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Ca no soe joglaresa

Women and Music in Medieval Spain's Three Cultures

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The three cultures of medieval Iberia—Christian, Jewish, Muslim—and the relations among them have occasioned considerable interest over the past decades.¹ The role of women musicians in these three cultures has long been of interest to me, from both academic and performance-oriented viewpoints. From the perspective of ethnomusicology, much of my research has focused on Judeo-Spanish Sephardic song, largely a women's tradition with roots and influences going back to the three cultures of medieval Iberia. As a performing musician working with medieval music, as well as Judeo-Spanish and related Mediterranean traditions, I have found the role of women musicians in medieval Spain a natural and intriguing area of study. This essay is intended as a general overview of women's role in medieval Iberian and closely related song, exploring their own activities and attitudes as musicians and composers, as well as images of and attitudes toward them in contemporaneous poetry and other writing.

The study of medieval women's music presents several challenges. First, and most difficult, is the general paucity of musical notation for woman's songs of the time.² While within the music of medieval Christian society it is possible to apply the widespread practice of *contrafactum*,³ and set poems to contemporaneous melodies which fit their prosody, this is not possible for the Jewish and Muslim communities of the time, as they did not generally notate their music. Texts are problematic as well: even in the case of the Occitanian *troubairitz*, the women troubadours of Provence, not all the women can be identified with certainty. The numerous poems in a woman's voice in Galician-Portuguese and in Old French, some of which do have musical notation, are not necessarily "woman's songs" in the sense of being composed by women

and/or constituting a women's repertoire. On the other hand, documentation of medieval women's involvement in music, formal or informal, is fairly extensive, as are attitudes toward women musicians in public and private settings, in all three cultures of medieval Spain.

As an ethnomusicologist, I add some speculation drawn from oral tradition to complement the available documentation, though with the caution which is obviously required. My work as a performer of medieval music and oral traditions gives me another perspective on the image of women in the songs and on what it means to a woman to sing them. While there are obvious pitfalls in applying a late twentieth-century sensibility to a medieval repertoire, this point of view also follows current anthropological ideas toward the scholar's involvement as a person in the culture s/he is studying. On a different, practical level, my performing activities enable me to apply the medieval technique of *contrafactum*, in this case setting medieval women's poems without accompanying notation to appropriate contemporaneous melodies, and to try out these settings by performing them to audiences with various degrees of knowledge of the repertoire. Fortunately, voluntarily singing in public today doesn't raise the sort of malicious speculation about my possibly related professions as it did for my Iberian colleagues of eight centuries ago.⁴ On the other hand, there are several different kinds of publics, and women's musical roles varied according to the contexts in which they were expressed.

Women Singers and Their Roles

References to women's active involvement in music and poetry go far back, to the Old and New Testaments and the Apocrypha; to ancient Greece; to writings by Juvenal, Martial, Pliny, St. John Chrysostom,⁵ and others. Besides such obvious and regularly cited sources as the poetry of Sappho, one can profitably comb chronicles, epics, narrative poems, exempla, and men's poetry; iconography yields further information; and there are several allusions—mostly negative—to women singers by religious authorities in all three communities.

Women were instrumentalists as well as singers. In all three cultures, they were—and throughout the Mediterranean still are—associated with percussion instruments. This association has been continuous, from Myriam playing the tambourine at the parting of the Red Sea, through Juvenal's description of Spanish singing-girls with castanets, and Isidore of Seville's statement that women invented percussion. The celebrated *Cantigas de Santa María* of Alfonso X include several miniatures of women musicians of the three cultures,

and the Archipreste of Hita not only refers to women musicians but even specifies certain of their instruments as being inappropriate for songs in "arábigo" style.⁶ In the *Púmic Wars* a Galician woman is described as singing "strange songs," accompanying herself on a percussion instrument.⁷ Today, in Galicia, as well as in areas of Leon and Salamanca, and parts of Portugal, the double-skinned square frame drum has retained its function as a woman's instrument, and in Portugal its Arabic name (*adufe*, from *al-dūf*). Playing plucked and bowed stringed instruments could be valued accomplishments for medieval women musicians, but references to women playing wind instruments are rare, and even in oral tradition today often have negative social connotations related to phallic imagery.⁸

All three cultures, Christian, Jewish, and Muslim, shared an ambivalence toward music itself, and also an ambivalence toward women; so, not surprisingly, an ambivalence toward women in music. The issue is not so much whether women sang as where and under what circumstances they did so. The title of Cristina Segura's essay "Public women / bad women, honest women / private women"⁹ neatly sums up the situation: the home and, for Christian women, the cloister were the only real private spaces, the only places where an honest woman would really be found. But even within these spaces the dichotomy between "public" and "private" was further refined. A wife and mother joining in singing hymns around the table, a woman fulfilling a religious duty by singing life cycle songs, a nobleman's daughter singing to the harp to charm his guests—all could be defined as "private," and permitted—even mandated—by men. These were very different propositions from a woman singing to a general public, especially to earn her living, where it was generally assumed that prostitution was her other profession.

In the medieval romance *Libro de Apolonio*,¹⁰ the noble-born Tarsiana makes sure everyone knows that singing in the market-place is only a temporary resort, and that she has not embraced other means of livelihood associated with it, i.e. prostitution: "no so joglaresa de las de buen mercado" ("I'm not one of those *joglaresas* who can be bought," line 490). Similarly, in the *Libro de Alexandre*, Queen Calcetrix is at pains to specify that "non vin' ganar haberes, ca no soe joglaresa" ("I'm not here to earn any money; I'm no *joglaresa*," line 1723).

Basically, men set the contexts in which women's music-making was legitimate—or, in certain cases, even mandatory. These judgments were, not surprisingly, influenced by the degree of benefit to the men themselves: for example, the prestige they gained by having an accomplished daughter or slave. Women adapted themselves to these limits with varying degrees of cre-

ativity and compliance. Lower-class women musicians were another story: they did not enter the public/private dichotomy of the upper class, though there is some discussion of the songs of farmers, sailors, weavers, and other workers in early sources.

The Surviving Corpus

Of music attributed to medieval women composers, very little has remained. For poetry in a woman's voice, though not necessarily demonstrably composed by women, we fare better: on the Peninsula,¹¹ the Galician-Portuguese *cantigas de amigo* (songs of the "friend," i.e., male beloved), Hispano-Arabic women's poetry, a couple of examples of Jewish women poets, and the Hispano-Hebraic and Hispano-Arabic *kharjas*, which are the *envois* to the longer *muwashshahas*.¹² It is unclear whether the woman's voice poems are survivals of oral women's traditions, courtly adaptations by male poets, male poets' inventions, or some combination of the above.

Identifying Women Singers

Who were these women musicians and poets? For Christian Iberia, we have very few names. Most of the actual names we have are those of *soldadeciras*, lower-class women paid for their services, musical or otherwise (from *soldado/soldada*, "salaried"); of these, the best known is María Balteira.¹³ *Juglaresas* were also public women performers, the counterparts of the French *jongleresses*.¹⁴ Christian women were sent as captives to Muslim Andalusia, to be trained as musicians, sometimes becoming part of courtly musical ensembles. One example was Qalam, known as the "Basque woman," whom the emir 'Abdal-Rahman II sent to be trained as a musician in Medina; on her return he was so pleased with her musicianship that he married her. King Mu'tamid of Seville wrote a poem extolling Christian women musicians, "and these Christian women (*rumiyya-s*) I so love / and who please (with their songs) even the birds on the high branches."¹⁵ So far, we have no names of women who would be the Iberian equivalent of the *trobairitz* on the other side of the Pyrenees. However, later on more women's names do appear, notably Mayor Arias, and the "Queen of Mallorca," both discussed below.

