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**THE POETICS OF CONTRARIES: THE SACRED AND PROFANE
IN VERNACULAR LITERATURE
OF THE HIGH MIDDLE AGES**

by

MICHELLE BOLDUC

A DISSERTATION

**Presented to the Comparative Literature Program
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

March 2000

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"The Poetics of Contraries: The Sacred and Profane in Vernacular Literature of the High Middle Ages," a dissertation prepared by Michelle Bolduc in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in the Comparative Literature Program. This dissertation has been approved and accepted by:

B.K. Alt

Dr. Barbara K. Altmann, Co-Chair of the Examining Committee

F. Regina Psaki

Dr. F. Regina Psaki, Co-Chair of the Examining Committee

6 March 2000
Date

Committee in Charge:

Dr. Barbara K. Altmann, Co-Chair
Dr. F. Regina Psaki, Co-Chair
Dr. Clare A. Lees
Dr. Mary-Lyon Dolezal
Dr. Martha Bayless

Accepted by:

Marcin Trzestak

Dean of the Graduate School

An Abstract of the Dissertation of

Michelle Bolduc

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Approved: BK. Alt
 Dr. Barbara K. Altmann, Co-Chair

Approved: F. Regina Psaki
 Dr. F. Regina Psaki, Co-Chair

My dissertation examines the intersections of the sacred and the profane in four major poetic works of the High Middle Ages. Although linguistically and generically different, the four texts that I examine all juxtapose the sacred and profane in dynamic and non-hierarchical ways. Gautier de Coincy's Miracles de Nostre Dame (c. 1218) contains Old French lyrics that play upon the frankly sensual tension of troubadour and trouvère lyric while addressed to the Virgin and placed within a catalogue of her miracles. Similarly, Matfre Ermengaud's Occitan Breviari d'Amor (c. 1275), presents and promotes orthodox Catholic beliefs, yet it also quotes troubadour lyric to debate courtly love without an overlay of piety. One manuscript of the secular, satirical Roman de Fauvel (1316; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS f. fr. 146) contains musical interpolations which include Old French courtly love songs, Latin religious lyric and bilingual motets within the same textual space. The *mise-en-page* of this manuscript not only compels a tropological reading of the text, but also offers moral commentary on the historical world of the

manuscript's production. Finally, in his Commedia (c. 1315), Dante employs the sacred and the profane in such a way that his work, and his voice as poet, both secular and vernacular, take on the status of sacred *auctoritas*.

My work emphasizes two theoretical bases: first, modern and post-modern views of duality, especially as proposed by such critics as Bakhtin, Gurevich, Stallybrass and White, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca; and second, notions of contraries in twelfth- and thirteenth-century theology and scholastic education. I suggest that because medieval theories of the incarnation and the practice of scholastic *disputatio* are based on the juxtaposition of contrary ideas, this non-hierarchical way of considering the sacred and profane is not only a literary but a broad cultural phenomenon. I argue, then, that vernacular literature of the High Middle Ages reveled in the provocative ambiguity of, and the polphony of meanings resulting from, the juxtaposition of the sacred and profane.

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME OF AUTHOR: Michelle Bolduc

PLACE OF BIRTH: New Britain, Connecticut

DATE OF BIRTH: March 6, 1967

GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE SCHOOLS ATTENDED:

University of Oregon
Smith College

DEGREES AWARDED:

Doctor of Philosophy in Comparative Literature, 2000, University of Oregon
Master of Arts in Comparative Literature, 1993, University of Oregon
Bachelor of Arts in Comparative Literature, 1989, Smith College

AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST:

Comparative Medieval Literature

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

Graduate Teaching Fellow, Department of Comparative Literature, University of Oregon, Eugene, 1996-1997, 1998-1999

Graduate Teaching Fellow, Department of Humanities, University of Oregon, Eugene, 1997-1998, 2000

Graduate Teaching Fellow, Department of Romance Languages, University of Oregon, Eugene, 1990-1991, 1992-1995

Assistante d'anglais, Lycée Jules Ferry, Roanne, France, 1991-1992

Professeur, C.E.R.F.O.P. (Centre Roannais pour la Formation Permanente), Roanne, France, 1991-1992

French Instructor, Eugene Montessori School, Eugene, 1997-1998

AWARDS AND HONORS:

University of Oregon Humanities Center Fellowship, 1996-1997

Fulbright Fellowship, 1995-1996

University of Oregon Graduate School Fellowship, 1995

Emmanuel Hatzantonis Memorial Prize, Summer, 1993

PUBLICATIONS:

Bolduc, Michelle. "The Court and Cultural Diversity: The Eighth Triennial Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society, The Queen's University, Belfast, July 26-August 1, 1995." Rev. of the conference. American Comparative Literature Association Bulletin (Spring-Winter 1995-96): 42-46.

---. "The Disruptive Discourse: Women in the Margins of the Bayeux Tapestry and the Hours of Catherine de Clèves." Romance Languages Annual 6 (Spring 1995): 18-22.

---. "Les Reflets du Voyage dans le Décameron: Madama Beritola (II,6) et Alatiel (II,7) dans le MS Palatinus latina 1989." Die Geographie in der Mittelalterlichen Epik/ La Géographie dans les Textes Narratifs Médiévaux, Actes du Colloque du Centre D'Etudes Médiévales de l'Université de Picardie Jules Verne: Saint Valéry-sur-Somme (28-31 Mars 1996). Eds. Danielle Buschinger et Wolfgang Spiewok, Wodan ser. 62 (Automne, 1996): 15-25.

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CHAPTER I

CONTRARIES AND DUALITY: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE SACRED AND PROFANE

Ainsi va des contreres choses:
les unes sunt des autres gloses;
et qui l'une en veult defenir,
de l'autre li doit souvenir,
ou ja, par nulle entencion,
n'i metra diffinicion;
car qui des .II. n'a connoissance,
ja n'i connoistra differance,
sanz coi ne puet venir en place
diffinicion que l'an face.
Jean de Meun ¹

The terms "sacred" and "profane" are often treated in criticism as though they were transparent and stable. Because the meaning of one necessarily depends on and invokes the other, however, the significance of these terms is clearly quite contingent.² Scholars and critics such as C.S. Lewis, Johan Huizinga, Hélène Nolthenius, Aron Gurevich, Michael

¹ [Thus things go by contraries;
one is the gloss of the other.
If one wants to define one of the pair,
he must remember the other,
or he will never, by any intention,
assign a definition to it;
for he who has no understanding of the two
will never know the difference between them,
and without this difference no definition that
one may make can come to anything.]

Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, Roman de la Rose ed. and trans. Armand Strubel, "Lettres Gothiques" series (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1992), ll. 21,577-86. English translation from The Romance of the Rose by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, trans. Charles Dahlberg (Hanover and London: UP of New England, 1983) 351.

² Mircea Eliade understands the sacred as defined in opposition to the profane: "L'homme prend connaissance du sacré parce que celui-ci se *manifeste*, se montre comme quelque chose de tout à fait différent du profane" ["Man becomes aware of the sacred because it manifests itself, shows itself, as something wholly different from the profane"]. Le Sacré et le profane (Paris: Gallimard, 1965) 14-15; English translation from Mircea Eliade, The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion trans. Willard R. Trask (New York: Harper & Row, 1959) 11.

Camille, Sylvia Huot, and Martha Bayless, among others, have grappled with the problem of the ambiguous relationship of the sacred and the profane in the medieval world.³

While the two poles are often treated as easily definable, the relationship between the sacred and the profane in general has never been an easy one to understand. Perhaps because this particular pair touches on basic considerations of man's place in the world, it is charged with as much spiritual tension as political.⁴

Many critics understand the pair sacred-profane in terms of other contradictory pairs such as holy-unholy and pure-impure. Such pairs are often marked by a rigid hierarchization, so that one term is generally considered in a more positive light, the other in a more negative light. In De Interpretatione, Aristotle defines contradiction as a pair that is created by an affirmation and a negation that are opposite.⁵ And with respect to medieval

³ C.S. Lewis, The Discarded Image: An Introduction to Medieval and Renaissance Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1967); Johan Huizinga, The Autumn of the Middle Ages trans. Rodney J. Payton and Ulrich Mammitzsch (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1996); Hélène Nolténus, Duecento: The Late Middle Ages in Italy trans. © Darton, Longman & Todd, 1968 (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968); Aron Gurevich, Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988); Michael Camille, Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1992); Sylvia Huot, Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet: The Sacred and the Profane in Thirteenth-Century Polyphony (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford UP, 1997); and Martha Bayless, Parody in the Middle Ages: The Latin Tradition (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1998).

⁴ The sacred and the profane serve as a primary, and provocative, nexus in works from a wide variety of disciplines, illustrating how this binary is significant in studies of literature, architecture, the supernatural, cultural change, natural resources, American and Islamic history, nursing, dance, and even livestock and novels. See, for instance, Cesáreo Bandera, The Sacred Game: The Role of the Sacred in the Genesis of Modern Literary Fiction (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State Press, 1994); Allyson Elizabeth McDavid, "The Sacred Dances with the Profane: Engaging the Spiritual within the Urban Realm," diss., U of California, Berkeley, 1998; R.C. Zaehner, Mysticism Sacred and Profane: An Inquiry Into Some Varieties of Praeternatural Experience (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1961); Tim Dalau, From the Profane to the Sacred: Small Groups as Vehicles for Cultural Change (Chapel Hill: Interchange, 1990); Gary Weatherford, "California Groundwater Management: The Sacred and The Profane," Natural Resources Journal 22: 4 (October 1982) 1031-1043; William A. Clebsch, From Sacred to Profane America: The Role of Religion in American History (New York: Harper & Row, 1968); James William Wafer, "Sacred and Profane Love in Islam: Dimensions of Gay Religious History," diss. Indiana U, 1986; Zane Robinson Wolf, Nurses' Work: the Sacred and the Profane (Philadelphia: UP of Pennsylvania, 1988); Amanda Gibbs, "Holy Body Tattoo: When the Sacred Slam Dances with the Profane," Dance International vol. 24 n. 4 (Winter 1996/97) 14-16; Eugenia Shanklin Cramer, "Sacred and Profane Livestock in Southwest Donegal," diss. Columbia U, 1973-74; and Iris Murdoch, The Sacred and Profane Love Machine (New York: Viking Press, 1974).

⁵ Aristotle's Categories and De Interpretatione, trans. J.L. Ackrill (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 17a 26: 47. See also C.W.A. Whitaker, Aristotle's De Interpretatione: Contradiction and Dialectic (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996) 78.

literature, the relationship of sacred and profane is often structured in this hierarchical fashion, akin to Aristotle's notion of contradiction. In a medieval sermon, for example, the profane may be evoked as an exemplum of the actions to avoid, as a joke so as sweeten the medicine of the religious message, or even as momentary entertainment; in this same context the profane generally provides a contrast to the sacred, or more serious spiritual matters.⁶

Evidence of the conjoining of these terms, and not necessarily in a hierarchy, is also apparent in the artifacts of the High Middle Ages. One fourteenth-century manuscript of the Roman de la Rose, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France f. fr. 25526, for instance, presents both sacred and profane scenes in the margins. This manuscript is significant because it visually reveals the way in which the holy and unholy might be conjoined in a vernacular, secular setting. The margins of this manuscript live a life of their own. Sumptuously painted, the images present a complex pattern of scenes from the life of Christ as well as more ribald representations, from parodied versions of these same sacred scenes to fabliaux-like images that play on bodily humor. In the margins of folio 29v, for instance, a seated Christ appears, displaying the wounds he suffered on the cross, with a figure kneeling on each side, while to the right of this scene appear two angels carrying the instruments of the Passion: the cross, nails, lance, and crown of thorns (fig. 1). The margins on the facing page, folio 30r, by contrast, are not religious, and depict hybrid figures and animal musicians (fig. 2). Other folios combine sacred with profane images on a single page. Folio 37v presents in the margins a scene of the Pentecost paired with a hybrid beast man (fig. 3). Similarly, folio 46r shows the Nativity paired with a horn-playing ape (fig. 4). Folio 62r, on the other hand, presents various hybrid beast men, all of whom are depicted as religious with cardinal hats or tonsures (fig. 5). While folio 66r

⁶ See Martha Bayless, Parody in the Middle Ages 208-211.

shows the entombment of Christ (along with a two-headed dragon and an ape gazing into a mirror; fig. 6), folio 66v virtually parodies this scene, showing the body of a dead ape lying in state, surrounded by candles, while two ape-monks with tonsured heads stand before a lectern (fig. 7). Finally, on folio 160r we see nuns harvesting from a penis tree, and a man giving a nun a giant penis (fig. 8). These images are but a few of the many marginalia of this manuscript of the Roman de la Rose that problematize the relationship of the sacred and profane. This manuscript serves as a visual analogue of the same complex relationship of the sacred and profane in the literary texts that serve as the basis for my study.

This project, like the marginalia of fr. 25526, asserts the complexity of such contraries as the sacred and profane in medieval vernacular literature. The four texts that I examine here juxtapose the two terms in a variety of ways: sometimes they appear as ranked, while other times they seem to be placed in a relationship of some parity. At times a non-hierarchical relationship between sacred and profane is apparent only after the two poles are established as stable.

I do not read this pair sacred/profane as rigidly defining the many types of contraries that are apparent in these texts. I do not place every contrary under this single rubric, but instead use the pair as a way to examine other related issues. In other words, sacred/profane here encompasses to varying degrees other related elements described by such unsynonymous adjectives such as religious, holy, biblical, liturgical/secular, temporal, worldly, courtly. The specificity of each text dictates the particular aspect that the pair takes on, so that at times my analysis is more properly dealing with, for instance, the juxtaposition of liturgical lyric with secular lyric, or the contrast between religious doctrine and courtly love lyric. The pair sacred/profane serves, then, as a key that opens many doors, revealing how the meaning of the pair shifts.

More important, the sacred and profane in this study ultimately serve as an instrument, as a tool which I use to explore other critical pairs of contraries. Such binaries as Latin/vernacular, lyric/prose, fictive/didactic, center/margin, even text/context come up again and again in varying degrees in all four chapters. By critically examining the sacred and profane as contraries, I arrive at a global, even cultural, understanding of contraries in late thirteenth- and early fourteenth- century literature, one that extends beyond the boundaries of the pair sacred/profane itself.

In order to understand how this contrary pair functions in the four texts that I study here, in this chapter I examine both medieval and modern/postmodern theories of contraries and duality. This double theoretical approach has the advantage of being wide-ranging without engaging in anachronistic predication. I begin, then, with dualities and contraries in the medieval world. I first discuss the understanding of duality in medieval theology, focusing specifically on the incarnation as an example of the joining of the sacred and profane. I then turn to scholasticism, and explore at some length the way in which the practice of medieval dialectic disputation allows for the joining of contraries within the same argumentative space.

Having thus grounded my study with medieval theories of contraries, I then examine modern and postmodern conceptions of duality. Here, too, I divide the scholarship roughly along the lines of medievalist versus non-medievalist, in order to foreground the specificity of medieval culture. I begin with an exploration of works by scholars of the Middle Ages who treat not only the sacred and profane but also the dualistic phenomena of laughter, the grotesque, and hybridism in medieval culture. I then turn to other theories of duality from fields as diverse as anthropology and philosophy, looking at the critical possibility of transgressing and even transcending the binary structure of a pair such as the sacred and profane. The final section of this chapter is devoted to the texts that

serve as the basis of my study, introducing the way in which each presents and plays with the sacred and profane in dynamic and complex ways.

My study of the sacred and profane considers them, then, not as a contradictory pair, but as contraries.⁷ Contraries have intermediates; they are not simply defined in relation to each other (as the negative of an assertion, for example):

Things opposed as *contraries*, however, are never called just what they are, in relation to one another, though they are called *contraries of* one another. For the good is not called the *good of* the bad, but the contrary of it; and the white not *white of* the black, but its contrary. (Cat. 11b33)⁸

In other words, unlike a contradiction, which may comprise no more than an assertion and its negation, a contrary may produce other intermediate statements.⁹ This potential of contraries to create new statements is particularly fundamental for my study of the sacred and profane, since I suggest that the four medieval texts that I study here employ these terms as contraries: not meaningful simply in their opposition, but rather in the intervening meanings that result from their conjoining.

Contraries in the Middle Ages

Contraries in the Church

Christianity itself inherently cultivates contrariety, since its very conception of the divine is based on the pairing of the sacred divinity with profane, earthly experience.¹⁰ The

⁷ While I maintain the distinction between *contrary* and *contradiction*, most critics whom I cite here treat the two terms as synonymous.

⁸ Aristotle's Categories and De Interpretatione trans. J.L. Ackrill 32. See also John Peter Anton, Aristotle's Theory of Contrariety (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957) 88, 90.

⁹ Anton gives this example: A contradiction may be "'x' has color (aff.)"; "'x' has no color (neg.)." On the other hand, contraries of "'x' has color" may be multiple, such as "'x' has white color"; "'x' has intermediate colors a,b,c"; and "'x' has black color" (88).

¹⁰ Dialectic and Christianity share a common bond of inherent paradox. Even dialectical theology of the twentieth century, while maintaining that God is unknowable to humanity except through divine revelation and grace, emphasizes the ambiguities, the contradictory nature, of Christian life. See, for example, Robert M. Doran, Theology and the Dialectics of History (Toronto: UP of Toronto, 1990).

concept of the sacred and the profane is particularly significant in the Middle Ages precisely because of its role in defining, for Christians, the nature of God. Quoting Tertullian,

Gurevich notes several of the integral contradictions of the Christian faith:

Christ's humble birth, cruel passion, and humiliating death; his crucified, broken body as a symbol of the highest beauty; the cult of spiritual humility, asceticism, and poverty; the affirmation of spiritual power in physical powerlessness--these elements of ennobling 'disparagement' are combined in Christianity with a no less striking paradox, the incompatibility of faith and reason. 'The Son of God was crucified; I am not ashamed of it. And the Son of God died; it is by all means to be believed, because it is absurd. And he was buried, and rose again; the fact is certain, because it is impossible' (Tertullian De carne Christi 5). (Gurevich 181)

The paradox of "ennobling 'disparagement,'" according to Gurevich, fundamentally marks Christian doctrine as structured on contrariety. By stressing the incompatibility of faith and reason, as Tertullian argues, the contrariety of Christian doctrine ultimately argues for the incapacity of humans to understand divine will; Christian understanding of the divine is thus *based on* contrariety. Tertullian's strong sense of paradox centers on the incarnation as the site for the impossible: Christ himself embodies the pairing of contrary terms such as the sacred and the profane, the divine and the human. This paradox provoked contentious discussions about the nature of man and the nature of Christ during the Middle Ages.

Because Christianity is founded upon the central paradox of the divine becoming human, medieval Christians often discussed the characteristics that were properly human and properly divine. One pair, similar in many ways to that of the sacred and profane, what Curtius calls the mixture of "jest and earnest," was central in the debates on the nature of God and the nature of humanity.¹¹ Following Aristotle and Boethius, Notker the Stammerer in the ninth century, to take one example among many, defined laughter as an essential characteristic of humanity: "Quid est homo? Risibile. Quid est risibile? Homo."¹²

¹¹ Curtius, 417-435.

¹² "What is man? Laughable. What is laughable? Man." Cited in Gurevich, Medieval Popular Culture 182.

Early Christians debated long and hard about humor: should humor, as a human attribute, be considered as yet another example of how humanity had fallen away from God and thus be repudiated? Or should it be tolerated, since even Christ, by showing his love for us and becoming human, thus shared in laughter? Curtius notes that within the Church, early monasticism continued the classical ideal of dignity, and so created edicts against laughter. While early monastic figures such as Sulpicius Severus, Ephraim, Basil and Cassianus all condemn laughter, it was St. Benedict's precept against laughter that became the norm: "verba vana aut risu apta non loqui; risum multum aut excessum non amare."¹³ However, later writers, especially those of the twelfth century, allowed modest laughter; John of Salisbury, for instance, permits a "modestas hilaritas."¹⁴ In Parody in the Middle Ages: The Latin Tradition, Martha Bayless convincingly demonstrates how a tradition of parody existed within the Church: clerics wrote, for instance, Latin parodies of scripture.

Questions about the nature of laughter extended, moreover, to the figure of Christ. Peter Cantor claims that if the nature of man is marked by laughter as according to Aristotle, Christ himself, as the divine made human, may have laughed:

Sectemur ergo mentis hilaritatem, sic ut non comitetur lascivia: 'Jucundemur secundum faciem sanctorum, habentes faciem euntium' (Judith: 16) in Jerusalem. Sed numquid potuit Deus bene risisse? Videtur quidem quod habita causa interiore laetitia bona, quod eam exterius in opere ridendi monstrare possit, maxime cum omnes defectus nostros praeterquam culpa assumpserit; etiam cum risibile, vel risibilitas, proprium sit hominis a natura datum. Quomodo ergo eo uti non potuit? Forte potuit, sed non legitur eo usus fuisse."¹⁵

["We follow eagerly the gaiety of the mind, so that wantonness is not committed: 'We rejoice according to the faces of the saints,

¹³ "Do not speak idle words or [words] fitted for laughter; do not love much or excessive laughter." The Rule, ch. 4, cited in E.R. Curtius, "Jest and Earnest in Medieval Literature," European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1953) 421. See also Joachim Suchomski, "Delectatio" und "Utilitas": Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis Mittelalterlicher Komischer Literatur (Bern and Munich: Franke, 1975).

¹⁴ Curtius, 421.

¹⁵ PL, 205, col. 203; cited in Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages 421.

having his face' in Jerusalem. But could God never laugh? It is indeed seen that good joy may be caused by an interior disposition, that when it can be shown outwardly in the show of laughing, it will take away all our greatest failings except sin. Certainly, the capacity for laughter, or laughing, is proper to man, given by nature. How then could He not have enjoyed this? As it happened, He had the potential, but it is not read that he used it."]

While Peter does not state definitively that Christ laughed while he was on earth, he does say that it was possible, simply because happiness is by nature good, and one way of showing it is to laugh. This is a fairly simple argument, but even so one that allowed for the possibility of paradox, of the divine sharing fully in all of human experience. These central paradoxes at the heart of Christianity lay the groundwork for a view of the sacred and the profane in the Middle Ages as paradoxical and contrary, and yet connected.

Further evoking Christian teachings concerning the nature of God, Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite bases his negative theology on contradiction. He argues that negation is not simply the opposite of an assertion, but rather an example of the transcendence of God (the "Cause") of all things, who is beyond human understanding: "Now we should not conclude that the negations are simply the opposites of the affirmations, but rather that the cause of all is considerably prior to this, beyond all privations, beyond every denial, beyond every assertion."¹⁶ Pseudo-Dionysius denies the notion that negation, or even, by extension, affirmation, can express the transcendent Cause, and thus posits contradiction as proof of human incapacity to understand God. Pseudo-Dionysius' negative theology is significant for the present study because of the way he uses logic to define God. Although contradiction, not contraries, serves as the basis of his theology, Pseudo-Dionysius refashions contradiction so that it more closely resembles Aristotle's notion of contraries. Pseudo-Dionysius not only refutes Aristotle's theory of contradiction, but associates the pair assertion-negation with that of sacred-

¹⁶ "The Mystical Theology," I:2 in Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works trans. Colm Luibheid (New York and Mahwah: Pelican Press, 1987) 136.

profane. In the idea of a Cause that transcends every contradiction, he creates what Aristotle might technically call an intermediate term between an assertion and its negation. That is, even though this Cause is always above and beyond contradiction, the very notion of something outside the boundaries of the contradiction recalls the intermediate statement of Aristotelian contrariety.

As a pairing of contraries, the sacred and profane recall, moreover, the *theologia cordis*, what Sarah Beckwith terms "oxymoronic doctrine."¹⁷ The sacramental understanding of the sacred and profane rests in the concept of the *imago dei*: the idea that through the mystery of the incarnation, God reveals to human beings that they are not only distant from, but also near to, the divinity.¹⁸ In other words, humanity, inhabiting an Augustinian "land of unlikeness," becomes aware of its "godliness" thanks to the incarnation.¹⁹ Like Aristotle's notion of contraries, the parallel idea of dissimilar similitude also produces a subsequent intervening statement. In this case the resulting statement or idea (i.e., the incarnation) acts as an intermediate bridge between the part of humanity that is similar to him, and God, thereby distinguishing as well that part of humanity that is

¹⁷ Sarah Beckwith, *Christ's Body: Identity, Culture and Society in Late Medieval Writings* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993) 47-52.

¹⁸ "It is only his incarnation which, by symbolizing and embodying the union of image and exemplar, establishes for fallen man the possibility of a knowledge of God through His vestiges in nature" (Beckwith 49).

¹⁹ "Regio dissimilitudinis" Augustine, *Confessions*, ed. James J. O'Donnell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992, vol. 1, 7:10:16. Augustine re-enacts this movement from being distant from God to becoming aware and convinced of God's truth and presence in the world. In this land of unlikeness, Augustine is thus ultimately relieved of all doubts and convinced of the truth of God: he writes "Et clamasti de longinquo, 'immo vero ego sum qui sum.' et audiui, sicut auditur in corde, et non erat prorsus unde dubitarem, faciliusque dubitarem vivere me quam non esse veritatem, quae per ea quae facta sunt intellecta conspicitur" (7:10:16; O'Donnell 82). ["And thou didst cry to me from afar: 'I am who I am.' And I heard thee, as one who hears in the heart; and there was from that moment no ground of doubt in me: I would more easily have doubted my own life than have doubted that truth is: which is *clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made*" (Sheed 118)]. On the literary topos of unlikeness, see Charles Dahlberg, *The Literature of Unlikeness* (Hanover and London: UP of New England, 1988). Freccero considers Dante's *Commedia* as a spiritual autobiography whose structure is Augustinian. "The Prologue Scene", in *Dante: Poetics of Conversion* ed. Rachel Jacoff (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1986) 1-28.

dissimilar to God. In terms of Christian doctrine, the theology of dissimilar similitude can thus lead the human mind closer to divine truth, as Richard of St. Victor suggests:

Omnis figura tanto evidentius veritatem demonstrat, quantoper dissimilem similitudinem figurat se esse et non veritatem probat, atque nostrum animum in hoc magis dissimiles similitudines ad veritatem reducant, quo ipsum in sola similitudine manere non permittent. (*In apocal*, i)²⁰

[Every figure demonstrates the truth the more clearly in proportion as by dissimilar similitude it figures that it is itself the truth and does not prove the truth; in so doing, dissimilar similitudes lead the mind closer to truth by not allowing the mind to rest in the similitude alone.]

For Richard of St. Victor, the mind seems to become lazy when not provoked by dissimilarity; the search for divine truth thus entails an intellectually arduous practice of bringing the dissimilar into a place of similarity. More important, his formulation of dissimilar similitude recalls Aristotle's idea that the conjoining of contrary things can produce new truths: dissimilar similitude in this way compels the mind closer not only to the meaning of such mysteries as the incarnation but also to God.²¹ The Catholic theological notion of dissimilar similitude thus reenacts Aristotle's theory of contrariety; such contraries as sacred/profane and human/divine are central for medieval notions of God and mankind.

Contraries in the Schools

Contraries such as the sacred and profane are juxtaposed not only in medieval Catholic doctrine, but also in medieval education, in specific, in the medieval theories and

²⁰ PL 196, col. 689; cited in Beckwith, *Christ's Body* 145, n. 12. I cite Beckwith's translation as well (48).

²¹ In "Divine Names," Pseudo-Dionysius claims that God can only be spoken of in unlike signs: "In our urge to find some notion and some language appropriate to that ineffable nature, we reserve for it first the name which is most revered. Here, of course, I am in agreement with the scripture writers. But the real truth of these matters is in fact far beyond us. That is why their preference is for the way up through negations, since this stands the soul outside everything which is correlative with its own finite nature" (XIII:3). In *Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works* trans. Colm Luibheid (New York and Mahwah: Pelican Press, 1987) 130.

practice of dialectic.²² The exercise of twelfth- and thirteenth-century *disputatio*, I argue, creates an argumentative space in which contraries may be joined in a juxtaposition of parity.²³ In McKeon's conception of dialectic, logic and analytical thought provide the tools to dissect and discuss the "connections of things."²⁴ In this, McKeon's notion is quite similar to that of medieval scholars. Dialectic, as conceived during the High Middle Ages, was likewise an art dedicated to investigating the truth of a statement through logical discussions. The "scholastic method," developed so as to bring discordant texts, such as statements from Scripture and patristic writings, into concordance, led to the dialectical resolution of contrariety.²⁵ Medieval dialectic thus allows for the joining, on an equal footing, of contrary declarations within the same argumentative space.²⁶

While philosophers of the early Middle Ages understood the study of dialectic as a continuation of the Roman education system,²⁷ or as a discipline that primarily

²² To be clear, medieval dialectic, as Lewis notes, simply concerns the art of disputation, not the Hegelian notion of the dynamic processes of history. *The Discarded Image* 189.

²³ Robert S. Sturges suggests that the intellectual conditions of the thirteenth century allow secular literature to be open to interpretation, hence ambiguous, and indeterminate. *Medieval Interpretation: Models of Reading in Literary Narrative, 1100-1500* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois UP, 1991) 15-19.

²⁴ See Richard McKeon, "Philosophy of Communications and the Arts," *Rhetoric: Essays in Invention and Discovery* ed. Mark Backman (Woodbridge, CT: Ox Bow Press, 1987) 116-117, reprinted from *Perspectives in Education, Religion and the Arts* eds. H. Keifer and M. Munitz (New York: State UP of New York, 1970).

²⁵ Richard McKeon, "Rhetoric in the Middle Ages," *Rhetoric: Essays in Invention and Discovery* ed. Mark Backman (Woodbridge, CT: Ox Bow Press, 1987) 150, reprinted from *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies* 17/1 (1942) 1-42.

²⁶ In antiquity, Greek and Roman rhetorical theory tended to obliterate the boundaries between such polarities as jest and earnest (Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* 418-419).

²⁷ James J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance* (Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: UP of California, 1974) 44; Curtius, *European Literature* 37. For some early Christians, the association of grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic with pagan Rome was enough to justify attacking these disciplines. For instance, describing Aryan logic as "incredible corrupted devices of ingenuity," Hilary of Poitiers (d. 367) considered dialectic as a trap for the Christian believer: "Incredibilibus etenim se corrupti ingenii artibus haeretica subtilitas circumegit" ["For indeed by incredible corrupted subtle arts of ingenuity the heretic is distracted"]. Hilarius, *De trinitate* vii,1: 176. ed. J. P. Migne, *PL* 10, col. 199C. Cited in Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages* 46. Unless otherwise noted, translations are mine.

distinguishes the true from the false,²⁸ scholars of the High Middle Ages actively employed dialectic as a means of learning argumentation. The translation, and renewed study, of Aristotle's dialectical texts (Analytica priora, Analytica posteriora, Topica and De sophisticis elenchi) was, not surprisingly, concurrent with the increasing use of the scholastic method of learning in the universities.²⁹ Influenced by the new access to Aristotelian logic, the scholastic method of *disputatio* put the methodology of dialectic, both in speaking and writing, into practice during the High Middle Ages.³⁰

²⁸ Cassiodorus (480-575), for instance, characterizes dialectic as a study which separates the true from the false: "Vera sequestrat a falsis." [It "separates the true from the false"] Cassiodorus Institutiones II. Praef. i; cited in Murphy, Rhetoric in the Middle Ages 66 n.84. English translation from Cassiodorus, An Introduction to Divine and Human Readings trans. Leslie Webber Jones (1946; New York: Columbia UP; New York: W.W. Norton and Norton, 1969) 144. Similarly, Rabanus Maurus (776-856), citing from his master Alcuin's work De dialectica, defines dialectic as a discipline of rational inquiry that focuses on definition, especially of distinguishing the true from the false: "Dialectica est disciplina rationalis quaerendi, definiendi et disserendi, etiam et vero a falsis discernendi." ["Dialectic is a rational discipline of seeking, defining, and examining, even discerning true from false."] De institutione clericorum, III.20. Cited in Murphy, Rhetoric in the Middle Ages 84, n.143.

²⁹ Murphy, Rhetoric in the Middle Ages 104. These Aristotelian works were translated into Latin from the Greek by Jacob of Venice in 1128. See Murphy, Rhetoric in the Middle Ages 102-106; Bernard G. Dod, "Aristoteles latinus," in The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy eds. Norman Kretzmann, Anthony Kenny, and Jan Pinborg (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1982) 46-48. Two of Aristotle's works, the Topica and De sophisticis elenchis, both of which focus primarily on dialectic, became university text books. Aristotle calls the use of false syllogisms "sophistries," whence the name for university students beginning their study of logic during the High Middle Ages. See Clara P. McMahon, Education in Fifteenth-Century England Johns Hopkins University Studies in Education, no. 35 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1947), 60ff., cited in Murphy, Rhetoric in the Middle Ages 5 n. 7.

³⁰ The use of dialectic reached its apogee during the High Middle Ages, especially in Paris. David Knowles analyzes the revival of dialectic in the eleventh century in The Evolution of Medieval Thought (Baltimore: Helicon Press, 1962) 93-106. On the expansion of university education in Paris, see Stephen C. Ferruolo, The Origins of the University 11-26. In his book of medieval rhetoric and dialectic, Charles S. Baldwin proclaimed that "at the fall of Rome the Trivium was dominated by *rhetorica*; in the Carolingian period, by *grammatica*; in the high middle ages, by *dialectica*." Charles S. Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic (New York: Macmillan, 1928) 151, cited in Murphy, Rhetoric in the Middle Ages 97. Baldwin's assignment of periods to parts of the trivium is clearly reductive; however, as Baldwin recognizes, during the High Middle Ages, dialectic (and reactions to it) dominated scholastic culture. In their study of the new and changing cognitive processes of masters and builders of the twelfth and thirteen centuries, Charles M. Radding and William W. Clark demonstrate how scholasticism and dialectic influenced even the practice of architecture: Medieval Architecture, Medieval Learning: Builders and Masters in the Age of Romanesque and Gothic (New Haven & London: Yale UP, 1992). However, practice of the scholastic method was not confined to the university or even a generally secular setting such as a tavern. Fabienne Pironet speculates that the disputations termed *in parvis* took place in the parvis of churches as well: Guillaume Heytesbury, Sophismata Asinina: une introduction aux disputes médiévales (Paris: Vrin, 1994) 16.

Defining, examining, and understanding contrariety and paradox by means of dialectic as Abelard does in Sic et Non thus make up the educational goals of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.³¹ Dialectical disputation of the High Middle Ages centers on contrariety, allowing, within the argumentative space at least, for paradox. As a formal discussion of a subject, medieval disputation emphasizes a certain order of argumentation--thesis, counterthesis, and finally determination of a correct answer. This methodology focuses on establishing one's position with proofs, and yet allows for differing, contrary opinions.³² The exercises of dialectic, the so-called sophismata such as the *Dialectica Monacensis* found in teaching manuals, aim to determine the parts of language with

³¹ Abelard's goal in his Sic et Non, from the beginning, is to reveal the plurality and contraries of Scripture and patristic exegesis. Moreover, he implies that through dialectic, by knowing all of the contraries, one can arrive at the truth:

His autem praelibatis placet, ut instituimus, diversa sanctorum patrum dicta colligere, quae nostrae occurrerint memoriae aliquam ex dissonantia quam habere videntur quaestionem contrahentia, quae teneros lectores ad maximum inquirendae veritatis exercitium provocent et acutiores ex inquisitione reddant. [...] Dubitando quippe ad inquisitionem venimus; inquirendo veritatem percipimus. (Boyer and McKeon 103)

[This having been said by way of preliminary, it is my purpose, according to my original intention, to gather together various sayings of the holy Fathers which have occurred to me as being surrounded by some degree of uncertainty because of their seeming incompatibility. These may encourage inexperienced readers to engage in that most important exercise, enquiry into truth, and as a result of that enquiry give an edge to their critical faculty. {...} For by doubting we come to enquiry, and by enquiry we perceive the truth.]

(Peter Abailard, Sic et Non: A Critical Edition Blanche Boyer and Richard McKeon, eds. [Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1976-1977]; English translation from Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism c. 1100-1375: The Commentary-Tradition eds. A.J. Minnis and A.B. Scott [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988] 99.) Abelard's own methodology compels the reader to make sense of paradox and contrariety; consequently, Abelard's gathering of contrary texts invites readers to examine the process of reading itself. For Catherine Brown, reading Sic et Non is in fact quite similar to reading Scripture, since both demand a reading process that compels the reader to make sense of contrariety, to read beyond the surface level of semantics. Contrary Things: Exegesis, Dialectic, and the Poetics of Didacticism (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1998) 87. Nikolaus M. Häring links twelfth century commentaries to a new emphasis on the science of interpretation that Abelard also invokes in his Sic et Non. "Commentary and Hermeneutics," in Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century 173-200. Abelard's dialectical processes in Sic et Non lead only indirectly to the practice of scholastic *disputatio*, argues Edward S. Shea: "Abelard's insistence on dialectics gave rise to the *quaestiones*, which in turn, aided by the *logica nova*, resulted in the *disputatio* strictly so-called--a distinct exercise of the schools," Abelard's Sic et Non diss. U of Notre Dame, 1939 (Notre Dame: U of Notre Dame, 1939) 68.

³² See Murphy, Rhetoric in the Middle Ages 102-3.

precision, but also show that such signs are often "ambiguous and multifunctional," as Jacobi suggests.³³ True to their dialectical nature, the sophismata thus retain contrariety within the argument itself.

Further, these sophismata provide a glimpse into the methodology of dialectical disputation and the way in which contraries are maintained within the dispute. The sophismata were at times composed as exempla by masters for their students. John Buridan (ca. 1295-1358), for instance, was, like Abelard, a teacher in Paris.³⁴ Known for his theory of modal consequences, Buridan also composed a scholastic commentary entitled Sophismata.³⁵ In the eighth chapter of this work, he provides examples of pedagogical sophisms or *insolubilia*, in which he argues all the possible viewpoints.³⁶ An example of one of Buridan's sophisms, which I explore in some detail here, offers an insight into how the argumentative process of dialectic proceeds. In this sophism, the question centers on whether one says something true or false when one declares "a man is a donkey":

Quantum sophisma est:

Dico quod homo est asinus.

Et quaeritur de hoc sophismate utrum sic dicens dicit verum vel falsum.

Et arguitur quod dicit falsum, quia dicit quod homo est asinus et hoc est falsum.

Et arguitur quod dicit verum, quia tota propositio sua erat ista oratio, *dico quod homo est asinus*, et ista erat vera quia hoc totum dicebat de facto.

³³ Klaus Jacobi, "Logic (ii): The Later Twelfth Century," in A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy ed. Peter Dronke (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988) 240. Alain de Libera edits a collection of thirteenth-century *sophismata* from two manuscripts (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 4720A and lat. 16135). César et le Phénix: Distinctiones et Sophismata Parisiens du XIIIe Siècle (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 1991).

³⁴ On Buridan's life, writings and influence, see E. Faral, "Jean Buridan: Maître ès Arts de l'Université de Paris," Histoire littéraire de la France, XXXVIII (1949) 462-605. Although relatively obscure, another early fourteenth-century writer of sophismata was Siger of Courtrai (d. 1341). See Jan Pinborg, Summa Modorum Significandi Sophismata (Amsterdam: John Benjamins B.V., 1977).

³⁵ For a summary of Buridan's theory, see Simo Knuuttila, "Modal Logic," in The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy 355-357.

³⁶ Because Buridan's voice is behind all of the arguments, this sophism does not reflect an actual disputation, but was used to teach students how to dispute.

Item, propositio sua erat affirmativa, et tamen subiectum et praedicatum supponebant pro eodem, ideo vera erat propositio sua quam dicebat. Quod autem subiectum et praedicatum supponunt pro eodem apparet: quia si explicetur copula, propositio erit talis, *ego sum dicens quod homo est asinus*, et tunc manifestum est quod pro eodem supponebant iste terminus *ego* et iste terminus *dicens quod homo est asinus*.

Ad istud sophisma respondent multi quod ille dicit verum et dicit etiam falsum: quia dicit istam totalem propositionem, *dico quod homo est asinus*, et ista est vera, ideo dicit verum; sed cum hoc dicendo istam totam propositionem dicit quamlibet eius partem, ideo ipse dicit quod homo est asinus, et in hoc ipse dicit falsum.

Sed ista solutio mihi est multum dubitabilis, quia ista solutio supponit quod pars aliqua propositionis sit propositio, quod ego non bene credo. Psalmista enim David, ore prophetico loquens per Spiritum Sanctum, nihil falsum dixit, et tamen dixit istam totalem orationem, *dixit insipiens in corde suo, non est Deus*; ergo psalmista dixit talem orationem, *non est Deus*, quae si fuisset una propositio, ipse dixisset falsum et haeticum; ergo non erat una propositio sic dicta, sed pars propositionis. Sed ille insipiens erravit qui talem vocem dixit solitarie tanquam unam propositionem. Et est simile sicut medietas vermis non est unum animal quamdiu est pars unius animalis, sed divisa ab alia parte est unum animal. Et de isto proposito dixi satis in septimo capitulo primi tractatus Summularum.

Videtur ergo mihi quod sic dicens *dico quod homo est asinus* dicit verum de proprietate sermonis. Dicendum est etiam quod non dicit falsum; et quando obiicitur quod ipse dicit quod homo est asinus, dico quod bene dixit talem vocem, sed non solitarie tanquam unam propositionem, ideo illa vox neque erat vera neque falsa.

Sed tu replicabis fortiter, quia per haec dicta sequeretur quod ille mentiretur qui diceret quod ista propositio *homo est animal est vera*. Probatio: quia sua totalis propositio est affirmativa, et subiectum pro nullo supponit, quia ista vox *homo est animal* non erat propositio sed pars propositionis; et sic illud totale subiectum *ista propositio, homo est animal* pro nullo supponit (sicut si etiam, demonstrato lapide, ego dicerem *iste homo est substantia*, subiectum pro nullo supponeret et esset propositio falsa).

Respondeo breviter quod oportet scire quid tu demonstras per hoc pronomen *ista*: quia si tu demonstras istam vocem *homo est animal* quam tu profers in ista tua propositione, ego dico quod tua propositio est falsa, sicut bene arguebat ratio; sed si tu demonstras aliam vocem similem, seorsum propositam, tunc tua propositio est vera et subiectum bene supponit pro aliquo, scilicet pro ista voce quae seorsum est una propositio vera. Unde ad talem sensum debent intelligi et concedi tales propositiones, et non ad alium, nisi forte conditionaliter, scilicet: ista propositio *homo est animal* est vera, id

est ista vox *homo est animal*, si esset seorsum posita, esset una propositio vera. Et apparet quod totum revertitur in idem.³⁷

[Fourth sophism:

I say that a man is a donkey.

The question to be asked about this sophism is whether someone who says this is saying something true or something false.

4.1 *Argument that he is saying something false*: He is saying that a man is a donkey, and that is false.

4.2 *Arguments that he is saying something true*:

4.2.1 His whole proposition was "I say that a man is a donkey"—and that was true, since that whole thing is precisely what he was saying.

4.2.2 His proposition was an affirmative one, so the fact that its subject and predicate stood for the same thing shows what he said was true. Now it is clear that the subject and the predicate do stand for the same thing, since if we express the copula explicitly the proposition will become "I am someone who is saying that a man is a donkey", and obviously the terms "I" and "someone who is saying that a man is a donkey" stand for the same thing.

4.3 The reaction of many people to this sophism is to claim that he is both saying something true and also saying something false. Their argument is that he is saying the whole sentence "I say that a man is a donkey", and since that is true he is saying something true; but that in the course of saying the whole sentence he is saying each part of it, and so he is saying that a man is a donkey--and in doing so he is saying something false.

4.3.1 This solution, however, seems very dubious to me, since it assumes that a part of a proposition is itself a proposition, which is something that I do not believe. The Psalmist David, when speaking under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, never said anything false; yet he did say this whole sentence, "The fool has said in his heart, There is no God", and therefore he said the words "There is no God". Now if these words had formed a proposition he would have been saying something false and heretical; so in that context they did not form a proposition at all but were only a part of a proposition. On the other hand, the fool himself, who said these words on their own, as a proposition, really did commit an error. It is like the way in which half a worm is not an animal so long as it is still a part of an animal, but becomes an animal when it is separated from the other part. I have, however, said enough about this topic in the seventh chapter of the first tract of the *Summulae*.

4.4 It seems to me that when someone who says "I say that a man is a donkey" is quite literally speaking the truth, and I also maintain that he is not saying anything false at all.

4.5 *Reply to the opposing argument*: When it is objected that he is saying that a man is a donkey, my reply is that although he did

³⁷ I cite this text, and its English translation, from G.E. Hughes, *John Buridan on Self-Reference* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1982) 50-54.

indeed utter such an expression, he did not use it on its own so as to constitute a proposition, and that therefore it was neither true nor false.

4.6 You may, however, protest that this view would lead to the conclusion that someone who said this proposition "A man is an animal" is true, would be speaking falsely. Your argument would be that his whole proposition is an affirmative one but that its subject does not stand for anything; for the expression "A man is an animal" was not a proposition but only part of a proposition, and so the whole subject—this proposition "A man is an animal"—does not stand for anything at all. It would be like my pointing to a stone and saying "This man is a substance": the subject would not stand for anything and my proposition would be false.

4.6.1 My brief reply to that is that one needs to know what you are referring to by the demonstrative "this". If you are referring to the very expression "A man is an animal" that occurs in your own proposition, then I agree that your proposition is false, as your argument showed quite clearly. If on the other hand you are referring to some other expression, equiform with it but stated on its own, then your proposition is true, and its subject does stand for something, namely for that other expression, which by itself is a true proposition. We could perhaps take them in the former way, but conditionally: that is, we might take "This proposition 'A man is an animal' is true" to mean "This expression 'A man is an animal', if it were set down on its own, would be a true proposition." But it seems clear that all of this simply amounts to the same point that we made above.]³⁸

Without analyzing the semantic and philosophical nuances of the sophism "I say that a man is a donkey," several issues relevant for my study become quite clear through Buridan's example. First, Buridan's sophism raises more than one possible interpretation. This example demonstrates not only the primary argument and the reply to this argument, but also several additional arguments as well. The sophism allows for different circumstances, in other words, that the proposition is the man saying the sentence, or that the man is saying the sentence which is the proposition. In addition, although Buridan has created this sophism, and we read it in his voice, the very structure of the argument offers the possibility for different ways of solving the sophism, even for other voices to take part in

³⁸ The italics and numeration are Hughes'.

the argumentation. To read these other potential voices in the structure of the sophism, I will briefly set out the various sections of the argument:

the argument for the sophism (4.1)	Voice A
the argument against (4.2-4.2.2) the sophism	Voice B
possible solution (4.3)	Voice C (or A or B)
critique of above possible solution (4.3.1)	Voice D (or A, B, or C)
comment [continuation of critique] (4.4)	Voice E (or A, B, C, or D)
reply to the opposing argument [i.e., 4.2-4.2.2] (4.5)	Voice F (or A, B, C, D, or E)
objection to reply 4.5 (4.6)	Voice G (or A, B, C, D, E, or F)
reply to objection 4.6 (4.6.1)	Voice H (or A, B, C, D, E, F, or G)

Even if there is only one voice, that of Buridan, clearly there is the potential for at least two or more, even up to eight different voices if one imagines a discussion circle. There are then, within the argumentative process, multiple ways to view a proposition, and multiple voices offering these possible ways of interpreting.

Of course, there is a solution, even a sole, unique solution to the sophism, according to Buridan (4.6.1). Furthermore, certain ideas raised by the discussion of the sophism are quite closed to interpretation, such as the possibility that there is no God, or that the psalmist might have ever said anything false. The fact remains, however, that the structure of dialectical argumentation invites contrariety and compels opposite ways of considering an argument. Irony too is apparent in this particular sophism: the proposition, which raises the question of human versus animal nature, elicits the possibility that psalmist David said something false (4.3.1); this notion is solved and negated, however, with the analogy of half a worm.

Again, without entering into the argument of the sophism itself, I suggest that this sophism and others reveal the extent to which paradox and contrariety were not only tolerated but deliberately, actively created within the argumentative space of *disputatio*. Dialectical disputation of the High Middle Ages thus allows for such incompatible terms as

the sacred and profane to be joined as a contrary pair whose juxtaposition subsequently invites a new way of looking at and resolving an argument. That the dialectical process allows for the joining of incompatible terms which thereby produce new signification reveals how dialectic was influential for the authors of the four vernacular texts that serve as the basis of my dissertation. I would not claim that all four authors were specifically instructed in dialectic; however, they were clearly educated, and since dialectic was an important part of medieval education, an assumption of their familiarity with dialectic is, I think, possible. William of Conches, for example, writes that the student must, after grammar, learn dialectic before learning rhetoric, the arts of the quadrivium, and finally the Bible.³⁹ And, as Bernard of Clairvaux's complaint shows, dialectic was everywhere, not only in the universities but also in the streets and markets, and it was not only practiced by masters and students.⁴⁰ With dialectic in the domain of public knowledge, tense pairings of contrary terms such as the sacred and the profane could meet on a new playing field. As a result, the very conception of the sacred and the profane, and their unsettled relationship, become ripe for exploration outside of the traditional hierarchy of didacticism, especially in the domain of the vernacular.

³⁹ William of Conches suggests that dialectic is the subject in which the student learns to prove what needs to be proved ["probare quod probandum est, quod docet dialectica"]. *De philosophia mundi* lib. IV c. 41 (printed among the works of Honorius Augustodunensis, in *PL* 172, 100); cited in Luscombe, "Dialectic and Rhetoric," in *A History of Twelfth-Century Philosophy* 13.

⁴⁰ Bernard warned that it was dangerous to allow dialecticians such as Abelard to debate publicly such issues of faith as the nature of the Trinity; the danger, for Bernard, was that the laity, especially those uneducated in theology, might be prompted to question matters of Christian doctrine, raising threats of heresy. According to him, such debates were taking place outside the sacred walls of churches and their schools: "per totam fere Galliam in civitatibus, vicis et castellis, a scholaribus, non solum intro scholas, sed etiam triviatim; nec a litteratis aut provecitis tamen, sed a pueris et simplicibus, aut certe stulte, de sancta Trinitate, quae Deus est, disputaretur" ["In all of Gaul, in cities, villages, and castles; by scholars, not only in the schools but in public places; and not only by those learned and advanced enough but also by boys and the uneducated, and even by fools, is being disputed the Trinity, the nature of God."]. Bernard of Clairvaux, Epistle 337, *PL* 182, col. 540 cd. Cited in Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University* 59-60. According to Ferruolo, John of Salisbury also worried about the predominant role of dialectic in medieval education. See *The Origins of the University* 133-156.

Dialectic, moreover, clearly influences vernacular, secular writing. The poetic device of contrast and antithesis, for instance, is apparent in the *tensos* and other dispute genres of the troubadours.⁴¹ Dialectical influences appear in the poetics of courtly romance as well.⁴² Tony Hunt, for instance, cites three distinctive roles played by dialectic in courtly literature.⁴³ First, noting the tension between *mezura* and extravagance, action and inaction, love and chivalry, Hunt argues that the concept of courtly love is dialectical in nature, and is subject to being treated as such.⁴⁴ Second, Hunt maintains that the construction of courtly poetic works, especially Chrétien's *bele conjointure*, is modeled on the use of dialectical opposition and correspondence.⁴⁵ Finally, Hunt sees the process of logical reasoning as playing a prominent role in the frequent debates found in courtly romances such as *Cligès*. The influence of dialectic was not, however, confined to the twelfth century. For example, Guido Calvalcanti's verses in "Da più a uno face un sollegismo," while mocking Fra Guittone's scholastic approach to love, reveal not only the poet's own familiarity with dialectic but also the extent to which dialectic has by the thirteenth century entered into vernacular writing.⁴⁶ Educated in the practices of logic, courtly love writers include ratiocination in their poetic works.⁴⁷

⁴¹ Pierre Bec, for instance, examines the dialectical poetic practices of Bernart de Ventadour. "L'antithèse poétique chez Bernart de Ventadour," in *Mélanges de philologie romane dédiés à la mémoire de Jean Boutière* ed. I. Cluzel and F. Pirot (Liège: Soled, 1971) 107-137.

⁴² Dialectic is mentioned as a character trait in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival*, for example. The sorceress Cundrie, ugly to the point of appearing bestial, is remarkable for her expertise in dialectic. Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival*, trans. A.T. Hatto (London: Penguin Classics, 1980) 163.

⁴³ Tony Hunt, "Aristotle, Dialectic and Courtly Literature," *Viator* 10 (1979) 108-109.

⁴⁴ Hunt also cites I. Nolting-Hauff, *Die Stellung der Liebeskasuistik im höfischen Roman* (Heidelberg, 1959) 30, and D.R. Sutherland, "The Love Meditation in Courtly Literature," in *Studies in Medieval French Presented to Alfred Ewert* ed. E.A. Frances (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961) 161-193.

⁴⁵ In an earlier article, Hunt argues that *Yvain* in particular is dialectically constructed. "The Dialectic of *Yvain*," *Modern Language Review* 72 (1977) 285-299.

⁴⁶ "Da più a uno face un sollegismo:
in maggiore e in minore mezzo si pone,
che pruova necessario sanza rismo;
da ciò ti parti forse di ragione?"

["A syllogism makes one from many
between a major and a minor one puts a middle
that proves by necessity without rhyme
do you stop this for a reason?"

Nel profferer, che cade 'n barbarismo,

in the uttering that falls into barbarism

Because medieval poetics was very much marked, in Zumthor's terms, by this "jeu des contrastes," texts often contain contraries that implicitly invite interpretation.⁴⁸

Contraries, like the Catholic theological notion of dissimilar similitude, propel the reader toward new understanding. As Catherine Brown suggests, contraries in the Middle Ages serve a hermeneutic purpose:

The opposition of contraries can be a puzzle, even a source of anxiety in the Middle Ages; it is seldom, however, simply an obstacle to understanding. It is instead a hermeneutic irritant, and as Jean de Meun suggests, one of the very conditions for the production of knowledge and understanding.⁴⁹

difetto di saver ti dà cagione;
e come far potresti un sofismo
per silabate carte, fra Guittone?

faulty knowledge gives you the reason
so how could you make a sophism
out of poetry, Fra Guittone?

Per te no fu giammai una figura;
non fòri ha posto il tuo argomento;
induri quanto più disci; e pon' cura,

for you reality never existed
your subject never goes beyond itself
the more you say, the more you confuse—so take
care

ché'ntes'ho che compon' d'insegnamento
volume; e fòr principio ha da natura.
Fa' ch'om non rida il tuo proponimento!"

because I've asked about your solid
teaching—by nature beyond principle
beware that people don't laugh at your goals."

Guido Cavalcanti, The Complete Poems trans. Marc Cirigliano (New York: Italica Press, 1992) 122-123.

⁴⁷ Conversely, the rising genre of courtly romance also influences the lexicon of dialectical learning. The practice of dialectic is often described in terms borrowed from the popular reading of the day, so that the concept of dialectic mirrors the vocabulary of romance narratives. Writing about the utility of Aristotle's Topica, John of Salisbury describes the practice of dialectic as a battle, albeit one without physical pain: "Quid ergo exercitatio dialecticae ad alterum est pares, quos producit, et quos rationibus munivit, et locis, sua docet arma tractare, et sermones potius conserere quam dexterarum" (PL 199, col. 910C) ["Since dialectic is carried on between two persons, this book teaches the matched contestants whom it trains and provides with reasons and topics, to handle their proper weapons and engage in verbal, rather than physical conflict."]. The Metalogicon of John of Salisbury: A Twelfth-Century Defense of the Verbal and Logical Arts of the Trivium trans. Daniel D. McGarry (Berkeley and Los Angeles: UP of California, 1955), III.10: 190. I quote McGarry's translation. While John of Salisbury's analogy of dialectic with war is a timeless commonplace, his notion of dialectic may also be seen as resembling the jousts of chivalric literature. In this light, vocabulary such as *training*, *matched contestants*, *weapons* and *conflict* recalls the duels of Lancelot and Gawain, the description of jousts and tournaments described by such authors as Chrétien and Wolfram von Eschenbach. Notably, this association of dialectic and chivalric jousts continues even in the vocabulary of twentieth-century scholars; Paré, Brunet and Tremblay, for instance, refer to Peter Abelard as "le chevalier de la dialectique." G. Paré, A. Brunet and P. Tremblay, La Renaissance du XIIe siècle: Les écoles et l'enseignement (Paris: Vrin, 1933) 277.

⁴⁸ Langues et techniques poétiques à l'époque romane (XIe-XIIIe siècles) (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1963) 171-178, esp. 177.

⁴⁹ Catherine Brown cites the passage from the Roman de la Rose quoted at the beginning of the chapter (II. 21,577-86). Contrary Things 2-3.

The reader is thus invited to extract meaning from the contrary itself within medieval texts; contraries are not simple oppositions but examples of a complex production of meaning. As Brown notes, "Apparent opposites, even when they are defined as mutually exclusive in the most absolute senses available to medieval logic or theology, still have an uncanny way of illuminating each other" (8). I suggest that the sacred and profane, as a pair of contraries, add a polyphony of meanings to each text, both generically and aesthetically.⁵⁰

Modern and Postmodern Dualities--The Critics

Understanding contraries, both medieval and in general, invites not only medieval but modern and postmodern speculation. The sacred and the profane serve as one binary in particular that raises many issues of post-medieval cultural and scholarly concern. Modern and postmodern critical works which address binary categories such as high/low, pure/impure, of which the sacred/profane remain an example *par excellence*, guide the theoretical basis of my study.⁵¹ I suggest that the examination of duality in specific textual instances reveals a particularly thought-provoking polysemy. In addition to scholars of the Middle Ages whose works specifically center on the medieval phenomenon of duality, I also examine the works of modern and postmodern critics, which focus on the general subject of duality and binaries. The critics whose work I survey, then, do not all explicitly treat the sacred and profane, nor the medieval context, but duality in some form or another,

⁵⁰ Several studies of the significance of contraries in medieval romances have influenced my own study of the sacred and profane. Nancy Freeman Regalado, for instance, studies the association of contraries with the erotic in the *Roman de la Rose*, and Helen Solterer associates contraries with the subject of women and discipleship in the *Roman de la Poire*. Nancy Freeman Regalado, "Des contraires choses": La fonction poétique de la citation et des exempla dans le *Roman de la Rose* de Jean de Meun," *Littérature* 41 (February 1981) 62-81; Helen Solterer, *The Master and Minerva: Disputing Women in French Medieval Culture* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: UP of California, 1995) 61-72.

⁵¹ Brian Stock points out that the relationship of oral and written cultures in the Middle Ages does not correspond to such simple binaries: "...the existence, or should one say the persistence, of oral traditions throughout the later, more literate period, down to and including the age of print, should also alert the student to the complexities underlying such facile oppositions as 'low' and 'high' culture, or 'popular' and 'learned'" (34). Brian Stock, *Listening for the Text: On the Uses of the Past* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins UP, 1990).

in fields ranging from anthropology to philosophy. The varying conclusions that they reach are useful because they sketch a spectrum of the different possible ways to understand binarism. My own understanding of how the sacred and the profane function in vernacular texts of the High Middle Ages necessarily builds on the work of these scholars.

Instead of working in a strict chronological fashion, I have chosen to divide the critics according to a basic subject area or approach. In this way, the reader may gain a sense of the varying approaches that scholars take when considering the significance of binaries such as the sacred and the profane. I begin my study with the works of medievalists Johan Huizinga, Hélène Nolthenius, and C.S. Lewis, since all three treat in particular the sacred and profane in the Middle Ages. I then explore three related areas that imply duality in the medieval period: first, the notion of carnival and laughter through the works of E.R. Curtius, Mikhail Bakhtin and Martha Bayless; second, the grotesque through the works of Aron Gurevich and Michael Camille; and finally, hybridism through the work of Sylvia Huot. I then broaden my consideration of critical work on binaries, examining theories of duality not specifically situated in the Middle Ages. I explore duality in anthropology through the works of Mircea Eliade and René Girard; transgression through the work of Peter Stallybrass and Allon White; and finally, ways out of the binary framework through the works of Teresa de Lauretis, Lee Patterson, Chaïm Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca. Despite their various fields and perspectives, these critics have in common the desire to untangle and make sense of dualities such as the sacred and profane.

Critics of the Middle Ages

The Sacred and Profane

Certain scholars explicitly examine the pairing of the sacred and profane. Johan Huizinga, for instance, sees the sacred as an ever-present reality of the medieval world, but

one that perpetually competes with its polar opposite. The medieval world for Huizinga is split into binaries; medieval man exists in a

state of tension between the spiritual poles that is no longer possible for the modern mind. For them, it is possible because of the perfect dualism between the sinful world and the Kingdom of God. In the medieval mind, all the higher, purer feelings were absorbed by religion so that the natural and sensuous drives were bound to be consciously rejected and allowed to sink to the level of sinful worldliness. Two views of life took shape side by side in the medieval mind: the piously ascetic view that pulled all ethical conceptions into itself and the worldly mentality, completely left to the devil, that took revenge with ever greater abandon. (207)

In his description of this uneasy world, Huizinga clearly imposes a system of value judgments onto the sacred and profane. The sacred is all that describes the Kingdom of God: high, pure, pious, aesthetic and ethical; the profane, on the other hand, is symbolized by the world and indeed the devil: natural, sensuous, sinful. While Huizinga sees the sacred and the profane as existing in a tense but perpetual oscillation, he also seems to lament what Chenu has described as the desacralization of the natural universe in the High Middle Ages.⁵² The sense of nostalgia that runs throughout Huizinga's work is apparent in his description of the binary medieval world; for instance, he devotes an entire chapter to the profanation of daily religious practice in the late medieval world (173-202).

Like Huizinga, Hélène Nolthenius sees the sacred as perpetually present in the medieval world. In Duecento she describes the common people of thirteenth-century Italy, for instance, as clinging to a basic, if childish faith, "a desperate faith amid war and oppression and mistrust and fear—and a dearth of selfless priests to guide them" (97). In addition, Nolthenius' perception of the sacred and profane overlaps with a marked ethical constancy that recalls Huizinga: "the moral aspect of the whole epoch became more simple: almost always good and evil were judged by the same standards" (103-104). However,

⁵² See M.D. Chenu, La Théologie au douzième siècle 2nd ed. (Paris: Vrin, 1966) 21-31, esp. 27.

whereas Huizinga sees the sacred and the profane as divided, Nolthenius argues that the structure of religious and secular groups was remarkably similar:

the main feature of the social life of the *Duecento*--organization--is so extraordinarily characteristic also of its religious life in the multitude of confraternities and what are now called 'secular institutes' in the religious sphere. [...T]he hundreds of associations on the basis of trade, locality, piety or amusement formed the cells out of which the small guild systems of the towns developed. (97-8)

Nolthenius argues for a conception of the sacred and profane as conjoined in that the very organization of secular institutions reflects that of the sacred groups. In other words, confraternities and corporations, regardless of their specific interest, resembled each other in their very make-up. Nolthenius suggests that the sacred and profane functioned like tents for medieval Italian society: the people under them might have different concerns, but the basic form of the tents themselves was the same. In this way Nolthenius imagines the relationship of the sacred and profane without the hierarchical moral implications of Huizinga. For Nolthenius, the sacred and profane are so interwoven in thirteenth-century Italy, as the identical structure of sacred and profane groups testify, that they cannot obviously be distinguished. Her vision of the *Duecento* as a mythical creature, half-saint and half-beast, effectively weaves the sacred and profane seamlessly together within a single image (xii).

