si' amada. (XXV, ii, 12-13)

Selui fadet gentils fada
A cui fo s'amors donada
No fo tals crestanada
De sai lo peiron Elia. (XXV, v, 45-48)

He feels the power of the "gilded false reasoning" of love as he cannot

75 Poem XXIV, vi. Puois qu'ieu vei qu'ella non crei castiador, / Anz de totz malvatz pren patz, cals la groisser / A la den torna soven la leng'on sent la dolor.

76 Poem XVIII, xii. Marcabrus, fills Marcabruna, / Fo engenratz en tal luna / Qu'el sap d'Amor cum degruna, / --Escoutzta!-- / Quez anc non amet neguna, / Ni d'autra non fo amatz.
resist being drawn in once more.\textsuperscript{77} He is convinced that he is being deceived by his lady with an abbot, but is quite willing to forgive her if she will grant him a rendez-vous. Unlike the typical courtly lover, he sets his own terms for reconciliation. Far from being satisfied with a glance, he demands a meeting for the consummation of their love or the whole thing is over. The traditional elements of courtly love are present in Marcabru's poetry to a much lesser degree than in the works of the so-called idealists, and the reader feels that Marcabru is never swept off his feet by a lady. Absent in his poetry are superlatives in physical description or expression of personal feelings. In fact, the only reference to a lady's beauty is in \textit{Estornel, cueill ta volada} when he depicts it simply as natural and innate.\textsuperscript{78}

In \textit{Ges l'estornels non s'oblida} (XXVI) the starling arrives at the home of the lady to deliver Marcabru's message. When he begins to sing, the lady comes outside to listen. Absent here is the aloof lady most often associated with courtly love. She seems much more cooperative than a real woman would be. With no coyness whatsoever, she states that she has been wrongly accused by gossips, that she loves the sender of the message, not the abbot, that she has been completely faithful even though she entertains many lords, and that if the poet will appear the next morning, his request will be granted.

\textsuperscript{77} Poem XXV, iii, 23-26. \textit{Ail com es encablada / La falsa razos daurada, / Denan todas v'ai triada; / Va! ben es fols qui s'i fia.}

\textsuperscript{78} Poem XXV, vi, 56-57. \textit{Sa beutatz fon ab leis nada / Ses fum de creis ni d'erbada;}. 
Appel, Errante, and Spanke find a parody of courtly love in these two songs, but Denomy uses them to illustrate Marcabru's concept of this kind of love, seeing in them the process of pure love becoming mixed love.79 Perhaps Marcabru was, after all, writing about the woman of his dreams as did the other poets. He was evidently more interested in cooperation than in ephemeral qualities. Just as no woman was ever so beautiful and gracious as the ones described by the idealists, no woman was ever so malleable as the one presented by Marcabru in these songs.

Marcabru becomes philosophical about his bad luck with Love in Languan fuelhon li boscate (XXVIII). The more love he feels, the farther Love moves away from him. He is awaiting a long overdue message from his lady who lives in another region. In strophe iv he lists all the reasons that could be causing the delay: perhaps she fears lowering her rank by associating with him; maybe she is angry with him; maybe she no longer wants him and cannot tolerate him; perhaps pride or indifference have come between them. Then in strophe v, snapping back with his usual disdain and lack of humility, Marcabru announces that, if he loses this lady through her folly, he has another one picked out whom he likes just as well.80 The second lady has always been nicer to him than the first one anyway. He decides finally that his lady is certainly angry

80 Poem XXVIII, v. Ges no-1 sera d'agradatge / La merces qu'ieu l'ai clamada. / S'ieu lieys pert per son folhatge, / Ieu n'ayautra espiada, / Fina, esmerada e pura, / Qu'aitals amors es segura / Que de fin joy es empriza.
about the favor he asked her, but feels confident that the second one will grant it.

Conclusion

For Marcabru fin'amors was not chaste love, but mixed love. He deplores the general lack of sexual morality in his day caused by the separation of spiritual from physical love, but his descriptions of his own affairs reveal that he seldom lives up to the ideals he sets for others. But it is this element of humanity which makes his role as prophet palatable. Some critics have tried to justify the apparent contradiction in Marcabru's opinions and activity with respect to love by establishing a pattern of evolution in his attitude. Appel, for example, believes that Marcabru was an advocate of courtly love until an unpleasant personal experience made him bitter and caused him to turn against it.81 Reflecting his reasonable thesis that poets follow trends and do not set them, Spanke has established a sequence of poems to show that Marcabru, at first, opposed courtly love on moral grounds, but had to change his mind in order to maintain an audience.82 Neither of these men makes a systematic attempt to define love in Marcabru's terms. Since so many of the songs cannot be dated, it seems to be rather futile to try to put them into some kind of order which reveals a change in his attitude toward love. It is more logical to admit the contradiction which can and often does occur between a man's words and his actions.

81 "Zu Marcabru," 434.
82 "Marcabrustudien," 79.
Nelli credits Marcabru, Cercamon and Rudel with the founding of Cortezia. In the poetry of this group of poets he sees taking shape a doctrine of love including the following points:

1. Husbands must not court ladies.
2. Husbands must not keep their wives from receiving the attentions of the elite of the jeunes gens.
3. A lady may have only one lover to whom she must remain faithful.
4. A lady's love should be based on sentiment from the heart and not on wealth and is not to be confused with carnal need.
5. Her role is to develop true Love, i.e., moral values in the soul of the young bachelor.
6. The term jeunes gens includes young nobles and also the poets who speak in their names.
7. The lady must know how to make her lover wait a long time or forever for physical satisfaction. She gives in only after their spiritual relationship is well established.\textsuperscript{83} This is certainly the code of conduct Marcabru is prescribing to all who will listen.

Besides being responsible for his lack of skill and clarity in communicating, Marcabru's lowly origin and lack of formal education were also the source of the substance of his message. Because he was not noble and therefore unable to participate in the love intrigues of that class, he took upon himself the role of the preserver of the ideal and

complained loudly that the rules of courtly love were not being observed and that cortezia was being used only as a pretext and a game by nobles who wished to seduce their ladies. He predicts disaster for his society if the nobles do not change their ways. In order to complete our study of his function as prophet, let us examine his specific criticisms of his world resulting from the decline of fin'amors.
The overall theme of Marcabru's poetry is the effect on the world of the decline of fin'amors. The poet sees vaguely in the past a time when all was well because men and women loved each other with a sincerity and fidelity which is unknown in the promiscuous society of his own time. The poet believes that the only way for his society to improve is for the nobles once again to adopt the code of Cortezia and make Fin'amors the dominating force in their lives. One method he uses to depict the condition of his surroundings, which is somewhat unappealing to the modern reader, is to personify both positive and negative human qualities and speak of their successes and failures. Listed below are the virtues and faults which he mentions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fin'amors</th>
<th>Amars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proeza</td>
<td>Malvestatz (Evil)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donars (Generosity)</td>
<td>Escarsedatz (Stinginess)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretz (Merit)</td>
<td>Enjans (Trickery)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valor (Worth)</td>
<td>No-fes (Deceit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cortezia</td>
<td>Cobezeza (Covetousness, Greed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mezura</td>
<td>Putia (Promiscuity)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jovens</td>
<td>Avolenza (Vice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jois</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deport (Gaiety)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Those who have chosen to follow Amars immediately become subject to Malvestatz, which is the all-inclusive term for the negative qualities which Marcabru sees so abundant around him. The result of the presence of so much evil in the world is an overwhelming amount of Avolezenza, which is the external sign of Malvestatz. Marcabru describes the situation when he says that the rich do not hide their ways, but openly follow the retinue of Evil and that, when Vice abounds, Evil is right behind in the saddle.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ni non cug mai que-s resconda,} \\
\text{Malvestatz, c'a plen camin} \\
\text{Segon ja li ric son train,} \\
\text{Et can Avolez' abonda} \\
\text{Es Malvestatz crup de sus. (XIIbis, v)}
\end{align*}
\]

Vice is overflowing into the world like a wave of the sea. Envy and Covetousness cannot be satiated. Promiscuity abounds with no shame. This spring it is Stinginess and Trickery that are bearing fruit and blossoming, but nowhere reign Cortezia, Good Behavior, Worth, Valor or Gaiety.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{D'una ren suy meravelhans} \\
\text{Qu'ades vey granar e florir} \\
\text{Escassetatz, ocl et Enjans:} \\
\text{Vas qualche part me torn ni-m vir} \\
\text{Cortezia ni Bel Estar} \\
\text{Ni Pretz ni Valor ni Deport} \\
\text{Vas nulha part no vey renhar. (XXXIV, ii)}
\end{align*}
\]

1 Poem XIIbis, iii, 11-12. Car l'Avole(n)za reco(i)nda / A semblan del flot marin,.

2 Poem XIIbis, iv. Ia non er mais sazionda / Enveia tro en la fin, / Ni Cobezeza atressi, / Q'evejos e dizironda / Vai e reven al pertus.

3 Poem XIIbis, vi, 26-27. Al greu aura ia vergonda / Putia de gros bosin,.
Most often Marcabru speaks from the point of view of the good qualities which are grouped under the heading of Proeza and which are losing the struggle with Malvestatz and its followers. These are the virtues which result from an association with Fin'amors and which, conversely, are necessary for its presence. Whereas Avolenza is the prevailing characteristic of the world when Amars rules, Jois, whose external manifestation is Deport, results when Fin'amors is in power.

Denomy has studied the word Jois as it was used among the early troubadours in order to reach an understanding of its meaning. Used much more often than the native gauz (< Latin gaudium), Jois (also < gaudium) was either borrowed from the north of France or was a dialectal form. Jois has several closely related meanings all connected with the passion of love. It is the name of the emotion aroused by the pleasure love brings or promises. It is also the delight in the contemplation of nature which inspires the poet to song and the awareness of his love. Sometimes the lady, as source of this love, is called Jois. But just as often, Marcabru and the other troubadours use the word Jois in a broader sense in association with amors, jovens, proeza, pretz, and deport. In this context it becomes a sort of quality or attribute of those who love purely. Fin'amors is its source and must be present for it to exist. It is incompatible with Evil. Joven and Jois are companion qualities and they are both destroyed by unfaithfulness and misery. Jois designates an internal state of bliss in heart and soul.

arising out of love and which is necessary for love to realize its en-
nobling effects.\textsuperscript{5}

Marcabru also often uses jovens (< Latin juventus) with a deno-
tation and connotation quite different from its etymological meaning, youth and youthfulness. In a similar study of this term Denomy dis-
covered that Marcabru uses it twenty-seven of the thirty-nine times it 
occurs in the writings of the early troubadours--Guillaume IX, Marcabru, Cercamon, Alegret, Bernart Marti and Peire d'Auvergne.\textsuperscript{6} When jovens 
does appear with its literal meaning, it designates a specific group of 
young men who have completed their education but are not yet heads of 
their own households. From a study of twelfth century literature 
Georges Duby characterizes these men as joyful, free-spending and loving 
luxury. Their main interest was war and they traveled from tournament 
to tournament and were dependent on the hospitality of the nobles. It 
was they who provided the principal audience and inspiration for cheval-
ric literature.\textsuperscript{7}

Denomy traces the meaning of jovens as an abstract virtue to the 
Arabic word futuwwa, which he describes as an ethical ideal among the 
Arabs from the tenth to twelfth centuries and also the appellation of 
its devotees.\textsuperscript{8} After studying every passage in which jovens occurs,

\textsuperscript{5} Denomy, p. 202.
\textsuperscript{6} A. J. Denomy, "Jovens: the Notion of Youth among the Trouba-
\textsuperscript{7} "Au XIIe siecle: les 'jeunes' dans la societe aristocra-
\textsuperscript{8} Denomy, "Jovens," 14-15.
Denomy concludes that as a human quality it comprises the virtues of fidelity, liberality and purity and that it is destroyed by avarice, lack of largess, infidelity, and false, wanton love.\textsuperscript{9} Whereas the purity associated with futuwwa demands repression of all sexuality, purity associated with jovens implies control of sexual activity.\textsuperscript{10} It does seem most probable that Marcabru or another early troubadour adopted the concept of futuwwa and modified it slightly before applying it to its literal translation in Provençal.

Pretz and valor as defined by A. H. Schutz have closely related but distinguishable meanings. "Pretz carries over from its economic use the idea of an estimation of personal worth by common consent within a given milieu and under given circumstances, hence mutable and extrinsic. Valor is the basic worth of a person, the sum of inherent qualities, hence extrinsic and not subject to common estimation."\textsuperscript{11} Since the poets who used these terms were not philosophers, they were not always aware of the basic denotations of the terms. Marcabru's usage of pretz and valor, however, does seem to follow the distinction explained by Schutz.

\textsuperscript{9} Denomy, "Jovens," 9.


\textsuperscript{11} "The Provençal Expression: Pretz e Valor," Speculum, XIX (1944), 493.
Marcabru himself defines **Cortezia** and **Mezura** in *Cortesamen vuoiill comenssar* (XV) and *Lo vers comenssa* (XXXII). **Mezura**, which is one component of **Cortezia**, consists in reducing the excess of everything. He who wishes to hear everything and wants to collect all he sees will never be courteous.\(^{12}\) Marcabru also includes speaking in a noble fashion in his definition of **Mezura**. **Cortezia** comes from loving and to be courteous one must reflect before acting and refrain from all vulgarity, from making fun and doing foolish things.\(^ {13}\) He must control his temper and not talk too much. Without any pretext, he must be generous and full of merit:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Qui ses bauzia} \\
\text{Vol Amor albergar,} \\
\text{De cortesia} \\
\text{Deu sa maion jonchar;} \\
\text{Get fors feunia} \\
\text{E fol sobreparlar;} \\
\text{Pretz e donar} \\
\text{Deu aver en bailia,} \\
\text{Ses ochaio. (XXXII, vii)}
\end{align*}
\]

These virtues are very much dependent upon each other for their existence. Of course, the source of them all is **Fin'amors**, which is also dependent upon them to survive. Marcabru illustrates the interrelationship of these qualities by often giving them familial ties. For example, as long as **Jovens** was father of the world and **Fin'amors** was

\(^{12}\) Poem XV, iii. *De Cortesia is pot vanar / Qui ben sap Mesur' esgardar; / E qui tot vol auzir quant es, / Ni tot cant ve cuid'amas-sar, / Del tot l'es ops a mesurar, / O ja non sera trop cortes.*

\(^{13}\) Poem XV, iv. *Mesura es de gen parlar, / E cortesia es d'amar; / E qui non vol esser mespres / De tota vilania-is gar, / D'es-carnir e de folleiar, / Puois sera savis ab qu'el pes.*
mother, Proeza was maintained, both secretly and openly. But now dukes and kings and emperors have degraded it.

Tant cant bos Jovens fon paire
Del segle e fin'Amors maire,
Fon Proeza mantenguda
A celat et a saubuda,
Mas er l'ant avilanada
Duc e rei et emperaire. (V, vii)

Because of the lack of Fin'amors, the mother of Youth, vile people have thrown Jovens from its domain, and there is no comfort to be found in it just as there is no power or protection from death.

No-i a conort en Joven, mas trop fura,
Ni contra mort ressort ni cobertura,
Qu'ist acrupit l'an gitat de son aire
E de cami, per colpa de la maire. (IX, iv)

Evil is now superior over both Fin'amors and Jovens, mother and daughter; because the young men deceive and are false, Generosity perishes and Valor wavers.

Jovens feuney' e trefana
E Donars becilha,
Saubud' es causa certana
Que Valors guancilha,
E Malvestatz va sobrana
La mair' e la filha. (XXI, v)

Jovens is the brother of Donars.

Desviatz de son cami
Jovens se torn' a decli,
E donars qu'era sos fraire,
Va s'en fugen a tapi (XVII, ii)

Just as Fin'amors is the mother of the virtues, Amars is the mother of Malvestatz, and Evil is born strong.

Mout nais espes
Malvestatz de sa maire
senes razo (XXXII, iv)
Cortezia is characterized as the mate of Fin'amors, and Fin'amors hurries to the place where it recognizes its mate and is ready to bear fruit.

C'Amors s'enbria
Lai on conois son par.
Blanch'e florla
E presta de granar,
Ses fellonia. (XXXII, viii)

In his study of Marcabru's personifications of good and evil, Scheludko concludes that the poet took the negative qualities from the tradition of the Church: Malvestatz—Malitia; Cobezeza—Cupiditas; Escarsetatz—Avaritia; Putia—Fornicatio; Engan—Fraus. But this is not the case for the virtues. Besides Fin'amors, which Scheludko claims is Christian charity, Marcabru's system of purity does not come from the writings of the Church fathers. It originated with Guillaume IX, but Scheludko points out that when Marcabru borrowed the expressions, he gave them new Christian-moralistic meanings to counteract the worldly connotations they derived from William's usage. It is my opinion, however, that Marcabru put his borrowings from biblical texts and Church tradition into a secular environment instead of bringing worldly ideas into a Christian environment.

Personifying the virtues and faults in Aujatz de chan com enans e meillura, Marcabru relates that Proeza is being destroyed and Avoleza is surrounding itself with walls, i.e., getting stronger, and Jois is

---

not welcome inside. Then, in an extended allegory in *Bel m'es quan la rana chanta*, Malvestatz is causing Proeza to break up and the poet cannot find forty men out of a thousand who love her. She is being seiged in a castle and is being shot at by one hundred stone-throwing machines. Jois and Jovens are trapped with her in a tower room. The attacking soldiers are shouting, "Let us destroy Joy and Youth and kill Prowess." Marcabru does not want Proeza to die without leaving a son or daughter, so that perhaps she can once more become powerful. He suggests retaining for miracles the beak, the nail, or the wing as was the custom with saints.

Further on in the same song stinginess and the promiscuity of husbands are specified as two proofs of the absence of Proeza in the world. Everywhere Proeza is insulted and tortured and her only recourse is to become a nun since she has no relatives from Portugal to Frise, a

---

15 Poem IX, vi, 21-22. Proeza's franh et avoleza-s mura / E no vol Joi cuillir dinz sa clauzura;.

16 Poem XI, ii. Non aus so que m'atalanta / Dir d'una gen que-s fa cusca, / Cui Malvestatz franh e frusca; / Qu'entre mil no-n trueb quaranta / De cells cui Proeza ama. / Qu'en un castell l'an assiza / E trazon i ben ab cen / Peiriers cill qui l'an revisa.

17 Poem XI, iii. Pres es lo castells e-l sala, / Mas qu'en la tor es l'artilla / On Jois e Jovens e silla / Son jutjat a pena mala; / Qu'usquecs crida "fuec e flama! / Via dinz e sia prisa! / Degolem Joi e Joven / E Proeza si'aucisa."

18 Poem XI, iv. Senher, ben hi a gran tala / Si mor ses fill o ses filha! / Retengam per meravilha / Lo bec o l'ongl'o l'ala, / Quar de paue albr'els grantz rama / Quan bona pugn'i es misa, / Per qu'ieu n'es-per e n'aten / Lo frut apropr la semisa.
province in Flanders.\textsuperscript{19} Evil is to blame for the exile of \textit{Proeza} and her absence will prevent the presence of \textit{Jois}.\textsuperscript{20}

In \textit{Hueymais dey esser algrans} it is the slanderers who are blamed for the downfall of \textit{Proeza} and the subsequent advancement of Evil. Seized by one of his pessimistic moods about love, Marcabru advises that, if one wishes to remain in \textit{Proeza}, he should not make an agreement with a lady.\textsuperscript{21} This is how Evil gets its foot in the door.