In Muslim Andalusia, there was a fascinating group of women poets from all three classes: noblewomen, upper middle class, and hired women musi-

cians. The latter were divided into two main groups: the *qiyān*, the educated ones who played for their courtly patrons in the presence of guests, and the *ḡawari*, slaves who performed in lower-class settings and whose musical duties often included some level of prostitution.¹⁶ We know many of their names and, in some cases, a little about their characters. Probably the best known of the aristocratic women poets was Wallāda, an Umayyad princess and somewhat of a social iconoclast, a leader in walking in public without her veil. Women slaves were divided into two main classes: domestic and recreational.¹⁷ The most attractive and accomplished slaves could instruct such famous poets as Ibn Ḥazm, and command spectacular prices. As Nadia Lachiri puts it, "singing was a requirement for the education of the female slaves, to satisfy men not only sexually but also aesthetically and intellectually."¹⁸ Slaves came from Christian Iberia, Calabria, Lombardy, France, or from North Africa; and a fair amount was written about their respective merits and disadvantages. For example, a late twelfth-/thirteenth-century ruler from Málaga recommends girls from Mecca for their singing, and from Ethiopia for their flute playing but not their diction. He also offers nonmusical advice: Berbers or Yemenites for voluptuousness, diligence, obedience, and health; Turks for strong children; Ethiopians for nursing; and Nubians for obedience and nursing (with the caution that they tended to thievery). Corsicans, he observed, knew how to regain their virginity: a useful skill which oral poetry tells us was shared by other groups as well.¹⁹

Jewish women poets are the most elusive of all. Qasmūna lived in twelfth-century Granada, and was herself the daughter of a poet, probably the famous vizir Samuel ibn Nagrela HaNagid (993–1056); she wrote in Arabic.²⁰ The unnamed wife of the famous tenth-century poet Dunash ibn Labrāṭ left one poem, the only Hebrew poem by a Hispano-Hebraic woman—and even its authenticity as a woman's poem is far from certain. Much later, across the Strait of Gibraltar, the Moroccan Jewish Frekha Bar Avraham composed *piyyutim*, Hebrew hymns.²¹ Women, or rather young girl, musicians are delectably described in medieval Hispano-Hebraic men's poetry, but it is unlikely that these lute-plucking maidens among the wine and flowers were Jewish.

Women Poets and Their Points of View: The Christian World

Though the *trobairitz* are from across the Pyrenees, the troubadours worked on both sides, and the lack of a documented parallel Iberian tradition for the

trobairitz makes it important to comment briefly on the poetry of the latter. For similar reasons, the French *chansons d'ami* will also be mentioned.

The *trobairitz* poems are neither oral tradition nor adaptations of it; they are deliberate compositions. For Matilda Tomaryn Bruckner, the *trobairitz*—unlike the troubadours—"combine within a single female speaker the aristocratic and the popular female personae."²² *Trobairitz* poetry has often been characterized as being in a generally fresher, more direct voice than troubadour poetry. The *trobairitz* call their men into question—as, in fact, do the Muslim women poets; there is a certain sense of pride and control in much of their writing. False modesty was not among their character traits. The Comtessa de Dia, the only *trobairitz* for whom we have a manuscript melody, enumerates her own attractions: "Valer mi deu mos pretz e mos paratges / e ma beutat e plus mos fins coratges" ("My worth, noble birth, beauty and lofty thoughts should carry some weight").²³

Joan Ferrante has analyzed some concrete aspects of *trobairitz* rhetoric.²⁴ She finds that, compared to the troubadours, the women poets make more use of direct address to their lovers; they use more verb forms expressing the past and more negative expressions; they use more wordplay and rhymes; and sometimes attack the conventions of the courtly game. Bruckner cautions against "tendentious and naive ideas about the *trobairitz*' spontaneity and directness" ("Trobairitz," 201, n. 1), calling for a subtler examination of the *topos* of sincerity in the *trobairitz* corpus. Referring to Jean-Marie d'Heur's observation that the same expressions which may seem "tiresomely conventional" in a troubadour poem may be interpreted by the same critics as "spontaneous" in a *trobairitz* composition, she points out that our own constructs of male and female voices influence our perception of sincerity in male and female poems ("Trobairitz," 222). Elsewhere, Bruckner also points out that both the male and female Occitanian courtly poets "operate in a lyric whose fiction would have us believe its claims to speak truthfully from the heart" (SWT, xlv).

The *trouvère* songs in a woman's voice²⁵ vary from the lovelorn *Chanterai por mon corage* (Guiot de Dijon?), where the speaker holds on to her absent crusader's shirt at night like a security blanket,²⁶ to a number of poems extolling the advantages of one's lover over one's husband. Maroie de Diergnau, a rare specific name given as a woman composer in Old French, states that a "bele pucele" should have a "joli cuer" in all seasons and weather.²⁷

Children are barely mentioned in any medieval Romance language women's poetry. Among the *trobairitz*, the only poem that does mention children does so negatively: "mas far infanz cuiz qu'es gran penitenza" ("I think making

babies is harsh penance," *SWT*, 27.18; "Trobairitz," 204). The only other poems that mention children are both from Spain, and separated by five centuries. One is by the unnamed wife of the tenth-century poet Dunash Ibn Labrât; the other, dated 1403, is Mayor Arias's farewell poem to her husband. These are both discussed in more detail below.

The corpus of Galician-Portuguese secular poetry has stimulated a good deal of discussion about what was and wasn't composed by women. The often "anemic" *cantigas de amor* (songs of love)²⁸ and the scathing *cantigas d'escarnho e mal dizer* (songs of satire and insults), with their politically incorrect insults to women and their insults to priests (the latter perhaps less politically incorrect today), are the work of male poets, but the authorship of the *cantigas de amigo* is not so easily established. Ria Lemaire suggests that in the *cantigas de amigo* corpus authorship moved from women to men, reflected in an increasingly passive outlook for the woman.²⁹

There are six Galician-Portuguese *cantigas de amigo* with music, by Martin Codax, and several hundred without. Kathleen Ashley refers to the "widespread misapprehension" that the theme of most of these poems is a young girl yearning for an eternally absent beloved.³⁰ Whether or not it appears in the majority of songs, it is certainly a central theme, and one that could as easily express a male poet's easy egotism as a woman's poetic creativity—or, as Luz Pozo Garza would have it, her "indissoluble, primordial, . . . cosmic . . . union with the sea, which becomes a conversation."³¹ This cosmic vision is rivaled by Hernani Cidade's, of the poems as "fresh and fragrant natural flowers surrounded by live sap of the national earth, amid a multitude of conventionally cut paper flowers."³²

In comparison with the sophisticated observations of the *trobairitz*, these lovelorn girls at first appear insipid and passive. Their mothers, however, whom they regularly address, often have more character: "Daughter, he's just leading you on, with his so-called songs, which are worthless" ("Sei, filha, que vos trag'enganada / con seus cantares, que non valen nada").³³ A different sort of mother appears in a poem by Juião Boleiro: this one is annoyed with her daughter because the latter has prevented her from taking a lover (*Mal me trageades, ai filha*: "por vos perdi meu amigo," Nunes 400.4). Pero de Veer gives us another mother-daughter dialogue, which has a timeless ring about it: "Daughter, why do you look so miserable these days?—I can't walk around singing ALL the time!" (*Vejo-vos, filha*: "Non posseu, madre, sempr'andar cantando," Nunes 355, refrain). Not all the girls devote their time to moping. One, for example, takes her lover's amatory agonies with a grain of salt, saying that he goes on weeping and claiming to be dying of love, but nevertheless

continues to show up in perfect health: "ca nunca lh'eu vejo morte prender, / nen o ar vejo nunca ensandecer" (Nunes 189, refrain).