Unlike both Huizinga and Nolthenius, whose conceptions of the sacred and profane derive from a broad cultural approach, in The Discarded Image C.S. Lewis focuses much more specifically on the literary production of the Middle Ages. Lewis, effacing all differences of gender and class, sees the medieval period as one in which people honored books, despite the disparate and even contradictory beliefs contained in them.⁵³ Lewis

⁵³ Similarly, Dronke suggests that late thirteenth-century works, such as Jean de Meun's *Roman de la Rose*, offer a type of summa in which the "higher" and "lower" aspects of the universe can be relativized. "Profane Elements in Literature," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* eds. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1982) 590.

characterizes the medieval tolerance of discrepancy as an outgrowth of the desire to harmonize a corpus of knowledge that frequently contradicted itself:

I described them as literate people who had lost most of their books. And what survived was, to some extent, a chance collection. It contained ancient Hebrew, classical Greek, classical Roman, decadent Roman and early Christian elements. [...] A scratch collection, a corpus that frequently contradicted itself. But here we touch on a real credulity in the medieval mind. Faced with this self-contradictory corpus, they hardly ever decided that one of the authorities was simply right and the others wrong; never that all were wrong. To be sure, in the last resort it was taken for granted that Christian writers must be right as against the Pagans. But it was hardly ever allowed to come to the last resort. It was apparently difficult to believe that anything in the books--so costly, fetched from so far, so old, often so lovely to the eye and hand, was just plumb wrong. No; if Seneca and St. Paul disagreed with one another, and both with Cicero, and all these with Boethius, there must be some explanation which would harmonize them. What was not true literally might be true in some other sense; what was false *simpliciter* might be true *secundum quid*. And so on, through every possible subtlety and ramification. It is out of this that the medieval picture of the universe is evolved: a chance collection of materials, an inability to say 'Bosh', a temper systematic to the point of morbidity, great mental powers, unwearied patience, and a robust delight in their work. All these factors led them to produce the greatest, most complex, specimen of syncretism or harmonization which, perhaps, the world has ever known. They tidied up the universe. (44-45)⁵⁴

Lewis imagines the joining of the sacred and profane on two different levels: first, revealed in the existence of a disparate corpus of texts; second, revealed in the reluctance to abandon non-Christian texts. In fact, Lewis' description of the medieval love and respect for all books itself joins the tactile and the philosophical. The overriding sense of plurality in a united whole (revealed in such terms as "corpus" and "collection"), reenacts physically and metaphysically the medieval dilemma for the modern reader. The modern reader is, as a result, left with an appreciation of the way that Lewis seamlessly joins images of particular textual devotion to a broad, even universalizing, notion of syncretism. Without detailing the

⁵⁴ C.S. Lewis, "Imagination and Thought in the Middle Ages," Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1966). This essay synthesizes Lewis' work in The Discarded Image.

methods by which this harmonization of contradiction occurs, Lewis posits a general coexistence of the sacred and profane, although one firmly within the hierarchical frame of Christianity. Lewis attributes to the Middle Ages a peculiar (and vaguely-defined) temperament that allowed contradictions to exist, that sought to find ways to harmonize discrepancies without disposing of their inherent opposition. Furthermore, Lewis argues that the medieval desire to harmonize this heterogeneous collection of texts ultimately leads to a pluralistic and yet unified conception of the universe (45-63).

Like Huizinga, Nolthenius and Lewis, Sylvia Huot focuses specifically on the sacred and profane in her work Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet; however, instead of a broad, cultural approach, Huot examines in particular the vernacular motet as a hybrid site on which the relationship of the sacred and profane is played out. The medieval vernacular motet, according to Huot, arises from a dual heritage. With its upper voices sung in the secular vernacular, and the tenor in the religious, often liturgical Latin, the vernacular motet is marked by its polyphony of significance: "In its most intricate manifestation, the vernacular motet is characterized by a free play of allegory, a simultaneous presence of figurative readings both sacred and profane, none of which excludes the other" (192). Focusing on the relationship of the sacred and the profane as a site for creative hybridism and multi-voiced discourse, Huot thus posits a conception of the two terms as intimately conjoined in medieval vernacular motets. Huot's study recalls Nolthenius' indication of the coexistence of sacred and profane; however, instead of drawing large cultural conclusions, Huot remains focused on the particularity of the motet. Her view of the sacred and profane as intertwined convincingly argues for their polyvalence.

Where Huot centers on the hybridism of medieval motets, other scholars center their arguments of duality on the phenomenon of laughter. If the Middle Ages are imagined

as a serious time, dominated by religion, laughter completes the duality with a certain generic confusion, and even reveals a socially subversive expression.

Carnival and Laughter

Unlike Huot, whose analysis is specific to a musical form, scholars working on laughter in the Middle Ages focus on broad instances in which comic elements arise in ostensibly serious contexts. One such scholar, E.R. Curtius, does not, strictly speaking, treat the profane and sacred, but another related pair, jest and earnest, in his seminal work, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages. While Curtius explores only briefly the complex role of laughter in medieval Latin literature, he traces its role within "serious" genres from Late Antiquity to the High Middle Ages. In particular, Curtius examines laughter in hagiography and eulogies for rulers, and comic elements (especially kitchen humor) in epic.⁵⁵ Theological discussions throughout the Middle Ages concerning the acceptability of laughter were many and essentially contradictory; this, according to Curtius, "left all possibilities open--from rigoristic rejection to benevolent toleration of laughter" (422). While Curtius defines the side-by-side existence of jest and earnest in the Middle Ages as complex, he nonetheless sees their combination as an expressly medieval phenomenon: a sign of the medieval love of mixing stylistic genres, even in the literature of the church (424).

Whereas Curtius focuses primarily on generic mixing, Mikhail Bakhtin examines on a broader level the discord and contradictions of medieval culture, of which the sacred and profane are only one example. In Rabelais and His World, Bakhtin offers a view of carnival that constructs an image of the medieval world as rigidly divided into binary

⁵⁵ Curtius, "Jest and Earnest in Medieval Literature," European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages 417-435.

oppositions such as sacred versus profane, and high (official) versus low (popular) art and culture. Commenting on laughter (elsewhere linked to "folk humor"), Bakhtin declares that

laughter in the Middle Ages remained outside all official spheres of ideology and outside all official strict forms of social relations. Laughter was eliminated from religious cult, from feudal and state ceremonials, etiquette, and from all the genres of high speculation. An intolerant, one-sided tone of seriousness is characteristic of official medieval culture.
(73)⁵⁶

Bakhtin presents official medieval culture, linked with the institutions of Church and State, as rigid and solemn, seemingly petrified in a cultural *rigor mortis*. Humor in the Middle Ages, according to Bakhtin, existed outside official life, in taverns and the marketplace and on the street (74). The folk and carnival aspect of life also reared its frivolous head as a non-official, non-sanctioned side of Church festivals, and during spectacles such as the *Fête des fous*.

However, while his examination of the carnival and laughter posits the co-existence of the "official" and "non-official," Bakhtin maintains a strict separation between the two modes. Although they exist "side by side," the sober state-sanctioned high culture and the raucous and impious low culture nonetheless never merge, according to Bakhtin, especially not in art (96). Bakhtin's notion of two synchronic and yet separate worlds proposes a view of the Middle Ages as dual; works of art and literature, according to this view, would consequently only reinforce the distinctions between the two. Critics such as Aron Gurevich and Paul Strohm, however, have since criticized Bakhtin precisely for this system of fixed binaries, calling attention to Bakhtin's lack of historicity.⁵⁷

Bakhtin's own experience of living under Stalin's rule may have influenced his view of the Middle Ages. He considers medieval culture in terms of social power: the

⁵⁶ Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais & His World* trans. Helene Iswolsky (Cambridge, MA and London: The M.I.T. Press, 1968) 96.

⁵⁷ See Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture* 176-181, and Paul Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow: The Social Imagination of Fourteenth-Century Texts* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1992) 45-46.

oppressive State (or Church) and the oppressed people. The hierarchical lens through which Bakhtin sees the Middle Ages is instructive, however, because it sets the stage for questions of a text's social relationship with audiences and readers. More importantly, Bakhtin's study remains tremendously influential because he did attempt, although in a reductive fashion, to account for discord in medieval culture through the topos of the carnival.

Martha Bayless, examining medieval Latin parody in her work Parody in the Middle Ages, debunks many of Bakhtin's notions about humor in the Middle Ages. Bayless claims that instead of a rigid separation between official and unofficial culture in which laughter appeared only in the low and base unofficial culture, for religious Latin parody at least, humor was tolerated, even sanctioned.

Religious parody was close to the heart of the Church: the evidence of authorship, the fact that there is such a large body of the genre in Latin, and the familiarity with Scripture, theology, and the Church required to appreciate the jokes suggest that these texts were written by and for members of the clergy and were not intended primarily, if at all, for lay consumption. (177)

The instances of humor in religious Latin literature may have three main purposes, according to Bayless: to instruct, giving a dour message a sweeter spin; to criticize gently, so that the reader, in laughing, recognizes his own sins; and finally, simply to entertain (208-211). Bayless' argument nuances Bakhtin's; analyzing Latin religious parody reveals that the boundaries between the humorous unofficial culture and the sober official culture were not so fixed. In other words, the clergy, which Bakhtin had described as utterly without humor, also enjoyed jokes. More importantly, Bayless' work reveals that the distinctions of cultures formulated by Bakhtin are not always easily categorized.

The Grotesque

Bakhtin, despite his broad and often generalized conceptions, remains at the origin of other views of yet another medieval phenomenon that implies duality: the grotesque. Like Bayless, both Aron Gurevich and Michael Camille take Bakhtin's work as a starting point; however, both scholars examine the sacred and profane through this third term of the grotesque. In Medieval Popular Culture, Gurevich describes the grotesque as "the strange combination of opposite poles: heaven and earth, spirit and body, gloom and humour, life and death" (176). His examination of instances of the grotesque such as comic devils, medicinal sacraments, wise fools (*simplices*), aggressive saints and miracles, reveal a confrontation of the earthly with the Other World. More importantly, according to Gurevich, although the grotesque often involves an inversion of a religious belief or activity, it is not opposed to the sacred; rather it "represents one of the forms of drawing near to the sacred. It simultaneously profanes the sacred and confirms it" (207-8). With its bizarre joining of contradictory terms, then, the medieval grotesque does not subvert the sacred, but instead affirms its status.

Working in art history, Michael Camille also engages the Middle Ages in terms of the grotesque: specifically, the curious and often bawdy marginalia of medieval manuscripts, churches, and city walls. Like Gurevich, Camille focuses precisely on these *loci* of confrontation where the so-called official and carnival worlds meet and yet differentiate themselves from each other. Camille's work on margins, Image on the Edge, suggests that the edges of medieval manuscript illumination and sculpture are areas of juxtaposition between sacred and profane, between the ideological center and its non-conformist fringe. While Camille's exploration of marginal art in the Middle Ages delineates spatially the ideological and accepted "center" of a text and its provocative and controversial marginalia, it simultaneously conceives of the margin as supplement, as a

gloss that “problematize[s] the text’s authority while never totally undermining it” (10). Meaning in the margins, according to Camille, is not fixed, but instead exists in the “‘flux’ of becoming”—ambiguous and liminal (9). The fluidity of the production of meaning in the margins is useful for my study, since it argues against a simple, binary understanding of two poles. Camille’s work is important since it draws attention to the diverging codes of medieval media. He contests the notion of binary cultural oppositions; however, he himself still formulates a quasi-Bakhtinian relationship—itsself dual—between (central) text and (marginal) image. The boundaries that Camille strives to render elastic remain nevertheless fixed in very real, concrete terms precisely because they are rooted in space, whether on the folio of a manuscript or in the sculptural details of a portal or cloister.

Non-medievalist scholars conceive of duality much as Camille does. That is, other critics who deal with duality tend either to reestablish the sacred as a part of a binary pair, or to formulate ways to transgress and move beyond the very structure itself of duality. In the next section, I draw from a wide variety of scholarly theories concerning both the sacred and duality in more general terms. While varied and eclectic, the theories of these critics testify to the broader cultural implications of analyzing a duality such as the sacred and profane; in this way, contraries are as significant for the High Middle Ages as for modern and postmodern society.

Critics of the Post-Medieval World

Anthropological Approaches to the Sacred

In anthropology, critics tend to see the sacred as linked with a primitive, more violent perhaps, but ultimately more “real” society. Eliade’s work, Le Sacré et le profane, for example, examines religious experience in three main areas: sacred space, sacred time,

and the sacredness of Nature.⁵⁸ In his anthropological, cultural ethnological study, the sacred and the profane are two modes (*modalités*) of being in the world (18).

These two modes, according to Eliade, have not always been in balance; he sees a gradual chronological progression from a sacred understanding of the world to one that is growing increasingly profane.

L'homme des sociétés archaïques a tendance à vivre le plus possible *dans* le sacré ou dans l'intimité des objets consacrés. Cette tendance est compréhensible: pour les "primitifs" comme pour l'homme de toutes les sociétés pré-modernes, le sacré équivalait à la puissance et, en définitive, à la *réalité* par excellence. Le sacré est saturé d'être. Puissance sacrée, cela dit à la fois réalité, pérennité et efficacité. L'opposition sacré-profane se traduit souvent comme une opposition entre *réel* et *irréel* ou le pseudo-réel. Entendons-nous: il ne faut pas s'attendre à retrouver dans les langues archaïques cette terminologie des philosophes: réel-irréel, etc., mais *la chose* y est. Il est donc naturel que l'homme religieux désire profondément *être*, participer à la *réalité*, se saturer de puissance.

[...] Disons tout de suite que le monde profane *dans sa totalité*, le Cosmos totalement désacralisé, est une découverte récente de l'esprit humaine. (16)

[Man of archaic societies has a tendency to live to the greatest extent *in* the sacred or in the intimacy of consecrated objects. This tendency is understandable: for the "primitives" as for man of all pre-modern societies, the sacred was equivalent to power, and in the final analysis, to *reality* par excellence. The sacred is saturated with being. Sacred power means at the same time reality, perennality, and efficacy. The opposition sacred-profane is translated often as an opposition between *real* and *unreal* or the pseudoreal. Let us be clear: one must not expect to find in archaic languages this terminology of philosophers: real-unreal, etc., but *the thing* is there. It is thus natural that religious man profoundly desires *to be*, to participate in *reality*, to saturate himself with power.

[...] Let us say right away that the profane world *in its totality*, the Cosmos whose sacred character is completely removed, is a recent discovery of the human mind.]⁵⁹

For Eliade, there is a certain amount of bucolic nostalgia surrounding the sacred: once, the sacred simply was; a person lived his entire life in constant contact with it, as he would

⁵⁸ Mircea Eliade, *Le Sacré et le profane* (Paris: Gallimard, 1965).

⁵⁹ I have consulted and modified the translation of Willard R. Trask (12-13).

with the trees and animals around him. The binary of the sacred and the profane becomes, for Eliade, its counterpart, the real and the unreal, and thus creates a sharp association of the sacred with the real. Eliade sanctifies nature in its timelessness and power. The profane, marked by contrast as the unreal, has links with all that is not real, in other words, all that is *not* an inherent part of the natural world. While claiming to avoid an anachronistic use of philosophical language to describe these "primitive" societies, Eliade nevertheless enters into the already age-old philosophical inquiry on the nature of "reality": his depictions of the sacred and profane as a pair hinge upon these questions of real and unreal.

While René Girard, like Eliade, associates the sacred with a primitive, pre-modern world, his depiction of the sacred primitive contains not a hint of nostalgia. Girard instead sees the sacred as a sign of power and force that is intimately tied to violence:

Le sacré, c'est tout ce qui maîtrise l'homme d'autant plus sûrement que l'homme se croit plus capable de le maîtriser. C'est donc, entre autre choses mais secondairement, les tempêtes, les incendies de forêts, les épidémies qui terrassent une population. Mais c'est aussi et surtout, bien que de façon plus cachée, la violence des hommes eux-mêmes, la violence posée comme extérieure à l'homme et confondue, désormais, à toutes les autres forces qui pèsent sur l'homme du dehors. C'est la violence qui constitue le cœur véritable et l'âme secrète du sacré. (52) ⁶⁰

[The sacred consists of all those forces whose dominance over man increases or seems to increase in proportion to man's effort to master them. Tempests, forest fires, and plagues, among other phenomena, may be classified as sacred. Far outranking these, however, though in a far less obvious manner, stands human violence—violence seen as something exterior to man and henceforth as a part of all the other outside forces that threaten mankind. Violence is the heart and secret soul of the sacred.]⁶¹

That Girard first links the sacred with violent *natural* forces reveals that his conception of the sacred derives in part from an anthropological perspective: his definition of the sacred recalls a primitive people's efforts at understanding the forces of the natural world. With

⁶⁰ *La Violence et le Sacré* (Paris: Grasset, 1972).

⁶¹ René Girard, *Violence and the Sacred* trans. Patrick Gregory (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins UP, 1977) 31.

violence as a common denominator, Girard forges a link, however, between the natural forces and the inner workings of one's psyche. In other words, the human heart, like nature, contains violence, and further, this violence is the sacred. His concept of the sacred rests on violence, whether it is outside in the natural world, or inside the mind of man. By emphasizing the concealed and unseen, Girard creates a mirror-like relationship of the human soul and the sacred: both, in their innermost, secret places, harbor violence.⁶²

Both Eliade and Girard associate the sacred with the natural force of a primitive world. These anthropological approaches thus tend to treat the sacred less as a member of a duality, and more as a sign and expression of power in relation to nature and violence.

Transgression and Transcendence

Like the anthropological approaches of Eliade and Girard, scholars who work on transgression, the transcendence of "elsewhere," and disassociation, also envision duality in terms of power. The power relations of binarism imagined by such scholars as Stallybrass and White, de Lauretis, Patterson, and Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca do not concern physical force; instead, the duality in question reveals power of a sociological origin. From anthropology of the primitive world, then, we move to studies of class (Stallybrass and White), gender (de Lauretis), and rhetoric (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca) in modern and post-modern society.

Peter Stallybrass and Allon White study the symbolism of the binary high/low in terms of class. In their work, Stallybrass and White map out "domains of transgression where place, body, group identity and subjectivity interconnect" (25).⁶³ Their work takes

⁶² In a sense, this notion of the concealed can be linked to the binary appearance versus reality, and by extension, to Eliade's notion of the real versus the unreal (*Le sacré et le profane* 16). According to Girard, it is religion that reins in the violent tendencies of the sacred, and by extension, of humanity. Organized religion pushes the violence of both outside of the community, ritually displacing this violence on to a single sacrificial victim (*La Violence et le Sacré* 135, 191).

⁶³ Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1986).

up Bakhtin's notions of the carnival and the grotesque body, and yet moves beyond Bakhtin's folkloric approach; their approach is a "political anthropology of *binary extremism* in class society" (26).

For Stallybrass and White, the duality of high and low is intricately linked to the production of class identity of the bourgeoisie in particular. These scholars contend that the bourgeoisie's exclusion of the low (that which is dirty, noisy, contaminating), allows it to take on the opposite "high" (pure, quiet, healthful) identity. That which belongs to the "low" does not, however, simply disappear from the bourgeoisie, but returns as repressed objects "of nostalgia, longing and fascination" (191).

Transgression of the structure of duality means for Stallybrass and White a move from one term to the other, in other words, a move from the high to the low. This move implies, however, the destruction of the very structures of exclusion that serve as the foundation for the identity and status of the bourgeoisie. By satisfying the excluded and dangerous desires that make up the "low", the bourgeoisie symbolically descends, destroying all that marks it as "high"; transgression thus entails a "powerful ritual or symbolic practice whereby the dominant squanders its symbolic capital so as to get in touch with fields of desire which it denied itself as the price paid for its political power" (201). Stallybrass and White do not conceive of transgression as an "automatic progressiveness," as they describe transgression according to Foucault and Kristeva,⁶⁴ but as an act of symbolic significance. Transgression thus involves more than simple social mobility; in transgressing class, the bourgeoisie calls into question the principles and symbols which form the very structure of society.

⁶⁴ Michel Foucault, *Language/ Counter-memory/ Practice* ed. D.F. Bouchard, trans. D.F. Bouchard and S. Simon (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1977) 33; Julia Kristeva, *Desire in Language* ed. L.S. Roudiez, trans. T. Gora, A. Jardine and L.S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia UP, 1980) 65. Cited in Stallybrass and White 200-201.

While Stallybrass and White imagine a transgression of duality, they do not expand beyond the framework of the binary. The movement of the bourgeoisie in their conception circulates only between "high" and "low"; there is no way out of the structure of the pair high/low. Other scholars, such as Patterson, de Lauretis, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca push the boundaries of the binary, endeavoring to find an additional way to understand duality.

Like Stallybrass and White, Teresa de Lauretis also imagines duality in terms of a transgression. De Lauretis focuses not on the high/low binary that marks the nineteenth-century bourgeoisie, however, but on the masculine/feminine duality that is apparent in twentieth-century representations of gender. Her study of transgression centers not on symbolic but ideological power. While de Lauretis' work Technologies of Gender concerns gender, theory and film, it is useful to this study of medieval culture because of its treatment of opposites. In her discussion of the fluidity of gender as ideological representation, de Lauretis formulates a notion of spaces of discourses that, while contradictory, coexist.

These two kinds of spaces are neither in opposition to one another nor strung along a chain of signification, but they exist concurrently and in contradiction. The movement between them, therefore, is not that of a dialectic, of integration, of a combinatory, or of *différance*, but is the tension of contradiction, multiplicity and heteronomy. (26)⁶⁵

It is precisely in the movement between these two spaces that de Lauretis finds a way out of the ideological constructs of gender. De Lauretis' notion of an "elsewhere," a new locus of meaning between the spaces of discourses, recalls Camille's notion of marginal signification as ambiguous and liminal (9).⁶⁶ Her sense of duality is, however, not one that

⁶⁵ Teresa de Lauretis, Technologies of Gender: Essays on Theory, Film, and Fiction (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana UP, 1987).

⁶⁶ Stallybrass and White also envision a type of "elsewhere" that they term "displacement": "If displacement, following its own literalness, is conceived of as a process of shifting or slipping between different places or domains of discourse, then it must be constituted in and by the gaps and oppositions of these domains" (197).

envisions contact between the two members; instead, one member is parallel to the other, but never joined. They coexist precisely and only because they are contradictory. What is useful about this particular binary for de Lauretis is not either member of the pair, but on the space in between, the liminality of the very structure of duality.

This effort to move beyond the structure of duality also marks Lee Patterson's conception of the relationship between a medieval text and its context. Like Stallybrass and White, Patterson focuses on the symbolic freight of cultural production. Moreover, he seeks, like de Lauretis, a way outside of duality to understand the reciprocal association of text and context. In one chapter of his Negotiating the Past, he explores a third way, following the critical methods of the Frankfurt School and New Historicism, to see cultural activity in relation to its production:

The rest of this chapter is devoted to exploring a third way of defining the context/text relationship, a model of cultural activity that is not dialectical [...] but symbolic, in which cultural products are seen as full participants in a historical world that is equivalently densely symbolized.⁶⁷

Patterson argues for a Jamesonian conception of the Middle Ages that sees both the historical world and the textual artifacts of that world as symbolic.⁶⁸ In this, Patterson expands Stallybrass and White's interest in symbolic power beyond that of class, to include all of the socio-historical contexts that interact with the text, and vice versa. In addition, whereas de Lauretis simply describes a vague "elsewhere" as a means to slip through the binary structures, Patterson points to two possible theoretical paths: the Frankfurt school and New Historicism. Without exploring the merits and problems of Patterson's third way, I would simply remark that Patterson, like de Lauretis, clearly sees the need to trouble dualistic modern conceptions of the medieval text.

⁶⁷ Lee Patterson, Negotiating the Past: The Historical Understanding of Medieval Literature (Madison: The UP of Wisconsin, 1987) xi.

⁶⁸ Fredric Jameson argues that "the aesthetic act is itself ideological." The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1981) 79.

Working in the field of rhetoric and philosophy, Chaïm Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca also work with binaries to resolve contrariety.⁶⁹ Unlike de Lauretis and Patterson, who seek to move beyond binaries, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca see binaries, or what they term philosophical pairs, as a starting-point for argumentation. Philosophical pairs serve as the prototype for what they call notional disassociation, or the solution of an incompatibility.⁷⁰ They envision the composition of a philosophical pair not in the simple opposition of the two terms, nor in the negation of one term by the other, but as a pair that is constituted by complex internal and external relations. Because of this constitution, the philosophical pair is continually open to modification, evolution, and reinterpretation.⁷¹ It is, moreover, by means of disassociation that the philosophical pair may be recast or reinterpreted. Thus, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, like de Lauretis and Patterson, envision a path beyond duality. More importantly, their notion of disassociation is neither so generalized as to be vague nor so precise as to be limited to textual criticism. Because disassociation is at work in the field of argumentation, it operates on both theoretical and practical levels:

La dissociation des notions, comme nous le concevons, consiste dans un remaniement plus profond, toujours provoqué par le désir de lever une incompatibilité, née de la confrontation d'une thèse avec d'autres, qu'il soit question de normes, de faits ou de vérités. Des solutions pratiques permettent de résoudre la difficulté sur le plan exclusif de l'action, d'éviter que l'incompatibilité se présente, de la diluer dans le temps, de sacrifier une des valeurs qui entrent en conflit, ou les deux. La dissociation des notions correspond, sur le plan pratique, à un compromis, mais elle conduit, sur le plan théorique à une solution qui vaudra également dans l'avenir parce que, en restructurant notre conception du réel, elle empêche la réapparition de la même incompatibilité. (*Traité*, 552-3)

⁶⁹ Chaïm Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *Traité de l'argumentation: La nouvelle rhétorique* 2nd ed., "Collection de Sociologie générale et de philosophie sociale" (Brussels: Institut de Sociologie de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles, 1970).

⁷⁰ For instance, a philosophical pair such as appearance/ reality functions as a prototype of notional disassociation (561).

⁷¹ See Olbrechts-Tyteca, "Le couple philosophique: La nouvelle approche," *Revue Internationale de Philosophie* 33 (1979) 81-98.

[The disassociation of notions, as we conceive it, consists in a more profound reworking, always provoked by the desire to eliminate an incompatibility born of the confrontation of one thesis with others, whether it is a question of norms, of facts, or of truths. Practical solutions allow one to resolve the difficulty on the exclusive level of action, to avoid introducing the incompatibility, to dilute it in time, to sacrifice one or both of the values that enter into conflict. The disassociation of notions corresponds, on the practical level, to a compromise, but it leads, on the theoretical level, to a solution that will be valid in the future as well because, by restructuring our conception of the real, it prevents the reappearance of the same incompatibility.]

Disassociation, for Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, serves as a process of argumentation by which the potential impasse of an incompatibility is overcome.⁷² A concrete example of this occurs in law, when the judge finds himself before two contrary laws; the judge cannot abandon or negate one of the two, but instead needs to reinterpret the fields of application of the laws so as to reestablish the coherence of the judicial system.⁷³ The judge thus acts as the figure who disassociates the two terms of a binary so as to come to a resolution, or judgment.⁷⁴ While the work of Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca applies to the fields of argumentation and rhetoric, their conception of the binary as a philosophical pair is also useful for my study. Unlike de Lauretis, they see the binary not as something to transcend, but as a useful tool for dismantling contraries, and not simply for the moment, but in the future as well. The disassociation of notions thus leads to a type of creative reinterpretation;

⁷² *Traité*, 597-601. Foucault sees transgression, envisioned in terms of philosophical language and the loss of subjectivity, as creating new possibilities for communication: "it is at the center of the subject's disappearance that philosophical language proceeds as if through a labyrinth, not to recapture him, but to test (and through language itself) the extremity of its loss. That is, it proceeds to the limit and to this opening where its being surges forth, but where it is already completely lost, completely overflowing itself, emptied of itself to the point where it becomes an absolute void--an opening which is communication" (*Language, Counter-memory, Practice* 43).

⁷³ *Traité*, 554-555.

⁷⁴ Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca also see this same practice of disassociation occurring in the "distinguo" of scholastic theology (*Traité* 555).

former contraries, now polysemous, lend themselves because of their binary association to the creation of new meaning.⁷⁵

Many modern and postmodern critics strive to deconstruct the structure of duality, offering either a space in between them for new meaning, or the possibility of a third meaning or a third way of understanding duality. Ultimately, the concept of binarism is as provocative and significant in postmodern society as it was during the Middle Ages.

As these scholars indicate the study of duality is a field rich with literary and cultural implications. In the four works that I study here, the sacred and profane function on less hierarchized registers than one might expect; the joining of the two terms, while maintaining their contrariety, leads to an explosive creativity which ultimately challenges the generic categories of sacred and profane as simply opposed contradictions.

The Texts

Although many high medieval works conjoin and problematize the sacred and profane, I wish to balance my general cultural study with the need to respect the specificity of each work. For this reason, I work here with only four texts: Gautier de Coinci's Miracles de Nostre Dame (after 1218); Matfre Ermengaud's Breviari d'Amor (late thirteenth century); Chaillou de Pesstain's version of the Roman de Fauvel (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale fr. ms. 146, ca. 1317), and Dante's Commedia (c.1307-08 to 1321). The titles immediately declare the generic differences between the works; for example, one catalogues a series of holy miracles, another is a savage political satire. Linguistically and generically

⁷⁵ In his discussion of the tautology "literature is literature," Todorov recalls Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca's notion of the binary as necessary for the production of new meaning: "Le paradoxe est double; mais c'est précisément dans cette duplicité que réside la possibilité de le dépasser. [...] On pourra jouer de l'imprécision de la règle, on se placera dans le jeu du jeu et l'exigence <<considérer la littérature comme littérature>> retrouvera sa légitimité" ["The paradox is double; but it is precisely in this duplicity that the possibility of going beyond it resides. ... One can play with the imprecision of the rule, one will place oneself in the game of the game, and the demand to consider 'literature as literature' will recover its legitimacy"]. Tzvetan Todorov, Poétique de la Prose (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1971) 129.

different, these texts represent new worlds in terms of the sacred and profane.⁷⁶ These texts juxtapose the sacred and profane in dynamic ways that may be very surprising to modern readers, who often simply consider the medieval period as dominated by the Church and religion.

Chapter II treats Gautier de Coinci's Les Miracles de Nostre Dame. Gautier (1177/78-1236) was a Benedictine monk and prior of Saint-Médard in Northern France. His Miracles de Nostre Dame, begun in 1218 and finished in 1231 or 1233, derive from Marian devotion and the tradition of collecting the miracles of the Virgin in the High Middle Ages. Written in Old French, the Miracles are divided into two books: each begins with a prologue followed by seven songs, then by the verse narratives of the miracles;⁷⁷ a series of songs closes each book.⁷⁸

In this chapter, I focus on the songs that begin each book of miracles, their placement within the general narrative of the miracles, and the aesthetic effects of their ambiguous mixture of amorous and spiritual lexicon. As in the tradition of the Song of Songs and its exegesis, Gautier creates religious lyrics that employ both a sacred language and, simultaneously, a vocabulary that unmistakably evokes themes of erotic love. These lyrics, while ostensibly songs of worship to the blessed Virgin, simultaneously rewrite the themes, images, and forms of courtly love lyric as well as those of religious lyric.

In Chapter III, I discuss Matfre Ermengaud's Breviari d'Amor. Matfre, a native of Béziers and a Friar Minor, composed the Breviari d'Amor (ca. 1288) in the vernacular Occitan.⁷⁹ A vast encyclopedia in octosyllabic verse, the Breviari treats a wide variety of

⁷⁶ Brian Stock has described texts as new worlds: "Each community creates its culture, subjectively perceiving and objectively constructing new texts. These texts are new worlds, which, once invented, can then be represented, recreating eternal patterns of thought and action anew" (Listening to the Text 112).

⁷⁷ There are thirty-five miracles in the first book, twenty-three in the second.

⁷⁸ The second book also contains two moralizing poems, *De la chastée as nonains* and *De la doutance de la mort*. Three poems praising St. Léocade close the first book; *Les saluts*, a song and four prayers close the second.

⁷⁹ Matfre is not known to have composed any other work.

subjects, from the nature of the planets to the life of St. John the Evangelist. The main ordering principle of the Breviari is the *arbre d'amor* [tree of love], which takes the form of a genealogical tree. The commentary on this tree, its parts and their significance, structures the work. Matfre begins with the trunk (God) from which come two main branches: natural law, common to all animate beings, and human law, specific to humanity. From natural law arises the love between the sexes and procreation; from human law comes the love for God, neighbor, and worldly goods. From each law come specific goods (or fruits). The virtues that one needs to attain (and the vices that one needs to avoid) in order to pick each "fruit" lead Matfre to lengthy discussions of Catholic doctrine and practice: for instance, the lives of Christ and the Virgin arise from a section concerning faith; a practical guide to confession and penance ensues from a discussion of sin.

While destined to be a vehicle of spiritual knowledge, since it expounds on such matters as the life of Christ, the sacraments, several models of prayers, and the punishments endured by sinners in Hell, the Breviari centers its encyclopedic focus on the manifold concept of love. Matfre not only declares that troubadours and lovers have inspired the composition of the work, but he dedicates the last fifth of this 34,597-line poem, the "Perilhos Tractat d'amor de Donas segon que han tractat li antic trobador en lors cansos," to a debate on love in which troubadour lyrics are quoted verbatim.⁸⁰ In this chapter, I examine the duality of Matfre's doctrine of love in the Breviari, in specific the ways in which the Breviari promises an orthodox Catholic view of love that the troubadour lyrics do not fulfill and seem to contradict.

In Chapter IV, I examine the deluxe manuscript of the Roman de Fauvel: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS f. fr. 146. The Roman de Fauvel, a satirical allegorical romance, was initially composed by Gervès du Bus, who finished the first book in 1310,

⁸⁰ The Breviari serves as a catalogue, repository even, of troubadour lyric: it includes passages from 66 troubadours (including Matfre himself), 4 trouvères, and 6 anonymous poets.

the second in 1314. Fauvel is written in octosyllabic Old French couplets. Divided into two books, the romance first describes how Fauvel, a horse whose name represents the various sins he symbolizes, has corrupted the world, especially the various secular and ecclesiastical leaders.⁸¹ In the second book, it presents the marital machinations of Fauvel who, after trying and failing to marry Fortune, weds Vain Glory. The couple proceeds to have numerous "fauvaux" to continue the family line of flattery, envy, and avarice.

The version of the Roman de Fauvel that I examine here was completed by Chaillou de Pesstain, who finished it in 1316 or 1317. This longer version, which contains pictorial, literary and musical interpolations to Gervès' original, appears only in the manuscript I study.⁸² Unlike the majority of the Fauvel manuscripts that, in general, contain the narrative of the romance at times accompanied by a few illustrations, fr. 146 is a composite work. It is richly illustrated, and the variety of interpolated songs--courtly love songs, religious hymns, political satires, bawdy songs, in Latin and in French--brings new meaning to the experience of "reading" the narrative.

My examination of the Roman de Fauvel centers on a detailed analysis of certain folios of the manuscript. The placement or *mise-en-page* of the music, the narrative text, and the miniatures on each folio of this manuscript presents the shifting, and overall fluidity, of these media. Furthermore, the *mise-en-page* accentuates multiple meanings that derive from the relationship between the music and images and their significance for the narrative of the romance, and also from extratextual issues concerning the production of the manuscript, the author and the intended audience. These folios are exemplary for the purposes of my study because they reveal an explicit juxtaposition of the sacred and the

⁸¹ His name functions as an acrostic for the vices of *flaterie*, *avarice*, *vilanie*, *varieté*, *envie*, and *lacheté* (ll. 247-256).

⁸² See Le Roman de Fauvel in the Edition of Messire Chaillou de Pesstain: A Reproduction in Facsimile of the Complete Manuscript. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds français 146 introduction by Edward Roesner, François Avril, and Nancy Freeman Regalado (New York: Broude Brothers Ltd., 1990).

profane; they invite reflection on the polyvalent levels of meaning that this *mise-en-page* provokes.

Finally, in chapter V, I explore the collision of the sacred and profane through the motif of song in Dante's Commedia. Dante (1265-1321), I suggest, employs the sacred and profane through religious and courtly song in order to align certain types of song with each term of this binary. Dante invokes song as sacred or profane in order to position his own song, the Commedia, as divinely sanctioned. For instance, the poet invokes secular poetry, and his own earlier love lyric, through the figures of fellow poets Guido Guinizelli and Arnaut Daniel. As the poet of a sacred poem,⁸³ however, Dante marks the actual distance between himself and secular, courtly love poets. Similarly, while the poet proposes that his song is seductive, he displaces the potentially perilous consequences of seductive song onto the figure of the Siren in *Purgatorio* XIX. These strategies of disassociation and displacement prepare the poet for paradise. In *Paradiso*, where the poet associates song simultaneously with the mechanics of concentricity and with the topos of ineffability, he both recalls his own poetic process and, more importantly, forges a link between his poetics and the sacred, that which is beyond human comprehension. I argue, then, that reading sacred and profane song as significant for understanding the Commedia highlights not only the poet's artful representations, but also how his status as poet depends on the inherent sacred/poetic ambiguity of his project.

The four texts that I examine here are quite disparate, culturally, linguistically, and generically; in addition, the way in which the sacred and profane function differs according to the text. Because the contraries are not limited to single, brief instances in each text, but are thematized and explored in great depth, the play of sacred and profane calls the structure and genre of the texts into question. In other words, the contrariety of sacred and the

⁸³ The poet calls the *Commedia* a sacred poem twice in *Paradiso*: "sacrato poema" *Par.* XXIII, 62; "poema sacro" *Par.* XXV, 1.

profane tends to subvert the ostensible *raison d'être* of each work. For instance, Gautier's devout lyrics, while addressed to the Virgin and placed within a catalogue of her miracles, play upon the frankly sensual tension of courtly lyric. Gautier's songs join religious devotion with the vocabulary of secular love lyric, so that his songs have the same aesthetically seductive effect on the reader as does courtly love poetry. Similarly, the orthodox Catholic beliefs of love and marriage that Matfre's Breviari d'Amor presents and proselytizes are undermined by the troubadour lyric included in the debate of courtly love. Conversely, the themes of morality created by the conjoining of sacred and profane adds a spiritual dimension to the satirical Roman de Fauvel presented in fr. 146. This manuscript thus can be read not only allegorically, but tropologically. Finally, in his Commedia, Dante employs the sacred and profane in such a way that his work, and his voice as poet, both secular and vernacular, take on the status of sacred *auctoritas*. Each text thus employs the contrariety of sacred and profane in a broad fashion, compelling the reader to make sense of this contrary in terms of the structure and genre of each work as a whole.

Despite the differences in how they employ the sacred and profane, all four texts studied here connect these dissimilar, contrary terms in dynamic ways. In other words, although the Church was a dominant influence during the Middle Ages, the sacred in these works does not play the same kind of ascendant role in these texts as the Church in medieval society does. That is to say, the meanings generated by the sacred do not take precedence over those of the profane. Instead, the sacred, joined in parity with the profane, functions as a member of a contrary; the significance of the sacred thus depends on its relationship with the profane. All that is profane--the secular, the non-religious, the vernacular--is not simply disregarded as base or impure. The contrary of the sacred and profane offers the possibility of aesthetic and generic signification. Because these four vernacular texts exhibit a striking juxtaposition of the sacred and profane, I argue that high

medieval vernacular book culture reveled in the ambiguous multiplicity of meanings that pairs such as this one creates.

The polysemy implicit in the sacred and profane is made explicit in each of the medieval texts studied here. In the next chapter on Gautier de Coinci's Miracles de Nostre Dame, the sacred and profane are fused to an extreme degree: Gautier's songs to the Virgin couple the lexicon of sacred and profane love, transgressing the boundaries of each.

CHAPTER II

GAUTIER DE COINCI: CONVENTION AND INNOVATION IN HIS LYRICS TO THE VIRGIN

Gautier de Coinci's Miracles de Nostre Dame (c. 1218) is a composite work: both a catalogue of Marian miracles and a record of songs composed in her honor.⁸⁴ Born into a noble family near Soissons, Gautier became a monk in 1193, following in the path of his kin in undertaking monastic life at the Benedictine monastery of Saint-Médard. Gautier became prior in Vic-sur-Aisne in 1214, and at the end of his life became prior of Saint-Médard in 1233. According to Koenig, Gautier composed the first book of Les Miracles de Nostre Dame around 1218, perhaps finishing book two in 1231 or 1233; however, he continued to write lyrics in honor of the Virgin until his death in 1236.

Two books make up the Miracles; the first contains thirty-five miracles; the second, twenty-four. A series of lyrics to the Virgin frames both books: eight precede the first book while three end it; seven precede the second book, which is completed by a very long series of lyrical prayers, most addressed to the Virgin.

Gautier's miracles are quite conventional: the folkloric and the hagiographic are both included in these miraculous, legendary stories of the Virgin.⁸⁵ When an abbess, for

⁸⁴ See Les Miracles de Nostre Dame ed. V. Frederic Koenig, vol. 1 (Geneva: Droz, 1955-1970) xix, xxiii, xxix-xxx. The tradition of composing songs in honor of the Virgin is also witnessed in the late thirteenth-century Spanish "Cantigas de Santa María." See Higinio Anglés, La música de las Cantigas de Santa María del Rey Alfonso el Sabio 3 vols. (Barcelona: Disputación Provincial de Barcelona: Biblioteca Central, 1943, 1958, 1964). Arlette P. Ducrot-Granderye describes the manuscripts that contain the text of the Miracles. Etudes sur les Miracles Nostre Dame (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1980, 1932).

⁸⁵ Koenig describes Gautier's relationship with his hagiographic material as not simply scholarly. Gautier experienced a supernatural event, when the devil threatened him one day with great pain for having written in praise of the Virgin. Soon after, when Gautier was absent from Vic, thieves broke in and stole the reliquary of St. Leochade and a statue of the Virgin that Gautier loved in particular. While the statue seems not to have been recovered, the bones of St. Leochade were found in the river Aisne; Gautier's joy inspired him to compose three lyrics which he included in the Miracles (1 Ch 45, 1 Ch 46, 1 Ch 47) (Koenig

instance, who is particularly devoted to the Virgin finds herself pregnant, the Virgin takes the infant from the abbess's womb so that her body remains virginally untouched (2. 181-196). Other Miracles have a didactic agenda: for example, a knight prays to the Virgin to give him his lady's heart; she convinces him to love her instead, and he finds the Virgin to be the most beautiful, best beloved possible (3. 150-165). While this miracle clearly warns against carnal love, it merely redirects the love, and places the Virgin in the now-sanctified role of beloved. As these two examples demonstrate, the Virgin in Gautier's Miracles plays an active, intercessory role in earthly affairs; more than a revered icon, she is a dynamic, even busy, heroine in the drama of human life.⁸⁶ As a work cataloguing the miracles performed by the Virgin, Les Miracles creates for the reader a rather conventional image of the Virgin as mediator between human and society, between human and heaven.

As intercessor and guide, saving souls thought to be lost, the Virgin inspires intimate and poetic adoration. In the main, scholars have focused not on the lyrics but on the narratives of the miracles, seeing in them not only evidence of popular religion but also the subversion of the miracle genre.⁸⁷ Gautier does not simply include the narratives of the Virgin's miraculous deeds, but more importantly, frames the Miracles with innovative lyrics about and addressed to her. It is these lyrics that I examine, for while they are clearly of a religious nature they also echo the vocabulary of courtly lyric, offering an illustration

xxviii-xix). For more about the popular mythology of the Virgin as miracle worker, see Rosemary Woolf, The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968) 122-123.

⁸⁶ For more about the Virgin Mary in the Middle Ages, see, among others, Juniper Carol, ed. Mariology 3 vols. (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1955-61); Carol Graef, Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion 2 vols. (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1963-65); Walter Delius, Geschichte der Marienverehrung (Munich: Ernst Reinhardt Verlag, 1963); Marina Warner, Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976); Wolfgang Beinert and Heinrich Petri, Handbuch der Marienkunde (Regensburg: F. Pustet, 1984); Mary Clayton, The Cult of the Virgin in Anglo-Saxon England (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990); and Jaroslav Pelikan, Mary Through the Centuries: Her Place in the History of Culture (New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1996).

⁸⁷ For popular religion in the Miracles, see Jean Larmat, "La Religion Populaire chez Gautier de Coinci," Marche Romane 30:3-4 (1980) 167-85; Anne Berthelot characterizes one miracle in particular, "D'une nonain qui vaut pechier," as a subversion of the genre itself. See "Anti-miracle et Anti-fabliau: La subversion des genres," Romania 106:3-4 (1985) 399-419.

of Gautier's use of intertextuality, of his assimilation of the courtly world with the religious. In these songs Gautier reworks both the conventions of religious sentiment and the thematics of courtly love. Set against the backdrop of the conventional hagiography of the miracles, these lyrics surprise the reader with their interwoven sensuality and religiosity.

Gautier organizes the lyrics as a guide to the reading and interpretation of the Miracles.⁸⁸ The lyric genre of Gautier's *chansons* not only recalls courtly lyric but also opens the power of its conventional courtly image, adding to its possible meanings. Because there is no musical notation accompanying these lyrics in the manuscripts, Boulton could very well be describing Gautier's lyrics when she writes, "the fact that they *are* songs appears more significant than any actual music, for it is their content that matters."⁸⁹ As Winn notes, even when we see only the written script of the lyric, we recognize a "song."⁹⁰ Gautier's songs are striking because they interrupt the reading of the miracles; instead of private devotion, the songs of the Miracles compel a lyric performance.⁹¹

In addition, the position of the lyrics is not haphazard; they neatly introduce and close each book. As a framing device to the narrative miracles, the lyrics enjoin the reader not only to meditate publicly, but to reverently adore the Virgin. Because they are not interpolated at random, the lyrics comment upon the miracles, taken together, as a sign of

⁸⁸ Siegfried Wenzel comments that lyric that accompanies a prose narrative may perform a variety of functions: mnemonic, rhetorical, meditative, "or simply an outlet for wit and verbal skill." Verses in Sermons: Fasciculus Morum and its Middle English Poems (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1978) 66.

⁸⁹ Maureen Barry McGann Boulton, The Song in the Story: Lyric Insertions in French Narrative Fiction 1200-1400 (Philadelphia: UP of Pennsylvania, 1993) 6.

⁹⁰ James A. Winn, Unsuspected Eloquence: A History of Relations between Poetry and Music (New Haven: Yale UP, 1981) 86.

⁹¹ Sylvia Huot suggests that vernacular poetry is always performative, regardless of the medium through which the performance occurs: "It must be remembered that in the thirteenth century a vernacular poetic text, even the clerkly romance, was understood also as performance, whether that performance was effected orally or in writing." From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry (Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 1987) 85. Edmond Faral also observes the performative nature of medieval texts. Les jongleurs en France au moyen âge (Paris, Champion, 1910) 234.

the Virgin's power. Functioning as a "matrice du texte," in Cerquiglini's terms⁹², the lyrics set the tone for the miracles that follow; the lyrics guide the reader by creating a spiritually playful ambience in which to read the miracles, and then close the miracles by again highlighting spiritual prayer.

The focus of the lyrics in general is one of transformation from secular love to sacred love, from earthly desires to heavenly aims. In addition to providing commentary on the miracles, the lyrics also exhibit a coherent interior structure as a group. It is important to note a difference in tone between the sets of lyrics: those that open the books tend to follow a more standard courtly rhetoric, while the closing lyrics stress a more purely religious tone. The set of lyrics at the beginning of Book One evoke, as might be expected, the notion of newness and beginning with a hint of the spiritual transformation to come; the second set of lyrics, which closes Book One, is very much related to the last miracle contained in Book One, concerning Saint Leochade. The lyrics at the beginning of Book Two, on the other hand, function as a point of transition, highlighting the Virgin's role as intercessor, as intermediary between this world and heaven, while the closing lyrics are prayerful in tone.⁹³ As the reader moves into the second book, she is perhaps meant to read the miracles that follow with less worldly awe and more understanding that the miracles are signs of heavenly, Marian power on earth; our eyes are to look away from the miracles as worldly spectacles in order to see better the inner spiritual truths they make manifest. Through this principle of organization, Gautier leads the reader into each book of the Miracles by invoking the seductive poetic verses of his courtly peers and then moves to

⁹² Jacqueline Cerquiglini describes this type of lyric insertion as actually producing the narrative that follows. While the narrative of the miracles could certainly stand alone, the fact that the lyrics frame them certainly gives the impression that the songs themselves have given rise to the miraculous stories. This concept clearly accentuates by extension the figure of the poet. "Un Engin si Soutil": Guillaume de Machaut et l'écriture au XIVe siècle (Geneva and Paris: Slatkine, 1985) 23-32.

⁹³ If texts meant to be read were also conceived of in terms of a performance, the differing tones of Gautier's lyrics would thus progressively move the audience from the court into a Church setting.

focus on the heavenly presence on earth, and finally concludes with lyrics that focus more on the celestial.

This chapter is divided into three main sections which broadly explore the following: 1. Gautier and the conventions of affective piety; 2. Gautier's innovation on courtly lyric and finally, 3. the structure of the lyrics within the Miracles, including consideration of the final prayers and two of Gautier's lyrics in full.

In the first section, I analyze the religious traditions that influence Gautier's lyric: the commentary traditions of the Song of Songs and the image of the Virgin within the tradition of affective piety. These traditional interpretative traditions place Gautier within the broader context of Mariology and Marian devotion during the High Middle Ages. With these traditions as necessary background information, I then explore the conventionality of Gautier's portrait of the Virgin--the way that Gautier employs certain metaphors and images which, while sensual, indicate a strong influence of the Song of Songs and affective piety.

In the second section, I explore the innovations of Gautier's lyrics. I begin by analyzing the tradition of using courtly language to describe religious experience, and inversely how this secular lyric plays with this merged sacred/erotic lexicon.⁹⁴ I believe that the sharing of terminology makes Gautier's fused erotic spirituality possible, just as the interpretative traditions of the Song of Songs and affective piety underscore passion devoted to the Virgin. I then examine how Gautier's figure of the Virgin is replete with courtly images of the beloved lady to understand further the sensual image of the Virgin that Gautier presents in his lyrics. I discuss other images and topoi that Gautier appropriates from the conventions of courtly lyric, since his lyrics are, for the most part, as courtly and secular as they are religious. To conclude this section, I examine how Gautier establishes himself as a Marian poet in his prologue to the Miracles. The reader gains in this

⁹⁴ See also Anna Drzewicka, "La fonction des emprunts à la poésie profane dans les chansons mariales de Gautier de Coinci," Le Moyen Age: Revue d'Histoire et de Philologie 91:1 (1985) 33-51.

prologue a first glimpse of the intertwining of courtly lexicon with religious devotion that is so prevalent in the lyrics. Gautier constructs a fused sacred/secular poetic identity for himself in the prologue; he reveals not only a thorough knowledge of courtly language but also the fervent desire to displace the eroticism of love lyric with spirituality.

In the third and final section of this chapter, I examine the general placement of the lyrics in regards to the narrative of the Miracles, and the overall tone of each set of lyrics. I then study in some detail two complete lyrics in order to illustrate this shift of tone. I find that there is a definite progression in the tones of each set of lyrics; that is, Gautier intentionally moves the reader from the courtly to the more spiritual by using, and then abandoning, topoi from courtly love lyric. This section ends with a short analysis of the final prayers, with which Gautier concludes the Miracles. These prayers, as one might imagine, relinquish the sensual, ambiguous language of the earlier lyrics to focus on the structure and tone of religious devotion.

My goal in this chapter is not to ferret out any one overriding influence on Gautier's lyrics, but to note the way in which a polyphony of sources appears in Gautier's reworking of these same sources. More important, I explore the ways in which Gautier, by creating a polyvalent identification of himself as simultaneously poet, worshipper and lover, transforms and merges the conventions of these traditions, creating a new--and erotic--lyric of spiritual devotion.

Gautier and the Conventions of Affective Piety

The Interpretative Traditions of the Song of Songs

The commentaries of such writers as Origen, Gregory the Great, and Guillaume de St. Thierry on the Song of Songs frame a reading of the lyrics of Gautier de Coinci's Miracles de Nostre Dame. Whereas the narratives of the miracles follows the traditional

form of exposition for legendary narratives, the lyrics, like those of the Song of Songs, turn on the thematization of spirituality made erotic, eroticism made spiritual.

Erotic spirituality, especially in reference to the Virgin, is a cross-generic feature of many medieval works of poetry and piety.⁹⁵ Concurrent with the rise of affective piety, especially in conjunction with the veneration of the Virgin in the High Middle Ages, much contemporary lyric poetry sensualizes the spiritual.⁹⁶ Not limited to one national literary movement, this trend is present in many different cultures.⁹⁷ For instance, in the Middle English lyric "Upon a lady my love is lente," the poet insists on his devotion to his lady:

Upon a lady me love is lente,
Withoutene change of any chere—
That is most lovely and continent
And most at my desire. (vv. 1-4)⁹⁸

It is only in the last stanza that we learn that this lady is the Virgin ("Pray we to this lady bright,/ In the worship of the Trinite,/ To bringe us alle to heven light" [vv. 25-27]). Other songs in Middle English, such as "Now skrinketh rose and lilie-flour" and "In a tabaernacle of a toure," duplicate this wedding of devotion to the Virgin with the vocabulary of courtly lyric.⁹⁹ This tradition exists as well in France, as I discuss later in the chapter. The lyric "Lautrier m'iere rendormiz" opens, for instance, with a traditional troubadour evocation of dawn, and yet the lady who appreciates the poet's song is not his mistress, but the

⁹⁵ Warner notes that because courtly poets addressed ladies of higher rank, the Virgin as queen could easily supplant the lady of courtly love lyric. Further, Warner argues that whenever medieval culture focused on the division of body and soul, passion and reason, earth and heaven, the "Virgin could become a symbol of the ideal to the poets, artists, and practitioners of courtly love" (*Alone of All Her Sex* 135-137). Cohen notes the deification of women, and the influence of Christianity, as influences on courtly romances. *Un Grand Romancier d'amour et d'aventure au XIIIe siècle: Chrétien de Troyes et son œuvre* (Paris: Boivin, 1948) 34-36.

⁹⁶ Citing renewed ecclesiastical activity, and the subsequent growth of the cult of the Virgin in the south of France, Warner believes that it was after the Albigensian crusade that "the Mariolatry of the twelfth century became intertwined with secular love lyric" (*Alone of All Her Sex* 146-147).

⁹⁷ Woolf notes, however, that there are relatively few Middle English poems to the Virgin before the revival of secular love literature at the end of the fourteenth century. *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages* 115.

⁹⁸ In *Middle English Lyrics* eds. Maxwell S. Luria and Richard L. Hoffman (New York: W.W. Norton, 1974) 177.

⁹⁹ See *Middle English Lyrics* 181-183; 187-189.

Virgin.¹⁰⁰ Similarly, other trouvère lyrics such as "Douce dame virge Marie" and "De l'estoile, mere au soleil" play with the conjunction of spiritual and human love.¹⁰¹ Placing the love for the Virgin within the context of a spiritualized as well as eroticized sensibility, these lyrics, like those of Gautier, capitalize on and play with this tension.¹⁰²

The tradition of a vocabulary that fuses the bodily and the spiritual in Marian lyric is also apparent in the medieval understanding of what it is to be human. In other words, questions of the nature of the divine necessarily came to weigh also on the nature of humanity, especially since humans were, according to the Bible and hence theological doctrine, made in God's image. In his Confessions, Augustine himself speaks of this tension between the human and the spiritual in the quest for knowledge of God:

et direxi me ad me et dixi mihi: 'tu quis es?' et respondi: 'homo.' et ecce corpus et anima in me mihi praesto sunt, unum exterius et alterum interius. quid horum est, unde quaerere debui deum meum, quem iam queasiveram per corpus a terra usque ad caelum, quousque potui mittere nuntios radios oculorum meorum? sed melius quod interius. ei quippe renuntiabant omnes nuntii corporales, praesidenti et iudicanti de responsionibus caeli et terrae et omnium, quae in eis sunt, dicentium: 'non sumus deus' et 'ipse fecit nos.' (X:6)¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ This song opens with the following words:

Lautrier m'iere rendormiz
Par un matin en esté;
Adonques me fu avis
Que la douce mere Dé
M'avoit dit et commandé
Que seur un chant qui jadis
Soloit estre mout joïs
Chantasse de sa bonté,
Et je tantost l'ai empris (1-9)

[The other day, I had gone back to sleep,
on a summer's morning;
it seemed to me then
that the sweet mother of God,
had said to me and commanded me
that on a melody that once
had been very much loved
I should sing of her goodness,
and immediately I undertook it.]

This lyric appears in Chansons des Trouvères, Eds. Samuel N. Rosenberg and Hans Tischler. Series "Lettres Gothiques" (Paris: Librairie Générale de France, 1995) 292-297.

¹⁰¹ These lyrics appear in Chansons des Trouvères 300-305.

¹⁰² See also the lyrics cited by Marcia Jenneth Epstein in her book, 'Prions en chantant': Devotional Songs of the Trouvères (Toronto: UP of Toronto, 1997), many of which use the same vocabulary as Gautier's.

¹⁰³ Augustine, Confessions ed. James J. O'Donnell, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992) 122.

[And I turned to myself and said: 'And you, who are you?' And I answered: 'A man.' Now clearly there is a body and a soul in me, one exterior, one interior. From which of these two should I have enquired of my God? I had already sought him by my body, from earth to heaven, as far as my eye could send its beams on the quest. But the interior part is the better, seeing that all my bodily messengers delivered to it, as ruler and judge, the answers that heaven and earth and all things made in them made when they said 'We are not God,' and 'He made us.' The inner man knows these things through the ministry of the outer man: I the inner man knew them, I, I, the soul, through the senses of the body. I asked the whole frame of the universe about my God and it answered me: 'I am not He, but He made me.']¹⁰⁴

While Augustine clearly delimits the spheres of influences of the body and soul, associating them with the outer and the inner part of a human, it is nonetheless clear that the two function on some level in conjunction with each other. The soul learns of the presence of God, and understands the nature of God, precisely through the outer part of the body, through the senses, which allow for an understanding of God as the Creator. Although in his Confessions Augustine seems at times to condemn this outer, corporeal part as a dangerous and godless state of the gloomy fog of misdirected desire,¹⁰⁵ he nevertheless pictures the body and the spirit as working together to sense God in this world.

Augustine's joining of the human and the divine in the recognition of God's presence on Earth similarly allows for a human corporeal presence in the interpretation of sacred texts. That is, Augustine works out an allegorical framework for interpretation by

¹⁰⁴ Augustine, Confessions trans. F.J. Sheed (Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, 1993) 177.

¹⁰⁵ Describing his youth in the Confessions, Augustine writes, for instance, "Et quid erat quod me delectabat, nisi amare et amari? sed non tenebatur modus ab animo usque ad animum quatenus est luminosus limes amicitiae, sed exhalabantur nebulae de limosa concupiscentia carnis et scatebra pubertatis, et obnubilabant atque obfuscabant cor meum, ut non discernereetur serenitas dilectionis a caligine libidinis" (O'Donnell 16) ["My one delight was to love and be loved. But in this I did not keep the measure of mind to mind, which is the luminous line of friendship; but from the muddy concupiscence of the flesh and the hot imagination of puberty mists steamed up to becloud and darken my heart so that I could not distinguish the white light of love from the fog of lust. Both love and lust boiled within me, and swept my youthful immaturity over the precipice of evil desires to leave me half drowned in a whirlpool of abominable sins" {Sheed 3} (II:2)].

considering spiritual truths as passing from the outer, physical part of humans to the inner soul.

The impetus for reading sensual poetry in a spiritual, even allegorical fashion probably has its origins in the interpretative traditions of the Song of Songs. The influence of the monastic tradition of commentary on the Song was far-reaching. E. Ann Matter argues that these readings developed--were internally transformed, to use Corti's term--into a sub-genre of their own within medieval Latin literature.¹⁰⁶ And as Ann W. Astell notes, "from the twelfth century on, the *Canticum* stands as the most notable example of a biblical poem that exerted an incontestable formal and inspirational influence on contemporary literary composition both profane and devotional."¹⁰⁷ Because scholars such as Astell and Matter have already explored at length the interpretative traditions and the understanding of the Song of Songs in the Middle Ages, I will only note briefly the views of three representative authors: Origen, Gregory the Great, and Guillaume de St. Thierry.¹⁰⁸

Commentators have long written on how to read this erotic poetry in an appropriately spiritual manner, most often stressing the leap that the reader must make from the corporeal to the immaterial world.¹⁰⁹ Most early commentators insist on an allegorical

¹⁰⁶ E. Ann Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved: The Song of Songs in Western Medieval Christianity* (Philadelphia: UP of Pennsylvania, 1990) 7-8, citing Maria Corti, *Principi della comunicazione letteraria* (Milano: Bompiani, 1976); English translation by Margherita Bogat and Allen Mandelbaum, *An Introduction to Literary Semiotics* (Bloomington and London: Indiana UP, 1978) 124-131.

¹⁰⁷ Ann W. Astell, *The Song of Songs in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1990), 22-23. The *Song of Songs* had an especially great influence on Chaucer. Cf. R.E. Kaske, "The Canticum Cantorum in The Miller's Tale," *Studies in Philology* 59 (1962) 479-500; J.I. Wimsatt, "Chaucer and the Canticles of Canticles," in *Chaucer the Love Poet* ed. Jerome Mitchell and William Provost (Athens: U of Georgia P, 1973), 66-90; Theresa Anne Moritz, "Married Love and Incarnational Imagery: Bernard of Clairvaux's *Sermones super Cantica Canticorum* within Medieval Spirituality as a Model for Love Allegory in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*" (diss., U of Toronto, 1981).

¹⁰⁸ I have chosen three authors from different periods [Origen (ca. 185-254), Gregory (ca. 540-604), and Guillaume (ca. 1075-1148)] to show how interpretations of the Song of Songs may have varied not only according to author, but to time. More importantly, the basic similarity of their respective understandings reveals a general interpretive strategy that may be seen as representative for a later writer such as Gautier.

¹⁰⁹ For Alain de Lille, for example, all lyric, which includes of course the Song of Songs, must be read as allegory. In this passage, Nature poses a series of rhetorical questions concerning how to understand poetry: "At in superficiali litterae cortice falsum resonat lyra poetica, sed interius, auditoribus secretum intelligentiae altioris eloquitur, ut exteriore falsitatis abjecto putamine, dulciorem nucleum veritatis secrete

reading of the Song. For Origen, the Song of Songs is a nuptial song, the song of a bride, representing either the soul or the Church, who burns with love for her bridegroom, the word of God.¹¹⁰ He denies that God participates in this sensuality in a carnal manner.¹¹¹ Origen rejects categorically the presence of any carnal realities in the Song. As a wedding song in which God is an intimate participant, the Song cannot belong to the material,

intus lector inveniat," *De Planctu naturae* Prose 4 (PL, CCX, 451C) ["Or, {do you not know} how the poetic lyre gives a false note on the outer bark of composition but within tells the listeners a secret of deeper significance so that when the outer shell of falsehood has been discarded the reader finds the sweeter kernel of truth hidden within?], so that by cutting the base falsity from the exterior, the reader may discover hidden within the kernel of sweetest truth"]. English translation is from Alan of Lille, *Plaint of Nature* trans. James J. Sheridan (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1980) 140.

¹¹⁰Epithalamium libellus hic, id est nuptiale carmen, dramatis in modum mihi videtur a Solomone conscriptus, quem cecinit instar nubentis sponsae et erga sponsum suum, qui est Sermo Dei, caelesti amore flagrantis. Adamavit enim eum sive anima quae ad imaginem eius facta est, sive ecclesia. Sed est magnificus hic ipse ac perfectus sponsus quibus verbis usus sit ad coniunctam sibi animam vel ecclesiam, haec ipsa scriptura nos edocet" (Pro. I:1) ["It seems to me that this little book is an epithalamium, that is to say, a marriage song, which Solomon wrote in the form of a drama and sang under the figure of the bride, about to wed and burning with heavenly love towards her Bridegroom, who is the Word of God. And deeply indeed did she love Him, whether we take her as the soul made in His image, or as the Church. But this same Scripture also teaches us what words this august and perfect Bridegroom used in speaking to the soul, or to the Church, who has been joined to Him"]. Origen, *Commentaire sur le Cantique des Cantiques* French trans. Luc Brésard, Henri Crouzel, and Marcel Borret (Paris: Editions du cerf, 1991); *Origen: The Song of Songs Commentary and Homilies* English trans. R. P. Lawson, Ancient Christian Writers Series 26 (New York: Newman Press, 1957) 21. For an introduction to Origen's interpretation of the Song of Songs, see Matter, *Voice of My Beloved* 20-48.

¹¹¹ Origen asserts that God is not in any way connected to the terrestrial: "Sciendum ergo est quod haec caritas quae Deus est, in quo fuerit, nihil terrenum, nihil materiale, nihil corruptibile diligit; contra naturam namque est ei corruptibile aliquid diligere, cum ipsa sit incorruptionis fons" (Pro. II:28; Brésard *et al.* 110-112) ["We must understand, therefore, that this Charity, which God is, in whomsoever it exists loves nothing earthly, nothing material, nothing corruptible; for it is against its nature to love anything corruptible, seeing that it is itself the fount of incorruption" {Lawson 28}]. Bernard of Clairvaux, like Origen, also stresses the intimacy of the marriage relationship, and links it with that between the soul and God ("Una utriusque haereditis, una mensa, una domus, unus thor, una etiam caro. [...] Si ergo amare sponsis specialiter principaliterque convenit, non immerito sponsae nomine censetur anima quae amat" (Sermon 7:II.2; vol. 1) ["They have one inheritance, one dwelling-place, one table; and they are, in fact, one flesh....If, then, mutual love is especially befitting to a bride and a bridegroom, it is not unfitly that the name of Bride is given to a soul which loves"]. S. Bernard, *Sermones super Cantica Cantorum* eds. J. Leclercq, C.H. Talbot, H.M. Rochais, vol. 1 (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1958) 32. English translation is from Bernard of Clairvaux, *Song of Solomon* ed and trans. Samuel J. Eales (Minneapolis: Klock and Klock, 1984 repr., 1895) 34. However, Bernard's language to describe Solomon's portrayal of the union of the soul with God is itself sensualized: "Itaque divinitus inspiratus, Christi et ecclesiae laudes, et sacri amoris gratiam, et aeterni connubii cecinit sacramenta; simulque expressit sanctae desiderium animae, et epithalamii carmen, exultans in spiritu, iucundo composuit elogio, figurato tamen" (Sermon 1:IV.8, Leclercq *et al.* 6) ["It was, then, by inspiration from above that he sang the praises of Christ and His Church, the grace of holy love, and the mysteries of everduring marriage; and at the same time gave expression to the yearning aspirations of the holy soul. Thus he has composed a nuptial song or epithalamium, rejoicing in spirit, and in an ornamental and figurative style" {Eales 10}].

physical world.¹¹² A sensual reading of the Song is to be attributed to the reader, not to the ambiguity of the text, according to Origen.¹¹³ The appropriate reader of the Songs is one who has divested himself of his flesh, who can see beyond the corporeal into a higher, spiritual reality.