\textit{Per l'aura freid a que guida} opens with a negative introduction. The poet does not hear the birds singing nor see the flowers blooming. Instead, what he hears is a strange clamor made by \textit{Jois}, who is constrained by \textit{Malvestatz}. \textit{Proeza} has been banished far away and the best families are now evil.\textsuperscript{22} Promiscuity is increasing its domain and Gallantry is being ignored.\textsuperscript{23}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{19}Poem XI, v. Non vueih far paraula lonja: \textit{/ Preza es la francha causa / E non troba fin ni pauza / Si no-s met reclus'o monja, / E pos chascus la derama / E las denz li franh e brisa, / Ieu non i trueb mas paren / De Portogal tro en Friza.}
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{20}Poem XXXIII, iii. Pretz es vengutz d'amont aval / E casegutz en l'escobill, / Puois avers fai Roma venau, / Ben cuig que cill / Non jauziran, qui,n son colpau / D'aquest peril. iv. Avoleza porta la clau / E geta Proez'en issill; / Greu parejaran mais igau / Paire ni fill; / Que non aug dir, fors en Paitau, / C'om s'en atill.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{21}Poem XXXIV, iii. Ist lauzengier, lenguas trencans / Cuy Dieus cofonda et azir, / Meton Proeza en balans / E fan Malvestat enantir; / Mais als pros dic e vueilh pregar / Que ja us ab elhs no-s n'acort / Si en proeza vol estar.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{22}Poem XXVI, ii. Non auch chant ni retentida / Ni non vei brondel ab flor, / Empero si ai auzida / Una estaigna clamor, / De Joi que-is plaing, ses ufan, / Cue Malvestatz disciplina. iii (13-14). Proeza es forbandida, / E son malvatz li meilleur;
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{23}Poem XXVI, v, 25-26. Drudari'es trassaillida / E creis Putia s'onor,
\end{flushright}
In a spring song, Pus s'enfulleysson li verjan, Marcabru is reflecting about things within nature—the foliating orchards, the gladiolas along the white stream—and things outside nature—cuckoldry. Because of infidelity, Pretz keeps getting smaller. Pretz and Jovens are being ruined by the trafficking in love. Alone, he is unable to put out the fire of lust which is the cause of the whole problem.24

Criticisms of Nobles

Marcabru's criticisms of his contemporaries center, of course, around the noble class. Their behavior shows that Fin'amors has no part in their lives. The past generation of nobles was much more admirable than are their sons.

Avoleza porta la clau
E geta Proez' en issill;
Greu parejaran mais igau
Paire ni fill;
Que non aug dir, fors en Peitau,
C'om s'en atill. (XXXIII, iv)

Strophes ii and iii of Al departir del brau tempier consist of an allegory describing a large orchard in which the good first trees are dead and the young saplings, which appear to have the leaves and flowers of

24 Poem XLI, i. Pus s'enfulleysson li verjan / E·l glaujol de lonc lo riu blan, / Qui que paus, ieu pes e cossir / De moutas cauzas a sobriers, / Segon natura et estiers, / De qu'aizem lo poble brugir. ii. Pus la cogossia s'espan / E l'us cogos l'autre non blan, / Laissem les anar e venir. / Cuy cal quals que chaps an primiers? / Qu'ieu non daria dos deniers / Per lor mesclanhas devezir. iii. Qu'aissi·s vai lo pretz menuzan / E·l folhatges hieis de garan, / Non pesc, sols, lo fuec escantir / Dels seglejadors ufaniers, / Qui fan los crinals dobliers, / Pejors que no·us aus descobrir. iv. (19-21). Las baratairitz baratan, / Frienz del barat corbaran, / Que fan Pretz e Joven delir.
apple trees turn out to be willow and elder trees—bare of the promised fruit. So that his meaning is sure to be clear, Marcabru goes on in the rest of the song to voice specific complaints against these young men whose heritage was so glorious. They are idle and do their jousting at night near the fireplace. They waste away the daylight hours making merry and playing checkers in the shade of the elder tree. Because they make many promises without keeping them, the troubadours have declared them weak and dull (see footnote 25, strophe iii). These young men are no more the equals of their fathers than are Cazères and Sarlux the equals of Toulouse and Montpelier. Marcabru finds this situation to be disastrous for the whole land, for when the top is foolish, sorrowing are the parts at the extremeties.

E pus lo caps es badalucs,
Dolens son li membr' estremier. (Poem III, ii, 15-16)

Part of Al prim comens de l'ivernaill (IV) is concerned with the winter activities of the same group of young nobles. The cold weather makes

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25 Poem III, ii. Cossiros suy d'un gran vergier / Ont a de belhs plansos en mans lucs; / Gent sont l'empleut e.l frugs bacuc, / Selh qu'esser degran sordegier / Fuelhs e flors paron de pomier, / Son al fruchar sautz'e saucs, / E pus lo caps es ba [da] lucs, / Dolens(s) son li membr'estremier. iii. Mort(z) son li bon arbre primier, / E-l(s) viu(s) son ramils e festucs, / Dels fortz assays los vey damnuçx, / Mas de bordir son fazendier(s) / De promessas son bobansier(s), / Al rendre sauzes e saucx, / Don los claman flacs e baudux / Ieu e tug l'autre soudadier.

26 Poem III, iv, 29-32. Tota nueg joston a doblier, / El jorn a l'ombra dels saucx / Auzir(i)atz nausas e bauducx / E doblar entr'els l'escaquier(s).

27 Poem III, v, 33-36. Doncx no pairejon li derrier; / En totz bos sens ab los faducx, / E log si Cozer'e Sarlux / Valon Toloz'e Monpeslier?
them grumble in the morning and only after wine in the evening are they content. Then they forge a thousand projects for spring which are destined to remain forever boasts and noise.²⁸

Marcabru criticizes a noble by name in *Seigneur n'Audric* (XX⁶⁶⁵), accusing him of stinginess and of believing in the augury of the small hawk.²⁹ Lord Audric is also guilty of gluttony and boasting. When he has just finished a good meal, he has conquered more territory than Caesar did for the Romans.³⁰ By permitting the presence in his castle of immoral women, Audric cooperates openly with Amars.³¹

Another way in which the nobles violate the code of *Cortezia* is by refusing to take part in Crusades. The excuse they give is that they fear that their land would be stolen if they were to die away from home, but Marcabru tells them that the real reason is that they have become accustomed to an easy life--sleeping comfortably on soft beds and

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²⁸ Poem IV, iv. *Joves homes de bel semblan / Vei per Malvestat deceubutz; / Que van gaban / Dizo, mil essais encogan; / "Farem qan lo temps er floritz," Mas lai reman lo gabs e'l brutz.*


Marcabru is consistently scornful of the superstitious whom he refers to as those who believe in auguries of luck (Cf. XXXV, v, 44-45; XIII, iii, 17-18).

³⁰ Poem XX⁶⁵, v. *Quan vos totz sols / Etz ben sadols, / Non vos es ges rics gaps loindans; / Segon tas leis / As plus conque[i]s / Que non fetz Cesar als Romans.*

amusing themselves endlessly. They are concerned only with worldly goods and shamelessly covet those of others. Staying home is no insurance against death. Marcabru points out to them that they will die in their palaces if not on a Crusade. Stinginess is another reason men do not make pilgrimages to assure their salvation. These richest lords are broken, sinful, weary of Proeza and do not participate in Jois.

The nobles have taken the leap of shame. Once a person commits an evil act, the easier it is the next time. To make matters worse, they are hypocrites trying to appear infallible, but are not worth one grain of millet. In terms of villainy, lords are serfs and serfs are lords.
Marcabru is concerned about the influence the corrupt nobles have on the group of young men which he usually refers to as jovens. For example, Pois l'inverns d'ogan es anatz (XXXIX) is an allegory about a tree which is so large that it has spread its branches and leaves into France and even into Poitou. The root of this tree is Malvestatz and there seems to be no defense against it. Young and old, counts, kings, emirs, and princes have been trapped by this tree which is Stinginess. Because of the tree, Jovens has been ruined and put out of balance by those it ought to obey. No longer joyful, Youth has become degenerate and overcome by Vice. Joy, Justice, and Faith have deserted it. It has been so long since the barons gave it anything that it has fled far away.37 (Cf. also Poem IV, vii.)

In Quan l'aura doussana bufa (XLII) the crossbows of Evil and Greed have struck Youth between the heart and the liver. It will not easily be cured of vice and laziness.38 Marcabru chastizes the husbands who are making fools of themselves trying to be lovers and being deceived, for Jovens is hurt by the bad example set for it.39 In the

37 Poem XXXIX, vi. Jovens fo ja bautz apellatz, / Mas aras es si recrezutz / Que jamais non er tant honratz / Per que Jois li sia rendutz, / C'Avoleza l'a si conques / C'anc de pois no-n poc ererbir / Qu'is parti de lui Dreitz ni Fes. vii. Lonc temps a que no-l fo donatz / Saï entre-1s baros mentaugutz; / Faiditz es e loing issillatz; / En lai on el es remasutz, / Marcabrus li manda per mes / [Qu]e no-il calia tant fugir, / Que jamais, no, sai sera pres.

37 Poem XLII, ii. Jovens triatz non a vida, / Que ferit l'an dui cairel / Malvestatz e Cobeida, / Laïnz entre-l cor e-l fel, / Et es ne greus ad issir, / Que no s'en laissa garir / D'avoilez'e de muaila.

39 Poem IV, vi. Moillerat, li meillor del mon / Foratz, mas chascus vos faitz drutz, / Que vos confon / E son acaminat li con / Per qu'es Jovens forabanditz / E vos en appell'om cornutz.
tenson Amics Marchabrun, car digam (VI) Ugo points out to Marcabru that there is nothing wrong with Love, the reason for its decay is that Jovens is evil.40

The young men are not the only ones suffering from the stinginess of the nobles. One of the loudest complaints that Marcabru makes against this group is their lack of generosity toward the troubadours as well as toward Jovens. In Dirai vos en mon lati he declares that Donars is disappearing41 and elsewhere that Donars is perishing.42 He berates Lord Audric for his stinginess. He always claims to be poor, saying in September that the harvest has failed and at Christmas that meat, wine and bread are scarce.43 It is degrading for the rich not to be generous. Marcabru has not heard for a long time about a profit resulting from someone's generosity.44 In fact, dukes and kings are made ashamed by Donars. They fear so much losing their belongings that at court silver

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40 Poem VI, ix. Marcabrun, amistaz dechai, / Car a trobat Joven savai; / Eu n'ai al cor ir'et esclai, / Qar l'en a levaz tan laiz criz.

41 Poem XVII, ii, 7-10. Desvialz de son cami / Jovens se torn'a decli, / E Donars qu'era sos fraire, / Va s'en fugen a tapi,.

42 Poem XXI, v, 25-26. Jovens feuney'e trefana / E Donars becilha,.

43 Poem XXbis, i. Seigner n'Audric / Al vostr'afic / Mout etz d'aver secos e plans, / Puois so dizetz / Que no-n avetz, / Qu'en setembre vos faill lo grans. ii (7-9). Lai, vers Nadal / Tot atretal / Vos faill la carns e'l vins e'l pans.

44 Poem XIX, iii, 26-27. C'aissi vei les rics sordezitz, / C'un pro contra donar non au.
cups and goblets and fur mantels are never seen. Since a display of one's material goods was considered a component of Cortezia, and also because these items were often given as gifts to the troubadours, Marcabru sees this as another fault of the noble class.

The subject of Aujatz de chan com enans' e meillura (IX) is wealth. After the introductory strophe, the poet declares that Evil, whose mother is Stinginess, is getting worse and he feels compelled to speak out against the situation. The rich reward the undeserving and leave the worthy in need. No doubt Marcabru counted himself among the unrewarded worthy. He chastizes those who give up honor and merit and lose shame and moderation for the sake of money and compares them in appearance to the hedgehog, mongrel dog and petty thief. Here he must be referring to his fellow troubadours among others since he mentions elsewhere that he is treated less well than other troubadours because of

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45 Poem XI, vi. Duc e rei senes messonja / Ll'an primier la boca clausa, / Qu'ill fan de pauc fag gran nauza / Quar Donars lur fai vergonha; / Tan tem quecs que falha trama / Per qu'en lur cortz non es visa / Copa ni enaps d'argent, / Mantells vairs ni pena griza.

46 Prosper Boissonnade, "Les personnages et les événements de l'histoire d'Allemagne, de France et d'Espagne dans l'oeuvre de Marcabru (1129-1150)," Romania, XLVIII (1922), 238.

47 Poem IX, ii. Per so sospir car mouta gens ahura / De malves-tat c'ades creis e pejura; / So m'en somon que sia guerrejaire, / C'a lieis sap bo qam m'au cridar e braire. iii. Li sordeior an del dar l'aventura / E li meilleur badon ves la penchura; / La retraissos fai trist e sospiraire / C'a rebuzos fant li ric lor afaire.

48 Poem IX, v. Qui per aver pert vergonh'e mezura / E giet' honor e valor a non cura / Segon faisson es del semblan confraire / A l'erisson et al gos et al laire.
his honesty\textsuperscript{49} and that he will not lie just to fill his stomach.\textsuperscript{50} The power of money has tainted even the Pope and the palace of the emperor. Both have obtained their positions through their wealth and bargaining power.\textsuperscript{51}

Most of the wealthy permit unnecessary suffering because of their lack of generosity\textsuperscript{52} and many nobles are so stingy that, on their death bed, they would not give away a piece of garlic out of a purse of one thousand marks even if death had made money onerous to them.\textsuperscript{53}

Marcabru loudly laments the decline of the virtue Jo\textsuperscript{5}n\textsuperscript{s}. Pus s'enfulleysson li verjan (XLI) is an expression of frustration over how little effect the poet's chastisements have on the traffickers in love and the cuckoldry. These persons are causing the ruin of Pretz and Jovens (see footnote 24, iv, 19-21). In Dirai vos en mon lati, Donars

\textsuperscript{49} Poem VIII, iv. Moillerat, segon l'endeveing, / Que'us es a venir vos enseing, / Mas si m'avetz espaoit / C'usquecs n'a son coratge feing, / Per que no m'es engal grazit.

\textsuperscript{50} Poem XXXVII, ii. Trobador, ab sen d'enfanssa, / Movon als pros atahina, / E tornon en disciplina / So que veritatz autreia, / E fant los motz, per esmanssa, / Entrebeschatz de fraichura. iii (13-16). E meton en un'eganssa / Falss'Amor encontra fina, / Qu'ieu dic que d'Amar s'aizina / Ab si mezemes guerreia;

\textsuperscript{51} Poem IX, vi, 23-24. Drei ni razion no vei mantener gaire / Quar per aver es uns gartz emperaire.

Poem XXXIII, iii, 13-15. Pretz es vengutz d'amont aval / E casegutz en l'escobill, / Puois avers fai Roma venau.

\textsuperscript{52} Poem XXXII, ii, 10-14. Tan creis durensa / C'alegr'en son li ric; Avols cossenssa / Fai sobremontar tric; / Sofren sofrenssa.

\textsuperscript{53} Poem XXII, vii. Per pauc Marcabrus non trasail / De Joven, can per aver fail, / E cel qui plus l'am'acuillir, / Quan venra al der-

\textsuperscript{5} rier badaill, / En mil marcs non dari'un aill, / Si li fara la mortz pudir.
and Jovens, who are brothers, are falling into decay, and the world is much worse because of it. As a result, another brother of Jovens, Jois, is also in decline. Strophe v tells of two colts who are born beautiful with light-colored coats, but whose color changes from white to vair. These colts are Joy and Youth, who have been deceived. Only Evil can come of that.

The close connection between Jovens and Fin'amors is evident in many passages. Fin'amors is lost and deserted by Jois because Jovens is disappearing. False Love has taken over where Fin'amors used to reign, and at the same time, Jovens is being broken to pieces. Jovens has been thrown from its domain because of the nobles' stinginess and lack of Cortezia. Marcabru claims that he almost shudders when he finds that Jovens is lacking in the wealthy (see footnote 53).

In a discussion of the scarcity of Fin'amors and Cortezia and his difficulty in finding a patron, Marcabru says that Youth is sleeping

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54 Poem XVII, ii. Desviatz de son cami / Jovens se torn'a decli, / E Donars qu'era sos fraire, / Va s'en fugen a tapi, / C'anc dons Costans l'enganaire / Joï ni Joven non jauzi.

55 Poem XVII, v. Eras naisson dui poilli / Beill, burden, ab saura cri / Que.is van volven de blanc vaire / E fan semblan aseni; / Jois e Jovens n'es trichaire / E malvestatz eis d'aqui.

56 Poem V, viii. Qu'ieu sui assatz esprovaire, / Deffendens et enquistaire, / E vei cum Jovens se tuda, / Per que Amors es perduda / E de Joï deseretada / E cum Amors es cujaire.

57 Poem XVIII, ii. Jovens faill e fraing e brisa, / Et Amors es d'aital guisa / De totz cessals a ces prisa, / --Escoutatzl-- / Chascus en pren sa devisa, / Ja pois no-n sera cuitatz.

58 Poem IX, iv. No-i a conort en Joven, mas trop fura, / Ni contra mort ressort ni cobertura, / Qu'ist acrupit l'an gitat de son aire / E de cami, per colpa de la maire.
and only with difficulty will it awaken again.\textsuperscript{59} He interrupts a lament over the absence of Fin'amors to spend a strophe describing the decline and fall of Jovens, Donars, and Valors in the face of Malvestatz.\textsuperscript{60} Even Jois has become a servant of Evil. He compares Evil to a vine which has made Jois its prop, and Evil forces obedience from Jois by striking it on the ears.

\begin{quote}
Malvestatz treilla
E Jois torn' en paissel,
Al plus isnel
Per tal vetz lonc l'aureilla
Qu'el non ditz no. (XXXII, x, 86-90)
\end{quote}

The reason for the victory of Malvestatz over Proeza and the virtues which go together to make it up is the prevalence of lust and its influence over the lives and decisions of nearly every man and woman in Marcabru's society. One group which appears again and again as an example to illustrate Evil is the husband, wife, guardian and resulting bastards. The husband is pictured as being stupidly confident of his wife's fidelity because of the guardian he has hired to watch her. The wife, who is especially passionate, is, of course, sleeping with the guardian and presenting bastards to her husband as his heirs. These children, not being of pure noble lineage, cannot possess the inherent courteous qualities attributed to this class. By this process the noble families are literally being destroyed.

\textsuperscript{59} Poem XXXII, ix, 73-74. Jovens someilla, / Greu prendra mais revel.

\textsuperscript{60} Poem XXI, v. Jovens feuney'e trefana / E Donars becilha, / Saubud'es causa certana / Que Valors guancilha, / E Maluestatz va sobrana / La mair'e la filha.
In *A l'alena del vent doussa* (II) Marcabru expresses personal animosity toward the guardian of a lady. Supposedly he protects the lady, so that no man except the master can touch her, but while the husband goes about without worry, the guardian is enjoying her without having to come secretly in the night and sing answers to a night watchman.

> Qu'encaritz son li guasta-pa,  
> Quais per els son gardat li don,  
> Que'strayns mas lo senher no-y toc.

> Si.1 gilos s'en van seguran  
> E li guardador jauzion,  
> Ges egual no chant e respon;  
> Qu'ilh van a clardat e ses lum,  
> Quan vols t'en pren ab eis lo broc. (II, iii, 13-15, iv)

Marcabru is not consistent in placing the blame for this kind of situation, but in this song he describes *le gilos* or husband as a *baut guazalhan*, proud leaseholder of a dumb animal, and holds him responsible for putting his wife into danger of temptation.61

The specific *guasta-pa* (spoil-sport) with whom Marcabru is angry accepted bribes from suitors who sought the company of the lady. Marcabru is disgusted not only by this lucrative practice, but also with himself for having been a customer62 and with the fact that the lady is unattainable except through connivance with this man. He describes the guardian as having both the first and second fruit: the first being the lady and the second the bribes.63

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61 Poem II, v, 24-25. Gilos que-s fan baut guazalhan / Meton nostras molhers en joc.

62 Poem II, vi, 26-27. Greu cug mais que ja lur don / Aquist soldat uay qu'estraitz plas.

63 Poem II, vii. Qu'entr'els non a clau ni meia / Qu'el(s) non aion del plus preon / E del frug lo prim e-1 segon, / Cist fan la malvestat[z] rebon / Quan nos fan donar non per oc.
In *Per l'aura freida que guidia* (XXXVI), amid his grumblings about the banishment of Proeza and the imprisonment of Jois by Malves-tatz, Marcabru points out that for a long time husbands have consented to their own dishonor by these cowering ones with smooth tongues who make *Fin'amors* impossible by their presence.