Although none of their poetry has survived, one should mention the notorious *soldadeiras* of Galicia, including María Balteira, who is the subject of several *cantigas d'escarnho*, and is mocked by Pero da Ponte for never "locking" her "trunk."³⁴ No "fresh and fragrant flower" or "cosmic union with the sea" for her; on her deathbed, it appears that the only sin she would confess to, that which most weighed on her ("lo que mi mais pesa"), was that of being old.³⁵ The adjective "old" is part of the "anti-retrato descortés" (uncourtly anti-portrait).³⁶ Even today, in many Galician and Portuguese villages a sort of *charivari* occurs when an older woman marries. In any event, La Balteira's own glint-in-the-eye sense of humor may be narrated here by a male poet, but it is no stranger to the medieval Galician-Portuguese lyric: the comic elements identified by Roger Walker probably represent the tip of the iceberg.³⁷ In fact, I have had ample occasion to observe during fieldwork over the past few years, that the women, especially the older women, of Galician and Portuguese villages, do not lag behind the men in singing, reciting or appreciating bawdy verses and stories.

Later on, a number of poems in a woman's voice, "en boca feminina," appear in the fifteenth century. Jane Whetnall finds in this corpus characteristic elements of diction and style reminiscent of those discussed above with relation to the *trobairitz*, and often in contrast to typical courtly lyrics which "seem always to be the mouthpiece of women as helpless victims of circumstance."³⁸ Even though these lyrics are in all likelihood men's compositions, posits Whetnall, they may well reflect "a deeply felt traditional association between heightened colloquial diction and the female predicament." She outlines three main categories for early fifteenth-century feminine lyric: the *despedida* (leave-taking), the *mal maridada* (unhappily married), and "less specific complaints of forsaken women," adding up to an overall theme of abandonment and isolation.³⁹

Whetnall also discusses Mayor Arias' poem *Ay mar brava, esquiba*, mentioned above; its lyrics evoke the maritime loneliness of the *cantigas de amigo*, but this time in a concrete setting of marriage and public identity.⁴⁰ An unusual feature is its evocation of the couple's child: "... que lo trayria / a ber a María / que dexo pequena" ("... to bring him to see Maria, whom he left [when] so small").⁴¹ The context is Mayor's husband Rui González' departure with Henry III's embassy to Samarkand (1403); González writes a *despedida* for her as well, but, while his is in "the hybrid dialect that passes for Galician in Castilian literary circles,"⁴² Mayor's is in Castilian. Whetnall sug-

gests that this reflects women writing in the vernacular, regardless of courtly literary trends, an observation which to me provides a link with traditional women's poetry, reflected in the maintenance of vernacular Judeo-Spanish by Sephardic women throughout centuries of diaspora in various countries. Deyermund's discussion of the poem adds other dimensions, including its ambivalent imagery, for example "tela" referring to a ship's sails or to the thread of the Fates, and the "changing moods of the sea . . . mirrored in the changing tones in which she addresses it" ("Patterns," 87). Miguel Angel Pérez Priego discusses the element of marriage, rather than an extra-marital relationship, and the poem's religious elements, appropriate for this relationship.⁴³ Whetnall's study of the poem as a *contrafactum* also implies Mayor Arias's familiarity with the literature of her time.⁴⁴

The Queen of Mallorca (La Reyna de Mallorques) is cited as the author of a fourteenth-century Catalan love poem. Martín de Riquer identifies her as one of the two wives of James III of Mallorca, either Constança, who died in 1346, or Violant, whom he married soon after. In this poem, the Queen speaks of missing her lover not only for the passionate aspect of their relationship, but also "to speak with him of all kinds of things" ("El raysonar e tota res").⁴⁵ Like the Comtessa de Dia, she has a satisfying sense of her own worth: "I am the best lover of all" ("sus totas, suy mils aman").

The Jewish World

Medieval Jewish women poets are difficult to discuss because so little of their writing has come down to us. Qasmūna described herself in one poem as a garden ready for harvest without an attendant gardener; apparently when her father heard or read this he married her off without delay.⁴⁶ In one of his own poems, he invites his friends to come to his garden "to pluck lilies perfumed like aromatic myrrh / surrounded by flowers . . . to sing of good times" ("A coger lirios que huelan a mirra aromática / y rodeados de flores . . . para cantar el buen tiempo"),⁴⁷ seeming to suggest that he can use all the botanical metaphors he likes and just sing about good times, while she tries one and is immediately married off and silenced. Deyermund points out the similarity to other poems, including one attributed to the *trobairitz* Alamanda: "I want to prepare my meadow before someone else mows it for me" ("Vuoill pèlar mon prat c'autre. I mi tonda").⁴⁸

One of the very few poems to mention children, as noted earlier, is the one tentatively attributed to the wife of the tenth-century Hispano-Hebraic

poet Dunash Ibn Labrāt. As if foreshadowing Mayor Arias's poem almost half a millennium later, she alludes to her husband's departure: "will her lover remember the graceful doe / on the day of parting / as she held her only child in her arms" ("V'sam khotam y'mino 'al s'mola / uvizro'o halo sama ts'mida"). As Deyermund points out, the two poems share the reference to a child, and, as well, clothing and accessories as part of the poetic message.⁴⁹

The image of women in men's Hispano-Jewish poetry is also more elusive than in their Spanish or Arabic counterparts. In Hispano-Hebraic men's poetry, these images tend to be stylized;⁵⁰ some have double meanings, representing the divine love between God and Israel. The Portuguese Jewish troubadour Vidal sighs for the "mui fremosinha d'Elvas," the lovely one of Elvas, who may or may not be Jewish; she is a "dona" ("lady," or perhaps the proper name "Dona"), whose "peyto branco" ("white breast") he has managed to glimpse.⁵¹ Todros Abulafia reminds us of the characterization by ethnicity mentioned earlier; he echoes the *cantigas d'escarnho* when he writes that Spanish girls "clothes are filled with crap and crud," but gives a backhanded compliment to Arab girls who have "charm and beauty" — and are "adept at lechery."⁵² Later on, the poet piously renounces the earthy perspectives of the poet who "claims that a gazelle stole his heart / when he is actually pierced in the testicles,"⁵³ informing us that "my heart thought over my wicked deeds and shame nearly covered my face."⁵⁴ Rosen posits that medieval Hebrew literature reflected "a tradition that idealized women in order to silence them; that mythologized women in order to maintain their inferiority."⁵⁵

An unusual collection of Judeo-Catalan wedding poems from the late fourteenth century, though composed by men, may give us a somewhat more realistic glimpse into the women's world.⁵⁶ Their main theme is advice to the newlyweds, and the poems incorporate Hebrew quotations from the Old Testament, especially the Song of Songs. To the groom, the rabbi's advice is "honor your lady, eat slowly, think of her well-being and — don't fall asleep — at least during the first year you're married."⁵⁷ It recommends a playful approach to love, without any force, and offers practical remedies for impotence.⁵⁸ For the bride, the advice includes to be "clean as crystal," to "make him play the drum," to spin, weave, and sew, to bear children, and not to wear too much makeup.⁵⁹ Another poem, a twist on the *malmaride* theme, quotes the Leviticus (19:29) prohibition against sending one's daughter into prostitution: marrying her to an old man will lead to this, says the song, so don't do it. The old man in the poem announces to his bride that of the legally required provisions he can offer her room and board, but not conjugal relations. She replies by expressing an earnest wish to become a widow swiftly, and he finally

suggests providing her with a strong young man!⁶⁰ The poem is more a warning, an exemplum, than a narrative of fact, as underlined by the admonitory refrain. On the one hand, one wonders whether a young Jewish bride would have had the temerity to speak her mind in this way; on the other, it is tempting to speculate on whether the poet's verses were inspired by complaints from his own wife.

