

**LAUZENGIER—WĀSHĪ-INDEX, GARDADOR—
CUSTOS: The “Enemies of Love” in Provençal,
Arabo-Andalusian, and Latin Poetry**

Among the range of possible connections between Arabo-Andalusian lyric, which emerged on Iberian soil around the eighth century, and the rise of love poetry in Provence¹ at the end of the eleventh century, scholars have identified a motif which perhaps merits further reflection:² that is, the so-called “enemies of love,” characters that create numerous and diverse difficulties for the lovers and seek to block the realisation of their desires. The theme is a *topos* of the love poetry of every age, and thus it has played a secondary role in studies of the origins of troubadour poetry, including those studies that sought such origins on Spanish soil. However, even if a theme is present in a number of cultures, as in the present case, the reader may still distinguish closer relations between particular uses of it. This occurs when given characteristics and constitutive elements of the theme demonstrate traits common to two cultures but not found in others, which are such as to allow the reader to detect a reciprocal influence between the two literary traditions or, indeed, the possible dependence of one tradition on the other, with specific regard to the theme in question.

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¹The substantive Provence and the adjective Provençal are used in this article in reference to the ancient *Provincia* of the Romans, and not to the region of modern France, which is much smaller than that territory where a courtly poetry emerged at the end of the eleventh century.

²See, among other works: Lawrence Ecker, *Arabischer, Provenzalischer und deutscher Minnesang: Eine motifgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Bern und Leipzig, 1934) 22-55; Aloys R. Nykl, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry and its Relations with the Old Provençal Troubadours* (Baltimore, 1946) 394-395; Évariste Lévi-Provençal, *Islam d'Occident. Études d'histoire médiévale* (Paris, 1948) 295-296; Irénée Cluzel, “Quelques réflexions à propos des origines de la poésie lyrique des troubadours,” in *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* (1961): 179-188, p. 183; William Myron Davis, “Current Scholarship on the Origins of the Medieval Provençal Lyric: Some Conclusions,” in *Philologica pragensia* 10 (1967): 92-96, p. 93; Glynnis M. Cropp, *Le vocabulaire courtois des troubadours de l'époque classique* (Genève, 1975) 233-252. Further documentation can be found in the present author's dissertation, from which this article is taken: Patrizia Onesta, *La poesia d'amore in Provenza e in al-Andalus. Dall'analisi al confronto* (Università di Macerata, 1992/93) 188-198, 336-345, 389-393.

This is indeed the case with regard to the parallels between Arabo-Andalusian and Provençal lyric, in relation to the so-called "enemies of love." The theme, so diffuse in the love poetry of all epochs, presents in fact a wide range of variants, from the individualisation (more or less generic in diverse cases) of the character who thwarts the lovers, to his characterisation, his public and private role, and the poet-lover's diverse reactions to him.

Indeed, an examination of these variants allows us to distinguish noteworthy affinities between the *lauzengier* (slanderer) and *gardador* (watchman), two well-defined Provençal "enemies of love," on the one hand, and the *wāshī* (slanderer) and *raqīb* (observer), individuals who thwart the lovers in Arabo-Andalusian poetry, on the other. An analogous parallel could not be drawn, however, between the Provençal *gelos* (the jealous one; a term with which the poet identifies the husband of the beloved) and the *castiador* (reprover) on the one hand, and the Arabo-Andalusian *ḥasūd* (jealous one) and *ʿādhil* (reprover). Nor can more certain points of comparison in this regard be found in Latin poetry; in Roman society, *censura* (censorship) was a public office, and the husband is rarely defined as jealous in the Latin poetic tradition. The affinities are much less obvious between Provençal and Latin love poetry with regard to the Provençal *lauzengier* and *gardador*. Indeed, in Latin lyric a single figure appears to dominate, among a few other decidedly secondary characters: that of the *custos* (guardian), who is also often the *ianitor* (door-keeper). This figure has certain traits in common with both the *gardador* and the *raqīb* on the one hand, and the *lauzengier* and *wāshī* on the other; he is presented as a discreet figure, firmly established in the classical tradition and in Roman society, isolated, and somewhat generic.³ But it should be noted that, among the secondary figures, there does appear in Ovid an *index* (denouncer, spy), who, like the Provençal *lauzengier* and the Arabo-Andalusian *wāshī*, acts with the sole purpose of revealing the secret love of the two lovers. Another distinction between Latin and Provençal lyric is the lack, in the first, of a strong opposition to and an equally strong condemnation of, the poet-lover on the part of those who oppose the realisation of his desire for love. This tendency, on the other hand, is present both in Arabo-Andalusian and, in greater measure, Provençal lyric. In addi-

³Indeed, Plautus introduces this figure into six of his comedies; cf.: *Auluaria*, 556; *Curculio*, 76, 91; *Menaechmi*, 131; *Miles gloriosus*, 146, 153, 267, 271, 298, 305, 550; *Pseudolus*, 1037; and *Truculentus*, 812. He is among the characters that the Latin author used as leverage to raise a laugh from the spectators, and to resolve the plot of comedies; thus, he is well-known to the public as a typical figure in the Roman society of the period.

tion, the Arabo-Andalusian and Provençal traditions demonstrate a set of less strongly stated but similar strategies: the lover may seek to carry out surveillance of the beloved on his own part, or may instruct the beloved to become an expert in the subtle art of deceit. Both these elements are present in Latin lyric and particularly in the works of Ovid.⁴

In this article, similarities and differences between the love poetry of the three cultures will be outlined, both through examination of the characters who take on the role of "enemy of love" in each of them, and through the diverse reactions of the poet-lover to these characters. The examination will be based on texts treating for the most part amorous themes, both in prose and in poetry, from the eleventh-twelfth centuries for the Provençal poetry, the eighth-eleventh centuries for Arabo-Andalusian poetry, and from the third century BC to the second century AD for Latin poetry.⁵ These readings will demonstrate that the very first Provençal poets —and among them, precisely those poets who were able to spend periods of time in Spanish courts⁶— were able to reconceive in their poetry the traditional figure of the "enemies of love," drawing on the institutions of the feudal society in which they lived,⁷ and introducing other characteristics specific to Arabo-Andalusian lyric. Of the two figures under examination —the *lauzengier* and the *gardador* — only one, the *lauzengier*, remains in the works of the Provençal poets of the subsequent generation; and he maintains the characteristics of the Arabo-Andalusian *wāshī*. The violent reaction of the poet-lover to these characters also remains a constant characteristic in subsequent troubadour love poetry.