Unlike Origen, who obfuscates the sensuality of the poem's language, Gregory the Great, in his commentaries to the Song of Songs, notes the use of eroticized human language as the vehicle by which love is directed toward the heavenly.¹¹⁴ The sensual vocabulary of the Songs serves as further evidence of God's mercy, according to Gregory. Just as God sent his only son to become human, so too does the representation of the

¹¹² "Competenter ergo in hoc libello, qui de amore sponsi et sponsae erat scribendus, etiam pro hoc neque *filius David* neque *rex* neque aliud horum quod ad corporeum pertinere possit intellectum scribitur, ut merito de eo perfecta iam sponsa dicat quia: *Etsi cognovimus aliquando Christum secundum carnem, sed nunc iam non novimus* (II Cor. 5,16) ne quis eam putet corporeum aliquid amare aut in carne positum, et macula aliqua amoris eius credatur induci. Propterea ergo *Canticum Canticorum Solomoni* tantummodo est (Cant. 1,1), et neque *filius David* neque *regi Istrahel*, neque aliqua prorsus in his miscetur carnalis nominis intelligentia" (Pro. IV:21; Brésard *et al.* 160, 162) ["Fittingly, therefore, and for the same reason as before, we find in this little book that was to be written about the love of the Bridegroom and the Bride, neither 'Son of David,' nor 'king,' nor any other term patent of a corporeal connotation; thus the Bride now perfected may say of Him with reason: *And if we have known Christ after the flesh for a while, but now we know Him so no longer* (II Cor. 5,16). Let no one think that she loves anything belonging to the body or pertaining to the flesh, and let no stain be thought of in connection with her love. So the Song of Songs is simply Solomon's; it belongs neither to the Son of David, nor to Israel's king, and there is no suggestion of anything carnal about it" (Lawson 52-53).].

¹¹³ The reader, especially the reader who is too focused on the physical world, takes risks in the reading of this wedding song. "Si vero aliquis accesserit, qui secundum carnem tantummodo vir est, huic tali non parum ex hac scriptura discriminis periculique nascetur. Audire enim pure et castis auribus amoris nomina nesciens, ab interiore homine ad exteriorum et carnalem virum omnem deflectet auditum, et a spiritu convertetur ad carnem nutrietque in semet ipso concupiscentias carnales, et occasione divinae scripturae commoveri et incitari videbitur ad libidinem carnis" (Pro. I:6; Brésard *et al.* 84) ["But if any man who lives only after the flesh should approach it, to such a one the reading of this Scripture will be the occasion of no small hazard and danger. For he, not knowing how to hear love's language in purity and with chaste ears, will twist the whole manner of his hearing of it away from the inner spiritual man and on to the outward and carnal; and he will be turned away from the spirit to the flesh, and will foster carnal desires in himself, and it will seem to be the Divine Scriptures that are thus urging and egging him on to fleshly lust!" (Lawson 22)].

¹¹⁴ "Hinc est enim, quod in hoc libro, qui in Canticis canticorum conscriptus est, amoris quasi corporei verba ponuntur: ut a torpore suo anima per sermones suae consuetudinis refricata recalescat et per verba amoris, qui infra est, excitetur ad amorem, qui supra est" (3, ll. 1-5; {70}) ["It is thus, in this book, that is written in the song of songs, are placed words of nearly corporeal love: so that from its dullness the soul, renewed through the sermons and through the words of a lower love may be warmed again, and aroused to a higher love"]. Gregory the Great, *Commentaire sur le Cantique des Cantiques* ed. Rodrigue Bélanger (Paris, Editions du cerf, 1984).

soul's love for him invoke earthly realities. Instead of posing risks for a reader who is too centered on the materiality of this world, for Gregory the sensual vocabulary of the Song provokes us toward sacred, not sensual love. With its detailed naming of the corporeal sites of erotic pleasure--the breasts, cheeks, and thighs--the Song of Songs evokes physical love in order to enflame our hearts toward divine love.¹¹⁵ Through this analogy with physical love, we recognize the intensity with which we should love God. Gregory wraps the workings of God in mystery, lifting complete understanding of this eroticism away from the reader.¹¹⁶ In this way, the poem appears less dangerous for Gregory than for Origen; by highlighting this aspect of mystery, Gregory characterizes the understanding of the Song of Songs as one that entails long study and divine guidance.

Writing in the eleventh century, Guillaume de St. Thierry follows in the steps of Gregory in his allegorical understanding of the Song of Songs.¹¹⁷ Like Gregory, Guillaume believes that erotic physicality is present in the Song but is not dangerous for the reader. Unlike Gregory, who envisions this physicality as a spiritual guide for the reader, for Guillaume, the Song of Songs uses carnal language to stimulate the human imagination

¹¹⁵ "Nominatur enim in hoc libro oscula, nominantur ubera, nominantur genae nominantur femora; in quibus verbis non irridenda est sacra descriptio, sed maior dei misericordia consideranda est: quia, dum membra corporis nominat et sic ad amorem vocat, notandum est quam mirabiliter nobiscum et misericorditer operatur, qui, ut cor nostrum ad instigationem sacri amoris accenderet, usque ad turpis amoris nostri verba distendit. Sed, unde se loquendo humiliat, inde nos intellectu exaltat: quia ex sermonibus huius amoris dicimus, qua virtute in divinitatis amore ferueamus" (3, ll. 5-15; {70}) ["Kisses are truly named in this book, and breasts are named, cheeks are named, and thighs are named; in which words the sacred description is not uncondemned, but is considered more as the mercy of God: since, provided that it names the members of the body and thus may call {us} to love, it is noted to produce wonders and compassion within us, that, so that our heart may approach the stimulation of sacred love, it continually expands the words of our foul love. But, since by speaking one may be humbled, thereupon by intellect it exalts us: because we speak this love language, by which virtue we may be warmed in the love of the divinity"].

¹¹⁶ The Song of Songs, Gregory believes, expresses a hidden, veiled reality: "Ita Cantica canticorum secretum quoddam et solemne interius est. Quod secretum in occultis intelligentiis penetratur: nam, si exterioribus verbis attenditur, secretum non est" (6, ll. 10-13; {78}) ["This Song of Songs expresses something secretly and solemnly within, that may be penetrated by hidden wisdom: for if one is attentive to the exterior of words, it is not secret"].

¹¹⁷ For Guillaume, the Song of Songs reveals a narrative in which the soul marries the word of God: "Conversa ad Deum anima, et Verbo Dei maritanda" (10) ["The soul is the consort to God, and by the word married to God"]. Guillaume de Saint-Thierry, *Exposé sur le Cantique des Cantiques* ed. J.-M. Déchanet (Paris, Editions du cerf, 1962) 82.

so as to experience, in part, the nature of divine love.¹¹⁸ This physical, carnal love of God serves as the first degree--the most easily understood by humans--of the love of God.¹¹⁹

Unlike both Origen and Gregory, who consider the Song of Songs as an allegorical nuptial poem, Guillaume sees the Song as playing a role in the daily worship of a believer. He considers the very structure of the poem as similar to a prayer.¹²⁰ That Guillaume sees the division of songs as based on prayers reveals not only Guillaume's interpretative strategy but a new role for this erotic lyric: an instructive religious guide that has a practical everyday function in private worship.

Affective piety and traditional devotion to the Virgin

Despite their varying interpretative strategies, Origen, Gregory and Guillaume, like other medieval writers in Latin,¹²¹ all share a desire to consider the Song of Songs allegorically, even tropologically. While their understanding of the Song allows for a certain amount of physicality, the carnal aspects are quickly subsumed within the allegorical interpretation. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, commentators as varied as Rupert de

¹¹⁸ "Ideo Spiritus sanctus, canticum amoris spiritualis traditurus hominibus, totum spirituale vel divinum eius interius negotium, exterius vestivit carnalis amoris imaginibus; ut cum non nisi amor plene capiat quae sunt divina, adducendus et migraturus amor carnis in amorem spiritus, cito apprehenderet sibi similia; et cum impossibile esset verum amorem cupidem veritatis diu haerere vel quiescere in imaginibus, citius pertransiret via sibi nota in id quod imaginaretur; et quamvis spiritualis homo, tamen carnalis amoris naturales suas pro participatione carnis delicias captivatas a sancto Spiritu, in obsequium spiritualis amoris amplecteretur," (24 { 100,102 }) ["Therefore the Holy Spirit, when it translated the song of spiritual love for men, clothed the plot, inside all spiritual and divine, on the outside with the images of carnal love; so that as only love may seize fully that which is divine, love of the flesh is lead and changed into the love of the spirit, love would quickly seize one similar to itself. And when it was impossible that true love, longing for truth, cleave to or be at peace in images for a long time, the sooner, by the way known to it, it would attain its goal in what was imagined; and as much as man is spiritual, nevertheless by sharing in his natural, carnal loves, these delights {of carnal love}, seized by the Holy Spirit, would be comprised in submission to spiritual love."]

¹¹⁹ It is love--free love--that allows us to be similar to God: "Amor enim est, qui cum liber est, similes nos tibi efficit" (I, { 70 }) ["Thus it is love, that is free, that makes you similar to us"].

¹²⁰ "Cum omnes Cantici huius partes, nonnisi diversi sint status orantium, vel formae, vel causae, vel materiae orationum, de variis orationum modis aliqua disserenda esse videntur" (12, { 84 }) ["Since all parts of this Song may not be different from the {soul in a} state of prayer, either by the cause, or by the matter of the prayer, the mode is seen to treat some various prayers"].

¹²¹ As Matter notes, there is no non-allegorical interpretative tradition of the Song in Latin in the Middle Ages. *Voice of My Beloved* 3-19.

Deutz, Alan of Lille, William of Newburgh, and Alexander Neckham read the Song of Songs as a historical record of the life of the Virgin and her relationship with her son.¹²² The association of the Song with the figure of the Virgin causes her, by the twelfth century, to be laden with myriad symbolic meanings. As Matter writes, the Virgin can fulfill a number of roles for the believer: mother, queen and bride.

The understanding of the Virgin Mary as the exalted spouse of the Song of Songs emphasizes her flexible nature in medieval Christian piety: she is the bride of God, and the mother of God; she represents the Church, and each individual Christian. The double transformation of mariological exegesis of the Song of Songs (inward, from liturgical use to commentary; outward, in concert with the developing cult of the Virgin Mary) shows the extreme complexity of twelfth-century readings of the Song of Songs. (15)

Affective piety devoted to the Virgin at this time emphasized her life as a woman and as a mother, and by extension, her physicality. Once a distant, even forbidding icon of imperial power— the Theotokos¹²³—the Virgin, under the influence of figures such as Bernard of Clairvaux and Anselm of Canterbury, becomes in the eleventh and twelfth centuries a friendly, helpful mediator, a sympathetic intercessor on behalf of humanity to God.¹²⁴ Pilgrims traveled to Notre-Dame Cathedral in Chartres to worship at the reliquary shrine of her veil there.¹²⁵ Worshippers formed intense personal devotions to the Virgin; images of Bernard of Clairvaux nursing at the Virgin's breast that appeared later, for

¹²² Rachel Fulton, "Mimetic Devotion, Marian Exegesis, and the Historical Sense of the Song of Songs," *Viator* 27 (1996) 85-116. See also Matter, *Voice of My Beloved* 151-177. Caroline Walker Bynum shows that late medieval writers linked the blood of Christ—as spiritual food—also to the Virgin's milk which fed the Christ child as an infant. *Holy Feast, Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: UP of California, 1987) 270-274; and "The Female Body and Religious Practice in the Later Middle Ages," in *Fragments For a History of the Human Body* vol. 1 (New York: Urzone, 1989) 160-219.

¹²³ See Pelikan, *Mary Through the Centuries* 55-65; Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin in Anglo-Saxon England* 143-144.

¹²⁴ See Pelikan, *Mary Through the Centuries* 125-136. According to Clayton, by the eighth century in Anglo-Saxon England, there were already prayers to the Virgin in private prayer books such as the Book of Cerne. *The Cult of the Virgin in Anglo-Saxon England* 90-121.

¹²⁵ Clayton notes that in tenth-century Anglo-Saxon England there were an increasing number of dedications of Church buildings to the Virgin, and that many nunneries were dedicated to her. *The Cult of the Virgin in Anglo-Saxon England* 122-138.

instance, not only attest to the popularity of this miracle, but encouraged the viewer to strive for a relationship with the Virgin just as intimate.¹²⁶ Artists depicted not only the Virgin tenderly nursing the infant Jesus, or lamenting over the dead body of her son, but also events in the Virgin's life unrelated to Christ, that is, her death and assumption into heaven, derived from her apocryphal life. In the portal sculpture of Senlis cathedral, the crowned Virgin, holding a book, sits to the right of the adult Christ in the typanum, while below in the lintel are images of her death and assumption. In this image of the "Triumph of the Virgin," the Virgin exists no longer as a maternal icon, a site of allegorical interpretation; instead, as Penny Schine Gold notes, "Mary appears to have power in her own right rather than only as a direct function of her motherhood."¹²⁷ The Virgin became a figure of intense and intimate personal devotion, with a history of her own.

The changes in the perception of the Virgin began long before the changes in figural representation. The liturgy had long fostered devotion to the Virgin by including specific feast days devoted to her, such as the feast of the Assumption and the Nativity of the Virgin.¹²⁸ Liturgists were adapting verses from the Song of Songs to be used in offices dedicated to the Virgin as early as the seventh century.¹²⁹ The standardization of verses of the Song of Songs in twelfth-century monastic contexts strengthened this link between the Song and the feasts of the Virgin.¹³⁰

¹²⁶ See Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast* 272, pl. 18 and 19. For a summary of Bernard's--and Cistercian in general--devotion to the Virgin, see Warner 128-131.

¹²⁷ Penny Schine Gold, *The Lady and the Virgin: Image, Attitude, and Experience in Twelfth-Century France* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1985) 54.

¹²⁸ See Matter, *Voice of My Beloved* 151-159; Fulton "Mimetic Devotion" 88; and Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin in Anglo-Saxon England* 52-89.

¹²⁹ See Matter, *Voice of My Beloved* 152; Fulton, "Mimetic Devotion" 90, and Johannes Beumer, "Die marianische Deutung des Hohen Liedes in der Früscholastik," *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 76 (1954) 414-416.

¹³⁰ Citing Beumer, Matter gives in specific the example of the feast of the Assumption. *Voice of My Beloved* 158. See also Beumer, "Die marianische Deutung" 414-415.

By synthesizing the earlier allegorical readings of the Song of Songs by such figures as Origen and Gregory the Great with the liturgical, even biographical, Marian uses, twelfth-century commentators made Marian commentary into an act of devotion that allowed the exegete entrance into the presence of the Virgin, not as a stone sculpture or a vision of celestial beauty, but as a living, historical person. Rachel Fulton describes the effect of a Marian reading as physical and tactile:

Although Anselm, Bernard, and Aelred invited Mary to speak and encouraged their fellow religious to visualize and participate in the Gospel narratives, it was the commentators who were able to hear Mary rejoicing at the Annunciation and begging to drink the cup of Christ's Passion. These historical mysteries became newly accessible via the Marian interpretation of the Song. [...] On the one hand, therefore, the Marian reading, in its emphasis on an intensely affective experience of the divine evoked by the catalyst of a text, was clearly akin to the fervid tropological reading of the Song developed by Bernard in his eighty-six sermons; but on the other, the new Marian mode excited not only mystical union with the Bridegroom outside of time, but sensible union with both Christ and Mary in time. (115-116)

Gautier de Coinci's Miracles de Notre Dame not only participates in the tradition of pious writing in honor of the Virgin, but shares the physical detail that marks affective piety. It is this new physical, historical experience of the Virgin that inspires Gautier in his writing, since much of Gautier's metaphorical language, especially that describing the figure of the Virgin, has antecedents in the conventional imagery of sacred figurative texts.

Gautier's Beloved Virgin

Gautier's lyrics localize their play of sensuality and spirituality most clearly in the figure of the Virgin. Gautier's characterization of the Virgin, while forging an association between the terrestrial, courtly, world and the heavenly finds its origins in the Biblical figurative lyric of the Song of Songs. The poet creates erotic and corporeal images of the Virgin which recall the Song of Songs, indicating the Song as a source for his own lyric, and thereby suggesting that his own lyric may also have multiple levels of meaning.

Following the commentators of the Song of Songs, Gautier has created a series of lyrics that, while sensually provocative, are posited not only as metaphorical but allegorical, designed to recall the religious symbolism of the figure of the Virgin.

Much of Gautier's imagery is conventional. The poet characterizes the Virgin with the standard iconography as a figure of royalty, a queen, and so places her within a monarchical hierarchy. For instance, according to Gautier, the Virgin is a "Roïne celestre...Roïne honoree" (I Ch 5: 1, 21) ["Celestial queen, honored queen"] a "roïne esperitable" (I Ch 9: 48) ["Spiritual queen"], and "mere et fille a roi" (I Ch 8: 5) ["Mother and daughter of a king"].¹³¹ Gautier also associates the fertility of the Virgin with images of water, describing the Virgin as the fertile bearer of dew: "De toi sourt le rousee" (I Ch 5: 18) ["From you springs the dew"], and as a "Fontaine de grace" (I Ch 5: 37) ["Fountain of grace"], consequently figuring her as the site for baptism.¹³² In addition, Gautier often

¹³¹ Addressing the Virgin directly, the poet notes her place in heaven as a queen crowned by God: "Qu'el ciel a sa destre/ T'a Diex coronee" (I Ch 5: 7-8) ["That in heaven at his right hand/ God has crowned you"]. The image of the coronation of the Virgin has analogues in the visual arts (for example, the tympanum of Notre Dame of Senlis). The notion of the Virgin as a royal personage also recalls the images of royalty of the Song of Songs:

sexaginta sunt reginae et octoginta concubinae	[sixty are the queens and eighty the concubines
et adolescentularum non est numerus una	and of the young girls there is no number
est columba mea perfecta mea	one is my dove, my perfect one
una est matris suae electa genetrici suae	she is the one of her mother the elect of her who bore
viderunt illam filiae et beatissimam praedicaverunt	her, the daughters saw her and proclaimed her most
reginae et concubinae et laudaverunt eam. (6: 7-8)	blessed, the queens and concubines praised her.]

(I quote E. Ann Matter's edition of the Song of Songs in *Voice of My Beloved* xvi-xxxv. All further citations and translations are from this edition.) While other verses from the Song—such as verses 1:4, 1:11, 3:9-11 and 4:8—invoke royalty this one clearly marks the beloved as queenly, as the queen of both queens and concubines, especially as regards her beauty. Woolf also notes this conjunction of the Virgin's beauty with her queenship (*The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages* 125-126). That a queen can be simultaneously beloved is also witnessed in medieval culture. According to Warner, because a "sovereign female" such as Eleanor of Aquitaine, Isabella II of Jerusalem, or Constance of Antioch, was a familiar figure to medieval people, "the Virgin was able to slip on the mantle of the poet's love object" (141-2). Warner also explores the figure of the Virgin as both the queen of heaven in relation to the feast of the Assumption, and as *regina*, the mother of the God-Emperor. *Alone of All Her Sex* 81-117. Pelikan focuses on this notion of the Virgin as the queen of heaven in his work on Dante's *Commedia*. *Eternal Feminines: Three Theological Allegories in Dante's Paradiso* (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers UP, 1990) 101-119. See also, by the same author, *Mary Through the Centuries* 201-213.

¹³² This image of water as a sign of baptism is a common trope for the washing away of sins. See for example, the Middle English *Pearl*. Like a baptismal font, she offers purification and pure love to all: "A la

portrays the Virgin employing floral imagery, such as "Fleurs d'aiglentier, fleurs de lis, fresche rose,/ Fleurs de tous biens, fleurs de toutes fleurs, dame," (I Ch 9: 25-26) ["Wild rose flower, lily, fresh rose/ flower of all good, flower of all flowers, lady"].¹³³ These

fin pri la royne, /la dame dou monde, Qui est la doys, la pechine/ qui tot cure et monde...." (II Ch 6: 96-99) ["At the end pray to the queen, the lady of the world, who is the source, the font, that purifies and heals all"]. In addition, as a font of pure water the Virgin confers not only baptism but sweetness and mercy for the world: "Fluns de douceur, fons de misericorde/ Pecine et dois qui tout le monde cure" (I Ch 9: 41-42; cf. II Ch 2: 15) ["River of sweetness, fountain of mercy, font and source that purifies/heals the whole world"]. Gautier depicts the Virgin once again in the aspect of a communal ritual, a sacred healing space in which salvation is made possible. The Virgin's guidance toward salvation via water also extends to the image of her as a guiding star for sailors: "Car c'est l'estoile de mer" (I Ch 6: 55) ["Because she is the star of the sea"].

¹³³ Gautier describes her as a blooming flower, related of course to the trop of the *hortus conclusus*: "Fresche rose/ Fleur de lis, fleur d'esglentier" (II Ch 8: 25-26) ["Fresh rose, lily, hawthorn"]. These flowers, with their clear connections to love, royalty, and purity, represent on earth the same qualities for which the Virgin is known. For instance, Bernard of Clairvaux links the lily with clemency, innocence and hope: "Nunc vero lilium veritas est; est et mansuetudo. Et bene lilium mansuetudo, habens innocentiae candorem et odorem spei" (Sermon 70:III.6; Leclercq *et al.*, vol. 2, 211) ["Truth, then, is a lily; so also is Gentleness; it has the whiteness of innocence, the fragrance of hope" {Eales 429}]. Even as a flower the Virgin is intimately linked with heaven and heavenly good. She is "une flourete [...]/gente de faiture/ [...] la fleur de paradis" (II Ch 6: 4-5, 11) ["a little flower.... nobly made, ... the flower of paradise"]. This image recalls Bernard of Clairvaux's implicit identification of this flower of the field with the Virgin: "campus vero ex semetipso naturaliter producit flores, et absque omni humanae diligentiae adiutorio. Putasne iam tibi videris advertere quisnam ille sit campus, nec sulcatus vomere, nec defossus sarculo, nec fimo impinguatus, nec manu hominis seminatus, honestatus tamen nihilominus nobili illo flore, super quem constat requievisse Spiritum Domini? Ecce, inquit, odor filii mei sicut odor agri pleni, cui benedixit Dominus. (Gen. 27: 27)" (Sermon 47:I, 3 Leclercq *et al.*, vol. 2, 63) ["but the field produces its bloom naturally, and of its own accord, without any aid from the industry of man. Now, do you already perceive what is signified by that field, which, though neither furrowed by the ploughshare, nor broken by the hoe, nor enriched by manure, is yet rendered beautiful by its carpet of flowers, upon which, without doubt, rests a blessing from the Spirit of the Lord? See, it is said in the Scripture, the smell of my son is as the smell of a field which the Lord hath blessed (Gen. 27: 27)" {Eales 288}]. This floral imagery recalls the Song of Songs, which describes both the lover and the beloved in floral terms.

ego flos campi
et lilium convallium
sicut lilium inter spinas
sic amica mea inter filias
sicut malum inter ligna silvarum
sic dilectus meus inter filios
sub umbra illius quam desideraveram sedi
et fructus eius dulcis gutturi meo
introduxit me in cellam vinariam
ordinavit in me charitatem
fulcite me floribus stipate me malis
quia amore langueo. (2: 1-5)

[I am the flower of the field
and the lily of the valley
like a lily among thorns
so my friend among daughters
like the apple tree among trees of the woods
so my beloved among sons
under the shadow of the son I had loved I sat
and his fruit sweet to my throat
he brought me into the wine cellar
he has disposed charity in me
support me with flowers, surround me with apples
for I languish with love.]

As a lily and an apple, both the beloved and her lover take part in the beauty of the natural world around them. Recalling the title itself of the Song of Songs, Gautier names her the queen of all this beauty, the "Rose des roses, fleurs des fleurs" (I Ch 8: 6). Peter Dronke notes that such phrases become current in

tropes and images reveal the extent to which Gautier employs conventional metaphors in his devotional descriptions of the Virgin. Gautier's image of the Virgin, while spiritual, employs this rich vocabulary reminiscent of the Song of Songs, and so emphasizes her physicality, her fertility and her sensuality.

It is in Gautier's spatial construction of the Virgin that we find a sense of heightened physicality. That is, Gautier not only imagines the Virgin as single object—rose, water, queen—but as a space in which or through which he can approach the divine. Gautier imbues the entire notion of praying to the Virgin for salvation with a meditation on the spatiality of the world. For example, Gautier identifies the Virgin not only as a flower but as the fertile land which received God's seed through the Holy Spirit and bore fruit: "C'est li vergiers, c'est li prealz / Ou Sainz Espirs s'aümbre et gist" (I Ch 8: 11-12) ["She is the orchard, it is the meadow/ where the Holy Spirit shades itself¹³⁴ and rests"]. These conventional images of a meadow and an orchard depict the Virgin herself as a courtly *locus amoenus*.¹³⁵ Further, like an enclosed orchard, the Virgin carried within her Christ, the divine fruit: "Car tu portas en ten douz saim/ La douce espece et le dous fruit" (I Ch 8: 19-20) ["For you carried in your sweet breast the sweet spice and the sweet fruit"]. Like the Song of Songs, which describes the bride as an enclosed garden ("hortus conclusus soror mea sponsa/ hortus conclusus fons signatus" [4:12] { "A garden enclosed, sister my bride/ a garden enclosed, a fountain sealed" }), Gautier portrays the Virgin as a *hortus conclusus*, emphasizing her pure, unpenetrated fertility.

Gautier also describes the Virgin using spatial terms from architecture. In "Esforcier m'estuet ma voiz" (I Ch 7), Gautier, recalling the Song of Songs, depicts the

hymns only from the twelfth century on. Cf. Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric vol. 1 (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1968) 186.

¹³⁴ This term can also mean to be incarnated.

¹³⁵ Both flower and fruit have been allegorically read by Bernard, who notes that the flower is meant to represent faith, the fruit as action (Sermon 51:I, 2). Sermones super Cantica Canticorum, Leclercq *et al.*, vol. 2, 84-85; Eales 309.

Virgin as a tower: "Mere Dieu, tu iez la tors/ Qui deffens et escremis/ Del diable et de ses tors/ Tes servans et tes amis" (vv. 27-29) ["Mother of God, you are the tower/ that defends and shields your servants and your friends from the devil and from his tricks"].¹³⁶ Unlike the Song of Songs, which describes the parts of the beloved's body as towers, Gautier figures the Virgin as a defensive tower, part of a militaristic *chateau fort* that protects believers from the devil.

While these images of the Virgin as a garden and tower convey stability and strength, other architectural images with which Gautier describes the Virgin emphasize her role as mediator and passageway. Not only a stable defensive tower, the Virgin is also a gateway to heaven, a traditional image of her as a *porta dei*: she is the "porte et fenestre dou ciel" (I Ch 5: 3-4) ["Door and window of heaven"], "li pons et la planche et la porte/ De paradys" (II Ch 2: 7-8) ["The bridge and passage and door of paradise"], and again, she is "dou ciel porte, pons et fenestre" (I Ch 4: 39) ["Of heaven the door, bridge and window"].¹³⁷ Figuring her as a physical opening to heaven, Gautier emphasizes the

¹³⁶ Compare with the Song: "sicut turris David collum tuum/ quae aedificata est cum propugnaculis" (4:4) ["like a tower of David your neck / which is built with bulwarks"] and "collum tuum sicut turris eburnea/ [...] nasus tuum sicut turris Libani quae respicit contra Damascum" (7:4) ["your neck like a tower of ivory [...] your nose like a tower of Lebanon which looks toward Damascus"].

¹³⁷ These simple words--*fenestre*, *planche*, *pons* and *porte*--in Gautier's lyric, evoke entire passages from the *Songs*. In verse 2:9 of the *Songs* the speaker refers to this window as the space through which the lovers can exchange glances: "similis est dilectus meus caprae hinulque cervorum/ en ipse stat post parietem nostram/ despiciens per fenestras/ prospiciens per cancellos" ["my beloved is like a goat and a young of stags/ behold, he stands behind our wall looking in through the windows/ watching through the lattices"]. Verses 5:2-6 focus on the opening in the door as a space through which their bodies can touch:

ego dormio et cor meum vigilat
vox dilecti mei pulsantis
aperi mihi sor mea amica mea
[.....]
dilectus meus misit manum suam per foramen
et venter meus intremuit ad tactum eius
surrexi ut aperirem dilecto meo
manus meae stillaverunt myrra
digiti mei pleni murra probatissima
pessulum ostii aperui dilecto meo
(5:2, 4-6)

[I sleep and my soul keeps watch
the voice of my beloved knocking
open to me, my sister my friend
[.....]
my beloved put forth his hand through the hole
and my belly trembled at his touch
I rose to open to my beloved
my hands dripped myrrh
my fingers full of the finest myrrh
I opened the bolt of the door to my love.]

Virgin's special role as intermediary. That is, it is through her that we have the possibility of reaching heaven; she acts as a virtual ladder to heaven.¹³⁸

Similarly, like a window or a door, the Virgin offers a way through the gates of heaven for believers; both the space in the door of the Song of Songs and the Virgin as a door or window allow the worshipper contact with a much desired presence, whether physical, sensual contact or heavenly, on the other side. As a bridge, the Virgin is the architecture which takes believers past potentially dangerous obstacles, ensuring them safe passage on their journey to heaven; she is literally the way to heaven. The Virgin also represents the warmth and intimacy of an interior architectural scene. The reward for believers, a heavenly bed ("leur lit ou ciel" I Ch 8: 40) ["their beds in heaven"] associates the Virgin with this intimate context as well.¹³⁹ By ending the lyric "Quant ces floretes florir voi" (I Ch 8) with an image of a heavenly bed, the poet has achieved by means of his poetry the ideal courtly transition from the beautiful garden to the pleasures suggested by a bed. It is quite clear that this bed affords no carnal, physical pleasures; instead we are meant to consider its pleasures as higher, more spiritual.¹⁴⁰ Gautier is lucky; most courtly

These architectural features present in the Song of Songs represent both a boundary and a possible point of contact between the two lovers. While the locked door acts as a device of separation, the hole in the door—like the crack in the wall that separates Pyramus and Thisbe, or the anchorhold of the anchoress—allows physical contact.

¹³⁸ This conception of the Virgin recalls Jacob's dream of the ladder to heaven: "viditque in somnis scalam stantem super terram et cacumen illius tangens caelum, angelos quoque Dei ascendentes et descendentes per eam" ["And in his sleep he saw a ladder on earth and the top of it {was} touching heaven, and the angels of God were ascending and descending on it"]. Genesis 28:11-12.

¹³⁹ Clayton notes that the Old English *Blickling Homilies* contain a passage which describes the Virgin as the bed of Solomon. *The Cult of the Virgin in Anglo-Saxon England* 227-8.

¹⁴⁰ For Bernard of Clairvaux, this notion of the bedroom is associated with encountering God peacefully: "O vere quietus locus, et quem non immerito cubiculi appellatione censuerim, in quo Deus, non quasi turbatus ira, nec velut distensus cura prospicitur, sed probatur voluntas eius in eo bona, et beneplacens, et perfecta. Visio ista non terret, sed mulcet; inquietam curiositatem non excitat, sed sedat; nec fatigat sensus sed tranquillat" (Sermon 23:VI, 16; Leclercq *et al.*, vol. 1, 149) ["O place of true repose, and which I may not unfitly call by the name of chamber! O place in which God is beheld, not, as it were, aroused and in wrath, nor as distracted with care {of all His great creation}, but in which is experienced the influence of His good, and favorable, and perfect will! That vision does not terrify, but soothes; it does not arouse an unjust curiosity, but allays it; and tranquillizes the spirit in place of wearying it" {Eales 142}]. The "bed", for Bernard, represents the cloisters and monasteries: "Et in Ecclesia quidem "Lectum" in quo quiescitur, claustra existimo esse et monasteria, in quibus quiete a curis vivitur saeculi et sollicitudinibus vitae" (Sermon 46:I.2; Leclercq *et al.*, vol. 2, 56) ["First, it refers to the Church. And I consider that the 'bed'

poets, using their poetry as a way to gain both fame and a lady's love (if the lady is not a fictive, created figure, that is), cannot have such a happy ending to their poetry. If access to the lady's intimacy were to be gained, the poet would no longer have a reason for writing, whereas Gautier might very well be still singing praises to the Virgin in heaven, as do the blessed in Dante's *Paradiso*.¹⁴¹

One of Gautier's more innovative uses of convention is the way in which he highlights the fertility of the Virgin's body by figuring it again and again as a site of oral pleasure. Reworking such verses from the *Songs* as 4:11 ("favus distillans labia tua sponsa/ mel et lac sub lingua tua" ["Your lips drip honeycomb, bride/ honey and milk under your tongue"]) and 5:1 ("comedat favum cum melle meo" ["Let {my beloved} eat the fruit of his apples"]), Gautier describes both the body and the charm of the Virgin as honeyed: "ta mamele/qui tant est emielee (I Ch 5: 9-10) ["Your breast that is so honeyed"] and "plus sade cent mile tans/ Que mielz en fresche ree" (I Ch 5: 24-25) ["One hundred thousand times sweeter than honey in a new honeycomb"].¹⁴² She is "plus [...] douce de miel" (I Ch 7: 8) ["Sweeter than honey"]. She is even the very font of honey, "Source de miel" (II Ch 8: 43) ["Source of honey"], and, as we will see in his prologue,¹⁴³ the poet imagines the Virgin's worshippers as tasting honey in saying her name: "Goutes de miel degoutent de son nom" (I Ch 4: 6) ["They taste drops of honey from her name"]. Even the abstract version of the Virgin, her name, confers this pleasurable effect. Gautier's adoration of the Virgin becomes a veritable feast.

upon which rest is taken means the monasteries and cloisters in which a quiet and peaceable life is passed, exempt from the cares and inquietudes of the world" {Eales 281}).

¹⁴¹ See, for example, *Par.* III, 121-123; XVI, 34; XXXII, 94-96.

¹⁴² Warner explores the biblical and classical Greek significance of honey in *Alone of All Her Sex* 194-196.

¹⁴³ "Mais tant est dous et enmielez/ Li nons de la douce Marie ... a cinq cens doubles passe miel" (II. 158-159, 177) ["But so sweet and honeyed is the name of sweet Mary ... it is a thousand times sweeter than honey"].

While this image of honey centers on the sensory effect of the non-physical world of language, other succulent images are more concrete, and locate the palatable pleasure firmly in the Virgin's body. In addition to her honeyed name, the poet evokes the "savourous fruit" ["delicious fruit"] that she carried within her womb (1 Ch 4: 18) and the "savourous lait" ["delicious milk"] (1 Ch 4: 22) that Christ nursed upon.¹⁴⁴ This succulent image of the Virgin paints her both as a pregnant woman and a young mother nursing, in the tradition of the *Maria Lactans*.¹⁴⁵ In creating such images that focus on the Virgin's body, the poet may be evoking, and yet transforming, the sacrament of communion: the body and blood of Christ become the fruit of the Virgin's womb (Christ) and the milk from her breasts. Gautier imagines the body of the Virgin as a place of fertile pleasure where the rite of communion is re-enacted in our devotion to her.

Gautier's use of metaphor and of rich imagery, while clearly associated with the Song of Songs as well as with the traditions of Marian devotion, emphasizes his status as a lyric poet. Gautier's portrait of the Virgin, while filled with the same rich and sensual imagery of the Song of Songs, focuses in addition on her presence as a woman, a human beloved; his devotion to the Virgin recalls the eroticized and lyrical devotion of troubadour poets to their *dames*.

Gautier's Innovation on Courtly Lyric

The Precedent of Merging Courtly Terminology and Religious Sentiment

¹⁴⁴ The Virgin's breast milk had intercessory and healing powers. Warner analyzes at length the various symbolism associated with milk, and in specific, with the breast milk of the Virgin. *Alone of All Her Sex* 192-205. See also Ross Andrew Frank, *Mary as Mother and Other Representations of the Virgin in the Miracles de Nostre Dame of Gautier de Coinci* diss., U of California, Berkeley, 1998.

¹⁴⁵ Woolf discusses at length the lullaby tradition--invoking the Virgin with the infant Christ--in English poems on the Nativity. *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages* 148-158.

Because Gautier's lyrics are religious and yet freely recall the tropes and expressions of troubadour and trouvère lyric, scholars such as Arthur Långfors and William C. Calin characterize them as *contrafacta*, a type of sacred parody.¹⁴⁶ By imitating the well-known genre of courtly lyric, Gautier transforms the terms of *fin'amor* into a sacred genre of religious devotion.¹⁴⁷ In this Gautier follows the lead of the Franciscan lay orders that, as "God's jongleurs," adopted a traditional lyric form, the *lauda*, and changed the vocabulary to one of religious connotation.¹⁴⁸ The poet overlays familiar notions of courtly love with conventional religious dogma. As Calin notes, Gautier's lyric

refutes *fin'amor*, showing it to be narrow, shallow, petty, and distorted; and at the same time he exalts it: for he indicates that the themes of secular Eros, petty and shallow as they are, open the gate and construct the bridge to a higher, better, and nobler love, *caritas*, of which *fin'amor* can be considered at best a pale simulacrum, truth reflected in a glass darkly, *sicut in aenigmate*. (389-390)

As Calin notes, Gautier invokes in his lyric the tenets and vocabulary of courtly lyric, only to rewrite them in a spiritual vein. While Calin qualifies *fin'amor* as the darker, more shallow version of sacred love, he admits that Gautier makes use of Eros, of the language of courtly love, to describe his higher spiritual love. The ambiguity of courtly love lyric, and the allegorical interpretations of Biblical lyric such as the Song of Songs, allow Gautier the freedom to eroticize spirituality. Gautier employs images from both the Song of Songs and courtly lyric to depict his lady in much the same way as do his contemporaries, the

¹⁴⁶ Arthur Långfors, "Mélanges de poésie lyrique française," *Romania* 53 (1927) 477; William C. Calin, "On the Nature of Christian Poetry: From the Courtly to the Sacred and the Functioning of *Contrafactum* in Gautier de Coinci," *Studia in Honorem prof. M. de Riquer* vol. 3 (Barcelona: Quaderna Crema, 1988) 385-94. See also Erhard Lommatzsch, *Gautier de Coinci als Satiriker* (Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1913).

¹⁴⁷ See two articles by Uberto Malizia: "Gautier de Coinci: La volontà di rinnovare la musica lirica ne *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame*," *La lengua y la literatura en tiempos de Alfonso X. de Murcia, 1985*. Actas del Congreso Internacional Murcia (5-10 March 1984) (Murcia: University of Murcia, 1985) 319-32; and "Gautier de Coinci e la chanson médiévale," *Quaderni di Filologia e Lingue Romanze* (1987) 61-75.

¹⁴⁸ Peter Dronke, *The Medieval Lyric* (Suffolk: D.S. Brewer, 1968, 1996) 58-59.

troubadours and trouvères. As Peter Dronke notes, the imagery of lyric, whether religious or secular, often depends upon the same vocabulary. "[I]f sacred and profane love are wholly divorced [...], then, as nothing is found in the intellect which was not first found in the senses, their metaphors will be identical, as much as if they were wholly united."¹⁴⁹

The influence of the interpretative traditions of the Song of Songs and affective piety on secular love poetry reveals how the religious context, especially within mysticism, merges with the vocabulary of courtly lyric.¹⁵⁰ Erich Auerbach sees in the mystical rapprochement of the "suffering" and "passio" (in both senses: "*desiderium et gloria passionis*," 78) of Christ an influence on the development of secular passion: "what *passio*/ passion derived from the mysticism of the Passion was a deeper, dialectical concept of suffering, a suffering that can also encompass delight and rapture--in short, what Eckhart called *inhitzige minne*, 'burning love.'"¹⁵¹ Similarly, Pierre Aubry asserts that Christian love is the source for this image of suffering in courtly love: "Il a fallu l'idée chrétienne pour concevoir cette doctrine amoureuse, elle est en effet une transposition profane de l'amour divin."¹⁵² Further, Raymond Gay-Crosier believes love for the divine serves as the origin of courtly lyric concerning human love: "The original element in this poetry, the *religion of love*, is itself inconceivable except in relation to its spiritual model."¹⁵³

Conversely, as the commentaries of the Song of Songs have also shown, the very human experience of sensuality often metaphorically expresses for other writers the

¹⁴⁹ Peter Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric* 62.

¹⁵⁰ Laura Kendrick explores instances of courtly language addressed to the Virgin in Latin. *The Game of Love: Troubadour Wordplay* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: UP of California, 1988) 140-156.

¹⁵¹ Erich Auerbach, *Literary Language & Its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages* trans. Ralph Manheim (New York: Pantheon, 1965) 80.

¹⁵² "It took the Christian idea to conceive this amorous doctrine, which is in effect a profane transposition of divine love." *Trouvères et Troubadours* (Paris: Librarie Félix Alcan, 1919) 100.

¹⁵³ Raymond Gay-Crosier, *Religious Elements in the Secular Lyrics of the Troubadours* (Chapel Hill: UP of North Carolina, 1971) 19.

spiritual and transcendent love between God and the Church, Christ and the soul. In other words, as Peter Dronke notes, the language used to describe a mystical experience of divine love takes its cue from the very same vocabulary of human love.

[A] wealth of love-language which is most consonant with amour courtois, had accumulated over the centuries in the mystical and theological tradition itself. [...T]he more deeply religious the language, the closer it is to the language of courtoisie. The virtues acquired by the soul illuminated by divine grace are exactly those which the lover acquires when his soul is irradiated by his lady's grace: they are truly a courtly lover's virtues. (Rise of European Love Lyric 62)

Dronke argues that mystical religious texts appropriated the vocabulary of sensual human love, and so sees in this borrowing a merging of the two contexts. Secular writing in this way influenced religious writing. As Jean Leclercq has noted, in the twelfth century the new orders of monasticism, such as the Cistercians and the Augustinians, recruited primarily among adults instead of children. The make-up of these new monastic orders ensured not only that their members had already lived in secular society, but often that they were well-versed in the various activities of courtliness, including tournaments and the entertainment afforded by courtly love lyrics and narratives.¹⁵⁴ More important, not only the *nobiles* and *milites* but also troubadours and trouvères were accepted into these new orders.¹⁵⁵ These monks, familiar with the secular, may have influenced the borrowing of courtly love language for the use in writings about divine love.¹⁵⁶ The shared use of the vocabulary of love ultimately signals for Dronke an erasure of their differences:

"[i]mplicitly then, through the very need of communication, human and divine love are here

¹⁵⁴ Similarly, while a Benedictine monk, Gautier also had noble, courtly connections, with Raoul III, Count of Soissons, among others (Koenig xxv). These friendships may have afforded him occasions for reading and listening to courtly lyric. Gautier's close friend, Robert de Dive, prior at Saint-Blaise, seems to have encouraged Gautier to write lyrics dedicated to the Virgin, taking an active role as scribe and illuminator of Gautier's lyrics (Koenig xxiv).

¹⁵⁵ Jean Leclercq, Monks and Love in Twelfth-Century France: Psycho-Historical Essays (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1979) 8-16.

¹⁵⁶ Even Bernard of Clairvaux may have written love lyric prior to his conversion; moreover, Guillaume de Saint-Thierry characterized him as a spiritual seducer. Cf. Leclercq, Monks and Love 20, n. 32.

reconciled" (Rise of European Love Lyric, 58). The concept of love appears broad enough to encompass the erotic and spiritual expressions of both sacred and secular forms.

Gautier's Courtly Depiction of the Virgin

As might be expected, one of the primary ways that Gautier reworks and spiritualizes courtly lyric may be seen in his portrait of the Virgin. I have already explored the various conventional tropes from affective piety and Marian devotion that Gautier uses to describe the Virgin in his songs. He also freely makes use of courtly love language in his image of her, most notably in the way in which he employs the conventional image of the courtly relationship between lady and lover to describe the believer's relationship with the Virgin. While Gautier often employs much of traditional courtly lyric's vocabulary in his own writing, using familiar terms such as "amor" and "chanter," among others, he transforms its import, highlighting its spirituality. For instance, Gautier invokes courtly lyric when he refers to the Virgin as the epitome of a courtly lady: "Dous et piteus, dignes et hauz" (I Ch 8: 26) ["Sweet and compassionate, worthy and noble"]. He highlights--and so glorifies--her spiritual eminence, using floral imagery.

Qui que chante de Mariete,
Je chante de Marie.
Chascun an li doi par dete
Une raverdie.
C'est la fleurs, la violete,
La rose espanie,
Qui tele odeur done et jete
Toz noz rasasie.
Haute odeur
Sour tote fleur
A la mere au haut seigneur.
(II Ch 6, vv. 20-30)¹⁵⁷

[No matter who sings of Mariete,
I sing of Mary.
Each owes to her by debt
a song of spring.
She is the flower, the violet,
the blooming rose,
who gives and diffuses such perfume
that satisfies us all.
A noble perfume,
above all flowers,
has the mother of the most high Lord.]

¹⁵⁷ A surprisingly similar passage to Gautier's appears in Rutebeuf's Sainte Marie l'Egyptienne. Rutebeuf: La Vie de Sainte Marie L'Egyptienne ed. Bernadine A. Bujila, The University of Michigan Contributions in Modern Philology series no. 12 (Ann Arbor: UP of Michigan, 1949), vv. 1139-1146.

Gautier invokes traditional floral imagery of violets and roses, common images used to describe one's secular beloved, but also the Virgin.¹⁵⁸ He quickly reveals the identity of this beloved, signaling her divine nature. By contrasting the two names, Mariete and Mary, Gautier creates a secular foil for the Virgin. The lady whom Gautier adores is not any Mariete of the neighborhood,¹⁵⁹ but the Virgin, *the* Mary, she who is the mother of God ["la mere au haut seigneur" (v. 30)]. The poet, playing on the name of his lover to juxtapose the two women, stresses his love for the Virgin precisely by contrasting it with love for an utterly human woman.¹⁶⁰ In addition to exalting his own love for the Virgin, Gautier cites her special relationship with God incarnate. Glorifying the Virgin because of her privileged relationship with God, Gautier consequently implies that, by analogy, a relationship with her (as mediatrix) offers a more intimate relationship with God.

If a relationship with the Virgin brings us closer to God, human love, by contrast, is marked as incomplete and imperfect. Gautier's goal in these lyrics is to encourage the readers toward the Virgin and away from their relationships with human women.¹⁶¹ Love for any other woman and human love in general could only be described as *fole amor*:

En Nostre Dame a mout haut mariage; [In Our Lady one has very noble marriage

¹⁵⁸ Woolf notes that the traditional floral metaphors for the Virgin suggest both physical and spiritual beauty. For more examples of floral imagery attributed to the Virgin, see the accompanying Middle English poems in Woolf's *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages* 125, 287-290.

¹⁵⁹ The names that Gautier uses for the earthly woman, such as "Marot," and "Mariete," are names typical of *pastourelle*, and remind the reader of this type of aristocratic lyric featuring peasant shepherdesses. Karl Voretzsch gives a summary description of the genre in *Introduction to the Study of Old French Literature* trans. Francis M. DuMont (New York: G.E. Stechert and Co., 1931) 140-143. Examples of *pastourelle* containing the names "Marot," and "Mariete" by such authors as Baude de la Quarriere ("Ier main pensis chevauchai") and Jean Erart ("Pastorel les un boschel trovai seant") can be found in Karl Bartsch, *Altfranzösische Romanzen und Pastourellen* (Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel, 1870) 250-251; 303-305.

¹⁶⁰ It may very well be that the vernacular language of Gautier's text encourages these "doubled" readings. Simon Gaunt argues that vernacular hagiographical narratives, such as the *Vie de Sainte Enimie* and Rutebeuf's *Vie de Sainte Marie l'Egyptienne*, appropriate vocabulary from courtly lyric. See *Gender and Genre in Medieval French Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995) 193-194, 213-228.

¹⁶¹ Gautier's desire to turn the reader toward a divine beloved and away from earthly lovers is also found in Thomas of Hales' short thirteenth-century Middle English lyric, "A Love Run." In this lyric, composed for a nun who desires to know about love, Thomas characterizes Christ as the only everlasting lover. Richard Morris, ed., *An Old English Miscellany* (London, N. Trüber, 1872) 93-99. See also Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages* 60-63.

Car, luez qu'a li s'est l'ame mariée,
De fole amor l'a mout tost varïee
Et mout l'a tost retraite de folaige
(I Ch 9: 9-12).

Because, no sooner has she wedded the soul to herself,
than she has at once deterred it from mad love,
and as quickly rescued it from folly.]

Marriage with the Virgin is the highest, most exalted form of marriage possible precisely because it involves the soul rather than the body.¹⁶² Human love relations in all of their base corporeality are, by contrast, linked with folly. Human ladies pose a peril for the lover's soul, according to Gautier. While he often characterizes the Virgin as a courtly lover would describe his beloved—he remarks that she is endowed with "biauté/ Et loiauté/ Valor et cortoisie" (I Ch 5: 62-64) ["Beauty/ and loyalty/ valor and courtesy"]—Gautier portrays human lovers as allied with Satan: "Laissons l'amie anemie/ Qui l'ame engigne et sousprent" (II Ch 5: 47-48) ["Let us leave the enemy lover/ who beguiles and captures the soul"]. From these verses we learn that Gautier's evil woman is not a spouse, but a mistress—*amie*, a clear condemnation of the traditional adulterous love lauded in troubadour lyric.¹⁶³ What marks Gautier's lyric here are the extremes of his portrait of love: he does not seem to include marriage to a woman as a sanctioned possibility of love; one loves adulterously and sins, or one loves the Virgin and is sure of heavenly reward. Loving another, earthly, woman can only bring about sin and death; secular love is firmly linked to error and sin, as service to a mistress brings nothing: "Qui fole amor entrepren/ Adez peche, adez mesprent/ Adez sert et adez prie/ Asez done et petit prent" (II Ch 5: 49-52) ["Who undertakes foolish love, always sins, always errs, always serves and always prays, gives much and receives little"]. This notion of exchanging a human lady for the Virgin is paramount in II Ch 6: "Qui que chant de Mariete/ Je chante de Marie" (vv. 20-21) ["No

¹⁶² This trope of marriage with the Virgin is related to the Song of Songs commentary tradition. Pelikan explores the images of the Virgin as the paragon of virginity and, paradoxically, her influential role in the doctrine of matrimony. *Mary Through the Centuries* 113-122.

¹⁶³ Gautier is also refiguring the traditional notion of *fals' amor*, which tended to describe the "love" of marriage based on material interests alone. See Moshé Lazar, *Amour Courtois et fin'amors dans la littérature du XIIIe siècle* (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1964) 77-80.

matter who sings of Mariette, I sing of Mary"]. Evil is again associated with the figure of an earthly lover, as the refrain repeats: "Mar voit, mar ot/ Qui lait Marie pour Marot" ["He sees to his woe, he hears to his woe, who leaves Mary for Marot"]. In the same lyric, Gautier equates secular love with moral folly: "Laissons tuit le fol usage/ D'amor qui foloie" (vv. 58-59) ["Let us leave all the foolish ways of love that raves"]. Gautier represents human love as spiritually dangerous, as a tempting sensual entanglement that leads to sin.

If Gautier often defines himself as one of the courtly lovers invoked in *trouvère* and *troubadour* lyric, by calling himself, for instance, a lover who suffers more than the ignoble can ("Vilainnes gens/ Vous ne les sentez mie/ Les dous maus que je sent" [II Ch 5, 9-11, ff.] {"Base people, you do not feel them at all, the sweet pains that I feel"}), he also characterizes the object of his love as beyond earthly consideration. Like courtly poets, who devote their songs to their ladies, Gautier too will sing of his lady. The difference between the loves and between the lyrics of course hinges on the identity of this lady.

Gautier portrays the Virgin as an ideal lover: ¹⁶⁴

Je chanterai de la sainte pucele	[I will sing of the holy maiden
Es cui sains flancs li fuis Dieu devint hom.	in whose holy side the son of God became man.
[.....]	{ }
Je ne veil mais chanter se de li non;	I do not want to sing except of her;
D'autre dame ne d'autre damoisele	Of no other lady or no other maiden
Ne ferai mais, se Dieu plaist dit ne son	will I ever make, if it please God, poem or song.]

(I Ch 4: 1-4, 7-9).

Gautier distinguishes himself from typical courtly poets by stressing that he will not compose lyric except about his beloved, who is, after all, no ordinary *dame* or *damoisele*, but the Virgin.

A notable difference between a courtly lover's relationship with his beloved and love for the Virgin turns upon the status of the love within the context of social sanction.

¹⁶⁴ Woolf notes that the French feudal image of the Virgin as lover, the believer as lover/servant does not occur frequently in the vernacular in England. The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages 128.

Unlike the secular ladies to whom courtly poets generally addressed their lyric, the Virgin is not an unattainable figure. That is to say, although in standard courtly love lyric the lover is most often hopelessly in love with a married woman, so that the hoped-for granting of love involves adultery, Gautier envisions a marriage relationship, although unearthly, between this lover and the Virgin. "Marions nous a la virge Marie./ Nus ne se puet en li mesmarier. / Sachiez de voir, a li qui se marie / Plus hautement ne se puet marier" (I Ch 5: 28-31) ["Let us wed the Virgin Mary. None can be mismatched with her. Know this truly, who marries her can marry no more nobly"].¹⁶⁵ Further, Gautier encourages that the soul, mismarried in human marriage, be married with the Virgin: "Maros l'ame mesmarie./ Marie en fait Dieu present" (II Ch 5, 25-26) ["Maro{t} mismatches the soul, Marie makes God a gift of it"]. Gautier constructs a double message here, one that not only envisions human love as flawed, but also stands against the adultery tolerated and endorsed in courtly lyric.

In Gautier's lyrics, the Virgin is not only eminently marriageable, she is available to all.¹⁶⁶ Because her mercy is offered to all ("Qui tous nous a delivrés de servage" I Ch 9: 4 ["Who delivered us all from servitude"]), we all consequently have not only the opportunity of serving her but the heavenly rewards that come with such service, including heavenly bedding ("Dame, bien ont monté le mont./ Bien sunt gari, bien sunt refait/ Cil qui te servent en cest mont./ Car ja leur lit ou ciel sunt fait" I Ch 8: 37-40 ["Lady, they have

¹⁶⁵ Curiously, the Virgin is also known as a marriage-broker. See Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex* 277. The Song of Songs also focuses on the marriage relationship between the two lovers: the beloved is often called the bride by the lover ("mea sponsa" 4:10, 12; 5:1); and that the beloved imagines bringing her lover into her mother's house, and bedroom, may indicate a welcoming of him in the house as a husband "tenui eum nec dimittam/ donec intriducam illum in domom matris meae/ et in cubiculum genetricis meae" (3:4) ["I held him nor will I let go/ until I lead him into the house of my mother/ and into the chamber of her who bore me"]. Bernard of Clairvaux calls for the interpretation of the bride in spiritual and intellectual terms: "Sed est rationalis quaedam sponsae species ac spiritualis effegies, ipsaque aeterna, quia imago aeternitatis" (Sermon 27: II.3; Leclercq *et al.*, vol. 1, 183) ["Not unfitly does she select to be a point of comparison for herself *that* from whence she draws her origin" (Eales 170)].

¹⁶⁶ For Bernard, the love of God is similarly available to all: "sic quoque non unum puto cubiculum Regi esse, sed plura. Nam nec una est regina profecto, sed plures; et concubinae sunt multae, et adolescentularum non est numerus (Sermon 23:IV. 9; Leclercq *et al.*, vol. 1, 144) ["so I think of the chamber of the King also, that is not one, but many. Nor has he one queen also, but assuredly very many; He has many woman friends, and of maidens the number is uncounted" (Eales 137)].

truly climbed the mountain, they are truly healed, they are truly remade, those who serve you in this world, since their beds are already made in heaven"']). As Dominique Colombani notes, it is service by prayer to the Virgin that proves the "heart" of the believer.¹⁶⁷ This communal commitment to the Virgin offers the reader the poet's own pleasure in the Virgin; more important, it focuses our worldly attractions on this heavenly lady rather than on the earthly women around us.

Gautier depicts the Virgin as the ideal marriage partner and also as the ideal mother. Gautier emphasizes the same femininity and fertility found in the Song through images that evoke the sensual and loving relationship between the infant Jesus and his mother: "Car de ta mamele./Qui tant est emmielee./ Fu sa bouche bele/ Peüe et abevree" (I Ch 5: 9-12) ["Because from your breast, that is so honeyed, was his beautiful mouth fed and suckled"]. These lines create a double perspective: we are at once observers of a tender maternal scene and also participants. The adjectives describing her honeyed breast, and his sucking mouth, invite us to imagine ourselves as both venerating the scene and experiencing the suckling: we become simultaneously worshippers and the Christ child. In addition, because this tender vision of the Virgin recalls as well the notion of Jesus as Mother from affective piety, the meaning of this image is polyvalent.¹⁶⁸ This scene recalls the beloved in the Song who portrays herself simultaneously as lover, mother, and sister ("ibi dabo tibi ubera mea [...] quis mihi det te fratrem meum/ sugentem ubera matris meae/ ut inveniam te foris et deosculetur/ et iam me nemo despiciat" [7: 12; 8:1] ["There I will give you my breasts ... who will give you to me for my brother/ sucking the breasts of my mother/ that I may find you outside and kiss you/ and yet no one will despise me?"]]).

¹⁶⁷ Dominique Colombani, "La Prière du cœur dans Les Miracles de Nostre Dame de Gautier de Coinci," in La Prière au Moyen-Age (littérature et civilisation) Sénéfiance 10. (Aix-en Provence, CUEP-Université de Provence, 1981) 77-78.

¹⁶⁸ See Caroline Walker Bynum, Jesus As Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: UP of California, 1982) 110-169.

Gautier reworks not only the figure of the lady, displacing the married woman in favor of the Virgin, but also the traditional image of the courtly love poet. He characterizes himself as a troubadour or trouvère. He composes lyrics, hoping for love of the Virgin as a reward: "Pour vostre amor, qui m'esprent et atise,/ Pluseurs foiz ai fait maint dit et maint son. En guerredon requier a vo franchise/ De vostre amour autant com un suiron" (II Ch 7: 51-54) ["For your love, that enflames and excites me, Many times I have made many verses and many songs. As a reward I request of your generosity, as much as of your love as a speck¹⁶⁹"]. Gautier, like so many lyric poets, explicitly links love and the composition of poetry within the framework of service to a lady. Although the reward that Gautier desires from the Virgin is ostensibly less carnal, the terms of the equation are essentially the same as those of a courtly love poet: love and poetry should gain rapture, whether heavenly or physical. Although Gautier reworks the conventional secular figures of courtly lyric, ostensibly highlighting the figures of the poet/ lover and his lady as essentially religious, the metaphors and tropes that he borrows from courtly lyric infuse both figures with a sensuality and materiality that goes beyond the transcendent and spiritual. This blending of the courtly with the sacred was a feature not only of mystical writers but also of secular troubadours. In the next section, I will explore this shared vocabulary so as to understand better and to focus on Gautier as a Marian yet courtly poet.

Gautier's Debt to Courtly Lyric (Formal Structure)

Gautier clearly imbues both his image of the Virgin and his own persona as poet with the same erotic spirituality expressed in both courtly love lyric and the Song of Songs. His use of language and the formal composition of his poetry also turn on this very same

¹⁶⁹ "Suiron" means "mite"; the connotation is of a microscopically small amount.

ambiguity. That is, Gautier surpasses a simple appropriation of vocabulary and imagery; the structure of his lyric reveals his use of courtly lyric as a model for his own.¹⁷⁰

Gautier pointedly uses many of the same poetic devices employed in courtly lyric. This interest in constructing plays of vocabulary and rhythm within a highly formalized structure marks both Gautier's and courtly love poetry; more important, in Gautier's poetry it signals in addition the ways that he has woven together secular forms and sacred precepts.

Looking back at the poetic devices of earlier courtly love poets allows us to see how troubadour and trouvère poetry may have influenced Gautier's playful use of language. Gace Brulé, for instance, in his song "A la douçor de la bele seson" illustrates these poets' desire to play with rhythmic patterns of sound.

A la douçor de la bele seson,	[In the sweetness of the beautiful season,
Que toute riens se resplent en verdor,	When everything shines with green splendor,
Que sont biau pré et vergier et buisson	When meadow and orchard and bush are beautiful
Et li oisel chantent deseur la flor,	And the birds sing on the flowers,
Lors sui joianz quant tuit lessent amor,	Then I am happy when all desert love,
Qu'ami loial n'i voi mes se moi non.	For of loyal lovers I see only me alone.
Seus vueil amer et seus vueil cest honor. ¹⁷¹	I alone want to love and I alone want this honor.]

The repetition of sounds, (assonance: the [e] of "se resplent en verdor," and alliteration: voi/vueil/vueil, for instance), and words (such as *seus*), coupled with the rhyme scheme (ABAB) reveals the attention not only to form but also to rhythm. While the content of this stanza is rather simple, "In the spring I find joy when I alone wish to love" the poet emphasizes his attention not only to form and to structure but also to the delight in creating lush lyric.

¹⁷⁰ Aubry notes that at least one of Gautier's songs included in the *Miracles*, "Amours dont sui espris," formally imitates the profane melodies of Blondel de Nesle. In addition, another of Gautier's lyrics not found in the *Miracles*, "A che que je weil commencer," imitates the profane melody of Guillaume le Vinier's "Sire ki fait mieus a proisier." See *Trouvères et troubadours* 112.

¹⁷¹ *Chansons des Trouvères* 422.

Gautier's lyric also employs many of the same poetic structures that we see in Gace's lyric. For example, in "D'une amor coie et serie" (II Ch 5), Gautier similarly creates a rhythmic pattern by linking pairs of stanzas according to a play on the accented rhyme word. I quote two stanzas here:

D'une amor coie et serie
 Chanter weil seriement.
 Gart vilains ne m'escout mie
 Sour escommeniement.
 Nus qui aint vilainement
 Ceste chanson ne comment:
 N'est pas dignes qu'il en die
 Nes le refrait seulement.

Vilainnes gens,
 Vous ne les sentez mie,
 Les dous maus que je sent.

L'amors, la joians joïe,
 M'esjoïst joieusement.
 Toute joie est esjoïe
 Par son esjoïssement.
 Joïssons la durement
 Et si l'amons doucement.
 Qui sa douceur a sentie
 Dire puet bien vraiment:
 Vilainnes gens,
 Vous ne les sentez mie,
 Les dous maus que je sent (1-22).

[Of a love calm and pure
 I will sing purely
 Let no base person overhear me
 on {pain of} excommunication
 Let no one who loves basely
 begin this song.
 It is not right that he recite it,
 even the refrain alone.

Base people,
 You do not feel them at all,
 the sweet pains that I feel.

Love, joyous joy,
 rejoices me joyfully.
 All joy is rejoiced
 by its enjoyment.
 Let us enjoy it wholeheartedly
 and do let us love it sweetly.
 He who has felt its sweetness
 can truly say of it:

Base people,
 You do not feel them at all,
 the sweet pains that I feel.]

Inscribing his poetry within an eroticized context, Gautier makes use of the standard forms of this sensualized lyric. In these first two stanzas, variations of the base words dominate: in the first, the words "serie" and "vilain" repeat; in the second, versions of "joie" form a strikingly rich word play. By playing with the various parts of speech (nouns, verbs and roots of other words), Gautier effectively weaves alliteration and assonance into this maze of word forms. The wordplay acts as a *cantus firmus* that changes tone with each stanza. In this particular lyric, Gautier links the stanzas by employing a refrain: "Vilainnes gens,/ Vous ne les sentez mie,/ Les dous maus que je sent." This repetition marks the lyric with a sense of multiplicity. In the beginning of the second stanza, for example, the repeating forms of "joïe" ("joians joïe," "M'esjoïst joieusement," "Toute joie est esjoïe," "Par son

esjoïssement," "Joïssons") allow the poet to explore the rich semantic field of connotation and free association. The poet couples stereotypical praise of the Virgin with this troubadour-like interest in poetry as an etymological game.

Gautier not only creates a lush linguistic play reminiscent of courtly lyric but also incorporates some of the topoi of his models. Among these are an evocation of springtime to their poetry; Gautier similarly begins several of his lyrics by setting the scene in spring, with flowers blooming and birds singing. The flowers and birds ("Quant ces floretes florir voi/ Et chanter oi ces chanteürs" I Ch 8: 1-2 ["When I see these little flowers bloom, and when I hear these singers sing"]) prompt Gautier to sing of his love, the "rose des roses," the Virgin. Similarly, in "Hui matin a l'ajornee" (II Ch 6), Gautier imagines himself riding through a flowering field at dawn:

Hui matin a l'ajornee	[This morning at dawn
Toute m'ambleüre	at an ambling pace
Chevauchai par une pree.	I rode in a meadow.
Par bone aventure	By good fortune
Une flourete ai trovee	I found a little flower,
Gente de faiture.	nobly made.
En la fleur qui tant m'agree	To the flower that so pleases me
Tourmai luez ma cure.	I turned my thoughts at once.
Adonc fis	Then I made
Vers dusqu'a sis	verses up to six
De la fleur de paradis. (I-11)	about the flower of paradise.]