The Muslim World

For the Hispano-Arabic women poets, Cristina del Moral discusses differences in male and female Arabic poetry, concluding that the main differences are in content rather than style.⁶¹ The women's poetry contains fewer descriptions, and rather than focusing on horses or swords may describe the woman herself. War and wine, prevalent in men's poetry, make no appearances, but the women do use satire, and occasionally deal with religious, political or financial situations. There is also a tendency to affirm the woman as a person. In general, del Moral finds that the women's poems are more sincere and somewhat less conventional, draw less attention to the external and the physical, are less artificial, and use fewer rhetorical devices — findings which echo Ferrante's and others' observations on aristocratic women's poetry. Reflecting Bruckner's observations, del Moral also points out that the Hispano-Arabic women poets across the classes display a facility in their use of language, reflecting the existence of the highly educated Andalusian slave-girl musicians. Deyermond points out the differences in their choice of images, some, such as the gazelle, following logically from their surroundings, others, such as the moon, reflecting differences in taste ("Patterns," 88–89).

If absence of false modesty is a feature of some *trobairitz* poems, self-esteem (that late twentieth-century desideratum) was even less of a problem in some of the Hispano-Arabic women's writings. Wallāda bint Al-Mustakfi, the notorious Umayyad princess, had two verses embroidered on her sleeves: the right said, "I am made, by God, for glory, and I walk, with pride, along my own road" and the left, "I grant my lover power over my cheek . . . and offer my kisses to whoever desires them."⁶² The embroidered motto is echoed in the aristocratic Iberian world of the fifteenth century, in the *invenciones* a lady or a knight wore as a personal adornment, with a drawing and a brief, ingenious accompanying verse (*mote* or *letra*), or the *fuegos* embroidered on a woman's sleeve (Pérez Priego, 14–17). In a poem to her lover, Wallāda cheerfully refers to him as "a pederast, a prostitute, an adulterer, a wittol, a cuckold and a thief"

("Pederasta, puto, adúltero, cabrón, cornudo y ladrón," Garulo, 145). Still, she did produce less eyebrow-raising sentiments, and remarked that Islam kept her from actual adultery — which did not stop her contemporary Muhyā from making cattily poetic remarks about her sex life.⁶³ Another woman poet, 'Aisha bint Ahmad, wrote in answer to a marriage offer, "I am a lioness and will never reply to a dog, I who have closed my ears to so many lions" ("Una leona soy . . . nunca contestaría a un perro, yo que tantas veces los oídos cerré a leones," Garulo, 58). Hafsa bint Hamdūn Al-Khiyāriyya caps her lover's "have you ever laid eyes on my equal?" with "and have you ever found anyone who could overshadow me?" ("¿Has visto a alguien semejante a mí? . . . "¿Y has encontrado tu quien me haga sombra?" Garulo, 70), reminding us of the Comtessa de Dia's self-evaluation, in *A chantar m'er*, so satisfyingly lacking in false modesty.

The Arabic-speaking women also show a distinct difference in register between the educated women's poetry and the *kharrjas* which, like the *cantigas de amigo*, have been proposed as remnants of oral women's poetry transmitted or re-worked by men. Like the *cantigas de amigo*, the *kharrjas* seem, to me at least, rather suspiciously centred on longing for men's company, more erotically expressed. This is also a feature of North African and Middle Eastern women's oral poetry, but the latter's originality seems rather lacking in the *kharrjas*. Mary Jane Kelley cautions against the romantic reading of the *kharrjas* in much the same spirit as Bruckner's cautions about *trobairitz* poetry and Walker's and Ashley's about the *cantigas de amigo*. Kelley's appealingly provocative conclusion is worth quoting: "the female voice is subjected to masculine control on three levels: the original male authors wrote the words, the *muwashshah* poets used them to express a male point of view, and the literary critics turned the verses themselves into sexually appealing virgins whom they possess by means of the reading process!"⁶⁴

Parallels from Oral Tradition

While it is a tricky business at best to try to draw conclusions about medieval poetry from an extant oral tradition, it may provide some useful material for speculation. The Galician-Portuguese poems, for example, find their echo in today's village women from the same areas, surely a topic for eventual closer investigation.

In Muslim and Jewish Mediterranean cultures, there are several traditions whose texts provide a realistic contrast to the more courtly lyrics written down

in medieval manuscripts. Yemenite women's songs combine old and new imagery: "I opened my breasts for you";⁶⁵ "I'd like to be a cigarette to be held against your finger-tips";⁶⁶ "I wish for you, husband of two, that a serpent . . . coiled around you . . . will bite you . . . and at twilight you'll die" (Caspi, 5); "I'd like to be a judge, . . . decree . . . my husband grind the chili pepper" (Caspi, 5). A new bride weeps for her mother: "O one who bore me, if only one roof we could share . . . I would gladly be your maid servant forever" (Caspi, 8). Old and new are also combined in Palestinian women's songs: "the dove sings for you . . . your groom hired someone to build a shower for you and put a faucet in every room."⁶⁷ Or "Old Tamoucha has brought the ingredients to make me a new virginity—how would we survive against men without these tricks?"⁶⁸ A young Bedouin woman sings: "if he doesn't bring me a fridge I won't make him dinner; if he doesn't bring me a television I won't put on my makeup."⁶⁹ Judeo-Spanish wedding songs from Morocco combine practical, erotic, and religious sentiments in a curious echo of the medieval Judeo-Catalan poems: in one, the husband's wallet and the bride's faith in God are mentioned almost in the same breath; another expresses satisfaction with the trousseau, defying her women in-laws to find fault with it, then goes on to describe an erotic dream.⁷⁰ Rosen remarks on the erotic character of the bride's speech in medieval Hebrew wedding poems, but that this gift of speech, connected with religiously prescribed procreation, later becomes a curse as the bride becomes the nagging wife.⁷¹

Conclusions

In all three cultures of medieval Spain, women musicians were viewed ambivalently, depending largely on whether they performed publicly or privately, according to a male definition of public and private. Many women's poems in all three cultures seem to use a more direct language than do men's poems; at the same time, some women scholars have cautioned against a romantic reading of them. In many cases it is unclear whether songs in a woman's voice were indeed composed, or even based on, songs by women; but both the *cantigas de amigo* and the *kharjas* seem to contain elements which suggest a man's vision of what the ideal "little woman" should be. While much has been said about the "popular origin" of these two genres, and, as well, of the French refrains which may originate in popular woman's song, the real women's oral tradition of the time is lost to us, and contemporary oral tradition can offer only guesses, all the more tantalizing for their wit and humor.

In terms of musical performance, one can only speculate. While there are a number of general indications for vocal technique in medieval writing, there is nothing to substitute for actually hearing the voice itself. In oral tradition, there is a wide variety of musical styles and vocal techniques; examining traditional women's practice in Iberia and other Mediterranean areas provides intriguing ideas of how one might proceed with the medieval women's repertoire, taking into account both groups' available oral tradition, lost medieval sounds, internal differences, such as socioeconomic class, context, and generation, to name just a few. Women as instrumentalists almost require a separate study. In the Muslim world, there was a class of highly-skilled courtesans who, among other musical skills, played plucked stringed instruments; bowed and plucked stringed instruments were also played by women at certain levels of Christian society. In all three cultures, and indeed throughout the Mediterranean to this day, women were and continue to be experts in hand-held percussion instruments; this is another particularly interesting area, as accompanying rhythmic patterns are not annotated in medieval manuscripts.