All this, as will be seen, delineates a part of the role that Arabo-Andalusian love poetry could have had in the emergence and development of Provençal poetry. In the absence of more explicit attestations of

⁴I cite Ovid in particular, not only here but throughout this article, because he was an author whom the Provençal poets certainly knew; they quote him in their poetry (cf. Marcabru, *Ugo Catola*, 37-40; and Arnaut de Mareuilh, *Mout eron doutz miei cossir*, 28-30).

⁵In the examination of troubadour poetry I do not intend to cross the "watershed" constituted by the Albigensian crusade (1209-1218), when the diaspora of the proponents of courtly love and the imposition, on the part of the Catholic church, of a much more spiritualised concept of love marked the end of courtly civilisation in the south of France. The examination of Arabo-Andalusian poetry closes at the end of the eleventh century, that is with the first poetic manifestations of the troubadour's art; extending the study of that tradition between such date would introduce material irrelevant to the study of the origins of Provençal love poetry.

⁶I.e., Guilhelm de Peiteu and Marcabru. This argument will be taken up again in the conclusion of the article.

⁷See Glynnis M. Cropp, p. 250, with notes.

possible cultural exchange between Provence and al-Andalus at the end of the eleventh century or earlier, philology seeks to draw from the extant texts as much as possible in order to sketch a clearer portrait of the communications that occurred between Christian and Muslim culture during the High Middle Ages. This article aims to provide a modest contribution to one aspect of those studies.

Provençal love poetry: The *lauzengier* and the *gardador*

Many are those who seek to block or impede the realisation of courtly lovers' desires in Provençal poetry of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁸ Beside the figures designated with generic names, such as the *enemics* (enemies), the *enoyos* (bothersome ones), and the *enveyos* (envious), whom *fin* 'Amor vol[on] blasmar',⁹ we find characters drawn with greater care; and among these are the *lauzengier* and the *gardador*.

The term *lauzengier*¹⁰ is used, after Jaufrè Rudel, by all the Provençal poets whose work will be considered in this article, with the exception of Peire Rogier; it signifies, in general, the consummate scandal-monger. From the etymological point of view the most exact translation is "slanderer," given that the word conveys a notion of dishonesty,¹¹ and is often qualified with the adjective *fals*¹² (false) or associated with terms that indicate lying or feigning.¹³

The *lauzengier* is anonymous:¹⁴ his individuality is subsumed by the category to which he belongs (in fact the term is most often used in the plural).¹⁵ He does not act exclusively out of jealousy or amorous rivalry, but is the consummate enemy of courtly society, because he

⁸For the source of the texts of the Provençal poets cited in this work, see the bibliography at the end of this article.

⁹Marcabru, XL, 12: "They wish to blame perfect Love."

¹⁰The term is related to the Frankish *lausinga* (flattery) and not to the Latin *laus*, *laudis* (praise): see Cropp, p. 237, note 15.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 238, note 22.

¹²See Bernart de Ventadorn, XXXVII, 10; Raimbaut d'Aurenga, VII, 16; XIV, 24; XXXIX, 40; Guiraut de Bornelh, XIII, 21 and 29; Raimon Jordan, XII, 31; Arnaut Daniel, XII, 23; XVII, 41; Bertran de Born, VI, 43; XXI, 12.

¹³See Marcabru, XXIV, 14; Bernart de Ventadorn, I, 35; XXVI, 42; XXXIV, 52; Raimbaut d'Aurenga, XV, 27; Arnaut Daniel, XV, 38; Bertran de Born, VI, 2.

¹⁴Only Raimbaut d'Aurenga, on one occasion, names names (I, 38): *Vidal*, *Costanz*, *Martin*, *Domerc*.

¹⁵Of the 51 occurrences of the term *lauzengier* in the troubadour poetry considered in the present study, 43 are in the plural, and only 8 in the singular.

strives to lower the reputation of the poet and the lady, and to destroy the relationship between the two lovers, divulging their secret love, or making the woman believe that the poet-lover is not faithful to her:

car m'an fag de mi donz sebrar
lauzenjador, cui Deus azir!
(Cercamon, II, 10-11)

because they have separated me from my master (i.e., my mistress),
the slanderers, may God hate them!

No volh lauengers me tolha
s'amor ni'm leve tal crit
per qu'eu me lais morir de dol.
(Bernart de Ventadorn, XIX, 25-27)

I don't wish a slanderer to remove me
from her love, or raise such an uproar
that I will have to die of a broken heart.