Lorc temps auran cossentida
Els maritz lor desonor,
Als acropitz lenguas planas
Trobadors d'amistat fina. (XXXVI, iii, 15-18)

These guardians do not permit the ladies to associate with those who love them, but only with those who have lustful hearts and big purses. Marcabru does not hold the ladies blameless in this song and describes them as shameless and eager victims. They are putting the world in error by the bad fruit they are bearing. He wastes no sympathy on the husbands, for they are busy making fools of themselves trying to appear courteous. Their idle boasting about their love affairs Marcabru finds as incongruous as a dog kneading flour. He makes fun of these men because they do not have the spirit of *Cortezia*, but are concerned only with the outward appearance evidenced by their boasting. The true courteous lover remains quiet about his encounters with his lady. Service of ladies (*domneys*) has turned into promiscuity.

64 Poem XXXVI, iv. D'entre dompnas es fugida / Vergoigna e non sai cor; / Las plus ant coa forbida / E mes lo segl'en error, / Mas lor semensa frairina / Geta malvatz fruit quan grana.

65 Poem XXXVI, v. Drudari'es trassaillida / E creis Putia s'onor, / E-l moillerat l'an sazida / E so-is fait domnejador; / Tant m'es bel quan us s'en vana / Cum de can quant prist farina.

66 Poem XXXVIII, vi, 41-42. Ni non conoys lo rovilh / Per que domneys ar puteia.
Winter makes no difference in the relationship of the guardian to the lady. He maintains a secure place by the hearth and sleeps with her at his pleasure. He conquers his lord through his wife in whom he breeds a child. Then in the same song, with surprising bluntness, Marcabru prays for the soul of a Lord Richard for whom he had had such respect and says that he will never accept his heir as his true son if he does not resemble his father. This is an unusual departure from Marcabru's policy of general, impersonal criticism.

In the song containing the allegory of the tree of Stinginess, whose root is Evil and because of which Jovens is in exile, the last two strophes deal with husbands and guardians. The poet feels compelled to point out to the husbands their obvious crimes. They call themselves drutz (lovers), but resemble the courteous ass who wanted to frolic with his master after seeing him play with his dogs.

Non sai la cals auctoritat
Lor mostra c'om los apel drutz;
Semblan fant de l'ase cortes,
C'ab son seignor cuidet bordir,
Cant lo vic trepar ab sos ches. (XXXIX, viii, 52-56)

As for the guardians, whom he calls here los acropitz penchenatz, or

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67 Poem XXXVIII, iv. Ges l'affilatz bec d''aissola / Non pert son loc al fogau, / Anz porta pic e massola / Don son gran li dui mau. / Cest tol si donz al jazer / La dolor del penchinill, / Pel feminu don se breia. v. Cest trai del mieill la briola / Plen'al maitin et al ser, / E sobre-l faire faissola, / Car pot la coa mover; / Cest fai la nuoich son jornau, / Don engenrra un bel fill, / Per que sobre seignoreia.

68 Poem XXXVIII, viii. Dieu(s) prec c'a-n Richart non tola / Le regne celestiau, / Qu'el fes so per que s'adola / Lo melhs d'est segle carnau; / Et a-n say laisat per her; / E jamay non creyrai filh / S'aquest non contrapa [i] reia.
bent over, crouched ones, who every day demand a greeting which is interest on the bribes they are being paid, no honest man should ever have to put up with such company.  

Appel and Spanke interpret the references made to the acropitz lenguas planas (XXXVI) and the acropitz penchenatz (XXXIX) as being to the troubadours of courtly love who, these critics believe, are the declared enemies of Marcabru, who wishes to stamp out their heresy.  

In a song contrasting sensual love and Fin'amors Marcabru states that a lady knows nothing about good love when she loves the girbaut (cad) of the household. Under these circumstances she will be crossbred as a greyhound bitch with a mongrel. From such unions come the rich boors who are not hospitable and do not lay good tables.

Dompna non sap d'amor fina
C'ama girbaut de maiso;
Sa voluntatz la mastine
Cum fai lebrieir'ab gosso;
    Ai!
D'aqui naisse-ill ric savañ
Que no fant conduit ni pai;
     Hoc,
Si cum Marcabrus declina. (XXXI, vi)

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69 Poem XXXIX, ix. De tals sa-n vei enraçigatz, / Los fols, e ls savis deceubutz / Per los acropitz penchenatz / Que tot jorn demandon salutz, / E demandon aco per ces; / C'anc nuills francs hom non dec sofri / C'altals gastaus fumes tengues.

These cads lead a comfortable life while giving little cads (engirbadina) to the master.71

Another reference to the bastards born by unfaithful wives into noble families is made in Hueymais dey esser alegrans (XXXIV). These children become the wicked misers who do not love Joy or Merriment and among whom one does not dare to talk for fear of being misquoted.

Eyssamens son dommas trichans
E sabon trichar e mentir,
Per que fan los autrus enfans
Ais maritz tener e noyrir;
D'auqai naissó·l malvat avar
Qu'us non ama Joy ni Depart
Ni n'auza hom entr'elhs parlar. (XXIV, iv)

Is it possible that Marcabru is inferring here that those who refuse to be generous to him are bastards?

The main concern of the little shepherdess, who was too busy thinking about the decline of Pretz, Jovens and Jois to make love, was the degeneration of the noble families as a result of the guardians employed by the husbands to watch over their wives by keeping strangers away. These husbands end up carressing little cads (los guirbaudos) while thinking they are showing compassion to their sons.

Et aplanon los guirbados
E cujon lor fills piadar. (XXIX, v, 29-30)

This same theme is sounded in Assatz m'es bel del temps essuig and in Dirai vos en mon lati. The poet is troubled because Youth is fleeing and then goes on to state that the deceivers are being destroyed

71 Poem XXXI, vii. Aquest intr'en la cozina / Coitar lo fuoc el tizo / E beu lo fum de la tina / De si donz no Bonafo; / Aii' / Ieu sai cum sojorn'e jai / E part lo gran e·l balai, / Hoc, / Son seignor en-engirbaudina.
through mutual infidelity caused by the fire of lust. The destruction here is to be taken literally as the family lines are being carried on by bastards. Marcabru mocks the foolish husbands who say, "My son is laughing at me" when they had nothing to do with the conception of the child.

Que tals ditz: "Mos fills me ri"
Que anc ren no·i ac a fair. (XVII, vi, 34-35)

Marcabru has no respect for the group of men whom he classifies as husbands or maritz. He believes that Fin'amors is for the unmarried man and that after marriage he should use his energy to create legitimate heirs instead of being inspired by lust to try to become the lover of another's wife. By doing so, he can only become an object of derision because of his awkwardness and of the certainty of the infidelity on the part of the woman he is pursuing. At the same time, he is assuring betrayal by his own wife even though he employs a guardian to watch her. By this line of reasoning Marcabru holds the husbands responsible for the infidelity of wives who know no better than to follow the example of their mates and he laughs bitterly at them for affectionately bringing up bastards. Such husbands have only the sense of a goat. He points out rather cynically to these men that, when it comes to sex, all women are the same anyway, so they might as well stick to their own wives.

72 Poem VIII, ii. Bon son l'enganador destruig, / Can l'un pechalt a l'autr'aduii, / El fuoc del malign esperit, / Que fai dir de l'enfan: "so·m cuig, / Mius es," ditz cel que l'a noirit.
73 Poem XVII, vi, 31-34. Moillerat, ab sen cabri, / Atal paratz lo coissi / Don lo cons esdeven laire;.
74 Poem XVII, vii, 41-42. An lo tondres contra·l raire, / Moillerat, del joc coni.
Marcabru sees a fraternal foolishness among husbands who believe themselves the guardians of their own wives and thieves of another's. A war has begun among them, so that a horned husband gives his wife horns and vice versa. He who wishes to sleep with a stranger makes his own wife lusted after and puts her in the public domain. The irony of the whole situation, according to Marcabru, is that he himself is the one who is considered the sinner for calling attention to the promiscuity. Wives, husbands and lovers are consumed with lust and cannot understand the danger of their desires. Marcabru does not like Anjou and offers himself as guide to lead there these fraudulent husbands who are giving evil for evil, but who will get their just deserts, i.e., raising each other's children.

Lo pretz del dan e del barat,
De calque part sia vengutz,
Ant moillerat. (IV, vii, 37-39)

In the allegory about the capture and torture of Proeza (Poem XI), one

75 Poem V, iv. Moillerat, per saint Ylaire, / Son d'une foldat confraire, / Qu'ent'els es guerra moguda / Tals que cornutz fa cornuda, / E cogotz copatz copada, / Puois eis la coa de braire. v. Tals cuid'esser ben gardaire / De la so'e de l'autrui laire, / C'atretals es devenguda / D'aicel de sai que la cuda; / Si l'us musa, l'autre bada / E ieu sui del dich pechaire.

76 Poem XLII, iii. E'l jelos bada e musa / E fai badiu badarel, / Car qui l'autrui con capusa / Lo sieu tramet al mazel, / E qui l'estraing vol sentir, / Lo sieu fai enleconir / E'l met an la comunaila.

77 Poem VIII, vi. Tant cremon lo feu qu'ieu vos diu, / La flama la bras'e'l caliu / C'ar de tant se son enferzit / Que bravas en son e braidiu / Las moillers e'il drut e'il marit.

78 Boissonnade, p. 212.
of the examples of the lack of this virtue is the husbands who are unfaithful and thereby are wrong to complain of their wives' infidelity. Marcabru compares the service of ladies by these husbands to the game of an ass or the laugh of a dog and asks for the condemnation of God on it.

Marcabru classifies husbands among those who think willingly about foolish love, especially after the wine and the sauce. What they do not understand is that a woman and a small child have the same imperfection. They think that they can do whatever they see others do.

The wives, however, are not without their own thoughts of foolish occupations and foolish knights. Marcabru is rather patronizing when he asks that God embrace these poor unfortunate creatures whose daydreams never come true and who, as a result, become disagreeable.

In *Quan l'aura doussana bufa* he says that these cuckolds are hatefully turning the courting of ladies into boasting.

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79 Poem XI, vii. Maritz qui l'autrui con grata / Bon pot saver que-l sieus pescha / E mostra com hom li mescha, / Qu'ab eis lo sieu fust lo bata, / Et aura-n tort si s'en clama, / Car drech a ràços deviza. / Que qui car compra car ven, / Ar, segon la lei de Pîza.


81 Poem XIX, vi. Moillerat cuidan volontier / E seguentre l vin e-l sabrier / Mouta folha cuida esgau, / Per que-l segles deven mestitz; / Tals vol cuidar / En bona part, / Non enten que Marcabrus ditz / Que femnas et enfans petitz / Ant una menda comunau.

82 Poem XIX, vii, 55-61. Dompnas folhas de fol mestier / Son per cuitt e fol cavallier, / Paubr'orgoillos de cuida brau / Acolza Dieus acaatitviz! / C'anc per cuidar / Non vim granar / La cima plus que la razitz;.
Marcabru is traditionally considered a misogynist since most of the women who appear in his poetry are criticized severely. But the women he cannot tolerate are a special group—those who violate the code of Cortezia and choose their lovers by the standards of lust and money. He calls them putana. **Soudadier, per cui es Jovens** (XLIV) is the most complete attack on such women. This song is addressed to his fellow troubadours who are supporters of Fin'amors:

Soudadier, per cui es Jovens  
Mantengutz e Jois eisamens,  
Entendetz los mals argumens  
De las falsas putas ardens. (XLIV, i, 1-4)

It is a warning against those lustful women who are not interested in the refinements of courtly love, but only in the satisfaction of their sexual desire. At first, this type of woman is as sweet as a drink of wine and honey, as full of fierce pride as a lion, and speaks only kind words. With evil genius (engenh) she attaches herself only to

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83 Poem XLIV, ii, 9-12. Salamos ditz et es guirens, / C'al prim es doua cum pimens, / Mas al partir es plus cozens, / Amar'e Cruzels cum serpens;

84 Poem XLIV, iv. Puta sembla leo d'aian: / Fers es d'ergueill al comensan, / Mas pueis qu'ia fag son talan, / Tro que son mil, no-s prez'un gan. / Quarr soven per putia / Put la metritz, / Cum fai per bocaria / Carnils poiritz.

85 Poem XLIV, vii. Eisamen qui sec son Trai / Fai del ric Putana frair: / Quann'ia trag la bresch'ei saï, / Li fai de la lengua bossi; / Ben es de gran folia / Sals e gueritz / Qui's destol de sa via / Ans qu'ela-fitz. viii. Putan'es de tan mal engenh / C'ab dous parler cueill et asenh / Totz cels que pot met'en congreh; / Quan l'avers faill, de si-1 [s] enpenh; / Donx qui de sa paria / Es enco-bitz / Soven mud'e cambia / L'enfoletitz.
rich men who reward her generously for her services. But when their wealth fails or when she tires of them, she rejects them without a second thought (see footnote 85). Association with such a creature can result in nothing but pain and misery (see footnotes 83 and 85, vii). She resembles the Chimera who is a snake behind, lion in front, and beef in the middle, which makes her recognizable from a bay horse and an elephant. One can hear the roar of laughter from the audience at this last line. According to Edith Hamilton, the Chimera of mythology was "a fearful creature, great and swift of foot and strong, whose breath was flame unquenchable." She was reputedly unconquerable, as is Marcabru's putana, and certainly her fiery breath would be for him the fire of lust.

Though possibly attractive at the beginning of her career, by the end she stinks like rotten carrion in a butcher shop (see footnote 84). Wise men avoid her path.

Marcabru's other incriminating comments about women are limited to just a few lines in poems about the decline of cortezia in his world. He often remarks about the scarcity of good women. So many give out

86 Poem XLIV, ix, 65-69. *Puta per usatge·s defen / Al ric si grand loguier no·n pren, / Lai on l'arbalesta desten; / On sap lo pa e vi aten.*

87 Poem XLIV, iii, 17-20. *De [G]uimerra porta semblan / Qu'es serps detras, leos denan, / Bous en miei loc, que·l fai trian / De caval bai e d'aurifan:*.

88 *Mythology* (New York, 1940), p. 137.

89 Poem XLIV, vi, 41. *Savis senatz lai no s'enpen,*.
more than one passkey to their doors that he doubts if there remains one woman who is virtuous or who has just one lover.\textsuperscript{90} Never since the time of Adam and Eve have there been so many deceitful women.\textsuperscript{91} Marcabru can scarcely find a lady who does not change the color of white friendship and has not publicly lost shame.\textsuperscript{92} He who conducts himself according to the whim of a woman deserves all the evil that results.\textsuperscript{93}

Wives are a special category. Their weaknesses are discussed principally as a result of their husbands' blindness and infidelity. The poet infers that they are comparable to dumb animals given out to lease by their husbands.\textsuperscript{94} But they, too, are tricky and know how to deceive and lie when they make their husbands raise the children of other men.\textsuperscript{95} Wives are their husbands' equals when it comes to cuckoldry (see footnote 75). Marcabru calls down a special curse on those who serve these ardent and burning whores who are so greedy for sex.\textsuperscript{96}

\textsuperscript{90} Poem XLI, vi, 34-36. Tans n'i vei dels contraclaviers, / Greu sai remanra conz entiers / A crebar ni a meich partir.

\textsuperscript{91} Poem VI, ii, 7-38. Q'anc pos la serps baisset lo ram / No foron tant enganairiz.

\textsuperscript{92} Poem V, iii, 13-16. Non puosc dompnas trobar gaire / Que blanch'amistatz no-i vaire, / A presen o a saubuda / N'aja vergoinongna perduda,

\textsuperscript{93} Poem XVIII, xi, 61-62. Qui per sen de femna reinga / Dreitz es que mals li'n aveigna,

\textsuperscript{94} Poem II, v, 24-25. Gilos que-s fan baut guazalhan / Meton nostres molters en joc.

\textsuperscript{95} Poem XXXIV, iv, 22-25. Eyssamens son domnas trichans / E sabon trichar e mentir, / Per que fan los autrus enfans / Als maritz tener e noyriel;

\textsuperscript{96} Poem XXXIV, v. Ja Dieus no'l sia personans / Qui las vol onrar ni servir, / Estas putas ardens cremans / Pejors que ieu no-us saubra dir; / Tan lor sap bo lo clau copar, / Que non hi guardon dreg ni tort, / Mas selh que mielhs las sap ronsar.
He cannot keep from scolding about the conduct of wives even though nothing stops because of him. They become pregnant only by their lovers and not by their husbands.  

Conclusion

René Nelli finds a social implication in this theme of criticizing wives, husbands and lovers. According to custom, a noble lady had to choose her lover from the group comprising her husband (in very bad taste), her guardian, or married men of her own rank. Nelli believes that Marcabru and the other troubadours were supporting the interests of the young, unmarried men (jovens) and consciously trying to change the social pattern in order to give the young, unmarried men the right to court the married women. But it was as difficult to make stylish the new amorous trio, mari-dame-amant célibataire bien né, as it was to make a lady take seriously the passion of a poor jongleur. This he believes to be the cause of the pessimistic tone of Marcabru's poetry and also that of his contemporaries.  

Nelli finds support for his theory by interpreting strophe iv of Al prim comens de l'ivernaill as saying that the young men are boasting that, when spring comes, they will court the married ladies, but,
when the time arrives, they do not have the courage to do so. He claims that the husbands especially object to their wives having unmarried lovers. Thus, they force their wives to answer no instead of yes to advocates of pure love.\(^{100}\)

However, I find more logical Spanke's contention that the troubadours followed the trends and did not make them.\(^{101}\) Marcabru is calling for a return to the service of *Fin'amors* and not taking the part of any one group. He is deeply disturbed by the sexual promiscuity which is rampant in his society. The nobles have taken hold of the fashionable courting code of *Cortezia* and use its rules as a game in order to seduce any person of the opposite sex who is attractive to them. Both men and women are guilty. It is not the adultery, *per se*, which upsets the poet. Since romantic love had no place in marriage in his day, he did not expect husbands and wives to direct their love emotions toward each other. However, these people who were talking so much about *fin'amors* were displaying great ignorance on the subject. First of all, husbands had no part to play in courtly love except as jealous protectors of their wives; the code, probably, at this point, still an informal one, called for the suitor to be an unmarried man. But just as important was the fact that consummation in a relationship based on *fin'amors* was

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\(^{100}\) Poem II, vii. *Qu'entr'els non a clau ni meia / Qu'el(s) non aion del plus preon / E del frug lo prim e·l segon, / Cist fan la malvestat[z] rebon / Quan nos fan donar non per oc.*

\(^{101}\) Spanke, p. 43.
supposed to be the exception rather than the rule and should occur, if ever, after a long development of a spiritual union.

The situation that Marcabru sees in his society is that husbands and wives are freely sleeping with anyone they please and claiming that they are following the fashion of courtly love. The result of all this promiscuity is that the young unmarried men (jovens) are being given very bad examples, so that they will probably do the same thing after their marriages, and that many bastards are being born into the noble families, thus destroying the blood lines.

There is much more to fin'amors than just love between a man and a woman. The atmosphere required for fin'amors constitutes a whole way of life which is disappearing (if it ever existed) from Marcabru's society. It requires a refinement of manners, a generous nature, a sense of religious obligation, a purity of attitude, and control of anger. It is all this which Marcabru wants to be returned to his society to replace the vulgar, evil ways which are now prevalent. The only way for this to be accomplished is for the nobles to return to the true service of Fin'amors--both inwardly and outwardly.
CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

Marcabru's lowly origins and lack of formal education are everywhere evident in his poetry. That he has lived close to nature and its creatures is witnessed by his unusual awareness of details and names of plants and animals. His colloquial, often crude, language and his affinity for popular proverbs also reveal close ties with the common people. He is so involved in the everyday life of his world that he communicates his ideas only with great difficulty to us in the twentieth century. He was a religious man as were all men in his society. He finds the Bible a rich source for the imagery which abounds in his songs, but the echoes of scripture reveal a second-hand acquaintance, not a clerical or theological familiarity with the Bible. Also from his relationship with the Church comes his idea of assuming the role of a prophet—not of God, though, but of Fin'amors.

Marcabru's songs are directed toward varied audiences. There are obscene songs for reveling, drunken knights and songs delicate in tone written for women. His gross and uncouth insults are not just evidence of his grumpy personality, but certainly met with the approval of the listeners. When he criticized the use of guardians, he must have been very pleasing to the women who were eager to lose their personal and social shackles. He must also have pleased these women with his remarks about husbands who were trying to become lovers. When he poured
scorn onto the passionate female sex, he probably received the smirking approval of his male audience. The key to his technique is that he does not attack individuals. Each member of the audience can find an accurate description of his friends, but not of himself.