Music notation is missing for many medieval poems besides the relatively small repertoire which can be identified with women; and it is only recently that it has become fairly common to transcribe songs from oral tradition. We know from working with the latter that many central aspects of performance cannot be notated, at least not adequately, with available notation systems, and the same is very likely true of the medieval repertoire. To bring these sung poems back to life, one option several performers have used is to recite or declaim them. This, in my opinion, is not a particularly effective solution. One alternative, which more performers have begun to use recently, is musical *contrafactum*, which was a standard technique at the time. In fact, it was common long before then, and is still a widespread technique, in many cultures and over many eras. Several studies have examined its use in medieval Christian, as well as in traditional Sephardic settings;⁷² experimental recordings of *trobairitz* poems to troubadour melodies have included the pioneering *Cansós de Trobairitz*⁷³ and some later productions.⁷⁴ Elsewhere, I describe my own experiments setting some of the sung poems mentioned above—that of Dunash's supposed wife, the Judeo-Catalan series, and the Portuguese Vidal's lyrics—to music of their respective regions and areas.⁷⁵ While in no case can one guarantee that these are the melodies which were actually used, if care is taken in selecting time, place and matching prosody, one can at least posit a strong possibility of the poems' having been sung to them. In terms of performance style and technique, we have no assurance that any current or recently documented tradition corresponds to one of close to a millennium ago—but

to me, at least, Mediterranean oral tradition seems a more likely model than eighteenth- and nineteenth-century based Western art music aesthetics and techniques.

As an ethnomusicologist, my chief lament is that we'll never hear these women sing, never know what they sounded like, how differently they sang from their male contemporaries, how differently from each other—from one community to the next, or from shepherdess to *trobairitz*, from unschooled to highly educated Andalusian slave—or how differently from their counterparts in Mediterranean oral traditions which still survive. We'll never know what they really sang in their circumscribed "safe" spaces, in each others' company. As a performer, however, I continue to work on preparing ways to revive the unrevivable.

5

Feminine Voices in the Galician- Portuguese *cantigas de amigo*

Esther Corral

(translated by Judith R. Cohen with Anne L. Klinck)

The distinctive voices of women in Galician-Portuguese poetry constitute one of the most important literary phenomena to emerge in the Iberian Peninsula during the medieval period. Because of the large number of poems involved (there are over five hundred of these *cantigas de amigo*, "songs of the friend/lover")—and because of their cohesiveness and poetic homogeneity, this corpus forms one of the main representatives of the medieval tradition known to scholars as "woman's song," whose defining trait is the presence of a female speaker. Men are the authors of these *cantigas*, even though they adopt a woman's voice. In terms of identifiable female poets, writers, and patrons, the Hispanic context provides little evidence: there is no documentation of women troubadours akin to the Occitan *trobairitz*, nor are there writers such as Christine de Pisan (fifteenth century), nor does much direct evidence survive of noblewomen acting as patrons of secular cultural life, like Eleanor of Aquitaine and her daughter Eleanor, wife of Alfonso VIII of Castile. The documented beneficence of Queen Urraca of Castile was directed primarily toward the religious sphere. Yet the male-authored *cantigas de amigo* create a dynamic notion of femininity whose multiple and even contradictory roles, voices, and emotions contrast with the uniformity and monotony created for the female figure in the male-voice *cantigas de amor* ("songs of love"). As we shall see in the following pages, the *cantigas de amigo* provide numerous examples of poetic inventiveness within the literary and rhetorical patterns of the genre, which is thus continually revitalized.¹

The two love genres of Galician-Portuguese lyric poetry, *cantigas de amigo* ("songs of the friend/lover") and *cantigas de amor* ("songs of love"), centre on similar love themes. The object of this love is the woman who has stolen the

Courts," in *Rediscovering the Muses: Women's Musical Traditions*, ed. Kimberly Marshall (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1993), 187.

61. Eleonora Beck, "Women and Trecento Music," in *Women Composers*, 74–75.

62. See particularly Howard Mayer Brown, "Women Singers and Women's Songs in Fifteenth-Century Italy," in *Women Making Music*, 62–89.

63. Timothy McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song: Ornamentation and Vocal Style According to the Treatises* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 89 (Latin text on p. 164: *E quibus pars altera, favorosi videlicet sexus feminei, que quanto rarior tanto preciosior, dum in dulcinomi gutturiis epigloto tonos librate dividit in semitonia, et semitonia in athomos indivisibiles garritat, ineffabili lascivit melodiomate quod magis putares angelicum quam humanum*).

64. Paula Higgins, "The 'Other Minervas': Creative Women at the Court of Margaret of Scotland," in *Rediscovering the Muses*, 181.

65. Marshall, "Symbols, Performers, and Sponsors: Female Musical Creators in the Late Middle Ages," 166; Martin Picker, "Margaret of Austria (1480–1530)," in *Women Composers*, 89–91.

66. Paula Higgins, "Parisian Nobles, a Scottish Princess, and the Woman's Voice in Late Medieval Song," *Early Music History* 10 (1991): 145–200; Higgins, "The 'Other Minervas,'" 179.

67. Marshall, "Symbols, Performers, and Sponsors," 160–61.

68. Brown, "Women Singers," 62–63; for a full account of Isabella's patronage in context, see Prizer, "Renaissance Women."

69. Jennifer Post, "Erasing the Boundaries Between Public and Private in Women's Performance Traditions," in *Cecilia Reclaimed: Feminist Perspectives on Gender and Music*, ed. Susan C. Cook and Judy S. Tsou (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 35–51; see also Judith Cohen's essay in this volume.

70. Peter Jeffery, *Re-envisioning Past Musical Cultures: Ethnomusicology in the Study of Gregorian Chant* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 71–72.

71. Pierre Bec, "Trobairitz et chansons de femme: Contribution à la connaissance du lyrisme féminin au moyen âge," *CCM* 22 (1979): 235–62.

72. Plummer, "The Woman's Song in Middle English," 137.

73. Gale Sigal, *Erotic Dawn-Songs of the Middle Ages: Voicing the Lyric Lady* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 18.

74. Gerbert de Montreuil, *Le Roman de la Violette ou de Gerart de Nevers*, lines 317–32, ed. Douglass Labaree Buffum (Paris: Champion, 1924), 15–16.

75. Boulton, *The Song in the Story*, 36–38.

76. *Ibid.*, 122.

77. Giovanni Boccaccio, *Decameron*, ed. Vittore Branca (Turin: Einaudi, 1980), 783. All translations from the *Decameron* are my own.

78. Eleonora Beck, "Music in the Cornice of Boccaccio's *Decameron*," *Medievalia et Humanistica: Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Culture* 24 (1997): 34; for full discussion of music in the *Decameron*, see Beck, *Singing in the Garden*, 35–50.

79. Beck, *Singing in the Garden*, 106–15.

80. Jeremy Yudkin, "The Ballate of the *Decameron* in the Musical Context of the Trecento," *Stanford Italian Review* 2 (1981): 57.

81. After the completion of this article in 1999, several forthcoming studies came

to my attention that must be cited here for their significant contribution to research on the role of women in the creation and performance of the medieval lyric: Marilyn Lawrence, "Women as Writer and Performer of Narrative in the medieval French Romance *Ysaye le Triste*," forthcoming in *Performing Medieval Narrative*, ed. Evelyn Birge Vitz and Nancy Freeman Regalado; idem, "The Woman Composer and Performer: The Heroine Marthe in *Ysaye le Triste*," forthcoming in *Public Performance/Public Ritual*, ed. Laurie Postlewait; idem, "Minstrel Disguise in French Medieval Narrative: Semiotics of Identity" (dissertation, New York University, 2001); Nancy Freeman Regalado, "Women's Dance Games in the Tournoi de Chauvency: Theatricalizing the Narrative of Chivalry," forthcoming in *Medieval Theatricality*, ed. Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, Andreas Kablitz, Jan-Dirk Müller, and Stephen J. Nichols (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press). I thank the authors for sharing their work with me before its publication. Also appearing after this book went to press were Walter Salmen, *Spielfrauen im Mittelalter* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2000) and *Songs of the Women Trouvères*, ed. and trans. Eglal Doss-Quinby, Joan Tasker Grimbert, Wendy Pfeffer, and Elizabeth Aubrey (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2001).

Chapter 4

Earlier versions of this paper were presented to the Canadian Society of Medievalists, Montreal, 1995, and to the Medieval Hispanic Seminar, London, 1997.