Can mi soven, dompna genta,
com era nostre jois verais
tro lauengiers crois e savais
nos loigner on ab lor fals brais
(Raimbaut d'Aurenga, XV, 25-28)

When I remember, noble lady,
how true our joy was
until the wicked and cruel slanderers
divided us with their false gossip

Lauengiers are defined as: *raubador* (thieves: Marcabru, XXIV, 22); *d'aver amassaire*, *mal parlier*, *lengatrenchan* (people who heap up riches, who curse or speak badly about others, sharp-tongued: Bernart Marti, IX, 22-23); *janglos truan* (base chatterers: Bernart Marti, IX, 23); *mals emveios* (wicked men: Bernart Marti, IX, 34); *lengutz* (gossipy: Peire d'Alvernha, V, 26); *fers* (cruel: Raimbaut d'Aurenga, VII, 13); *plu ponhens que gibres* (more poisonous than vipers: Raimbaut d'Aurenga, X, 21); *complitz de malvestat* (full of wickedness: Guiraut de Bornelh, XIII, 29); *fementit* (perjurers: Bertran de Born, VI, 43); *desenseignat*, *vilan* (evil and base men: Bertran de Born, XXI, 13); and so on. Furthermore, the troubadour hurls himself at them with every sort of insult, with violent hatred, utilising an almost vulgar lexicon and invoking God's strongest maledictions against them:

Ist lauengier, languas trencans
cuy Dieus cofonda et azir

meton Proeza en balans
 e fan Malvestat enantir
 (Marcabru, XXXIV, 15-18)

These slanderers with their sharp tongues
 may God despise and confound them
 they poise Nobility in equilibrium¹⁶
 and cause Wickedness to advance

per lauzengiers qu'an bec malahuros,
 qui son peyor que Judas, qui Dieu trays,
 ardre'ls degr'om o totz vius sebellir.
 (Cercamon, V, 34-36)

because of the slanderers with their cursed tongues
 worse than Judas, who betrayed God
 they should be burned or buried alive.

E s'anc parliei e ma chanso
 de lauzengiers, cui Dieus azir,
 aissi los vuelh del tot maldir,
 e ja Dieus noqua lor perdo
 quar an dig so qu'anc vers no fo
 (Folquet de Marselha, III, 13-17)

And if I ever spoke in my *chansos*
 of the slanderers, may God hate them,
 here I wish to curse them all.
 May God never bestow on them his forgiveness
 because they said what was never true.

Fals lausengier, fuocs las lengas vos arga,
 e que perdatz ams los huoills de mal cranc,
 que per vos son estraich cavail e marc:
 amor toletz, c'ab pauc del tot non tomba;
 confonda-us Dieus que ia non sapchatz com,
 qe'us fatz als drutz maldire e viltener
 malastres es qe-us ten, desconoissens,
 que peior etz, qui plus vos amonesta.
 (Arnaut Daniel, XVII, 41-48)

False slanderers, may fire burn your tongues
 and may you lose your eyes to a terrible cancer,
 for horses and [silver] marks
 have disappeared through your fault:
 you prevent love —it nearly fails altogether

¹⁶I.e., they stall it or undermine it.

may God confound you without your knowing
 for you make lovers speak and do evil things
 it is misfortune that supports you, misbelievers
 you get worse the more you are reproached

All this linguistic violence, however, goes no further than the page; the troubadour does not move on to counterattack, and is never vindicated against them. Bernart de Ventadorn (XIII, 54) asserts that he is outright foolish who wishes to battle against the *lauzengiers* and seeks, along with his beloved (XXX, 41-44), to find a way to deceive them; Bernart Marti (IX, 7) recommends choosing a lady who pays no attention to their gossip; Arnaut Daniel (VII, 36-44) and Arnaut de Mareulh (XVI, 36-42) defend themselves by pretending not to love, and hiding their feelings.

The poet-lover renounces combat because he would gain from it only hardship, he fears the evil-tongued, he wishes to come to an understanding with them. In reality, the only weapon that he possesses for self-defence from them is the attachment of the beloved, who does not change her feelings toward the poet, notwithstanding the gossip and calumny:

Doncs lor deuri'eu be servir,
 pois vei que re guerra no-m vau
 que s'ab lauzengers estau mau,
 greu-m poiria d'amor jauzir.

(Bernart de Ventadorn, XIII, 37-40)

Therefore, I should serve (the slanderers) well,
 for I see that war does me no good
 because if I behave badly toward the slanderers
 I could scarcely enjoy love.

Fals, enveios, fementit lausengier,
 pois ab midonz m'avetz mes destorbier
 be-us lausera que'm laissasetz estar.

(Bertran de Born, VI, 43-45)

False, envious, perjuring slanderers,
 as you set my lord and me (i.e., my lady) at variance,
 I would implore you to let me live in peace.

lo iorn qez ieu e midonz nos baisem
 e-m fetz escut de son bel mantel endi
 que lausengier fals, lenga de colobra,
 non o visson, don tan mals motz escampa.

(Arnaut Daniel, XII, 21-24)

The day on which my lord (i.e., my lady) and I kissed
she shielded me with her blue mantle
so that the false slanderers, with their vipers' tongues,
who speak so many wicked words, did not see us.

Fals lauzengiers Deu prec que-us gart de mort,
car, si pocsetz, agratz mi fait gran tort,
mas ara-m platz la vostra malvolensa,
qu'ades vos vei e secar e languir
car ma domna mi denha aculhir,
e car li platz qu'Amors vas mi la vensa.

(Raimon Jordan, XII, 31-36)

False slanderers, I pray God to preserve you from death,
for, if you could, you would have done me great wrong,
but now your malice pleases me
because I see you getting thin and languishing
because my lady is happy to receive me,
and because she is pleased that Love overcomes her for my sake.

The term *gardador* is found only three times in the troubadour lyrics under examination in this paper — in a composition by Guilhelm de Peitieu and in a poem by Marcabru (II, 17) — and is always in the plural;¹⁷ furthermore, Marcabru in another poem describes a situation in which the *gardadors* appear, although he does not name them: qu'una domna s'es clamada de sos gardadors a mei.