In the openings to these two poems, (I Ch 8 and II Ch 6), Gautier appropriates this courtly springtime opening, and yet changes its focus. Like the courtly lover of a *pastourelle* Gautier is out riding in the early morning, enchanted by the beauty of the flowers, when he spots not a beautiful shepherdess (as in Henri II, Duc de Brabant's "L'autrier estoie montez,"¹⁷²) but *the* flower. While this springtime opening is frequent among courtly love poets,¹⁷³ in this lyric Gautier has specifically made courtly lyric sacred. Having found the

¹⁷² Chansons des Trouvères 672-676.

¹⁷³ The initial verses of Bernard de Ventadorn's canso "Can l'erba fresch' e'lh folha par," and Colin Muset's song "Qant li malos brut," also begin with this spring topos. Anthology of the Provençal Troubadours 47-48; Chansons des trouvères 760.

most beautiful flower (the "rose des roses, fleurs des fleurs" in "Quant ces floretes florir voi"), Gautier identifies this flower, "gente de faiture," as none other than the Virgin. Sylvia Huot sees the flower as the very turning-point of Gautier's contrafactum.¹⁷⁴ In this particular lyric Gautier plays on a typical pastorele scene, only to transform the figure of the sensual shepherdess into a beautiful and yet fragile, organic and spiritual symbol. In both lyrics, Gautier refashions courtly lyric: he describes the beauty of the flowers, and singles out one in particular as a sign for the Virgin on earth. The lady whom Gautier is describing is not merely another in the tradition of courtly song, but "mere et fille a roi" (I Ch 8: 5) ["Mother and daughter to a king"].

Another familiar trope of courtly lyric that Gautier employs is, as I have already noted, to begin his lyrics by invoking the direct influence of love on his writing. The composition of his song is prompted by love; the poet-lover sings of his love, of his beloved, and of his pain in love, *because* of love. For instance, lyrics such as "Amors, dont sui espris,/ De chanter me semont" (II Ch 4: 1-2) ["Love, of which I am inflamed, invites me to sing"] and "D'une amor coie et serie/ chanter weil seriement" (II Ch 5: 1-2) ["Of a love calm and pure I will sing purely"] portray Gautier as both courtly poet and lover, in the same way that Jacques de Dosti sings "Amors, qui m'a en baillie, veut qu'envoissié soie; Je ferai chançon jolie, puis qu'ele l'otroie," ["Love, that has me in its keeping, wishes me to be joyful; I will make a pretty song, since she grants it"],¹⁷⁵ and Moniot d'Arras similarly writes "Amors mi fait renvoisier et chanter" ["Love makes me rejoice again and sing"].¹⁷⁶ In addition, in II Ch 8, Gautier's lyric lauds the beauty of his lady, "Ma viele/ Vieler vieut un biau son/ De la bele/ Qui seur toutes a biau non" (vv. 1-4) ["My fiddle wishes to play a beautiful song of the beautiful one who has a beautiful name

¹⁷⁴ Sylvia Huot, Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet 63-65.

¹⁷⁵ Chansons des Trouvères 664-667.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 512-516.

above other women"], as does Guiot de Dijon in "Chanteir m'estuet por la plus belle."¹⁷⁷ Gautier also sings of the steadfast nature of his love; he will sing of her, no matter the weather: "Ja pour yver, pour noif ne pour gelee/ N'iere esbaubis, pereceus, mus ne mas/ Que je ne chant de la dame honouree"(II Ch 7, vv. 1-3) ["Never for winter, snow nor frost will I be so stunned, immobile, mute or amazed that I do not sing of the honored lady"].¹⁷⁸ In addition, in "Pour conforter mon cuer et mon coraige" (I Ch 9), like Guillaume le Vinier in "S'onques chanters m'eüst aidie,"¹⁷⁹ Gautier seeks to find solace in song. As lover and poet, Gautier has a whole host of established forms of lyric on which to model his own. Gautier carves out a space for his lyric from familiar forms, creating a religious lyric which plays on many of the same topoi.

Just as Gautier invokes and displaces the earthly beloved in conventional courtly lyric in favor of the Virgin, he also reworks the image of the courtly poet for his own spiritualized poetic persona. For instance, while addressing his fellow courtly poets, our poet distinguishes himself from them: "Qui que face rotruenge novele/ Pastorele, son, sonet ne chançon/ je chanterai de la sainte pucele" (I Ch 4: 1-3) ["No matter who may make a new rotruenge, pastourelle, melody, air or song, I will sing of the holy maid"]. Unlike these poets of secular courtly love who sing of their beloveds, Gautier sings of the Virgin. His invocation of the various poetic forms of courtly lyric, "rotruenge", "pastorele", "son", "sonet" and "chançon", calls attention to his aptitude as a poet in general, and more important, reveals his aim to go beyond these secular poetic forms in his own poetry.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 508-511.

¹⁷⁸ Gautier's invocation of his steadfast love in winter, while recalling Peire Vidal's "Be'm pac d'ivern e d'estiu," may also invoke an amorous reworking of the labors of the months. See William D. Paden, "A New Parody by Arnaut Daniel: *Mout m'es bel el tems d'estiou*," *Poetics of Love in the Middle Ages: Texts and Contexts* eds. Moshé Lazar and Norris J. Lacy (Fairfax, VA: George Mason UP, 1989) 187-197. Peire Vidal's "Be'm pac d'ivern e d'estiu" appears in *Los Trovadores: Historia Literaria y Textos* ed. Martín de Riquer, vol. 2 (Barcelona: Planeta, 1975) 882-886.

¹⁷⁹ *Chansons des Trouvères* 554-557.

Gautier disapproves of certain members of society taking part in the composition of love lyric. Indicating perhaps contemporary practices, Gautier condemns clerics for singing these foolish love songs. "Chant Robin des robardeles,/ Chant li sos des sotes,/ Mais tu, clers qui chantez d'eles, Certes tu rasotes!" (II Ch 6: 39-42) ["Robin sings of pretty girls, a fool sings of foolish girls, but you, cleric who sing of them, certainly you are raving!"].

Further, the poet advocates a departure from these standard forms of courtly lyric:

"Laissons ces viés pastoreles, /Ces vieilles riotes; /Si chantons chançons noveles, /Biax dis, beles notes /De la fleur/ Dont sanz sejour/ Chantent angele nuit et jor" (II Ch 6: 43-49) ["Let us leave these old pastourelles, these noisy fiddles; Instead let us sing new songs, beautiful words, beautiful notes about the flower of whom the angels sing night and day without pause"]. Although he himself evokes courtly lyric, and he characterizes himself much as a courtly poet and lover, Gautier advocates reworking the forms of courtly lyric to emphasize heavenly rather than sensual desire.

While Gautier employs the images and forms of courtly love lyric, he distances his lyric from this world of carnal sensuality by skipping from physicality to spirituality, much as the commentators of the Song of Songs have done. Gautier invokes traditional forms of courtly lyric only to differentiate in theory, if not in practice, his lyric from these standard forms of love lyric. For instance, much of courtly lyric in general centers on physicality. As Moshé Lazar insists, this desire for physical union is a common feature of courtly love poetry, especially that of the troubadours.¹⁸⁰ Gautier, on the other hand, distinguishes true, sacred love from its sensual, secular counterpart. Earthly love, because it involves the body, is associated mostly with guile and deceit: "Ne devroit pas amors estre apelee/
L'amors de coy li cors a les degres. /Quant l'ame en est sanz finement dampnee/ N'est pas amors, ainz est guille et baras" (II Ch 7: 11-14) ["It should not be called love, the love from

¹⁸⁰ Lazar, *Amour Courtois et fins' amors* 70-73, 118-148.

which the body derives pleasure. When the soul is damned without end for it, it is not love, but rather it is guile and a cheat"]. Sacred love for the Virgin, by contrast, guarantees God's heavenly love as well: "Vostre amor a, dame, telle efficace/ Que nus n'en a si petit parçon/ Dou roi dou ciel n'ait l'amor et la grace" (II Ch 7: 58-60) ["Your love lady, has such power that no one has such a small portion of it but that he has the love and grace of the king of heaven"]. Gautier claims that this love transcends the physicality of carnal desire. With this eroticized portrait of the Virgin, Gautier establishes himself as a Marian poet.

Gautier, Marian Poet

In his prologue, Gautier defines himself both as a poet and as a devotee of the Virgin. Gautier's introductory narrative reveals his foundational conception of his writing as an educative tool as well as a method of praying to the Virgin. More important, while Gautier's prologue clearly foregrounds his writing (in other words, both the translation of the Miracles and the composition of the lyrics that accompany them), it also introduces many of the same themes that are at the center of the lyrics, themes such as an attitude of mixed eroticism and prayer toward the Virgin, and the production of writing as a sensual practice.

While Gautier begins his prologue emphasizing his work as a prayer full of praise to the Virgin, he immediately distinguishes it from the more standard prayers of Catholic ritual. Although he constructs a prayer, Gautier nonetheless demonstrates his own poetic capabilities.¹⁸¹

A la loenge et a la gloire
En ramembrance et en memoire

[For the praise and the glory
In remembrance and in memory

¹⁸¹ For more on Gautier's art as specifically religious, see Jean-Louis Benoît, L'art littéraire dans les Miracles de Nostre Dame de Gautier de Coinci: un art au service de la Foi (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 1999).

De la roïne et de la dame
 Cui je commant mon cors et m'ame
 A jointes mains soir et matin,
 Miracles que je truis en latin
 Translater voel en rime et metre
 Que cil et celes qui la letre
 N'entendent pas puissent entendre
 Qu'a son servise fait boen tendre. (1-10)

Of the queen and lady
 To whom I commend my body and soul
 With hands joined night and morning,
 Miracles that I find in Latin
 I want to translate and put into rhyme
 So that those men and women who
 do not understand letters may understand
 that it is good to turn to her service.]

Figuratively kneeling before the Virgin, Gautier presents himself as a devotee, a man of poetic talent. Gautier's doubled position invokes the figures of Christ (in his dual nature: human/divine) and the Virgin. As both mother and virgin, she participates in different realms, the earthly and the heavenly. By means of the frequent repetition of "et," Gautier accentuates the twofold aspects of each. He writes for both the glory of the Virgin and in remembrance of her (1-2), and so creates two spaces of time, the past and the present, in which she exists. As "roïne," the figure of the Virgin functions as a second bridge between the two worlds: she is the queen of Earth and of Heaven. In terrestrial terms, she also serves as both the courtly inspiration (as the "dame") and the royal patroness (as the "roïne") of the poetry.

More important, the lines of this passage highlight a duality that, as we will see, later comes to mark the rhetoric of Gautier's lyrics. Just as the Virgin is a figure of duality, so too is Gautier's Marian poetry. The roles that Gautier creates for himself (as worshipper/poet) and for the Virgin clearly mix the realms of the spiritual and the sensual. From the beginning of the prologue Gautier also partakes of the two worlds of physicality and spirituality: "En ramembrance et en memoire/ De la roïne et de la dame/ Cui je commant mon cors et m'ame" (2-4). Just as she is both mother and virgin, "roïne" and "dame," for Gautier there is no contradiction between the body and the soul; the praises that he sings to the Virgin consequently invoke both.

In the prologue, Gautier portrays himself as primarily a translator, as one who offers to the common lay population (i.e., those not schooled in Latin) access to these

miracles. His goal in translating is not only to educate the people, but to increase their acts of devotion to the Virgin (9-10). His translation is not literal, but involves poetic skill: as he notes, he will transfigure the narratives of the miracles into the rhyme of poetry (6-7). Gautier is the ardent worshipper of the Virgin and her pious poet. He describes himself as devout, creating an image of himself kneeling in prayer, and he is quite confident of his talent for writing good poetry (which reflects first on her) and for reaching a wide audience. Gautier presents himself paradoxically as humble and yet as in intimate contact with the realm of Latin *auctoritas*.

While he translates the miracles for the glory of the Virgin (1-3), Gautier is very conscious of his status as a writer, of creating a poetic identity for himself within this relatively tight framework of divine inspiration. The end of the prologue emphasizes his personal investment in his poetry. While the Virgin is figured as the inspirational force, Gautier places himself firmly in the role of author of the poetry:

La mere Dieu, qui est la lime
 Qui tout escure et tout eslime,
 Ecurer daint et eslimer,
 Por ses myracles biau rimer,
 La langue Gautier de Coinsi,
 Qui por s'amor commence ainsi.
 (ll. 325-330)

[May the mother of God, who is the file
 who purifies¹⁸² and polishes all,
 deign to purify and polish--
 So that [he] can rhyme her miracles beautifully--
 the tongue of Gautier de Coinci,
 who for love of her begins in this way.]

In a sense Gautier mimics the actions of the Virgin. While she is the polish that gives luster on the world, his tongue, his skills as a poet beautify her miracles. In other words, he polishes the narratives of the miracles until they shine much as the Virgin infuses the world with light. The phrase "Ecurer daint et eslimer,[...] Por ses myracles biau rimer/ La langue Gautier de Coinsi" even seems to signal that the Virgin somehow needs Gautier, that she is dependent on his tongue and skill at poetry in order to compose her miracles as lyric. Despite his poetic pre-eminence, Gautier quickly makes a claim of his subordinate position

¹⁸² "Ecurer" literally means "to scrub."

to the Virgin by invoking a conventional courtly love relationship. Gautier refashions this standard theme of troubadour poetry by asserting that he writes poetry in order to gain her love, proclaiming his service to her as a courtly lover ("Qui por s'amor commence eins" 330).¹⁸³ Gautier's self-definition is multifaceted: he portrays himself simultaneously as worshipper and lover of the Virgin, and her poet.

The structure of Gautier's writing further reflects this joining of body and soul, of sensuality and poetry. In the prologue, as in the narratives of the miracles, Gautier tends to write in the octosyllabic meter, the most common line length in use among other narrative poets at the time.¹⁸⁴ When this line length prevails, Gautier seems most in control of his poetry, most "writerly." His delight in the sensuality of language, especially in reference to his own writing, at times overwhelms the simple AA BB rhyme scheme:

Si miracle sunt tant piteuz,
Tant boen, tant douz, tant deliteuz,
Tant savoreuz et tant eslit
Qu'el reciter ai grant delit;
Sovent m'i vois mout delitant.
Escriture dist de li tant
Que chascons se doit deliter
En quanqu'est de li reciter (23-30)

[Her miracles are so compassionate,
So good, so sweet, so delightful,
So delicious and so choice
That I take great delight in reciting them;
Often I delight very much [in them].
Scripture tells so much about her
that every one should delight
in reciting anything that is about her.]

In this passage Gautier forges a link between his production of the Miracles (by speech "reciter") and the sacred writings of Scripture ("escriture"), consequently giving authoritative status to his poetic translation of the miracles. While in this passage Gautier remains faithful to the basic AA BB rhyme scheme, he centers this rhyme on forms of "delit," repeating it at the end of lines 24, 26, 27 and 29. In addition, line 28, although not technically a form of "delit," nonetheless echoes its sound patterns, creating a rich rhyme, and annominatio as well, in conjunction with the preceding line ("delitant" and "de li tant").

The emphasis on delight in reference to the miracles consequently forges a link between

¹⁸³ Gautier employs this same notion of service when he imagines his lay readers serving the Virgin: "Que cil et celes qui la letre/ N'entendent pas puissent entendre / Qu'a son servise fait boen tendre" (8-10) ["So that those men and women who do not understand letters may hear that it is good to turn to her service"].

¹⁸⁴ Chrétien de Troyes and Marie de France for instance use this meter as well.

pleasure and the production of these narratives. Reciting these miracles, it seems, offers the same sensuality as prayerful devotion to the Virgin. In addition, the repetition of "tant" not only marks these lines with assonance and alliteration but concentrates the adjectives "piteuz," "boen," "douz," "deliteuz," "savoreuz," and "eslit," creating an effect of satiety in the dense accumulation of terms that describe the miracles of the Virgin. The vocabulary that Gautier chooses here consciously invokes courtly lyric. However, Gautier only indirectly portrays the Virgin in this passage; his focus is on the Miracles and on his composition of them, rather than on their heroine.

While Gautier's adoration of the Virgin may lead him to moments of poetic ecstasy, his delight in his own production of poetry is also evident; indeed, at times Gautier writes in more detail and complexity about his poetry than about the Virgin. Witness for instance the characterization of his writing as compared to the dissection of the Virgin's name.

Ma povre science espuisier	[My poor knowledge I can very soon
Et essorber assez tost puis	exhaust ¹⁸⁵ and extinguish
Se j'en son parfont puis ne puis	If I do not dip in her deep well,
Qu'espuisier ne puet nus puisieres,	That no welldigger can exhaust
Tant soit espuisans espuisieres:	So matter how potent a welldigger he be:
C'est mers c'onques nus n'espuisa.	It is a sea that no one ever exhausted.
Veez son nom: M et puis A,	See her name: M and then A,
R et puis I, puis A et puis	R and then I, then A, and then
Mers troverés, ne mie puis:	a sea you will find, not a well at all;
Marie est mers que nus n'espuise;	Mary is the sea that no one exhausts;
Plus i treuve qui plus i puise. (vv. 40-50)	the more one draws from it the more he finds.]

Although characterized elsewhere as "dous et enmielez" (v. 158), "Maria" and its lettered fragmentation is poetically anti-climactic at best, following the complex language plays that Gautier employs to characterize his poetry. Gautier's "povre science" is hardly that: his use of the forms of the rhyme words "puisier," "espuisier," and "puis" and all of their forms, once again spill out from the page in an annominatio, overshadowing the more overt deconstruction of the Virgin's name. The repetition of the plain "puis," while repeating

¹⁸⁵ "Espuisier" can also be read as "to dry out," adding to the play of wet and dry vocabulary in this verse.

over and over the inexhaustible "well" that is the Virgin, marks the Virgin's name with simplicity, compared with all of the forms of "puis" and "espuisier" ("espuisier," "espuisieres," "espuisans," "espuisa," "puis," "puisier," and "puisieres") that Gautier associates with writing about her.

Although her name is relatively simple to deconstruct, the Virgin is characterized as a font of poetic inspiration impossible to exhaust. Gautier portrays her as an inexhaustible ocean: "Marie est mers que nus n'espuise; Plus i treuve qui plus i puise" (vv. 49-50). More importantly, Gautier associates the ocean that is the Virgin with lyric composition; in line 48, the phrase "mers troverés" signals a bifold meaning. Playing with the double meaning of "troverés," Gautier describes the Virgin not only as an ocean that the reader will find ("troverés" is the second person plural future verb form of "trover," "to find"), but also as one for whom the *trouvère* poets write and sing lyrics. Add to that the fact that "mer" is a homonym for "mère," and we are left with a very complex set of images linking the Virgin, Gautier's lyric composition, the ocean, and the maternal. This multiplicity of meaning extends to the use of "espuiser" in this passage: in terms of space, the waters of her ocean can never be fully explored or known; relative to writing poetry about her, the poet experiences a sense of not only linguistic but also sensual exhaustion. The sensuality of the wordplays reveals Gautier's evident delight in both the world of the senses and his own production of writing.

This linguistic *jouissance*, while hinted at in the breakdown of the Virgin's name, becomes nearly physical as Gautier says her name. In a long passage devoted to the enunciation of the name "Mary" and its effect on him, Gautier makes tangible the sensual inspiration of his writing.

Mais tant est dous et enmielez
Li nons de la douce Marie
Que toz cors m'en rasazie
Quant l'oi nommer ou quent li nom.
El siecle n'a nul si doz nom.

[But so sweet and honeyed
is the name of sweet Mary
that my whole body is satisfied
when I name her or hear her named
In all the world there is no name so sweet.

Tant douces sont ces trois sillabes
 Qu'il m'est avis que se sis labes
 Deseur le col me trebuchoient,
 Anui ne mal ne me feroient
 Puisque Marie eüsse en bouche.
 Si tost com ma langue i atouche
 M'en chiet li mielz aval les levres.
 He! Dex! com est soz et chalevres
 Qui sovent ne s'en desgeüne,
 Car n'est si douce riens nes une.
 Toutes douçors trueve dedens
 Qui bien le suce entre ses dens,
 Mais nus ne seit, s'il me l'esprueve,
 Con douce douceur on i trueve.
 A cinq cens doubles passe miel (158-177).

So sweet are these three syllables
 that it is my opinion that if six rocks
 were teetering on my neck
 no pain or harm would it do me
 as long as I had "Marie" in my mouth {on my lips}.
 As soon as my tongue touches it {her name}
 Honey falls from my lips.
 Oh God! How foolish and silly
 is he who does not often dine on it,
 for there is no creature so sweet, save one.
 He finds all sweetness within
 who sucks it {her name} between his teeth.
 But no one knows, or let him prove it to me,
 What sweet sweetness one finds here.
 It is a thousand times sweeter than honey.]

The salvific power of the Virgin appears to have no limits, according to Gautier. Even a serious catastrophe meant to invoke the devil¹⁸⁶—a sudden rockslide on his neck ("se sis labes/Deseur le col me trebuchoient" vv. 164-165)—cannot harm Gautier when he says the name of the Virgin: "Anui ne mal ne me feroient/ Puisque Marie eüsse en bouche" vv. 166-167. Saying her name not only wards off these dangerous rocks, but allows him to experience a blessed sensuality. Gautier tastes her in his mouth, tastes her honeyed name: "Si tost com ma langue i atouche/ M'en chiet li mielz aval les levres" (vv. 168-169). This is not the only reference that associates the Virgin's name with honey; Gautier begins by characterizing her name as honey ("Mais tant est dous et enmielez/ Li nons de la douce Marie" vv. 158-159), and at the end of the passage, proclaims that saying her name tastes even better: "A cinq cens doubles passe miel" (v. 177). More importantly, Gautier associates the enunciation of her name with the ritual of eating: "Qui sovent ne s'en desgeüne/ com est soz et chalevres" (vv. 170-171) and "Qui bien le suce entre ses dens" (v. 174). His vocabulary here is clearly centered on orality and the pleasure of eating. Gautier figures the consumption of the Virgin's name not only as a physical but also a sensual experience. Describing the experience of her name involves the entire mouth, tongue and

¹⁸⁶ In at least one manuscript, London, British Library Harley 4401, this is made explicit: line 164 reads: "que sis deables" (Koenig 10). The term "trebuchoient" may indicate a physical and a moral fall.

teeth; it involves touching it with the tongue and sucking it between the teeth (168, 174), again recalling the suckling of the *Maria lactans*.

The physical experience of language--saying the name of the Virgin--is clearly one of sensual pleasure; this experience is one that Gautier intimates may be shared with other believers. Gautier does not merely depict his own personal experience of saying the name of the Virgin; his repeated call to an anonymous third-person *qui* in relationship to the enunciation of "Mary" (ll. 170-171, 174-175) allows this sensual experience to be one that is shared. This sense of community, of communal feasting, differs strikingly from the typical courtly love relationship that hinges upon an exclusive, intimate relationship. While Gautier appropriates much of courtly lyric, employing similar vocabulary and imbuing his lyric with the same sensuality, he does not appropriate courtly lyric wholesale, instead molding it to fit his new and sacred form of love. In the following section, I explore at some length two lyrics in particular, and finally, the prayers that conclude the Miracles. These lyrics reveal in a microcosm Gautier's fusion of sacred and secular vocabulary. The final prayers, on the other hand, provide a spiritual frame of reference for, or a meditation on, the text of the Miracles.

Exemplary Lyrics

In order to understand better how Gautier creates religious and yet courtly lyric, I would like to focus in some detail on two of Gautier's lyrics: the opening lyric of Book One, "Amors, qui seit bien enchanter" (I Ch 3), and one of the opening lyrics of Book Two, "Amors, dont suis espris" (II Ch 4). A close reading of these two lyrics will demonstrate the transformations that Gautier is effecting on courtly lyric, since they exemplify the fusion of the religious and the secular modes. In addition, they show the difference in themes between Books One and Two.

"Amors, qui seit bien enchanter"

	Amors, qui seit bien enchanter, As pluisors fait tel chant chanter Dont les ames deschantent.	[Love, that truly knows how to bewitch, has made many sing such a song as destroys souls.
4	Je ne veil mais chanter tel chant, Mais por celi novel chant chant De cui li angle chantent.	I do not wish to sing such a song anymore, But I sing a new song for her Of whom the angels sing.
8	Chantez de li, tuit chanteür. S'enchanterez l'enchantereür Qui sovent nos enchante. Se de la mere Dieu chantez, Tous enchantanz iert enchantez.	Sing of her, all singers! You will bewitch the bewitcher who often bewitches us. If you sing of the mother of God, All enchanters will be enchanted.
12	Buer fu nez qui en chante.	Fortunate is he who sings of her.
16	Qui vielt son sointe acointement Acointier s'i doit cointement, Car tant est sage et cointe Que nus ne s'i puet acointier Ne li estiust desacointier Quanqu'anemis acointe.	Who desires her gracious welcome must become acquainted with her graciously, For she is so wise and courteous That no one can know her without having to renounce Whatever the enemy frequents.
20	Ja nus ne s'i acointera Devant qu'il desacointera Por li totes acointes. Por s'amor les desacointiez! N'iert au cointe acointe acointiez	Never will anyone come to know her until he renounces, for her {sake}, all lovers. For her love, reject them!
24	Nus s'il n'est ses acointes.	No one will be welcomed into her gracious acquaintance, unless he is without lovers.
28	Mere Dieu, tant fais a prisier Tem pris ne puet lange esprisier Tant en soit bien aprise. Chascons te prise et je te pris. La rose iez ou la flors de pris Char precieüse a prise.	Mother of God, you are so much to be praised, Such worth the tongue cannot express, no matter how well trained it might be. Everyone prizes you and I prize you, You are the rose where the flower beyond price took on precious flesh.
32	Char precieüse en tes flans prist, Par coi le souprenent souprist Qui toz nos vielt souspenre; Mais qui a toi servir se prent, Sa souspresure nel sousprent.	Precious flesh he took on in your side by which he deceived the deceiver who wishes to deceive all of us; But he who undertakes to serve you, the devil's deceit does not deceive him.
36	A toi se fait bon penre.	It is good to be captured by you. ¹⁸⁷
	Dame en cui sont tout bon confort, De mes pechiés me desconfort,	Lady in whom is all good comfort, for my sins I grieve,

¹⁸⁷ Gautier attributes an activity of the devil, capturing souls, to the Virgin and thus gives it a positive spiritual valence.

40	Mais ce me reconforte Que nus n'est tant desconfortez par toi ne soit tost confortés. Tes confors tout conforte.	But this consoles me that no one is so disconsolate, that he is not soon comforted by you. Your comfort comforts all.
44	Dame, com grans, dame, com fors Est tes secors et tes confors! Mainte ame as confortee. Conforte moi. Grant confort as:	Lady, how great, lady, how powerful is your help and your comfort! You have comforted many souls. Comfort me. You have great comfort:
48	L'Egipcienne confortas, Qui ert desconfortee.	{ you } comforted the Egyptian woman, { St. Mary } who was disconsolate.
52	Douce dame, qui bien te sert L'amor ton douz fil en desert. Bien est drois c'on te serve. Tout cil qui bien te serviront Joie sanz fin deserviront. Diex doinst je la deserve!	Sweet lady, he who serves you well deserves the love of your sweet son for it. It is very right that one serve you. All those who will serve you well will deserve joy without end. May God grant that I deserve it!
56	Las, ainc nul bien deservi, Car si petit ai Dieu servi M'ame a mort deservie. Dame, or m'apren si a servir La joie puisse deservir	Alas, I never deserved any good thing, for I served God so little that my soul deserved death. Lady, now teach me to serve so that I may deserve the joy
60	Ou d'angles iez servie.	in which you are served by angels.
64	Douce dame, sanz finement Servir te doit on finement. Com or iez afinee. Les tiens afines com or fin Et si lor donnes a la fin Joie qui n'iert finee.	Sweet lady, without end one must serve you nobly. You are as pure as gold. You purify your own {souls} like fine gold and you give them at the end joy that will never finish.
68	Celui depri au definer Qui por nous volt en crois finer, Qui tout commen et fine, Qui commencemens est et fins, Tout nous face a la fin si fins	At the end, I pray Him who wanted to die on a cross for us, Who begins and ends all, Who is the beginning and the end, that He may make us all at the end so noble
72	Qu'aions la joie fine.	that we may have noble joy.]

This first song sets the tone for the opening of the book as well as for the lyrics that follow. Immediately at the beginning the poet evokes "Amors," the personified figure of love, and so places his lyric within the parameters of courtly love lyric. Further, the subject of courtly love, Amors, delineated as enchanting ("qui seit bien enchanter"), causes many to sing. Gautier is curiously vague concerning the identity of "plusiors" ["many"]; we might assume that he includes troubadour and trouvère poets as the poets who have sung

this song. This very vagueness of who the singers are also indicates the conventional nature of love lyric; we are meant to see these courtly lyrics as a part of a tradition, as standard practice for any courtly poet. In addition, in the first two lines, "Amors qui seit bien enchanter/ As pluisors fait tel chante chanter" (vv. 1-2), Gautier employs the association of love with the composition of poetry standard in troubadour writing.

Gautier repeats forms of the verb "chanter" ["to compose, praise, to write poetry, to sing"] --"chanter," "chant," "chantent"--in the first two stanzas, accentuating the composition of these lyrics and the theme of love. While Gautier implies the pair "amer-chanter," as a courtly theme in this lyric, from the outset he drives the wedge of "enchanter" between them. Gautier characterizes courtly song as bewitching, and sets up this type of lyric in contradistinction to his own. The poet immediately distances himself from the lyrics of *fin'amors*, aligning himself with a more celestial version: "Je ne veil mais chanter tel chant/ Mais por celi novel chant chant/ De cui li angle chantent" (vv. 4-6). Gautier's proposition to sing a new song is not in and of itself an original concept; the medieval reader would have immediately recalled the beginning of Psalm 96: "Cantate Domino canticum novum" ["Sing to the Lord a new song"]. This notion of a new song may also be a reference to a familiar courtly topos shown in, for example, the poetry of William IX, whose canso, "Farai chansoneta nueva" (1-2) ["I will sing a new little song"],¹⁸⁸ similarly proposes to create a novel type of lyric. Gautier's proclamation that his song is new carries more weight since he surrounds himself with a celestial company. Singing the song sung by the angels, Gautier claims for his lyric a higher authority--God.

From the very first stanza, Gautier differentiates between courtly lyric and sacred lyric: the one traditional but dangerous, the other new and sung by angels. Gautier goes further in creating a sharp distinction between courtly lyric and his own, describing courtly

¹⁸⁸ Chansons des Trouvères 6

lyric as perilous to souls. He associates the bewitching nature of secular courtly lyric with that of the devil; "Amor" who knows how to bewitch is tied directly to the great "enchanteür" himself, the devil (v. 8). The new and angelic song that the poet will sing has its own bewitching qualities, which are now viewed in a positive light. Imploring the reader to sing along, Gautier indicates that this new song can foil the bewitcher himself: "Chantez de li, tuit chanteür/ S'enchantez l'enchanteür/ Qui sovent nos enchante" (vv. 7-9). In this way, Gautier invites not only his rival poets but also his readers to participate in singing his new song. Singing Gautier's lyrics affords us some degree of protection against the devil's enchantments.

Gautier lauds the Virgin in a fashion sanctioned by Christian doctrine: she is a source of comfort to all sinners (vv. 37-48), blessed in her role as the Mother of Christ (vv. 29-32). But more curiously, by employing vocabulary similar to that used by the troubadours, the poet also characterizes the Virgin in a traditionally courtly manner. While Gautier claims to be singing a new angelic song, he nevertheless merges standard troubadour rhetoric with this religious subject. The Virgin is "sage et cointe" (v. 15) and is also called "douce Dame" (vv. 49, 61). In addition, service to her brings the promise of a reward, as does service to a courtly lady.¹⁸⁹ The rewards that a secular courtly love poet gains through this service are twofold: as he is allowed a physical relationship with his beloved, the lover's status is automatically raised. By contrast, while Gautier also serves the Virgin for a promised reward, his reward is heavenly salvation. Gautier characterizes service to the Virgin as meriting the love of her son, hence celestial joy without end (vv. 49-54). While a secular courtly poet might plead to be taken on as a servant to his beloved, which implies a personal relationship exclusive of others, Gautier makes the notion of

¹⁸⁹ See, for example, Bernart de Ventadorn's "Non es meravilha s'eu chan" (vv. 49-54) in Anthology of the Provençal Troubadours 40, and Phillipe de Remy's song, "Ne finerai tant que j'avrai trouvec" (vv. 9-16) in Chansons des Trouvères 696.

serving the Virgin a possibility open to everyone. Harking back yet again to her role as intercessor, the promised reward is not romantic love but Christ's love, and consequently eternal joy. Revealing the influence of twelfth-century Marian devotion, Gautier sets up service to her as perhaps a more sure and efficient way to receive Christ's love than serving him directly. (In a revealing shift, he invokes God, not the Virgin, in his prayer ["Diex doinst je la deserve!"], and maintains the hierarchy implicit in the relationship among God, Christ and the Virgin) More important for my purpose is the poet's figuration of her as a courtly lady: springing from the tradition of courtly lyric, she is a *douce dame* in whose service the poet is promised heavenly rewards.

If the beginning of Gautier's "Amors, qui seit bien enchanter" alludes to the newness of the poet's lyric and the vision of a refined courtly relationship between Gautier and the Virgin, the end moves toward an apocalyptic vision, invoking the Last Judgment, and the symbol of Christ's love and salvation, his passion (vv. 67-72). Compared with the beginning of love and song, this lyric ends with heavenly joy; however, the joy proposed is one in Christ, unlike the sensual love and poetry invoked at the beginning by the first two verses. The circularity of beginning and end ("Qui tout commen et fine," and "Qui commencemens est et fins") invokes Christ as the alpha and omega; Gautier's portrayal of the end consequently focuses not on a nightmarish apocalypse but joyful bliss, since all that comes from Christ returns to him.

Gautier's Christian certainty and belief in a divine end stands in juxtaposition to the uncertainty of courtly love. If the troubadour's reason for writing is to win the love of a lady, it is never a sure love, and more often than not it is unrequited. This awareness of the uncertainty of love often prompts the poet to express at the end of a poem of joy a tale of suffering. For instance, if Bernart de Ventadorn, in "Tant ai mo cor ple de joya" begins with love as having the same effect of renewal as spring, he nevertheless expresses at the end the precariousness of his position as a lover: "Eu n'ai la bon' esperansa,/ mas petit

m'aonda,/ c'atressi ten en balansa/ com la naus en l'onda" (37-40) ["I have high hopes of her, but it avails me little, for she holds me in suspense like a ship in the waves"].¹⁹⁰

Gautier rewrites the uncertainty of troubadour love, assimilating it into the general Christian hope for heavenly bliss. As exemplified in "Amors qui seit bien enchanter," Gautier employs many themes from courtly lyric, such as the pairing of love and song, but transforms them to focus on the spiritual aspects in the lyrics which open Book One of the Miracles.

"Amors dont sui espris"

In order to show on a more localized level the kinds of spiritual transformations that Gautier works upon the familiar models of courtly love lyric, I will now examine in detail another lyric, "Amors dont sui espris" (II Ch 4). This lyric offers a striking example of how Gautier, while still employing vocabulary drawn from courtly love lyric, moves more specifically toward religious penance in Book Two of his Miracles. In this lyric Gautier moves from the sensuality of courtly lyric and affective piety to a scene of scourging the flesh in a ritual of penitence. I quote the entire poem here:

	Amors dont sui espris, De chanter me semont. Celi lo, celi pris	[Love by which I am consumed enjoins me to sing. I praise her, I prize her,
4	Qui le pris a dou mont. De prisier son grant pris Pluiseurs fois espris m'ont Li bien qu'en ai apris.	she who has the praise of the world. The good that I learned from her has often sparked { my desire } to praise her great worth.
8	Or li pri si me mont, Si me laist[,] m'emme mont Ou deliteus pourpris Qu'a pourpris la amont.	I pray to her that she raise me, if she allows me, that she raise my soul To the delightful garden that she has laid out on high.
12	Paradys bien porprent Et bien i fait son lit Qui Nostre Dame emprent A servir par delit.	He truly gains Paradise and he makes his bed there who undertakes to serve Our Lady in delight.

¹⁹⁰ Anthology of the Provençal Troubadours 42-43.

16	L'anemi bien sousprent Qui de li chante et lit. Sainte Escriture aprent Que chascuns s'i delit.	He truly defeats the devil, who sings and reads of her. Holy Scripture teaches that each one takes delight in her.
20	N'est nus qui pechiez lit, S'a li servir se prent, Ne l'en giet et deslit.	There is no one whom sin binds, If he undertakes to serve her, she does not free and unbind him.
24	Nus n'est tant englüz D'ors vices ne soilliez Tost ne soit essuiez S'il l'apele, iex moilliez.	No one is so stuck nor sullied by horrid vices that he cannot be cleansed at once if he calls on her with tearful eyes.
28	Sovent la salüez A genolz despoilliez Tant que tuit tressüez Vous i agenoilliez.	Call on her often on your bare knees; Kneel to her until you sweat in anguish.
32	Batez vos et roilliez Et la char ainz tüez Qu'ou feu d'enfer boulliez.	Beat yourself and strike {bruise} yourself and kill the flesh before you boil in the fire of hell.
36	Le siecle et le degres De la char laissons tuit, Que plus que werreglas Glace siecles et fuit.	Let us leave the world and all the pleasure of the flesh, for more than ice earthly life slips and flees away.
40	Trop cher vent ses soulas; Je n'i voi point de fruit. Qui que l'aint, je le has. Ne lo c'on s'i apuit,	It sells its pleasures too dear; I do not see any fruit from it at all. No matter who loves it, I hate it. I do not advise anyone to count on it,
44	Mais plourant jor et nuit Celi tendons les bras Qui tot le mont conduit.	but weeping day and night let us raise our arms to Her who guides the whole world.
48	Pucele en cui Jhesus Prinst incarnation, Envoye nos ça jus Vraie confessiön	Maid in whom Jesus was incarnated, send to us here below {on earth} true confession
52	Et si fai tant lassus Par t'intercessiön De nos toz ne voist nus En la grant arsion N'en la dampnation	and on high do so much by your intercession that not one of us all may go into the great burning nor in damnation
	<i>Ubi erit fletus Et stridor dentium.</i> ¹⁹¹ (II Ch 4)	<i>Where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth.]</i>

The first stanza, recalling I Ch 3 ("Amors, qui seit bien enchanter") with its immediate focus on love, employs much of the lexicon of a courtly lyric. The poet invokes love as the

¹⁹¹ This is a quotation from Matthew 8:12.

driving force behind his song. Love here has captured him, even consumed him: "Amors, dont sui espris, de chanter me semont" (vv. 1-2). Gautier plays etymologically with notions of worth and appreciation, juxtaposing "son grant pris" (v. 5) with phrases such as "Qui le pris a dou mont" (v. 4). The poet also focuses on the movement of rising. The delight that he waits for will only become reality after reaching a certain elevation: "Or li pri si me mont./ Si me laist m'emme mont, Ou deliteus pourpris/ Qu'a pourpris la amont" (vv. 8-11). The mix of terminology invoking material values (in such phrases as "prisier son grant pris" and "li bien") and elevation (the various plays on "mont," mountain, world, or to climb, rise) complicates the possible interpretation of this passage: Gautier's desire to rise, while it involves the spiritual elevation of ascending into heaven, plays on a lexicon which, in a purely secular context, would indicate a rise in social class. Further, Gautier is on fire with a desire that seems rather sensual: he repeats how he is consumed as if by fire ("Amors dont sui espris," and "Plusieurs fois m'espris m'ont" vv. 1, 6), and how he hopes to enter an enclosed garden space, filled with delight ("Ou deliteus pourpris" v. 10).

The notion of climbing into a bed in the second stanza immediately follows this reference to an enclosed space. If the first stanza begins with a standard courtly emphasis, the second, while continuing the references to a courtly sensuality, spiritualizes this vocabulary of courtly lyric. As in the lyric I Ch 8 ("Quant ces floretes florir voi"), with its evocation of a bed in heaven ("Car ja leur lit ou ciel sunt fait" I Ch 8: 40), this stanza also highlights the sensuality of a heavenly bed: "Paradys bien porprent/ Et bien i fait son lit" (vv. 12-13). The standard goal of the troubadour, physical intimacy with his beloved, is subsumed under the guise of disembodied spirituality. While the import of courtly lyric is made to be read in a spiritual vein, Gautier still employs much of the rhetoric of the original. He applies this terrestrial and sensual courtliness to a different setting, that of paradise. A believer who serves the Virgin in delight ("a servir par delit") is granted access to a heavenly bed. Gautier includes even the standard accompaniments of a courtly love

relationship: singing and reading. Gautier redirects these courtly pastimes; instead of singing love lyrics or reading courtly romance, delight comes from singing or reading about the Virgin. The power of reading or singing about her is so great it may even overcome the devil: "L'anemi bien sousprent/ Qui de li chante et lit." (vv. 16-17). While singing and reading may evoke a courtly setting, here their goal is not to inspire physical love, (which, we may assume, is linked to the devil), but to educate. True delight, sanctioned *jouissance*, Gautier tells us, comes from serving the Virgin, as the gospel relates: "Sainte Escriture aprent/ Que chascuns s'i delit" (vv. 18-19). Consequently, any person who serves her will partake of the spiritual pleasures that come as rewards for this service.

If the second stanza moves from the physicality of courtly love to the spirituality of heavenly love, the third and fourth stanzas move into rituals of penance that involve a conscious distancing from the physical, corporeal world. These stanzas make clear the gap between a courtly love-inspired erotic/sensual tone, even when applied to a heavenly setting, and that of true penitence in which the body is repudiated. With a striking proliferation of terms that describe the denigration of the body, the poet exhorts us to clean away our dirt and our sins by kneeling in prayer, beating and striking ourselves, killing the flesh: "A genolz despoilliez/ Tant que tuit tressüez/ [...] Batez vos et roilliez/ Et la char ainz tüez" (vv. 28-29, 31-32). Our bodies have become signs of earthly impermanence, frigidity, sterility: "Le siecle et les degres/ De la char laissons tuit/ Que plus que werreglas/ Glace siecles et fuit/ [...] Je n'i voi point de fruit" (vv. 34-37, 39).

The penitence described herein marks a necessary descent in order to rise to heaven. While the poet has already signaled from the first stanza a desire to rise and meet his lady, this ascent comes at a certain price. It is not to be conferred by virtue of a lady's whim or the fact that the lyric persuaded her to give in; instead, one is meant to despise a miserable condition and pray for better: "Mais plourant jor et nuit/ Celi tendons les bras/ Qui tot le

monde conduit" (42-44). If the first stanza, invoking courtly lyric, shows the poet desiring to rise to his lady, this fourth stanza changes not only the terms of the elevation but also the different nature of a relationship with the Virgin. It is only after this ritual of penitence, when one cries on one's knees to her with one's flesh stripped away, that one can with any hope raise one's arms toward the heavens. Instead of a personal, intimate relationship, the audience comes before her as a community ("tendons") that recognizes her inherent superiority.

In order to stress this notion of a community rather than the intimacy of a courtly love relationship, Gautier ends this lyric with a multitude of references to the institutional dogma and rites of the Church. Alluding to the incarnation, to the Virgin as a figure of intercession, to the ultimate threat of damnation, and finally to the rite of confession as a means of redemption (vv. 45-53), the poet inserts the lyric within the rigid context of the institution itself. Gautier consequently reworks the courtly love relationship, representing it as both the love of the Virgin for the soul and the Church for its community of worshippers.

The lyric ends with a Latin phrase that characterizes hell as an apocalyptic place of weeping and gnashing of teeth: "Ubi erit fletus/ Et stridor dentium" (vv. 54-55).¹⁹² The switch into Latin here clearly invokes the Gospel and the Mass, not only signaling the role of the Church in the process of redemption but also drawing a line of mystery for the masses. While in his prologue Gautier has claimed to want to educate non-Latin speakers, these last lines indicate a return to the ritual of the Latin mass, and by extension, to the place held by the Church and Holy Scripture in penance.

Read in full these two lyrics serve as exemplary models of the ways in which Gautier reworks and transforms the lexicon of courtly lyric in order to spiritualize it,

¹⁹² This line in Latin, not coincidentally, also serves as the last line of the final prayer, "Item Galterus ad Dominum" (II Prière 42, v. 26), implying once again the role of the Church and the gospel in avoiding damnation.

shifting the focus from sensual pleasures with a beloved to spiritual delight in heaven. The lyrics which conclude the Miracles concentrate on the religious, and prayerful, tone, leaving behind the ambiguity of the earlier lyrics.

Gautier's Final Prayers

Gautier does not rework the conventions of courtly love lyric in all of his lyrics which frame the Miracles. The closing songs focus entirely on spirituality. These last poems of the work, the "*salus Nostre Dame*," "*Entendez tuit ensamble, et li clerc et li lai*," two "*oroisons a Nostre Dame*," the "*cinq joies de Nostre Dame*,"¹⁹³ and finally, a poem in Latin, "*Galterus ad Dominum*," in some ways hardly seem connected to the other lyrics of the Miracles, since their length and religious character cast them as a different, and more prayerful, kind of lyric writing altogether. It is in examining these lyrics in relation to his earlier ones that we understand just how strong a poetic identity Gautier has created for himself in the preceding songs.

First, these final compositions are not songs, but prayers, and entitled as such (for instance, "*C'est une oroison a Nostre Dame*," II prière 37, or "*Ce sont les Cinq Joies Nostre Dame*," II Prière 39). With the exception of "*Itam Galterus Ad Dominum*," the prayers, like the earlier lyrics, devoutly describe and address the Virgin. For instance, the first prayer, "*Li Salu Nostre Dame*," centers on the life of the Virgin. Specific references to her life are sprinkled throughout the prayer but out of chronological order: the Annunciation, the meeting with Elizabeth, the Passion, and her Assumption. The very rhythm of this lyric evokes prayer; each stanza begins with "*Ave*," thereby instilling a

¹⁹³ A formalized meditative exercise, such as the enumeration of the five joys of the Virgin would use the analogical situation of the speaker imaging himself as a lover, the Virgin as his beloved. In England, poems of such private devotion specifically to the five joys were rare before the end of the fourteenth century. During the fifteenth century, however, meditative English carols about the Virgin, which resembled the liturgical hymns, played an important role in semi-private devotion. Woolf, The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages 134-144; 274-308.

meditative, incantatory feeling that evokes the rosary. To give one example of many,

Gautier writes:

<p>Ave virge a cui Diex envoia Gabriel. Tu fus la porte cloze que viz Ezechiel. Diex la seut si bien faire et si bien compasser Que nus fors il toz seuz ne la puet trespasser. (vv. 233-236)</p>	<p>[Ave, Virgin to whom God sent Gabriel. You were the closed door that Ezechiel saw. God knew how to make it and design it so well That no one but him alone can go through it.]</p>
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In this passage we see a familiar reference to the Virgin as a door; however, unlike Gautier's earlier songs (especially II Ch 2: 7-8 and I Ch 4: 39), here he sharply limits the interpretation of this metaphor of the door by associating it with the sacred and closed world of prophecy. Gautier guides our interpretation of the closed-door metaphor by restating Ezekiel's prophecy of the Virgin as a "porte cloze."

If the act of interpretation is circumscribed by the religious and prayerful tone of these lyrics, the roles of the author/ narrator and the lady are equally restricted. In these final lyrics Gautier drops his earlier lyrical personae of lover and poet. Gautier is merely a worshipper of the Virgin, simply praying to her for intercession. In II Prière 37, for example, he begs the Virgin, "Daingne oïr ma prière de t'oreille piteuse" (v. 4) ["Deign to hear my prayer with your merciful ear"]. Similarly, in II Prière 38, he writes:

<p>Virge esmeree, pure et fine, En m'oroison, qui ci define, Te pri de vrai cuer et de fin Que tu despries finement Le roi qui n'avra finement Venir me face a bone fin. Amen. (vv. 73-78)</p>	<p>[Refined Virgin, pure and fine, in my prayer, that ends here I pray you with true and noble heart That you implore nobly the king who will have no end that he make me come to a good end. Amen.]</p>
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Here Gautier not only stresses himself as worshipper, but firmly places the Virgin in her role as intercessor. No longer a potential beloved to whom one should direct one's thoughts of love, the Virgin serves as the conventional mediatrix between God and humanity. She is the agent by whom the human soul gains pardon and access to heaven, as Gautier writes in the prologue to the *Salu Nostre Dame*: "Par toy nous pardona son mautalent et s'ire/ Cil qui diex est des diex et des rois maistre et sire" (vv. 187-188)

["Through you he pardoned us his irritation and anger, He who is God of gods and of kings master and sire"].

The last prayer, II Prière 42, further reinforces this notion of the Virgin as uniquely an intercessor, by changing the object of his direct address. It is a personal prayer from Gautier not to the Virgin but to God, since the Virgin has fulfilled his desire for intercession:

Doz Diex, qui sanz fin iés et sanz inīcīon,	[Sweet God, who are without end and without beginning,
Qui tote creature as en subjection,	Who have every creature in your dominion,
En ta grant providence, en ta protection,	Into your great providence, in your care,
Comant m'ame et mon cors et tote m'actīon.	I commend my soul and my body and all my deeds.]
(vv. 1-4)	

This final prayer stands apart from all of the songs, prayers and miracles that precede it, for it turns away from the Virgin in order to focus on God. In addition, both the title and the last line of this poem are in Latin ("Item Galterus ad Dominum" and "ubi erit fletus et stridor dentium" v. 26), contrasting with the rest of the vernacular work. The epistolary tone of the title itself, "Item Galterus ad Dominum," also marks this final poem as quite different from the songs and prayers to the Virgin, and not only because it sets Gautier up as a familiar of God. As this title hints, in this poem Gautier forsakes his persona as descriptive, lyrical poet in favor of that of a worshipper who prays to God. There is but a single, Latinate, rhyme scheme: every line ends in a form of "-īon." Because this final prayer is distinguished from the rest of the work, it suggests that the whole of Gautier's Miracles is a prayer, via the intercession of the Virgin, to God.

These final prayers, which provide the reader with a clue as to the prayerful way in which he meant the entire text of the Miracles to be read, signal the fused poetics of the preceding lyrics. That is, when read against the preceding lyrics, these prayers reveal just how innovative and unconventional Gautier's songs to the Virgin are. These songs are not

uniquely religious or simply courtly; in his lyrics, Gautier expands the religious lyric to include and incorporate the lexicon of secular song.

Gautier's lyrics illustrate an affective and aesthetically pleasing exploration of religious devotion that recalls Bernard of Clairvaux's Sermons on the Song of Songs. Both create a relationship between the divine and the human that is based on love and desire.¹⁹⁴ Gautier's lyric is provocative, however, because he employs the vocabulary of courtly love in the vernacular. Gautier's vernacularism reveals the extent to which his religious devotion relies upon the vocabulary of courtly love; in other words, since they appear in the vernacular, Gautier's lyrics to the Virgin transgress the boundaries of what is secular and what is sacred.

One significant result of this fusion is to heighten the reader's sense of Gautier as a poet; in other words, looking through the lens of the sacred and the courtly here allows us a better sense of Gautier's poetic (rather than simply devout) identity. In a later chapter on Dante's Commedia, we will see the extent to which the poet's identity depends upon an even more complex melding of the sacred and the profane. In the next two chapters I focus on two works which, unlike the Miracles (whose catalogue of miracles is framed by the sensual and spiritual songs to the Virgin), eradicate the boundaries of narrative by inserting lyrics within the text. More importantly for my purpose, these two works, the Breviari d'Amor and the Roman de Fauvel, consistently do not fuse the terms of the sacred and the profane as Gautier does, but rather destabilize their significance.

¹⁹⁴ Bernard considers the relationship between soul and Christ as one resembling that of bride and bridegroom: "Quae est sponsa, et quis est sponsus? Hic Deus noster est: et illa si audeo dicere, nos sumus, cum reliqua quidem multitudine captivorum, quos ipse novit, Gaudeamus" (68:1; PL 183, 1108) ["Who, then, is the Bride, and who is the Bridegroom? The Bridegroom is our God; and, I venture to say so, it is we who are the Bride, with the rest of that multitude of captives whom he knows. Rejoice!" {Eales 416}] See also Jean Leclercq, Saint Bernard Mystique (Bruges: Desclée, De Brouwer, 1948) 365-395, 449-468.

CHAPTER III

MATFRE ERMENGAUD'S BREVIARI D'AMOR: TROUBADOUR LYRIC
WITHIN A RELIGIOUS TEXT

Matfre Ermengaud's Breviari d'Amor (1288-1290) has been considered a work of encyclopedic proportions and it does catalogue a variety of subjects. Matfre comments upon features of the natural world such as comets (5527ff.) and the nature of fish (7257ff.); he includes religious topics such as prayers to the Holy Trinity (14091ff.) and the life of St. Andrew the Apostle (26071ff.); and finally, he presents a debate, unprecedented in the genre of the encyclopedia, concerning the nature of love (27253ff.).¹⁹⁵ The seemingly eclectic, but structurally organized, subjects that Matfre gathered in the Breviari associate this work with the encyclopedia genre, and recall works such as Dante's Commedia and Jean de Meun's continuation of the Roman de la Rose because of their similar interest in compilation and the blurring of generic boundaries. As Peter Ricketts points out, Matfre's aim was to create a summa of contemporary European knowledge.¹⁹⁶

Thirteenth-century writers, especially those invested in clarifying and disseminating Christian dogma, compiled encyclopedic works that would serve as reference tools. In his Breviari, Matfre follows this trend. As a native of Béziers,¹⁹⁷ a jurist, and a devotee of St.

¹⁹⁵ Because of Matfre's broad selection of subjects, C.S. Lewis might have included Matfre in his description of the encyclopedic spirit. Citing Thomas Aquinas and Dante, Lewis describes this encyclopedic spirit as "a passionately logical mind ordering a huge mass of heterogeneous details into unity." See "Imagination and Thought in the Middle Ages" 44.

¹⁹⁶ Peter T. Ricketts, "The Image of Late Thirteenth-Century Occitan Society in the Breviari D'Amor of Matfre Ermengaud," Romance Languages Annual 6 (1994) 141.

¹⁹⁷ It is noteworthy that Matfre's hometown of Béziers was one of the first to be taken in the Albigensian Crusade in 1209. See Brunel-Lobrichon and Duhamel-Amado, Au temps des troubadours. XII-XIIIe siècles (Paris: Hachette, 1997) 206, 257. Coming from a place in which heresy was commonplace, Matfre's Breviari has as a goal the standardization of Catholic doctrine.

Francis,¹⁹⁸ Matfre was in the right place and the right frame of reference for writing a spiritual encyclopedia.¹⁹⁹ Matfre writes in the vernacular Occitan, aiming his work at a lay audience.²⁰⁰ Having begun the Breviari in 1288, half a century after the Albigensian crusade (1208-1229), Matfre carves out an evangelical purpose for his Breviari. Much of the Breviari contains not only Catholic dogma but also directives for such religious practices as confession and prayer, revealing a desire to teach orthodox doctrine in a region very influenced by Cathar beliefs. However, no matter what other thirteenth-century encyclopedia we read, be it Bartholomaeus Anglicus, Thomas of Cantimpré or Brunetto Latini, we will not find a debate on love.

Other works of the thirteenth century, such as Dante's Commedia and Jean de Meun's continuation of the Roman de la Rose, while not encyclopedias in the strict sense, similarly strive to place love within a global, encyclopedic, framework. This focus on love appears most notably in Jean de Meun's Roman de la Rose. Within this book about love, Jean de Meun includes many different subjects presented through allegorical figures such as Reason and False Seeming. It is through the figure of Nature that we specifically see the

¹⁹⁸ As Brundage notes, during the years 1234-1348, new universities—centers of juristic study and teaching—meant an increase in the number of canon lawyers; furthermore, the faculties of canon law were increasingly autonomous from civil law faculties and from theology. That Matfre, a jurist, writes about love not only in Occitan but also in a prescriptive, didactic manner attests to the secularization of canon law. See James A. Brundage, Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1987) 417-86.

¹⁹⁹ Religious concerns clearly influence, and filter into, medieval encyclopedias. The notion that the encyclopedia, with its myriad "facts" about earthly creatures, could simply be separated from the sacred is unthinkable for most of the Middle Ages. As Pierre Michaud-Quantin writes, "L'idée même d'une connaissance profane possédant sa densité propre a été à peine entrevue au XII^e siècle, elle n'est ni affirmée ni appliquée avant le milieu du XIII^e" (582) ["The very idea of a profane knowledge possessing its own density was hardly anticipated in the twelfth century; it is neither affirmed nor applied before the middle of the thirteenth"]. "Les petites encyclopédies du XIII^e siècle," Cahiers d'histoire mondiale 9 (1966) 580-595.

²⁰⁰ In the hands of the Franciscans and Dominicans, these reference books had as a goal the explanation of figurative signs—and consequently the clarification of ambiguity—of Christian doctrine to the lay population. As Maurice de Gandillac asserts, encyclopedias were not intended for a specialized public interested in biblical commentaries, but for the growing curiosity of seigneurs and the bourgeois, serving as "dictionnaires utiles" ["useful dictionaries"] (493-494). For wandering monks striving to keep believers within the accepted orthodox notions of religious practice, encyclopedias provided for the laity, and especially the bourgeois, not only knowledge that was intellectually enticing but spiritual truths. Maurice de Gandillac, "Encyclopédies pré-médiévales et médiévales," Cahiers d'histoire mondiale 9 (1966) 483-518.

connection between the natural world and love that in some ways foreshadows Matfre's work. Nature's long monologue in which she describes the universe, the planets and the habits of animals, for example, places love in the context of a cosmic force rather than an individual emotion (vv. 16733-19399). While discussing the planets and the limited powers of destiny, Nature constructs an image of planetary influences that employs the language of human attraction and desire:

Car touz jors choses engendrables
Engendreront choses samblables
Ou feront leur commissions
Par natureus complessions
Selonc ce qu'el avront chascunes
Entr'euls proprietiez communes
[.....]
Et par leur naturel desir
Voudront li cuer des uns gesir
En oiseuses et en delices,
Cist en vertuz et cist en vices.
(vv. 17519-17524, 17527-17530)

[For things that can be engendered
will always engender similar things,
or they will make their combinations
by natural dispositions,
according to the properties that
they have in common.
{.....}
The hearts of some, by their natural desire,
will want to lie
in idleness and in delights,
These in virtues and these in vices.²⁰¹]

Nature borrows heavily from the language of human sexuality; the same terms which purportedly describe how the planets affect humans--such as "engendrables," "engendreront," "desir," "cuer," and "gesir"--make up the language of love and desire. Love is not merely what the lover feels as he approaches the object of his love, according to Nature, but extends to encompass the entire universe. Jean de Meun sets the stage for a reading of love within universal terms, a precedent that provides for Matfre an example of love within an encyclopedic compilation.

The beginning of the Breviari provides several clues to how Matfre conceives his work and himself as poet:

En nom de Dieu nostre senhor,
quez es fons e paires d'amor,
[.....]
Matfres Ermengaus de Bezerss,
senhers en leys et d'amor serss,

[In the name of God our Lord
who is the fountain and father of love
[.....]
Matfre Ermengaud of Beziers
master in law, and servant of love,

²⁰¹ English translation is from Dahlberg, 292-293.

e no solamen serss d'amor,
 mas de tot fizel aimador,
 [.....]
 comenset, lo premier dia
 De primavera, sus l'albor,
 Aquest Briviari d'Amor,
 Per declarar las figuras
 De l'Abre d'Amor obscuras
 Le qual ell mezeis conpilet
 Aichi quo Dieus lo-i ministret.
 (vv. 1-2, 9-12, 18-24)

and not only servant of love,
 but of every true lover
 [.....]
 begins, the first day
 of Spring, under the tree,
 this Breviary of Love,
 to explain the obscure figures
 of the Tree of Love
 which he himself compiled
 as God instructed him.]

Matfre establishes himself as an accepted expert in matters of law and love: he identifies himself both as a cleric and a servant of love whose service extends to all loyal lovers. As a "senhers en leis" who sees himself as a compiler of an encyclopedia, Matfre's field of expertise is clearly legal (and from this one can assume a thorough knowledge of theology); however, his personal interest is in love, and the fact that we are meant to envision him writing under a tree reinforces this image of Matfre as "d'amor serss." By representing himself as under a tree, writing about a tree, Matfre creates a self-portrait as a secular, even courtly author. Matfre's goal in the Breviari is to explicate the *figuras* of the Tree of Love; as a result, the tree governs the structure of the Breviari. The Tree of Love symbolizes the various types of love, both earthly and divine; each aspect of the tree, whether trunk, branch or fruit, is a figure that represents in a hierarchical fashion the varying facets of love.

From the outset, then, the Breviari d'Amor engages the reader in a play of forms and expectations. By describing the text as a "Briviari d'Amor," the author invites the reader to speculate on the nature of the work. If it is a breviary, or a sort of *vadecum* to be read and meditated on (and the etymological root of "breviary" is the Latin "breviarum," specifically the abridgement of the liturgy), why is it so long? Does "Briviari" have a notarial or legal signification of a testament?²⁰² How do we understand the fact that it is

²⁰² This question is also raised by Paolo Cherchi in "L'enciclopedia nel mondo dei trovatori," L'Enciclopedia medievale ed. Michelangelo Picone (Ravenna: Longo, 1992) 282.

both encyclopedic and devoted to love? What are we to make of the fact that the persona that Matfre adopts as lover/writer, and his inscribed audience, the troubadours, are participants in the *fin'amors* condemned in the late thirteenth century by the Church?²⁰³

Despite its spiritual focus, the Breviari breaks out of a purely religious genre. While much of the Breviari's matter is religious, nearly twenty percent of the text—specifically the last 7000 lines, beginning at v. 27,253—concerns the love between humans, as opposed to the love for God, and serves as a conclusion of sorts to this long work. In this last section, entitled "Le Perilhos Tractat d'amor de Donas segon que han tractat li antic trobador en lors cansos" ["The Perilous Treatise on the Love of women according to what the troubadours have said in their songs"], Matfre constructs an inconclusive debate, an academic exploration of human love, in which the troubadours and their lyrics play a principal role. This debate involves not only the standard players in courtly love, such as the troubadours, lovers, *maldizen*, and of course the ladies, but also the narrator Matfre. Matfre not only transforms the genre of the encyclopedia by including love, but also adds a provocative sensuality to a work purportedly concerned with promoting orthodox Catholic beliefs.

Matfre appends this section on human love after more than 27,000 lines that describe, in the fashion of a conventional medieval encyclopedia, the way the world works and the principles and practice of Catholic rite. The sequence seems to suggest that attention to love and carnal desire must be secondary to the knowledge of how to confess and to pray. And yet, Matfre gives a special kind of emphasis to this section on love both by placing it at the end as a coda and by giving it a title that separates it from the main body of the text. By naming it the "Perilhos Tractat d'amor de Donas," Matfre calls attention to the dangerous nature of this debate and separates it from the more spiritual section of the text.

²⁰³ René Nelli considers the condemnation of a treatise of love, quite possibly by Andreas Capellanus, by the Bishop of Paris, Etienne Tempier, March 7, 1277, as a general condemnation of courtly love. L'Erotique des troubadours: Contribution éthno-sociologique à l'étude des origines sociales du sentiment et de l'idée d'amour (Toulouse: Privat, 1963), 247-264.

This section on love is different from the rest of the text not only generically, but also because it inserts 265 quotations from 66 "antic trobadors," including some lyrics of his own.²⁰⁴ As a result, the Breviari merits consideration as a catalogue of troubadour lyric.²⁰⁵ By including the lyrics of these "antic trobadors" within the tract, Matfre opens his text to other poetic voices. The moments in which these other voices speak are moments of resistance, even dissent, within the text. While Matfre selects the quotations and guides the interpretation of them, these voices nevertheless stand alone. The polyphony of these different voices creates an inherent structural tension within not only the "Perilhos Tractat" but the Breviari as a whole.

Some scholars view the Breviari as an example of a text that attempts to interweave two contradictory subjects: courtly love and divine love. Paolo Cherchi, for instance, sees the troubadour culture within the debate as a conscious attempt to explain the natural law expounded by the prologue, while remaining faithful to the rules of this courtly culture.²⁰⁶ Others interpret the secular love lyric in religious terms. Laura Kendrick, for instance, claims that the "Perilhos Tractat," as an exegetical *razo*, places the troubadour lyrics within "a Catholic moral context."²⁰⁷ Brundage describes the Breviari as a "remarkable synthesis of Catholic theology and *fin'amors*," and a "veritable theology of love."²⁰⁸ For these scholars, the Breviari both distinguishes and collapses the opposites of divine and human love; it is unproblematically a work of Christian doctrine as well as an *ars amatoria*.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁴ In his work on the troubadour lyrics found in the Breviari, Reinhilt Richter includes manuscript descriptions and variations. Die Troubadourzitate im Breviari d'Amor: Kritische Ausgabe der provenzalischen Überlieferung (Modena: S.T.E.M. -Mucchi, 1976).