1. My title, "For I am not a *joglarissa*" (female public performer), is a quotation from the *Libro de Alexandre*, ed. R. S. Willis, Jr. (1934; New York: Klaus Reprints, 1976), line 1723; see below.

2. So far, there is no manuscript notation for Iberian women's songs, and for other parts of Europe, only one *trobairitz* song, by the Comtessa de Dia, mentioned below, and the compositions of Hildegard of Bingen. On women composers/performers, see Susan Boynton's essay in this volume; on the *trobairitz*, see the essays by Matilda Tomaryn Bruckner and Ingrid Kasten.

3. For the purposes of this study, *contrafactum*, pl. *contrafacta*, refers to setting a poem to an extant melody, often well known; cf. the twentieth-century "folk mass." See also Judith R. Cohen, "Musical Bridges: The Contrafact Tradition in Judeo-Spanish Song," in *Cultural Marginality in the Western Mediterranean* (Toronto: New Aurora, 1990), 121–28.

4. See Judith R. Cohen, "The Role of Women Musicians in Medieval Spain, in the Christian, Jewish, and Muslim Communities" (MA thesis, Université de Montréal, 1982), 38–74, for a discussion of attitudes toward music, women, and women musicians in the three cultures. For perspectives on "public and private," see Judith R. Cohen, "Women's Role in Judeo-Spanish Song," in *Active Voices: Women in Jewish Culture*, ed. Maurie Sacks (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 180–200; also Jennifer Post, "Erasing the Boundaries Between Public and Private in Performance Traditions," in *Cecilia Reclaimed: Feminist Perspectives on Gender and Music*, ed. Susan C. Cook and Judy S. Tsou (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 35–51.

5. This is not the place for an extensive bibliography; however, see John Chrysostom, *Omnia quae extant opera*, ed. D. A. B. Caillaud (Paris: Mellier, 1842), 204–5;

Juvenal, *Satires*, ed. E. U. Bouzique (Paris: Delloye, 1843), 260; Martial, *The Epigrams of Martial*, ed. Walter Ker (New York: Putnam, 1919), 1:351; Pliny, *Epistolae*, ed. Edgar Stout (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1962), 47; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum sive originum libri LXX*, ed. W. N. Lindsay, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), 2:12-14; Exodus 15.20-21. For detailed biblical references, including the Apocrypha, see Albert Sendrey, *A Bibliography of Jewish Music* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951). See also citations in Cohen, "Women Musicians," 5-9; and Carol Myers, "The Drum-Dance Song Ensemble," in *Rediscovering the Muses: Women's Musical Traditions*, ed. Kimberley Marshall (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1993), 49-67; S. D. Goitein, "Women as Creators of Biblical Genres," *Prooftexts* 8, 1 (1981): 1-34; A.T. Fear, "The Dancing Girls of Cadiz," *Greece and Rome* (April 1991): 177-81.

6. See Manuela Cortés García, "La mujer y la música en la sociedad arabomusulmana y su proyección en la cristiana medieval," *Música oral del sur* 2 (1996): 193-206, esp. 202.

7. María Pilar Alen, *História da música galega* (Vigo: A Nossa Terra, 1997), 15.

8. See Cohen, "Women Musicians," 19-27, and Marshall, "Symbols, Performers and Sponsors," in Marshall, *Rediscovering the Muses*, 140-68.

9. "Mujeres públicas / malas mujeres: Mujeres honradas / mujeres privadas," in *Árabes, judíos y cristianos: Mujeres en la Europa medieval*, ed. Cristina del Moral (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1993), 53-62.

10. Ed. Manuel Alvar López, 3 vols. (Madrid: March, 1976).

11. Outside the Iberian Peninsula, there are some thirty poems attributed to various *trobairitz*, as well as the French *chanson d'ami*, and some English, German, and Irish poems. See the essays in *VF*.

12. The *muwashshaha* was also practiced by the Hispano-Hebraic poets; the *kharija*, often in a woman's voice, sometimes included several words in the Romance vernacular, though in Arabic or Hebrew characters. See, among many other studies, James T. Monroe, "The Arabic and Romance 'Harīgas,'" *Vivator* 8 (1972): 95-125; and Margit Frenk, *Las jarchas mozárabes y los comienzos de la lírica románica* (Mexico City: Colégio de México, 1975); for a collection of detailed essays, see *Poesía estrófica*, ed. F. Corriente and A. Saenz-Badillos (Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1991).

13. For more information on *soldadeiras*, see Esther Corral Díaz, *As mulleres nas cantigas medievais* (Corunna: Seminario de Estudos Galegos, 1996), 278-80; and for a particularly bawdy poem by Alfonso X, see Manuel da Costa Fontes, "On Alfonso X's 'Interrupted' Encounter with a *Soldadeira*," *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos* 31, 1 (1997): 92-101.

14. See Ramón Menéndez-Pidal's classic study *Poesía juglaresca y juglares* (Madrid: Austral, 1942), 30-34.

15. Cortés García, 198-99.

16. *Ibid.*, 194.

17. See Rachel Arié, "Aperçus sur la femme dans l'Espagne musulmane," in del Moral, 137-60, esp. 146.

18. Nadia Lachiri, "La vida cotidiana de las mujeres en Al-Andalus," in del Moral, 102-21, esp. 116.

19. See Pilar Coello, "Las actividades de las esclavas según Ibn Buṭlān (s.XI) y Al-

Saqatī de Málaga (ss.XII-XIII)," in *La mujer en al-Andalus*, ed. María-José Viguera (Madrid: Universidad Autónoma, 1989), 201-10.

20. See James Bellamy, "Qasmūna the Poetess: Who Was She?" *JAOS* 103, 2 (1983): 423-24; James Nichols, "The Arabic Verses of Qasmūna bint Isma'īl ibn Bag-dālah," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 13, 2 (1981): 189-201.

21. See Yosef Chétrit, "Fekha Bat Rabi Avraham" (in Hebrew), *Pe 'amin* (Jerusalem) 55 (1986): 84-93; for a counterpart in late twentieth-century Morocco, see Norman and Yedida Stillman, "The Art of a Moroccan Folk Poetess," *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 128, 1 (1978): 65-89.

22. "The *Trobairitz*," in *A Handbook of the Troubadours*, ed. F. R. P. Akehurst and Judith M. Davis (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 201-33, esp. 223.

23. 2.29-30 in *SWT*. See xxxv on identification of the Comtesa.

24. "Notes Toward the Study of a Female Rhetoric in the *Trobairitz*," in *VT*, 63-72.

25. For an early still valuable study, see Yvonne Rokseth, "Les femmes-musiciens du XIIe au XIVe siècle," *Romania* 61 (1935): 464-80.

26. "Sa chemise qu'ot vestue / M'envoia por embracier. / La nuit, quant s'amor m'arguē, / La met delez moi couchier, / Toute nuit a ma char nue, / Por mes malz assoagier" ("The tunic he had worn / He sent for me to embrace. / At night, when his love spurs me, / I lay it down beside me, / All night, against my naked skin, / To soothe my pain," 27.51-56) in *Songs of the Women Trouvères*, ed. and trans. Eglal Doss-Quinby, Joan Tasker Grimbert, Wendy Pfeffer, and Elizabeth Aubrey (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2001), 144.

27. "Mout m'abelist quant je voi revenir / Yver . . . / Car en toz tans se doit ben resjoir / Bele pucele, et joli cuer avoir," 15.1-4 in Doss-Quinby et al., 116.

28. See Roger Walker, "Possible Comic Elements in the Cantigas de Amigo," in *Medieval, Renaissance and Folklore Studies in Honor of John Esten Keller*, ed. Joseph R. Jones (Newark, Del.: De la Cuesta, 1980), 77-88, esp. 77.

29. "Explaining Away the Female Subject: The Case of Medieval Lyric," *Poetics Today* 7, 4 (1986): 729-43.