<i>E</i> diz que non volo prendre	dreit ni lei,
ans la teno esserrada	quadra trei,
tant l'us no'ill largua l'estaca que l'altre plus	no la'ill plei.
<i>E</i> t aquill fan entre lor	aital agrei:
l'us es compains gens a for	mandacarrei,
e meno trop major nauza que la mainada del rei.	

<i>E</i> t dic vos, gardador,	e vos castei,
e sera bens grans folia	qui no'm crei:
greu veirez nenguna garda	que ad oras non sonei.

(Guilhelm de Peitieu, II, 3-12)

a lady has appealed to me because of her keepers.
She says that they refuse to accept both right and law,
on the contrary, they all three keep her shut in,
and if one gives her more freedom, another denies her.

¹⁷For the etymology of the term *gardador* cf. Cropp, p. 250; on the same page, the scholar attempts a possible explanation of that fact that this figure disappears almost instantly from Provençal love poetry.

And between them, they cause her such grief:
 one is a friend, nice as a carter,
 and they cause more confusion than the king's procession.
 And I tell you, watchmen, and I give you this advice,
 and he is truly mad who won't believe me:
 you'll seldom find a guard who doesn't doze at times.

hi a rics homes e baros
 qui las enserron dinz maios
 qu'estrains non i posca intrar
 e tenon guirbautz als tisos
 cui las comandon a gardar.

(Marcabru, XXIX, 20-24)

there are rich men and barons
 who close them (their wives) at home,
 so that a stranger cannot enter;
 and they keep some peasants near the hearth
 and they order them to watch over the ladies.

From these few verses, we learn that the watchman is from a lower social class, and has been placed near the woman by her husband. The troubadour despises him; and the beloved finds a way to negotiate even this obstacle, in order to enjoy the pleasures of love along with her courtly lover.

Arabo-Andalusian love poetry: *The wāshī and the raqīb*

In Arabo-Andalusian love poetry, certain negative characters recur frequently, hindering the lovers with their actions, and often provoking their separation. Some of them are distinguished only by the names with which they are designated — "envious ones" and "enemies"; others, however, are described with greater care, and among these are the *wāshī* and the *raqīb*.¹⁸

The *wāshī* is the calumniator, the slanderer who, using conjecture and gossip, seeks to disturb the lovers' harmony. Ibn Ḥazm in his *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāma*¹⁹ (chapter 19, pp. 101-103) distinguishes three types of *wāshī*: he who wishes only to sow discord between the two lovers, and therefore suggests to the beloved that the lover does not respect the secrecy of their love, that her lover is not sincere, or that he is in love with another woman; the rival, who wishes to separate the lovers in

¹⁸For the source of the texts and the translations of the Arabic poets cited in this work, see the bibliography at the end of this article.

¹⁹I. e., the *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāma fi 'l-Ulfa wa'l-Ullāf*; the citations in this article are based on the translation of Francesco Gabrieli.

order to possess the beloved for himself; and finally, he who acts against both of them, for the pleasure of scandal:

The slanderers disturbed the purity of my love
and they ascribe to me a pack of offensive lies
(Al-Ḥamdānī, p. 151, II, 1)

When you were united with me, as love is united with the heart,
and you merged with me, as the soul merges with the body,
the place I hold in you drove the slanderers to anger:
the flame of envy burns in every rival's heart.
(Ibn Zaydūn, p. 60)

Ibn Ḥazm accuses this character of every possible evil, and makes a long digression on the lie, which is the slanderer's typical tool, stating that he is obliged to speak on the subject, such a source of grief it is for him:

There are no worse men than slanderers or denouncers. Slander is a quality that reveals the rottenness of the root and the decay of the branch, the ruined nature and the ignoble birth. The slanderer cannot help lying, and slander is a branch and a species of lie; every slanderer is a liar. And I have never loved a liar; I am indulgent in friendship with people afflicted with every sort of fault, even serious faults, and I pray to the Creator to take care of them and appreciate the better parts of their characters, except those who are liars; that quality, for me, cancels out all their virtues, obliterates all their good qualities, and destroys their worth, so that I expect absolutely no good from them.

(Ibn Ḥazm, Chapter 19, p. 104)

And again:

I think that death and fate have learned from him
the wicked art of dividing those who love.
(*ibid.*, p. 109)

* * *

The obstacle that recurs most often in Arabo-Andalusian love poetry is the *raqīb* –etymologically an “observer,” as Pérès specifies (p. 418), but we can define him also as “spy, guardian, watchman,” in accordance with the duties assigned him. According to Ibn Ḥazm (chap. XVIII, pp. 97-98) — who defines him “one of love's calamities,” “a latent fever, a persistent pleuritis” — there are diverse characters who can be indi-

cated with this name: he who, without intending to, installs himself in the trysting place of the two lovers and in effect impedes them from revealing their reciprocal love; or a person who has understood that there is something between the two lovers and wishes to clarify, scrutinising closely their activities and movements, what their true relations are.

But the poets — continues Ibn Ḥazm (ibid., p. 98-99) speak in their verses of yet another type of watchman: he who is posted to guard the beloved. This is he most feared *raqīb*, because slander is his livelihood and he does not desist, neither when faced with the sincerity of the lovers' sentiments nor when faced with their prayers His sole role is to impede the amorous union to the point of compelling the two lovers to separate, revealing their secret love; he can act out of envy or jealousy, if he is a spurned lover, but most of the time, he has been charged with the duty of surveillance by the beloved's husband, or by the girl's parents.