However, besides entertaining, his songs did hold a message for his contemporaries. He was disturbed by the use of *cortezia* as an excuse for widespread promiscuity and the resulting decline in courteous conduct. The solution is for the nobles to think of love in a spiritual way and not just as satisfaction of sexual desire. To call attention to the situation he assumes the role of a prophet of *Fin'amors* calling the nobles back to its service. For Marcabru, *Fin'amors* is a spiritual love of woman in which physical desire is present but controlled. Marcabru parodies the Church in his songs. *Fin'amors* becomes a sort of secular deity which does not replace the religious one, but exists side by side with it, and *Fin'amors* even insists that its followers also serve the Church. As God has his counterpart in the devil, so *Fin'amors* has its in *Amars*, which is the source of evil in Marcabru's secular scheme. He also set up a system of good and bad qualities as the Church had sins and virtues. If the nobles will return to *Cortezia*, the code of conduct required by *Fin'amors*, they are assured of an earthly bliss just as service of God and his Church assures eternal happiness.

It does not seem that blasphemy was intended in Marcabru's parody. His was a sophisticated and secular society with deep roots in the Church, and the poet chose the most effective way he could to
communicate his desire that the nobles sincerely serve Fin'amors instead of just using it as a pretense for lustful seductions.

The role of prophet of Fin'amors which Marcabru chose to combine with his career as troubadour could not have been an easy one. He had a doubly frustrating existence, for his fellow human beings never seemed to take him seriously enough to change their behavior because of his message, nor was he often successful in his search for a generous patron. But his audiences must have encouraged him to some extent or he would not have long survived as a troubadour. The preservation of so many of his songs and even of musical notations in a few instances also indicates some contemporary interest in his work.

This bulk of extant songs is important to the modern scholar in his search for an understanding of the place of Fin'amors in early Provençal society before it became fixed and stylized. Hopefully, with the publication of Roncaglia's edition of Marcabru's songs, more mysteries of language and content can be solved, so that even more precise conclusions can be drawn concerning the poet and his conception of Fin'amors.
APPENDIX A

TRANSLATION OF POETRY
Marcabru's Songs

I

A la fontana del vergier
At the fountain in the orchard

II

A l'alena del vent doussa
With the breath of the gentle wind

III

Al departir del brau tempier
At the end of the disagreeable weather

IV

Al prim comens de l'ivernaill
At the first beginning of winter

V

Al son desviat, chantaire
With a borrowed tune, singers

VI

Amics Marchabrun, car digam
Friend Marcabru, immediately let us say

VII

Ans que-l terminis verdei
Before the season becomes green

VIII

Assatz m'es bel del temps essuig
The dry season is rather beautiful to me

IX

Aujatz de chan com enans' e meillura
Hear the song as it progresses and gets better

XI

Bel m'es quan la rana chanta
It is beautiful to me when the frog sings

XIIbis

Bel m'es can s'esclarzis l'onda
It is beautiful to me when the wave becomes clear

XIII

Bel m'es quan son li fruich madur
It is beautiful to me when the fruit ripens

XIV

Contra l'ivern que s'enansa
In comparison with winter which advances

XV

Cortesamen vuoiill comenssar
Courteously I want to begin

XVI

D'aisso laus Dieu
For this reason I praise God
Dirai vos en mon latif
I will tell you in my language

Dirai vos senes dupansa
I will tell you without fear

Doas cuidas ai compagnier
Two thoughts I have for companions

Tot a estru (by Audric addressed to Marcabru)
Quite quickly

Seignier n'Audric
Lord Audric

Bel m'es quan la fuelh'ufana
It is beautiful to me when the leaf appears proudly

Emperaire, per mi mezeis
Emperor, through my own knowledge

Emperaire per vostre prez
Emperor, for your merit

En abriu, s'esclairo·il riu contra·l Pascor
In April the streams become clear near Easter

Estornel, cueill ta volada
Starling, take your flight

Ges l'estornels non s'oblida
The starling certainly does not forget himself

Lanquan fuelhon li boscatge
When the wood is foliating

L'autrier, a l'issida d'abriu
The other day, at the end of April

L'autrier jost'una sebissa
The other day near a hedge

L'iverns vai e·l temps s'aizina
Winter is going and the time is approaching

Lo vers comenssa
The verse begins

Lo vers comens quan vei del fau
I begin the verse when I see the beech-tree
Hueymais dey esser alegrans
Now I should be joyful

Pax in nomine Domini!

Per l'aura freida que guida
By the cold breeze which guides

Per savi·l tenc ses doptanssa
For a wise man I hold without any doubt

Pois la fuoilla revirola
When the leaf whirls around

Pois l'inverns d'ogan es anatz
Since the winter of this year has gone

Pus mos coratges s'es clarzitz
Since my heart has been illumined

Pus s'enfulleysson li verjan
Since the orchards are foliating

Quan l'aura doussana bufa
When the soft breeze blows

Soudadier, per cui es Jovens
Fellow hirelings, by whom Youth is
I. A la fontana del vergier

i. At the fountain in the orchard,
Where the grass is green near the gravel,
In the shadow of a planted tree,
Adorned with white flowers,
And the customary song of the new time,
I found alone, without companion,
The one who does not wish my happiness.

ii. It was a demoiselle with a beautiful body,
Daughter of a lord of a castle;
And when I said that the birds
And the greenness were making her joyous
As well as the mild new weather,
And that she might hear my words,
Quickly her attitude was changed.

iii. From her eyes she cried next to the fountain,
And from the heart she sighed deeply.
"Jesus," she said, "King of the world,
Because of you my great grief increases,
For your outrage ruins me
Since the best men in all this world
Are going to serve you, for such is your will.

iv. With you leaves my friend,
The handsome, the gentle, the valiant, and the noble one.
Here remain with me great distress,
Often desire and weeping.
Ah! Cursed be King Louis
Who makes the messages and the sermons
By which grief entered into my heart."

vi. When I heard her grieve
Toward her I came near the clear spring.
"Beautiful lady, I said, through too much crying
Your face and color are being ruined.
You must not despair
For the one who makes the woods foliate
Can give you joy enough."

vi. "Lord," said she, "I believe it indeed
That God will have mercy on me
In the other world forever,
As on many other sinngers;
But here (in this world) that king takes from me
He who increases my joy. But he values me little
Since he is departed so far from me."
II. A l'alena del vent doussa

i. With the breath of the gentle wind
Which God sends us, I don't know from where,
I have a heart full of joy
Before the sweetness of the freshness
When the meadows are red and yellow.

ii. It is beautiful to me when the mornings are shadowy
And the birds in the greenness
Intermingle their cries with singing,
And each one with the voice he has
Delights his mate in his nest.

iii. From there I smell a bad odor
Where they take the skin from a buzzard.
For the spoil-sports are held dear.
Supposedly the ladies are guarded by them,
So that no stranger except the master can touch them.

iv. The jealous ones go around without worry
And the guardians are taking their pleasure.
Such people do not sing and answer
For they go in the daylight and without light.
But if you wish to do the same, they beat you with your own stick.

v. About those ones, Marcabru knows who they are,
For they do not try to hide their ways from him,
The evil and prowling guardians.
The jealous ones who make themselves proud leaseholders
of dumb animals
Put our women into danger of temptation.

vi. With difficulty I think that I will give to them again
That wage (bribe) for which they go off completely.
They follow the nature of the dog;
As the mongrel consumes and the greyhound gnaws,
Above the dish they blow on the fire.

vii. Against them there is neither key nor way
To keep them from having what is most deeply hidden,
Both the first of the fruit and the second.
Those ones (husbands) make evilness hidden
When they cause to be given to us no for yes.

viii. The jealous one is with his foolishness well
Inflated, then uninflated and melted down.
He must know what are the ways of a whore,
If not, let him say that he no longer can (is impotent).
III. Al départir del brau tempier

i. At the end of the disagreeable weather
When through the branches the sap rises
Which revives the broom and the heather,
And the peach trees flower,
And the frog sings in the fish pond,
And the willow and the elder grow,
In contrast with the season which is dry,
I am preoccupied with making a verse.

ii. I am preoccupied with a large orchard
Where there are fine saplings in many places;
The buds are fine, but the fruit empty.
Those which are destined to be poorest (in quality)
Appear (to be) leaves and flowers of an apple tree,
But are upon fruiting willow and elder.
And when the top is foolish
Sorrowing are the parts at the extremities.

iii. Dead are the good first trees
And the living ones are twigs and straw.
With regard to vigorous undertakings I see them deficient,
But with blundering they are busy.
They are swaggering with promises,
For making them good (they are) elders and willows.
Therefore, we proclaim them weak and dull,
I and all the other hirelings.

iv. When they are at night near the fireplace
Lord Estève, Lord Constant, Lord Hugues
........................................ Bernard de Mondidier.
All night they joust splendidly
In the daytime, in the shadow of the elder
You hear noise and gaiety
And doubling among them at checkers.

v. Thus, they (children) do not equal the last ones (fathers)
IN all good sense, with the rascals,
Is it possible that Cazères and Sarlux
Are worth Toulouse and Montpelier?
For I know what deaths the first ones (fathers) made
And most of the living ones are true elder trees.
You can say that he is lucky
Who finds a laurel or olive tree (among them).

vi. Even the doorkeeper with the keys
Pushed by a wind, is fleeing his eyes closed;
For a smock and for slippers
He has left cloak and shoes.
I have nothing from the vassal.
How angry the willow and elder trees make me!
If kings or counts or dukes do not support them (troubadours?)
They will forevermore be wanderers.

vii. May God save the valiant who have perfect merit,
For the bad rich appear to be elder trees,
Because of whom the world is mad
Hence evil and trouble.

IV. Al prim comens de l'ivernaill

i. At the first beginning of winter
When the acorns rain from the woods,
I wish that they be equal
To Prowess, that they not tremble,
And that they be prepared
Just as if it were the grassy season.

ii. Then every poor man complains
When he sees the cold weather and the puddles
In contrast with the new time (spring).
He huddles up and goes to market,
For in summer when he is not dressed
He can go with a naked skin.

iii. Those ones resemble a badger
In the evening when they are full and fed
After the wine.
They do not remember in the morning.
On the contrary, the huddled up lord swears
That never such a bad time was seen.

iv. Young men of good appearance
I see deceived by Evil,
For they go around boasting.
They talk, forging a thousand projects:
"We will act when the weather is flowering."
But there remain the boasts and noise.

v. They have the customs of a cur
For they say when it will be light (in the spring)
They will make a house.
But then when the time comes,
They will not be heard or listened to,
Never by them was wood planed.

vi. Husbands, the best in the world
You would be, except for the fact that each of you makes
yourself a lover,
Which ruins you.
Your sexual organs are on the march,
For that reason is Youth disgraced
And for that reason you are called foolish.

vii. The consequences of harm and of deceit
From wherever it may come
The husbands have;
And I have assured it to them.
Joy is among them feted
And Generosity somewhat maintained.

viii. Wrongly or rightly they have the upper hand
And Youth declares itself vanquished;
The majority and the most
Scarcely find one who welcomes them;
)
One for an ox which he had of it.¹

ix. Power is not advantageous
Which does not know how to cure itself from sobs
Or from a cough.
What will they do to take care of us?
Ladies, thus Marcabru says it,
The great cease to love the small.

x. To Castile and to Portugal
I will not send other greeting (than)
May God save them!
And in Barcelona likewise.
Since the Poitevin is lacking to me
I will be forevermore like Arthur lost.

xi. In Gascogne here toward Ossau
They tell me that a little one flourishes
Where you will find me if I am lost.

¹ Vv. 47-48: Capel s'a levat d'avola critz
Uns per un bou que n'a agutz.

Dejeanne offers the following translation, but he, too, is uncertain of the meaning: "l'un d'eux a dû coiffer un chapeau et entendre de vilains cris pour un boeuf qu'il en a obtenu (?)."
V. Al son desviat, chantaire

i. With a borrowed tune, singers,
    I shall see if I can make a verse
    About common false Friendship,
    For it takes as easily as it refuses.
    Then here it sells and there buys,
    And I shall die if I do not make this idea clear.

ii. This love knows how to deceive,
    With trickery to shave without water,
    Then, when it has shaved, it moves on
    And seeks another whom it greets
    To whom it is sweet and familiar
    So that the fool becomes idle.

iii. I can scarcely find a lady
    Who of white friendship does not change the color,
    Publicly or openly
    Has not lost shame,
    So that the least confronted
    Has dropped a rag.2

iv. Husbands, by Saint Hilaire,
    Are of a brotherly foolishness,
    For among them has war begun,
    So that a horned husband gives his wife horns
    And an accused deceived man (makes an) accused unfaithful
    wife,
    Then the tail comes out to sing.

v. Such a one believes indeed to be the guardian
    Of his own (wife) and thief of another's (wife),
    But in the same way she has become
    Of this one here who covets her;
    If one stands idle, the other gapes,
    And I am a sinner for saying it.

vi. Of nothing I am the chastizer
    And the sermonizer of foolishness;3
    For since the flame was born
    Between the foolish lover and his lady,
    If the fool burns for the enflamed one,
    I am neither evil reaper nor thief.

Vv. 17-18: Si que la menos afrontada
           N'a laissat cazer un caire.

Dejeanne translates, "si bien que la moins affrontées on a laisse
tomber un coin."
vii. As long as good Youth was father
   Of the world and Fin'amors mother
   Was Prowess maintained
   Secretly and openly,
   But now have degraded it
   Duke and king and emperor.

viii. For I am very much a witness
      A defender and seeker of it,
      And I see how Youth is being extinguished,
      For that reason Love is lost
      And by Joy deserted
      (And I see) how Love is troubled.

ix. The love of which I am indicator
    Is born in a noble atmosphere
    And the place where it is grown
    Is enclosed with branching boughs
    And with heat and with cold
    So that a stranger cannot remove it from there.

x. Desired instead of desirer
    Has as name he who does not wish to betray Love.

VI. Amics Marchabrun, car digam

i. Friend Marcabru, immediately let us say
   A verse of Love, because in my heart I wish
   That now we compose
   And that the song be heard faraway.

ii. Ugo Catloa, now let us do (it)
    But of false friendship I complain,
    For never since the serpent descended the branch
    Have there been so many deceitful women.

iii. Marcabru, it is not good in my opinion
     That of Love you say anything but good;
     For that reason I propose to you a tension
     Which by Love was born and nourished.

iv. Catola, you do not understand reason,
    Do you not know about how Samson was betrayed by Love?
    You and the other fools believe
    That everything is true when it (Love) speaks to you.

v. Marcabru, witnesses are not found
   Of strong Samson and of his wife
That she had taken away her love
At the hour that he was ruined.

vi. Catola, because to the worst
She gave it (love) and took it from the best,
It (love) lost its value the day
That his (love) was betrayed for the stranger.

vii. Marcabru, since you decline
That Love is mixed with deceit,
Then charity is sin
The top down to the root.

viii. Catola, the Love of which you speak
Changes secretly the dice.
After the throw of the dice, pay attention,
Thus say Solomon and David.

ix. Marcabru, friendship declines
For it has found Youth evil,
I have in my heart for that reason anger and fear,
For it (Youth) has raised such hateful cries against it.

x. Catola, Ovid shows here
And the course of events reports it
That it (love) does not scorn blond or brunette,
Rather it turns more toward the degenerate.

xi. Marcabru, I do not believe that Love ever loved you
Toward whom you are so angry
Nor has it (Love) esteemed another being less
Than such dumbfounded jongleurs (like you).

xii. Catola, never at all was a step taken (by Love)
That it didn't depart immediately
And still it (Love) departs immediately
And will do so until you are dead.

xiii. Marcabru, when I am weary and I suffer
And my good friend welcomes me
With a kiss, when I take off my clothes,
I go away healthy, safe and cured.

xiv. Catola, for love of the wine-press
Wealth causes the fool to pass over the threshold
And then shows to the eye the way
After the other deceived ones.
VII. Ans que: l terminis verdel

i. Before the season becomes green
   I shall sing and I have the right.
   Let he who (wishes) rejoice from love
   Of it I have neither this nor that (nothing at all).
   To any man who courts a lady
   I do not wish worse illness;
   Indeed, he dies from hunger and from cold,
   He who from love is in distress.

ii. I do not want or desire Love
   So much it knows about deceit with lying;
   For that reason I want to tell it to you
   That I never could rejoice in Love.
   I wish it so much evil and detest it so much
   when the memory makes me languish;
   I was a fool for serving Love
   But we have come to parting.

iii. Because of Love one is usually gay
   But I shall never be
   For a lady deceived me and betrayed me
   For that reason I abandon it and abstain from it.
   He is indeed burdened with a foolish burden
   The one who is in confusion because of Love.
   Lord God at how bad an hour is born
   He who feasts on such foolishness.

iv. For Love is full of deceit
   For material possessions it goes around changing
   And from the most noble it turns in scorn
   For the evil ones will have it first.
   Never go courting
   Without money and with suffering (from love or desire).
   Love which goes bargaining
   I commend it to the devil.

v. Of Love I shall tell you how it is:
   If you were worth a marquis,
   Never go courting with it
   Since of wealth you will have nothing at all (left).
   If you have given and spent
   Now you are not worth a pogo (coin of small value);
   You will never be worth a thank you to her
   Since you are now lacking wealth.

vi. For I say to those who court ladies,
   Who go around pondering Love:
   Let them not make themselves greedy for it;
And it would be their advantage  
If indeed he is rather calloused  
He who is inclined toward loving,  
For he who is too amorous  
Turns indeed from cabbage to stump (loses all his possessions).

vii. The little song ceases  
I say no more of it to those in Perma;  
Such ones who make themselves harborers of Love  
Ought to deceive openly.  
A lover who makes himself resemble Bazan  
For the sake of Love acts like a fool.  
Never let him cross himself with his hand  
He who Love will deceive!