30. "Voice and Audience: The Emotional World of the *cantigas de amigo*," in *VF*, 36-46, esp. 36.

31. "Hai entre esta muller e o mar unha unidade primordial indisoluble. Unha unidade cósmica que deriva en conversa," *Ondas do Mar de Vigo* (Corunna: Espiral Maior, 1996), 23-24.

32. "Frescas e fragrantas flores naturais circuladas de viva seiva do húmus nacional, entre multitud de flores de papel, de convencional recorte"; cited in Walker, 79, n. 9.

33. 340.6-7 in *Cantigas d'amigo dos trovadores galego-portugueses*, ed. José Joaquim Nunes, 3 vols. (1926-28; New York: Kraus, Reprints 1971).

34. *María Pérez, a nossa cruzada*: "mais cla non á maeta ferrada," in M. Rodrigues Lapa, *Cantigas d'escarnho e de mal dizer* (1965; Lisbon: da Costa, 1995), 358.9.

35. "Direi-vos ora o que confessava / -Soo velfi, ai, capelan!" (*María Leve, u se maenfestava*), in Lapa, 247. See Cohen, "Women Musicians," 45; Corral, 176. On the identification of the various Marías, see Lapa, 46, n. 9. On María Balteira, see also Denise K. Filios, "Jokes on Soldadeiras in the Cantigas de Escarnio e Mal Dizer," *La Corónica* 26, 2 (1998): 29-40.

36. See Lapa, *Cantigas*, 54-56; Corral, 173-180.
37. Walker, "Possible Comic Elements."
38. "Lírica Feminina in the Early Manuscript Cancioneros," in *What's Past Is Prologue*, ed. Salvador Bacarisse et al. (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1984), 138-50, 171-75, esp. 140.
39. Whetnall, "Lírica Feminina," 147.
40. See also Alan Deyermond, "Patterns of Imagery in Strophic and Non-Strophic Court Love Lyric," in *Corriente*, 79-92, esp. 85-88.
41. Deyermond, "Patterns," 87; also Whetnall, "Lírica Feminina," 138, 171; for full text see Francisco López Estrada, *Embajada a Tamerlán* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1943), lxx-lxxv.
42. Whetnall, "Lírica Féminina," 150.
43. *Poesía femenina en los cancioneros* (Madrid: Castalia, 1989), 10. Several aspects of this short poem are analyzed by María-José Sánchez Romalo at perhaps exaggerated length in "Doña Mayor Arias: historia y poesía," in *La voz de Silencio*, vol. 1, *Fuentes directas para la historia de las mujeres (siglos VIII-XVIII)*, ed. Cristina Segura (Madrid: Parla: Al-Mudayna, 1992), 99-110.
44. "Mayor Arias's Poem and the Early Spanish Contrafactum," in *The Medieval Mind: Hispanic Studies in Honour of Alan Deyermond*, ed. Ian MacPherson and Ralph Penney (London: Tamesis, 1997), 535-52.
45. See *Historia de la literatura catalana* (1964; Barcelona: Ariel, 1982), 519-20.
46. "O garden whose harvest time has come / no harvester can be seen to extend a hand to you" ("Aya rawdaran qad hana min-ha qatafu-ha / wa-laisa yura hanin yamuddu la-ha yada"); no. 3, in Nichols.
47. In Jesús Peláez del Rosal, *Los judíos en Córdoba (ss. x-xii)* (Córdoba: Al-mendro, 1988), 95.
48. 13.28 in *SWT*. See also Deyermond, "Patterns," 89-90.
49. See Deyermond, "Patterns," 83-88, esp. 87; and, for the Hebrew text, Ezra Fleischer, "Al Dunash ben Labrât v'ishto uv'no," *Jerusalem Studies in Hebrew Literature* 5 (1984): 189-201. For recorded versions of my contrafacta for this poem and for the two by Vidal of Elvas cited below, see Judith R. Cohen et al., *Canciones de Sefarad* (Madrid: Pneuma Compact Disc PN 270, 2000).
50. See Edna Aizenberg, "Una judía muy formosa: The Jewess as Sex Object in Medieval Spanish Literature and Lore," *La Corónica* 12, 2 (1984): 187-94; and Tova Rosen, "Women in Medieval Hebrew Literature," *Prooftexts* 8, 1 (1988): 67-88.
51. *Moir'e faço direito*, in *Cantigas d'amor dos trovadores galego-portugueses*, ed. José Joaquim Nunes (1932; Lisbon: Brasileiro, 1973), 265.2. Also see Corral, 62; Roy Rosenstein, "The Voiced and the Voiceless in the Cancioneiros: The Muslim, the Jew and the Sexual Heretic as Exklusiv Amator," *La Corónica* 26, 2 (1998): 70-72.
52. "There's no sin or guilt in loving a lass," in Ross Brann, *The Compunctious Poet: Cultural Ambiguity and Hebrew Poetry in Muslim Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 145; his translations.
53. "A poet speaks not except for deception," Brann, 154.
54. "In my desire for her," Brann, 148.
55. Rosen, "Women in Medieval Hebrew Literature," 83.
56. For a discussion of my experiments in setting several of these poems to music as contrafacta (the Judeo-Catalan series, Dunash's supposed wife's poem, and the

- poems by the Portuguese Vidal), see Judith R. Cohen, "New Life for Old Songs: The Ethnomusicologist as Applied Contrafactum," *Hispania Judaica Bulletin* 2 (1999): 35-42. For Judeo-Spanish contrafacta, see Cohen, "Musical Bridges."
57. "De tota res vulau amor / e de la dona ja millor," stanza 9; "mengès . . . no am tenco," stanza 8; "el nuvi el primer an / lo yanum we-lo yshan," stanza 10; "a la nuit . . . ianglant, rient," stanza 13; poem 2 in Jaume Riera i Sans, *Cants de Noces dels Jueus Catalans* (Barcelona: Curial, 1974).
58. "O Groom, if you can't do it, eat sturgeon or brain of sparrows, lemon confit or . . . [illegible word]; perhaps these will clear it up" ("En nuvi: Si no podeu fer asso / menjats austurio o cervel de moxo, confit de toronja o [d'estonfo], / ulai ukal nakké bo," stanza 9; poem 4 in Riera i Sans).
59. "... neta pus que cristal ne or," stanza 3; "fets-li tocar lo tanbor," stanza 4; "... a filar, a teixir, o a cosir hajau la mà," "... fills savis ahurcu," stanza 9; "... no.us metats blanquet ne [vergi]," stanza 8; poem 5 in Riera i Sans.
60. *The Aged Husband (Piyyut Nuch)*: "Sheer we-kesut n'haurás, mas no pas 'ona," line 2; "io prec en Deu que en breu ne sia almana," line 3; "mas io vos portaré un bon bakhur gibbor," line 6; poem 1 in Riera i Sans.
61. "Poesía de mujer, poesía de hombre: la diferencia del género en la lírica andalusí," in del Moral, *Árabes, judíos y cristianos*, 172-93.
62. From Teresa Garulo's Spanish rendition of the Arabic: "Estoy hecha, por Dios, para la gloria / y camino, orgullosa, por mi propio camino"; "Doy poder a mi amante sobre mi mejilla / y mis besos ofrezco a quien los desea"; *Diván de las poetisas de al-Andalus* (Madrid: Hiperión, 1986), 143.
63. "Wallada has given birth and has no husband . . . imitated Mary, but the Virgin's palm-tree was for Wallada an erect penis" ("Wallada ha dado a luz y no tiene marido . . . ha imitado a María, mas la palmera que la Virgen sacudiera para Wallada es un pene erecto"). See Garulo, 106, n. 148 for comment on the Qur'anic allusion; and note Rosen's succinct observation: "Pen and penis were identified as instruments and symbols of male fertility" (68). For further remarks on medieval Andalusian Muslim women's poetry see María-Jesús Rubiera Matos, "La voz de la las poetisas de Al-Andalus y la problemática de la voz femenina literaria medieval," in *La voz del Silencio*, ed. Segura, 65-71.
64. "Virgins Misconceived: Poetic Voice in the Mozarabic Kharjas," *La Corónica* 19, 2 (1991): 1-23, here 19.
65. Mishaël Caspi, *Daughters of Yemen* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 5.
66. Johanna Spector, "Bridal Songs and Ceremonies from the Yemen," *Studies in Biblical and Jewish Folklore* (New York: Haskell House, 1973), 255-84, here 261.
67. Mishaël Caspi and Julia Blessing, *Weavers of the Songs: The Oral Poetry of Arab Women in Israel and the West Bank* (Washington D.C.: Three Continents, 1991), 64.
68. See Cohen, "Women Musicians," 103, and cf. remarks quoted on Corsican women, above.
69. Lila Abu-Lughod, *Writing Women's Worlds: Bedouin Stories* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 187.
70. See Manuel Alvar, *Cantos de boda judéo-españolas* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1971): "... en ca de mi novio . . . me desmiro en su faldriquera / y en sus buenos dineros / . . . que buena es la mañana . . . mejor es el que la