Surveillance of the woman is an Arabic custom, with roots in ancient Bedouin society: it was not only the girl's honour that was protected in this manner, but also the honour of the whole family.²⁰ Such surveillance was rigorous, and was extended also to boys from noble families: indeed, the girls in love of the *kharajāt* of Arabo-Andalusian *muwashshahāt* lament this fact often.²¹ Sometimes the lover confronts this enemy, seeking to elude the surveillance of the girl's guardians and family-members:

Here I am! I heed not the words of the spy!
(Al-Tutūlī, p. 249, v. 6)

Despite the danger of unsheathed swords,
I would assault the guardians of your tents.
I will face the lances tempered at Khatt that keep me at bay,
and put an end to their threats
because I obey only the tenderness which urges me to slake my thirst with you
Ibn Ḥānī pp. 208-9, XLI, 7-8

But usually he is afraid (the beloved, too, fears the *raqīb*) and therefore seeks to win the watchman over to his side with blandishments:

²⁰See: Mansour Fahmy, *La condition de la femme dans l'Islam* (1913, reprinted Paris, 1990) 91-113; and Pierre Guichard, *Al-Andalus. Estructura antropológica de una sociedad islamica en Occidente* (Barcelona, 1976) 114-116 and 168-170.

²¹Cf.: Gerald Hilty, "Celoso-Raqīb," in *Al-Andalus* 36 (1971): 127-144; *id.*, "La figura del 'raqīb' en las jarchas," in *Poesía Estrófica. Actas del Primer Congreso Internacional sobre Poesía Estrófica Árabe y Hebrea y sus Paralelos Romances* (Madrid, diciembre de 1989) (Madrid, 1991) 155-165.

Were it not for the prying eyes that follow me
and the fact that I must beware of the guardians' gossip,
I would visit you, that you might forgive my inconstancy . . .
(Al-Muṣṭamid, p. 27, II)

Three things prevented me from visiting her,
for fear of the spy . . . (Al-Muṣṭamid, p. 114, v. 1)

There was a watchman on guard, who always stayed there to watch over my
lord [my beloved], to keep me away from her.
But the cunning blandishments took root so shrewdly in him, that the fear I
had for him changed into confidence.
He was a sword unsheathed to kill me, and he became a friend of boundless
goodness. (Ibn Ḥazm, p. 99, chap. XVIII, I)

He became life, who had been a murderous arrow; he was poison, and he be-
came health-bestowing potion. (Ibn Ḥazm, *ibid.*, II)

If the watchman is faithful to his task, incapable of betraying his
trust, and the lovers can do nothing to win him over to their side, they
have no recourse but to act with prudence, to trust to certain tokens of
understanding, and to speak in an allusive manner, or to hope that the
watchman falls asleep:

It is as if we had never passed a night alone but for the presence of our own
union and good fortune lowered the eyelids of our watchman.
(Ibn Zaydūn, pp. 48-49, v. 36)

How I desire that the *raqīb* won't be there when we meet again, and so I will
obtain the favour of slaking my thirst at the delicious spring of your purple
lips.

(Ibn ʿAmmār, p. 418, III, 4)

It is necessary to deceive the *raqīb* and to profit from the moments when
he is not present, otherwise:

May God not bestow His forgiveness on him who wastes an hour free from
those who sow seeds of discord and from the spies
(Al-Ṭāliq, p. 85, III, final verse)

The figure of the *raqīb* is decisively traditional in Arabo-Andalusian
love poetry, as is demonstrated by this use of it in a poem that describes
the amorous encounter of a flower and a breeze:

Between the breeze and the flower a conversation transpires that becomes
more wondrous with the arrival of the night.

The flower has a perfumed breath that spreads and propagates itself in union with the night;
 [the night] seems to possess a secret that makes the flower hesitant while it arrives little by little along with the sunset; it hides itself when the dawn arises because it fears the day, which becomes its *raqīb*.

(Ibn Khafāja, p. 15, v. 1) *raqīb*.

Archaic, classical, and imperial Latin love poetry:
 the *index* and the *custos*

Among the characters opposed to the lovers' happiness in Latin poetry we find the figure of the *custos*, who is sometimes the slave posted as guard over the door of the house (*ianitor*), and who also fulfils the function of spy.²² An additional character appears (though only in the works of Ovid), clearly distinguished from the *custos*: the *index*. This is often a scarcely-defined figure (only twice is he designated with the negative qualifications "non exorabilis" [not to be entreated] and "temerarius" [rash]²³) who reveals to the husband the wife's infidelity, or makes the beloved believe that the lover is not faithful to her:

quis fuit inter nos sociati corporis index?(*Amores*, II, 8, 5)
 who revealed that we joined our bodies?

sed ales
 sensit adulterium Phoebēius, utque latentem
 detergeret culpam, non exorabilis index
 ad dominum tendebat iter . . . (*Metamorphoses*, II, 546)

but Phoebus' bird
 discovered the adultery, and in order to reveal
 the secret crime, the denouncer, impervious to entreaty,
 flew to its master . . .

The maidservant who, having served as messenger between the mistress and her lover, reveals their secret love out of jealousy, can also become an *index*. To avoid this difficulty, Ovid suggests that the lovers implicate her in their affair:

tollitur index,
 cum semel in partem criminis ipsa uenit.

²²For the source of the texts of the Latin poets cited in this work, see the bibliography at the end of this article.

²³*Metamorphoses*, II, 546; VII, 824.

non auis utiliter uiscatis effugit alis,
 non bene de laxis cassibus exit aper.

Sed bene celetur: bene si celabitur index,
 notitiae suberit semper amica tuae.

(*Ars Amatoria*, I, 389-396)

the spy is removed
 once she has become herself involved in the crime:
 the bird with cunningly limed wings cannot escape,
 the wild boar cannot escape from the wide nets so easily.