VIII. Assatz m'es bel del temps essuig

i. The dry season is rather beautiful to me  
When the gentle (breeze) sighs and the fountain makes noise  
And the meadows are green again;  
I am troubled by Youth for it is fleeing  
For it scarcely finds one who summons it.

ii. Indeed are the deceivers destroyed  
When one brings sin to the other,  
The fire of the maligned soul  
Which causes to be said about the child, "Thus, I believe,  
He is mine," says the one who has fed him.

iii. Wise is the one who oppresses the fire  
Which against the will over him does not reign,  
For since his courage attacks the fire,  
Which attaches itself to him,  
He will remain for a long time without wailing.

iv. Husbands, according to destiny,  
What is to come to you I teach you,  
But so much you have frightened me  
That each one (other troubadours?) because of it his heart feigns,  
For that reason I am not welcomed equally.

v. Ah! How bad and cruel it used to be  
That a stranger seek in another's nest!  
But now they are rejoicing  
So that the path discovered  
They go assured and trusted.
vi. So much they are burning the fire about which I tell you,
The flame, the embers, and the hot cinders,
That now about much they have become ferocious,
That they are because of it cruel and ardent,
The wives and the lovers and the husbands.

vii. Who will understand (hear) me if I speak well?
For now I remember what I remember
A cowardly act and a bold act
Which I have committed; since then I have always been
honorable,
And it (honor) has still not left me.

viii. From fear alone I have pulled rein
Which above all will have made me
Stronger than an Arab horse,
And if I had done it for another reason
My courage would have enriched me.

ix. My cowardice I hold very dear
For it teaches me from whom I protect myself,
From a big fool and from a small child,
And I must three times reflect on my affair
Before letting it be heard.

x. I must not abandon my boldness
Nor obey it in my whole affair.
None other has contradicted me
That easily from my private dinner
Comes a joyous adventure.

xi. Husbands, you are all fraudulent,
For each one renders evil for evil,
But all will be returned to according to your merit,
And I will serve as guide toward Anjou.

xii. Guyenne! they cry in Poitou
Valor descends against greed,
And whoever makes a guide of a dung beetle
Seizes shelter in a bad place.

xiii. Thus the Angevins are disgraced
And whoever makes a guide of a dung beetle
Seizes shelter in a bad place.
IX. Aujatz de chan com enans' e meillura

i. Hear the song as it progresses and gets better
And Marcabru, according to his noble knowledge,
Knows how to make and bind in rhyme the subject and the verse,
So that no one else can draw out a word from it.

ii. But I sigh because many people lose their heads
From the evil which always grows and gets worse;
This summons me that I be aggressive (This causes me to be aggressive),
For to them it is pleasing when they hear me cry out and protest.

iii. The worst have of generosity the good fortune
And the best are gaping before a painting;
The report makes (one) sad and sighing
For the rich perform their affairs backwards.

iv. There is no solace in Youth since it is too vacillating
Nor against death is there power nor protection,
For those vile ones have thrown it (Youth) from its domaine
And into the street through lack of the mother.

v. He who for wealth loses shame and moderation
And casts out honor and merit with no worry
According to his features he is of appearance brother
Of the hedgehog, the mongrel dog, and the petty thief.

vi. Prowess is breaking up and Vice surrounds itself with walls
And does not wish to welcome Joy into its enclosure;
Right nor reason I see scarcely maintained
When thanks to wealth has a scamp become emperor.

vii. Count of Poitou, your merit is assured
And that of Alphonse here, if only it endures,
For Avignon and Provence and Beaucaire
He holds better for his (than) his father did (hold)
Toulousain.

viii. If this Lord Alphonse only makes me welcome
And toward me shows lack (of generosity),
There toward Leon I know one of good family
Frank (noble) in speech, courteous, and generous giver.

ix. May the Holy Scripture keep them from evil
That it not make them affected or false.
May he who is and was king and saviour of kings
Make clear to me the hope of the king Lord Alphonse.
XI. Bel m'es quan la rana chanta

i. It is beautiful to me when the frog sings
   And the sap rises through the bark
   For that reason the flowers, the leaves and the branches
   And the fruit live again in the plant;
   And the nightingale cries out and calls
   His mate whom he has conquered through joy,
   Full of pride because he does not feel
   Cold nor frost nor ice nor breeze.

ii. I do not dare to say what pleases me
   About a lady (Prowess) who becomes hard³
   Whom Evil mangles and tears asunder
   For among a thousand I do not find forty
   Of those who love Prowess.
   For they have sieged her in a castle
   And shoot there indeed with a hundred
   Stone-throwing machines those who have revived her.

iii. Taken is the castle except for the room
   In the tower where there is resistance
   Where Joy and Youth and that one (Prowess)
   Are condemned to a harsh punishment;
   For each one cries out, "Fire and flame!
   Let's go inside and may it (the tower) be taken.
   Let us strangle Joy and Youth
   And may Prowess be killed."

iv. Lord, indeed it is a great pity
   If she dies without sons or daughters.
   Let us retain for a miracle
   Her beak or her nail or her wing,
   For from a little tree grows a large branch
   When good care is put there;
   For that reason I hope and wait for
   The fruit after the sowing.

v. I do not want to make a long speech:
   Captured is the noble thing
   And she does not find peace or rest
   Unless she becomes a recluse or nun;

³ Vv. 9-10: Non aus so que m'atalanta
   Dir d'una gen que s fa cusca,

Dejeanne suggests the following translation: "Je n'ose parler, ce
donc j'ai grand désir, d'une gent qui se rend coquine."
And since each one offends her
And tortures her and breaks her teeth,
I do not find a relative of hers
From Portugal to Frise.

vi. Duke and king without lying
They have first their mouths closed
For they make a big noise about a little deed
For Generosity makes them ashamed;
Each one fears so much that wealth lacks (to him)
That in their court is not seen
A cup or goblet of silver,
Vair mantel nor gray fur.

vii. A husband who rubs the vagina of another
Can well know that his own is sinning
And is showing how to deceive,
For with his very own stick he is beaten,
And he will be wrong if he complains about it,
For right and reason instruct
That he who buys dear sells dear,
Now, according to the law of Pisa.

viii. From this is born base trafficking,
The rich who desecrate death and God,
For you do not make hospitality or dance;
May there not be dull praises for
The one who starves his household;
That one wears the white chemise
And makes his lord suffer
And treats his lady in his own way.

ix. Alegret, fool, in what way
Do you think to make of a base person a valiant one
Or of a coat a shirt?
On the contrary, how is it possible? rising, falling,
What a coat, what a shift.

XII bic. Bel m'es can s'esclarzis l'onda

i. It is beautiful to me when the wave becomes clear
And when the bird through the garden
Rejoices according to his language;
The song through his beak gushes out,
But I compose better than anyone.
ii. For joyful learning
Teaches me that with the setting sun
I praise the day and the host with the morning,
And that I do not answer any fool,
And that I not gape along with those who stand idle.

iii. For Vice overflows
Like a wave of the sea;
For that reason I lord it over my neighbor
And he does not want any of my virtue,
Thus, for that reason, they call me jackdaw.

iv. Never will be satiated
Envy until the end
Nor Covetousness either.
For envying and desiring
Go and return to the opening (special word for narrow
opening in a flood gate).

v. I do not believe that Evil hides itself,
For in the middle of the path
The rich now follow its retinue
And when Vice abounds,
Evil is right behind in the saddle.

vi. Ah! with difficulty will ever have shame
Promiscuity with large testicles,
But cursed injurious monkey
She welcomes, for he probes deeply
Often, no matter who is caused damage.

vii. For it (promiscuity) has of it the second key
For that reason the lord, I assure you,
Wears a horned hat
For only with a grafting becomes round
His lady, thus says Marcabru.

viii. I can not keep from scolding
About the sin from your wives,
But since nothing stops because of me,
If one peels, the other sheers,
And I rise up against this.

ix. For your service of ladies is getting out of bounds
And resembles the game of an ass
And sometimes the laugh of a dog.

\[4^{*} V. 40: \text{ Et je m'élève contre ce tapage.}\]

Dejeanne translates this verse as "Et je m'élève contre ce tapage."
And I beg that God confound it,
He who above all wants good most.

x. If the domaine of the lord of Gironde
Mounts up, it will mount still more.
Provided that he think about killing
Pagans, thus Jesus commands them.

XIII. Bel m'es quan son li fruich madur

i. It is beautiful to me when the fruit ripens
And the second crop becomes green again,
And the birds, during the dark time,
Lower the refrain of their voices,
So much they fear the shadows;
And my heart is exalted
For I sing with joy about Fin'amors,
And I see my good hope.

ii. False friends and cheating lovers
Lower love and raise up rumor;
Do not think that Love becomes worse,
For it is worth as much as it was at first;
It always was of a pure color
And always of one appearance;
No man knows of its worth
The end nor the beginning.

iii. He who wishes may believe foolish auguries,
Only God keeps me from the whirlwind.
For in such a Love I take my chances
Where there is no deceit nor clattering (of gossip);
In summer and winter and spring
I am in great joy,
And I would be in greater
With a little bit of assurance.

iv. Never will I believe, whoever swears it to me,
That wine does not come from raisins
And that man because of Love does not become better,
For we have never heard about one getting worse;
For I am worth more because of the best (of women)
However, I still have uncertainty about it,
And I do not dare to boast, for fear
Of the one in which I have my hope.
v. It will always be difficult for a fool to change his nature
And not to begin again to do foolish things,
And for a foolish woman not to act without restraint.
And bad trees (come) from bad plants,
From bad branches, bad flowers,
And the fruit from bad thoughts
Returns to evil if not worse,
There where Joy has not sovereignity.

vi. For False Love, with strange obstinance
From the line of Cain,
Puts its followers in unhappiness,
For it does not fear shame nor blame;
It pulls them from loving with its sweetness,
It puts the fool in such error
That he would not remain with those
Who gave him all of France.

XIV. Contra l'ìvern que s'enansa

i. In comparison with winter which advances
With worry which attacks me,
It is agreeable to me that I soar with song
Before another worry attacks me;
Since because of a plan (which) failed
It is not necessary that another cause me to thrive.

ii. For I am seated in suffering
And rise in uncertainty;
For that reason, I know what makes me suffer
And what holds me in this uncertainty,
For with sweet taste she baits
Her words with deceitful bait.

iii. My inclination and its appearance
Are and are not of one sculpture,
Since from inclination is born appearance
And since from its word, it shapes it (appearance),
For if the one (inclination) drags with evil glue
The fool, the other (appearance) snares him.

iv. The sensual love of that lady does not lack to me
Because of the vexing tricks of Love;
Provided that while sensual love is not lacking me
That she be loving me with a love
With the reward that appears to me
Younger than I appear.

v. Through belief I have hope of it
That still with me she associates
But I have such good hope of it,
Fearful of a short contract,
That in the middle of my foolish affair,
I do not say a foolish word.

vi. He carries mooning and yawning
He who in sensual love has confidence,
For against his will he moons and yawns
Often, thus I assure you,
For love thus entangles;
The ingenious one gets disentangled.

vii. With felonious desire
And alienation and struggle
Love pays the desiring ones;
I think, I twist, and turn, and struggle,
For a lady with pride has
Paid me with such arrogance.

ix. Of that sovrenity about which I sing,
Her merit without riddle,
And in valor she is superior,
Still without riddle,
For if by her I am not awakened,
Do not expect that another will awaken me.

x. He who makes the verse and the dance
Does not know from where originated the dance.

xi. Marcabru made the tune
And does not know from where comes the dance.

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5 Vv. 23-24: Ab guizardon que m paresca
Plus tozet que non paresc.

Dejeanne is also unsure about the meaning of these verses, but
suggests "en me donnant une récompense qui me paraisse moindre que
je ne parais (récompense qui soit au-dessus de mon faible mérite)."
XV. Cortesamen vuoiill comenssar

i. Courteously I want to begin
A verse if there is someone to listen to it now,
And since I have been so occupied with it,
I will see if I can embellish it,
For now I want to perfect my song,
And I will tell you about many things.

ii. A person can become quite vulgar
Who wishes to criticize Cortezia,
For the most wise and the most learned
Does not know how to say and do so many things
That one can not teach him
Little of much, such is the time.

iii. Of Cortezia he can boast
He who knows well how to keep Mezura;
And he who wishes to hear all that is
And thinks to collect all that he sees,
It is necessary to reduce the excess of everything,
Or he will never be very courteous.

iv. Mezura is talking nicely
And Cortezia consists of loving;
And he who does not wish to be scorned
Keeps himself from all vulgarity,
From making fun and doing foolish things,
Then he will be wise provided that he reflect.

v. For thus can a wise man conduct himself
And a good lady improve;
But she who takes two or three of them
And to one does not wish to entrust herself,
She must indeed lower her merit
And her value with every month.

vi. Such love is to be valued
Which holds itself to be esteemed,
And if I say of it any injurious thing
Because of the fault of which I wish to accuse her,
I approve indeed that she make me gape much
So that I will not have that which she has promised me.

vii. The verse and the song I wish to send
To Jaufre Rudel (who is) abroad,
And I want the French to hear it
In order to delight their hearts,
For God can forgive them it
Whether it be sin or grace.
XVI. D'aisso laus Dieu

i. For this reason I praise God
   And Saint Andrew
   For no man is of better thought
   Than I am, thus I believe,
   And I am not boasting,
   And I would like to tell you why.

ii. For it is quite bad
    If you enter in a discussion
    Which you don't know clearly how to end,
    And it is not good
    (If) you give an argument
    If you do not know how to defend it.

iii. Of cunning sense
     I am so rich
     That I am very difficult to deceive;
     The bread of the fool
     Hot and soft
     I eat and let mine get cold.

iv. So long as it lasts to him
    I pledge to him and swear to him
    That no one can separate me from him;
    And when it lacks to him,
    Let him gape and yawn
    And take from mine the desire.

v. For I judge rightfully
   That the fool acts foolishly
   And the wise one protects himself by leaving;
   For he is doubly foolish
   And mad
   He who lets himself be made mad by a fool.

vi. With a breton sword
    Or with a stick
    He knows nothing about defending himself;
    For I strike another
    And guard myself from him,
    And he does not know how to protect himself from my blow.

vii. In the woods of another
    I chase whenever I wish,
    And there I make my two little dogs yelp
    And the third rises up,
    And comes out of the tube
    Bold and positioned to strike.
viii. My fief is
In such an enclosure
That no one but I can enjoy it,
So I have enclosed it
With a palisade
So that no one can attack it.

ix. In several ways
I am full and satiated
With a hundred colors in order to choose better;
I carry fire on the one hand
And water on the other
With which I know how to put out the flame.

x. Let everyone be careful
For with such skill
It will be up to me to live or die;
For I am the bird
Which by the starlings
Has my little birds fed.

XVII. Dirai vos en mon lati

i. I will tell you in my language
Of what I see and what I saw.
I do not think that the world lasts long
According to what the scripture says,
For now the son is false to the father
And the father to the son likewise.

ii. Turned away from its path
Youth falls into decline,
And Giving who was his brother
Goes making off on the sly,
For never Lord Constans, the deceiver,
Has enjoyed Joy or Youth.

iii. Often with bread and with wine
Nourishes a rich man his evil neighbor,
And if he took it from a bad vessel,
He is assured of a bad morning
If the laborer does not lie,
From whom comes the proverb.

iv. The miller judges in his mill,
He who ties well unties well,
And the peasant says behind his plough
Good fruit comes from a good garden,
And a bad son from a bad mother,
And from a bad horse a hack.

v. Now are born two colts
Beautiful, prancing, with blond hair,
Who go changing from white to vair
And appear like asses.
Joy and Youth, you are deceived,
And Evil comes out of that.

vi. Husbands, with the sense of a goat,
You prepare in such a way the cushion
That the vagina become a thief,
For such a one says, "My son laughs at me."
When he never had anything to do with it:
You keep indeed a foolish appearance.

vii. It is worth nothing to me if I chastize them
For they always return here,
And since I, Marcabru, do not see one
Abandon that path,
Let the shears go in exchange for the razor,
Married men, in the game of sex.

viii. Let the shears go in exchange for the razor,
Married men, in the game of sex.

XVIII. Dirai vos senes duptansa

i. I will tell you without fear
The beginning of this verse;
The words make an appearance of truth,
Listen!
He who hesitates in the presence of Prowess
Makes an appearance of evil.

ii. Youth fails, shatters, and breaks to pieces,
And Love is of such a nature,
Of every subject it has taken the tax,
Listen!
Each one takes of it his part
Never more will it be considered worthy.

iii. Love goes around like a spark
Which smolders the fire in the ashes,
Burns the wood and the straw,
Listen!
And he does not know where to flee to
He who is ruined by the fire.

iv. I will tell you about love how it appears to be:
On this side it looks; on that it gestures;
On this side it kisses; on that it grimaces,

Listen!

It will be straighter than a straight line
When I will be its intimate.

v. Love used to be true
But today it is twisted and chipped
And permits such a decline,

Listen!

There where it cannot bite, it licks
More roughly than does a cat.

vi. It will be more difficult for Love to be true
Since from honey it takes out the wax,
Rather it knows how to peel the pear for itself,

Listen!

Soft to you now as the song of a bird
If only you cut off the tail.

vii. With the devil he is trafficking
He who sits on False Love.
It does not matter to him that another rod beats him,

Listen!

He does not feel it any more than he who scratches himself
Until he flays himself sharply.

viii. Love is of very bad lineage,
It has killed thousands of men without a sword,
God has not made so strong an enchanter,

Listen!

Which a complete boor of the wisest person
Does not make, if he holds him in his snare.

ix. Love is like a mare
Which all day wants one to follow her
And says that she will not give rest,

Listen!

But which climbs league after league
Be it fasting or dining.

x. Do you think that I do not know
If Love is blind or squint-eyed,
Its words smooth out and polish,

Listen!
More gentle prick than a fly,  
But with more difficulty from it is one cured.

xi. He who conducts himself according to the whim of a woman  
It is right that evil come to him from it  
As the scripture teaches us,  
Listen!  
May evil come to you on account of it  
If you all are not careful.

xii. Marcabru, son of Marcabruna,  
Was engendered in such a moon  
That he knows about Love how it unstrings,  
Listen!  
For he never loved a woman  
Nor by a woman was he loved.

XIX. Doas cuidas ai compaignier

i. Two thoughts I have for companions  
Which give me joy and trouble,  
On account of the good thought I rejoice,  
And on account of the bad thought I am made brutish;  
With such thoughts  
Sweet and bitter  
Is the whole world filled,  
So that I would be with the dismayed  
If I didn't know so well good and evil.

ii. In two thoughts I have worry  
To separate the fraction from the whole,  
I hold him for a natural witch  
He who is a guide for knowing thoughts;  
From foolish thought  
I do not know how to keep myself,  
For if I think to be safe,  
The foolish (thought) makes much noise in my ears  
And will turn me upside down.

iii. Your thought, fellow hirelings,  
Makes the bracelets of Gaifler get out of order,  
(          ) are balanced unequally
The thought and the failed promise;  
Our thought  
Makes turn away  
The mountain from which came the mouse,  
Thus, I see the rich degrade themselves,  
For I do not hear about a profit on account of giving.

iv. Alas, he was born and baptized yesterday,  
He who thinks to make me encumbered,  
To the neighbors I announce that I do not praise him at all  
When he thinks to imitate the mouse,  
Who through belief  
Thinks to be a baron;  
The thought is long and the act tarnished,  
For from a foolish thought is born a foolish cry,  
It harms easily, openly and secretly.

v. The thinkers about fickle love  
Are of a single thought the prey,  
For in a thousand I do not find one sincere  
Of those dreaming lovers;  
However, the thought  
I must not blame  
Completely, for then Youth would be shamed  
If the thought of Love were forgotten,  
Joy would have fallen into the canal.

vi. Husbands are credulous  
And following the wine and the sauce  
Rejoice in many foolish thoughts  
Because of which the world is becoming vulgar.  
Such a one is willing to think  
In good part,  
He does not understand what Marcabru says  
That a woman and a small child  
Have a common imperfection.

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6 Vv. 19-22: La nostra cuida, soudadier,  
Fai eluschar los bals Gaifier  
Qu’envis si balans’ enegau  
La cuid’e-l prometres faillitz;

vii. Ladies are foolish through thoughts
Of foolish occupations and foolish knights;
Poor proud ones (are) disagreeable from thoughts,
May God hug these unfortunate ones,
For never through thinking
Do we see bearing fruit
The top more than the root;
For in a good thought one is lost
If a better work is not belonging there.

viii. Thinking, they are taking the twisting path
Whistling to a gadfly as if it were a sparrow hawk
And leaving the right path
Because of the advice of stingy men
Who make the avaricious
Rich believe
That Youth has become a matter of barter
And Joy is made to disappear among noble-hearted men,
Turning from Bazan to Bertaut.

XX. Tot a estru (by Audric addressed to Marcabru)

i. Quite quickly
I see, Marcabru,
That leave you wish to ask.
About a bad departure
I am not worried
So well you know how to keep Mesura.

ii. Indeed, you will not believe
This time
Those who would like to stir up trouble between us.
I do not consider you shrewd
If you do not recognize
He who wishes to make you do foolish things again.

iii. Great will be your skill
If you take something here
By your boldness in singing
With a hoarse voice
Which roars and clucks
And sounds neither high nor clear.

iv. If I had wealth
In my power
I would be ready to give it to you.
But since I do not have it
Take some chaff  
For you cannot take anything else.

v. So many small children  
You have found in my house  
That one cannot raise the other.  
They have deprived me of the  
Faith that I owe to you,  
All that I used to boast about.

vi. With great folly  
You have occupied yourself  
As did the lamb with barking,  
When here from Blois  
To me you came  
In order to acquire some wealth.

vii. I have recognized you  
Pain-perdu  
And you believed to hide your name.  
When you will return  
You will be sure  
Of a lord and I of a jongleur.

Xx\textsuperscript{bis}. Seigneur n'Audric (Marcabru's reply)

i. Lord Audric,  
In your opinion  
You are of wealth lacking and devoid.  
Since you say thus  
That you do not have any  
For in September the grain fails you.

ii. There, around Christmas,  
Likewise,  
Lack to you meat and wine and bread  
And at Easter.  
According to a witness  
You believe in the augury of the small hawk.

iii. If it goes to the right  
I know and recognize  
That you are assured of good lodging.  
If the augury fails you  
Yawning comes to you  
And Saint Julien is blamed.
iv. All your habits
Marcabru knows
And all your best ways
Of filling the stomach,
Of deceiving
And of allowing prostitutes.

v. When all alone
You are well-satiated
Rich boasts are not far from you.
According to what you say
You have conquered more
Than Caesar did for the Romans.

vi. In using your tongue
Against a jongleur
You are more cutting than a kite.
With your beak,
Lord Artimalec,
A Christian would never rejoice.