manda" ("In my fiancé's house . . . I look in his wallet and at his money . . . how fine is the morning . . . finer still is the Creator who sends it," Alvar, 318); "Ashuar nuevo delante vo lo pondré, suegra y cuñada no tengás que dezir" ("My new trousseau I'll set out before you; mother-in-law and sister-in-law, you can find no fault [have nothing to say]," Alvar, 215); "soñaba un sueño . . . con amor me irá a folgar" (Alvar 220–21).

Alvar gives these texts as separate items; however, in my fieldwork recordings of Moroccan Sephardic women, they are usually sung sequentially. Preceding the "I dreamed" (soñaba) is the phrase "con amor, madre, con amor me irá a dormir" ("with love, Mother, with love I will go to sleep"), echoing a song centuries earlier from the *Cancionero Musical del Palacio*, "con amores, mi madre, con amores me adormi" ("with love, my Mother, with love I went to sleep"), cited in Margit Frenk Alatorre, *Estudios sobre lírica antigua* (Madrid: Castalia, 1978), 107.

71. Rosen, "Women in Medieval Hebrew Literature," 77.

72. For discussions of Sephardic *contrafacta*, see Cohen, "Bridges." Also Israel J. Katz, "Contrafacta and the Judeo-Spanish *Romancero*: A Musicological View," in *Hispanic Studies in Honor of Joseph H. Silverman*, ed. Joseph Ricapito (Newark, Del.: de la Cuesta, 1988), 169–87; Edwin Seroussi and Shoshana Weich-Shahak, "Judeo-Spanish Contrafacts and Musical Adaptations: The Oral Tradition," *Orbis Musicae* 10 (1990–91): 164–94. There are too many other studies to list here; the central ones are cited in the above.

73. Hesperion XX, dir. Jordi Savall, notes by Francisco Noy (1977; London: EMI/Virgin Classics, Veritas 7243 5 61310 2 6, 1996).

74. See, for example, Joyce Todd and the Ensemble Heliotrope, *The Romance of the Rose* (New York: Koch Compact Disc 3-7103-2H1, 1995).

75. Cohen, "Bridges."

Chapter 5

We would like to express our gratitude to Joseph Snow for rescuing us from error and smoothing over some rough spots. Any defects which remain are, of course, our own. JC, ALK.

1. To cite only some of the most representative books, see Georges Duby and Michelle Perrot, eds., *Historia de las mujeres*, vol. 2, *La edad media* (Madrid: Taurus, 1992); in the Galician context, M. Carmen Pallares, *A vida das mulleres na Galicia medieval* (Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago, 1993); Esther Corral Díaz, *As mulleres nas cantigas medievais* (Sada: Do Castro, 1996). For an analysis of the genre, see, among others, Giuseppe Tavani, *A poesía lírica galego-portuguesa*, 2nd ed. (Vigo: Galaxia, 1988); Vicente Beltrán, *Canción de mujer: Cantiga de amigo* (Barcelona: PPU, 1982); Mercedes Brea López and Pilar Lorenzo Gradín, *A cantiga de amigo* (Vigo: Xerais, 1989); Esther Corral Díaz, "Las cantigas de amigo," in *Literatura gallega medieval y le Galicia Literaria Proyecto Galicia* (Corunna: Hércules, 2000), 1:118–71.

2. In the *kharjas*, for example, another of the genres related to the Hispanic woman's song, a very similar image is transmitted. See Klinck and Cohen in this volume.

3. For citing and numbering the texts, I follow Mercedes Brea López, ed., *Lírica profana galego-portuguesa*, 2 vols. (Santiago de Compostela: Centro de Investigacións Literarias Ramón Piñeiro, Xunta de Galicia, 1996). For editions of the *cantigas*, see also Giuseppe Tavani, *Repertorio metrico della lirica galego-portoghese* (Rome: Ateneo, 1967); and José Joaquim Nunes, ed., *Cantigas d'amigo dos trovadores galego-portugueses*, 3 vols. (1926–28; reprint New York: Kraus, Reprints 1971).

4. Gonçal'Eanes do Vinhal refers, in two of his *cantigas de amigo*, to two specific people: Don Enrique, Alfonso X's brother, and Alfonso's stepmother, Jeanne de Point-hieu, widow of King Ferdinand III (60.3 and 60.16).

5. See Tavani, *A poesia*, 144, and Corral, *As mulleres*, 142–56.

6. There is no lack of odd and daring interpretations; for example, Francisco Nodar Manso, *La narratividad de la poesía galaico-portuguesa: Antología narrativa*, 2 vols. (Kassel: Reichenberg, 1985), sees in the *senhor* ("lady," literally "lord"; see n. 24, below) of the *cantiga de amor* and the *amiga* of the *cantiga de amigo* two stages of carnal love, which according to him, are implied subliminally in the texts of love poetry (1: 201).

7. See, for example, the following sections from two poems by Lourenço:

Tres moças cantavan d'amor,
mui fremosinhas pastores,
mui coyadas dus amores

("Three girls sang of love / very beautiful shepherdesses / very lovesick all three with love," 88.16.1–3);

A moça ben parecia,
e en ssa voz mansellia
cantou e diss'a menia

(The young girl [moça, menia] was lovely / and in her sweet voice / sang and said . . .," 88.17.7–9).

Also, Pero Vivíaz, 136.4. For *meninhas*, cf. 88.17, above, and 136.4. *Pastor* is one of the key words for classifying the composition within the genre of the *pastorela*, and is found in Airas Nunez, 14.9; J. Perez d'Aboim, 75.3; Pedr'Amigo, 116.29; J. Airas, 63.58; D. Dinis, 25.128, 25.129, and 25.135; Lourenço, 88.16. *Donzela* in Afonso Sanchez, 9.10; Garcia de Guilhade, 70.21; Portocarreiro, 128.4. *Virgo* in J. Zorro, 83.5. *Dona-virgo* in 83.8, above; Portocarreiro, 128.3; Airas Nunez, 14.9.

8. See also Ria Lemaire, *Passions et positions: Contribut à une sémiotique du sujet dans la poésie lyrique médiévale en langues romanes* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1988), 96.

9. See Jean-Marie d'Heur, *Recherches internes sur la lyrique des troubadours galiciens-portugais, XII–XIII siècles* (Liège: Université de Liège, 1975), 439–69; Segismundo Spina, *Do formalismo estético trovadoresco* (São Paulo: Universidade de São Paulo, 1966), 105–31; Corral, *As mulleres*, 285–303.

10. *Bela* also appears in the refrain "e chor'eu, bela," "and I, lovely me, am weeping," Portocarreiro, 128.3.

11. The *cantigas d'escarnho* ("songs of mockery") mention women's bodies ex-