²⁰⁵ The genre of the catalogue is, of course, closely related to that of the encyclopedia.

²⁰⁶ Cherchi, "L'enciclopedia nel mondo dei trovatori" 287.

²⁰⁷ Laura Kendrick, The Game of Love 81.

²⁰⁸ Law, Sex, and Christian Society 423.

²⁰⁹ Catherine Brown describes the fourteenth-century Spanish work Libro de buen amor in many of the same terms as the Breviari; a study of their intertextuality would be quite revealing. See Contrary Things 116-144; and John Dagenais, The Ethics of Reading in Manuscript Culture: Glossing the Libro de buen amor (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1994).

Matfre does not, however, channel erotic love into a spiritual love for God by assimilating the works of the troubadours into religious lyric, as does Gautier; instead, he maintains the sensuality of troubadour lyric by devoting an entire section of his Breviari to them. To conclude that Matfre includes this catalogue of troubadour lyric in an attempt to assimilate or spiritualize it within a universalizing religious context is too simplistic. *Eros* does not easily slip into the rubric of *caritas*. By separating sensual, courtly love within a separate "tractat" appended to his religious text, Matfre does not contaminate the religious character of his text with the sensuality of courtly lyric as we have seen with Gautier's Miracles. Because the troubadour lyrics are quoted verbatim, they retain traces of their secular, erotic context, in other words, the real physical pleasure which is the ostensible goal of troubadour lyric. Matfre's inclusion of the troubadour songs attests to a clear interest in keeping the body--the sensual body of human love as depicted in the lyrics of the troubadours²¹⁰--within the picture of his text on love.

Matfre is quite explicit about the perilous nature of the debate. In fact, in the prologue to the "Perilhos Tractat," he calls on lovers not to follow the doctrines of courtly love.

Gardon se doncz tug l'aimador
que ls seguens tractatz d'est'amor
no vueilhon auzir ni legir
e mens las doctrinas seguir,
quar las doctrinas, sso-us afi,
son totas plenas de veri
e de vanetat, exceptat
solamen lo derier tractat
del remedi d'aquest'amor
le quals esquantigs la folor.
(vv.27611-20)

[All lovers then take care
that they desire not to hear nor read
the following treatise that is of love,
and even less to follow its doctrines,
because the doctrines, I tell you,
are all full of worms
and vanity, excepting
only the last treatise
of the remedies for this love,
which guards against folly.]

²¹⁰ As Augustine points out in On Christian Doctrine, enjoyment involves delight: "Cum enim adest quod diligitur, etiam delectationem secum necesse gerat" (I. XXXIII.37) ["When, for instance, what is loved is present, it also bears inevitable delight with it" {Green 46}].

Calling his "Perilhos Tractat" a *remedia d'amors*, Matfre recalls a whole tradition of secular writing begun by Ovid. By also using terms that evoke Ecclesiastes 12,²¹¹ he declares human love, in contrast with love for God, to be fleeting and ultimately insignificant. Matfre proclaims that a lover should neither read nor hear of these secular doctrines. This assertion seems somewhat problematic since Matfre's own treatise on love, complemented by lyrics taken verbatim from the troubadours themselves, immediately follows.

An examination of these lyrics constitutes a second aspect of this chapter. The debate offers, because of the inclusion of the lyrics, a multi-voiced perspective on love that resonates throughout the entire text. Unlike the work of critics such as Richter and Meneghetti, which focus on the quotations themselves, my study will emphasize two angles: the role of these secular quotations within the generally religious *Breviari*, and the way in which Matfre creates a doubled religious and courtly poetic identity based on these secular and erotic quotations.²¹²

The question of the sacred and the profane in the *Breviari* is not one of interwoven assimilation or provocative overlay, as we find in Gautier's lyrics to the Virgin or in *Fauvel*

²¹¹ "Memento creatoris tui in diebus iuventutis tuae, antequam [...] revertur pulvis in terram suam unde erat et spiritus redeat ad Deum qui dedit illum, vanitas vanitatum dixit Ecclesiastes omnia vanitas" ["Remember your creator in the days of your youth, before [...] the dust returns to the earth as it was, and the breath returns to God who gave it. Vanity of vanities, says the Teacher, all is vanity"] (Eccl. 12: 1, 7-8).

²¹² Richter views the troubadour quotations as typical of a high medieval argumentation that looks to accepted authorities for its proof: "Für Matfre Ermengau sind alle angeführten Texte Zeugnisse von Autoritäten im Sinn der Argumentation, entsprechend der mittelalterlichen Praxis der *argumentatio* mit Hilfe der *auctoritas*" ["For Matfre Ermengau the quoted texts are all proofs from authorities in the manner of argumentation, corresponding to the medieval practice of *argumentatio* with aid from *auctoritas*"] (51). For Maria Luisa Meneghetti, Matfre's use of the quotations of troubadour lyrics (an example of "massiccia farcitura di citazioni" ["massive filling of quotations"]) is a modern gesture that erases the particularities among them: "[...] dal momento che l'intenzione di Matfre è quella di ragguagliare 'oggettivamente' il pubblico sulla dottrina dei cantori della fin'amor, e dunque le sue oltre 250 riprese (265, per l'esattezza) di testi lirici non hanno una funzione e un significato troppo diversi da quelli delle citazioni che fungono di norma da pezzi giustificative di una qualsiasi indagine critica, non solo antica, ma pure moderna." ["... since Matfre's intention is to inform the audience 'objectively' on the doctrine of the singers of fin'amor, and so his more than 250 quotations (265, to be exact) of lyrical texts have a function not unlike that of quotations that usually substantiate any work of critical analysis, not only ancient, but modern as well"]. *Il Pubblico dei trovatori: Ricezione e riuso dei testi lirici fino al XIV secolo* (Modena: Mucchi, 1984) 125.

MS 146. Matfre instead deliberately deploys the sacred and the profane as contrasting and yet as mutually defining. While the two prologues in this work (that to the Breviari as a whole and that to the "Perilhos Tractat") insist upon appropriate sexual relations such as love within marriage, the debate on love focuses instead on the eroticism of *fin'amors* without regard to religious law and doctrine. It is the assumption that religious and secular subject matters should be separate and incompatible that allows the debate on love, because of its lyric quotations, to retain its eroticism. My examination of the lyrics has a double goal: to examine how these troubadour quotations do not fulfill the religious dictates as described in the prologues, and to explore how they instead offer Matfre a space to prove his courtly poetry as equal to these 'antic trobadors.'

This chapter has six sections. In the first, I examine the basic structure of the Breviari as a traditional encyclopedia. In the second, I analyze the figure of the author/narrator, his reasons for writing the Breviari, and the audience to whom he addresses his work. This study leads me to sections three and four, concerning, respectively, the two prologues, that to the Breviari and that to the "Perilhos Tractat," which both concern the notion of the sacred nature of love. These prologues posit desire and love within a Catholic framework, defining them according to religious faith. Whereas these prologues are conventional, the debate on love fails to fulfill the concept of love which they promise. I analyze this debate in terms of its basic themes, all drawn from secular sources, in the fifth section. I also examine the way in which the troubadour quotations function within the debate. In the final section, I explore the way that the author/narrator Matfre exposes his own poetic experiences of love by including love lyrics that he himself has written in the debate on love. The last section of Matfre's work complicates and compromises the religious views of love that he advocates in the two prologues, and testifies to the unusual, even subversive, presence of the debate on love within this sacred work.

The *Breviari* as Encyclopedia

While the medieval interest in collecting information and creating reference books finds its roots in Roman authors such as Pliny and Varro, the early Middle Ages witnessed the creation of mammoth works encyclopedic in scope by writers such as Isidore of Seville and Cassiodorus. It was during the thirteenth century, precisely the moment in which our author was writing, that there arose a marked interest in, and development of, the genre of the encyclopedia.²¹³ Even as early as Isidore, writers of encyclopedias were creating, as Michel de Bouïard argues, a synthesis of both the profane and Christian heritages.²¹⁴ Works such as Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum maius* (ca. 1245-1260) as well as other "petites encyclopédies" by Alexander Neckham and Thomas of Cantimpré, among others, point to this great interest in compiling and organizing information about the world during the thirteenth century.²¹⁵

²¹³ Malcolm Beckwith Parkes terms the thirteenth century the "age of compilers." "The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* in the Development of the Book," *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt* eds. J.J.G. Alexander and M.T. Gibson (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1976) 129. Jacques Le Goff describes the thirteenth century as a century of encyclopedism. "Pourquoi le XIII^e siècle a-t-il été un siècle d'encyclopédisme?" in *L'Encyclopédisme Médiéval* ed. Michelangelo Picone (Ravenna: Longo, 1992) 23-40. Chenu establishes the association of scholasticism to the increasing interest in the natural world. See *La Théologie au douzième siècle* 19-51.

²¹⁴ Michel de Bouïard, "Reflexions sur l'encyclopédisme médiéval," in *Encyclopédisme* ed. Annie Becq (Paris: Klincksieck, 1991) 282. De Bouïard also points out that from the twelfth century, there was an increasing interest in the profane knowledge of the nature of things, studied for their own sake and not as a reflection of a religious truth (284).

²¹⁵ Augustine notes that encyclopedias serve a particularly important role in explaining the natural world of the biblical Middle East to a Western European audience. In *On Christian Doctrine* he gives, moreover, a strong rationale for writing encyclopedias: "Est etiam narratio demonstrationi similis, qua non praeterita sed praesentia indicantur ignaris. In quo genere sunt quaecumque de locorum situ naturisque animalium lignorum herbarum lapidum aliorumve corporum scripta sunt. De quo genere superius egimus eamque cognitionem valere ad aenigmata scripturaum solvenda docuimus, non ut pro quibusdam signis adhibeantur tamquam ad remedia vel machinamenta superstitionis alicuius" (II:xxix.59) ["There is also a kind of narrative akin to demonstration, by which things in the present, and not the past, are communicated to people unfamiliar with them. In this category are various studies of topography and zoology, and of trees, plants, stones, and other such things. I have dealt with this category earlier and explained that such knowledge is valuable in solving puzzles in scripture, but it is not to be used in place of certain signs to provide the remedies or devices of some superstition" {Green 106-109}].

As guides that are meant to gloss the Scriptural allusions to the natural world that may be unfamiliar to the reader, encyclopedias, according to Augustine, are useful for clarifying the ambiguities of figurative signs.

The reasons for the popularity of the encyclopedia during this century are many and diverse. De Boüard believes that the multiplication and diversification of schools in the thirteenth centuries may have influenced the production of compendia, especially in regard to teaching manuals, and, by extension, of encyclopedias.²¹⁶ According to Malcolm Parkes, the academic notions of *ordinatio* and *compilatio* influenced the layout of manuscripts in the thirteenth century. Manuscripts became more formally organized (with chapter titles and *tabulae*, for instance) as a result of an organized book trade catering to academic needs in Paris that strove for uniformity in layout.²¹⁷ The interest in organizing folios of manuscripts reveals in a microcosm the concurrent encyclopedic desire to organize the world on a larger scale.

In addition, the two new orders of monks, the Franciscans and the Dominicans, were, according to Parkes, formed in part to ensure that Catholic dogma remain orthodox. The desire of these new orders of monks to preach against heresy created a demand for standardized texts, of which encyclopedias were a prominent example.²¹⁸ In fact, because they were rigorously organized, encyclopedias ensured the standardization of doctrine. The works of the Franciscan monk Bartholomaeus Anglicus, author of De Proprietatibus rerum, and the Dominican Thomas of Cantimpré, author of De natura rerum, attest to the importance of the encyclopedia within these two religious orders.²¹⁹

Earlier in On Christian Doctrine he asserts that an ignorance of things makes figurative expressions obscure, "Rerum autem ignorantia facit obscuras figuratas locutiones" (II:xvi.24; Green 82), making explicit the need for knowledge of the world around us in order to understand fully the Bible.

²¹⁶ De Boüard "Reflexions sur l'encyclopédisme médiéval" 285-288.

²¹⁷ Parkes, "Concepts of Ordinato" 137-138. See also Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, "*Statim invenire*: Schools, Preachers, and New Attitudes to the Page," in Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century 201-225.

²¹⁸ Parkes, "Concepts of Ordinato" 137-138.

²¹⁹ Bartholomaeus Anglicus, On the Properties of Body and Soul: De Proprietatibus rerum libri III et IV edited from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS lat. 16098 ed. and trans. R. James Long (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1979); Thomas of Cantimpré, De natura rerum (Berlin and New York: W. DeGruyter, 1986, 1973).

Since encyclopedias are methodical, organized explanations of the natural world, and, in the thirteenth century, especially concerned with classifying doctrine, the Breviari can be classified within this genre.²²⁰ According to Paolo Cherchi, the structure of the Breviari is encyclopedic because it confers a significance, even a moral *sententia*, to the material it contains.²²¹ The Breviari's content is encyclopedic, and Matfre imitates the intertextuality of encyclopedias; consequently, the Breviari, like encyclopedias, refers back to earlier texts by including the troubadour quotations as the authorities on love.²²²

Matfre organizes the Breviari around the central symbol of the Tree of Love, which represents all of the different forms of love according to the laws of nature and mankind. In the first and most traditionally encyclopedic section, Matfre discusses the divine (God, angels, and devils), the heavens (stars, constellations, planets, planetary influences on the world, comets, and the four elements), the world (plants, herbs and their properties, birds, fish, and beasts), and finally man (soul, body, humors, diet, dreams, and visions). From the subject of man, the Breviari moves to a discussion of sin, original and the others that followed, and finally of will and intention.

Matfre then describes the different divisions and "fruit" of the "albre d'amor," which examines in detail the Catholic belief system.²²³ Matfre first discusses the love of God and neighbor. In this lengthy section, he explains why one should love God; six signs of this love, such as charity; why one should not venerate idols, and why these are different from the images at Church; the Virgin's life and miracles, including prophecies

²²⁰ Maurice de Gandillac sees the order of the religious themes and the mass of scientific knowledge in medieval encyclopedias as somewhat arbitrary. "Encyclopédies Pre-médiévales et médiévales," Cahiers d'histoire mondiale 9 (1966), 493.

²²¹ Cherchi, "L'enciclopedia nel mondo dei trovatori" 285.

²²² De Boüard characterizes medieval encyclopedias as making reference to earlier texts. "Reflexions sur l'encyclopédisme médiéval" 282.

²²³ I use "Catholic" here, and throughout the chapter, to describe the religious doctrine in the Breviari, in distinction to Cathar belief, which I believe Matfre combats with the orthodoxy of his text.

about her birth and the birth of Christ;²²⁴ prayer; confession: how, when, where, to whom; contrition; venial sins; mortal sins; different types of sinners and their sins, such as the clergy, lords, tavern-keepers, and women.²²⁵ At this point in the text, Matfre examines the ethics and dogma of Catholicism: how to perform penance; how the love of neighbor is connected to the love of God; what to do if one's parent or child sins; the three cardinal virtues; the Catholic faith and its twelve articles, which is interpolated with the life, death and resurrection of Christ; and finally, the lives of St. Andrew the Apostle and St. John the Evangelist. The Breviari then concludes with the "Perilhos Tractat."

Although Matfre details in his work diverse topics whose range in subject matter create a compendium of learning, the Breviari is rarely on any list of encyclopedias of the thirteenth century.²²⁶ While we might liken it to Brunetto Latini's Trésor in scope, the Breviari d'Amor is a book primarily about love in all its forms, and in many ways is quite different from most encyclopedias whose focus remains the natural world and its association with God. Cherchi argues that the moral key to this encyclopedia is not the properties or nature of things, but love;²²⁷ similarly, I suggest that the Breviari inserts the subject of love, common especially to romances and lyric song, into the genre of the encyclopedia.

Since the Breviari includes a catalogue of troubadour lyric, it may also be considered a cultural encyclopedia, a sort of written *paideia*,²²⁸ preserving the poetry, and

²²⁴ This section also includes details about how the Jews were responsible for Christ's death. On the anti-semitism of the Breviari see Bernhard Blumenkranz, "Ecriture et image dans la polémique anti-juive de Matfré Ermengaud," Cahiers de Fanjeaux: Juifs et Judaïsme en Languedoc 12 (1977) 295-317.

²²⁵ Cherchi believes that since so many verses concern matters such as the origin of good and evil, the belief that there is a single God who was both divine and human, the nature of devils, confession, prayers and diet, Matfre may have been interested in combatting Cathar heresies. "L'enciclopedia nel mondo dei trovatori" 286.

²²⁶ Most encyclopedias, while purportedly destined for the laity, tend to be written in Latin. However, the language of the text is not a clear indicator of its genre; other encyclopedias exist in the vernacular, such as Brunetto Latini's Li livres dou trésor and the anonymous French poem, L'ymage du monde.

²²⁷ Cherchi, "L'enciclopedia nel mondo dei trovatori" 284.

²²⁸ In other words, as a *paideia*, the Breviari is meant to teach not only Catholic doctrine (thus producing moral development) but also the literary heritage of the South of France (thus producing cultural

by extension, the culture, associated with Occitan society in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century. In fact, Cherchi considers the Breviari as a new form of *ensenhamen d'amor*, part of that literary genre which espoused, catalogued and classified the virtues and duties of courtoisie.²²⁹ Cherchi argues that in order to preserve Occitan culture, Matfre aligns courtly love with that love prescribed by natural law, and by extension, God. He describes how Matfre wanted to save a cultural heritage, and in doing so, gave courtly love a certain dignity:

per questo legò la nozione dell'amore trobadorico al contesto più vasto dell'amore naturale che non solo consentiva di riscattare da ogni accusa di frivolezza o di peccaminosità l'amore cortese, ma dava anche una dignità filosofica alla cultura che l'aveva prodotto.
(289)

[for this {reason he} tied the notion of troubadour love to the broader context of natural love, which not only allowed him to redeem courtly love from every accusation of frivolity or sinfulness, but also endowed with a philosophical dignity the culture that had produced it.]

For Cherchi, the Breviari is unique among encyclopedias: a sacred text that interweaves traces of courtly culture within its pages. This joining of courtly with natural (and divine) love in the Breviari is not a simple spiritual assimilation since, for Cherchi, it not only purifies courtly love but ennobles the culture from which it came. Cherchi's analysis suggests that the love described in the Breviari and the troubadour lyrics of the "Perillos Tractat" is natural, which for Cherchi seems to have moral connotations. He asserts that because courtly love is tied to the concept of natural love, it loses its sinfulness. However,

development). See Werner Jäger, Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture English trans. G. Highet (New York and Oxford: Oxford UP, 1945), 3 vols., cited in Cherchi, "L'enciclopedia nel mondo dei trovatori" 278.
²²⁹ Cherchi, "L'enciclopedia nel mondo dei trovatori" 282. Cherchi notes that the troubadours, such as Arnaut Guilhem de Marsan (1170-80), and Peire Lunel de Monteg (ca. 1310); were writing *ensenhamen*; others, such as Daude de Pradas and At de Mons wrote a series of poems in *ensenhamen* form (278-9). Cherchi also believes that the fact that Matfre offers advice to women in the "Perillos Tractat" using a part of an *ensenhamen* of Garin lo Brun (vv. 30278-30307), serves as further proof of the links between this text and the encyclopedia genre (289).

I suggest that the lyrics, quoted verbatim without any kind of commentary or Catholic overlay, contrast with the natural law expounded in most of the Breviari.

The Breviari has a clear place in the tradition of the encyclopedia genre. Matfre must, however, justify the presence of erotic troubadour lyric with this work of orthodox Catholic doctrine. In the prologue to the Breviari, Matfre maps out for the reader not only the subject of the Breviari, but also his conception of his audience and of his role as poet.

The Inscribed Audience, and Matfre's Self-Inscription as Poet/Lover

The entire prologue of the Breviari (some 250 lines) offers detailed descriptions not only of Matfre's inscribed audience, but also of his role as poet. With its sheer length and breadth of subject matter, the Breviari is directed to a wide and varied reading public, one interested in learning about the natural world and its religious symbolism.²³⁰ While it focuses on religion, the Breviari is not aimed at a clerical audience, but at the lay population.²³¹

Doncs pus Dieus, per sa gran bontat,
m'a un pauc de saber donat,
aquell mezeis vueilh la present obra far
per obrir los entendemens
e declarar los pessamens
de cells que no son aprimat,
ni fort entenden ni fundat
en las Sanctas Esriptural
ni en leis ni en naturas (vv. 45-54)

[Since God then in his great goodness,
gave me a little learning,
that very learning I would like to use in making this
work, to open the understanding
and enlighten the thinking
of those who are not educated
nor [have] strong understanding nor foundation
in the Holy Scriptures
nor in law nor in nature.]

²³⁰ Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie suggests that while books were precious, they were dispersed not only among the wealthy nobles but other more modest classes as well. He gives an interesting, if anecdotal, account of the role played by books in an Occitan village in the south of France nearly contemporaneous with Matfre's Breviari. Montaillou, village occitan de 1294-1324 (Paris: Gallimard, 1975) 350-366.

Ladurie's account has been described as seriously flawed, for example, by Leonard E. Boyle in "Montaillou Revisited: *Mentalité* and Methodology," in Pathways to Mediaeval Peasants ed. J. Ambrose Raftis, *Papers in Medieval Studies*, no. 2 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981) 119-140.

²³¹ Religious education for the laity becomes even more prescribed in the late Middle Ages. William Abel Pantin, for example, examines an early fifteenth-century set of instructions for a lay person in his article "Instructions for a Devout and Literate Layman." Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays presented to Richard William Hunt 398-422.

In addition to emphasizing his own active poetic impulse (and the stress of the word "mezeis" in conjunction with "saber" overshadows God's role in the production of this text), Matfre asserts that his text has as a goal the instruction of the lay population.²³² Matfre characterizes this audience as uninstructed; the intended readers do not know Catholic dogma. Morally lost, uneducated in the laws of Holy Scripture as well as of those nature, they need a guide to help them understand Catholic doctrine, as well as the Catholic gloss on what is natural, so as to save their souls. Matfre takes on this task of revealing orthodox Catholic truth to the uninstructed.

In his Breviari, Matfre proposes to teach the laity holy doctrine and to explain the Tree of Love and its ordained forms of appropriate love. His teachings are of necessity in the vernacular; while Matfre assumes a literate audience, it is one that is firmly planted in the secular world, at a distance from both Latin and the finer points of the Church's doctrine: ²³³

Mas quar asatz poirian dubtar
 alcu e cossiran muzar
 en las cauzas devan dichas,
 abrendjadament escrichas
 e tocadas trop subtilmen,
 per dar entendr'a laiga gen
 que non han granda scientia
 ni trop gran experiencia,
 a major lur istructio
 lur dirai l'exposicio
 d'est albre d'amors, declaran
 tot sso quez ay tocat denan,
 seguen quascuna figura
 del albre e sa natura;
 quar per amor de laiga gen
 que non han tan d'entendemen
 que la paraula latina
 de la scientia divina
 saubesson entendre per se

[But since plenty could doubt
 and some will, pondering, gape
 at the above-said things,
 written in brief
 and touched on too subtly,
 in order to give understanding to lay people
 who do not have great knowledge
 or very great experience,
 for their greater instruction
 I will tell them the explanation
 of this Tree of Love, explaining
 everything I have touched upon before,
 following each figure
 of the tree and its nature;
 because, it is for the sake of lay people
 who do not have enough understanding
 to be able to understand on their own
 the Latin text
 of divine knowledge,

²³² Gautier also asserts that his text is meant for lay instruction. Miracles de Nostre Dame, vv. 1-10.

²³³ Matfre's vernacular Breviari comes during what A.J. Minnis and A.B. Scott term the "translation movement" of the thirteenth century. Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism c. 1100-1375 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988) 374-382.

mais que per neguna altra re,
 m'a plagut tractar en roman,
 quar estiers me fora .c. tans
 plus leugier tractar en lati
 que dir en romans, sso-us afi.
 (vv. 538-556)

and for no other reason,
 that it has pleased me to compose in the vernacular,
 for it would have been a hundred times
 easier to compose it in Latin
 than to say it in Romance, I assure you.]

Although the laity are able to read, they remain, according to Matfre, relatively uneducated, ignorant about Latin and matters of theology. This characterization of his reading public is belabored; Matfre repeatedly states their lack of knowledge of theology: "laiga gen/ que non han granda scientia/ ni trop gran experiencia [...] non han tan d'entendemen/ que la paraula latina/ de la scientia divina/ saubesson entendre per se" (vv. 538-540, 548-551). The repetition of the term "scientia" links the laity's ignorance--their lack of knowledge and experience--directly with the "scientia" of theology. This notion of the lay population as poorly equipped to understand theology may indicate Matfre's interest in both the goals of the Albigensian crusade (to erase heretical misunderstandings of Christian theology that conflicted with Church teaching) and the continuing need to teach orthodox theology to the laity. Matfre plays the part of linguistic go-between between the lay population and the Church and its doctrine; his text acts as a bridge between them.

Fluent in both Latin and *romans*, Matfre presents himself as a suitable teacher. Even as a mediator between these sacred and secular worlds, he takes care to distance himself from the population to whom he dedicates his work. To assert his authority, Matfre emphasizes that while he writes in the vernacular, it would have been infinitely easier for him to write in Latin: "quar estiers me fora .c. tans/plus leugier tractar en lati/ que dir en romans" (vv. 554-556). By this declaration, Matfre not only maintains to the audience that Latin is the language with which he is most familiar, but, also assures that his teachings can be trusted to be orthodox: he is someone who has intimate knowledge--who has the *scientia* that the laity lacks--of the language of Church teaching.

While Matfre sets himself up as an authority figure, as cleric and lover, he takes care to ensure that he not be accused of pride or error. Despite his ability to move easily between the worlds of sacred Latin and secular vernacular, Matfre adopts an unassuming and conventional tone to explain why he has begun writing this book. He attributes his learning to God ("Dieus... m'a un pauc de saber donat" vv. 45-46), humbly minimizing the breadth of his knowledge and his own achievement in attaining it. He asserts that he was begged by others to write. He composes the Breviari,

[...] satisfazen a pregueiras
mout corals e plazentieiras
a me fachas per aimadors
e per divers trobadors
que m son vengut soven denan,
de cor humilimen sopleguan
qu'ieu de lur dubitatio,
ab ver declaratio,
doctrina dess vertadieira. (vv. 55-63)

[... in answer to prayers
very sincere and pleasing
made to me by lovers
and by various troubadours
who often came before me,
humbly entreating from their hearts
that I of their doubts,
with a true explanation,
give truthful doctrine.]

Humility is the key word in this passage. Matfre characterizes the troubadours and the lovers as humbly and repeatedly pleading, and this characterization of them as meek and mild extends to the figure of Matfre himself. Matfre is a reluctant author who is begged by future readers to write a text that would spiritually enlighten them. This strategy of employing such a humility topos at the beginning of a literary work is not, of course, new. For example, in Le Chevalier de la Charette, Chrétien de Troyes writes that his patroness commanded him to write: "Puis que ma dame de Chanpaigne/ vialt que romans a feire anpraigne/ je l'anprendrai molt volentiers" (vv. 1-3) ["Since my lady of Champagne wishes me to undertake to write a romance, I will undertake it very willingly"].²³⁴ Similarly, Guillaume de Lorris asserts that the personified figure of Love has commanded him to write Le Roman de la Rose: "Or vueil cest songe rimoier/ Pour noz cuers faire aguissier/ Que l'amors le me prie et commande" (vv. 31-33) ["Now I want to put this

²³⁴ Chrétien de Troyes, Le Chevalier de la Charette ed. Mario Roques (Paris: Champion, 1972).

dream into rhyme, to excite our hearts, for Love entreats and commands it of me"].²³⁵

Matfre draws on a well-established tradition of providing an outside motivation for writing, one that from the beginning establishes credibility for the literary enterprise.

Whereas both Chrétien and Guillaume use the topos succinctly, Matfre draws the scene out over a space of some forty lines: he not only describes the manner in which the troubadours and the lovers asked him to write, and the nature of their request, but also quotes them directly. Matfre goes beyond describing the scene of their entreaties; he represents it in direct discourse, so that the reader acts as a witness:

Messier matfre, pus de cosseilh
entre nos no-us trobam pareilh
en fag d'amors, ell qual dubtam,
per amors querem e pregam,
quar vos etz mout prims e subtils
e sabetz d'amors los dregz fils,
que vos nos deiatz declarar
e far entendre e mostrar
sso en qu'avem lonc temps dubtat
e mout enquist e demandat,
ses trobar certificamen
verai, clar ni sufficien,
sso es a saber, d'est'amor
de que canto li trobador,
quinha causa es e don nais.
(vv. 65-79)²³⁶

[Master Matfre, since we do not find
among ourselves the same wisdom
in matters of love, of which we doubt,
we seek and pray, for love,
because you are very learned and clever
and know the straight story of love,
that you deign to explain to us
and help us to understand and show [us]
what we have for a long time been uncertain of,
and very much asked and enquired into,
without finding true,
clear nor sufficient certainty
so as to know about this love
of which the troubadours sing,
what causes it and whence it is born.]

The troubadours and lovers, desiring to know the cause of love, ask for a novel, philosophical, even encyclopedic, examination, according to Cherchi.²³⁷ The repetition of their doubts and questions, combined with their humble pleas ("ell qual dubtam,/ per amors querem e pregam" vv. 67-68; "lonc temps dubtat/ e mout enquist e demandat/ [...] sso es a saber, d'est'amor/[...] quinha causa es e don nais" vv. 73-74, 77, 79) portrays the

²³⁵ Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meun, *Le Roman de la Rose* ed. and trans. Armand Strubel, "Lettres Gothiques" series (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1992).

²³⁶ Perhaps coincidentally, in "Donna me prega" Guido Cavalcanti creates a similar scene about being asked to speak about love using much of the same vocabulary. See *Guido Cavalcanti: The Complete Poems*, Trans. Marc Cirigliano (New York: Italica Press, 1992) 58-59.

²³⁷ Cherchi, "L'enciclopedia nel mondo dei trovatori," 283.

troubadours and lovers as students, humbly seeking answers from an authority figure. In his representation, Matfre is an expert on love; not only is he intelligent ("mout prims e subtils" v. 69), but he has knowledge of the true, straight story of love: "sabetz d'amors los dregz fils" (v. 70). The repetitive, formulaic language of the troubadours and lovers ("querem e pregam," "enquist e demandat") creates a performance, even if literary. Their entreaties forge a link between the secular and sacred worlds: terms such as "pregueiras" and "de cor humilimen sopleguan" recall the language of religious prayer, while "aimadors," "trobadors," and "mout corals e plazentieiras" generally derive from a courtly context. This inscribed audience of troubadours and lovers is aware of proper behavior in a court or in church, and perhaps even literary conventions, whereas the uneducated laity, for whom Matfre ostensibly writes, seems to have but little knowledge of matters of theology (vv. 538-556).²³⁸

The repetition--of the terms of humility, of the number of entreaties-- coupled with the use of direct speech of the troubadours and the lovers turns the focus even more decisively onto Matfre himself. By purporting to quote the troubadours and lovers directly, Matfre succeeds in writing praise for himself in his readers' voices, and even guarantees a positive response to his book. To the troubadours and lovers, Matfre is not only discerning but also an authority on love: "vos etz mout prims e subtils/e sabetz d'amors los dregz fils" (vv. 69-70). Matfre's elaborate scene accentuates his own prestige and the renown of his expertise.

Matfre is not, of course, silent in response to this entreaty from the lovers and troubadours. In a long passage he agrees to take up his pen, and thereby directs his reasons to a broader audience: his reading public. Matfre quickly takes advantage of this expanded

²³⁸ That these descriptions are separated in the text may indicate one of two possibilities: that the laity is not analogous to this inscribed audience of troubadours and lovers, or that it is precisely the troubadours and lovers who need instruction in matters of theology. Given the general didactic and religious tone of the *Breviari*, the latter seems more likely.

audience by expanding his initial self-description as lawyer and lover to emphasize his personal amatory experience. Matfre maintains again and again in this first prologue that he is a "true lover": "hieu sui aimans *verais*" (v. 80) ["I am a sincere lover"]; "ieu sui en *ver'amor conplitz*" (v. 97) ["I am accomplished in true love"]; "hieu sui d'amor *verais* filhs" (v. 100) ["I am the true son of love"]. In addition, in the second prologue to the "Perilhos Tractat," Matfre claims that he is the best of true lovers, better than even Floire, Tristan and Paris:

Doncs, pus la natura d'amor
 sabon li verai aimador,
 ne dei hieu saber tot quan n'es,
 quar plus fis aimans no viu ges,
 qui fo anc plus fis en amor
 de me: Floris ab Blachaflor,
 ni Thisbes anc ni Priamus
 ni Serena ni Eleduc,
 Alions ni Filomena
 ni Paris anc ni Elena,
 ni la bel'Izeutz ni Tristans,
 Oratz, Alma, ni autr'aimans
 (vv. 27833-27844)

[Thus, since true lovers know
 the nature of love,
 then I must know all about it,
 because a more faithful lover never lived
 who was more faithful in love
 than I: Floire with Blanchefflor
 nor Thisbe nor ever Pyramus
 nor Serena nor Eliduc
 Alions nor Filomena
 nor Paris nor ever Helen
 nor the beautiful Isolde nor Tristan,
 Oratz, Alma, nor other lovers.]

This list of courtly lovers, standard in the literature of love, certifies Matfre's expertise; while placing himself above these famous lovers, Matfre does not name a beloved of his own. One is left wondering if our expert in love has true experience,²³⁹ or if he means to derail the secular love, privileging a spiritual, divine love. Nonetheless, the enumeration of these famous lovers seems to prove quantitatively Matfre's amatory knowledge; moreover, by ranking the love of these traditional lovers as secondary to his own, Matfre seems to rise above them in experience. Designating himself a "true lover" has two effects: first, Matfre

²³⁹ This is a question that concerns most courtly lyric: is there a real woman to whom the poetry is addressed, or is the woman a fictive impulse for the production of poetry? As Paolo Cherchi writes, "La cosiddetta sincerità dei trovatori nasce da un paradosso non dissimile da quello che Diderot chiamò il paradosso dell'attore: egli è tanto più credibile quanto più mente, perché la finzione del vero si può dire riuscita quando riesce a creare perfettamente l'illusione del vero." ["The so-called sincerity of the troubadours arises from a paradox not dissimilar to that which Diderot called the paradox of the actor: he is the more believable the more he lies, because the fiction of truth can be said to be successful when it succeeds in creating perfectly the illusion of truth"]. "L'enciclopedia nel mondo dei trovatori" 278.

suggests that he is an exemplary model for other lovers, and more importantly, he has sanction as a superior lover (he is, after all, a true, sincere lover: "hieu sui aimans verais" v. 80). If Matfre's goal is to detail all of the forms of God's love, sacred as well as profane, as an experienced lover, teacher, and cleric, he is an appropriate personality to undertake this project.

Matfre advocates listening to "true lovers" as a means of understanding love: "sui certz que naturalmen/ verais aimans, de tot son sen/ volontiers cossira d'amors/e·n parl'ab autres aimadors / et escouta de bon talen/ los autres qu'en parle eichamen" (vv. 81-86) ["I am certain that naturally a true lover, with all his wisdom, willingly thinks of love and speaks of it with other lovers, and listens with good will to others who speak of it as well"]. In advising lovers to listen to other lovers, and portraying himself as an exemplary lover, Matfre proposes that any true lover should be concerned with this—his—lengthy explanation of love. Matfre closes this circular argument by drawing the subject back to himself as poet and to his text.

Matfre asserts, through his direct quotation of their entreaty, that it is the troubadours and lovers themselves who have begun to doubt the spiritual truth of that love on which their identities seem to rest: "e mout enquist e demandat,/ses trobar certificamen/verai, clar ni sufficien,/sso es a saber, d'est'amor/de que canto li trobador" (vv. 74-78). In their request to Matfre, the troubadours and lovers not only wonder about the nature of love, how it arises, and its causes, but also seem to doubt whether this love, grounded in an earthly context, is true, clear, and sufficient unto itself. Matfre enacts here a curious sleight of hand. He sets himself up as the preeminent authority on love: even the *lovers and troubadours* go to Matfre to get an explanation of the nature of love about which, one would assume, they have intimate knowledge!

While a concern for the divine takes up the lion's share of the Breviari, troubadours and lovers stand at both the beginning and the end of this work on love, and

consequently, like the *alpha* and the *omega*, frame the divine center of Matfre's text.²⁴⁰ Significantly, Matfre does not even begin explaining why he incorporates troubadour lyric in his *Breviari* until much later in the text, after he has written an exhaustive exposition of Catholic doctrine and beliefs. Despite his orthodox position, Matfre does not unilaterally condemn the troubadours, since they write of love "alqu grans bes, alcu grans mals" (v. 27794) ["some as a great good, some as a great ill"]. His revision of the troubadours is necessary, he reveals, because of the errors of the *maldizens* and their misleading, dangerous lyrics:

E quar aquilh quez an maldig
 en lurs cantars d'aquest'amor,
 han semenada gran error,
 e quar hieu sui aimans verais,
 no's pot far per re qu'ieu m'en lais
 de repenre los failhemens
 dels digz trobadors maldizens,
 qu'estiers m'estaria mout lag,
 per qu'ieu vueilh en forma de plag
 aquo qu'en an dig recitar
 per mielhs la veritat trobar,
 reprenen las dichas errors
 per digz dels autres trobadors,
 mostran los bes qu'amor pren
 qui domnas ama leialmen.
 (vv. 27796-27810)

[And since those who have cursed
 this love in their songs
 have sown great error,
 and since I am a true lover,
 nothing could make me refrain
 from reproaching the faults
 of the above-mentioned slanderous troubadours,
 for it would be very unseemly for me;²⁴¹
 and therefore I want to explain what I say of it
 in the form of a debate
 to better find the truth,
 reproaching the above-said errors
 through the sayings of the other troubadours,
 showing the good that love takes
 who loves ladies loyally.]

Matfre's work on love aims to instruct the troubadours and lovers who have come before him looking for the true doctrine of love, contrary to that proposed by the *maldizen*. Here, Matfre envisions himself not as a cleric attempting to spiritualize erotic love, but as a true lover, a troubadour who will write in a form reminiscent of the *tenso* or quarrel. The notion of instructing a reader about love finds its origins in other works with which Matfre was most likely familiar, such as Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* and Andreas Capellanus' *De Arte*

²⁴⁰ This configuration of the sacred in the center of the *Breviari* recalls Lewis' conception of medieval cosmology: man being "outside the wall" of the heavens. However, as Lewis notes, a second model placed the earth at the center. "Imagination and Thought in the Middle Ages" 59-60. See also *The Discarded Image* 96-102.

²⁴¹ I.e., "it would be very unseemly for me to refrain from reproaching them."

honeste amandi:²⁴² however, what is striking here is Matfre's poetic relationship with his own material.

While this inscribed audience of lovers and troubadours is clearly most closely linked to secular forms of love, Matfre's teaching proposes to focus on matters of theological doctrine and spiritual truth, purportedly broadening the concept of love to include and in fact privilege its sacred, divine incarnations. The troubadours and lovers want Matfre to explicate the nature of love (vv. 77-79) but also true doctrine (v. 63). A work whose title indicates its amatory subject matter, the "Briviari d'Amor" clearly has, as its inscribed audience and author/narrator, the players who are most closely associated with *fin'amors*.

²⁴² Ovid characterizes his poem as a manual of instruction about love, one which causes the reader to love: "Siquis in hoc artem populo non nouit amandi / Hoc legat et lecto carmine doctus amet" (1-2) ["If there be any one among you who is ignorant of the art of loving, let him read this poem and, having read it and acquired the knowledge it contains, let him address himself to Love"]. Ovide, L'Art d'aimer French trans. Henri Bornecque (Paris: "Les Belles Lettres", 1924). English translation from The Love Books of Ovid trans. © Grosset and Dunlap (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1932) 109. Referring to a mysterious (and perhaps fictionalized) friend, Walter, who has fallen in love, Andreas Capellanaus proposes his text as a guide to help Walter learn the art of love. The anonymous author of the French translation of Ovid, L'Art d'amours (ca. 1220), defends the teaching the art of love, although linked to sorcery, on firmly Christian grounds: "Les autres ars non liberaux no sont du tout deffendues ne du tout octroiees, si comme astenomie sanz sors et sans nigromance, et si comme l'art d'amours, qui n'est du tout octroiés ne deffends pour deux causes: tel puet lire et oïr l'art d'amours qui, s'il ne l'eüst leü, ja neüst talent ne volanté d'amer; et si n'est mie deffendue du tout pour ce que aucuns qui avoient esté navrés d'amours ne savoient querre leursanté ne leur guarison, si en venoient a droite mort et en villains pechiés contre nature" ["The other non-liberal arts are neither entirely completely forbidden nor completely permitted, such as astronomy without sorcery and without necromancy, and such as the art of love, which is neither completely permitted nor forbidden for two reasons: The first is that some, had they never read about the art of love, would never have the desire or the will to love. And it is not completely forbidden completely because some who are heartbroken over love would not know how to seek their health or their cure and thus would go straight to their death from it, and in a wicked sin against nature"]. L'Art d'amours: Traduction et commentaire de l'"Ars amatoria" d'Ovide ed. Bruno Roy (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974) 67-68 (ll. 102-109); L'Art d'amours English trans. Lawrence B. Blonquist (New York and London: Garland, 1987) 4, whose English translation I have modified. Andreas Capellanus on Love ed. and trans. P.G. Walsh (London: Duckworth, 1982) 30-31. Even religious writers such as Augustine indicate the necessity of teaching about love. As Augustine writes in On Christian Doctrine, "Modus ergo diligendi praecipiendus est homini, id est quomodo se diligit ut prosit sibi—quin autem se diligit et prodesse sibi velit, dubitare dementis est—praecipiendum etiam quomodo corpus suum diligit, ut ei ordinate prudenterque consulat" (I. XXV.26) ["Human beings must be told how to love, that is, how to love themselves so as to do themselves good. (It would be absurd to doubt that anyone wishes to love himself and do himself good.) They must also be told how to love their own bodies so as to look after them systematically and sensibly" {Green 34-35}].

Following the events of the Albigensian crusade, in a sense Matfre here treads on dangerous ground with this troubadour-inspired audience and author/narrator figure. Matfre takes care to distinguish the troubadours from the enemies of love, and by extension of the law: the *maldizen* and the *joglars*. While the troubadours had few direct links to Catharism, the courts that they frequented often did;²⁴³ as a result, the troubadours may have been, if only implicitly, generally associated with the doctrinal errors of their patrons. In order to demarcate *his* troubadours--and himself--as true and faithful, Matfre introduces the figures of the *joglars* as Other: condemned, and even heretical.²⁴⁴ If the *maldizen* destroy love because they speak ill, the *joglars* pervert love because of their interest in worldly desires. Matfre's condemnation of the *joglars* appears at a distance from the opening scene with the troubadours; approximately 15,000 lines distance the *joglars* from the troubadours. In a fairly long passage in which Matfre considers the good and evil of various professions, he devotes a section to the *joglars*. Although he does not relate them to the troubadours, the similarity between them is unmistakeable, for they are both employed in writing verses about love. Matfre condemns the *joglars* for lying and enticing people into worldly vanity and sin.

Lagotier son e mal dizen,
Et avar e desconoissen,
E deslial e messorguier,
E lah parlan e putanier,
E comunamen jogador,
E tavernier e bevedor,
E porto mesatgaria

[They are shameful and slanderous,
and misers and ingrates,
and disloyal and liars,
and foulmouthed and whoremongers
and generally gamblers,
and publicans and drinkers
and they often act as go-betweens

²⁴³ See Geneviève Brunel-Lobrichon and Claudie Duhamel-Amado, *Au Temps des troubadours* 196-199.

²⁴⁴ Matfre is not alone in his condemnation of *joglars*. In his thirteenth-century penitential, Thomas of Chobham condemns three sorts of *joglars*: *joglars* who make unworthy use of their bodies in obscene ways; wandering *joglars* who acted in court as professional flatterers; and finally *joglars* who frequented taverns singing foolish songs. Thomas does, however, commend those *joglars* who sing about the lives of the saints and *chansons de geste*. Cited in Linda Paterson, *The World of the Troubadours: Medieval Occitan Society, c. 1100-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993) 111. Dante places Arnaut Daniel, whose *vida* describes him as a *joglar*, in Purgatory (*Purgatorio* XXVI). See also William E. Burgwinkle's discussion of Arnaut in *Love for Sale: Materialist Readings of the Troubadour Razo Corpus* (New York and London: Garland, 1997) 25-29, 264, n. 43.

Maintas vetz de putaria,
 Et ab art de diable la gen
 Alcu d'els encanto soven,
 Et al semblan de l'enemic,
 Fan nued e jorn aquest prezic
 Que quascus tenha son cor gen,
 Los deziriers carnals seguen
 E la mundana vanetat,
 E de so que Dieus a mandat
 Ni de la Sancta Escripura,
 Ni de Dieu non ai[a] cura.
 (vv. 18480-18497)

for shady dealings,
 and with the art of the devil some
 often bewitch the people,
 and in the guise of the enemy
 they make night and day this exhortation:
 That each one keep his heart noble
 by following carnal desires
 and worldly vanities,
 And for that which God commanded,
 nor for the Holy Scripture,
 nor for God, do they care.]

With this long anaphoral repetition of "E", Matfre creates an effect of accumulation, listing the various sins of which the *joglars* are guilty. The *joglars*, with their frequent relations with the underbelly of medieval society--the tavern owners, prostitutes and drunkards--are linked with worldly vanity. Their ability to sing and enchant their audience creates a link between the *joglars* and the devil. Like the devil, *joglars* entice people to follow their carnal desires night and day. The devil, and his followers the *joglars*, engage in deception. Matfre describes the work, the deception of the devil (and by extension that of the *joglars*) as art; phrases such as "ab art de diable" and "al semblan de l'enemic" characterize this devilish deception as an art that relies upon disguise and imitation. By contrast, Matfre characterizes God's work as a "scientia divina" (v. 551), creating an opposition between these two terms, art and science, and by extension, between human (i.e. imperfect) skill and the knowledge of God.²⁴⁵

How is it that Matfre portrays *joglars* in such a negative light, linking them to the devil, and yet not only directs his work towards the troubadours but includes so many of their lyrics within it? Although Matfre denounces the *joglars* while lauding the troubadours, he takes care to distinguish between the two groups, and thereby creates a hierarchy of

²⁴⁵ Dante as well is fully conscious of this opposition of God and science versus art and the devil, and plays with it in *Inferno*: "quel ver che ha faccia di menzogna" (*Inf.* XVI:124).

poets and performers.²⁴⁶ According to Matfre, whereas the *joglars* live a sordid life, spending their time in taverns with drunkards and prostitutes, the troubadours are linked with the world of the court.²⁴⁷ Matfre's initial description of the troubadours as coming to him with "cor humilimen sopleguan" (v. 60), using prayers "mout corals e plazentiers" (v. 56) portrays the troubadours as courtly figures, well-versed in courtly behavior and speech.²⁴⁸ Matfre's distinction between troubadours and *joglars* reveals his own class position. He is able to maintain this contradiction of praising troubadours while condemning *joglars* in social and moral terms: while the *joglars* who perform verses are an example of the devil's art because they are focused on seducing others to the pleasures of the flesh, troubadours are courtly, and their desire (and by extensions their lyrics), according to Matfre, aim for *doctrina vertadieira*.

This passage condemning the *joglars* appears in the middle of a section concerning confession (vv. 17205ff.). Other categories of people are highlighted as potentially sinful; Matfre includes such people as lawyers (v. 17518), merchants (v. 17886), and *hosdaliers*, inn-keepers (v. 18302). Many of the people that Matfre includes in this passage of sinful people are associated with the world of courtly love. Matfre condemns the *senhors*, lords (vv. 17432ff), for not paying for the articles they desire. He accuses knights of acting like mercenaries, fighting to kill, betraying their friends and killing them even in tournaments

²⁴⁶ Chrétien de Troyes also privileges the poet by insisting that he has created the tale that he sings in *Erec et Enide* (vv. 9-18) and *Le Chevalier de la charette* (vv. 1-25). *Erec et Enide* ed. Mario Roques (Paris: Champion, 1973).

²⁴⁷ Pierre Aubry characterizes the jongleurs as travelling from place to place singing the compositions of the troubadours. The jongleurs were "vrais bohèmes de l'art," ["true bohemians of art"] having "moeurs vagabondes" ["roving morals"], in contradistinction to the troubadours and trouvères who were the actual writers and composers of their own songs. It was only later, in the fifteenth century, that the jongleurs became a guild and were then called minstrels. Prior to this they were individuals acting alone, without any governing rules. Pierre Aubry, *Trouvères et troubadours* (Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1919) 157-158.

²⁴⁸ Jacques Gourc, describing the troubadours as "négociateurs et entremetteurs," ["negotiators and go-betweens"] emphasizes not so much their marginality as their role as mediators. "Les troubadours, négociateurs et entremetteurs", in *Les Troubadours et l'état toulousain avant la Croisade* (1209), ed. Arno Krispin, Actes du Colloque de Toulouse (9 et 10 Dec. 1988) (Paris: CELLO, William Blake & Co. 1994) 39-43.

(vv. 17476-17517) He also reproaches mercenaries-- *homes logadiers*--for falsifying how much they have worked, and include in this class *menestrals* (v. 18180). He reproves the *lauradors*--poets commissioned to praise-- for ruining reputations in their eulogies (v. 18250). Also condemned are gamblers (v. 18366) and women, who commit all of the seven deadly sins in their quest to satisfy their carnal desires (v. 18498).²⁴⁹ By including these classes of people in the section about confession, Matfre gives a less than subtle clue about spiritual reformation, and calls for these people to confess and change their lives.²⁵⁰

By placing so many of the people associated with courtly life such as the lords, knights and ladies in this section on those who need to confess, Matfre distinguishes them from the other courtly figures present in the *Breviari*: his inscribed audience of troubadours and lovers. Matfre contains the spiritually suspect *senhors*, *joglars*, gamblers and women in this section on confession, effectively preventing them from contaminating the rest of the text, and by extension, this same inscribed audience. The risks of secular vice and carnal desire of the courtly world are limited to this section on sinful people.

It is especially here that the *Breviari* appears as an evangelical text; a commentary on people and professions that are spiritually dangerous within a section concerning confession causes the act of confession to serve as the path out of sin and into righteous living for these people. Matfre ensures that confession, with a priest acting as a mediator between the person and God, has a place in this society.²⁵¹ More importantly, this section on dangerous types of people is the only place that mentions a profession so closely linked to that of the troubadours.

²⁴⁹ This trope of women and uncontrollable desire is a commonplace, as the fabliaux attest.

²⁵⁰ Matfre's call for these people to confess does not create a link between them and heretical beliefs. According to Le Roy Ladurie, confession, like baptism, communion, and marriage, was a sacrament still in practice among both Catholics and Cathars in Montaillou. See Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou* 502-506.

²⁵¹ The yearly rite of confession was made a part of Catholic doctrine only in 1215, at the Fourth Lateran Council. See Henry Charles Lea, *History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church* vol. 1 (Philadelphia: Lea Bros., 1896) 420; and Oscar D. Watkins, *A History of Penance* vol. 2 (London: Longmans Green & Co., 1920) 796.

Matfre carefully separates the troubadours from the *joglars*, just as he distinguishes between *eros* and *caritas* in his prologues. Matfre's project of instructing the lovers and troubadours necessarily includes the prescription of religiously appropriate and sanctioned forms of love. In both the lengthy beginning of the whole *Breviari*, in which Matfre expounds upon the Tree of Love, and in the prologue to the "Perilhos Tractat," Matfre describes love as falling within standard Catholic doctrine.

Orthodox Theology in the *Breviari*

*L'albre d'amor: The Prologue to the *Breviari**

In his role as teacher of those seeking spiritual truths concerning love, Matfre begins his explanation of the nature of love at the source. That is, just as the origins of life are detailed in Genesis, Matfre explains in his first prologue the origins of love. In order to provide a single origin for the different forms of love, Matfre creates for them a genealogy, a family tree, akin to that of the Patriarchs of the Old Testament. The themes of creation and of birth are central to Matfre's history of love, and God of course plays the primary role.

Dieus
[.....]
de premier creet natura
regen tota creatura;
e natura hac .ii. enfans
meravilhous et autz e grans;
dreg de natura fo-l premiers
e dregz de gens fon le derriers;
quex dels enfans hac doas filhas
mout noblas a meravilhas,
e totas foron numnadas
d'un nom, 'amors', apelladas.
(vv. 306, 309-318)

[God
{ }
first created nature
regent over all creatures;
and nature had two children
wondrous and high-born and great;
natural law was the first
and human law was the second;
and each of the children had two daughters
very wonderfully noble,
and they were all named
with one name, called 'love'.]

By reworking the creation story allegorically, Matfre formulates a genealogy for love. As in Genesis, Matfre's family history finds its origin in God, who begins his creation of the world by creating, and subsequently reigning over, Nature. Following Genesis, Matfre

moves from the theme of creation to that of birth. This point in Matfre's story diverges from that of Genesis; it skips over the story of the first humans, focusing instead on allegorical figures. The story of Adam and Eve could be seen as potentially problematic in the introduction to a work whose focus is the forms of love because it highlights the sins of disobedience and betrayal, which in the Middle Ages became specifically assimilated to sins of a sexual nature. Bypassing the story of Adam and Eve, Matfre sets out a different, anthropomorphized genealogy for love. He places the allegorical into a human biological narrative, and focuses on the genealogy of Nature.

The children of Nature provide not only the first ancestors of love, but also unite the concerns of nature and humanity under this notion of law or rightness. The very names of Nature's children, *dreg de natura* and *dregz de gens*, indicate this dependence on law. Matfre inserts a strong notion of natural law; by tracing the ancestry of love back to this primary creation scene, Matfre describes all the various loves as having their origin in God.

In his reworking of the Genesis story, Matfre centers within his text the image of a tree as a primary symbol, which clearly evokes not only the Garden of Eden but Christ's lineage from the Tree of Jesse. Unlike the Tree of the knowledge of good and evil that acts as the focus for the original sin of humanity, Matfre's tree, like Jesse's, represents genealogy. Matfre's tree catalogues all of the various forms of love within a spiritual hierarchy.²⁵² The symbol of a Tree of Love is not unusual, as it appears in works of Hugh of Saint Victor and Raimon Llull.²⁵³ In addition, the Arbor Amoris details in a fashion very

²⁵² See Cherchi, "L'enciclopedia nel mondo dei trovatori" 284. In a unique passage set off by its composition in prose, Matfre describes the tree of love in an abbreviated form, cataloguing the genealogies of the different loves in a highly detailed, methodical, encyclopedic fashion. Writing in straightforward language in this prose passage, Matfre controls the interpretation of the tree of love, leaving nothing to the vagaries of poetry. The detailed nature of this passage lends itself to the illustration of the tree itself as a genealogical map, and many of the manuscripts contain an illumination of this. See Katja Laske-Fix, Der Bildzyclus des Breviari d'Amor (Munich-Zurich: Schnell & Steiner, 1973).

²⁵³ Cherchi, "L'enciclopedia nel mondo dei trovatori" 282. Similarly, an allegorical tree of charity appears in Piers Plowman (XIX, 1-137). Piers Plowman eds. Elizabeth Salter and Derek Pearsall (Evanston: Northwestern UP, 1969) 144-150.

similar to the Breviari the diverse parts of the tree in sacred terms, using exegetical references to other religious literature.²⁵⁴ In both the Arbor Amoris and in Matfre's Breviari, the tree of love presents a corrected version of the tree of knowledge. Whereas the tree of knowledge has the effect of separating humanity from a perfected nature and communion with God, the Tree of Love unites both secular and spiritual loves within this frame of *droit*. The Tree of Love is not only marvelously fruitful ("L'albres es mout maravilhos,/tot l'an es floritz e foilhos/aichi be d'ivern cum d'estieu" vv. 410-412 ["the tree is very wondrous, the whole year it is in flower and leaf as much in the winter as in the summer"]), but more importantly, its fruit is the sum of all virtue, uniting the temporal world with that of the spiritual: "e mout gieta diverses frutz./ quar gieta·ls per mout grans vertutz./ l'una branca esperitals./ las autras brancas temporals" (vv. 417-420) ["and it produces diverse fruit for it produces them by very great virtues; one branch [is] spiritual, the others temporal"]. This Tree of Love not only continues the notion of genesis, but adds virtue to the idea of *droit*.

In his description, Matfre insists upon a reading of the Tree of Love that places God at the center. The various forms of love take on a spiritual quality because all love has God as its source: "La naichensa d'amor es figurada en aquest albre en esta manieira: en lo sobira cercle del albre es escrigz e figuratz Dieus, de cui nais tot quant es de be et es estat e sera" (10P-13P) ["The birth of love is figured in this tree in this way: in the highest circle of the tree is written and figured God, from whom is born all that is good and has been and will be"].

Love is ranked within this religious and spiritual order. Matfre describes four different forms of love. Pairing them, he ascribes one set to the laws of nature, the second to those of mankind. From *dregz de natura* arise the loves between humans (between men

²⁵⁴ Urs Kamber, Arbor Amoris--Der Minnebaum Philologische Studien und Quellen series, n. 20 (Berlin: E. Schmidt, 1964) 132.

and women, and between parents and children); from the *dregz de genz* come the love for God and good men, and the love for worldly goods.

Love between humans, specifically the love of men and women, and the love of children, are loves in close affinity with life of the natural world.²⁵⁵ Born of *dregz de natura*, these types of love are not unique to humanity but include all the creatures in nature ("las bestias e·ilh aucel e·ilh peicho" ["the beasts and the birds and the fish"]), as Matfre asserts: "Aquestas .ii. manieiras d'amor son comunas a totas mondanas creaturas sentens" (24P-30P) ["These two manners of love are common to all sentient creatures in the world"]. As loves allied with nature, they have as a primary impulse reproduction and the continuation of the species. The fruit of these loves is children and joy, respectively: "le frug d'amor de mascle e de feme es filhs e filhas, le frug d'amor de son enfan es gaugz" (47P-48P) ["the fruit of the love of man and woman is sons and daughters, the fruit of the love of one's child is joy"]. By linking human reproduction to nature, a certain amount of naturalness attaches to human desire and sexual relations. Like St. Paul, who concedes that it is better to marry than to burn (1 Cor. 7:9), Matfre does not advocate celibacy for the entire population. His inscribed audience, of course, is most concerned with exalting human love.

While this prose passage sets out in a nutshell the genealogy and nature of the various loves, it also sums up the various virtues that are needed to attain love. For instance, in order to attain the love of God and good men, one needs the three theological virtues (faith, charity and hope), the four cardinal virtues (temperance, prudence, righteousness, and fortitude), and the seven virtues of the Holy Spirit (wisdom, understanding, good counsel, strength, piety and fear) (57P-63P). The virtues that

²⁵⁵ In this Matfre, unlike other theologians such as Thomas Aquinas and St. Bonaventure, follows St. Albert the Great (ca. 1028-80), who believed that sex was a part of God's creation in Eden and not a sin of a postlapsarian world. See Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society* 421, 423-4.

characterize secular love between humans are fourteen as well. Although the number of virtues necessary to attain divine love and the love of a woman are the same, these two loves clearly do not merit the same kind of spiritual evaluation. Matfre ranks these four types of love: the love between men and women is third in importance, outranking only the love of worldly goods (114P-127P). Even love for one's children is spiritually more important than love for one's wife; love for God and "pruieme" [neighbor] alone claims primary importance.

By using the same number of virtues necessary to attain both God's love and that of a woman, Matfre places these two loves on an equivalent level, despite the difference in spiritual ranking of the kinds of virtue necessary. The virtues necessary for human love do not duplicate those necessary for the love of God; they are not drawn from theology but from the world of the court. Matfre lists the virtues needed to gain the love of a lady:

E qui vol aver lo frug d'amor de mascle e de feme, sso es a dir d'amor de donas, cove que cuelha ab se las vertuz e ls bos aibs del albre de saber ben e mal que nais d'aquela part d'amor, e trobas n'i a quatorze, sso es a saber: larguesa, ardimen, cortezia, humilitat, domnei, alegransa, retenemen, ensenhamen, proeza, matrimoni, paciencia, conoichensa, sen e saber, bon cortage. (66P-72P).

[And he who wants to have the fruit of the love of man and woman, that is to say the love of ladies, it is necessary that he gather {to} himself the virtues and the good qualities of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil that arises from this part of love; and you will find that there are only fourteen, which is to say: generosity, courage, courtesy, humility, courting, gaiety, discretion, good manners, prowess, matrimony, patience, knowledge, wit and wisdom, good heart.]

The virtues that allow love among humans are social and outward-looking; they are virtues whose definition depends upon human relations. More importantly, these virtues for human love come directly from the world of courtly romance.²⁵⁶ Most of these virtues--

²⁵⁶ Love between humans can be destroyed, Matfre details, by many of the same villains of courtly love:

E quar maldizens son contrari az amor de mascle e de feme, sso es a dir az amor de donas, segon quez an dig li trobador en lor dechatz, per los quals dechatz le tractatz d'aquest'amor es examinatz en est libre, per sso es depenhs le maldizens que romp l'arbre que nais

"larguesa, ardimen, cortezia, humilitat, domnei, alegransa, retenemen, ensenhamen, proeza, paciencia, conoichensa, sen e saber, bon cortage"—could describe the heroes of courtly romance such as Lancelot and Tristan.

One virtue, "matrimoni," does not always fit in the world of courtly love. Andreas Capellanus presents a letter purportedly sent to render a verdict in a debate about this question, in which the Countess of Champagne asserts that love cannot exist within marriage:

Dicimus enim et stabilito tenore firmamus amorem non posse suas inter duos iugales extendere vires. Nam amantes sibi invicem gratis omnia largiuntur nullius necessitatis ratione cogente. Iugales vero mutuis tenentur ex debito voluntatibus obedire et in nullo se ipsos sibi invicem denegare.²⁵⁷

[We declare and we hold as firmly established that love cannot exert its powers between two people who are married to each other. For lovers give each other everything freely, under no compulsion of necessity, but married people are in duty bound to give in to each other's desires and deny themselves to each other in nothing.²⁵⁸]

There is much doubt as to whether the world of courtly love that Andreas portrays accurately reflects the real world.²⁵⁹ Certainly there are romances in which a married couple

d'aquest'amor ab lo ferramen, en lo qual ferramen son eschichas las causas que son contrarias az est'amor. (93P-99P)

[And since the slanderers are contrary to the love of man and woman, that is to say the love of ladies, according to what the troubadours say in their writings, through which writings the treatise of this love is explored in this book, therefore the slanderers who break the tree from which this love is born are depicted with their weapons, on which weapons are written the things that are contrary to this love.]

The detractors of courtly love, according to Matfre, are the very same ones who have already been reviled in works such as the *Roman de la Rose*. The *maldizen* are not only dangerous for love, but they put the entire tree of love at risk. The *maldizen* as a result affect all types of love; they damage the main support of love, their evil lips kill not only the love between male and female, but damage, by extension, the other loves, including love for God. Matfre's condemnation of the *maldizen* follows and expands a certain tradition concerning courtly love.

²⁵⁷ Andreas Capellanus on Love ed. and trans. Walsh 156.

²⁵⁸ Andreas Capellanus, *The Art of Courtly Love* trans. John Jay Parry (New York: Columbia UP, 1941) 106-107.

²⁵⁹ Peter Dronke, for one, demonstrates that many features of the so-called courtly love are in fact found in love poetry from a wide variety of cultures, not simply within the courts of medieval France. See *Medieval Latin and the Rise of the European Love-lyric* esp. chapter 1. Modern views of the courtly relationship as

illustrate courtly love; Chrétien de Troyes' Erec et Enide is a prime example, and there are other examples in which an adulterous love has catastrophic effects, such as that of Lancelot and Guinevere in the French Vulgate Cycle.²⁶⁰ That Matfre included marriage in his list of necessary virtues attests without a doubt to the type of love that is acceptable and appropriate in the divine plan: a love that has nothing to do with adulterous love.²⁶¹

Love in the Divine Plan: The Prologue to the "Perilhous Tractat"

The debate on love that concludes the Breviari opens with an introduction that further emphasizes the concept of human love as prescribed by Catholic doctrine: within the sacrament of marriage, the primary goal of which was procreation.²⁶² The Cathars

necessarily adulterous stems in part from C.S. Lewis' depiction of courtly love. See The Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval Tradition (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1936, repr. 1973) 1-43. Moshé Lazar, like Lewis, sees in *fin'amors* a concept of love clearly opposed to Christian morality in that it was based on adulterous love. See Amour Courtois et fin'amors dans la littérature du XIIe siècle 12-13, 60-64, 136-138. However, as Duby notes, medieval society was extremely concerned about adultery. Georges Duby, ed., A History of Private Life, vol. II, Revelations of the Medieval World trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, MA and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard UP, 1988) 82, 145. From a legal (i.e., from canon law) point of view, of course, adultery was resoundingly condemned, although which party was more guilty was shifted depending upon the jurist. See Brundage, Law, Sex, and Christian Society 462-3, and by the same author, "Adultery and Fornication: A Study in Legal Theology," in Sexual Practices and the Medieval Church eds. Vern L. Bullough and James Brundage (Buffalo: Prometheus, 1982) 129-134.