XXI. Bel m'es quan la fuelh'ufana

i. It is beautiful to me when the leaf appears proudly
On the high little branch
And the nightingale wears himself out
Under the branch
For the quivering pleases him in the early light of dawn
Of the song which burns.

ii. Every bird which has a healthy voice
Prepares to sing
And the frog also makes an effort
Near the little fountain;
And the owl with his mate
If he can not do otherwise grumbles.

iii. These simple creatures
Array themselves for love
Their joy follows the straight path;
And ours is unsteady
For us, he who can cheats the most
So that each one burns.

iv. The coward with the cutting tongue
Who gives advice secretly
With his deceiving lies
Abandons and leaves;
For that reason sure love
I do not find without rust (defect).

v. Youth deceives and is false
And Generosity perishes
It is known as certain
That Valor staggers,
And Evil is superior over
The mother and the daughter.

vi. Worse is (Love) which deceives
Than Love which wastes,
Cruel, painful, and tasteless,
Burning and frying,
For much he suffers pain and yellowing
He whom it curries.

vii. These false Christian people
Who tremble in foolish rumor,
To their death toward Khorassan
Turns the rubbish,
For the baptism of the Jordan
Is troublesome to them and puts them in peril.

XXII. Emperaire, per mi mezeis

i. Emperor, through my own knowledge
I know how much your Prowess grows;
I have not at all put off coming
For Joy nurtures you and Merit causes you to flourish,
And Youth keeps you gay and fresh
Which causes your valor to polish.

ii. Since the son of God calls upon you
That you avenge the line of the Pharoahs,
Much you should rejoice about it;
Opposite the ports the barons are failing,
Along with the majority of the servants and the Lords,
And may God never permit them to rejoice.

iii. Since those over there are prevented (to come)
To the need of Spain and of the holy sepulchre,
You must indeed suffer torment from it,
And turn back the Sarrasins
And put down their fierce pride,
And God will be with you until the end.
iv. To the Amoravis it gives courage
   Because of the powerful ones from beyond the port
   Who have taken a cloth to weave
   From cloth of envy and of wrong;
   And each one says that at his death
   He will be of his portion dispossessed.

v. But there the rich have the blame for it
   Who love amusement and shelter,
   Soft beds and comfortable sleeping;
   And us here, according to the sermon,
   We will conquer, with the involvement of God,
   Honor and wealth and merit.

vi. Too much they go coveting among themselves
   Those who do not have shame,
   And they think to cover themselves with wealth,
   And I tell them, according to (my) opinion,
   That head last and feet before
   It is necessary for them to go out of the palace.

vii. Marcabru almost shudders
    Because of Youth, when is lacking because of wealth,
    And he who loves most to gather it
    When he will come to his last sigh,
    Out of a thousand marks would not give a piece of garlic,
    Even if death makes it stink to him.

viii. With the valor of Portugal,
    And of the king of Navarre also,
    Provided that Barcelona turn
    Toward Toledo, the imperial,
    With confidence we will be able to cry: Royaume!
    And defeat the pagan people.

ix. If the rivers were not so large
    To the very fierce Amoravis
    We could indeed assure it to them,
    And they expect the return of the heat
    And of the lord of Castile,
    And we will cause those of Cordua to grow thin.

x. Since France, Poitou and Berry
    Render homage to one single lord,
    May he come here to recompense God for his fief.

xi. For I do not know why the prince lives
    If to God he is not going to do service for his fief.
XXIII. Emperaire per vostre prez

i. Emperor, for your merit,
And for the prowess which you have,
I have come here, you know it,
And I do not repent of it at all.

ii. Because of it my hide ought to be better seated,
For here I have come to see your court
Which I will make known far and near
The joy which is to come to you.

iii. If ever on account of you I became proud,
Everything has changed for me completely.
For such a one sees a good act
Who does not dare to reveal it.

iv. If one is pleased that I am so aggressive
Toward the evil and the useless persons,
Why does he have his teeth closed thereof
And does not dare to cry out?

v. Emperor, if you are indeed seeking,
The proverb is sure and true,
The tears which the lord gives and the serf cries
Are lost.

vi. If I am failed by your generosity,
Never to the pond that he hears praised
Marcabru will not go to fish,
For immediately he would believe to fail.

vii. For that faith which I owe you,
Never emperor or king
Had such a bargain of me
As you, and may God permit me to rejoice from it.

viii. Empress, pray for me,
For I will make your merit richer.

XXIV. En abriu, s'esclairo-ill riu contra-l Pascor

i. In April the streams become clear near Easter
And in the woods the leaves are born on the flower
Nicely, with noble pleasure, I comfort myself with
Fin'amors.
ii. He who has a love recognized by one color
Considers it white since he finds it pleasing without
darkness,
For changing (vair) love in my opinion is usually a
traitor.

iii. Before you, it (Love) will appear good if not best
For serving nobly, has inclination for bad if not worse;
It is true, for a good act, heads are often broken up for
the sake of honor.

iv. May God curse vari-colored Love and its value;
Through his vice the drinker takes delight,
He who drinks much more than he should, the wine takes
away the vigor from him.

v. If my Love (lady) did not believe a lying deceiver
Nor an accuser with bad words,
I would be hers, if she wanted me without trickery and
without fault.

vi. Since I see that she does not believe a chastizer,
Before all the evil ones, she makes peace, for to the
swelling
Of the tooth often turns the tongue where the pain is
felt.

vii. In front of me pass there three of them in the corridor
I do not know a word until the fourth sleeps with her
and the fifth runs there,
Thus, love turns to decline and turns into blackness.

viii. These vaginas are desirous and robbers
All these fellows are begging for a part and ( ),
And he who does the best has the worst, as of the lamb has
the shepherd.

ix. He takes the skin from the tough bird, he who skins the
vulture.

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7 Strophe viii: Aquist con son deziron a raubador,
Tuit eill gartz i clamon partz et ill en
lor,
E qui mieills far sordeitz a, cum de l'agne
nel an pastor.

DeJeanne suggests, "Ces . . . sont pleins de désirs et ravisseurs.
Tous ces mauvais gars réclament leur part et ceux-là les appellent.
Aussi qui mieux fait a le pire: c'est ainsi que les pasteurs ont
(la plus mauvaise part) de l'agneau."
XXV. "Estornel, cueill ta volada"

i. Starling, take your flight
   Tomorrow, with the morning
   You will go for me to a region
   Where I believed to have a love;
   You will find
   And you will see
   Why you go;
   You will tell (her)
   And you will ask her
   Immediately
   Why she betrays herself.

ii. I do not know if she was thus bewitched
   That she not love me and be loved;
   For with one single time
   The morning would be great,
   If it were pleasing to her
   And if she wanted
   That I consummate our love
   One month
   I would consider three
   In that very place
   With her company.

iii. Ai! How powerful it is
    The gilded false reasoning
    Before all (women) she goes chosen;
    Go! He is very foolish who trusts it (false reasoning);
    Of her dice
    Which she has loaded
    Be careful,
    For deceived
    She has enough of them,
    Know it,
    And put them on the road.

iv. It seems she is cunning
    More than the old hunted fox;
    Recently she made me gape
    All night until the day;
    Her desire
    Is fickle
    With deceit,
But a song
The children make about it
Reproaching
Their treason.

v. A good fairy bewitched the one
To whom her love was given,
There has not been such a baptized one
Since the prophet Eli;
Fly and go
Straight there
And report to her
That I will die
If I do not know
Now she reposes
Naked or clothed.

vi. Her beauty was with her born
Her perfume from neither watercress nor herb,
By a thousand lovers is sought,
And she is friend of a thousand lords.
Marcabru
Says that the door
Is not closed;
Idle and waiting in vain.
He who wants more,
For ( )
He parts from the traitoress. 8

vii. Of Fin'amors desired
She has a flower changing
Better than of another placed.
The little fool soon does great foolishness.
I forgive her for the pleasure
Of the abbot
Saint Privat,
I have thought
Certainly

8 Vv. 63-66: Bad e mus
Qui·il vol plus
C'a raüs
Part de la fraia.

Dejeanne translates, "Qu'il reste bouche bée et muse, celui qui veut davantage; avec fracas elle le chasse et ne lui permet plus de frayer avec elle."
If she says to me: checkmate,
That love increases.

viii. Of the disloyalty
She does to me
I make it right,
I grant myself to her
Provided that under me
She be lying,
That she entwine me and squeeze me.

XXVI. Ges l'estornels non s'oblida

i. The starling certainly does not forget himself
When he had heard the message
Before he has gathered his food
From direct flight he does not slow down;
He went immediately
And flew
And followed
The commandment;
He went to work
And composed,
He began to sing.

ii. On a flowering branch
The noble bird sings and proclaims;
He has such a clear voice
That she understood the intention of it.
She opens the door
And she goes there
To him.
"I am a bird."
She says, "For whom
Are you making such a noise,
Or for what love are you struggling?"

iii. The starling says, "Beyond Lerida
With the worthy you are so discriminated against
That I could no longer vouch for you,
You false one.
A thousand friends
Make themselves rich (spread rumors)
For the shelter
That he gave to you,
The recompense
Of the fall
He will have of it, without fail."
iv. Bird, wrongly they attacked me
   But since he (the abbot) does not awaken love in me
   Since I am not his pledged one,
   I believe to own my own inclination.
   I love the other,
   Thus I wish
   And wait in vain
   Without pleasure
   With which I was awarded,
   Very quickly
   And without deserving it.

v. Elsewhere has departed
   My pure pledged love;
   His game comes to life again if he invites me,
   Bird, according to your knowledge,
   Tell him this:
   That he gets up and lies down
   Desired,
   That in indifference
   Will be the abbot
   Completely,
   Provided that we have the leisure.

vi. The room will be by the sky decorated
   With a rich enjoyment through joy,
   For with a gentle kiss it is felt
   Below, it is pleased with pleasure.
   Go and tell him
   That in the morning
   He be here,
   That under the pine tree
   We will make an end
   Me under him
   Of this misunderstanding."

vii. Nobly he has finished the speech
    The starling who the breeze guides
    Toward his lord and he cries out,
    I have for you a love of value,
    For to a thousand lovers
    She has given
    A thousand greetings
    And nourished
    Through feasts,
    Without transfer
    Of false seed.
viii. If in the morning
You are there
Where she tells you
And commands you,
May the boldness
Of the garden
Checkmate and conquer you.

XXVIII. Lanquan fuelhon li boscatge

i. When the wood is foliating
And the flower appears in the meadow,
The sweet singing through the shadows is beautiful to me
Which upon the branch does
The little bird through the green;
And since the weather gets better
They have conquered their joy.

ii. Now they lose joy
Because of the cold and the frost;
But I have taken up this custom
Every day I sing, which now pleases me,
Whether it is hot or cold
It is all the same to me
Love and Joy, in this way.

iii. The more I have a heart full
Of Love, the more it removes itself from me;
Why do I not complain of my loss?
For such is my destiny
That Joy and Good Adventure
Take from me a little of the bitterness
Which has taken hold within my heart.

iv. She who ought a message to me
Send from her region
Either she fears lowering her rank
Or is angry with me
Or she does not want me or she cannot tolerate me;
Perhaps Pride or Indifference
Has between us put itself.

v. Certainly it will not please her
The favor which I have begged for;
If I lose her through her folly,
I have another spied out
Noble, refined and pure,
For such love is sure
Which is united with noble joy.

vi. Because of her I love her whole family
And all those who have praised her,
For she never made me a stranger,
But when she saw me, she was very friendly,
Since I love her without falseness,
She certainly must not refuse me
That which I have so often asked.

vii. You would indeed consider me foolish
If she does well by me and promises me still more,
If ever I complain when I have seen her.

XXIX. L'autier, a l'issa d'abriu

i. The other day, at the end of April,
In a pasture beside a brook
And with the beginning of a song
Which the birds make because of joy,
I heard the voice of a shepherd boy
With a girl singing.

ii. I found her under a shadowy beech-tree,
"Beautiful one, I said to her, since Joy lives again,

       ................
Indeed we must make a pair."
"We must not, Sir, for of other things
My heart and my attitude have thought."

iii. "Tell, beautiful one, what your thoughts are,
Where your heart dwells?"
"By my faith, Lord, I shall tell you,
If it is thus true as I hear tell,
Merit, and Youth and Joy decline
Since one person is not able to trust another.

iv. In another way, deceived
Are rich men and barons
Who shut women up in houses,
So that a stranger can not enter there
And keep cads on the embers
Whom they command to guard them.

v. And according to what Solomon said
Those people could not worse thieves
Welcome than these companions.  
Who cause the family to degenerate.  
And they (the husbands) carress the little cads  
And think that they show compassion to their sons.

XXX. L'austrier jost'una sebissa

i. The other day near a hedge  
I found a shepherdess of lowly birth  
Of joy and wit full  
Like the daughter of a peasant woman;  
Cloak and coat and fur garment  
And shift made of drilling she wore  
Shoes and stockings of wool.

ii. Toward her I cam through the pasture.  
"Maid, I said, pretty creature,  
I am grieved because the cold pricks you."  
"Lord, thus said to me the peasant girl,  
Thanks to God and my nurse,  
It is worth little to me if the wind dishevels me,  
For I am happy and healthy."

iii. "Maid, I said, charming thing,  
I am turned aside from the road  
To keep you company;  
For such a peasant maid  
Should not without suitable company  
Tend so many cattle  
In such a land alone."

iv. "Sir, said she, whatever I may be  
I know well wisdom and foolishness  
Your company,  
Lord, thus said the peasant girl to me,  
There where it touches down, let it be  
(Let it stay where it belongs)  
For he who believes to hold it in such control,  
He has only the appearance of it."

v. "Maid of noble state  
A gentleman was your father  
Which begot you in your mother,  
For she was a noble peasant woman.  
The more I look at you, the more beautiful you are to me,  
And through your joy I would become happy  
If you were to me a little human."
vi. "Lord, all my family and my estate
I see return and go back
To the sickle and the plough,
Lord, thus said to me the peasant girl,
But he who pretends to be a horseman
Likewise should do it
The six days of the week."

vii. "Maid, I said, a gentle fairy
Endowed you when you were born,
With a perfect beauty
Above all other peasant women;
And it would be indeed doubled
If you saw me one time
Above and you below."

viii. "Lord, so much you have praised me
That I am because of it completely displeased;
Since you have raised me in value,
Lord, thus said to me the peasant girl;
For that reason, you will have for reward of it
At departure: 'gape, fool, gape,'
And loss of the afternoon."

ix. "Maid, a shy heart and savage
A man tames through usage.
I know well in passing by
That with such a peasant maiden
One can make fine company
With love of heart
If one does not cheat the other."

x. "Lord, one driven by madness
Swears, pledges, and promises reward:
For that reason, you would do homage to me,
Lord, thus said to me the peasant girl;
But I, for a little entrance fee,
Do not want my virginity
To exchange for the name of prostitute."

xi. "Maid, every creature
Returns to its nature;
We ought to prepare for mating
You and I, peasant girl,
In shelter beside the pasture
For you will be more secure there
For doing the sweet thing."
xii. "Lord, yes, but according to justice
A fool seeks his folly,
The noble, courteous adventure,
And the peasant man with the peasant girl;
In such a place reason is lacking
Where a man does not keep moderation,
Thus say the ancient people."

xiii. "Maid, than your face
I have seen no other more knavish
Nor a heart more false."
"Lord, the owl prophesies to you
That such a one gazes at a painting
Which another attains the eating of."

XXXI. L'iverns vai e l temps s'aizina

i. Winter is going and the time is approaching,
And the bushes are getting green again,
And the flower is appearing on the hawthorne
For which the birds are rejoicing.
    Ail
Already men are becoming gay with love
Each one toward his mate is attracted,
    Yes,
According to the pleasure of the heart.

ii. The cold and the light drizzle tremble
Against the noble season,
Through the hedges and the wood
I hear the onset of song.
    Ail
I begin to busy myself with composing
And I will tell about love, how it goes,
    Yes,
If I wish, and how it evolves.

iii. Sensual love grows and disturbs
And tricks with a roguish will
Through a comely (to the senses) sweetness
Which burns a villainous fire.
    Ail
There will never be anyone, if he falls into decadence
Because of money or through pressure,
    Yes,
Who does not leave some hide in the blaze.
iv. Good Love carries medicine
To cure its companion;
Sensual Love constrains his
And puts him in perdition.

Ai!
As long as money lasts, I know,
It (sensual love) makes to the fool the appearance of good
love,

Yes,
And when money fails, it complains.

v. It (Amar) makes a gentle ambush which drags
Toward its snare the fool,
From the top down to the root
It mixes up yes and no.

Ai!
I loved such a one white, brown and bay,
Whether I will do it or not do it?

Yes,
It makes the fool's spine weak.

vi. A lady knows nothing about Fin'amors
If she loves a cad of the household,
Her will crossbreeds her
As does the greyhound bitch with the mongrel.

Ai!
From that are born the rich boors
Who do not make hospitality or feed,

Yes,
Thus declines Marcabru.

vii. That one (the cad) enters the kitchen
To care for the embers of the fire
And drinks the smoke of the water cask
Of his Lady Bonafo.

Ai!
I know how he lives comfortably and goes to bed
And separates the grain from the husk,

Yes,
And gives little cads to the lord.

viii. To him who has good Love for a neighbor
And lives from its rations (sticks to its principles)
Honor and Valor and Prowess bow to him
Without any excuse.

Ai!
So long as he acts with true words
He need not have dismay,
Yes,
(     ) Lord Aiglina.\(^9\)

ix. I will never again make my pledge
For the composing of Lord Eblo
For a foolish doctrine
He maintains against reason.
    Ai!
For I say, have said, and will say
That True Love and Sensual Love will never consent to go
together,
    Yes,
And he is a bungler who blames True Love.

XXXII. Lo vers commenssa

i. The verse begins
On an old tune, with an old meaning,
According to the understanding
Of what I see and have seen.
I have of it the knowledge
Of what I have never enjoyed;
With difficulty can I shelter
Find without ill-will
At the home of a nobleman.

ii. Hardship is growing so much
That joyous about it are the rich;
(Their) base consent
Makes dishonesty increase
By permitting suffering
They become friends;
At the last judgment
According to penitence
They will have pardon.

\(^9\) Vv. 69-72: Tant la fai ab dig verai
Que no·il cal aver esmai
Hoc,
Del trut dullurut n'Aiglina.

Dejeanne suggests the following translation for these verses:
"Tant qu'il se conduit avec des paroles vraies, il ne doit avoir aucun émoi—ou—du galant marié sire Aigline (?)."
iii. I do not know what to do
I am so perplexed,
For around the plough
The peasants become courteous;
And the just (become) sinners
Of what is not in them;
Here may faith help me,
You hear thousands cry out about it
That such things never were (before).

iv. Certainly I am not enlightened
Nor will I do it this month
And I must not do it
Because of the sons who do ugly things
I fear too much to attract evil
Through pointing out the worst (ones).
Very strong is born
Evil from its mother
Without reason.

v. I am dismayed in my heart
Never will I hid it,
True noble Love
One finds now with difficulty here,
May it not have in it
What resembles falseness,
Toward the false
Is love easily false
And good to the good.

vi. May it have much value to me
Love which does not commit misdeeds
Which is true and gay
With a true and gay friend.
As much as he wants, let him make noise
The slanderer and let him yelp,
For I know where lies
Love which is not dismayed
By their talk.

vii. He who without deceit
Wishes to shelter Love,
With courtesy
Must strew his house;
Let him throw out anger
And foolish idle words.
Merit and generosity
He must have in power
Without pretext.
viii. For Love hastens
There where it recognizes its mate (Courtoisie)
(Love is) white and blossoming
And ready to bear fruit
Without villainy.
It causes the lover to rise;
It is necessary that he keep himself,
He who Good Love guides,
From sin.

ix. Youth sleeps
With difficulty will it awaken again
And it appears that it reflects
The Lord Daucadel;
Every day it converses in a low voice
With his soft warm bit
Near the mouth,
Evil dangles him
By the hood.

x. Pain awakens me
Fresh and anew,
What a marvel
That I find with difficulty who calls me?
Evil extends as a vine
And Joy turns into a vine prop;
The most agile
It (Evil) strikes at such times on the ears
So that he does not say no.

xi. Against this scourge
Marcabrun rages
Without a companion.