But the fact must remain well-hidden: if the spy is hidden properly, the beloved
 will always remain under your control.

* * *

He who does not know how to keep a love secret but talks about it is cruelly
 punished, cast into a squalid prison, and chained by the neck.
 (*Amores*, II, 2, 41-42); or:

nunc quoque per pueros iaculis incessitur index
 et pretium auctori vulneris ipsa datur. (*Amores*, III, 13, 21-22)

still now the denouncer is prodded by the boys' javelins
 and she is given in reward to the author of the wounds

The *custos* is a slave or a maidservant whom, in accordance with an ancient custom, the husband orders to stand guard over the wife, the father places as watcher over the daughter, and the lover commands to guard the beloved, to protect from all eventual rivals in love. Sometimes, the *custos* is also the *ianitor* who guards before the closed door of the house, and is an unmovable barrier for the lover because he is chained to the door, according to the most ancient usage:

custodum transire manu uigilumque cateruas
 militis et miseri semper amantis opus
 (Ovid, *Amores*, I, 9, 27-28)

to overcome armies of guards and bands of sentries
 is the everlasting task of unlucky soldiers and lovers.

anus hic solet cubare custos ianitrix
 nomen Leaenaest, multibiba atque merobiba
 (Plauto, *Curculio*, 76)

An old woman, named Leena, a hard drinker of pure wine,
usually sleeps there to watch the door.

Dic et argutae properet Neerae
murreum nodo cohibere crinem;
si per inuisum mora ianitorem
flet, abito. (Horace, *Odes*, III 14, 21-24)

Tell Neera, with her beautiful voice,
to tie her hair in a myrrh-scented knot;
but if the hateful door-keeper bars your way,
come back to me.

The Latin poet complains about the *custos*, defining him as *amarus* (harsh, irritable: Propertius, II, 23, 9); *catus* (cunning: Plautus, *Menaechmi*, 131); *cautus* (crafty: Plautus, *Miles gloriosus*, 467, and *Pseudolus*, 1037); possessed of a *mala lingua* (sharp tongue: Ovid, *Amores*, II, 2, 49); *molestus* (bothersome: Ovid, *Amores*, II, 3, 15); *odiosus* (hateful: Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, 235); *pavidum* (anxious: Horace, *Odes*, III, 16, 6); *saevus* (cruel: Ovid, *Amores*, III, 1, 55); and *vigil* (watchful: Tibullus, III, 12, 11, and Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, III, 612). In the same manner, the *ianitor* is *ferreus* (inflexible: Ovid, *Amores*, I, 6, 27); *invisus* (detested: Horaces, *Odes*, III, 14, 23); *lentus* (unfeeling: Ovid, *Amores*, I, 6, 41 and 72); and *turpis* (base: Ovid, *Amores*, I, 6, 72).

All the same, the poet-lover does not manifest violent reactions against these two characters, even if he complains about their guardianship, characterised as *nimum molesta* (exceedingly troublesome: Ovid, *Amores*, II, 2, 8); *saeva* (cruel: Tibullus, I, 2, 5); and *tristis* (strict: Propertius, II, 6, 27). The threats are in general directed at the barred door of the maiden, and the poet repents instantly. Even when they are turned directly against the door-keeper, as happens in Ovid, the poet's tone is somewhat conciliating because the poet seeks to bring the *ianitor* over to his own side, alternating threats and blandishments:

Nam posita est nostrae custodia saeva puellae,
clauditur et dura ianua firma sera.
ianua, difficilis domini, te uerberet imber,
te Iovis imperio fulmina missa petant.
ianua, iam pateas uni mihi, victa querelis,
neu furtim verso cardine aperta sones.
et mala siqua tibi dixit dementia nostra,
ignoscas: capiti sint precor illa meo.
(Tibullus, I, 2, 5-12)

My maid has been placed into a cruel custody,
 and the solid door has been closed by a strong bolt.
 O door of an intractable master, may the rain lash against you
 may the thunderbolts thrown by Jove's order injure you.
 O door — overcome by my cries — open now only for me,
 but do not make a noise while turning on your hinges:
 And if my raging spoke evil words against you,
 forgive me: I pray that those words fall on my head.

quod nimium dominae cura molesta tua est.
 si sapis, o custos, odium, mihi crede, mereri
 desine: quem metuit quisque, periisse cupit.

(Ovid, *Amores*, II, 2, 8-10)

for your custody of the mistress is too troublesome:
 if you are wise, guardian, believe me, cease,
 to merit our hate: whoever fears you, wishes your death.

Ianitor (indignum) dura religate catena,
 difficilem moto cardine pande forem. (vv. 1-2)

Door-keeper (how unworthy!), fastened with a brutal chain,
 move the hinges and open the cruel door.

.....

te nimium lentum timeo, tibi blandior uni:
 tu, me quo possis perdere, fulmen habes.
 aspice (uti uideas, inmitia claustra relaxa)
 uda sit ut lacrimis ianua facta meis. (vv. 15-18)

I fear you — too unfeeling — I flatter only you:
 you possess the thunderbolt that can kill me.
 Look (and in order that you might see, open the harsh bolt)
 how my tears have moistened the door

.....

tempora noctis eunt; excute poste seram.
 excute sic umquam longa releuere catena,
 nec tibi perpetuo serua bibatur aqua. (vv. 24-26)

The night hours are going away, take the bolt away from the door
 Take it away: so might you one day be unfastened from the long chain nor drink
 any longer the water kept for slaves.

.....

Lentus es, an somnus, qui te male perdat, amantis
 uerba dat in uentos aure repulsa tua? (vv. 41-42)

Are you unfeeling, or do you sleep — may it bring you ruin! —
that you throw the lover's words, rejected by your ears, to the winds?
.....