²⁶⁰ Even certain troubadours seek a marriage relationship, as Burgwinkle has found in the *razos* of Gui d'Uisel and Raimon de Miraval (Love for Sale 163-4). Warner sees the presence of adultery in troubadour lyrics as a sign of the relative power of women in the South of France: "Ironically, it was the prominence of woman that allowed the troubadour literature to countenance, if not praise, adultery--something songs to the Virgin could never do" (Alone of All Her Sex 142).

²⁶¹ Matfre later expands in some detail on this virtue of marriage. He not only speaks of marriage as a virtue, but is careful to defend marriage by attacking those who denigrate it (vv. 32748-83). Moreover, he gives guidelines for how to prepare oneself for marriage (vv. 32784-32809), what kind of person should marry (vv. 32810-33045), and how a man should love and direct his wife (vv. 33046-33149).

²⁶² Matfre later describes marital chastity as a sacrament ordained by God:

Matremonials castetaz
es doncs estamens aproatz
el Vielh e-l Novel Testamen
per Dieu, per sanhs, per tota gen,
quar aproatz es per crestias,
per juzieus e per crestias,
et es us dels sanhs sagramens
de sancta glieia veramen,
et entre cels quez an descort
en fai hom patz e bon acort.
(vv. 32748-57)

[Matrimonial chastity
is thus continually preached
in the Old and New Testaments
by God, by the saints, by all people
since it is preached by pagans,
by Jews and by Christians,
and is truly one of the holy sacraments
of the holy Church,
and among those have undertaken it
it creates peace and of good harmony.]

generally did not believe in marriage,²⁶³ and Matfre's emphasis on Catholic doctrine may reveal a marked concern for countering the remaining traces of this heresy.²⁶⁴ Unlike the Cathars,²⁶⁵ Matfre views marriage, even as a sacrament, as a union based on natural desires.

Just as in his first prologue, in his second Matfre refers again to natural law and to the beginning of Genesis. In a sense, Matfre has here inserted another beginning to his work through these references to Genesis, which themselves recall not only the beginning of the Bible (and of history), but also the beginning of the *Breviari*. The repetition of the allusions to Genesis links the troubadours not only to the idea of love as natural and as part of creation but to Scriptural history. More importantly, in this prologue to the debate on love, Matfre carefully frames the discussion in Scriptural terms, placing the love of the troubadours within God's precepts in Genesis. This second prologue is carefully

Not all however agreed about the sacramentality of marriage and its place in Christian life. See Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society* 351-358, 430-443. Canon law was much more concerned with sexual matters than civil law. See Brundage, "A Statistical Analysis of Samples of Canon and Civil Law," in *Sexual Practices and the Medieval Church* 89-101. For more about the development of marriage, see, among others, Duby, *History of Private Life* 124-136; *Le Chevalier, la Femme et le Prêtre* (Paris: Hachette, 1981); R. Howard Bloch, *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1991) esp. 165-197; Linda Paterson, *The World of the Troubadours: Medieval Occitan Society, c. 1100-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993) 228-41; and Christopher N.L. Brooke, *The Medieval Idea of Marriage* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1989). James Brundage also writes about concubinage in "Concubinage and Marriage in Medieval Canon Law," in *Sexual Practices and the Medieval Church* 118-128, and sex in general in "Sex and Canon Law," in *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality* eds. Vern L. Bullough and James A. Brundage (New York and London: Garland, 1996) 33-50.

²⁶³ Since marriage was considered sinful, concubinage became in a sense a "lesser" sin. See Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society* 423; Eric Fuchs, *Sexual Desire and Love: Origins and History of the Christian Ethic of Sexuality and Marriage* trans. Marsha Daigle (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 1983) 126; René Nelli, *Le Phénomène cathare: perspectives philosophiques, morales et iconographiques* (Paris: Privat, 1964) 82-100. Indeed, although Le Roy Ladurie believes that the Cathars did not introduce concubinage to Montaillou, during the years 1300-1320, nearly ten percent of the population of this village were living in concubinage. *Montaillou* 169, 172, 255-299, esp. 263-7.

²⁶⁴ As Brundage has written, sexual beliefs and practices became tests of religious orthodoxy in the thirteenth century (*Law, Sex, and Christian Society* 429). For more about the beliefs of the Cathars, see Monique Zerner-Chardavoine, *La croisade albigeoise* Archives ser. (Paris: Gallimard/ Julliard, 1979); René Nelli, *Les Cathares du Languedoc au XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1969, 1995); and Michael Costen, *The Cathars and the Albigensian Crusade* (Manchester and New York: Manchester UP, 1997).

²⁶⁵ As Nelli notes, the Cathars generally thought of sex, within marriage or not, as satanic. René Nelli, *Les Cathares* (Paris: Grasset, 1972) 137.

constructed to place the reader in the appropriate, biblically sanctioned, frame of mind for reading about love.

Matfre introduces the debate on human love with a discussion of the first child of nature, who is *dregz de natura* (vv. 27253-27255). Once again, Matfre reiterates the genealogy of natural law, placing these allegorical concepts into a topos familiar from Genesis. He explicitly associates human love with natural law: "el cercle que-ilh es plus propdas [...] es amors de masc'ab feme,/ la quals ven de dreg natural" (vv. 27257, 27262-63) ["in the circle which is most closely related ... is the love of man and woman, which comes from natural law"]. Love is prescribed by nature, and sexual desire follows the precepts established by natural law. Because of this union between love and natural law, humans naturally feel desire for one another:

Aquestz deziriers naturals,
sabchatz cert que non es res als
mas talens et afeccios
qu'es entre femes e masclos
de se carnalmen ajustar
per lur natura cosservar,
lo qual recep de natura
tota sentens creatura
(vv. 27262-27268).

[This natural desire,
know truly, is nothing other
than the desire and longing
between male and female
to join carnally
to preserve their nature,
which every sentient creature
receives from nature.]

This description posits an analogy between humans and animals ("tota sentens creatura" v. 27268). Like animals, humans feel desire for one another. Desire for carnal interaction is natural; carnal desire springs from the instinctual drive of species preservation, literally, of conserving one's nature ("per lur natura cosservar" v. 27266). Because Matfre's portrayal characterizes desire as a feeling that humans have in common with animals, it can be understood as evidence of human *distance* from the divine, since desire causes humans to be more like animals than like God, who needs nothing to preserve His nature. Natural desire is linked not only with the animal world, however, but with Genesis. As Matfre reveals, desire and love exist in the world as a means of continuing the species, according to God's commandment in Genesis (Gen. 1: 22, 28): in Matfre's words, "Creichetz e

multiplicatz'" (v. 27282). Carnal desire, a trait of animals as well as of humans, propagates the species. Because of its link with the laws of Genesis, the human desire to reproduce is a part of man's obedience to God.

Sex is therefore part of the divine plan, with one caveat: it must have as a goal the birth of children.²⁶⁶ It is no accident that Matfre ends his debate on love, and the entire work, with a description of the love of parents for children. Since procreative sex accords with divine law, these carnal relations are also evidence of devout obedience to God. Love is a means of fulfilling God's will: "per l'azordenamen/de Dieu lo pair'omnioten" (vv. 27277-27278) ["by the command/ of God the omnipotent father"]. Matfre does not condemn love and carnal desire; instead, he portrays this desire as natural, and more importantly, as a way of serving and loving God.

Sexual love and pleasure without the goal of reproduction prompt Matfre's condemnation. For him, sexual desire for its own sake involves not only the waste of love but a dangerous risk. Carnal desire is perilous, according to Matfre, because the devil lurks behind uncontrolled passion:

Qui doncz no sab recglat tener
e restrenher fort so voler,
majormen qui trop vizita
femnas, et ab lor habita,
jogan, rizen o solasan
o lur beutat trop remiran,
qu'om laugieiramen ses laizar
pega cauda no pot tocar;

[Who thus does not know how to maintain control
and to restrain strongly his desire,
principally {he} who too often visits
women, and frequents them,
playing, laughing, or enjoying himself
or admiring their beauty too much,
for one cannot easily touch hot pitch
without feeling pain;

²⁶⁶ While Matfre does not condemn carnal desire outright, he delimits its uses. Matfre thus desires not to eradicate bodily desire, but to channel it appropriately. In a very long passage (vv. 27291-27790), Matfre explores the appropriate use and the abuse of love. By setting out love in terms of use and abuse, Matfre follows the precepts of Augustine, who details the qualities of using (*uti*) and enjoying (*frui*) things:

Frui est enim amore inhaerere alicui rei propter se ipsam; uti autem, quod in usum venerit ad id quod amas obtinendum referre, si tamen amandum est. Nam usus illicitus abusus potius vel abusus nominanda est. (I: IV.4)

[To enjoy something is to hold fast to it in love for its own sake. To use something is to apply whatever it may be to the purpose of obtaining what you love—if indeed it is something that ought to be loved. {The improper use of something should be termed abuse {Green 15}.]

quar le diables es ginhos
e subtils en decebre nos,
e fai non plus tost abelir
sso don tost mals nos pot venir.
(vv. 27393-27404)

for the devil is cunning
and clever in deceiving us,
and whatever can quickly harm us
he makes just as quickly pleasing to us.]

The injunction to be controlled, sober, focused on inward truths rather than on women's beauty gives us a picture of Matfre's image of an appropriate lover. The enjoyment of love, and the courtly activities associated with love--laughing, playing at verse (and we notice the tainted word "jogan," linking it to the *joglars*), and taking pleasure with women--are dangerous pastimes; according to Matfre, the devils lies in wait behind them.

Carnal desire, when misused, is not dangerous merely because of the cunning of the devil, but because it serves as the fountainhead of all of the other worldly sins: "Apress d'aqui naison tug mal/ e tug l'autre delieg carnal," (vv. 27431-27436) ["Out of this are born all evil/ and all the other carnal delights"]. Carnal desire causes a domino effect; once one engages in sexual pleasures, the other pleasures of the flesh are soon to follow:

quar tan los fai erguolhozir
qu'ilh no podo trobar pro gen
causat ni pro bell vestimen,
ni ja pro no seran lavat
ni pro penchenat ni mirat,
ni hauran asatz bells arnes
ni pro cavalls ni palafres:
et apres fan cortz e bobans
e volan jogla[r]s e mazans
tot per mondana vanetat
e per abraçar lur peccat,
e volon tot jorn biordar,
tornejat, ab donas dansar
(27440-27452)

[because it makes them become so proud
that they cannot find
enough fine shoes or beautiful clothing,
never will they be washed enough
nor combed or admired enough
nor will they have enough beautiful arms
nor enough horses or palfreys:
and afterwards they pay court and lip service
and desire to sing and shout,
all for worldly vanity
and to embrace their sin,
and every day they want to tourney,
to joust, to dance with ladies.]

By associating particular sins, such as vanity and pride, with their courtly manifestations (such as being too concerned about beautiful armor and horses, desiring to participate in tournaments and to dance all day long), Matfre consciously denounces the very atmosphere from which he draws his audience: the court. He is clearly attacking the main pastimes of courtly love, especially as they are depicted in romances. Matfre's list of devilish activities

condemns both the world of the court and its depiction in literature; love, according to him, finds no sanction within these walls or texts.

The introduction that Matfre writes for the debate of love reminds the reader that here he aims to teach about the appropriate forms of love. His version of love emphasizes its place within a divine society; that is, his focus on love turns on God's commandments in Genesis. Carnal desire has its appropriate outlet within the institution of marriage, and only with the goal of producing children. Outside of marriage love becomes tawdry, associated with the *joglars* and their unsavory friends, a first step into sinful vanity that concentrates too much and too often on the pleasures of the flesh.

Secular Love Lyrics in the *Breviari*

Matfre and the Troubadour Lyrics

While the second prologue's condemnation of carnal relations outside of marriage aligns it with Catholic doctrine, the presence of so many troubadour lyrics casts a decidedly secular light on this "Perilhos Tractat." Nowhere in the debate on love itself do we find explicit Catholic morality employed to explain the lyrics, as occurs in bestiaries, for example;²⁶⁷ instead, the sacred tenets of Catholicism remain outside the debate proper.

Matfre does frame the "Perilhos Tractat" with moral *sententia* which recall the tone of the second prologue. The *Breviari* as a whole does not end with the debate; the debate itself has no formal closing structure, as is conventional in the genre. No one wins the debate; no one renders a judgment about *fin'amors*. Instead, Matfre continues, as if repeating the initial section of the *Breviari*, with a description not of the Tree of Love, but

²⁶⁷ Certain manuscripts, such as Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France f. fr. 857, however, do contain an iconographic program illustrating devils participating in courtly activities such as dancing and tournaments. (See Kendrick, *The Game of Love* figure 3).

of the Tree of knowledge of good and evil, which brings the reader back into the garden of Eden with its subsequent notions of temptation and original sin.

The quotations of troubadour lyric do not appear only within the debate, but also following it, within an expanded discussion of the fourteen virtues necessary for love (vv. 31966-33370),²⁶⁸ with which Matfre began the *Breviari* (66P-72P).²⁶⁹ For instance, in a passage concerning courage, Matfre quotes from Peire Vidal: "Be's tanh qu'ieu si' arditz/ quar tal domna m'es guitz" (vv. 32148-9) ["It is fitting that I am so courageous, because such a woman guides me"]. As I have already explored, the other virtues, such as *cortezia*, generosity, and devotion, are identical to those necessary for courtly love, and so quotations of troubadour lyrics do not seem out of place here.²⁷⁰

Despite its detailed exposition, marriage is the only virtue of the fourteen that lacks much troubadour quotation in this final section: a single line is quoted from Peire Cardenal: "Qu'al frug conois hom lo fruchier" ["From the fruit one recognizes the tree"] (v. 32685). The tract, and the *Breviari* as a whole, ends with a brief discussion of the love for children, in which the lyrics of the troubadours do not appear at all. Ending the debate in a discussion of the love of children seems anti-climatic, considering the tension involved in integrating troubadour lyric within this "Perilhos Tractat"; even with a mere 57 lines, it

²⁶⁸ These virtues are again, in Matfre's words: "largueza, ardimen, cortezia, umilitat, domnei, alegransa, retenmen, essenhamen, proeza, matremoni, pachientia, conoichensa, sen a saber, bon coratge" [generosity, courage, courtesy, humility, courting, gaiety, discretion, good manners, prowess, matrimony, patience, knowledge, wit and wisdom, good heart]. The virtue of marriage appears in the middle of these fourteen virtues, and consequently serves structurally as their center point. Because the discussion of the virtues follows Matfre's response to the lovers, who seek aid for their suffering in love, it may function as a part of Matfre's response to them. It is here in the text, however, that we leave the dialogic premise of the debate behind: the narrator alone quotes the troubadours. Cherchi sees in these virtues of courtoisie proof that they still constitute a valid guide for those who want to live in harmony with world, and who desire honor on earth but salvation in heaven. "L'enciclopedia nel mondo dei trovatori" 290.

²⁶⁹ As in the debate, where all the participants quote troubadour lyric, the troubadours and their lyrics also appear in the section concerning the destroyers of love, the *maldizen*, and their various sins, that follows the virtues necessary for love (vv. 33463-33777).

²⁷⁰ Similarly, the sins of the *maldizen*, such as "decelar," "avareza," "cocha," and "erguelh" ["deceit," "avarice," "need," and "pride"] characterize the *lauzengiers* ["slanderers"] as well, and also fit into standard courtly topoi.

channels the *eros* of the debate on love back into procreation. Because of this abrupt ending, Paul Meyer doubts that the work was actually completed.²⁷¹

It is not entirely clear that Matfre overlays the quotations of troubadour lyric with Catholic morality, since the lyrics appear when the text seems most courtly, within the debate on love and the sections on the virtues of courtly love. Is it possible that Matfre simply takes the language and themes of courtly love and redirects them for a spiritual, instead of sensual purpose, as does Gautier in his songs?

Most definitely not. I cannot stress here too strongly the fact that Matfre does not employ the lexicon of courtly lyric to create a new, spiritualized, lyric. Instead, by quoting the troubadours verbatim, Matfre retains their original secularity and sensuality. Because the songs originate in other secular contexts, they highlight the uneasy role they play within this religious work. These songs were in circulation independent of the *Breviari*; as a result, they evoke other performances, other audiences, other contexts, thereby compelling an intertextual interpretation of the text.²⁷² The presence of the troubadour lyrics in the "Perilhos Tractat" seems to oppose the Catholic (and doctrinal) conception of love proposed earlier in the work.

Matfre's debate on love has, as I have already suggested, secular precedents. Matfre also includes allusions to authorities on love, thereby creating textual references to earlier debates and guides, perhaps most directly to the Provençal tradition of the *tenso* and *partimen*. In the thirteenth century, love debates in lyric form were popular and widespread; these troubadour genres influenced the creation of similar genres in other cultures, such as the French *jeux-partis*, the Italian *tenzoni* and *contrastisti*, Catalan *tençons*,

²⁷¹ Paul Meyer, "Matfre Ermengaud de Béziers troubadour," *Histoire littéraire de la France* 32 (1898) 38-45. In addition, in the description of the fruit that comes from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil (i.e., the sons and daughters; vv. 33371-33461), no troubadour lyrics appear.

²⁷² See Boulton, *The Song in the Story* 4.

and German *Streitgedichte*.²⁷³ The *débat du clerc et du chevalier*, a genre popular in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, focused on the subject of love; it is from this tradition that the fourteenth-century *débat amoureux* of Guillaume de Machaut and Christine de Pizan have their origins.²⁷⁴ Andreas Capellanus also employs the debate form; the principal figures of his debate, for instance, are some of the same as those of Matfre's debate: the ladies and the lovers. Matfre's insertion of the quotations of troubadour lyrics into the debate not only renders the conversation more elegant,²⁷⁵ it also reveals an exegetical tendency not generally found in works on love.²⁷⁶ Matfre plays with a traditional secular genre by including the lyrics of these troubadours. The debate structure and the amatory subject matter of the "Perilhos Tractat" place it within a line of standard works on love.

While Matfre also invokes religious commentary and theological debate, he does not exactly follow their precepts. Matfre quotes the love lyric verbatim, thereby recalling conventions of Biblical exegesis. In exegetical writings, the use of patristic or Biblical quotations is extremely common, but in these cases, sacred quotations shore up texts that are religious. Matfre does the opposite in his *Breviari*, using secular, even profane, quotations within his work on Catholic doctrine, and thereby inverting traditional patristic

²⁷³ Michel-André Bossy, *Medieval Debate Poetry: Vernacular Works* (New York and London: Garland, 1987) xiv.

²⁷⁴ Barbara K. Altmann, *The Love Debate Poems of Christine de Pizan* (Gainesville: UP of Florida, 1998) 14-16.

²⁷⁵ This blending of a conversational tone with refined poetry is a characteristic of good love letters, according to Ovid. In the third book of his *Ars Amatoria*, he counsels women to write letters to their lovers that are both elegant and refined and yet not contrived: "Munda sed e medio consuetaque verba, puellae./ Scribite; sermonis publica forma placet./ A! quotiens dubius scriptis exarsit amator./ Et nocuit formae barbara lingua bonae!" (vv. 479-482) ["What you write him should be ladylike, but simple and direct. Ordinary, unaffected language pleases the most. It often happens that a letter gives the necessary impulse to a hesitating heart; and how often too has some clumsy uncouth utterance completely neutralized a girl's good looks." (*Love Books of Ovid* 185)]. While Matfre is not specifically writing a love letter, his debate on love reveals this concern for the refinement of language within a conversational setting.

²⁷⁶ However, certain scholars see the *ars amatoria* as in between, and yet partaking of, both scriptural exegesis and secular dialectic. See Brown, *Contrary Things* 93; and Tony Hunt, "Aristotle, Dialectic and Courtly Literature," *Viator* 10 (1979) 95-129.

exegesis. In addition, because the *Breviari* is a religious work, one would normally expect a debate on matters of great theological importance, for example *caritas*, not erotic love. Because Matfre's debate quotes the troubadours as authorities, and yet is in the vernacular, concerning love and not religious doctrine, it parodies the theological debates that were influential during the thirteenth century, such as the Fourth Ecumenical Council of the Lateran in 1215, the Parisian Synod in 1210, and the councils of Lyon in 1245 and 1274.²⁷⁷ Literary debates in the vernacular rarely use verbatim quotations from other texts established as authoritative.²⁷⁸ The quotations also act as proofs, much as syllogisms in a scholastic *disputatio* or witness testimony in a court of law.²⁷⁹ The debate inverts the thematics and parodies the form of its religious models.

²⁷⁷ The Parisian Synod, in particular, was concerned with three problems that reveal a general confluence of concern over heresy, vernacular texts of theology and logic pertinent perhaps for our understanding of the *Breviari*. These three problems were, according to Enzo Maccagnolo, "the Amalrician heresy, the appearance in Paris of Aristotelian texts translated by David of Dinant, and finally, the order that the 'theological books' written in the vernacular (*in Romano*) should be handed in to the bishops of the individual diocese" (429). "David of Dinant and the Beginnings of Aristotelianism in Paris" in *A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy*, ed. Peter Dronke (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988) 429-442.

²⁷⁸ In *Medieval Debate Poetry*, Michel-André Bossy gives examples of vernacular debate poetry from a wide variety of cultures, none of which contain explicit quotations.

²⁷⁹ Quotations in these domains tend to be Biblical. Odo of Tournai (d. 1113), for instance, in his disputation with the Jew, Leo, concerning Christ, attributes Biblical quotations even to Leo: "Odo: 'Nos per Christum regnum coelorum exspectamus, et felicitatem quam vos terrenam, nos per Christum speramus coelestem.' Leo: 'Errare videmini; nos enim et per Messiam ex tunc temporalem felicitatem, et, per legis observantiam, coeleste post hanc vitam regnum speramus. Temporalia nobis bona promittunt prophetae, coeleste regnum exspectamus ex lege; docet enim lex pro uno quoque peccato quale fiat sacrificium, et sic dimitti peccatum. Regi etiam David, adulterii et homicidii peccatum confesso, dixit propheta Nathan: Dimissum est peccatum tuum (II Reg xii). Si ergo in lege sine Christo vestro remissio est peccatorum, consequitur et beatitudo aeterna. Beati enim quorum remissio sunt iniquitates, et quorum tecta sunt peccata (Psal. XXXI). Quid ergo facit Christus vester?'" (PL 160, 1103d-1104a) ["Odo: 'We expect the kingdom of heaven through Christ, and we await that felicity which you hope will be earthly, but which through Christ we hope will be heavenly.' Leo: 'You seem to err. We both hope for temporal happiness through the messiah and for a heavenly kingdom after this life through the observance of the law. The prophets promise us temporal goods, and we expect the kingdom of heaven on account of the law, for the law teaches what kind of sacrifice there is for each sin, and thereby sin is forgiven. For the prophet Nathan said even to King David, who confessed to the sin of adultery and homicide: "Your sin is forgiven (2 Kings 12:13)." If there is forgiveness for sins in the law apart from Christ, then eternal beatitude also follows, "For men are blessed whose iniquities are forgiven and whose sins are covered over (Ps. 32: 1 Vulg.)." What, then, does your Christ do?"] English translation from Odo of Tournai, *On Original Sin and A Disputation with the Jew, Leo, Concerning the Advent of Christ, the Son of God, Two Theological Treatises* trans. Irven M. Resnick (Philadelphia: UP of Pennsylvania, 1994) 86. In addition, Bloch notes a marked resemblance to the literary forms of the *tenso* and *joc partit* to the emergent judicial forms of the thirteenth century. R. Howard

Since no manuscript of the Breviari, to my knowledge, contains musical notation in the "Perihlos Tractat,"²⁸⁰ the troubadour quotations were probably not meant to be performed. As Brian Stock points out, because the troubadours as authors/performers are no longer present in written records of oral performances such as Matfre's text, the audience is potentially not only abstract but universal, and no longer contextually associated with court life.²⁸¹ Matfre instead creates a catalogue of troubadours²⁸² who serve as the *auctoritates* within the debate.²⁸³ As a lyric compiler, Matfre focuses on the lyrics as artifacts of particular troubadours; they are documents that justify love.²⁸⁴ Matfre quotes troubadours of an infinite variety: from different geographic regions (including Bordeaux, Limousin, Roussillon, among others), and from the late eleventh century (William IX, b. 1071) through the late thirteenth (Peire Cardenal, d. 1280 and Daude de Pradas, d. after 1282).²⁸⁵ Matfre does not apparently distinguish much among the troubadours; he includes

Bloch, Medieval French Literature and Law (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: UP of California, 1977) 175. Cherchi sees the "Perihlos Tractat" as an academic debate that reveals the sterility of courtly love, and which needs to be linked to fertile, universal, natural force, and thus, by extension, to the divine author, God. "L'enciclopedia nel mondo dei trovatori" 290. See also Brundage, Medieval Canon Law (London and New York: Longman, 1995) 120-153.

²⁸⁰ Elizabeth Aubrey notes that Matfre is represented in the sources by a single melody, which she does not identify. The Music of the Troubadours (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana UP, 1996) 24-25. However, four manuscripts of the Breviari open with two lyrics by Matfre, "Dregz de natura" and "Temps qu'ieu mo sens espanda," which contain musical notation. Reinhilt Richter and Max Lütolf, "Les Poésies lyriques de Matfré Ermengau," Romania 98 (1977) 15-33.

²⁸¹ Listening for the Text: On the Uses of the Past 102-3.

²⁸² Beyond the scope of this work, but worth further study, is an exploration of the particular quotations that Matfre chooses to quote within his "Perihlos Tractat", and how they compare with the variations from the manuscript corpus of the poet. This would give an insight into the versions (possibly even the manuscripts) of the lyrics that Matfre had at hand.

²⁸³ Chenu discusses at length the significance of the term *auctoritas* in La Théologie au douzième siècle 353-358.

²⁸⁴ In this Matfre's work resembles that of Jakeme's late thirteenth-century work, Roman du castelain de Couci. For a discussion of the lyric insertions in Jakeme's work, see Sylvia Huot, From Song to Book 106-134.

²⁸⁵ Since Matfre apparently works from earlier sources of troubadour lyrics, which most likely contained *vidas* and *razos* of each poet, one may presume that he knows something about the troubadours' lives. Biographies, and bibliographic material of most of the troubadours whom Matfre quotes, are contained in the Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: Le Moyen Age (Paris: Fayard, 1964), and Biographies des Troubadours: Textes provençaux des XIIIe et XIVe siècles eds. Jean Boutière and A.-H. Schutz (Paris: Nizet, 1964).

not only major figures (Bernart de Ventadour, Peire Vidal and Marcabru, among others) but others who are quite minor (Arnaut Plagues and Guilhelm de Saint Didier, for example). Nor does Matfre demarcate the troubadours along lines of class or perceived religious faith. A few examples of many: Gui d'Ussel was a noble of Limousin whereas the "jongleur" Guilhem Adémar was the son of a poor knight; while Gausbert de Puicibot and Monge de Montaudon were monks, At de Mons lived as a troubadour and counselor to Pierre III of Aragon and Alphonse X of Castille.²⁸⁶ At times these categories of class and religious faith overlap: tradition holds that Aimeric de Peguilhan, the son of a cloth merchant, not only lived in exile, but also died a Cathar heretic, whereas Daude de Pradas, like Gui d'Ussel an ecclesiastic of noble birth, was made a delegate to the pope in 1275.²⁸⁷ Ironically for this study of the sacred and the profane in the *Breviari*, Matfre also includes personalities who would have been quite at odds concerning religion, especially the Albigensian crusade: Folquet de Marseille (d. 1231), bishop of Toulouse, was one of the leaders of the Albigensian crusade and was responsible for burning some ten thousand people, while Guilhem de Montanhagol (d. 1258) wrote several poems which criticized the severity of the repression following the Albigensian crusade.²⁸⁸

Although Matfre includes a wide variety of poets in his quotations in the "Perilhos Tractat", he describes them all as "antic." This term seems to refer to the generations of

²⁸⁶ Gui d'Ussel (*Biographies* 202; *Dictionnaire* 1468-1469); Guilhem Adémar (*Biographies* 349; *Dictionnaire* 595); Gausbert de Puicibot (*Biographies* 229; 486-487); Monge de Montaudon (*Biographies* 307; *Dictionnaire* 1022-1024); At de Mons (*Dictionnaire* 107-108).

²⁸⁷ Aimeric de Peguilhan (*Dictionnaire* 25-26); Daude de Pradas, (*Dictionnaire* 370-371).

²⁸⁸ Folquet de Marseille (*Biographies* 412; *Dictionnaire* 455-456); Guilhem de Montanhagol (*Dictionnaire* 600-601). See for instance, P. Cabau, "Foulque, marchand et troubadour de Marseille, moine et abbé de Thoronot, évêque de Toulouse (vers 1155/60-1231)," *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 21 (1986) 151-179, P.T. Ricketts, *Les poésies de Guilhelm de Montanhagol, troubadour du XIIIe siècle* (Toronto: UP of Toronto, 1964). Although beyond the scope of this study, the effects of the Albigensian crusade on the troubadours cannot be underestimated; this cultural event has been termed as the reason for which troubadour poets, including figures such as Guilhelm Montanhagol, Peire Cardenal, and Guiraut Riquier (d. 1295), tended to turn to more mystical subjects after the crusade. See René Nelli, *Ecrivains anticonformistes du moyen âge occitan: la femme et l'amour* (Paris: Phebus, 1977) 13. For the rise of the cult of the Virgin, and the emphasis on chastity and marriage, in the poetry of the troubadours after the Albigensian crusade, see Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex* 150-153.

troubadours preceding him; however, if the Albigensian crusade may serve as a chronological and stylistic dividing line, he may more likely be referring to the generation of troubadours who preceded the Albigensian crusade--in general those troubadours active at the end of the twelfth century. Most of the troubadours whom Matfre cites were active during this period. The use of the term "antic" has the overall effect of gathering together all the troubadours, despite their chronological and stylistic disparity, into a single, general category which recalls the time of the courts prior to the Crusade. (As we shall see, this term "antic" becomes even more problematic when we realize that Matfre cites several of his own lyrics among those of the other "antic" troubadours.)

By including troubadour lyrics within this religious text, Matfre effectively preserves traces of the court culture that had been more or less destroyed by the dispersal of the courts after the Albigensian crusade.²⁸⁹ In the inclusion of this variety of troubadour lyrics, Matfre retains even the unorthodox aspects of Occitan culture.²⁹⁰ If the Church opposed the tenets of courtly love during the early thirteenth century, it condemns them

²⁸⁹ As Elizabeth Aubrey notes, grammars and rhyme dictionaries of the second half of the thirteenth century, especially in Catalonia, reflect similar attempts to preserve the troubadour's art. The Music of the Troubadours 5.

²⁹⁰ Certain troubadours cited by Matfre were very much linked to the heresy of the Cathars. Anne Brenon, for instance, explores the co-existence of *courtoisie* and catharism in Peire Vidal and Raimon de Miraval. Noting the similarity between *fin'amors* and catharism, she writes: "Ce nouvel Amour apparut dans l'histoire occidentale à peu près au même moment que le christianisme cathare, et nous venons de voir qu'indéniablement, en certains lieux, à certains époques, ils touchèrent la même société--sans que la moindre incompatibilité se soit fait jour. [...] Comme Fin'Amors, le catharisme rejetait le mariage, sacralisation abusive d'un acte charnel donc diabolique, et fondé sur l'intérêt du lignage ou dans un but de procréation, et non conséquence d'une aspiration cordiale" (150) ["This new Love appeared in Western history at about the same time as Christian Catharism, and we have seen that undeniably, in certain places, at certain periods, they affected the same society, without the least incompatibility coming to light. [...] Like *fin'amors*, catharism rejected marriage, the abusive sacralization of a carnal and thus diabolical act, an act based on reasons of lineage or for the goal of procreation, and not the consequence of a heartfelt longing"]. Anne Brenon, "Sur les marges de l'état toulousain, Fin'Amor et catharisme: Peire Vidal et Raimon de Miraval entre Laurac et Cabaret," in Les Troubadours et l'état toulousain 139-154. Similarly, Félix-Marcel Castan sees in the troubadour lyric an anti-clerical rebellion that transposes raptures for the divine with the erotic and poetic joy of *fin' amor*. He calls the poetry of the troubadours "un jeu sacrilège" ["a sacrilegious game"] (236). "Une littérature sans finalité nationale," in Les Troubadours et l'état toulousain 229-244.

outright later in the century.²⁹¹ Because the *Breviari* spends so many thousands of lines on Catholic ritual and approved family relationships, the troubadour lyric, with its focus on courtly love, appears here as quite provocative.

Unlike the prologue to the *Tractat*, the main themes and concerns of the debate are secular, drawn from such debates on courtly love as are found in Capellanus' work. What is most interesting about this debate is the way in which each participant not only debates standard concerns of courtly love but also quotes from troubadour lyric to prove his or her position. While each participant quotes love lyric from different troubadours, the participants within the debate very often make the same complaint. In other words, the *maldizen*, troubadours and lovers are not debating opposing ideas; it is Matfre alone who explains or defends love. For instance, the *maldizen* reproach love for giving not pleasure but pain and suffering (a common theme from love debates) by quoting the troubadour Raimbaut de Vaqueiras:

No·ns potz ges escapar tan gen,
 quar ab que nos y estias,
 nos t'aurem pro guerentias
 qu'an dig per los fols castiar,
 qu'amors toll mais que no vol dar
 e, ses far socors ni plazer,
 dona trebailh e desplaizer
 don trobaras, ab qu'enquieiras,
 qu'En Raymbautz de Vaqueiras
 digs d'aquest'amor, ses temer:

*Mas per sso m'en vueilh estener
 qu'amors toll mais que no vol dar,
 qu'ie·ilh vei per un be cen mals far
 e mil pezars contr'un plazer,
 et anc no·m det joi ses trebailh;
 mas, cum ja vuelha, so eguailh,
 qu'ieu no vueilh son ris ni son plor;*

[you {Matfre} cannot cannot get off so easily,
 because as long as you are with us
 we will have you as testimony [example]
 of what one tells to chastise fools:
 that love takes away more than it is willing to give,
 and, without giving succor or pleasure,
 it gives pain and displeasure,
 as you will find, if you inquire
 what Lord Raimbaut de Vaqueiras
 says of this love, fearlessly:

*[But I intend to abstain from it for this reason,
 that love takes away more than it is willing to give,
 since for every boon I see it bring a hundred aches
 and for every pleasure a thousand cares,
 and never did it give joy unmixed with pain.
 But, whatever it may purpose, I set this situation
 right, for I want neither its laughter nor its tears.*

²⁹¹ René Nelli notes that the Friars in particular were quite active in combatting courtly love in the early thirteenth century, and asserts in addition that once Catharism had been vanquished, the Church found courtly love as heretical. *L'Erotique des troubadours* 221-222, 236-240. As I have already noted, Nelli sees the condemnation of a treatise on love, possibly Andreas Capellanus' *De Amore* in 1277, reveals the desire of the the Church to discredit courtly love. *L'Erotique des troubadours* 247-264.

*pueis no·n haurai gaug ni dolor,
savals no·ilh serai mals ni bos,
e lais m'estar dezamoras.*
(vv. 28087-28107; italics mine²⁹²)

*Since I shall have neither joy nor sorrow,
at least I shall be neither ill-disposed nor well-
disposed towards it, and I shall remain untroubled by
love.]*

The *maldizen* complain about suffering in love, the "trebailh e desplazer," with references to other poets such as Raimbaut.

Like the *maldizen*, the lovers criticize love for inflicting the pains of a martyr, and offer as proof a verse from Gaucelm Faiditz²⁹³:

Encaras no martiria
d'autras penas aquest'amors,
e·n suffertam mantas dolors
quar ela·ns ten en gran cossir,
e·ns fai tremolar e fremir.
D'aquesta penedensa ditz
le fins aimans Gaucelms Faiditz
en una canso quez ell fe:

[Again would this love martyr us
with yet other suffering;
we may suffer much grief from it
because it keeps us in great worry,
and makes us tremble and shiver.
Of this penance speaks
the courtly lover Gaucelm Faiditz
in a song that he made:

*Mantas sazos s'esdeve
can pes de lieis e cossire
qu'ieu non aug qui parl' ab me,
ni fass mas tremblar e freire,
quar anc Dieus no volc asire
mais en una sola re
la beutat qu'il a en se,
ni·l gen parlar ni·l dous rieire,
am que m'a mort e·m rete.*
(vv. 28848-64; italics mine)²⁹⁴

*Many times it happens
when I think and muse on her,
that I do not hear anyone who speaks with me,
and do nothing but shiver and tremble
that God ever wished to place
in one single creature
the beauty that He has in Himself,
or the noble speech or the sweet laughter,
by which she kills me and keeps me captive.]*

Like the *maldizen*, the lovers experience pain in general terms ("penas," "dolors"); they suffer so greatly that they are physically affected by the tortures of love which makes them "tremolar e fremir." The lovers describe their pain with a lexicon reminiscent of the early Church: love martyrs them (no martiria/ d'autras penas aquest'amors), and their pain is a penance ("penedensa"). This topos of suffering in love is a universal commonplace,

²⁹² This verse is from "Leu pot hom gauch e pretz aver." The English translation is from Joseph Linskill, *The Poems of the Troubadour Raimbaut de Vaqueiras* (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1964) 126-131. The lyrics in italics here, and elsewhere, denote all actual quotations within Matfre's text.

²⁹³ Gaucelm's poems appear in Jean Mouzat, *Les Poèmes de Gaucelm Faidit* (Paris: Nizet, 1965).

²⁹⁴ This verse is from "Si tot m'ai tarzat mon chan" (Mouzat 153-160).

present in many love lyrics. The language of suffering used in the *Breviari* by both the lovers and the *maldizen* signals Matfre's use of conventional themes and the similarity between these ostensibly opposing participants in the debate.²⁹⁵

While many of the complaints involve love, a good number are aimed at women, and involve a conventional misogynistic thread. The troubadours complain, for instance, about how love's arrows seem always to land on ugly women, and cite Azemars de

Rocaficha:

Encaras m'an li trobador
demandat mais d'aquest'amor
per qual razo's pot estalvar
que soven la vezem paucar
en qualque vil creatura
quez er de laga figura
on se paucara de bon cor,
e no's ne partir' a lunt for
per castier d'ome viven
e laicha pro parlar la gen,
sembla que re no conosca
aitam pauc quo sera losca,
don digs de la razo dicha
N'Azemars de Rocaficha:

[Again the troubadours have asked me
more about this love
for what reason it occurs
for often we see it placed
in some base creature
who might have an ugly figure
where love will place itself with a good will,
and will not go away for a long time
in order to torment a living man
and hatefully the people speak plenty {about it},
love seems so unaware
as to be almost cross-eyed {blind}
as the words of the razo of
Lord Azemars de Rocaficha say of it:

*Amors apoder' e vens
paubres e manens,
no-i esgara re,
ni on se pauza no ve,
e no la pot hom mover,
pos vol remaner.
Az aital pes compra e ven
que partigs e pren,
e non dubta lauzengiers
ni parliers,
e fai drutz frieir' e tremblar
amors e-ls maritz pensar.
(vv. 28557-82; italics mine)*

*Love conquers and overcomes
poor and rich,
nothing daunts it
nor does it see where it lands
and no one can move it,
if it wishes to remain.
For such a burden it buys and sells
what it shares and seizes,
and it does not fear slanderers
nor gossips,
and it makes lovers tremble and shudder
and husbands worry.]*

²⁹⁵ This agreement among the figures further creates, however, an internal contradiction within the *Breviari*; at the very beginning of the "Perhilos Tractat", Matfre claims to write this book on true love so as to counteract the lies of the *maldizen* (vv. 27796-27810).

The troubadour's complaints are much more pointed than those of Azemars; they take Azemars' notion that love is a universal experience ("Amors apoder' e vens/ paubres e manens"), and extend it to lament that even ugly women are among those that Love falls upon ("soven la vezem pauzar/ en qualque vil creatura /quez er de laga figura"). The troubadours may be complaining here not only out of personal dissatisfaction, but perhaps also out of a stylistic problem: how can one write about courtly love without the presence of a beautiful lady?

Similarly, the lovers complain about the provocative fickleness of women with a quotation, again from Gaucelm Faiditz:

Senher, donas nos fan
gran engans e grans tracios,
quar ab bell esgart amors,
ab ben parar, ab gen garnir,
et ab plazenment aculhir,
ab bell respos, ab gai solatz
nos fan tal semblan que diratz
que re del mon non amon tan;
en apress quant elas nos han
mout escalfatz en lur amor
si que re no vezem mas lor,
no ns volon vezer ni auzir
e fan nos sospiran morir.
Aujatz qu'en digs Gauzelms Faiditz
d'aitals donas enganairitz
que traicho ab semblans bos:

[Lord, women do us
great deceit and great treachery,
because with fair loving glances
with beautiful ornaments, fine clothing,
and a charming welcome,
with beautiful answers, with gay amusement,
they make such an appearance that you would say
that they love nothing in the world so much;
and later, when they have us
so fired up for love of them
that we see nothing but them,
they do not wish to see nor hear us anymore
and they make us die, sighing.
Hear what Gaucelm Faiditz says of it,
of such deceitful women,
who betray with a good appearance:

*Be m'an trait siei bell hueilh amors,
e son gen corss e son azaut garnir,
son gen parlar e son gen aculhir,
son bell solatz, son avinen respos.
Mala vi anc sa gran beutat valen,
don mielhs cugiei haver lo cor jauzen;
mas ara m vau planhen e sospiran,
e no m'i val merces quan la deman.
(vv. 29491-29514, italics mine)²⁹⁶*

*Her beautiful loving eyes have truly betrayed me,
and her beautiful body and comely clothing,
and her fine speech and her fine welcome,
her beautiful conversation, her charming
answers. Alas that I ever saw her great noble
beauty,
of which I believed I would have a more joyful heart,
but now I go crying and sighing,
and no mercy helps me when I ask for it.]*

The lovers accuse the women of being inconstant: one moment, the women flirt with them and dress up for them, and the next moment they refuse to see them, leaving them dying of

²⁹⁶ This verse is from "Maintas sazoes es hom plus voluntos" (Mouzat 137-141).

love. Although they quote different lyrics, the troubadours and lovers in the debate offer the reader conventional complaints about women with a heavy dose of misogyny. There is nothing spiritual about their descriptions of women; instead their descriptions focus primarily on their physical appearance.

Instead of focusing on love and sex within marriage for the goal of procreation the debate centers on the themes of *fin'amors*: love and sex outside any religious doctrine. Because the themes of the debate are drawn from the secular, sensual notion of *fin'amors*, and because the debaters quote troubadour lyric to support their position, the debate of this "Perilhos Tractat," despite Matfre's declaration, moves from the world of Catholic doctrine into one ruled by courtly love. By including troubadour lyrics, the debate offers a multi-voiced discourse concerning love: every possible view of love is represented within it. As a catalogue of verbatim quotations, the debate of love recalls the original performances of the lyrics in the courts prior to the Albigensian crusade.²⁹⁷

Matfre does not allow negative value judgments to accumulate around the "antic trobadors" by having only the *maldizen* quote their verses, for instance. Instead, all the participants, the evil *maldizen*, the troubadours, lovers, and Matfre himself, incorporate troubadour lyric within their arguments. Contrary to the first prologue, in which Matfre proposes to teach the troubadours and lovers about love, in the debate each participant uses the troubadours' lyrics as an authority for his position. The quotations of the troubadour lyrics thereby function within this debate on love as appeals by all the debaters to the authority of the *auctores*, who are not the sanctioned patristic fathers of the Church, but the troubadours themselves.

²⁹⁷ Matfre's debate, since it includes troubadours active prior to as well as following the crusade, recalls for the reader the performances of the earlier troubadours for several reasons. First, the crusade's destruction of the Provençal courts had as an effect a dispersal of the troubadours. See Geneviève Brunel-Lobrichon and Claudie Duhamel-Amado, *Au Temps des troubadours* 193-199. Second, the lyric of the troubadours after the crusade, as Nelli has asserted, tended to be more mystical and religious in nature, rather than courtly. René Nelli, *Ecrivains anticonformistes* 13. I suggest, then, that the crusade changed not only the writings of the troubadours but the conditions for their performance.

In a sense, the perilous nature of the debate may be less a question of carnal love than of authority. Whereas the prologues, and the Breviari as a whole, positions God as the center and source of love, the debate on love erases any sign of him. In the debate it is the troubadours who stand as ultimate authorities of courtly love. Despite the piety of the first 27,000 lines, the debate compels a secular reading of this section of the poem. The quotations of troubadour lyric in this debate introduce the opposite of what Matfre has promised thus far in the Breviari. They propose an understanding of love that is not necessarily in accordance with Catholic doctrine, that clearly does not privilege the love for God over the love for one's lady. These troubadour quotations do not portray the love for God in human terms, but rather subvert the transcendent spirituality of love advocated by much of the Breviari. Unlike Gautier's assimilation of the lexicon of troubadour lyrics, Matfre, by separating the debate from the rest of the Breviari, establishes two opposite worldviews: that of Catholic theology, and that of the courtly love of the troubadours. Ultimately, the troubadour lyrics represent a challenge to the structure of the Breviari, since they, and not God, serve as the authorities in this debate of courtly love. Matfre's role in the debate further complicates this conception of *auctoritas*, since he not only participates in the debate but includes his own love lyric among the other quotations of troubadour lyrics.

Matfre as Troubadour

The narrator, although primarily concerned with orthodox Catholic doctrine, enters wholeheartedly into this debate on *fin'amors*. As an acknowledged expert on love (recall his self-description as a "true lover," vv. 87, 90, 100, 27836-38) he continually defends both love and women against the charges of the troubadours and lovers. In one instance of many, Matfre as narrator defends love with a quotation from Jaufré Rudel's "No sap chantar qui so non di":

Benes es vers senes falhensa,
 segon quez a dig n'Aimerics
 que fo tengutz entre ls antics
 trobadors per un dels melhors,
 que per obra d'ueilhs est amors,
 mantas veguadas, s'escumpren;
 et a vegadas eichamen
 ama ben hom sso qu'anc no vi
 ab dezirier coral et fi
 per lo be quez om en au dir;
 adoncs s'escompren per l'auzir
 amors, dont En Gaufres Rudell,
 en un sieu cantar bon e bell,
 digs d'esta razo enaichi:

*'Nuhls hom no's meravilh de mi
 d'ieu am sso que ja no'm veira,
 que'l cors joi d'autr'amor non ha
 mas de cela qu'ieu anc no vi,
 ni per nulh joi aitan non ri,
 ni no sai quals bes m'en venra'*
 (vv. 29403-22; italics mine).

[Good is verse without falsehood,
 according to what Lord Aimeric says,
 who was considered among the early
 trobadours to be one of the best,
 that love occurs through the work of the eyes
 and on many occasions it establishes itself;
 and on as many occasions
 a man loves with a sincere and true desire
 what he has never seen
 because of the good that he has heard of it;
 then love establishes itself through the sense of
 hearing, as Lord Jaufre Rudel
 in one of his good and beautiful songs,
 says on this subject in this way:

*Let no man be amazed at me
 if I love what will never see me,
 for I enjoy none other
 But her whom I have never seen,
 And I have never been so happy for any joy,
 And I do not know what good I shall get out of
 it.²⁹⁸*

Jaufre's text establishes an *amor de lonh*, which might possibly be lauded within Catholic doctrine for its lack of physical contact between the lovers. His complaint of the uncertainty of love, perhaps even unrequited love, in the voice of Matfre, is surprising for two reasons. First, Matfre uses this passage not to add justification for celibate love, sanctioned by Catholicism, but as proof that love comes about aurally; that is, one can fall in love by hearsay. By framing Jaufre's *amor de lonh* with clear references to the connection between love and the corporeal senses--vision, and in this section, hearing--Matfre brings love back into the sensual domain of *fin'amors* and outside standard Catholic doctrine.²⁹⁹ The first line of this quotation from Jaufre ("Nuhls hom no's meravilh de mi") not only marks

²⁹⁸ The English translation is from The Poetry of Cercamon and Jaufre Rudel eds. and trans. George Wolf and Roy Rosenstein (New York and London: Garland, 1983) 134-137. All other English translations from 'No sap cantar qui so non di' are from this edition.

²⁹⁹ Matfre's invocation of seeing and then hearing in terms of love recalls the stages of love, the *gradus amoris*, described by F. R. P. Akehurst as *visum, allocutio, tactum, osculum, actum* or *factum* ["seeing, speaking, touching, kissing, the act"]. "Words and Acts in the Troubadours," Poetics of Love in the Middle Ages: Texts and Contexts eds. Moshé Lazar and Norris J. Lacy (Fairfax, VA: George Mason UP, 1989) 17-28.

Jaufre's situation as unusual, but underlines as well a certain uneasy awareness of Matfre's position.

Second, it is significant that Matfre cites Jaufre in a place in which he defends deploying one's senses in love. The song that Matfre quotes centers on the link between love and the composition of poetry.³⁰⁰ Jaufre begins by highlighting his purported inability to write: "No sap chantar qui so non di./ Ni vers trobar qui motz no fa./ Ni conois de rima co's va/ Si razo non enten en si" (vv. 1-4) ["He cannot sing who makes no tune./ And he cannot write songs who makes no words/ and does not know how a rhyme works/ If he does not understand the matter"]. He ends certain of being able to write a song that others will cite "Bos es lo vers, e faran hi/ Calque re don hom chantara" (vv. 37-8) ["The song is good, and there they will do/ Something that people will sing about"], and moreover, that love produces good verses: "Bos es lo vers, qu'anc no-i falhi./ Et tot so que-i es ben esta" (vv. 31-32) ["The song is good; I have not failed in it/ And everything that is in it fits"]. Matfre offers the audience well-versed in Jaufre's poetry, who would be reminded of the song in its entirety from the quotation, the possibility of musing upon the role of love in the composition of poetry. This is a self-reflective moment, as it brings the reader back to Matfre's conception of himself as a servant to love, compiling and explaining the Tree of Love.

Matfre, as "d'amor serss," actively engages in his role of exemplary, and divinely sanctioned, lover. Within the debate, Matfre not only defends love, but sets himself within the fabled ranks of these "antic trobadors" by including seven verses of his own.³⁰¹ He

³⁰⁰ Matfre's quotations of one verse of another's poetry may recall for the audience the rest of the verses (as the *incipits* of the hymns do in Dante's *Purgatorio*); however, Matfre limits the possible variations present in oral performance of those same lyrics by codifying one version of the lyric. Why he chooses one version and not another, while beyond the bounds of the present study, deserves further attention.

³⁰¹ In addition, a few manuscripts of the *Breviari* contain, at the beginning, two complete lyric poems by Matfre, as I have already noted: a song ("Dregz de natura comanda") and a *sirventés* ("Temps es qu'ieu mo sens espanda"). The first stanza of "Dregz de natura" is later found in the "Perilhos Tractat" (vv. 33239-49). "Dregz de natura" is found in six manuscripts, four of which contain musical notation; "Temps es qu'ieu

cites his own lyric no fewer than seven times—four times within the debate as a part of his own speeches. Matfre also includes his own lyrics outside the debate, as a part of the discussion of love and its virtues. For instance, Matfre's lyrics comment upon the virtues of discretion (v. 32447), knowledge (vv. 33239ff), and remedies to avoid love folly (v. 34083). He cites himself simply as "ieu" (or "hieu") (vv. 30088; 33238), as "Messier Matfres" (v. 30908), and elsewhere he does not name himself at all, but the reader knows from the use of the first person singular verb that it is Matfre (e.g., "doniei" v. 28764; "diei" v. 31713; "plieu" v. 34083).³⁰² At other times he even asserts that he speaks according to the words of Solomon ("Salamo[s]," vv. 28020; 32445).³⁰³ Matfre privileges his own lyric; he introduces, for example, the incipit of one of his lyrics, "Dregz de natura comanda," on line 300, and then provides the verse in full on vv. 33239ff.³⁰⁴ This preview of Matfre's verse not only introduces the idea of including other lyrics in the work, but also emphasizes Matfre's voice. In addition, it again emphasizes the link between *dregz de natura* and love. Matfre is not just an expert in love, as he has asserted in the beginning and as his position in the debate seems to suggest. Nor is he only someone who has an encyclopedist's knowledge of the troubadours as an academic field of study so that he can create a catalogue of their verse. Matfre is a troubadour as well.

Matfre's insertion of his own lyric among those of the "antic trobadors" complicates his relationship not only with courtly love lyric but also with the amatory subject at hand. The inclusion of his verse gives it the status of *auctoritas* among the writings of the other

mo sens espanda" appears in three of those six above mentioned manuscripts. Richter and Lütolf, "Les Poésies Lyriques de Matfré Ermengau" 15-33.

³⁰² Richter and Lütolf emphasize that these lyrics are attributed to Matfre. "Les Poésies lyriques de Matfré Ermengau" 17.

³⁰³ Prior to citing his own lyric, Matfre writes for instance: "escoutatz qu'en digs hieu l'autrier/ de sso que Salamos en ditz: [...] (vv. 28018-19) ["listen to what I said the other day/ about what Solomon said of it: ..."]; and also "per qu'ieu l'autrier d'esta razo/dichi seguentre Salamo/ que tan fo certz ez entendutz:" [...] (vv. 32444-6) ["wherefore for this reason the other day / I said following Solomon / who was so sure and wise: ..."].

³⁰⁴ This song is further privileged in the four manuscripts; see note 58.

troubadours; moreover, it sheds a writerly light on Matfre. Because his lyric has been ostensibly written at an earlier point in his life, or at least prior to the composition of the Breviari, Matfre comments upon his own verse much as Dante does in his Vita Nuova. These autocitations move the reader from the narrator of the debate to a extra-textual narrator/author figure, adding a secular poetic identity to this self-described "senhers en leys e d'amors serss" (v. 10).³⁰⁵

Placed in the voice of the narrator Matfre, these verses, or autocitations, play varying roles within the debate: at times reproving, other times offering counsel. At the very beginning of the debate, for instance, the *maldizen* complain about love, doubting that it is appropriate that Matfre defend it.³⁰⁶ Matfre responds by harshly criticizing them with verses not only from troubadours such as At de Mons and Raimon de Miraval but also with a lyric of his own. His song not only severely reproves the *maldizen* but turns the tables on them:

*Greu er lunhs homs tan complitz
ta certz ni tan cabalos*

*[A man can hardly be so accomplished
so reliable or so perfect*

³⁰⁵ Following Zumthor, who rejects subjectivity, Gregory B. Stone suggests that the generalized anonymity of troubadour lyric resists the Renaissance focus on specificity and individualism. Stone might argue, then, that by inserting his own lyrics among the "antics" troubadours, Matfre reworks his poetic identity so as to be included within the general collective of troubadours. I would not entirely agree with this possible perspective, however, since Matfre creates a specific self-portrait in his prologue in addition to presenting his own love lyrics. My argument thus more closely resembles those of scholars such as Michel Zink and Sarah Kay, both of whom argue for a literary subjectivity in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. See Paul Zumthor, "De la circularité du chant," Poétique 2 (1970) 129-140; Essai de poétique médiévale (Paris: Seuil, 1972) 189-243; Gregory B. Stone, The Death of the Troubadour: The Late Medieval Resistance to the Renaissance (Philadelphia: UP of Pennsylvania, 1994); Michel Zink, La Subjectivité littéraire: Autour du siècle de St. Louis (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1985); and Sarah Kay, Subjectivity in Troubadour Poetry (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990).

³⁰⁶ In specific, the *maldizen* think it not fitting that Matfre, as a man of law, discuss the subject of love:

Aras diran li maldizen
evejos, ple de mal talen:
--No's tanh ges de senhor de leis
quez ell trabuque se mezeis,
entenden en tan de folor
quo pren hom per aquest'amor,
ans per so saber en be far,
deu se et autres governar.--
(vv. 27845-52)

[Now the envious, malicious
maldizen will say:
--It seems not fitting to us of a man of law
that he overturn himself,
understanding so much about the folly
that takes a man by this love,
rather by his knowledge and good deeds
must he guide himself and others.--]

*que-ilh mal parlan envejós,
nesci de mala razitz,
no reprendo sos fagz bos
a prezen o a rescós;
per que no-s deu om giquir
de ben far per lur maldir.
(vv. 28020-27; italics mine)*

*that the envious slanderers,
who come from evil roots,
do not reproach his good deeds
publicly or secretly;
wherefore no one must give up
doing well because of their slander.]*

Matfre's portrayal of the *maldizen* is harsh: they are "envejós/ nesci de mala razitz" (vv. 28022-3). By accentuating the evil roots of the *maldizen*, Matfre also implies that their lineage, like their behavior, is a far cry from the nobility of a *fin'aman*. More importantly, by insisting that one continue doing good deeds despite their slander ("de ben far per lur maldir"), Matfre defuses the primary weapon of the *maldizen*, speaking ill of others. By castigating the *maldizen*, Matfre defends lovers in their service to love and their ladies.

Most of Matfre's autocitations offer generally positive perspectives on courtly love. For example, Matfre gives reassuring advice to the suffering lovers who beseech him for advice to end their love-pain (vv. 31547-31549). After quoting various troubadours such as Peire Rogier (vv. 31619-34) and Ucs Brunenc de Rodes (vv. 31643-86), Matfre offers as counsel a tenso between his brother and himself in order to defend love and bolster the lovers' spirits, which I quote here in full.

*Si-l digs cosseilh no't plazia,
ben poirias autre trobar
quez ieu doniei l'autrier plus clar
a·N Peir' Ermengau mo fraire,
cui hieu apell mon compaire,
qu·m mostret un aital quereilh:*

*[If the above-mentioned counsels do not please you,
you could well find another more clear
that I gave the other day,
to Peir' Ermengau, my brother,
whom I call my fellow poet,
when he made a similar complaint:*

*Messier Matfre, pus de cosseilh
no fialhetz a fin aimador,
vos prec que·m digatz de la flor
que·m fetz mirar el seu espeilh
quo-ilh puesqu'el seu estatge,
ses temor, mos greus mals mostrar,
que quan la vei, tot oblidar
me fa·l corss d'agradatge,
tan la tem, quar vei qu'es ses par
de beutat e de bos fatz far.*

*Sir Matfre, since you have no lack
of advice for noble lovers,
I pray you, tell me of the flower
who has made me look into her mirror,
so that I can show her,
without fear, my grievous hurt:
that when I see her, her lovely form
makes me forget all else;
I fear her so, for I see that she is without peer
in beauty and in acting virtuously.*

*Cumpaire, mout me merav[e]ilh
de vos qu'entendetz en amor,
cum cujatz prejar ses temor
leis qu'es de totz bes ses pareilh
per vos ni per messatge,
quar leials aimans non pot far;
pero penre pot quex, sso'm par,
ardimen e coratge
de sidons ab temor prejar,
que ja s'aventur' om e mar.*

Apress diei li·naital cosseilh:

*Cumpair', en aitan quo·l soleilh
revirona, cosseilh melhor
non truop a fin entendedor:
aprejar, quan quez escandeilh,
ses temor que l'emplatge,
sidons, mas em bos fagz renhar,
qu'aichi pot hom mais acabar
ab dona d'aut linhatge,
no fan li croi ab domnejar,
quar vil fag los fan refuzar
(vv. 31687-31723; italics mine)*

*Fellow poet, I marvel greatly
at you, who understand love,
how you think you can court without fear
her who is of all good without peer,
in person or through a messenger,
for a loyal lover cannot do [it]:
but he can take, it seems to me, his
daring and courage,
to court his lady with trepidation
for man always goes adventuring at sea.*

After I said to him such counsel:

*Fellow poet, as surely as the sun
will return, better counsel
one may not find for the wise:
to pray [court] his lady,
no matter what his value may be,³⁰⁷
without fear that she stop him,
but, Sir, to live in good deeds,
that thus can one rather appeal more
to a woman of high lineage.
The wicked accomplish nothing in courting,
since base dealings make ladies refuse them.]*

Using a tenso with his brother to illustrate why the lovers should continue in spite of their pain brings the authority of the quotations to a familiar, even familial, level; that is, if the words of Peire Rogier and Ucs Brunenc de Rodes seem removed and far from the lovers' experience, those of Matfre and his brother are not, since it is the very same Matfre who moderates the debate, and who is ostensibly physically present there with the troubadours and lovers, who has penned this lyric with his brother. Further, Peire's repetition of "temor" ["fear"] and "tem" ["I fear"] [vv. 31698, 31701, 31705, 31711] and his desire for counsel ("vos prec que·m digatz de la flor" v. 31695) align him with the lovers, who are in a similar position; Peire serves here as a foil for them.

The words of Peir' Ermengau, "Cumpaire, mout me merav[e]ilh/de vos qu'entendetz en amor" (vv. 31703-4), express the same wonderment about Matfre's

³⁰⁷ I am using Rickett's suggestion for the translation of this line (216).

position in the debate and beliefs about love just as the line quoted above from Jaufre Rudel ["Nuhls hom no's meravilh de mi" (v. 29417)] seems to refer to Matfre.³⁰⁸ In both instances, the referents seem doubled; here in Peire's words, Matfre's behavior is unusual not only on a local level (i.e., confined to the *tenso*), but appears to extend to the composer of the "Perilhous Tractat," and the *Breviari* as a whole. Although in the two prologues that I have already examined the author/narrator insisted on the sacramentality of marriage and procreation as the legitimate goal for desire, here he not only defends love, but is, according to Peire, in an uneasy position in regards to it. In a sense, Peire, like the *maldizen*, doubts the appropriateness of Matfre's position.

Matfre's response to this charge reveals how he subscribes to many of the tenets of courtly love. First, he denies that there could be better advice given to a lover, thereby accentuating his pre-eminent role as authority in matters of love. Responding to the plea for natural advice ("mas datz nos cosseilh natural" v. 31545), Matfre emphasizes the naturalness of his role as authority on love by creating an analogy of the soundness of his advice with the certainty that the sun will rise: "Cumpair', en aitan quo-l soleilh/revirona, cosseilh melhor /non truop a fin entendedor" (vv. 31714-16). He invokes two of the typical courtly love experiences: fear ("temor" v. 31718, which his advice is designed to dispel), and the need to do service in hopes for recompense ("mas em bos fagz renhar" v. 31719; and conversely, that evil deeds do not win love: "no fan li croi ab domnejar/quar vil fag los fan refuzar" vv. 31722-23). And he subscribes to the idea that the ideal beloved is of a high social class, since he reasons that a man should do good deeds so as to appeal to a woman of high lineage ("aichi pot hom mais acabar/ab dona d'aut linhatge" vv. 31720-21). Matfre's response in this *tenso* provides an answer not only to his brother, but also to the inscribed audience, and by extension to his readers. Matfre here advises the lovers, who have

³⁰⁸ Peire, marvelling at Matfre's interest in love, also recalls of course the *maldizens'* complaint of the earlier passage.

complained about their suffering in love, to continue loving, in other words, to continue on the path marked out by secular courtly love. Unlike Gautier who, while keeping the concept of love-service would replace the beloved with the Virgin, Matfre gives advice to the lovers which leaves all the elements of courtly love intact, without a trace of religious overlay.

Matfre's verses not only offer counsel but strongly defend love and women, even from the complaints of the troubadours and lovers. When the lovers speak ill of women³⁰⁹, for example, Matfre offers a very personal glimpse of his own experience of love.

*De midons puesc hieu dir en tota plassa
que non ha par de valor ni de sen
ni de bos aibs ab bell captement
per que de pretz totas as autras passa,
en sa beutat re melhurar non qual,
quar anc lunh tems non hac par ni egal,
don, s'ieu pogues lieis tostem remirar,
no volgra mais ni dormir no manjar.
(vv. 30090-97)*

*[Of my lady I can say in the whole square
she has no peer in excellence nor in wit
nor in good qualities with good manners,
because in worth she surpasses all the others.
In her beauty nothing could be improved,
since she has long been without peer nor equal,
wherefore, if I could admire her always, without
interruption, I would never want to sleep nor eat.]*

Matfre's lexicon strongly invokes the courtly love experience expressed in lyric. He lauds publicly ("en tota plassa") the various qualities of his beloved in superlative terms, repeating that she has no peer, that she surpasses all others ("non ha par de valor ni de sen/ ni de bos aibs ab bell captement" vv. 30091-2; "non hac par ni egal" v. 30095; "per que de pretz totas as autras passa," v. 30093). More importantly, Matfre describes not only his lady but also his experience of love in courtly terms; he desires to contemplate her all the time, no longer wishing to eat or sleep: "s'ieu pogues lieis tostem remirar,/ no volgra mais ni dormir no manjar" (vv. 30096-7). He describes, like many other courtly lovers, being physically overcome by the sight of his beloved. These effects of love are, however, firmly restrained within the hypothetical nature of Matfre's lyric, which is accentuated by the use

³⁰⁹ Among other things, the lovers accuse the women of deceit, and of pretending to love: "quar en engan/ han del tot lur entencio/ e per amor quez om lur do/ fan az ome semblan d'amor/ per tal que-l fasso folejar" [vv. 29596-600] ["since they have all their attention set on deceit, and for the love a man gives them, they pretend to love him/ to make him commit foolishness"].

lady but also his experience of love in courtly terms; he desires to contemplate her all the time, no longer wishing to eat or sleep: "s'ieu pogues lieis tostems remirar,/ no volgra mais ni dormir no manjar" (vv. 30096-7). He describes, like many other courtly lovers, being physically overcome by the sight of his beloved. These effects of love are, however, firmly restrained within the hypothetical nature of Matfre's lyric, which is accentuated by the use of a hypothetically constructed phrase ("s'ieu pogues, no volgra"). As readers, we are meant to read Matfre's verses as proof of his skill in composing love lyric using the lexicon of courtly love; we see as well that he is quite familiar with the common tropes of troubadour lyric.