XXXIII. Lo vers comens quan vei del fau

i. I begin the verse when I see the beech-tree
Without leaves the top and the branches,
When one does not hear from the bird or frog
Song nor croaking,
Nor will they do it until the sweet season
When the sprig is born.

ii. And according to the natural art of composing
I carry the stone and the bait and the steel for
sharpening,
But many miserable troubadours
Blundering
Turn my song into foolishness
And make fun of it.

iii. Prowess has come from upstream downstream
And fallen into the sweepings
Since wealth makes Rome evil;
I believe indeed that they
Will not have Joy, those who are guilty
Of this danger.

iv. Vice carries the key
And throws Prowess into exile.
With difficulty evermore equal do appear
Father and son,
For I do not hear, except in Poitou,
That one is attached to it (Prowess).

v. The majority of this carnal world
have turned Youth to nothing,
For I do not find, whence it is very painful to me,
(One) who masters
Cortezia with a loyal heart,
Who is not limping (who walks straight).

vi. They have passed the leap of shame
With an appearance of infallible habits,
All that they give makes ( )
Full of scolding,10
And they are not worth, blame nor praise,
One grain of millet.

vii. That one prophesies good and evil
Who says that one would go to disaster;
Lord (will be) serf and serf (will be) lord
And thus they are doing,
The buzzards of Anjoy have done it,
What unworthiness!

viii. If sensual love has a sincere friend,
I do not marvel at all
If he has a bestial appearance

10 Vv. 33-34: Tot cant que donant fant sensau,
Plen de grondill,
Dejeanne suggests, "Tout ce qu'ils donnent, ils le donnent à cens
(moyennant redevance), ce qui fait grogner beaucoup."
Upon leaving;  
With difficulty will you ever see common play  
In a fur-lined coat.

ix. Marcabru says that it does not matter to him  
Who scrutinizes his verse and goes through it,  
For one can not find there fraudulently  
A rusty word;  
A man can enter with a long day's work  
Into a small hole.

XXXIV. Hueymais dey esser alegrans

i. Now I should be joyful  
Since the soft wind I see coming  
And also plaintive melodies and tournaments and songs  
Of the birds which make me rejoice;  
The pleasant weather makes me joyful,  
But because of Youth, I am dismayed,  
For every day I see it get worse.

ii. About one thing I am astonished  
That now I see bearing fruit and blossoming  
Stinginess, yes! and Deceit;  
In whatever direction I turn or look  
Courtesy or Good Behavior  
Or Merit or Valor or Gaiety  
Nowhere I see reign.

iii. These slanderers, with sharp tongues,  
May God ruin and hate them,  
Put Prowess in an uncertain position  
And cause Evil to advance,  
But I say to the valiant and want to ask  
That none with them ever make an agreement  
If he wishes to remain in Prowess.

iv. Likewise are ladies tricky  
And know how to deceive and lie  
Because they make their husbands  
Raise and feed the children of others;  
From that are born the wicked misers  
Among whom not one loves Joy or Good Behavior,  
And one does not dare to talk among them.

v. May God not be merciful  
Toward he who honors and serves them,
These ardent and burning whores,
Worse than I would know how to say.
It is so pleasing to them to shelter the key
That they do not look right or left
But only at he who knows best how to assault them.

vi. Those who were ever prized or loved
By ladies must indeed abandon them,
For a treacherous person will have as much of them,
Or more, if he can work more;
And I could indeed prove it
By my Lady Strong Ass
But I do not wish to reveal her identity.

vii. Courteous messenger, speaking well,
Go to Urgel without fail
And display the verse
To Lord Cabrera, that he contemplate it.
You can tell him without boasting
That in such a place I have brought my destiny
Where he will be able to wait a long time in vain.

XXXV. Pax in nomine Domini!

i. Pax in nomine Domini!
Marcabru made the words and the tune;
Hear what he says:
Since through his kindness has made for us,
The Lord, king of the heavens,
Near to us a washing place
Such as, except overseas, there never was,
Over there in the direction of Josaphat,
And for this one here, I exhort you.

ii. To wash in the evening and in the morning
We ought, by right,
I assure you it.
Each one has the opportunity of washing;
While he is healthy and sound,
He ought to go to the washing place,
Which is for us a true remedy;
For if we go to death before (washing),
(Instead of) on high, we will have a low shelter down below.

iii. But stinginess and disloyalty
Separates Youth from its companion.
Ai! What pain it is
That the majority fly there
Where the profit is hell!
If we do not run to the washing place
Before we have the eyes and the mouth closed (in death),
There is not one (man) of such great pride
That in dying he does not find a strong adversary.

iv. For the Lord who knows all that is
And knows all that will be and that ever was,
Promised us in it
Honor in the name of the emperor;
And the beauty will be--do you know how--
Of all those who go to the washing place?
Greater than that of the morning star;
Provided that we avenge God of the wrong
That they do here, and there toward Damascus.

v. From the line of Cain,
Of the first bad man,
There are here
Such ones who to God do not carry honor;
We will see who will be a sincere friend to him,
For by means of the power of the washing place
Jesus will be with us all;
And let us reject the scoundrels
Who believe in augury and in luck.

vi. And the wanton wine-tooter,
The food-snatcher, the fire-blower,
The crouched-in-the-road (idler)
Will remain in the place of torment;
God wishes to try the bold and the meek
At his washing place;
And those will watch the houses
And will find a very strong adversary,
That is why, to their shame, I pursue them.

vii. In Spain, here the marquis
And those of the temple of Solomon
Suffer the weight
And the burden of pagan pride;
For that reason Youth receives blame,
And the outcry because of this watering place
Falls upon the richest lords,
Broken, sinful, weary of prowess
Who do not love Joy and Pleasure.
viii. Depraved are the French
If they say no about God's affair,
For I have summoned you.
Antioch, there, Guyenne and Poitou here,
Mourn Nobility and Valor;
God, Lord, at your watering place,
Put the soul of the count at rest;
And here may the Lord who arises out of the tomb
Watch over Poitou and Niort.

XXXVI. Per l'aura freida que guida

i. By the cold breeze which guides
Winter which is so full of anger,
The birds of which not one sings or cries
Under the leaf nor through the greenery,
For in summer with great joy
Intermingle their certain joy.

ii. I do not hear songs nor humming,
I do not see a branch with flower
But yet I have heard
A strange clamor
Of Joy which complains, without appearance (invisible),
Which Evil constrains.

iii. Prowess is banished afar
And the best are evil;
For a long time the husbands
Will have consented to their dishonor
By the cowering ones with smooth tongues,
Disturbers of noble friendship.

iv. From among the ladies has fled
Shame and it runs not here;
The majority have worn out their tail
And put the world in error,
But their vile seed
 militia out bad fruit when it bears fruit.

v. Galantry is passed over,
Promiscuity increases its domain,
And the husbands have siezed it
And become courtiers;
It is as pleasant to me when one (of them) boasts about it
As when a dog kneads flour.
vi. So long as Marcabru has had life,
One has not had love with him
Of those base (coarse) people,
Who are stingy givers,
Propagators of evil doctrine
In France and in Guyenne.

Lord Amfos, provided that he maintain
An assured peace, Valor bows to him.

XXXVII. Per savi-1 tenc ses doptansa

i. For a wise man I hold without any doubt
The one who of my song guesses
What each word means,
How the theme unfolds,
For I myself am in difficulty
To make clear an obscure word.

ii. Troubadours, with child-like minds,
Move toward the hateful valiant ones
And turn into constraint
What truth assures
And make the words through reflection
Mixed up with poverty.

iii. And put on equal footing
False Love with fin'amors,
For I say that he who is approached by Sensual Love
Makes war on himself;
For after the purse is emptied
The fool makes a sad countenance.

iv. For that reason I carry anger and chagrin
When I hear the brotherhood say
That Noble Love deceives and betrays
He who Sensual Love abandons,
They lie, for their happiness
Is Joy, Patience, and Moderation.

v. Such a couple (who love with fin'amors) shows,
If in two parts it does not travel,
Then good Love is not close to it,
With two desires in one desire
With assured confidence,
White, precious, true, and pure.
vi. For noble Love has the significance
Of the emerald or the sardonyx;
It is of Joy the top and the root
With Truth supreme,
And its power sovreign
Over every creature.

vii. According to words, deeds, and appearance,
It (Love) is truly of the heart,
For it promises and pledges itself,
Provided that he does not debase its gifts,
And he who toward it (Love) does not dash
Carries the name of madness.

viii. Speeches and sermons
Are not worth an egg from a hen
To him who has disloyal madness
Of a strapped heart,
For I know if Sensual Love is (truly) loving,
For to many it is false and cheating.

ix. A fool then tells everything in the vernacular,
He does not follow reason but botches the job,
For his love lives from plundering;
I grant that Love is enamoured
And that Costans is steadfastness
And has a right to false usage.

x. The end of this verse
Depends on and develops
On a bad canine people
Whom a bad star shadows,
For it grows proud with a mad thought
Without action of good fortune.

xi. May the thought by which it grows proud
Be (the cause of) bad fortune.

XXXVIII. Pois la fuoilla revirola

i. When the leaf whirls around
Which I see fall from among the (tree) tops
Which the wind tears and causes to fall,
For it can no longer sustain itself,
I prize more the seasonal cold
Than the summer full of deceit
From which are born promiscuity and desire.
ii. The woodpecker and the female nightingale
Turn their song to silence,
The jay and the oriole do the same thing,
With which winter does as it pleases,
And pride become diked
Because of cads full of complaints
Who in summer show their true characters.

iii. The toads and the snakes which curl up
Do not frighten me or do me evil,
Nor do the fly nor the horsefly which fly,
The beetle nor the hornet;
These cursed winged creatures
I do not perceive their buzz or their smell
From which noble winter delivers us.

iv. The sharpened point of the small curved axes
Does not lose his place at the hearth;
On the contrary he carries a pike and club
Of which are great the two evils.
This one takes from his lady while lying down
The satisfaction of his desire,
Through the female he conquers the lord.

v. This one removes from the best the strength
Completely in the morning and in the evening
And over her makes a corset,
For he can move his tail;
He does during the night his day's work,
From which he engenders a handsome son
Through whom he gets the best of his lord.

vi. Thus, as the little stork
Sinks, rises and turns downward,
Falling, rising, whirls around,
The world is just the same to me;
He has eyes and does not know how to see,
Neither does he recognize the blight
Because of which service of ladies is now promiscuity.

vii. He certainly does not gape
Marcabru through knowing much about it,
For she is of a good school,
For she holds joy according to his pleasure,
And since cohabitation makes it (joy) disappear,
Each time she extends herself
A little more than she should.

viii. I pray to God that he not take from Lord Richard
The kingdom of heaven,
For he does all that he plans
Better than any carnal man;
And here he left an heir
And I will never believe him son
If he does not resemble his father.

XXIX. Pois l'inverns d'ogan es anatz

i. Since the winter of this year has gone
And the gentle flowering weather has come,
In many ways through the hedgerows
I hear the refrain of little birds;
The green meadow and the plentiful orchard
Have made me rejoice with such joy
That I am occupied with song.

ii. The whole world is encumbered
With a tree which was born
Tall and big, with branches and leaves,
And it grew wondrously
And so soon seized the whole world
So that toward no part could I not turn
And not see of the branches two or three.

iii. However it is so high
And in every direction spread out
That over there from beyond the ports it has passed
Into France and come into Poitou,
For I know that it has such protection,
And I speak truly, according to my opinion,
That it will keep its greenery forever.

iv. And it is so deeply rooted that
With difficulty will it ever be dislodged,
For the root is Evil
Through which Youth is ruined
And put off balance
By those who ought to obey it
That they do not cry out for someone to help.

v. I am astonished at the mighty among whom
It has, so many young and hoary-headed,
Counts and kings and emirs
And princes, on the tree hanged;
But the snare is Stinginess
That makes the neck so weak
That no one expects to ever move.
vi. Youth was formerly called gay
   But now it is so degenerate
   That never will it be so much honored
   That Joy be returned to it,
   For Vice has so conquered it
   That it has not been able to prevent
   That Justice and Faith leave it.

vii. It has been a long time since anything was given
     Here among the mentioned barons,
     It is banished and exiled far away
     Over thecce where it has remained,
     Marcabru announces to it by message
     That it was not necessary to flee so far,
     For never here will it be prisoner.

viii. I cannot bear that to the husbands
      I do not tell their known crimes;
      I do not know what authority
      Shows to them what they are called lovers;
      They resemble the courteous ass
      That with his lord thought to play
      When he saw him frolic with his dogs.

ix. Of such ones here I see enrooted
    The foolish and the wise wronged
    By the bent over crouched men
    Who everyday demand greeting
    And demand this for interest,
    For no sincere man should ever have to suffer
    That he keep such perfumed dissipated ones.

XL. Pus mos coratges s'es claritz

i. Since my heart has been illumined
   By this Joy of which I am rejoicing,
   And (since) I see that Love shares and chooses
   Through which I hope to be rich from it,
   I must perfect well all my songs,
   So that one cannot accuse me of anything
   Since for little is a man belied.

ii. The one who has chosen fin'amors
    Lives gaily, courteously and wisely,
    And the one who refuses it is destroyed
    And put to all ruin.
    For he who wishes to blame fin'amors,
It makes him gape like a fool
So that he thinks to perish by stratagem.

iii. Those are the false judges and robbers,
The unfaithful husbands and false witnesses,
False men, I believe, and slanderers,
The hired tongues, the monastery piercers,
And those ardent whores
Who consent to the husbands of others:
These will have the prize of hell.

iv. Murderers and traitors,
Simoniacs and enchanters,
Lustful ones and userers
Who live from deceitful trades
And those who make enchantments
And the stinking sorcerers
Will be equal in the burning fire.

v. Drunkards and bribers,
False preachers and false abbots,
False women recluses and false men recluses,
Will suffer pain there, says Marcabru,
For all the false there have reserved a place,
For Fin'Amors has promised it;
There will be the lamentations of the despairing.

vi. Ai! Fin'Amors, fountain of goodness,
You have illuminated the whole world,
I beg you for mercy from that quarrel
And defend me so that I do not gape there (in hell).
In all places I consider myself your prisoner,
For comfort in all things
By you I hope to be guided.

vii. By this verse I restrain my heart
For I reproach myself more than the others,
For whoever wishes to accuse others,
It is right that he know how to protect himself
So that he not be tainted with the crimes
Of which he accuses and says,
Then he will be able to chastize with confidence.

viii. However, if he is well-chosen
He who knows how to speak well and speaks well,
For he can if he wishes to remember (my verse).
XLI. Pus s'enfulleysson li verjan

i. Since the orchards are foliating
   And the gladiolas along the white stream,
   Let he who (wishes) rest, I think and reflect
   About many important things
   According to nature and otherwise
   Of what we hear the people murmur about.

ii. Since cuckoldry is spreading
    And one cuckold does not flatter another,
    Let us let them go and come.
    Who cares which ones have the head first?
    For I would not give two deniers
    To attribute to each his due share of combat.

iii. For thus goes worth getting smaller
    And madness out of bounds;
    I cannot alone put out the fire
    Of the boastful worldly ones
    Who make the criminals doubly
    Worse than I dare to show.

iv. The traffickers traffic,
    Those greedy for traffic will bow down,
    Who cause Merit and Youth to ruin;
    They traffic with the traffickers
    In spite of their desires,
    They cannot conceal from me their frying.

v. And if I think to go around chastizing
   Through folly I seek my own harm.
   Since it is of little value if I am angry about it,
   I go sowing my chastizements
   Over true rocks
   Which I do not see bear fruit or flower.

vi. If ever I was from the wait in suffering
    I have made the wait waiting
    Until it cannot proceed elsewhere;
    I see so many of them with pass keys
    With difficulty remains here a whole vagina
    To pierce or share halves.

vii. To God I grant myself, how can one trust
    The falling and rising world?
    But late I want to repent
However if I am more confident,
(  )

viii. MANUSCRIPT DAMAGED
.................12

ix. I would be rich, taking and giving,
But from afar they have made me grow thin
Never will I be their enemy
.................13
For I cannot bear war.

XLII. Quan l'aura doussana bufa

i. When the soft breeze blows
And the jay under the branch
Become with pride puffed up and swollen up
And the branches are shady;
Then one ought to choose
A true love without lack of faith
Who does not struggle with her lover.

ii. Chosen Youth does not have life
For two crossbows have struck it,
Evil and Greed,
Within between the heart and the liver
And it is difficult to recover from it
For it does not let itself be cured
Of vice and of laziness.

iii. And the jealous one gapes and stands idle
And does foolish idling,
For he who polishes the vagina of another
Sends his own to the massacre,
And he who wishes to sleep with the stranger

11 Vv. 41-42: Que chatz o mostre-l reprobiers
Cuy (?) lo savis fetz lon . . .
Dejeanne does not attempt to translate these verses.

12 Strophes vii, viii, and ix are included only in Manuscript C, which is damaged.

13 V. 53 is omitted in the manuscript.
Makes his own lusted after
And puts it in public domaine.

iv. Certainly, I do not see any just manna
As did the tribes of Israel;
He smells the smoke, he who does not approach
And returns it by blowing,
And the majority do not wish to tell
The truth, so much they want to lie
By the advice of scoundrels.

v. These cuckolds hatefully turn into boasting
The courting of ladies;
They maintain galantry
And take from it the hat and put it on;
Since I do not dare to make myself clearer
Or to accomplish my desires,
Let him get along as he can, May God help me!

XLIV. Soudadier, per cui es Jovens

i. Fellow dependents, by whom Youth is
Maintained and Joy also,
Hear the evil arguments
Of the false ardent whores;
Whoever trusts a whore
Is a betrayed man;
The fool, when he thinks she is laughing,
Is deceived.

ii. Solomon says and his truthfulness is guaranteed
That at first she is sweet as a spiced wine and honey
drink,
But at separation she is more causer of violent pain,
Bitter and cruel than a snake;
She knows so much about trickery,
The sinner,
That he who links up with her
Parts from her grieved.

iii. She bears resemblance to Chimera
Who is a snake behind, lion in front,
Beef in the middle, which makes her recognizable
From a bay horse and an elephant;
He who dressed her like a fish
Is not lacking
In what he understood
About the traitoress.
iv. A whore resembles a lion in this way;
    Fierce she is of pride at the beginning
    But then when she has done of it her desire,
    Until they are a thousand, she is not worth a glove,
    For often because of wantonness
    Stinks the prostitute
    As does throughout the butcher shop
    The rotten carrion.

v. Of it I have the desire that I decline to you
    The customs of the serpent-like whore
    Who steals from the bird its chick;
    And the bird knows, if with her he trusts himself,
    When she has done him trickery
    With his nourished ones,
    She awaits so that because of her he be
    Dead or destroyed.

vi. The intelligent wise one does not advance there;
    If she holds him dear or honor him well,
    Then she will have made dark brown of white
    Or turned it from Roal to Bazen (proper names?)
    Completely she is a scoundrel
    He who puts great abundance
    Through the stinking end.

vii. Also he who follows her train
    The whore makes of the rich man a miserable one;
    When she has pulled from the honey-comb and the fat,
    She makes to him a scornful gesture with the tongue;
    Indeed he is of the great madness
    Healthy and cured
    He who turns away from her path
    Before she ruins him.

viii. The whore is of such evil genius (war machine)
    That with sweet words she gathers and dominates
    All those she can put in sexual union;
    When money lacks, from herself she repels them,
    Thus he who of her friendship
    Is desirous
    Often changes and changes,
    The madman.

ix. The whore customarily resists
    The rich if from them she does not receive large payment;
    There she distends the crossbow
    Where she knows bread and wine await;
She makes very great gluttony, 
The traitoress, 
When the worthy she leaves and she selects 
The degenerate.
APPENDIX B

CRITICAL AND ANALYTICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY
Friedrich Diez. Leben und Werke der Troubadours. Zwickau, 1829. pp. 37-45. (2nd edition, Leipzig, 1882). Diez finds Marcabru's poetry extremely difficult as a result of what he believes to be his purposely obscure style and confesses to understand scarcely one-fourth of it. He claims that the poet sought to make a name for himself as the opponent of love and women and that his attacks against love are without basis or cause. He interprets the tree in Pois l'inverns d'ogan es anatz (XXXIX) as courtoisie which is spreading into France and Guyenne, and which only the poet refuses to follow. Diez is troubled because Marcabru does not conduct himself according to the moralistic code he preaches and even impudently boasts about his misdeeds.