Omnia consumpsi, nec te precibusque minisque
mouimus, o foribus durior ipse tuis.
non te formosae decuit seruare puellae
limina: sollicito carcere dignus eras. (vv. 61-64)

I have used up all my wealth, but neither my prayers nor my threats have
moved you, o you who are harder than your door.
you are not suited to guard the door of a beautiful girl:
you are fit for a prison full of torments.

(Ovid, *Amores*, I, 6, 61-64)

The lover seeks by every means to convince the *ianitor* or the *custos* to pretend that he sees nothing and knows nothing, if he is afraid that the beloved's husband will accuse him of complicity, and he predicts a series of punishments from his master if the guardian does not know how to keep quiet. The lovers do nothing wrong: they do not plan a crime, they do not mix poisons, but seek only to be able to love each other with security, thanks to the guardian's complicity.²⁴ If this does not succeed, the lover teaches the beloved how to hide, using appropriate codes, the words that she wishes to speak to him (he himself will do the same with regard to her, particularly in the presence of the husband), how to deceive her guardians by sending messages written with fresh milk or by pretending that she is ill, or by drugging the guardian with a large quantity of wine or with medicines, or buying his silence with precious gifts:²⁵

me specta nutusque meos uultumque loquacem:
excipe furtiuas et refer ipsa notas.
uerba superciliis sine uoce loquentia dicam;
uerba leges digitis, uerba notata mero.
cum tibi succurreret Veneris lasciua nostrae,
purpureas tenero pollice tange genas;
si quid erit, de me tacita quod mente queraris,
pendeat extrema mollis ab aure manus;
cum tibi, quae faciam, mea lux, dicamue, placebunt,
uersetur digitis anulus usque tuis

(Ovid, *Amores*, I, 4, 17-26)

look at me, at my signals, and at my communicative face,
consider and return yourself the furtive signs.

²⁴ Cf. Ovid, *Amores*, II, 2.

²⁵ Cf. Tibullus I, II, 15-24; VI, 7-22; Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, III, 621-658, and *Tristia*, II, 449-462.

I will say words with my eyebrows, speaking with no voice,
 you will read words written with the fingers or with wine.
 When you remember the lust of our love,
 touch your purple cheeks with your tender thumb;
 if there is anything about which you wish to complain to me tacitly,
 your soft hand hangs from your earlobe;
 when you like what I saw or do, my darling,
 turn the ring on your finger continuously

custodes furtim transgressa iacentes
 ad iuuenem tenebris sola puella uenit
 (Tibullus, II, 1, 75-76)

after passing unnoticed among the guardians lying asleep,
 the girl goes to visit the youth, alone in the night

lumina custodis succumbere nescia somno
 ultimus est alicue decipere arte labor. (Ovid, *Heroides*, XII, 49-50)

The last toil is to cunningly deceive the eyes of the guardian, which don't
 know how to sleep.

Nonetheless, the *custos* is well-loved by the poet if he comes round to the lover's service, and makes that the beloved remains faithful to him and does not acquire other lovers. The lover himself wishes to become her guardian and, therefore, behaves towards her just as her husband does. This extraordinary trait demonstrates how deeply rooted in Roman society was the custom of surveillance of women, and it may indeed account for the fact that the poet does not provoke the beloved's guardians with harsh words:

quos igitur tibi custodes, quae limina ponam,
 quae numquam supra pes inimicus erat?
 nam nihil inuitae tristis custodia prodest (Propertius, II, 6, 37-39)

What guardians, then, should I place over you?
 what doors that an enemy foot can never pass?
 for a strict watch is worthless against a girl's will.

at tu casta precor maneat, sanctique pudoris
 adsideat custos sedula semper anus. (Tibullus, I, 3, 83-84)

but I pray you to be chaste, and may the old woman,
 the guardian of sacred chastity, sit always near you.

me retinent uictum formosae uincla puellae
 et sedeo duas ianitor ante fores. (Tibullus, I, 1, 55-56)

the chain of a beautiful girl keeps me fastened
 and I sit, a guardian before her cruel door.
 ipse tuus custos, ipse uir, ipse comes? (Ovid, *Amores*, III, 11, 18)

(Am) I myself your guardian, your husband, your lover?

Conclusion

These three civilisations —the Provençal, the Arabo-Andalusian, and the Latin— have in common the limitation of the liberty of women, which is articulated through given social customs, like the institution of the harem among the Arabs and the maintenance of a certain morality in the Latin world (the *ensor* was a public office). Again, the liberty or curtailment of women's movements may respond to factors subject to change: the absence of the feudal lord of the castle for an extended period of time, the liberty of behaviour characteristic of imperial Rome.

As regards the differences between these three worlds, aside from the verbal violence of the poet-lover's language —almost absent in Latin lyric, and on the other hand quite common in Arabo-Andalusian and even more so in Provençal lyric— an important detail emerges: in Latin poetry the figure of the *custos* is in a certain manner unique, combining into a single figure the characteristics of the *gardador* and the *lauzengier* from Provençal poetry, and of the *raqīb* and the *wāshī* from Arabo-Andalusian poetry. Neither does the figure of the *index*, introduced by Ovid (whose duties the *custos* continues to perform also in this poet's works), distinguish clearly between the roles of the guardian and the spy.

Instead, it was the Arabo-Andalusian poets who defined in precise terms and consolidated, in works like Ibn Ḥazm's *ṭawq al-Ḥamāma*, the role of each of the characters hostile to the lovers: in such manner, they created —if I may be forgiven the expression— a "family" of lovers' enemies. A nearly analogous "family" is found in troubadour poetry with the *lauzengier*, the *gardador*, the *castiador* and the *gelos*, although only the *lauzengier* and the *gardador* correspond to the respective characters in Arabo-Andalusian love poetry, the *wāshī* and the *raqīb*.