If these autocitations are designed to establish Matfre's authority in matters of love, they unveil Matfre's prowess in writing love lyric as well. Defender of love, mediator between the lovers and the ladies, Matfre is also an active participant in the production of courtly love poetry. By including his own lyrics among those of the "antic" troubadours, Matfre corroborates his earlier self-description as an *aimans verais*; in addition, he marks his poetry as meriting inclusion in this catalogue of troubadour lyrics.

Embroided in this debate on love, our narrator has a poetic, if not a personal, stake in preserving the structure and tenets of troubadour lyric. The debate on love offers a site in which Matfre can showcase his own poetic talents. Placed alongside the poetry of such famous and canonical troubadours as Bernart de Ventadour, Matfre's love lyric gains a certain literary prestige and authority. Matfre is implicated in the lyric of *fin'amors* of the "Perilhos Tractat," enjoying the very sensuality he condemns elsewhere in his text.

To conclude, Matfre's Breviari is a compendium on love that catalogues in encyclopedic fashion the various forms of love. Love is strictly ranked: love for God is of course paramount; carnal desire for women, on the other hand, must be strictly limited to marriage for the purpose of procreation. Matfre does not condemn human love; it is not a profane element in an otherwise religious text. Human desire is natural, and good as long

as confined within a marriage relationship. Courtly love, however, because it often describes love outside of marriage, can be dangerous; it is no accident that Matfre separates his discussion of courtly love from the main body of the Breviari in a treatise called the “Perilhos Tractat.”

While it is a moral encyclopedia that expounds Catholic doctrine, the Breviari also introduces the ambiguity of secular courtly love. Instead of highlighting love in terms of marriage and procreation, the debate on love provocatively challenges the Catholic doctrine of this spiritual encyclopedia by accentuating, not discarding, the sensual tenets of *fin'amors*. The troubadour lyrics define and justify courtly love; they represent the authoritative corpus to which Matfre turns in order to defend it. Matfre does not gloss the quotations with Christian piety, but instead allows them to stand on their own terms, as secular and sensual as they are.

In this light, the catalogue of troubadour lyric that Matfre includes in his debate on love reveals a tense dialectical underpinning to his Breviari.³¹⁰ Matfre desires to channel love into its sanctioned form, marriage, and yet allows for the traditions of courtly love, as expressed in the troubadour lyric, to remain untouched (unglossed) by Catholic dogma. One way to understand this is to think of the Breviari as an encyclopedia: its inclusion of troubadour lyric derives from this genre's indiscriminate method of cataloguing, as seen in Isidore of Seville's Etymologia.³¹¹ Although beyond the scope of this study, the historical context of the aftermath of the Albigensian crusade, as well as the condemnation of 1277, may provide other clues for the provocative nature of Matfre's text.

³¹⁰ Matfre's double poetic persona as *senhers en leys et d'amor serss* (v. 10) imitates the bi-fold structure of the Breviari: in the first, lengthy section, Matfre acts as a theologian, and in the “Perilhos Tractat” as a courtly lover and poet.

³¹¹ Isidore of Seville, Etimologías: Edición Bilingüe eds and trans. Jose Oroz Reta and Manuel-A. Marcos Casquero (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1982).

These troubadour quotations do offer Matfre, moreover, a poetic identity that depends not only on his knowledge of the canon of troubadour writings but on his own poetry as well. Matfre both preserves poetry written by troubadours active before the Albigensian crusade, and inserts himself among their ranks. He is the writer of an encyclopedia, a theologian and a poet; this polyvalent identity foreshadows how Dante will meld poetry and spirituality as the poet/prophet of the Commedia.

While Matfre distinguishes between religious doctrine and courtly love lyrics by separating them structurally, Chaillou de Pesstain's version of the Roman de Fauvel juxtaposes sacred and secular song. *The mise-en-page* of many folios from Chaillou's manuscript, Bibliothèque Nationale de France f. fr. 146, centers precisely on a more immediate contact between the sacred and secular. It is this contact, I will argue in the following chapter, which causes the significance of the sacred and profane to extend beyond the borders of the text to function as commentary upon contemporary kings and counselors.

CHAPTER IV

SEEING, READING, AND HEARING THE SACRED AND PROFANE:

LE ROMAN DE FAUVEL AND PARIS, BIBLIOTHEQUE

NATIONALE DE FRANCE F. FR. 146

Questions of seeing and reading pervade the Roman de Fauvel contained in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France fonds français MS 146 (ca. 1317).³¹² This manuscript contains an expanded version, unique among other manuscripts, of the allegorical romance of Fauvel. Literary, pictorial and musical interpolations to the version of the romance in fr. 146 confront the reader with a polyphony of media and meanings, to be experienced both visually (via the writing of the narrative and the illuminations) and aurally (via the music).³¹³ "Reading" fr. 146 expands greatly the monastic notion of *lectio divina*, wherein the reader sees and pronounces the words. Fr. 146 compels the reader not only to see and pronounce the words, but to sing them, in addition to "reading" the many illuminations.³¹⁴ The narrative and genre of Fauvel invite multiple levels of interpretative strategies; the recent magisterial work, Fauvel Studies, illustrates many of the myriad scholarly perspectives on fr. 146.³¹⁵

³¹² Hereafter I refer to the manuscript as fr. 146. Two works in particular are essential in the study of this manuscript: the recent facsimile edition, Le Roman de Fauvel in the Edition of Messire Chaillou de Pesstain: A Reproduction in Facsimile of the Complete Manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds français 146 introduction by Edward Roesner, François Avril, and Nancy Freeman Regalado (New York: Broude Brothers, 1990); and Emilie Dahnk's edition of the literary and musical interpolations in L'Hérésie de Fauvel (Leipzig: C. & E. Vogel, 1935).

³¹³ Because fr. 146 is meant to be read, heard and seen, it recalls the audiovisual poetics of Richard de Fournival's Bestiaire d'amours. See Sylvia Huot, From Song to Book 135-173.

³¹⁴ Jean Leclercq describes in some detail the practice of *lectio divina* in The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study in Monastic Culture trans. Catharine Misrahi (New York: Fordham UP, 1982, 1961) 15-17.

³¹⁵ Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music, and Image in Paris Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS français 146 eds. Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998). Dahnk sees the triple form of the interpolations as similar to the way in which heretics of the time might speak: "Une seule

A fiercely satirical work in two books, the Roman de Fauvel cloaks its satire in allegory.³¹⁶ The main character, Fauvel, is a horse who embodies worldly vice. Even the color of his body denotes vanity: ("Ausi Fauvel, se Diex me sauve,/ Ne doit avoir coulour fors fauve, [...] Teil coulour vanité denote" ll. 219-220, 223). ["And so Fauvel, may God save me, should have no color except fawn, [...] such a color denotes vanity"].³¹⁷ In addition, as the romance tells us, his name can be understood etymologically:

Ausi par ethimologie
Pues savoir ce qu'il senefie:
Fauvel est de faus et de vel
Compost, quer il a son revel
Assis sus fauseté vellee
Et sus tricherie meslee (ll. 239-244)

[And so by etymology
you can know what it signifies:
Fauvel is composed of "faus" [false] and "vel" [veil],
for he has {built} his pomp
upon veiled falsity
and upon mixed deception.]

This notion of a veiled falsity ("faus" "vel") not only suggests a misleading appearance, but also, while recalling the difficulties and dangers of understanding ambiguous Scripture

pensée est donc exprimée dans Fauv [sic] sous une triple forme, c'est-à-dire par la parole, la musique et la peinture; elle se révèle assez ouvertement aux initiés, et elle se cache d'autant plus aux adversaires. Bien que, pour une grande partie, nos hypothèses n'aient pas encore été prouvées, et qu'elles ne le soient peut-être jamais, il est certain que nous possédons dans Fauv [sic] une manifestation excellente de la façon de parler alors en vogue dans les cercles hérétiques" ["A single thought is thus expressed in Fauvel in a triple form, that is to say by the words, the music and the painting: it reveals itself rather openly to the initiated, and hides itself all the more from adversaries. Although, in large part, our hypotheses have not yet been proven and may not ever be, it is certain that we possess in Fauvel an excellent manifestation of the manner of speaking then current in heretical circles"] (L'Hérésie de Fauvel li). While I agree with Dahnk that this theory would be difficult to prove, it does provide a connection between Matfre and Chaillou, since both authors include a variety of media and genres in their works.

³¹⁶ Dahnk sees Fauvel as an example of the "poésie des malcontents" ["poetry of the discontent"], and links it to reformatory tendencies within the Church. L'Hérésie de Fauvel xxxv-xxxix.

³¹⁷ Margherita Lecco describes "fauve" as a bile yellow, tinged with red. She notes, citing André Ott and Michel Pastoreau, that during the Middle Ages this color was linked with hypocrisy, perjury, falsity, disorder, madness, contamination, and impurity, and as such was linked with social groups thought of as impure: criminals, servants and Jews. Ricerche sul "Roman de Fauvel" Series Scrittura e scrittori, 10 (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 1993) 36-51. An earlier article by Lecco also focuses on Fauvel's color; see Lecco, "Il Colore di Fauvel," in Massimo Bonafin, ed., Testi e modelli antropologici: Seminario del Centro di Ricerche in scienza della letteratura (Milan: Arcipelago, 1989) 93-114. See also Ott, Études sur les couleurs en vieux français (1897; Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1977) 83; and three works by Pastoreau: "Formes et couleurs du désordre: le jaune avec le vert," Médiévales 4 (1983) 62-73; "Vizi e virtù dei colori nella sensibilità medievale," in R. Eco, ed., Colore: divieti, decreti, dispute, Rassegna, VII 23/3. (Milan: C.I.P.I.A., 1979) 7-13; and Couleurs, images, symboles. Études d'histoire et d'anthropologie (Paris: Léopard d'or, 1989) 49. Unless otherwise noted, all citations are from Arthur Långfors, Le Roman de Fauvel par Gervais de Bus publié d'après tous les manuscrits connus (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1914-1919).

according to Augustine,³¹⁸ also calls to mind the figure of *Faus Semblant* of the Roman de la Rose.³¹⁹ Fauvel is a name that has clear pejorative connotations not only as a derivation of *fauve* ("evil" or "falsehood"),³²⁰ but also because of its semantic association with *fals* ("false") and *favle* ("fable," the diminutive of which is *favele*).³²¹ According to the romance, the name Fauvel functions as an acrostic for six vices: *flaterie*, *avarice*, *vilanie*, *varieté*, *envie*, *lacheté* (ll. 247-256) ["Flattery, avarice, baseness, inconstancy, envy, cowardice"].

As a reigning figure of falsehood, Fauvel wreaks havoc on the world and specifically on France. The evil engendered by Fauvel is broad and profound; his reign is marked by discord and war (ll. 257-258). Just as the lion serves as the king of the animals, and the eagle the king of the birds, Fauvel acts as the king of those men who have a bestial heart and mind (ll. 269-278). The first book of the romance is devoted to describing the various segments of society that have been corrupted by Fauvel. Because of Fauvel, temporal power dominates the Holy Church (ll. 469-475) and, more seriously, even the clergy has taken on a "vie bestournée" (ll. 505-506) ["deviant life"]. Fauvel has clear links with the Devil: even Fortune, whom he courts in the second book, describes him as the harbinger of the Antichrist: "Tu es d'Antecrist le courier,/ Son mesagier et son fourrier"

³¹⁸ Augustine writes in De Doctrina Christiana: "Sed multis et multiplicibus obscuritatibus et ambiguitatibus decipiuntur qui temere legunt, akiud pro alio sentientes. Quibusdam autem locis quid vel falso suspicentur non inveniunt: ita obscure dicta quaedam densissimam caliginem obducunt" [Book II, vi, 7] ["But casual readers are misled by problems and ambiguities of many kinds, mistaking one thing for another. In some passages they find no meaning at all that they can grasp at, even falsely, so thick is the fog created by some obscure phrases"] (Green 60-61).

³¹⁹ See Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey, "Introduction," Fauvel Studies 1, and in the same volume, Kevin Brownlee, "Authorial Self-Representation and Literary Models in the Roman de Fauvel" 73-103.

³²⁰ Gregory A. Harrison, Jr. notes that during the thirteenth century, the phrase *asnesse fauve* referred to trickery or scheming. Monophonic Music in the Roman de Fauvel diss., Stanford U, 1963, 2. However, Långfors points out that prior to the Roman de Fauvel, Fauvain, and not Fauvel, personified falsity and hypocrisy. Le Roman de Fauvel, lxxxiv-lxxxvi.

³²¹ Gaston Paris, "Le Roman de Fauvel," Histoire littéraire de la France 32 (1898) 108; Harrison, Monophonic Music in the Roman de Fauvel 1-3.

(ll.3109-3110) ["You are the courier, messenger, and harbinger of the Antichrist"].³²² The second book recounts the marriage machinations of Fauvel as he tries to marry Fortune, and when repulsed, accepts Vaine Gloire instead. At the end of Book Two, we learn that Fauvel's union with Vaine Gloire creates children who dishonor and destroy the world, most especially the garden of France (ll. 3242-3260). Fauvel directs the reader to read beyond the text, to understand the didactic meaning veiled beneath the symbolism of a horse who has gained dominion over France. Read as an allegory of a corrupted world, Fauvel in general refers to abstract notions, such as pollution and evil.

The version of the romance contained in fr. 146 expands the possible interpretations beyond abstract, allegorical concepts. The additions of fr. 146 often provide topical commentary on the rules of Philip the Fair (1285-1314), Louis X (1315-1316), and Philip V (1317-1322).³²³ Many of these additions capitalize on the satirical vein already present in Fauvel, and use it to provide an allegorical lesson concerning bad regents and their untrustworthy counselors. As Nancy Freeman Regalado has explained, the manuscript functions as an *admonitio*, a moral lesson for Philip V concerning the behavior of his predecessors ("Chronique métrique," 469).³²⁴ Referring by means of animal allegory to such hated figures as Philip the Fair and Enguerran de Marigny who was hanged in 1315,³²⁵ the interpolated satire of fr. 146 carries Fauvel's dour tone even further, and comments upon the contemporary historical situation.

In addition to their role in providing contemporary political commentary, the interpolations also include several interventions by the author of fr. 146. Chaillou de

³²² Fauvel desires to marry Fortune so as to gain control over her wheel (ll. 1761-1762).

³²³ See Bent and Wathey, "Introduction," Fauvel Studies 1.

³²⁴ Fr. 146 may be read in a similar fashion as the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters MS 54.1.2, c. 1324), whose images, Madeline H. Caviness argues, provide a didactic lesson for Jeanne concerning the proper conduct of a wife and queen. "Patron or Matron? A Capetian Bride and a Vade Mecum for Her Marriage Bed," Speculum 68:2 (April 1993) 333-362.

³²⁵ For an account of Marigny's role as counselor, see Bent and Wathey, "Introduction," Fauvel Studies 9-10.

Pesstain creates a complex authorial persona in fr. 146, and very often the symbolism of the interpolations refers to his authorial self-representation. In this way, the level of interpretation goes beyond matching characters or historical figures with significant interpolations to the romance; the reader is also invited to consider the very production of the manuscript, and the author behind its production.

With its varying layers of meaning, fr. 146 is a veritable interpretative game. Considering the interpolations in relation to the narrative of the romance, to the social context of the manuscript, and to the production of the manuscript invites an understanding of this web of relations as polyvalent. There are at least three steps to interpreting fr. 146, which recalls the various levels of biblical interpretation spelled out by Dante in his letter to Can Grande.³²⁶ As an allegorical romance, Fauvel invites this kind of multi-layered interpretation; moreover, because of its complex *mise-en-page*, fr. 146 forces an exegetical practice on a secular text.

In fact, questions of the sacred and the profane are central to this manuscript. Chaillou's interpolations effect a significant rapprochement of the two poles, adding yet another dimension to the possible interpretations of this text. My approach to fr. 146 uses this precise juxtaposition as a starting point to analyze the various levels of meaning elicited by the interpolations. That is, I limit my examination to those folios which contrast Biblical or religious images, or Latin liturgical chants, with "fauvelized" images (such as Fauvel or

³²⁶ "Ad evidentiam itaque dicendorum sciendum est quod istius operis non est simplex sensus, ymo dici potest polisemos, hoc est plurium sensuum; nam primus sensus est qui habetur per litteram, alius est qui habetur per significata per litteram. Et primus dici litteralis, secundus vero allegoricus, sive moralis, sive anagogicus" ["For the elucidation, therefore, of what we have to say, it must be understood that the meaning of this work is not of one kind only; rather the work may be described as 'polysemous', that is, having several meanings; for the first meaning is that which is conveyed by the letter, and the next is that which is conveyed by what the letter signifies. And the first is called literal, the second in truth allegorical, or moral, or anagogical"]. The authorship of the letter to Can Grande is contested; however, as Umberto Eco indicates, the interpretative guidelines set out in it apply generally to medieval culture. (These lines from Dante's epistle are found in Eco 215.) "L'Epistola XIII, l'allegorismo medievale, il simbolismo moderno," *Sugli Specchi e altri saggi: Il segno, la rappresentazione, l'illusione, l'immagine* (Milan: Bompiano, 1985) 215-241. I have consulted the translation of Paget Toynbee, *Dantis Alagherii Epistolae: The Letters of Dante* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966, 1920) 199.

hybrid figures twisting standard religious or courtly iconography) or vernacular love songs. Consideration of this calculated juxtaposition of the sacred and profane offers new understandings of the manuscript (of its version of the romance, its social context, and its production), and, in addition, a new model for reading these two contrary terms and their value in high medieval book culture.

The literary, pictorial and musical interpolations invite a new consideration of the sacred and profane, which intervene and are interwoven in the manuscript of this romance. What results is a complex pairing of these two terms within an already complex manuscript. The sacred and the profane are not fused here, as in Gautier's songs to the Virgin; instead, they remain, by virtue of their position on the folios, separate and distinct, even if they do often appear on the same folio. Furthermore, fr. 146 is not a religious text in which secular love songs have been added, as in Matfre's Breviari. Instead, the sacred and the profane are facets of the elaborate and complicated additions to, and the many subsequent meanings of, the secular satire that appear in this manuscript. The interpolations of fr. 146 assert a complex rapprochement (at least as they physically appear on the folios) of these distinct, contrary terms within this secular allegorical romance.

I organize my analysis of fr. 146 in two main parts. The first half of the chapter is devoted to the manuscript as an artifact: its contents, composition, and production, and in particular, its interpolations. Two sub-sections continue this analysis with a focus on the art and the music of fr. 146, after which I explore in general how the sacred and the profane are implicated in the multiple meanings of this particular manuscript.

In the second half of the chapter I examine in greater detail specific folios of the manuscript that juxtapose the sacred and profane, and the polyvalent meanings that result. I have divided this section into two sub-sections, based first on the theme of corruption, pollution and bestiality, and second, on the author/composer, Chaillou de Pesstain. I have chosen to group the first folios I analyze under the theme of bestiality, pollution and

corruption because of the way the interpolations indicate corruption on various levels, implicating Fauvel and contemporary historical persons. The juxtaposition of the sacred and the profane on these folios criticizes and condemns the vices of Fauvel and his brood, and those of historical figures such as Enguerran de Marigny. In this sub-section I examine images of Fauvel occupying the palace (folio 1r) and being curried by various high-ranking members of society (folios 2r through 3v). Folio 29v, composed entirely of interpolation, combines narrative additions, a courtly rondeau and a religious chant that, when read in relation to each other, reprove Fauvel for his courtship of Fortune. I then examine two facing-page folios, 41v and 42r, which contain six songs in Latin: a motet with political relevance, and religious hymns drawn mostly from Biblical texts, although one is a parody of a baptismal blessing. This pair of folios also includes an image of Fauvel's fountain of youth. All of these folios use the contrast of the sacred and profane to criticize and condemn Fauvel or contemporary figures.

While fr. 146 condemns certain figures, it lauds others. In fact, one of the most significant effects of this explicit juxtaposition of the sacred and profane is the emphasis on, even sanctification of, Chaillou de Pesstain. I first examine two folios in particular. The first, folio 10r, juxtaposes a vernacular rondeau with a liturgical hymn in Latin, and also includes a dedication of the author to a patron in addition to containing two author portraits. The second, folio 23v, contains Latin religious hymns that function as a literary portrait of the author, French courtly love lyrics that offer a parodical image of Fauvel as courtly lover, and most importantly, instances of authorial naming. I then analyze several author portraits (folios 4r, 42v and 43r) that seem to highlight religious imagery in conjunction with the author.

Organizing the material in this way reveals how the sacred and profane invite multiple meanings. I follow the three possible layers of meaning as outlined above, so that references allude to some combination of textual and extratextual figures: Fauvel, a

historical personage, and/or the author. On each of these folios, the references are always doubly or even triply significant; moreover, it is the juxtaposition of the sacred and profane that elicits these multiple meanings.

Description of Fr. 146

Composition and Content

The satirical Roman de Fauvel, contained in a total of fourteen manuscripts,³²⁷ appears in two main versions composed by two different authors. The first, shorter version, which appears in thirteen manuscripts, seems to have been completed on December 6, 1314 by a certain Gervès de Bus, who may have been a clerk in the French royal chancery.³²⁸ The longer version, a reworking of the first, appears only in one manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France f. fr. MS 146. As I have already noted, fr. 146 contains lengthy additions to Gervès de Bus' romance.³²⁹ A note in prose on folio 23v names Chaillou de Pesstain as author of these additions. According to Elisabeth Lalou, Chaillou de Pesstain may be an alias for Geoffrey Englor, who like

³²⁷ See Långfors, who identifies eleven manuscripts (xi-xxviii), and Jean-Claude Mühlethaler, who identifies three others in Fauvel au pouvoir: lire la satire médiévale Nouvelle Bibliothèque du Moyen Age Ser., 26 (Paris: Champion, 1994) 18 n. 7, 437.

³²⁸ The manuscripts that contain this early version of Fauvel were created later than the poem's inscribed date of composition. The last lines of Book II provide this date: "Qui fu parfait l'an mil et .iiij/.ccc. et .x., sans riens rabatre, Trestout droit, si com il me membre/ Le .vi°. jour de decembre" (ll 3273-6) ["That was finished in the year one thousand, three hundred fourteen, with nothing scratched out, all correct, as I recall, the sixth day of December"], and Gervès is named in a riddle of letters immediately following: "Ge rues doi v. boi. v. esse/ Le nom et surnom confesse/ De celui qui a fet cest livre: Diex de cez pechiez le delivre" (ll. 3277-80) [{"The riddle} Ge rues doi v. boi. v. esse {Gervès de Bus}, confesses the name and surname of he who made this book: may God deliver him from these sins"]. As Bent and Wathey point out, the words *doi*, *boi*, and *esse*, are the spelled-out letters D, B, and S, and so the line may be read *Ge rues d.v. B.v.s.*, or Gervès de Bus. See Bent and Wathey, "Introduction," Fauvel Studies 1-2. See also Långfors, Le Roman de Fauvel xxxvi-xxxix. Although many authors, including Långfors, spell his name "Gervais", since it is spelled "Gervès" in fr. 146, I have chosen to use this spelling.

³²⁹ The manuscript fr. 146 contains a Complainte d'Amour (fol. Ar-v); an Index, mainly of the musical items of Fauvel (fol. Br-v); Fauvel (fols. 1r-45r); two dits of Geoffrey de Paris (fols. 46r-55v; fol. 45v is blank), thirty-four ballades, rondeaux and dits of Jehannot de L'Escurel (fols. 57r-62v); and finally, the Chronique métrique, a verse chronicle of French history, 1300-1316 (fols. 63v-88r). A detailed table of the contents of fr. 146 appears in Bent and Wathey, "Introduction," Fauvel Studies 6-7.

Gervès was a clerk in the royal chancery.³³⁰ This manuscript dates from the first quarter of the fourteenth century.³³¹

Both the manuscript fr. 146 in general and the Roman de Fauvel in particular are unusual, and not simply because the intended audience may have been king Philip V.³³² While the oldest of the manuscripts,³³³ fr. 146 is also the largest in dimensions (330 x 460 mm.). It contains nearly one hundred folios, of which forty-five contain Fauvel. The version of Fauvel contained in this manuscript is extraordinary due to the large number of additions to Gervès' shorter version. The additions include literary extensions to the romance, one hundred sixty-nine musical interpolations, and a rich iconographic program of seventy-seven illuminations.³³⁴ The textual additions, in the hand of seven different scribes, nearly double the length of the poem by an addition of nearly 3000 verses.³³⁵ Most of the additions occur in the second book of the romance, and expand significantly upon Fauvel's courting of Fortune and the wedding festivities of Fauvel and Vaine Gloire.

The practice of inserting material into a previously existing narrative is very common; fr. 146 participates in a long tradition of inserting verse into narrative, as in Gautier de Coinci's Miracles de Nostre Dame and Jean Renart's Roman de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dole.³³⁶ In addition, this manuscript's alternation of sacred and profane

³³⁰ Elisabeth Lalou, "Le Roman de Fauvel à la chancellerie royale," Bibliothèque de l'Ecole de Chartes 152 (1994) 503-9.

³³¹ Långfors, Le Roman de Fauvel 135. While dating the manuscript with precise accuracy is a source of contention, scholars have been able, based on socio-historical events alluded to in the interpolated songs, to narrow the date to 1316-1317. See Bent and Wathey, "Introduction," Fauvel Studies 15-19.

³³² The many references to kingship and royal power indicate that the manuscript may have been intended as a royal presentation volume. See Roesner *et al.* 49-53; and Nancy Freeman Regalado, "The Chronique métrique and the Moral Design of BN fr. 146: Feasts of Good and Evil," Fauvel Studies 467-494.

³³³ See Långfors, Le Roman de Fauvel xi, and Bent and Wathey, "Introduction," Fauvel Studies 7.

³³⁴ As Bent and Wathey note, at least one other interpolated and illuminated manuscript once existed; however, based on its description in early fifteenth-century French royal inventories, these interpolations were different from those of fr. 146. "Introduction," Fauvel Studies 7.

³³⁵ Bent and Wathey, "Introduction," Fauvel Studies 3, 6-7. The description of hands appears in Roesner *et al.* 5-6.

³³⁶ See Sylvia Huot's chapter, "Text as Performance, Text as Artifact: Contrasting Models for the Romance with Lyrical Insertions," in From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and

songs and images, in Latin and in the vernacular, has an analogue in medieval sermons, plays, and pious tales.³³⁷ As Huot notes, the play of sacred and profane, and of Latin and vernacular, is apparent in the dual heritage of the vernacular motet from Latin liturgical songs, and vernacular lyric.³³⁸ The shifting of registers, genres, modes, and language in fr. 146, however, is so extensive as to be unprecedented. While focusing on the satire of Fauvel, Harrison notes the extensive range of disparate, even incompatible, genres and themes in fr. 146. According to Harrison, the story

furnishes the theme of biting satire which pervades and unifies the whole manuscript. Parody and satire are in evidence not only in the story but in the technique used in the interpolations; for instance, the juxtaposition of the sacred and the secular, the excessive use of that nearly extinct vehicle—the plica, the introduction of street music in the form of the sottes chansons, and the use of the motet enté. It would not be exaggerating to say that Bibl. Nat. f.fr. 146 is one giant contrafactum, probably the most ambitious effort of that sort ever made. (Monophonic Music, 117)

As an example of contrafactum, this manuscript reveals not only its hybrid nature but also the broad variety of genres and registers represented in its folios. Fauvel fr. 146 accentuates the importance of the interpolations; as Bent and Wathey have remarked, "the format parodies the medieval layout of central text and marginal glosses by putting the central material to the margins and making a feature of the glosses and interpolations."³³⁹ However, because the manuscript has no marginal illumination or gloss, I would suggest that the narrative text, music and images, while all central, shift in importance depending upon the *mise-en-page* of each folio. The *mise-en-page* of the music, the narrative text, and the many miniatures on each folio represents the shifting and overall fluidity of what are normally treated as discrete media. Since the focus of the manuscript shifts from music

Lyrical Narrative Poetry (Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 1987) 106-134. See also the discussion in Roesner *et al.* 17, 19-20, 22.

³³⁷ See Siegfried Wenzel, Verses in Sermons, and Roesner *et al.* 3.

³³⁸ See Sylvia Huot, Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet 1-18.

³³⁹ "Introduction," Fauvel Studies 8.

to image to text (and not necessarily in that order), any reading of the text is constantly destabilized. A visual tug-of-war results: at times the music expands out, breaking the columnar frame (fig. 13)³⁴⁰; on other pages the music is rigidly restrained to one column by the text of the narrative (fig. 19). In other instances, the cavorting miniatures dominate the page (fig. 9). Chaillou does not merely rework Gervès' material, but locates his new songs strategically.³⁴¹ Chaillou creates, in Camille's words, "a spatial and textual hybrid ... [whose] polymorphous mobility, metamorphosis, and combination ... animates the entire construction of the work."³⁴² The manuscript clearly reveals this playful interest in the association of, and confrontation between, varying forms of medieval media.

The Art of Fr. 146

Art fills the folios of fr. 146. From the very beginning, the narrative emphasizes the association of Fauvel with painting. Describing Fauvel, the text reads: "Souvent le voient en peinture/ Tiex qui ne seivent se figure/ Moquerie, sens ou folie" (ll. 5-7) ["Often they see him in painting, people who do not know if he represents mockery, wisdom or folly"]. As stated before, the illustrations of fr. 146 are numerous and varied in composition. They are for the most part miniatures, occupying no more than a column of space; however, there are several nearly half-page images (such as those of the *charivari* on folios 34r and 36v) and even full-page images (such as the tournament scene on folios 39v-40v). While most often there are two images to a page, on certain folios, such as folio 30v, there are as many as four. Ink drawings, highlighted with color, they are simple and elegant.³⁴³ Alison Stones notes their remarkable quality:

³⁴⁰ In general, the folios are ruled for three columns; at times, however, the music extends from one column into the next. For example, on folio 3v, the song "Virtus moritur" appears in column b, but its last line extends from column b to c.

³⁴¹ Roesner *et al.* 9.

³⁴² Michael Camille, "Hybridity, Monstrosity, and Bestiality," in *Fauvel Studies* 161-2.

³⁴³ See the comments of Roesner *et al* 42-43, 45-46.

In quality and in technique, the highly finished fine line-drawings, enlivened with colour wash in mauve, orange, green, and occasionally gold, set the Roman de Fauvel apart from the rest of early fourteenth-century Parisian painting.³⁴⁴

While we do not know the identity of the artist, we do know that he was probably Parisian; nearly fifty manuscripts have been provisionally attributed to this artist and his atelier. Stylistically, the artist seems have been most influenced by the work of Master Honoré.³⁴⁵ The art in fr. 146 is not only visually arresting because of its quality; the content and iconography of the images provide another level of commentary within this version of the romance, as we shall see. Similarly, because of its extensive presence, the music in fr. 146 dominates the folios and adds further meaning.

The Music of Fr. 146

Fr. 146 could almost be considered an anthology of all the types of early fourteenth-century song known, including plainchant, a "classic" corpus of Notre-Dame polyphony and the new works of the *ars nova* including compositions by Philippe de Vitry and Jehannot de Lescurel.³⁴⁶ In fact, fr. 146 seems to present its musical interpolations as a collection that could be set apart from the romance; the index on folio Br-v groups pieces by genre and by voices, providing an easy method to turn to a particular type of song.³⁴⁷ There are one hundred sixty-nine interpolated musical pieces: thirty-four polyphonic works, mostly motets for two voices; thirty monophonic prose and lays; three

³⁴⁴ Alison Stones, "The Stylistic Context of the Roman de Fauvel, With a Note on Fauvain," Fauvel Studies 530.

³⁴⁵ Roesner *et al.* 46-48. Master Honoré was a late thirteenth-century Parisian illuminator affiliated with the Court style. See Ellen Kosmer, "Master Honoré: A Reconsideration of the Documents," in Gesta 14 (1975) 63-68; and Eric Millar, The Parisian Miniaturist Honoré (London: Faber & Faber, 1959).

³⁴⁶ Roesner *et al.* 3, 39-42.

³⁴⁷ Roesner *et al.* note similar principles of organization in other musical manuscripts (22). The index page seems to have been originally composed after the composition of Fauvel, but before Geoffrey of Paris and Jehann de Lescurel's works, which were added later to the index. The Chronique métrique does not appear on the index, and was probably added to the manuscript later (Bent and Wathey, "Introduction" 6).

rondeaux; seven ballades; four virelais; and fifteen refrains;³⁴⁸ eleven pieces of *motet enté* music; twelve "sottes chansons"; and fifty-three monophonic Latin chant pieces.³⁴⁹

While we can view its music as a collection drawn from nearly the entire repertory available to musicians in the early fourteenth century, the songs in fr. 146 are also designed to fit the context of the manuscript. Indeed, Chaillou de Pesstain's version alters many of the songs in significant ways to incorporate them into this manuscript. Whereas the great majority of the prose compositions come from the Parisian conductus and motet repertories, several of the polyphonic works also use known compositions, but "fauvelize" them, that is, change them to fit this particular manuscript.³⁵⁰ The alterations come about in various ways: fr. 146 reduces both conducti and motets from a polyphonic to a monophonic state; transforms one polyphonic genre to another; alters texts through parody, contrafactum, and the addition of lines or strophes, or even simply by adding Fauvel's name.³⁵¹ For example, *Heu quo progreditur* uses the lower line of an earlier thirteenth-century two-line conductus (found in Florence plut. 29.1, fol. 350v) but adds ten lines on the subject of Fauvel to the original first stanza.³⁵² Similarly, an older conductus, *Redit etas aurea*, which alludes to the coronation of Richard the Lion-Hearted, is changed parodically to refer to Fauvel in the prose *Floret fex favellea*.³⁵³ Nine of the polyphonic works are topical, treating contemporary political events; for instance, *Jure quod in opera/ Scariotis geniture vipereo/ Superne matris gaudia* tells of the death of Emperor Henry VII on August 24, 1313, allegedly at the hands of a Dominican who gave him poisoned

³⁴⁸ See Ardis Butterfield's catalogue in "The Refrain and the Transformation of Genre in the *Roman de Fauvel*," *Fauvel Studies* 131-159.

³⁴⁹ See Roesner *et al.* 22-23, and Susan Rankin's "catalogue raisonné", "The 'Alleluyes, antenes, respons, ygnes, et verssez' in BN fr. 146: a *Catalogue Raisonné*," *Fauvel Studies* 421-466.

³⁵⁰ Roesner *et al.* 25.

³⁵¹ Roesner *et al.* 23-24.

³⁵² At least 15 works use earlier conducti and change them for this setting. See Roesner *et al.* 23-24.

³⁵³ Roesner *et al.* 23.

sacraments.³⁵⁴ Certain of the sacred chants have been related by Lorenz Welker, Anne Walters Robinson, and Michel Huglo to the Notre Dame conductus, and local chant traditions of both Paris--especially the Sainte-Chapelle--and Arras.³⁵⁵ Finally, the vernacular pieces--the rondeaux, ballades, virelai, and lais-- are almost completely unknown from any other source, and were most likely composed specifically for this manuscript.³⁵⁶

The songs tend to be grouped by subject matter. For instance, the motets, especially those of a political nature, tend to be gathered in the early folios, when the focus of the narrative is on decrying those people who are in league with Fauvel. The vernacular lyrics are gathered mostly in the middle, especially on folios 16-29, during Fauvel's courtship of Fortune. Finally, the sacred chants appear in large part after folio 21, when Fortune refuses Fauvel and offers him the hand of Vaine Gloire instead.³⁵⁷ Despite this general layout, several folios bring the sacred and the profane together on a single page. Rankin notes that whereas in the first book songs are associated with the author/ narrator, thereby functioning as commentary on the text, those in Book Two are increasingly attributed to characters of the romance, and are "oral;" that is, the emphasis is less on the music itself and more on the music as a function of a character of the romance.³⁵⁸

The Sacred, the Profane, and the *Mise-en-page* of Fr. 146

³⁵⁴ Roesner *et al.* 24.

³⁵⁵ Lorenz Welker, "Polyphonic Reworkings of Notre Dame Conductûs in BN fr. 146: *Mundus a mundicia* and *Quare Fremerunt*," *Fauvel Studies* 615-636; Anne Walters Robertson, "Local Chant Readings and the *Roman de Fauvel*," *Fauvel Studies* 495-524; Michel Huglo, "Le Contexte folklorique et musical du charivari dans le *Roman de Fauvel*," *Fauvel Studies* 277-283. See also Roesner *et al.* 25.

³⁵⁶ Roesner *et al.* 25.

³⁵⁷ Susan Rankin sees these plainchants as organized into series of blocks that appear mostly in the later part of *Fauvel*, and are, by consequence, directly integrated into the narrative. "The Divine Truth of Scripture: Chant in the *Roman de Fauvel*," *The Journal of the American Musicological Society* 47 (1994) 230.

³⁵⁸ Rankin, "The Divine Truth of Scripture" 207-208.

Because of the variety of Chaillou's additions, an added feature of this complex *mise-en-page* is the way in which fr. 146 compels the juxtaposition and interaction of the sacred and the profane. The general tone of Fauvel is already a moralizing one; the Tournament of Vices and Virtues that occurs during the wedding festivities, for instance, allegorically plays out these concerns of virtue and vice.³⁵⁹ Many of the themes and motifs that Chaillou uses in his additions, especially those of allegory such as the Tournament, derive from the fusion of French moral and chivalric literature as seen in Huon de Méry's Tournoiement Antéchrist, and place his additions within the tradition of this chivalric yet didactic literature.³⁶⁰

This concern for the sacred and the profane is expanded in the *mise-en-page* of the manuscript: Latin liturgical chants alternate with French courtly lyrics and illuminations merge sacred iconography with secular, even bestial, images, reflecting Zumthor's notion of the medieval *poétique des contrastes*.³⁶¹ It is the *mise-en-page* which makes the relationship of these contrary, incompatible terms significant. An exploration of the *mise-en-page* of fr. 146, focusing on the sacred and the profane, leads the reader to a new consideration of the romance as a site of textual permeability. In other words, every folio exhibits some aspect of the *poétique des contrastes*: the use of contrary poles, such as sacred and profane; the use of differing media, such as the literary, pictorial, musical. Certainly other manuscripts combine these media to some degree; it is, however, rare to find such attention paid to all three, and to such a degree.

³⁵⁹ Nancy Freeman Regalado believes that the entire manuscript is infused with this moralism: "It is a book that looks everywhere at the world of historical experience, but always with a moralist's eye" ("The *Chronique métrique* and Moral Design," Fauvel Studies 467).

³⁶⁰ Chaillou uses Huon de Méry's Tournoiement Antéchrist (ca. 1235) and Jehan Maillart's Comte d'Anjou (1316) as models. See Långfors, 143-145; Roesner et al., 9-10.

³⁶¹ Paul Zumthor, Langue et Techniques 171-78; see also, Essai de poétique médiévale 245-65.

The hybrid genre of the motet nearly always juxtaposes the sacred and the profane.³⁶² For instance, the motet on folio 42v of fr. 146 offers a clear example of a bilingual convergence of sacred and profane discourse. While the upper voices sing "Celi domina/ Maria virgo virginum" ["Mary, virgin of virgins, ruler of heaven"], the tenor recalls the refrain from an earlier vernacular rondeau first seen on folio 10v: "Porchier mieuz estre ameroie que Fauvel torchier" ["I would rather be a swineherd than curry Fauvel"].³⁶³ Whereas the Latin upper voices are directed towards the heavenly and the Virgin, the French tenor brings the motet down to an earthly farmyard scene. It is no accident that the spiritual tone of the upper voices is joined with the critical earthly tenor, and that motets such as this appear in fr. 146. Margaret Bent argues that the significance of such motets as "Celi domina/ Maria virgo virginum" is doubled:

These motets are not pre-existing compositions or hasty adaptations; they must have been written expressly for Fauvel with deliberately double meaning, their political message tailored to their place in the Roman. [...] The habit of making texts do double duty was embedded in the motet tradition from the start, when sacred and profane love were boldly pitted against each other in the juxtaposition of liturgical and secular texts and tunes. ("Fauvel and Marigny," *Fauvel Studies*, 43)

This delight in pairing items from contrasting worlds--sacred and profane, Latin and French--within a single musical genre can also be observed in the juxtaposition of different types of musical pieces on a single page of fr. 146. Because the music of fr. 146 was tailored for this particular manuscript, there is a certain self-consciousness about these juxtapositions.

³⁶² Wulf Arlt examines the sacred intertextuality of the motet "Inflammati/ Sicut/ Tenor" in "'Triginita denariis'--Musik und Text in einer Motette des *Roman de Fauvel* über dem Tenor Victimae paschali laudes," in *Pax et Sapientia: Studies in Text and Music of Liturgical Tropes and Sequences in Memory of Gordon Anderson* ed. Ritva Jacobsson (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1986) 97-113.

³⁶³ See Butterfield's discussion of this motet, "The Refrain and the Transformation of Genre in the *Roman de Fauvel*," *Fauvel Studies* 137.

The *mise-en-page* of this manuscript does not overtly place the religious music in a hierarchical position *vis-à-vis* the secular songs or narrative. Unlike some illuminated manuscripts, there is no schema of margin and center in fr. 146. The religious songs, like the secular songs and narrative, are confined to the same division of space, generally three columns of text on a page. Nor are the religious songs differentiated in any way from the secular text and songs; there is no difference in initials, no consistent difference in the color of the ink, no difference in the size of the letters. There is, then, at least from a visual point of view, no difference made between what is religious and what is secular in the *mise-en-page* of fr. 146.

This lack of visual hierarchy between the sacred and profane allows the reader to interpret them in conjunction with each other. Because neither the religious nor the secular dominates the *mise-en-page*, neither a religious nor a secular significance dominates the hermeneutic possibilities. Instead, the sacred and profane in fr. 146 are placed in a mutually-defining relationship; in other words, the meaning of a religious chant is expanded by its association with a courtly love lyric, and vice versa.

Although they are not visually placed in a more central, powerful position on the page but within the same columnar division that structures the *mise-en-page* of the romance, the Latin sacred chants and motets do provide a moralizing message to this vernacular, secular romance. Huot believes that, in Fauvel fr. 146, the Latin religious motets, separated from their liturgical origins, have developed into "chamber music" for clerical and aristocratic enjoyment.³⁶⁴ However much these Latin motets are meant to entertain, it is also true that these musical pieces often carry messages of topical, political and spiritual import, which move the reader not only to reflect on the political reality

³⁶⁴ Huot, Allegorical Play 201, n. 14.

described in the text, but to consider that contemporaneous with this particular manuscript's production.

The Latin chant pieces, like their counterparts the Latin motets, also add a tone of morality in relation to the secular romance. The Latin chant pieces stand apart from the romance, perhaps because they do not derive from the narrative's general themes of satire and courtly love but from passages from the Bible or Mass, and offer a richer, Biblical interpretation of the text. Susan Rankin suggests that these chants act as a gloss for the romance:

the Latin chants appear as gloss and interpretation of the *Fauvel* text, their resonance stretching into a wide background of reference, while their musical simplicity (and often extreme brevity) allows a directness of interaction with the French text not available to other musical genres.³⁶⁵

I would argue, however, that the "directness of interaction," as Rankin puts it, is not limited to these sacred chant pieces. Because of the complex *mise-en-page* of fr. 146, the music again and again butts against the narrative text, the illustrations against the music, and so on. We are meant to read these intertwined media as contrasting and yet integral parts of each folio. The juxtaposition of these different media invite explicit and implicit comment on both the narrative text and the historical context in which the manuscript was produced.

Rankin's notion of this "directness of contact" certainly inspires and guides my exploration of the juxtaposition of sacred and profane in the *mise-en-page* of fr. 146. All of the additions, pictorial, literary, and musical, interact not only with the narrative of the romance, but with each other. Because of these interactions, fr. 146 directs commentary both inside, within the folios of the manuscript, and outside into the world of its production. The contrast of the sacred and the profane functions as a didactic barometer of

³⁶⁵ "Catalogue Raisonné," *Fauvel Studies* 423. Rankin allows that the refrains and *sottes chansons* also more directly interact with the text.

sorts, either condemning vice (of Fauvel, of bad kings and evil counselors), or lauding virtue (of the author).

These sacred chant pieces do confer a certain somber tone to the satire of the text; consequently, the condemnation of Fauvel carries more spiritual weight. The Latin chants force a moral reading of Fauvel's satire, bringing the reader out of the realm of vernacular literature and secular affairs, and into that of religious and spiritual ethics. In other words, the satire of the text is accentuated by a consideration of the sacred as stable, as unequivocally moral and spiritually pure.

In this way, while the religious and secular are not differentiated on the page, the spiritual values associated with the religious songs accentuate the satire of the narrative. In other words, while there is no visual hierarchy of the sacred and profane in terms of the *mise-en-page*, the meaning of their interaction nonetheless depends on a stable and hierarchical understanding of the sacred and profane. Thus, while I see the two terms as equal on the page, I do not read them as equal in terms of spiritual and moral values.

Corruption, Pollution, and the Bestial: Profanation in Fr. 146

The first visual sign that Fauvel concerns an inversion or debasement, of the world occurs at the beginning, on folio 1r (fig. 9). In the middle column of this folio, we see a horse first in its small stable, then being led up the stairs by a female figure through a trilobe portal, to the second floor, and finally established in its new home, a great hall, complete with trough and ladder, whose architectural features (cusped doorways, rounded turrets, gables and Gothic arches) mark it as a palace.³⁶⁶ Good leadership is clearly lacking, when a horse lives in the palace. The five miniatures that follow, on folios 1r

³⁶⁶ Michael T. Davis sees a link between this palace and the Palais de la Cité. "Desespoir, Esperance, and Douce France: The New Palace, Paris, and the Royal State," Fauvel Studies 211-212. To corroborate Fauvel's reign over France, there are several images, such as that on folio 11r, of Fauvel crowned as a ruler, sitting on a throne.

through 2v (figs. 9-12), represent a series of images of various classes of people caressing the horse. Among those who curry Fauvel are members of the clergy, and monks with tonsures and bishops with miters and secular leaders, including crowned kings and princes in regal attire. The visual satire is hard to miss; that this scene appears five times with only slight variation emphasizes how Fauvel has led the world into vice.

Fauvel's pollution of the world is the subject of those miniatures that juxtapose Biblical images with profane "fauvelized" figures. I begin then with an analysis of several miniatures that use Biblical or religious iconography to comment on and accentuate Fauvel's bestial corruption.

The Image of Fauvel and the Creation of Eve

One image fuses the Biblical and the profane in a depiction of the creation scene juxtaposed with bestial figures. On folio 3v we see an image framed by two unsymmetrical arches, with a supporting column dividing the image in half (fig. 13). While both scenes are framed by arches, the arch above the creation of Eve scene is slightly wider than that over the fauvelized creatures. To the right of this column are two fauvelized figures, with human torsos and horse legs. Their pose appears virtually as a mirror image; while one stands in front of the other, they face each other. Their bodies form an intricate shape: their lower, equine parts overlap, forming a serpentine mass of horses' hooves. Both figures twist their human torsos in directions opposite that of their lower, equine halves. The figure on the right, wearing a hat, points with his index finger at the scene in the left-hand side of the illustration: the creation of Eve from Adam's rib. In this hillside scene, a robed and haloed God pulls Eve from the side of the sleeping Adam.

This scene appears in a passage in the romance in which the narrator describes creation and how far the world has come from this ordered and blessed beginning:

Il plut a Dieu le monde faire

[It pleased God to make the world

Et il vout de limon pourtraire
 Homme et fourmer a son ymage
 A l'omme fist tel avantage
 Que des bestes le fist seigneur
 Et en noblece le greigneur
 Mes or est dou tout bestourné
 Ce que Diex avoit a[t]ourné
 [image]
 Car hommes sont devenuz bestes.
 (ll. 329-37)

and He wanted to shape man
 from clay and to form [him] in His image
 To man He gave such a boon,
 that He made him lord over the beasts
 and the greatest in nobility
 But now what God fashioned
 is completely corrupt,
 for men have become beasts.]

The narrative's description of the creation episode emphasizes God's favor to humans: he not only made them in his image, but gave them innate nobility, and thus dominion over the beasts (ll. 331-34). Fauvel changes all of these divine precepts; because of his rule, humanity has fallen into an animal-like state. This is a curious reflection on Fauvel's power to change what God has created; with a single line the narrator emphasizes how humanity has fallen into bestiality: "Car hommes sont devenuz bestes" (l. 337). This image shows both the creation of Eve, and then humans who have turned into beasts. That the hybrid creature on the right appears to point at the creation scene may indicate a sense of remorse. The hybrid couple's faces express a certain despair, and the female hybrid holds her hand over her chest in a gesture reminiscent of a penitential "mea culpa."

Since the illustration shows the creation of Eve, and not that of Adam, it adds a complex commentary on women and sexuality. This is not a scene of the divine creation of humanity (represented by Adam), but of the figure responsible for its fall. The creation of Eve here represents the origin of original sin. Because Eve entices Adam into eating the apple of the Tree of Knowledge, female sexuality comes to represent the sinful aspect of humanity. In addition, monstrosity such as that which we see in the fauvelized figures was thought to be the result of sinful copulation. Vincent of Beauvais, citing Aristotle, claims that hybrid creatures can be produced "by means of coitus between different species, or by

means of an unnatural type of copulation."³⁶⁷ Further, this linking of monstrosity with fears of improper sexual relations and genealogy may be a commentary on the charges of adultery brought against Philip IV's daughters-in-law, and against the concerns of succession after the death of Louis X in 1316.³⁶⁸

In addition, the songs in the middle column, *O varium* and *Virtus moritur*, echo the narrative's emphasis on a topsy-turvy world. While both songs derive from an earlier Notre-Dame conductus,³⁶⁹ in this manuscript they seem to lament man's fall into bestiality and his loss of virtue. *O varium fortuna* lends the image of Fortune's wheel to the predicament of humanity, now turned upside down because of the domination of Fauvel. *Virtus moritur* laments the disappearance of virtues such as courage and faith. Both songs are very much germane to the narrative, and give added support to the message that God's favored creation has become like beasts.

The image of God creating Eve from Adam evokes for the reader mankind's fall, and, by extension, implicates even more strongly Fauvel in the pollution of God's creation. While the image itself does not dominate the *mise-en-page*, it adds to the satire of both the narrative and the songs. In this way, the image comments on the narrative, and also on

³⁶⁷ Danielle Jacquart and Claude Thomasset, *Sexuality and Medicine in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1990) 162. Also cited in Camille, "Hybridity, Monstrosity, and Bestiality," *Fauvel Studies* 164. See also Miri Rubin, "The Person in the Form: Medieval Challenges to Bodily Order," in Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin, eds. *Framing Medieval Bodies* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1994) 100-122.

³⁶⁸ Louis X's wife Marguerite of Burgundy's adultery was revealed in 1314. Even before she died in April 1315, however, Louis had begun courting Clémence of Hungary and had fathered with her an illegitimate daughter before their marriage in August, 1315. After Louis X's death in June 5, 1316, and after the death of his son John in November, succession passed to Louis's brother, Philip V, the second son of Philip the Fair. Bent and Wathey, "Introduction," *Fauvel Studies* 10; Camille, "Hybridity, Monstrosity, and Bestiality," *Fauvel Studies* 164-165; Elizabeth A.R. Brown, "Rex ioians, ionnes, iolis: Louis X, Philip V, and the *Livres de Fauvel*," *Fauvel Studies* 53, 64-65; and Emma Dillon, "The Profile of Philip V in the Music of *Fauvel*," *Fauvel Studies* 216.

³⁶⁹ See Welker, "Polyphonic Reworkings of Conductus," *Fauvel Studies* 616. In addition, the motet *Nulla pestis est gravior/ Plange nostra regio/Vergente*, which appears on folio 3r (not 3v, as Camille states) also refers to the reign of Philip IV and the decline into bestial chaos. Camille, "Hybridity, Monstrosity, and Bestiality," *Fauvel Studies* 162-163.

historical concerns of sexual impropriety, by employing a stable, accepted understanding of the meaning of this image of the creation of Eve.

The image of Fauvel and the Last Supper

On folios 32v and 33r we see images of the feasting of the Vices (figs. 14, 15).³⁷⁰ Because of their iconography, these images recall the Last Supper; however, in these images, it is Fauvel, with a crowned horse's head and a human body, who takes the place of Christ in the middle, surrounded by women rather than by disciples.

The narrative of the romance that is placed near these images focuses on Fauvel as a sinful creature who is at the center of the inversion and perversion of the world. On folio 32v a few lines above the image in column b, the narrative describes the feast as composed of sin: "Faite fu la dite friture/ De pechiez fais contre nature/ De touz autres pechiex divers/ Par les quieux sont changez li vers/ Contre les bons, la ou converse/ Fauve, qui tout cherche et reverse" (App. II. 468-472)³⁷¹ ["The aforementioned fried feast was made of sins made against nature, distinct from all other sins, by which the state of things is changed against the good, there where Fauvel lives, who seeks out and perverts everything"]. Under the image on folio 33r we read: "Fauvel si sist a la table./ Devant li ot son connestable/ Et sist a guise d'emperiere" (App. II. 531-3) ["Fauvel is seated at the table, before him he has his squire, and sits in the manner of an emperor"]. The narrative accentuates Fauvel as an inverted, corrupted ruler; the women dining with him represent, by extension, the Vices.

The image of the ladies alone at the table, without Fauvel, that appears on folio 32v in column c, represents a more "normal" feasting scene, that is, without the horse-headed Fauvel in the place of honor. These women, with their hands resting on the table and

³⁷⁰ See Nancy Freeman Regalado's discussion of these images within the moral design of fr. 146, in "The *Chronique métrique* and Moral Design," *Fauvel Studies* 486-490.

³⁷¹ The passages that I mark as "App." come from the edited version of the interpolations that Långfors includes in his appendix to the *Roman de Fauvel* 140-195.

pointing inwards, and their bodies leaning away so that together they form a "V", seem to gesture towards the empty space filled earlier by Fauvel. Lines from the romance surrounding the image identify these ladies as the Virtues:

Adès avront honte beüe
Et partout leens esandue,
[image]
Mès que devers les tres faitices
Dames opposites au vices
Dont l'en a parlé ci arriere
(App. II. 501-505)

[Soon they {Fauvel and his court} will have drunk
dishonor,
And spread it everywhere therein,
But enraged [are] the beautiful
Ladies opposed to vice
who were spoken of before.]

While the images of the Vices feasting include Fauvel (32v, column b and 33r), in this scene of the Virtues (32v, column c) there is a gap where Fauvel would be placed; Fauvel has no place at the table when virtue is present.

In column b of folio 33r we find Latin plainchant from Biblical sources, which contains the same themes of reversal as do the images.³⁷² These songs, composed for this manuscript, provide moral commentary on the images that represent Fauvel's wedding feast. Three of the songs, *Constitue Domine, super Falvellum* (p. mus. 80), *Fiant dies eius pauci* (p. mus. 81) ["That Fauvel die, leaving wife and children as beggars"], and *Deleantur de libro vivencium* (p. mus. 82) ["May they be blotted from the book of the living"], pray that ruin, infernal pain and death befall Fauvel and his progeny.

The first of these songs, *Simulacra eorum argentum et aurem* (p. mus. 79), with its references to simulacra and to feasts and wine, gives us another clue that the images may be perversions on the theme of the Last Supper. Because it is Fauvel and not Christ in the center, and because women (the Vices) surround Fauvel instead of men (the disciples) the scene invokes not the Passion and subsequent resurrection of Christ, but the destruction and perversion associated with Sodom and Gomorrah, both of which are named in the song.

³⁷² See Susan Rankin's discussion of these songs in "Alleluyes, antenes, respons, ygues et verssez," in *Fauvel Studies* 435-7.

The inclusion of bestial Fauvel within images marked by their religious iconography of the Last Supper functions as a sort of parody; that is, these images of Fauvel feasting with the Vices (32v, column b and 33r) twist the sacred image of the Last Supper to denounce the bestial reign of Fauvel. As visual instances of interpolated satire, these images are heavily moralizing and religious: Fauvel's pollution inverts the sacred scene of Christ eating with his disciples at the Last Supper. The juxtaposition of religious and secular music, as I shall explore in the following study of several folios, also highlights Fauvel as a figure who corrupts and pollutes.

Fauvel, reproached by the Bible

The visual use of the sacred to condemn Fauvel is operative also in the musical interpolations of folio 29v (fig. 16). Composed entirely of interpolation, folio 29v combines narrative additions, a French motet, a Latin motet/ballad and a religious chant. The *mise-en-page* is as follows:

Column a begins with these interpolated lines from the narrator:

Fauvel pour chose que il oie
Ne lesse cui que il en oie
Qu'il ne respoigne en ceste guise
com cil pur orgueil atise³⁷³

[No matter what he hears
or from whom he hears it
Fauvel does not fail to answer in this way
like one {who} burns with pride.]³⁷⁴

This passage is followed by a motet for two voices: *Bonne est Amours/ Se mes desirs*, sung by Fauvel.

Bonne est Amours ou dangier ne maint mie
ne mautalens qui n'i font fors grever
les vrais amanz pleins de grant courtoisie
qui nuit et iour servent sanz nul fauser.
Da[n]gier ne met nul service en prisie,

[Good is love where resistance does not reside
nor anger, which do nothing but torment
true lovers filled with great courtesy,
who night and day serve without any falsity.
Resistance considers no service as estimable,

³⁷³ Dahnk reads this as "arise," however, based on my reading of the manuscript, I believe it reads as "atise."

³⁷⁴ With these lines the narrator provides a transition between the songs in Latin (*Vade retro, sathana*, *Fauvel, cogita*, and *Incrassate Falvelle*) which condemn Fauvel on the recto side of the folio, and the courtly motet sung by Fauvel *Bonne est Amours/ Se mes desirs* on fol. 29v.

quer vilains est, ne soit guerredonner.
 Quant voit l'amant qu'a li tout s'umilie
 adont orgueil se paine de moustrer
 et mautalens d'autre part pleins d'envie
 envers l'amant pité ne l'ait ouvrer
 se tel vilain ne se feissent
 partie encontre amanz trop bon feist amer
 et de legier on recouvrast amie.³⁷⁵

for it is base, it does not know how to reward.
 When it sees the lover, who has humbled himself
 completely to it, then it strives to show pride;
 and anger on the other hand, full of envy,
 may not help to produce pity toward the lover.
 If such base figures did not oppose
 lovers, loving would be wonderful
 and one would easily obtain his love.]

Column b begins with the second part of this motet:

Se mes desirs fust souhais
 mener devroie grant ioie
 mais nennil ainçois m'est a fais
 quer ie sai que ne pourroie
 venir a mon desir iamais
 s'amours ne me donnoit voie
 et grace de venir a pais
 a celi qui me gueroie
 cruelment en dis et en faiz
 si qu'amours un seul don proie
 que se ie sui de riens meffaiz
 envers lui, corrigez soie
 a son plaisir de touz meffaiz.

[If my desires were wishes granted
 I should feel great joy
 but not at all, rather I am in difficulty,
 because I know that I could never
 attain my desire,
 if love did not give me the way
 and the grace to make peace
 with the one who makes war on me
 cruelly in words and in deeds;
 so I ask of love one single gift,
 that if I am guilty of anything
 towards him {love}, I may be punished
 as he pleases for all misdeeds.]

This text is followed by three wordless lines of music.

Column c contains another narrative interpolation in the words of the narrator, forming a transition between the motet that Fauvel sings (*Bonne est Amours/ Se mes desirs*) and that which follows, sung by Fortune:

Mes fortune a cui n'agree
 chose que il ait aposee
 par sa responce d'arriere
 La rapaie en ceste maniere.

[But Fortune, who is not pleased
 with anything that he {Fauvel} may have proposed
 by her answer back
 repays it in this manner.]

This interpolation is followed by a Latin ballade, *Falvelle qui iam moreris*, sung by Fortune, some of which is without musical notation:

Falvelle qui iam moreris
 qui deffluis cotidie
 qui scis quod heri fueris
 malus et peior hodie

[Fauvel, you who soon will die
 who decline daily
 who know that you were bad yesterday,
 and worse today;

³⁷⁵ I have chosen to divide all of the songs I discuss in this chapter according to their rhyme scheme, and not as they appear in the manuscript. To do so, I have consulted Emilie Dahnk's transcriptions in *L'Hérésie de Fauvel*.

cur oculos non apperis
quid vite viam deseris
et ebrius efficeris
inanis fumo glorie

why don't you open your eyes?
Why do you desert the path of life
and make yourself drunk,
in a vapor of vain glory?

[without musical notation] :
Non vides quod pretereat
mundus et mundi gloria
quod fenum carnis marceat
hac die perhemtoria
sic nobilis vel sordeat
homo dives vel egeat
oportet quod hinc transeat
nam res est transitoria
Homo quem humus genuit
ab humo nomen retinet
quem nutrix humus tenuit
et in humum post desinet
quid ergo tibi placuit
errare cum non decuit
hoc cor meum retinuit
et in presenti retinet.

Do you not see that the world
and the glory of the world passes by,
that the weak flesh³⁷⁶ withers
in this final day?
Thus either a noble man may become soiled
or the rich man may be in need,
it is proper that henceforth this may pass away
for things are transitory.³⁷⁷
Man whom the soil brought forth
takes his name from the soil,
he whom the soil, his nurturer, kept hold of
and who ends up in the soil, finally.
What pleased you, then,
when it was not right to go astray?
This my heart kept
and keeps still.]

This monophonic piece is followed by these interpolated lines, spoken by Fortune:

Et pour ce si com ie t'ai dit
car tu as maint homme laidit
et mis a pechie et a honte
hui mes te ferai .i. brief conte
Premier est de toi ordene
que a honte et a douleur mene
seras et toy et ta ligniee
Joie en aura toute riens nee
Car diverses seront les painnes
Pensees par iourz et semaines
que je vous ferai recevoir
j'en ferai tretout mon devoir.

[And for this as I told you
because you have dishonored many men
and placed them in sin and shame
I will now tell you one brief story
first is it commanded
that you will be led to shame and to grief,
you and your descendants.
Every being born will rejoice at this,
because many will be the pains
plotted out over days and weeks
that I will cause you to receive.
I will wholly fulfill my duty in this regard.]

This is then followed by the sacred piece, *Omnia tempus habent*.

The first interpolated song, *Bonne est Amours /Se mes desirs* (p. mus. 68), is a French motet modeled on the vocabulary of courtly love. Courtly phrases, such as "les vrais amanz pleins de grant /courtoisie qui nuit et iour servent," and "ie sai que ne/ pourroie

³⁷⁶ The pairing of "fenum" and "carnis" here recall a proverb, "omnis caro, fenum", which can be translated as "all flesh is nothing but dry hay." I have chosen to render the line "fenum carnis marceat" as "weak flesh withers" in keeping with this proverb.

³⁷⁷ "Worldly things are transitory."

venir a mon desir iamais," mark this song as a secular courtly love lyric. In specific, courtly terms such as "vrais amanz," "courtoisie," "pité" and "desir" comprise the lexicon of love as sung by the troubadours and trouvères. Sung by Fauvel, it is a song that focuses on the lover in the service of love, hoping for pity from his beloved.

Unlike the vernacular love language used by Fauvel, Fortune responds abruptly, negatively, and in Latin. Fortune's *Falvelle qui iam moreris* (p. mus. 69) sharply upbraids Fauvel for his courtship. While this is the third of Phillip the Chancellor's songs that admonishes Fauvel, this is the only one, according to Arlt, that answers Fauvel "in his own musical language," in other words, using monophony.³⁷⁸ Fortune answers forcefully, so that Fauvel might finally listen and abandon his courting of her. Fortune warns Fauvel that his eyes are closed to the transitory nature of earthly beings. Her language (in specific, the lines "Homo quem humus genuit ab humo nomen/ retinet quem nutrix humus tenuit et/ in humum post desinet") recalls Ecclesiastes 12:7 ("et revertatur pulvis in terram suam unde erat/ et spiritus redeat ad Deum" ["And the dust returns to the earth whence it was, and the spirit is given back to God"]), reminding Fauvel that good fortune is transitory, and that man takes his name from the earth from which he sprang and to which he will return.