Hermann Suchier. "Der Troubadour Marcabru," Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur, XIV (1874), 119-160, 273-310. This first major critical article on Marcabru was of special value since no edition of the poetry was available at that time. Suchier gives the history of the manuscript tradition, summarizes many of the songs and attempts to date them, and classifies them into genres. He is cautious on the question of love and states that, while Marcabru fights against False Love and considers the troubadours its advocates, he is not against Love in general and, in fact, preaches in favor of True Love. However, Suchier makes no attempt to define these kinds of love. He provides many statistics on the content and form of the poetry and discusses the influence on it of the popular folksongs.

Paul Meyer. "Marcabrun," Romania, VI (1877), 119-129. Meyer corrects the errors of Diez and Suchier, who considered Marcabru a contemporary of Richard the Lion-Hearted, by dating his career between 1135-1150, thus putting him in the era of William X, the son of the first troubadour.

Jean-Marie-Lucien Dejeanne, ed. Poésies complètes du troubadour Marcabru. Toulouse, 1909. This is the first and only edition of Marcabru's poetry.

Alfred Pilet. "Beiträge zur Kritik der ältesten Troubadours," Sonderabdruck aus dem 89. Jahresbuch der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für Vaterland Cultur, 1912, no. II. This article includes some information gathered in the course of the research Pilet did for his Bibliographie der Troubadours which was not to be included therein. He points out some examples of internal rhyme in Marcabru's songs and suggests clearer and more exact translations of some passages than those which appear in Dejeanne's edition.

Guilio Bertoni. "Due note provenziali," Studi Medievali, III (1911), 638-657. Bertoni studies closely the vidas of Marcabru which appear in manuscripts A and K and shows where the scribes found their information in the poems and how they misinterpreted it in order to
create their fantastic biographies. He also clarifies several of Dejeanne's translations.

Kurt Lewent. "Das altprovenzalische Kreuzlied," Romanische forschungen, XXI (1908), 321-448. Marcabru's Crusade songs are the earliest extant and, Lewent believes, probably the first ever written. He dates Pax in nomine Domini (XXXV) shortly after the death of William, the eighth count of Poitier and the tenth duke of Aquitaine, in April, 1137, because of the mourning mentioned in strophe viii. He places the composition of Emperaire, per mi mezis (XXII) in the year 1146 before Easter, the time when Louis VII appeared publicly wearing the sign of the cross showing his intention to leave on Crusade. Because the motivation of the first Crusade songs was to draw attention to the military needs of Spain, Lewent sees in À la fontana del vergier (I) Marcabru's disapproval of Louis VII's crusade to Palestine. The poet felt that the crusader could fulfill his duty just as honorably and much more easily by going to fight the Moslems instead of the Turks.

Karl Vossler. "Der Troubadour Marcabru und die Anfänge des gekünstelten Stils," Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse Jahrgang 1913, 11. Abhandlung. Munich. Displaying a profound understanding of the man Marcabru, Vossler traces the origins of the trobar clus to his poetry. However, he believes that Marcabru's obscurity is not intentional, but results from his attempt to combine ideas which were important to him, his own personality and emotions and musical elements. In the last analysis, Marcabru was a poet of forme not fond. For him, ideas were often only a pretext for creating a musical composition.

Arthur Franz. Ueber den Troubadour Marcabru. Marburg, 1914. Franz treats two generally recognized characteristics of Marcabru's poetry: its obscurity and its disjointedness. He presents him as the enemy of false courtly love and the popular love song accusing him of violating aesthetical unity by consistently using all the genres only as a cover for the lesson he wants to teach. Franz points out that the origins of the Provençal love lyric are very difficult to study since some of the oldest examples are actually reactions against it.

Prosper Boissonnade. "Les personnages et les événements de l'histoire d'Allemagne, de France, et d'Espagne dans l'oeuvre de Marcabru," Romania, XLVIII (1922), 207-242. By studying the historical allusions in all of Marcabru's poetry and documents and chronicles from twelfth century France and Spain, Boissonnade has succeeded in dating more than a dozen of the songs and in tracing the career of the poet with a great amount of plausibility.

from many angles. Using much the same method as Boissonnade with slightly different results, he divides the corpus according to the location and time of composition and tries to find in them a pattern of development in form and content. He treats individual songs within their respective genres. In the sirventes he finds that Marcabru's real concern is the immorality between man and wife. Its cause is the new love poetry which is being spread about by the troubadours, especially those of the school of Lord Eble, with whom Marcabru will not associate. He emphasizes the poet's interest in nature and lists every animal, bird and plant mentioned by him. He also quotes every expression in the songs which is or which sounds like a proverb. These characteristics, he believes, link the troubadour poetry to popular origins. He places the reason for the difficulty of Marcabru's songs in the lack of the modern reader's knowledge of everyday twelfth century vocabulary. Appel finds that Marcabru and Alceste are much alike in their passionate and impatient temperaments, the honesty of their dispositions, and the height of their moral desires.

Ramon Guthrie. Marcabrun. New York, 1926. Guthrie uses the poetry as the source of his information for this biography. The result is an expansion of the fictionalized vidas written by the thirteenth century scribes.

Ernest Hoepffner. "Le troubadour Bernart Marti," Romania, LIII (1927), 103-150. Hoepffner describes the position of Marcabru in the literary quarrels of the twelfth century as squarely opposing the advocates of courtly love, namely the school of Eble de Ventadour. Taking a moralistic point of view, Marcabru held this group responsible through their songs for the evil conception of love which was undermining the morals of the day.

L. E. Kastner. "Marcabrun and Cercamon," Modern Language Review, XXVI (1931), 91-96. Kastner offers both chronological and literary support for his theory that Marcabru was the predecessor of Cercamon instead of the contrary, which had generally been accepted up to this time. On the question of obscurity, he agrees with Appel, saying that the difficulty of the poetry lies in its colloquial and popular language.

Alfred Jeanroy. La poésie lyrique des troubadours. 2 vols. Paris, 1934. Jeanroy considers Marcabru the head of the school he calls realists. Unlike their counterparts, the idealists, who speak only of love in noble language, they describe and try to reform the moeurs of their society in an often crude style. But while the idealists did not lecture their audiences, the realists did not avoid lyric poetry. Marcabru exalts pure love (i.e. divine love) as opposed to the profane love expressed in the verse of Eble de Ventadour, who was chief of the idealist school, and, in fact, believes that the corruption of the times has been caused by the profound immorality resulting from the fashionable code of courtoisie.
Dimitri Scheludko. "Klagen über den Verfall der Welt Allegorische Darstellungen des Kämpfers der Tugenden und Loster," Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, XLI (1943), 31-37. A key to Scheludko's interpretation of Marcabru's poetry can be found in the sentence, "Nothing in his work is without a hidden inner meaning." ("Kein Ding ist bei ihm ohne innere verborgene Bedeutung." p. 31.) For the poet the world is a battlefield of good and evil principles: the longings of the flesh struggle with the efforts of the spirit; good love comes forth against the urgings of lust. Scheludko quotes at length the many allegories used by Marcabru with reference to the downfall and decay of Joy, Youth, Generosity and the persecution of Prowess by Evil. He maintains firmly that he based his personifications of vice on the sins described by the church fathers, but with the exception of fin'amors (Christian charity), the personifications of the good qualities were drawn from the worldly poetry of William IX and given new Christian-moralistic meanings.

Dimitri Scheludko. "Uber die religiose Lyrik," Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, XXXVIII (1937), 224-250. In a study of religious themes which he finds in troubadour lyric poetry, Scheludko draws from the work of Marcabru to illustrate the motifs "Meaninglessness of this World" and "View on Death." He believes that Marcabru emphasizes the lack of meaning of this world by repeated references to the fire of passion (earthly love) and the rich who are destined for hell because of their unwillingness to part with their worldly goods and their concern about accumulating more wealth instead of thinking about heavenly things.

Dimitri Scheludko. "Uber die Theorien der Liebe bei den Troubadors," Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, LX (1940), 191-234. In this article Scheludko discusses the theories of love in the works of the troubadours and their relative distance from religious doctrine. He states that Marcabru's poetry sets an important precedent since the later troubadours, like him, almost never discuss the ways of love without connecting them to Christian-moralistic principles. For William IX no conflict existed between worldly and spiritual elements, but Marcabru felt the necessity to resolve the duality of religious and earthly love. Good Love, source of virtue and leading to human perfection, is identified with love for God, while False Love, which results in man's downfall, is erotic love. Scheludko finds a direct biblical influence on the poet's language and presents quotations from the songs and the Bible side-by-side to illustrate the similarities. He traces the source of Marcabru's theory of love to Saint Augustine who founded the comparison of the love of God and carnal love.

Hans Spanke. "Marcabrustudien," Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, 1940. The goal of Spanke's essay is to illuminate the origins of lyric poetry through consideration of one poet. As a byproduct of his inquiry he hopes to clear up some mysteries about Marcabru's poetry. In the first part of his article, the author examines the chronology of the songs and considers the contents as a
whole; then he studies the themes of specific songs. Always keeping in
mind the fact that all troubadour poetry was destined for a predeter-
minded audience and was written to gain its approval and reward, Spanke
suggests that Marcabru, at first, opposed courtly love, but had to re-
verse his position when he lost his following. Spanke presents his
study of Marcabru's work from the point of view of an acquaintance with
Latin poetry and music. He establishes and emphasizes the great im-
portance of form in his songs, implying that the poet was a scholar of
Latin poetry and constantly modified Latin poems and hymns to create his
own. He points out again and again that the troubadours were products
of their environment and that they followed the tastes of their time and
did not create them.

Helmut A. Hatzfeld. Review of Guido Errante's Sulla lirica ro-
manza nelle origini (New York, 1943). Romanic Review, XXV (April, 1944),
165-171. Hatzfeld objects to Errante's use of the liturgical theory to
explain the origin of Provençal lyricism and also to his attempt to make
the Scriptures the model for Marcabru's poetry. He is surprised at
Errante's claim that Marcabru's scriptural knowledge surpassed that
available in the current liturgical texts, especially in Provence where
theological standards and religious interests were very low. Not deny-
ing the central role of the Church and ecclesiastical style, both posi-
tive and negative (by suppressing older pagan songs) in the formation of
the vernacular literature, Hatzfeld presents his own interpretation of
the effect on Provençal poetry. The troubadours, including Marcabru,
used biblical terms in parody, and put the love of the sexes in place of
the love of God, surrounding the whole with the very words reserved un-
til then for the love of God. In opposing amor to amar they oppose the
love of the personality in women to mere carnal lust, not caritas to
amore, as Errante supposes.

Alexander J. Denomy. "Fin'amors. The Pure Love of the Trouba-
dours, Its Amorality and Possible Source," Mediaeval Studies, VII (1945),
139-207. Except by implication and negation, Marcabru tells very little
about his concept of Good Love. For that reason most critics assume
that he shares our idea that pure love is chaste, unconcerned with the
sensual, and then go on to equate it with the love of God. Denomy ex-
amines the love expressed in the work of the early troubadours, Marca-
bru, Guillaume, Cercamon, Bernart Marti, Jaufre Rudel and Bernard de
Ventadour, and concludes that it is one of pure desire and not of physi-
cal possession, but that it is most definitely an earthly emotion.
Denomy traces the source of the concept of courtly love to Arabian
philosophy, especially Avicenna's Treatise on Love.

Silvio Pellegrini. "Intorno al vassallaggio d'amore nei primi
trovatori," Cultura Neolatina, IV-V (1945), 21-36. In this study of the
use of feudal images in troubadour poetry Pellegrini finds that William
IX declares himself to be the vassal of a woman he loves, but that Jaufré
Rudel, Bernart Marti and Marcoat do not consider love as vassalage.
Marcabru uses feudal terms with relation to God, but when they appear in expressions of love, they are purely ironic. The image appears in Cerca- mon's work, but Bernard de Ventadorn is the first to make extensive use of the concept. After him it becomes generalized.

Guido Errante. *Marcabru e le fonti sacre dell'antica lirica romanza*. Firenze, 1948. Using Marcabru as the basis of his theory, Errante finds the source of Provençal poetry in sacred literature. He points out many similarities between Latin hymns and Marcabru's songs and proceeds to analyze the contents in the light of a religious origin. He sees Marcabru as disgusted by sentimental love and for that reason turning to evangelical charity. He believes that fin'amors designates caritas and false love lust or sexual love. He rules out the possibility of parody except when Marcabru seems to be singing in the traditional lyric vein. He does prove, however, beyond doubt that Marcabru spoke of Love in language that is mystical and Scriptural.

Leo Spitzer. "Parelh paria chez Marcabrun," *Romania*, LXXIII (1952), 78-82. The purpose of this semantic study of L'autrier jost'una sebissa (XXX) is to justify the juxtaposition of the masculine adjective parelh and feminine noun paria in verse 19. In doing so he illuminates further the meaning of the song. For example, when the knight says, "Tota creature revertis a sa natura (vv. 71-72).", he is using the word natura to denote carnal desire, but in spite of himself proclaims that every being must respect the law of his birth. From the beginning the vilana has been insisting on this law, pointing out that because of it she knows how to bear the cold and needs no pity from the knight, that one should stay in the class where he is born, and that her lignage goes back to the plow and thus she should not associate with him.

Durant W. Robertson, Jr. "Five Poems by Marcabru," *Studies in Philology*, LI (1954), 539-560. Robertson explicates four of Marcabru's songs (III, V, XXXVII, XL) which can be considered to have been influenced by biblical sources and concludes that at least in this group the theory of the critics who interpret amors as caritas seems valid and that courtly love seems out of place.

Rene Nelli. *L'Erotique des Troubadours*. Bibliothèque Méridionale. Vol. XXXVIII. Toulouse, 1963. Because liturgical Latin poetry furnished Marcabru with metric schemes, types of strophes and stylistic tricks, it should not be inferred that it contributed to the birth of Provençal love. Nelli finds motivation for Marcabru's bitter criticism of the chivalric love of nobles to be a sort of class reaction since he belonged to a social level too low to be taken seriously in love aspirations toward a lady. Along with Cercamon, Alegret, and Bernart Marti, he was forced to believe in idealized love. The troubadours were supporting the interests of the young unmarried men and consciously trying to change the social order to give them the right to court the married women. But it was as difficult to make stylish the new amorous trio,
mari-dame-amant célibataire bien né as it was to make a lady take seriously the passion of a poor jongleur. This is the cause of the pessimistic tone of Marcabru's poetry and that of his contemporaries.

Anna Granville Hatcher. "Marcabru's A la fontana del vergier," Modern Language Notes, LXXIX (1964), 284-295. Hatcher presents A la fontana del vergier as a woman's song which refuses to develop into a pastourelle. The center of the poem consists of the girl's monologue reflecting the primitive lyrical genre chanson de femme. It is not a prayer for the safe return of her lover or for consolation for her loneliness. Instead, she examines the cause of her misery and presents a series of charges cursing King Louis for having taken away her lover and blaming even Christ whose shame has caused her grief. Then the poet-suitors steps forward with words of comfort: "He who makes the trees bear leaves will give you joy enough." He is certainly referring to the God of Love and Spring who makes the trees green for lovers and to joy in the erotic sense, but the girl is so overwhelmed by her grief that she understands his words in a religious sense and responds that she knows that God will deal mercifully with her in the other world. Then revealing the deepest grief of all she says, "mas pauc mi tey / Que trop s'es de mi alonhatz." Miss Hatcher interprets these lines as meaning, "If he had loved her enough, even to serve God and King he would not have gone: that is, if he had loved as she loves?" Since the noble's daughter does not comprehend the real meaning behind the poet's words, her song of lament remains just that and does not become a pastourelle.

Cicero Daniel McIntyre. "Motif and Imagery in Early Provençal Lyric Poetry." Unpublished Dissertation, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1964. McIntyre calls Marcabru the great nature poet and points out the often homely quality of his imagery. There is nothing in his poetry to indicate any clerical training whatsoever. The biblical references are no more profound than those which might be made by a man who attended mass regularly and misinterpreted the sermons he heard there.


La uostra cuida, soudadier,  
Fai eluschar los bals Gaifier  
Qu'envis si balans' enegau  
La cuid'e'l prometres faillitz. (vv. 19-22)

She found that he was a great king of Aquitaine referred to in history as Waifre (Latin, Waifarius) who was killed in 768 by emissaries of Pépin. Pépin gave to the church of Saint-Denis in Paris his gold bracelets covered with precious stones to commemorate his victory over the
warrior king. They were hung over the main altar. Because of these bracelets, Waifre is remembered for his great wealth. He is mentioned in the Chanson de Roland as a companion of Roland at Roncevaux. From this information she concludes that les bals Gaifier (the dances of Gaifier) should read los baus Gaifier (the bracelets of Gaifier) and translates these verses as follows:

Votre pensée à vous, hommes de guerre,
Fair fulgurer les bracelets du roi-guerrier Gaifier
Que devant vos yeux agitent ainsi, pauvres en joie,
La pensee et l'assurance failles.

Translating soudadier as soldier, Lejeune interprets this passage as saying that the bracelets of the warrior which are moving over the altar show the futility of war-like thoughts.

Karl Heisig. "Zu Marcabrus 'Vers del la vador,'" Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen, CCIV (1968), 366-368. Heisig's comments on Vers del lavador (XXXV) are centered on the last strophe. (Depraved are the French if they say no to God's affair for I know about it. Antioch there and Guyenne and Poitou here mourn nobility and valor. Lord God at your watering place put the soul of the count at rest; and here may the Lord who arises out of the tomb watch over Poitou and Niort.)

Desnaturat son li Frances,
Si de l'afar Deu dizo no,
qu'ieu sai com es,
Antiocha, pretz e valor
sai plora Guiana e Peitaus.
Dous, seiner, al ton lavador
l'arma del comte met en paus;
e sai gart Peitaus e Niort
Le seiner qui resors del vas. (vv. 64-72)

Heisig is concerned with the fact that critics have generally considered this poem as a crusade song against the Spanish Moors and have ignored Marcabru's reference to two watering places, one of which is on the other side of the sea near the valley of Josepha, that is, in Palestine. Presenting a historical background for the first two Crusades, he points out the varied motivations for these endeavors. The eastern rulers were interested mainly in preserving and enlarging their kingdoms while the western nobles were often also overly concerned with their private financial and political gains. Marcabru comes foward in this song as the spokesman of the "little people" who do not hold any fiefs and therefore had the purest reasons for going on Crusades. He laments that Christian had fought against Christian in the conquest of Antioch and thereby had perverted the chivalric value of life. He asked God to inspire spiritual peace in the soul of the Count of Antioch, so that he would be more
mindful of Christian things than his predecessor. Finally he asked Christ to keep Poitou and Niort from such materialistic quarrels.

Ulrich Mölk. Trobar Clus Trobar Leu. Munich, 1968. After examining many passages from Marcabru's poetry, Mölk concludes that there was no attempt on the part of the poet to write in a difficult style. However, the later poets of the trobar clus in their desire to write for an elite, sophisticated audience find in the work of Marcabru a source for their obscure poetry which in many cases represents only a continuation or exaggeration of his form and images. Mölk identifies Marcabru as an advocate of courtly love who, because of his low birth, was not able to participate in the love intrigues of the nobles. He along with Cercamon watched over the strict maintenance of the doctrine of courtly love and declared war on any departure from the rules. Marcabru turned against Eble because he and other nobles, while playing the game of cortezia, had no intention of sublimating their desire and fully intended to consummate their love.
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