Marcabru's *castiador*²⁶ seems, in his position as a private citizen, closer to the Arabo-Andalusian *cādil* than to the Latin *ensor*. How-

²⁶Marcabru, V, 31; XXIV, 16. See also: Marcabru, XVII, 37; XXV, 43; XL, 49; XLI, 25, 28.

ever it is also true that the poet himself aspires to fill this position, holding himself up as judge of corrupt behaviour, a role played by the Latin *ensor* as well. Nonetheless, the presence of the *castiador* —who appears only in the poetry of Marcabru— can also be accounted for by the strong moralising thread that runs through all the work of this Provençal poet.

As regards the *gelos*, it is difficult to draw conclusions, because the Arabo-Andalusian *Δasūd* is not always the husband of the beloved; sometimes the term identifies “jealous ones” who are not otherwise distinguished. On the other hand, in Latin poetry the husband is rarely defined as jealous, even though the poet may speak in passing of his jealousy and envy.

In reference to literary connections between Provençal and Arabo-Andalusian love poetry relative to the theme under consideration, the only detail that can be confirmed is the existence of a “family of enemies,” with a well-defined role for each of its components. Such a “family” is present in Arabo-Andalusian poetry, which inherited it from classical Arabic poetry; and that Arabo-Andalusian “family” must have influenced in some way the works of the first troubadours: Guilhelm de Peitieu, who introduces the figure of the *gardador* in one of his compositions, and, even more, Marcabru, who presents all four of the characters —the *lauzengier*, the *gardador*, the *castiador*, and the *gelos*— in his works.²⁷ Two of these characters, the *lauzengier* and the *gelos*, are present also in the works of his “student,” Cercamon,²⁸ and are precisely those that will appear in the works of the troubadours of subsequent generations. Furthermore, the Provençal *lauzengier* will continue to maintain the characteristics of the Arabo-Andalusian *wāshī*, differentiating itself in this manner clearly from the Latin *custos*.

Guilhelm de Peitieu and Marcabru sojourned in Spain at the courts of the “Catholic kings” (the former in 1120, and the latter in 1137 or 1143). There, perhaps, they would have had the opportunity to listen to Arabic songs; and perhaps word of Ibn Ḥazm’s *Ḥawq al-Óamāma*, which achieved an enormous success in the Arabo-Andalusian world immediately after its appearance, reached the Spanish courts, or even crossed the Pyrenees during the twelfth century. However, during the epoch of these Provençal poets’ visits to Spain, troubadour poetry had already appeared. Therefore the literary contacts between al-Andalus and Provence ought to be placed somewhat earlier, a notion which may

²⁷Marcabru, XXIV, 14; XXXIV, 15 (*lauzengier*); II, 17 (*gardador*); V, 31; XXIV, 16 (*castiador*); II, 16; 24; 36; XLIII, 15 (*gelos*).

²⁸Cercamon, II, 11; V, 34 (*lauzengier*) and IV, 49 (*gelos*).

be supported by the frequent commercial exchanges and crusades on Spanish soil.

As is well known, during the years 1050-1100 Provençals preferred to orient themselves, for political motives but also for the sake of intellectual or cultural affinity, toward the South and not toward the North, a policy that was so marked that the lords of Provence recognised the sovereignty of the king of Aragon during this period. We know also that Arabs taught medicine at Montpellier during the eleventh century, and a certain Petrus Alphonsi, in 1106, attests to the existence of translations of both prose and poetry from the Arabic.²⁹ However, contacts with Christian Spain occurred above all when the king of Navarre, Sancho el Mayor (1000-1035), calling himself *rex ibericus* (Iberian king), engaged both himself and his successors —for whom he contracted dynastic marriages that linked them more closely with the Provençal lords— in closer relations with France and with Rome.³⁰ On the other hand, neither the Provençal *vidas* nor the *razos* nor any other document tells us what sort of library the first troubadours had access to. The only sort of evidence we have is indirect, suggesting that the poets' preparation in Latin classical texts relied for the most part on florilegia and collections of aphorisms.

We are not able to evaluate this material by any method other than philological analysis, through comparison of the texts. This possible witness of literary contact between Provence and al-Andalus, at the dawn of troubadour lyric, provided by the figures of the so-called "enemies of love" is only one tile in a mosaic, and even when it is placed alongside other tiles of the same nature, still a clear image does not emerge. Nonetheless, it can furnish certain new details, and contribute appreciably to the history —still in large part to be written— of literary contacts between Provençal and Arabo-Andalusian culture during the high Middle Ages.

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(trans. Karla Mallette)

²⁹See: Aloys R. Nykl, "La poesía a ambos lados del Pirineo hacia el año 1100," in *Al-Andalus* 1 (1933): 357-405. The passage from Petrus Alphonsi reads: "Propterea libellum compegi, partim ex prouerbiis philosophorum, et suis castigationibus arabicis, et fabulis, et uersibus, partim ex animalium et uolucrum similitudinibus" (p. 377-378; "In addition, I wrote a little book, composed partly of Arabic philosophers' proverbs, reproaches, fables, and verses, partly of likenesses of animals and birds").

³⁰Cf. Charles Camproux, *Le Joi d'Amor des Troubadours. Jeu et joie d'amour* (Montpellier, Causse e Castelnaud, 1965) 56-57; Ramón Menéndez Pidal, "La primitiva lírica europea, Estado actual del problema," in *Revista de Filología Española*, 43 (1960): 279-354; Robert Briffault, *Les Troubadours et le sentiment romanesque* (Geneva, 1974) 62-68.

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