A reworking of *Homo qui semper*, *Falvelle qui iam moreris* is one of twenty-three songs of this manuscript already found in the conductus fascicles of the Notre-Dame manuscript (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 29. I) and one of thirteen ascribed to Phillip the Chancellor that appear in both manuscripts.³⁷⁹ Significantly, this

³⁷⁸ Arlt notes that this song, one of three monophonic songs by Phillip the Chancellor, is the "only one unambiguously in the new musical language, as revealed in its melodic style, in the ballade form, and in other features of the new art" ("Jehannot de Lescurel and the Function of Musical Language in the *Roman de Fauvel* as presented in BN fr. 146," *Fauvel Studies* 30, 32). See also *Vade retro, Sathana!* (p. mus. 65) and *Fauvel cogita* (p. mus. 66) on folio 29r (Arlt, "Jehannot de Lescurel," *Fauvel Studies* 32).

³⁷⁹ Dahnk 169-170; Welker, "Polyphonic Reworkings," *Fauvel Studies* 615-617. Welker believes that the scribe of fr. 146 probably had a copy of conductus fascicles near at hand that at least resembled the Notre-Dame manuscript (noted with the siglum F): "A look at the way in which the newly composed

musical piece seems to have had a potentially double identity. The index shows it under two headings: the section containing prose and lays and the section containing rondeaux, ballades, and virelais. As Welker notes, while *Falvelle qui iam moreris* might have been considered a prose piece because of its non-liturgical Latin text, it is crossed out in this section in the index, and placed among the rondeaux and ballades, probably because of its ballade form (631). Considered as a ballade, *Falvelle qui iam moreris* answers Fauvel in a similar genre, despite the difference in language. It seems that Fortune at least in part enters into the role of beloved, and answers from that position.

Fortune's linguistic change, answering Fauvel in Latin instead of French, gives an indication of the sacred doctrines that Fauvel breaks in his attempt to marry Fortune. He wants to be in control of fortune, as if he were God. Because it is in Latin, *Falvelle qui iam moreris* serves as a linguistic bridge to the final musical interpolation on this folio that is also in Latin, *Omnia tempus habent*.

This song, *Omnia tempus habent* (p. mus. 70), which appears at the bottom of column c, is a new composition based on Ecclesiastes (3:1): "Omnia tempus habent, et suis spatiis transeunt universa sub caelo" ["Everything has its time, and the universe passes over its space under heaven"].³⁸⁰ Spoken by Fortune to Fauvel, *Omnia tempus habent* utterly rejects him as a suitor. Like *Falvelle qui iam moreris*, this religious song emphasizes the transitoriness of earthly things, and implies by contrast the immutable and perennial nature of the heavenly. Since *Omnia tempus habent* not only evokes but quotes

monophonic *Falvelle que iam moreris* (p. mus. 69), a reworking of Philip the Chancellor's *Homo qui semper moreris* in the form of a ballade, is written in fo. [sic] 29vc yields a revealing detail. In entering the text, the scribe left an unusually wide gap between the first two syllables, "Fal-vel(-le)," even though the new version of the conductûs did not need so much space, since there is no extended melisma over the first syllable to require it. But such a melisma is found in the F version. In view of the dependence of the other conductûs settings in fr. 146 on those in F, this is an indication that the scribe, when entering the text, still had in his hands a setting that at least closely resembled that in F" (618).

³⁸⁰ Rankin, "Catalogue Raisonné," *Fauvel Studies* 430. Because the scribal hand of this piece is "neither that which copied the rest of this page nor that of main corrector," Rankin believes this song was added late in the production of the manuscript to fill an empty space.

Biblical language verbatim, it firmly castigates Fauvel. Invoking the authority of the Bible, *Omnia tempus habent* imposes a serious moral aspect onto Fauvel's courtship of Fortune; as Arlt argues, because it is a Biblical piece, *Omnia tempus habent* may provide proof that Fortune's rebuke in *Falvelle qui iam moreris* has worked to make Fauvel discontinue his attempts to marry her.³⁸¹ In this way, if everything has its season as the Biblical verse suggests, Fauvel's courtship of Fortune must come to an end.

The songs in Latin, placed in contradistinction with the courtly motet, employ a stable valence of the sacred in order to carry the moral message of the romance's satire even further. Again, while the *mise-en-page* does not mark the religious songs in contradistinction to the secular, the religious songs clearly impart spiritual values that are considered hierarchical in order to condemn Fauvel more strongly. Although Fauvel does abandon his quest to marry Fortune, he does not leave off corrupting. A pair of folios that appear later in the manuscript attest to Fauvel's continued, even increased, pollution of France.

Fauvel's perverted fountain of youth

Fortune's censure of Fauvel using Latin songs, and a Biblical piece in particular, finds an analogy in a pair of folios later in the manuscript. The juxtaposition of the sacred and the profane is expanded over both folios, 41v and 42r (figs. 17, 18). Because they face each other, these two folios enter into a dialogue of song, text and image, providing complementary commentary.

Although all the songs on folio 41v and 42r are in Latin, they do not derive from the same type of music, nor do they treat the same subject matter. This folio pair links a series of religious songs with a political motet. An image of the fountain of youth on folio

³⁸¹ Arlt, "Jehannot de Lescurel," *Fauvel Studies* 32.

42r visually reenacts the theme of pollution and subsequent renunciation raised by the interpolated songs.

The *mise-en-page* of folio 41v is as follows:

Column a continues Chaillou's narrative additions to the romance (App. II. 1493-1544).

Column b contains four short religious chants: *Devorabit Fauvellum Dominus*, *Veniat mors super illos*, *Heu quid destructio hec!*, and *Iuxta est dies perdicionis*. I have placed the incipits in italics so that they may be more easily found. The text of these songs as they appear in the manuscript is as follows:

Devorabit Fauvellum Dominus
cum germine suo hoc sciotote et quibus
succendetur ignis dei et ardebit eos
usque ad inferni novissima.

[The Lord will devour Fauvel with his offspring,
this {thing is} known,
and they will be set on fire by the fire of God
and He will burn them always in a new hell.]

Veniat mors super illos et des-
cendant in infernum viventes.

[May death come upon them
and may they descend alive into hell.]

Heu! quid destructio hec melius
nobis erat si natus non fuisset ho-
mo ille.

[Alas! what destruction is this!
It would had been better for us
if this man had not been born.]

Iuxta est dies perdicionis
ipsius sequaciumque suorum et adesse
festinant tempora. Nam creatorem
suum agnoscere noluerunt cui be-
neplacitum est sr [super] timentes eum
et sperantes super misericordia eius.

[Near is the day of perdition
itself and its aftermath,
and time is at hand.
For they did not wish to recognize their creator,
well pleasing {to the Lord are those who} fear him:
and those who hope for his compassion.]

Column c comprises more of Chaillou's narrative additions to the romance (App. II. 1545-1586), followed by another interpolation ("Et pour ce que ie m'en courreuce/ Ci met ce motet qui qu'en grouce" ["And because I am irritated, I put this motet here that complains about it"]) that introduces the beginning of the motet *Tribum que non abhorruit* that follows. While we read the first two lines of this motet on folio 41v, the rest follows on 42r. The text of this song is as follows:

Tribum que non abhorruit
 indecenter ascendere
 furibunda non metuit
 Fortuna cito vertere
 dum duci prefate tribus [fol. 42]
 in sempiternum speculum
 parare palam omnibus
 non pepercit patibulum.
 Populus ergo venturus
 si trans metam ascenderit
 quod si forsitan cassurus
 cum tanta tribus ruerit
 sciat eciam quis fructus
 delabi sit in profundum.
 Post Zephyros plus ledit hyems post gaudia luctus;
 unde nihil melius quam nil habuisse secundum.

[*tenor*]

Merito hec patimur.

[Fortune does not shrink back
 from the tribe that unbecomingly rises,
 Fortune does not fear the rage that changes quickly,
 so long that the leader of the aforesaid tribe
 has not refrained from preparing publicly
 the pillory as an everlasting mirror.
 Thus if daring the people will ascend
 across the boundary,
 let a certain man who might by chance fall,
 since such a tribe has fallen,
 know also what fruit would sink in the abyss.
 After the warm west wind winter,
 after the joy sorrow,
 whence nothing is better than to have had nothing.]

[Rightly we suffer this.]³⁸²

Column b contains the second upper voice of this motet:

Quoniam secta latronum
 spelunca vispilionum
 vulpes que gallos roderat
 tempore quo regnaverat
 leo cecatus subito
 suo ruere merito
 in morte privata bonis
 concinat gallus nasonis
 dicta qui dolum accunt
 omnia sunt hominum tenui pendencia filo
 et subito casu que va luererunt.

[Since the gang of robbers
 in the cave of reprobates
 {and} the fox that gnawed at the cock
 in the time that the blind lion reigned
 have fallen suddenly down, fittingly,
 in a death deprived of good things,
 may the cock shout Ovid's words
 which intensify the deceit:
 "All men, I believe,
 are hanging by a thread,
 and with a sudden collapse things
 which were strong fall down."]

Column c presents again Chaillou's narrative interpolation (App. II. 1587-1606). Finally,
 another song appears in column c: "Hic fons, hic devius, acqua degenerans, unda
 dampnificans, amen" ["This fountain, this erroneous, degenerating water, damning water,
 Amen"]. At the bottom, straddling both columns b and c, appears a large image of a
 fountain with many bathers in it, and many people surrounding it waiting to bathe.

³⁸² For translation of this motet, I have consulted the translation of David Howlett quoted in Margaret Bent, "Polyphony of Texts and Music in the Fourteenth Century Motet," Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, ed. Dolores Pesce (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1997) 85-86.

The first song on folio 41v, *Devorabit Fauvellum Dominus* (p. mus. 116), is a new composition whose Biblical source is Deuteronomy 32: 22: "Ignis succensus est in furore meo, et ardebit usque ad inferni novissima: devorabit terram cum germine suo et montium fundamenta comburet" ["A fire is kindled from my anger, and it will burn until a new hell: it will devour the earth with its offspring and it will burn up the foundation of the mountain"]. While the song is not liturgical, its style does follow that of the antiphon.³⁸³ With phrases such as "ignis dei" and "inferni novissima," *Devorabit Fauvellum Dominus* accentuates the hellish consequences of the reign of Fauvel and his progeny over France. Made specific to Fauvel, this song severely condemns him and his progeny for devouring and polluting France. This condemnation is repeated in the three musical pieces that follow.

These pieces, new compositions made for this manuscript like *Devorabit Fauvellum Dominus*, also use the Bible as a source for their lyrics. The second song, *Veniat mors super illos* (p. mus. 117), repeats exactly the verse of Psalm 54:16 ("Veniat mors super illos descendant in infernum viventes" ["May death come upon them, descending alive into inferno"]).³⁸⁴ This song repeats again the themes of Hell and death ("mors" and "infernum"), but adds a new twist in that the condemned experience the pain of Hell while alive ("viventes"), as if the author/narrator wants Fauvel and his progeny to experience these pains physically.

The third song, *Heu, quid destructio hec!* (p. mus. 118), is inspired from Matthew 26:24 ("bonum erat si, si natus non fuisset homo ille" ["It would have been good if this man had not been born"]), and laments Fauvel's existence.³⁸⁵ Significantly, it refers to Fauvel as a man ("homo") and not as a horse. Because there is no evocation of Fauvel's

³⁸³ Rankin, "Catalogue Raisonné," *Fauvel Studies* 460. Rankin notes that *Devorabit Fauvellum Dominus* follows the "mainly syllabic texture of office-antiphon style," and only breaks with this Gregorian-like modality with the last word, "novissima" (460-1).

³⁸⁴ Rankin, "Catalogue Raisonné," *Fauvel Studies* 461.

³⁸⁵ Rankin notes how undramatic the opening notes are given the sentiments of despair of the lyrics ("Catalogue Raisonné," *Fauvel Studies* 461).

bestiality (i.e., his equine nature), this reference could easily serve the dual purpose of condemning Fauvel as it censures a certain contemporary figure such as Marigny.³⁸⁶

Finally, the fourth religious song, *Iuxta est dies perdicionis* (p. mus. 119) has as its source several Biblical passages: Deut 32:35: "iuxta est dies perdicionis, et adesse festinant tempora" ["Near is the day of perdition and time, hastening, is at hand"]; Deut. 32:18: "et oblitus es domini creatoris tui" ["And defiled is God your creator"]; Ps. 146:11: "Beneplacitum est Domino super timentes eum: et in eis, qui sperant super misericordia eius" ["Well pleasing to the Lord {are those who} fear him: and those who hope for his compassion"].³⁸⁷ This song again continues the condemnation of Fauvel with images of Hell (e.g. "Iuxta est dies perdicionis"), but also stresses the distance of Fauvel's reign from one that has a godly basis, since Fauvel and his progeny refuse to recognize God ("Nam creatorem siuria agnoscere noluerunt"). This song offers some hope, especially to those who believe and fear God ("bene placitum est super timentes eum et sperantes super misericordia eius"). There is a sense of a possible reprieve from the fires of Hell in the word "misericord".

These four songs are religious and heavily moralistic. Each firmly denounces and castigates Fauvel and his progeny; collectively, they relentlessly repeat the theme of condemnation. More importantly, because they are sung by the author/ narrator, the songs offer a censure of Fauvel that goes beyond the narrative itself, and introduces the extratextual. Continuing the lament of the narrator of the text (App. II. 1564-80), the author/narrator of fr. 146 enters into the discussion, adding the weight of his own authority as composer of the manuscript to the denunciations of these chants.

³⁸⁶ Marigny is the figure most likely condemned in this song because of its proximity to the motet *Tribun/ Quoniam* that alludes to him on folio 42r.

³⁸⁷ Rankin, "Catalogue Raisonné," *Fauvel Studies* 462

The bleak tone of these songs is at odds with the narrative of Fauvel that begins in column a of folio 41v. The section of the romance that appears in column a describes the assembly of the allegorical Virtues, who have just vanquished the Vices in a tournament. This passage emphasizes not only the people's joy but the music played to celebrate their arrival:

Tant sont joians de la venue
Des dames et de leur demeure
[.....]
Par tout sonnent cloches a force,
Trompes, timbres, tabourz et muses.
Jugleurs y font trop de babuses.
(App. ll.1516-17, 1520-22)

[So joyful are they at the arrival
of the ladies and at their stay
{ }
everywhere many bells ring
and trumpets, drums, tabors and bagpipes.
Minstrels sing much prattle here.]

The contrast between the instrumental music and joy of the romance and the somber voices and lamentation of the Biblical chants is remarkable, and reminds the reader that these wedding festivities mark the beginning of Fauvel's pollution of France.³⁸⁸ These songs of Biblical lamentation foreshadow the narrator's lamentation of Fauvel's progeny and their destruction of France that appears in column c of folio 41v, so that these scriptural songs become proleptic. This long lament, describing France as a garden of allegorical virtues planted by God, recalls the Garden of Eden as it focuses on the spiritual values that Fauvel destroys:³⁸⁹

Le beau jardin de grace plain
Ou Dieu par especiauté
Planta la flour de loiauté
Et y sema par excellence
La franche grene et la semence
De la fleur de creüenté
Et d'autres fleurs a grant plenté:
Fleurs de Pais et fleurs de Justice,
Fleurs de Foy et fleur de Franchise,
Fleur d'Aneur et fleur espanie
De Sens et de Chevalerie.
[.....]

[The beautiful garden full of grace
where God deliberately
planted the flower of loyalty
and sowed the noble seed and
the seed *par excellence*
of the flower of Christendom
and other flowers in great plenty:
flowers of peace and flowers of justice,
flowers of faith and flowers of nobility
The flower of honor and blooming flower
of wisdom and of chivalry.
[.....]

³⁸⁸ A contemporary audience would have no doubt recalled here Louis X's marriage with Clémence of Hungary in August 1315. See Caviness, "Patron or Matron?" 336-337.

³⁸⁹ The image of the creation of Eve (folio 3v) foreshadows the fate of humanity under Fauvel's rule.

C'est le jardin de douce France.
 Hé las! com c'est grant mescheance
 De ce qu'en si tres beau vergier
 S'est venu Fauvel herbergier.
 (App. ll. 1564-74, 1577-80)

It is the garden of sweet France
 Alas! what a great misfortune it is
 that in such a beautiful orchard
 Fauvel has come to stay.]

With a lexicon drawn from botany, flowers, seeds, and orchards of all kinds fill this description of France. The repetition of "fleur" (or "flour") in this passage, no fewer than nine times, accentuates the identification of France as a garden of Eden. In this garden are mixed flowers of national and courtly as well as religious significance, indicating the extent to which Fauvel pollutes the various earthly domains.³⁹⁰ These flowers, representing such virtues as honor, justice and *franchise* ["honesty"], offer the image of France as a spiritual *locus amoenus* that Fauvel and his family pervert.³⁹¹ If this passage suggests that France is Eden, Fauvel represents the fall not only of humanity but of the rulers of France. Fauvel's corruption of Eden (France) is in this way tied to that of the contemporary Capetian dynasty.

The beginning of the topical motet, *Tribum que non abhorruit* (p. mus. 120), follows this long lament of Fauvel and his family's effects on France. This motet, which begins on folio 41v and continues on 42r, is perhaps a composition by Philippe de Vitry,³⁹² and introduces a world of animals rather than flowers. We move from the corrupted *locus amoenus* to the animal world and the accompanying themes of one species being devoured by another. This musical piece, like *Garrit gallus/ In nova*, continues the romance's use of animals as central figures, here recalling the figure of Renard: "vulpes

³⁹⁰ Although there is some overlap, the reader could divide the flowers according to these areas: national ("Fleurs de Pais et fleurs de Justice"); courtly ("la flour de loiauté", "fleur de Franchise" and "Fleur d'Aneur [...] et de Chevalerie"); and finally religious ("fleur de cretienté", "Fleur de Foy", and "fleur espanie/ De Sens").

³⁹¹ I mean spiritual in the broadest sense of the term: those intangible qualities that make a nation, a court, or a religion.

³⁹² Margaret Bent argues against this in "Fauvel and Marigny: Which Came First?" in *Fauvel Studies* 39. For more discussion about this motet in general, see Alice V. Clark "The Flowering of Charnalité and the Marriage of Fauvel," *Fauvel Studies* 177 n. 5, and Leofranc Holford-Stevens, "The Latin *Dits* of Geoffroy de Paris: An *Editio Princeps*," *Fauvel Studies* 249, n. 5.

que gallos roderat tempore quo regnoverat leo cecatus."³⁹³ This image of the fox devouring the cocks while the blind lion reigns signals not only this romance's associations with other beast fables such as the Roman de Renart (or more importantly, because of its ties with allegory, Renart le Nouvel), but also with Ovid's Metamorphoses.³⁹⁴

This link to Ovid is explicit in the final couplet of the *Quoniam* part of the motet, in which Ovid is not only named but quoted.

<p>concinat gallus nasonis dicta qui dolum accunt omnia sunt hominum tenui pendencia filo et subito casu que va luererunt.</p>	<p>[may the cock shout Ovid's words which intensify the deceit: All {who} are men, I believe, are hanging by a thread, and with a sudden collapse things which were strong fall down."]</p>
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This motet quotes the elegiac couplet from a letter that Ovid wrote while in exile (*Epistulae ex Ponto* IV.3, ll. 35-36), and as Margaret Bent suggests, recalls, even repeats much of the lexicon of the couplet.³⁹⁵ By suggesting Ovid's exile and fall from grace, this motet offers a double, more topical message, one aimed in particular at a contemporary figure, Enguerran de Marigny.

This motet functions as the second of three, including *Aman novi/ Heu fortuna/ Heu me* [folio 30r] and *Garrit gallus/ In nova/ Neuma* [folio 44v], that refer to

³⁹³ Margaret Bent argues that the *Tribum* motet and *Garrit Gallus/ In nove fert* share not only the same animal imagery but also many of the same musical notes. "Polyphony of Texts and Music" 95-100. See also her article "Fauvel and Marigny," in Fauvel Studies 43.

³⁹⁴ The first line of *Garrit Gallus/ In nova fert* quotes the first line of Ovid's Metamorphoses: "In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas" ["My mind is inclined to tell of forms changed into strange things"] (Bent, "Polyphony of Music and Texts," Hearing the Motet 95-96).

³⁹⁵ This letter is cited in Bent, "Polyphony of Texts and Music," Hearing the Motet 84. Terms that the motet borrows from Ovid's letter include "Fortuna," words denoting "fall" such as "vertere," "delabi," "profundum", forms of the verb "ruere" and the trio "subito, casu, ruunt." In addition, the link between "triple" and "tribum" which, as Bent shows, suggests that the three words of the tenor, because there are only three, (*Merito hec patimur*) share a link not only with Ovid's letter (which uses "patior") but with the text of the motet. Bent argues that the Ovid couplet was primary to the composition of the motet, so that the tenor was composed to fit Ovid, and not the reverse. Furthermore, she sees this as a "striking marriage of pagan and Christian elements" (89), thus revealing the play of sacred and profane within the text of this motet. See Bent, "Polyphony of Texts and Music," Hearing the Motet 84-89.

Marigny.³⁹⁶ While the past tense of this musical piece indicates that it may have been composed after Philip IV's death but before Marigny's execution in 1315, Margaret Bent asserts that the three Marigny motets were not necessarily composed according to the historical sequence of Marigny's life and death.³⁹⁷ Instead, she argues that the material could have been worked out concurrently so that the material seems to refer to itself.³⁹⁸ While fr. 146 presents the motets in reverse chronological order, this order fits with the themes of inversion raised by the narrative. The *Tribum/Quoniam* serves as a pivot for the reverse historical order of the three Marigny motets. According to Bent, "all three motets are saturated with themes and structures of reversal and inversion in music and text," and moreover, "the wrong order for the historical narrative is the correct order for the topsy-turvy world of Fauvel."³⁹⁹ Even if the trio of motets do not follow the events of Marigny's life and death, they nonetheless refer explicitly to him. Because of the references to topical historical events, the animal figures serve as signs for historical figures. In this way, in the motet *Tribum/Quoniam* it is the blind lion Philip IV who reigns while the fox Marigny devours the cocks, also the symbol of France.⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁶ On *Tribum que non abhorruit/ Quoniam secta latronum/ Merito* referring to Marigny, see also Nancy Regalado-Freeman, "Chronique métrique," *Fauvel Studies* 474 n.29, and Andrew Wathey, "Gervès de Bus, the *Roman de Fauvel*, and the Politics of the Later Capetian Court," *Fauvel Studies* 610.

³⁹⁷ Bent explains this argument, with which she disagrees, that connects the verb tenses and time of composition of the motets: "In *Garrit gallus/In nova* Philip IV, the 'blind lion', is still alive (*monarchisat*) and the motet, must therefore have been composed before his death on 29 November 1314. In *Tribum/Quoniam* the past tense (*regn timerat*) indicates that Philip is no longer reigning and that the motet must date from after his death (true) but, goes the argument, before Marigny's execution on 30 April 1315. In *Aman novi/ Heu Fortuna* the body of Marigny has been washed by the rain on the gallows of Montfaucon; therefore it may date from up to two years after his execution, the period during which his body was left there as an example before it was finally released for burial in 1317." "Fauvel and Marigny," *Fauvel Studies* 35-37.

³⁹⁸ Furthermore, Bent argues, style chronology cannot be established, nor can one assume that Vitry composed all three motets; as a result the order of composition of the motets does not necessarily reflect the order of historical events. "Fauvel and Marigny," *Fauvel Studies* 38-39.

³⁹⁹ Bent, "Fauvel and Marigny," *Fauvel Studies* 36, 39, n. 14, 45. See Roesner *et al.* for more discussions of change and reversal (41).

⁴⁰⁰ Bent, "Fauvel and Marigny," *Fauvel Studies* 44; Brown, "Rex ioians," *Fauvel Studies* 67. Bent also notes the extra twist of these animal transformations: while Fauvel changes from a fully equine form to a hybrid half horse/half human figure whose progeny is fully human, Marigny, because of his identity as a fox, is associated with Fauvel the hybrid ("Fauvel and Marigny," *Fauvel Studies* 44-45).

While *Tribum* expresses a tone of despair, it also offers hope and the promise of change, since one line of the motet appears to suggest the fall of a certain man--Fauvel and/or Marigny: "quidam forsitan casurus." The tenor of this motet further heightens this sense of misery.⁴⁰¹ Taken from a Lenten responsory that is probably of Parisian origin, *Merito hec patimur* emphasizes not only the spiritual acrimony often experienced during Lent, but also associates this bitterness with Paris, and by extension, with Marigny.⁴⁰²

These two pages pair Latin songs of political condemnation with Latin Biblical hymns that stress not only censure but also lamentation, in such a way that the reader is invited to look beyond the frame of the manuscript. By creating an association of Fauvel with Marigny, these songs link the events of the romance with those of the contemporary socio-historical situation.

To evoke further Fauvel's corruption, on folio 42r a song appears which parodies its liturgical source. In column c we read the music "Hic fons, hic devius, acqua degenerans, unda dampnificans" ["This fountain, this erroneous, degenerating water, damning water"]. This song, an altered form of a liturgical prayer used to bless the water at Easter, acts as a contrafactum of this liturgical blessing.⁴⁰³ This song provides a sacred gloss on the image of the Fountain of Youth. Instead of the main themes of baptism, purification and new life, the song indicates the themes of degeneration and damnation associated with Fauvel's Fountain of Youth, and recalls the dire warnings of the Biblical chants on folio 41v.⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰¹ As Bent shows, the tenor also recalls Ovid's letter, in its use of the deponent verb "patior," and since it is only three words, evoking Ovid's request for three words: "si mihi rebus opem nullam factisque ferebas/ venisset verbis charta notata tribus" ["If you brought me no aid in facts {or} things, you might have sent me three words on a sheet of paper"]. "Polyphony of texts and Music." *Hearing the Motet* 88-89.

⁴⁰² Robertson, "Local Chant Readings" *Fauvel Studies* 512, 516, 518-520.

⁴⁰³ Rankin, "Catalogue Raisonné," *Fauvel Studies* 462-464. The litany for baptism contains this text: "Sit fons/ sit fons vivus/ acqua regenerans/ unda purificans." See Emma Dillon, "The Profile of Philip V," *Fauvel Studies* 225.

⁴⁰⁴ The narrator links the fountain of youth explicitly with heresy: "C'est que Heresie a en couvent/ A Fauvel d'esloingner sa vie/ a sa fame et a sa lignie/ par la fontaine de jouvent" (ll. 1590-93 int.) ["It is

Unlike the somber tone of the religious songs, the image of the fountain of youth appears like the other images in the manuscript—elegant and refined.⁴⁰⁵ The fountain is portrayed as quite large, stretching over two text columns, and having an upper and a lower section. Framed by architectural details, the entire image seems to take place in an ornate, public building, perhaps even a church, since it has a high roof and pinnacles on either side, despite the foliated ornament where a cross would normally be. Water flows from lions' heads on the upper section upon the heads of the "fauveaux nouveaux";⁴⁰⁶ an architectural ornament at the top is enlivened with two horned dragons.⁴⁰⁷ The depiction of movement through time and space portrayed here is one that echoes the topsy-turvy world of Fauvel: the bearded old men in dark robes enter from the right, and the newly young leave the bath on the left, whereas the more typical iconography to depict temporality reads from left to right.

Heresy that promised Fauvel to extend his life, and that of his wife and his descendants, by the fountain of youth"].

⁴⁰⁵ Fountains played a key role in urban celebrations in the late Middle Ages, especially at the entry of a king or queen. For instance, artificial fountains flowed with wine, milk and water at the entrée of Charles VI in Paris in 1380. These fountains, associating wealth and opulence with rulers, in time came to represent allegorically the attributes of royal power. Literary representations of fountains of youth are few; however, one literary description of a fountain that may have influenced Chaillou's version is the *Fontaine de vie* in Jean de Meun's *Roman de la Rose* (vv. 20461-521). See Roesner *et al.* 8-9; *Les Entrées royales françaises de 1328 à 1515*, eds. Bernard Guenée and Françoise Lehoux (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1968) 57; and Elie Konigson, *L'Espace théâtral médiéval* (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1975) 197, cited in Roesner *et al.* 8.

⁴⁰⁶ The narrator specifies that Fauvel's progeny, which he terms as "fauveaux nouveaux" (ll. 1556-7 int.), bathe in the fountain: "[...] de la fontaine sourt il/De viez pechiez une pueur/ De quoi je sui in grant sueur/ Qui vient et des fiz et des filles /Fauvel" (ll. 1618-24 int.) ["[...] from the fountain comes a stench of old sins, which puts me in a great sweat, that comes from both the sons and daughters of Fauvel"].

⁴⁰⁷ Roesner *et al.* see these animals as evidence of religious parody: "The animal faces are comparable in their function and disposition to images of the four Evangelists found at the bases of fountains in some late medieval paintings showing blood literally flowing from the wounds of Christ into a Fountain of Life in which repentant sinners are purified" (9). However, lions--without any references to the four evangelists--are not an unusual feature of fountains. See also Emile Mâle, *Religious Art in France: The Late Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1986) 104-116; and Evelyn Underhill, "The Fountain of Life: An Iconographic Study," *Burlington Magazine* 17 (1910) 99-110; cited in Roesner *et al.* 9 n. 16.

While the image presents a fountain of youth--and Martin Kauffmann sees in this image the activities of courtly ritual⁴⁰⁸--this scene finds a strong religious parallel in scenes of baptism, and the accompanying song "Hic fons", acting as a caption, emphasizes this allusion to religious ritual. This scene also recalls the image of the creation of Eve (folio 3v), presenting the notion of baptism as redemption from original sin.⁴⁰⁹

Recalling the joyful religious rituals of religious as well as of court life, the image is celebratory, a far cry from the lamentation of the earlier interpolated musical pieces. The prophecy of the motet *Tribum/Quoniam/ Merito*--the destruction of Fauvel and his tribe by Fortune--finds no visual echo in this miniature of the Fountain of Youth.⁴¹⁰ Instead, we see only the old restored to youthfulness, looking noble with curly locks and bodies that undulate gracefully beneath their cowed robes.

The romance expresses, however, a sharp tone of condemnation of the desire of Fauvel and his family to become more youthful in this fountain. In column c of this page, the narrator describes those bathing in the fountain:

La ne se faingent de venir
 Vielarz plus que Matursalé
 Ne fu; la sont tretuit alé
 Li nonpuissant et li contret:
 Tout ancien fait la son tret,
 Et a jennesce venir cuide
 La fause gent de tout bien vuide,
 D'ordure et pechiez aournee.
 Celi fons gete une buée
 De la quelle chascun sa face
 Nestoie et sa viellesce efface.
 Vuelle Dieu que un rousee [fol. 42v]
 Viengne du ciel bien espuree,

[There do not fail to come
 People older than Methusalem
 ever was; there everyone went,
 the feeble and the shrivelled:
 Every old man takes his treatment there,
 and false people, empty of all good,
 covered with filth and sin
 believe they will attain youth.
 This fountain throws off a spray
 with which each one cleans his face
 and erases his old age.
 May God grant that a purified dew
 come from heaven,

⁴⁰⁸ A series of carved ivory caskets studied by Kauffmann include images of the Fountain of Youth among images of courtly ritual (courtship, wedding, and tournament), which is the subject of *Fauvel* in Book Two. Martin Kauffmann, "Satire, Pictorial Genre, and the Illustrations in BN fr. 146," *Fauvel Studies* 299-303.

⁴⁰⁹ Because the image of the creation of Eve is one of the first images (folio 3v) and the fountain *cum* baptismal font one of the last images of *Fauvel*, a certain progression from sin into purification becomes apparent. Furthermore, this scene, read as an image of baptism (albeit inverted), may also be read as a moral commentary on contemporary rulers who desperately need purification.

⁴¹⁰ Kauffmann, "Satire, Pictorial Genre," *Fauvel Studies* 299.

Si fera il, qui effacera
 Leur weil, ne sai quant ce sera
 (App. ll. 1596-1610)

and so He will, that will erase their pretense
 but I do not know when this will be.]

While some terms here suggest purification (*une buee*, and *sa face/ Nestoie* for example), the description of the people who go to the fountain seeking youth indicates the impurity of Fauvel and his circle. Terms such as "li contret" and phrases such as "La fause gent de tout bien vuide,/ D'ordure et pechiez aournee" portray Fauvel and his court and family not only as deformed and ugly but also as filthy sinners.

The songs on these folios do not clearly distinguish between the religious and the secular. Instead, because they are in the same language, and by virtue of their *mise-en-page*, the songs demonstrate how the sacred and secular enjoy a certain rapprochement on the page. This is not to say, however, that the spiritual message of the songs is uncertain: all the songs convey a sharp condemnation of the fountain of youth. In this way, the meaning of the image of the fountain of youth depends on the songs that accompany it. The songs, then, provide a moral commentary for the image. While the image portrays Fauvel's offspring as beautiful, elegant youths, both the narrative text and the modified baptismal blessing condemn them--like such figures of the Capetian dynasty as Philip IV and Louis X--as the source of France's pollution. In this sense, the sacred song acts as a moralizing, castigating caption to a seemingly courtly image. The reader is led to consider the fountain of youth scene in terms of the censure provided by the Biblical songs.

The tone of condemnation present in the political motet *Tribum que non abhorruit/ Quoniam secta latronum/ Merito hec patimur* is echoed and completed with a moralizing message because of its rapprochement to the explicitly Biblical songs that accompany it on folio 41v. The *mise-en-page* compels the reader to view the Biblical songs in conjunction with the political motet *Tribum/ Quoniam*, so that the spiritual meaning of the songs is aimed not only at the polluting influence of Fauvel, but also implicitly at Marigny.

The pairing of Biblical songs with a political motet in fr. 146 provides moral commentary that condemns and denounces both literary and historical figures. The meaning of the two poles depends on a stable conception of them as hierarchically opposed, so that the spiritual values of the sacred clearly dominate. In the next section that I study, the religious and secular interpolations do not censure but rather laud positive spiritual values, particularly in relation to the figure of the author.

Godly Virtues: Sanctification in Fr. 146

The Sacred Figure of the Author

While the play of sacred and profane condemn the pollution and bestiality of Fauvel and his contemporary analogue, Marigny, it also, conversely, casts a positive light upon the figure of the author, Chaillou de Pesstain. The interpolations guide the reader toward a not-so-subtle picture of the author as religious, and holy. In this section I analyze, first, a pair of folios (10r and 23v) that use the sacred as a means of highlighting the author's creation and composition of the manuscript, and second, a series of images that invoke the figure of the author through a series of author portraits in conjunction with a religious or sacred iconography. In each instance, the religious interpolations, relying upon a stable perspective of the sacred taking precedence over the profane, add a strong spiritual message to the narrative; furthermore, they create a positive spiritual lens through which to view Chaillou in specific.

Folio 10r, for instance, juxtaposes a French rondeau with a Latin liturgical hymn (fig. 19). The association of these specific songs indicates a tendency toward asceticism and humility.

The *mise-en-page* is as follows:

Column a begins with text from the romance (ll. 1153-1202).

Column b gives the next two lines of the romance (ll. 1203-1204). These lines are followed by an interpolation and a rondeau:

Heu unccion esperital
qui es plus clere que cristal
[image]
Descent y car y met ta grace
Ne sueffre plus que Fauvel face
Si ses ours tumber en ce monde
de sa seite trop y habunde
de France fay Fauvel banir
Trop la grevee son hanir
[rondeau:]
Porchier miex estre
que Fauvel torcher.
Escorcher ains me leroie
porcher miex estre ameroie
N'ai cure de sa monnoie
ne n'ai son or chier
porcher miex estre ameroie
que Fauvel torcher

[Oh spiritual unction⁴¹¹
that is clearer than crystal

descend here and bestow here your grace;
do not allow that Fauvel
continue his perversity⁴¹² in this world anymore,
banish Fauvel from his
firmly held seat in France;
his braying has harmed her too much.

I would rather be a swineherd
than curry Fauvel.
I would rather let myself be flayed.
I would rather be a swineherd.
I have no wish for his money,
nor do I hold his gold dear.
I would rather be a swineherd
than curry Fauvel.]

Column c opens with the beginning of a liturgical piece, followed by twenty lines of the romance (ll. 1205-1226), and a rather lengthy narrative interpolation:

[Latin chant]
Alleluia Veni Sancte spiritus
[image]
la veuil faire arestement l. 1205-
[.....]
En l'an mil e cenz trois et dis l. 1226

[Alleluia, come, Holy Spirit.

Here I wish to stop
[.....]
in the year one thousand, three hundred and ten]

followed by this interpolation:

Regnant li lyons debonaires
de qui fu plus douz li affaires
Que n'il eust besoing este
Ce li fist la grant honeste
Qui en li tout ades regna
Certes ie croi qu'il le regne a
du roiaume de paradis
cilz fu Phelippes fuis iadis

[In the reign of the noble lion
whose conduct was gentler
than it had needed to be
this is the result of the great honesty
that always reigned in him
Certainly I believe that he gained
the realm of paradise
this was Philip, at one time the son of

⁴¹¹ Elizabeth A.R. Brown notes that Louis X was annointed with this "unccion esperital" at his crowning at Reims in August 1315. "*Rex ioians, ionnes, iolis*," *Fauvel Studies* 65.

⁴¹² The line literally reads "make his bears dance." A "tumber" is an acrobat; "ses ours tumber" here may be a metaphor of dancing bears that denotes the corruption of political figures; in other words, the narrator describes Fauvel as pulling the leaders' strings.

du tres bon roi hardi phelippes
 qui en arragon lessa les pippes
 cil si fu filz de saint loys
 du tout ci mons dit assoys.

the very good, courageous king Philip {Philip III},
 who left his pipes in Aragon
 he was the son of Saint Louis
 who is said to be seated {higher above} all the world.]

The close proximity of the French rondeau "Porchier miex estre" and the sacred "Alleluia" stage the tension between the sacred and the profane; however, their similar subject matter, accentuating a spiritual disregard for worldly goods, forms a didactic bond between them. Read in conjunction, these two songs teach from two different angles (secular French, religious Latin) the sanctioned spiritual value of poverty.

According to Arlt, *Porchier miex estre ameroie* is an example of the new manner of composition of monophonic music, influenced by the polyphony of the *ars nova*. In terms of our manuscript, this new melodic language of monophony provides comments that are directly associated with the world of Fauvel, and clearly distinguished from the realm of Latin, of Fortune, or the Virtues, and certainly from the liturgical.⁴¹³ Fauvel's inversion of spiritual values stands out not only in terms of the content of the romance, but in the composition of the music ascribed to him.

This song *Porchier miex estre ameroie* is particularly important in fr. 146. Because it is repeated twice in the manuscript, it epitomizes the interpolations and the ways in which they respond to the romance. This rondeau is repeated on folio 42v as the tenor of a 3-part hybrid motet with Latin texts in the upper voices: *Celi domina/ Maria, virgo virginum/ Porchier miex estre ameroie*.⁴¹⁴ It continues the theme of "torcher" begun at the beginning of the romance; the very words "torcher" and "escorcher" recall the first few lines of the poem:

De Fauvel que tant voi torchier
 Doucement, sans lui escorchier,
 Sui entrés en milenholie,
 Por ce qu'est beste si polie (ll. 1-4).

[Because of Fauvel whom I see curried so
 gently, without scratching him,
 I have fallen into melancholy,
 because he is so pampered a beast.]

⁴¹³ Arlt, "Jehannot de Lescurel," *Fauvel Studies* 29-30.

⁴¹⁴ Butterfield, "Refrain and Transformation," *Fauvel Studies* 137.

The introductory lines of the romance initiate two of the main themes evoked by the interpolations of fr. 146: how the whole world seems to be concerned with brushing and currying Fauvel, and more importantly, how the author reacts to this, separating himself emotionally and perhaps, by extension, morally from this polluting activity.⁴¹⁵

Singing *Porchier miex estre*, the narrator distances himself once again from the corruption of Fauvel's court.⁴¹⁶ In the song, he states that he would prefer to be a swineherd than curry Fauvel: "Porchier miex estre que Fauvel torcher / Escorcher ains me leroie." The claim that the author/narrator makes--that he would prefer to be a swineherd than dependent on Fauvel--institutes a class role-reversal. Even the life of the most humble peasant, the swineherd, is more ideal and less corrupted than living as a member of Fauvel's court.

If Fauvel represents worldly vice, refusing to curry him might be an indication of a spiritual bent, one that avoids the vainglorious temptations of this world. The author/narrator rejects Fauvel's money and gold: "N'ai cure de sa monnoie/ ne n'ai son or chier." This renunciation of Fauvel's money may indicate a broader, more ascetic tendency, one which might lead a reader to a spiritual rather than worldly perspective; it recalls Jesus' directives to the apostles to take no money for their missionary work (Matthew 10: 8-10).⁴¹⁷ Sung by the author/narrator, this disdain for worldly goods places him in a spiritually privileged role in relation to the rest of Fauvel's court. *Porchier miex*

⁴¹⁵ Because the people in Fauvel curry or worship a horse, they recall Exodus 32, in which the Israelites worship the golden calf. Read in the light of the Exodus story, the people of France, like the Israelites, sin in worshipping an animal. In addition, by extending this analogy, the author/ narrator becomes associated with Moses. Both express much anger and sorrow, and both have a privileged relationship with God, as the author portraits demonstrate on folios 10r, 42v and 43r.

⁴¹⁶ Butterfield places this song in the voice of the narrator. "Refrain and Transformation of Genre," *Fauvel Studies* 137.

⁴¹⁷ "Gratis accepistis, gratis date, nolite possidere aurum neque argentum, neque pecuniam in zonis vestris, non peram in via, neque duas tunicas, neque calciamenta, neque virgam, dignus enim est operarius cibo suo" ["You received without payment; give without payment. Take no gold, or silver, or copper in your belts, no bag for your journey, or two tunics, or sandals, or a staff; for laborers deserve their food"].

estre promotes ascetic spirituality; it is not surprising that the song that immediately follows it invokes the Holy Spirit.

This song, *Alleluia Veni, Sancte Spiritus*, perhaps composed by Pope Innocent III (1161-1216), was sung in the Mass during Pentecost.⁴¹⁸ In addition, this chant was a part of local practice: according to Rankin, this *Alleluia* was used during the week of Pentecost Sunday in Parisian books.⁴¹⁹ While fr. 146 gives only the incipit of this hymn, one can assume that the church-going reader would have been familiar with the rest of the words: "Veni sancte spiritus, reple tuorum corda fidelium: et tui amoris in eis ignem accende."⁴²⁰ This *Alleluia veni sancte spiritus* is the only chant or chant-like piece that appears in Book One of the romance.⁴²¹ Its sacred character stands out in sharp contrast with the long descriptions of the people corrupted by Fauvel that make up Book One.

As the unique liturgical song in Book One of fr. 146's *Fauvel*, this *Alleluia* recalls the spiritual asceticism of *Porchier miex estre*. In Latin, sung as a part of the Mass, the *Alleluia* not only appears in sharp distinction from the text of the romance, but elevates the spirituality of *Porchier miex estre* to an explicitly religious level. Further, Nancy Freeman Regalado argues that, because of its link to Pentecost, this chant creates the initial theme of reproach that follows:

[t]he theme of Pentecost on this page prepares the admonitory motets addressed to Louis X and Philippe V on fos. 10v-11r, perhaps by recalling in the reader's mind the seven gifts of the Holy

⁴¹⁸ Dom Matthew Britt, *The Hymns of the Breviary and Missal* (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1948) 149-152.

⁴¹⁹ Rankin, "Catalogue Raisonné," *Fauvel Studies* 425. Because the *Alleluia* that is the tenor of the motet *Adesto sancte trinitas* is associated with the feast of the Trinity, these two *alleluias* effectively frame the narrative events of Book Two between the feasts of Pentecost and Trinity. See Rankin, "The Divine Truth of Scripture," 212, 235.

⁴²⁰ Although normally a "iubilus" would have followed the *Alleluia* in a liturgical setting, the scribe has chosen to leave it out, probably with "the intention to make the words 'Veni sancte spiritus' both present and prominent" (Rankin, "Catalogue Raisonné," *Fauvel Studies* 425).

⁴²¹ Anne Walters Robertson, "Local Chant Readings," *Fauvel Studies* 496.

Spirit, which are also attributes of the good king: wisdom, fortitude, counsel, understanding, piety, and fear of the Lord.⁴²²

The didactic message of the *Alleluia* chant is double: aimed at both Fauvel and his court, and at the contemporary monarchs.

The two songs, the liturgical *Alleluia* and the vernacular *Porchier mieux estre*, are dissociated because of their placement.⁴²³ Moreover, two images visually dominate the page. These images form a pair because of both their proximity and their subject matter. The first, in column b, depicts a cleric genuflecting before a lectern on which lies an open book. A dove with a halo, representing the Holy Spirit, flies toward the cleric from the cloudy sky. The second image, set next to the first in column c, depicts a cleric seated before a lectern and open book, addressing a crowd of tonsured men who may be students. In column b, the prayerful interpolation of "Heu, unccion esperital" surrounds the religious image, marking a distance between secular rondeau and religious image. In this way, the image seems to illustrate the prayer of the narrative. Because the *Alleluia* rests on top of the image in column c, it acts as a caption to this image of the cleric teaching in column c.⁴²⁴ In addition, because of the proximity and thematic similarity of the two images, the second image appears as temporally consecutive, especially if we see the two images as depicting the same cleric, first receiving the word of God (b), and then teaching it (c).

Both the songs and the images of folio 10r appear at a place in the romance in which the narrator condemns Fauvel's effects on the world. He laments that the world has been turned upside down with corruption. No member of the population escapes his censure:

Puis que les rois sont menteours
Et riches hommes flateours,
Prelas plains de vaine cointise,

[Since kings are liars
and rich men flatterers,
prelates full of vain graces,

⁴²² Regalado, "Chronique métrique," *Fauvel Studies* 484.

⁴²³ Rankin, "Catalogue Raisonné," *Fauvel Studies* 425.

⁴²⁴ His tonsure and habit mark him as a religious figure.

Et chevaliers heent l'Yglise,
 Clergié est exemple de vices,
 Religious plains de delices,
 Riches hommes sans charitei,
 Et marcheans sans veritei,
 Et laboureurs sans lëautei,
 Hosteliers plains de cruauté,
 Baillis et juge sans pitei,
 Et parens sans vraie amistei,
 Voisins mesdisans, plains d'envie,
 Jennez enfans plains de boesdie,
 Desleal et fausse mesnie,
 Les seignours plains de tricherie,
 Trichirres en bonne fortune,
 Et ribaus gouvernans commune,
 Les cors amés plus que les ames,
 Et fames de lor maris dames,
 Sainte Yglise poi honouree,
 France en servitude tournee,
 Par Fauvel, cele male beste,
 Par quoi nous vient toute tempeste;
 Puis qu'eissi le monde bestorne
 Par tout sans mesure et sans bourne
 Et qu'ainsi toute criature
 A lessié sa propre nature.
 (ll. 1153-1158)⁴²⁵

and knights hate the Church,
 the clergy is an example of vice,
 the religious men are full of pleasures,
 rich men without charity,
 and merchants without truthfulness,
 and laborers without loyalty,
 inn-keepers full of cruelty,
 bailiffs and judges without pity,
 and relatives without true love,
 neighbors slandering, full of jealousy,
 young children full of fraud
 households disloyal and false,
 the lords full of deceit,
 tricksters in a good position,
 and libertines governing generally,
 bodies loved more than souls,
 And women rule over their husbands
 the Holy Church {but} little honored.
 France turned into servitude,
 By Fauvel, this evil beast,
 by whom every tempest comes to us;
 since {he} thus inverts the world
 everywhere without measure and without limit
 and since thus every creature
 has left behind its proper nature.]

All people, regardless of age, class, and position in society, have been morally corrupted: they live their lives in an inversion of the proper moral order. The narrator's last warning concerns idolatry; the world gives to Fauvel the reverence that is due to God. He links idolatry with the love for worldly goods:

L'en met au jour d'ui greigneur paine
 A servir creature humaine
 Pour avoir temporel richece
 Qu'a servir celui qui largece
 Donne du tout bien pardurable;
 Par dieu c'est chose mal regnable.
 (ll. 1199-1204)⁴²⁶

[People today take greater pains
 to serve human creatures
 in order to have temporal riches
 than to serve Him who gives generously
 of every eternal good;
 by God it is something untenable.]

This condemnation of the desire for material wealth coincides perfectly with the subject of *Porchier mieux estre*; it advocates a spirituality that the *Alleluia* invokes. The image of the

⁴²⁵ I cite here the language of fr. 146, which diverges from the Långfors edition.

⁴²⁶ I have chosen here to use the version of line 1204 from fr. 146, which differs from Långfors' edition.

Holy Spirit may perhaps figure in this way as a positive replacement for Fauvel. The didactic tone of this passage matches the images of this page, especially that of the cleric teaching in column c. The image of the cleric receiving the Holy Spirit recalls the theme of Pentecost introduced by the *Alleluia*; by extension, the image of the cleric teaching recalls the mission of the apostles, after having being filled with the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, to teach about Christ. The themes of the illustrations and the rondeau reappear on folios 42v-43r, when the author asks first Fortune, and then the Virgin, to condemn Fauvel. On folio 42v the repeated refrain *Porchier miex estre* is addressed to the Virgin, suggesting that she will help to cause Fauvel's downfall.⁴²⁷

It is notable, too, that the image of column c has been placed directly above the narrator's dedication and declaration of humility at the end of Book One of the romance. In this caveat in which he seems to address the readers directly, the narrator also invokes God himself, again surpassing the boundaries of the text. While proclaiming the truth of his description of Fauvel, he begs pardon in the event that his poetry is displeasing:

Ici vuil fere arrestement,
Mès a tous pri devotement,
Se Fauvel ai trop près taillié,
Se près du madre l'ai baillié,
Se j'en ai parlei nicement,
Ou poi ou superfluent,
En queil maniere que ce soit,
Pour Dieu, que pardonné me soit.
Diex, qui est voir et voie et vie,
Soit que n'ai pas fet par envie
N'en male entente cest traité,
Mès a fin que li affaité
Fauvel fust descript vraiment,
Si a plain et si cleirement
Que flateours soient haïs
Et des or mès en tous païs
Verité soit en estat mise
Et Dieu amé et sainte Yglise
A qui soupli, ains que me tese,
Que cest petit livret li plese,

[Here I would like to stop
but to all I pray devoutly
If I have condemned Fauvel too much
If have protected him too much,
if I have spoken foolishly of him
or little or superfluously,
in whatever manner that may be.
By God, may it be pardoned me.
God, who is the way, the truth, and the life,
knows that I did not compose this treatise out of envy
nor from evil intention,
But so that the well-groomed
Fauvel may be described truly,
so fully and so clearly
that flatterers may be hated
and from now on in every land
the truth may be prized
and the Holy Church and God loved,
of whom I beg, before I fall silent,
that this little book,

⁴²⁷ Brown, "Rex ioians," *Fauvel Studies* 56.

Qui fut complectement edis
En l'an mis e trois cens et dis.
(ll. 1205-1226)

that was completely written
in the year one thousand three hundred and ten,
may please Him.]

This is a pose he strikes; in the event that his narration of Fauvel might offend or be considered morally misleading, the narrator here offers a personal defense. While he insists that the story about Fauvel is all true (and the repetition of vocabulary linked with truth--"vraiment" and "verité" --underscores this), he is also quick to make a humble plea for God's aid in rendering this description simply truthful. In this way, he asks the reader, and God, for pardon if his writing is displeasing, claiming that despite the distasteful subject, it contains a righteous lesson condemning flatterers.

This dedication, while filled with humility and references to God, has, because of its placement in this manuscript, a more temporal aim. Elizabeth A.R. Brown asserts that the accompanying images on folio 10r are the first of the author portraits.⁴²⁸ The line "Que cest petit livret li plese," while ostensibly referring to God, could be a reference to an earthly patron; that the narrator/author includes the date of composition suggests a strong connection with the earthly, as opposed to the heavenly.

This folio and its *mise-en-page* introduce other topical concerns as well. In a prose text that is interpolated immediately following the above passage (lines 1205-1226) at the bottom of column c, the author invokes the the twenty-fifth year of the rule of Philip the Fair, directing praise toward him. Calling Philip *li lyons debonaires*, the narrator seemingly extolls the virtues, especially the honesty, of Philip, even marking him as a heavenly ruler:

Ce li fist la grant honeste

[this is the result of the great honesty

⁴²⁸ Brown includes an image on folio 11r as a third author portrait, but does not state why she sees these images as author portraits. "*Rex ioians*," *Fauvel Studies* 56. I have not found in my research any other discussion of them as such. The images do occur at significant places in the manuscript: the *explicit* of Book One and the *incipit* of Book Two. The author also self-reflectively comments about his portrayal of Fauvel in column c of folio 10r, as I have already discussed (ll. 1205-1226). In addition, since the figure of the cleric in the dedication-like illumination on folio 4r seems to be the same as on folio 10r, I suggest that these images on folio 10r are author portraits.

Qui en li tout ades regna
 Certes ie croi qu'il le regne a
 du roiaume de paradis. (ll. 1226a-d)

that in him always reigned
 Certainly I believe that he gained
 the realm of paradise.]

The narrator praises Philip IV not only for his ancestors, who were laudable leaders, but seemingly for his own personal integrity.⁴²⁹ This interpolation brings the reader immediately outside the frame of the manuscript into the world of the political and economic realities of manuscript composition. Taken in conjunction with the humble dedication above, one might consider this praise of Philip as a part of the art of dedication by the author, the flattery necessary to remain in the good graces of one's patron. The Philip "praised" in this interpolation is not, however, the Philip to whom Chaillou seems to have presented this manuscript. Because these lines describe Philip as reigning from the heavens, we may understand that he is no longer among the living. The flattery of this interpolation is thus aimed at Philip the Fair, whereas, according to Regalado, the manuscript's intended audience was most likely Philip V.⁴³⁰ On the other side of this folio appears a motet, *Se cuers ioians*, which invokes the hope for a successful crusade embarked upon by Philip III.⁴³¹

The praise of Philip the Fair may not be sincere; elsewhere in the manuscript, Philip is much maligned.⁴³² The author of the metrical chronicle that accompanies Fauvel in fr. 146, for instance, condemns Philip for ruining France

⁴²⁹ This praise for Philip the Fair's ancestors comes at the end of the interpolated passage, namely the lines which describe Philip the Fair's father (Philip III) as a crusader and grandfather as a saint (Louis IX):

"Cilz fu Phelippes fuis iadis
 du tres bon roi hardi phelippes
 qui en arragon lessa les pippes
 c'il si fu filz de saint loys
 du tout ci mons dit assoys.

[This was Philip, once the son of
 the very good courageous king Philip {III}
 who left his pipes in Aragon
 he was the son of Saint Louis
 who is said to be seated {higher above} all the world.]

⁴³⁰ Regalado, "Chronique métrique," Fauvel Studies 469.

⁴³¹ "Recitant de lui en motet/ ha sire diex comme il floret/ par mer de cueur et marchait terre/
 Pour le sant sepucure conquerre" (folio 10v) ["Reciting of him in a motet, he has the Lord God as a flower
 {emblem}, with a pure heart he walked the earth, to conquer the Holy Sepulcher"]. See Paris, "Le Roman de Fauvel" 138.

⁴³² Roesner *et al.*, however, see the additions at the end of book 1 as a "gentler view" of Philippe (26, 50).

through his fiscal policies.⁴³³ On several folios of the fr. 146 version of Fauvel the avarice of secular rulers is condemned.⁴³⁴ Even the soubriquet *li lyons debonaires*, while seemingly flattering, is linked by the animal imagery to the motet *Quoniam secta latronum* and its triplum *Tribum que non abhorruit*. This motet, appearing at the end of Book Two, presents the analogous image of a blind lion, subjected to Renart.⁴³⁵ On this very page the proximity of the sobriquet to the verse *Porchier miex estre ameroie* is significant, Brown argues:

The swineherd's sane attitude to earthly wealth, praised lengthily by Dame Fortune, is the precise antithesis of the feelings ascribed in fr. 146 to Philip the Fair and his ministers--and those of Fauvel and his courtiers, led by Luxuria and Avaricia.⁴³⁶

The narrative interpolation offers both an authorial dedication to a patron, and also a scathing commentary on the corruption of the fictional Fauvel and his analogue, King Philip the Fair.

Furthermore, because of their placement, these interpolations on folios 10 and 11 downplay the end of Book One and the beginning of Book Two of Fauvel. The additions separate the end of the narrative from its *explicit*. The narrative of Book One ends two-thirds of the way down column c of folio 10r; it is followed by the narrative interpolation that begins "Regnant li lyons debonaires." The two motets, *Se Cuers ioans/ Rex beatus/ Ave* and *Servant regem/ O Philippe/ Rex regum* which invoke Louis IX, Louis X, and Phillip V appear on folio 10v and continue into column a of folio 11r. The *incipit* of Book

⁴³³ "Diex ses pechiez si li pardoint/ Car po en a qui por li doint/ Si nest de son propre linage/ Car en France vint grant damage/ Au temps que le royaume tenoit" ["May God pardon his sins, for there are few who give on his account, except of his own lineage, Because great harm came to France, in the time that he held the kingdom"], fr. 146, fol. 84v; Diverrès, vv. 6827-31, Cited in Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "Rex ioians, ionnes, iolis: Louis X, Philip V, and the Livres de Fauvel," Fauvel Studies 67, n. 59. See her lengthy analysis of this deceptive praise of Philippe in Fauvel Studies 65-70.

⁴³⁴ See Brown, Fauvel Studies 66, n. 50.

⁴³⁵ Brown considers the fox who eats the cocks (or the French) while the lion-king is blind as the figure of Enguerran de Marigny ("Rex ioians," Fauvel Studies 67-68).

⁴³⁶ "Rex ioians," Fauvel Studies 65-66.

Two, however, appears near the bottom of column a of folio 11r.⁴³⁷ In other words, while the *explicit* of Book One appears on folio 10r, the reader must wait for the *incipit* of Book Two, as it is an entire folio farther on, on folio 11r.⁴³⁸

The explicit juxtaposition of liturgical and vernacular song, and the religious images on this folio thus instill a didacticism which highlights spiritual and religious values of asceticism and humility. As we have already seen, the meanings generated by many of the additions offer pointed denunciations not only of Fauvel but of contemporary monarchs. What is even more striking here, however, is how the author remains above the criticism: his portraits, linked with the spiritual message of Pentecost, depict him in the role of a proselytizing apostle. In the next section, I suggest that the connection between the author and Biblical songs is heightened by means of an interpolated passage which names the authors of Fauvel.

Poverty and authorial naming

Like folio 10r, folio 23v also juxtaposes religious music with vernacular rondeaux (fig. 20). In addition, it contains a pair of explicit passages of authorial self-naming. The religious songs, like those on folio 10r, highlight asceticism, offering an indirect censure of Fauvel and his historical analogues. The vernacular songs, because of their secular status and their ties to the figure of Fauvel, stand in sharp contrast with the sacred songs linked to

⁴³⁷ The *explicit* of Book One is joined with the *incipit* of Book Two: "Si fenist le premier livre de Fauvel et se commence le segont qui parle de la noblesce de son palais. du conseil que il a, et comment il se veut marier a Fortune, et comment Fortune le maria a Vainne Gloire" ["Here ends the first book of Fauvel and begins the second that speaks of the nobility of his palace, of the counsel that he has, and how he wants to marry Fortune, and how Fortune married him to Vain Glory"]. See Långfors 140. Because the two motets, *Se Cuers ioans/ Rex beatus/ Ave* and *Servant regem/ O Philippe/ Rex regum* predominate on folios 10r, 10v and 11r, in a sense the *explicit* of Book One and the *incipit* of Book Two are both musical, rather than literary, in nature. Similarly, Pierre Aubrey analyzes the *explicit* of the romance on folio 45 as a musical *explicit*. Un "Explicit" en musique du *Roman de Fauvel* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1906).

⁴³⁸ As Brown argues, the interpolated motetus beginning "O Philippe" dominates the beginning of Book Two of the romance which follows it at the bottom of column a of 11r. "Rex ioians," *Fauvel Studies* 55. Roesner *et al.* also discuss the placement of these interpolations (26, 50).

Fortune and the authors. The narrative additions, because of their proximity to the sacred songs, offer a portrait of the author as religious and holy.

The *mise-en-page* of this page is as follows:

Column a continues the text of the romance (ll.2813-2864).

Column b continues the romance (ll. 2865-2892), but is interrupted by two Biblical songs and a textual interpolation which names both authors, Gervès de Bus and Chaillou de Pesstain. Column b is organized in the following way:

Lines 2865 through 2878 begin the column, and are interrupted by the sacred song *Nemo potest duobus dominis servire*, which appears in one line. The text of the romance follows (ll.2879-2886), but is again interrupted by a song of religious import: *Beati pauperes spiritu, quoniam ipsorum est regnum celorum*. Immediately following this chant, a short textual interpolation names the authors. At the end of this narrative interpolation, the text of the romance begins again (ll.2887-2892).

Column c begins with a narrative interpolation that introduces the "ballade" *Providence la senee*:

Or pues veoir se c'est grant dame
Fortune que veus prendre a fame
Lors a Fauvel ceste balade
Mise en avant de cuer moult malade.

[Now you can see if she is a great lady,
Fortune whom you want to take to wife.⁴³⁹
Then Fauvel put forth
this ballade, very sick at heart.]

The text of *Providence la senee* is as follows:

Providence la senee
a poinnes m'a encliné
a savoir que destinée
m'a deques ci destiné
Fortune par mon desroy
si m'a enhaï
ne veust que soie mes roy
fate m'a trahi.
vaine gloire m'ont donnée
donc ie voi que sui finée
toute me honneur est finée

[Wise Providence
with pain made me bow down
to know that destiny
has ordained this for me.
Fortune by my disarray
thus hates me,
she does not wish that I ever be king
Fate has betrayed me.
They gave me Vain Glory,
thus I see that I am finished;
all honor is finished for me

⁴³⁹ Danhk attributes the first two lines of the interpolation to Fortune, the second two to the narrator.

si hé l'eure qui fui [né]

and so I hate the hour that I was born.

[without notation] but part of the song:

forment me doi doulouser
de ce qu'envay
tele dame despouser
de a dont chay
trop me vint fole pensee
quant ne ce chemin cheminé.
ieusse fait mellieur iournee
d'avoir mon clos rebiné
C'est merveilles a conter
de ce qu'envayr
l'osay de trop haut monter
doit l'en chair.
cele n'est vers moi iree
de ce le chief enclin et
prest d'endurer tel hachie
com par li yert terminé
Providence etc.

Much must I lament
that I undertook
to marry such a lady;
since now I fall.
Thoughts too foolish came to me
when I took that road;
I would have done better
to have minded my own business.
It is wondrous to tell
what I dared to undertake.
One must fall from
climbing too high.
She is angry with me because of it
from this {my} head bowed and
ready to endure such pain
as by her it will be ended.
Providence, etc.]

This rondeau is followed by yet another narrative interpolation which serves to introduce the rondeau *En chantant me veul complaindre*, of which two lines appear on the bottom of column c on this page:

En soi complaignant de rechief
Chante Fauvel enclin le chief

[Lamenting to himself again,
Fauvel sings, his head bowed]

En chantant me veul complaindre
a vous dame seigneurie,
de ce [fol.24] qu'a merci ataindre
ne puis, Ançois languis ne vif mie
en gres amoureuse ardeur.
Las! quant on ha de moy cure.

[I want to complain in song
to you, lady mastery,
about the fact that I cannot gain mercy
Rather, I languish, no longer alive,
in painful loving ardor.
Alas! when does one care for me?]

Both religious songs highlight asceticism, strongly condemning an excessive interest in worldly goods. The first song interpolated on this page, *Nemo potest duobus dominis servire*, is a new composition that comes directly from Matthew 6: 24.⁴⁴⁰ An

⁴⁴⁰ Rankin, "Catalogue Raisonné," *Fauvel Studies* 427. In his article "Le Contexte du charivari," Huglo notes the rather unusual musical notation of this plainchant, which is normally reserved for polyphonic music (Huglo, *Fauvel studies* 279). See also Rankin's discussion of this pair of chants, "The Divine Truth of Scripture" 215-219.

exact quotation of Christ's words, the full quotation marks the identity of these two masters as God and material goods: "Nemo potest duobus dominis servire, aut enim unum odio habebit et alterum diliget aut unum sustinebit et alterum contemnet non potestis Deo servire et mamonae" ["No one can serve two masters; for one will have hate for the one and love the other, or be devoted to the one and despise the other. You cannot serve God and wealth"].

Similarly, the second interpolated song, *Beati pauperes spiritu*, is also a new composition from Matthew. This song, again an exact quotation of Christ's words, comes from the Sermon on the Mount (Matt 5:3), and reads in full: "Beati pauperes spiritu quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum" ["Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven"].⁴⁴¹ Augustine refers to it as the antithesis of pride and temporal power: "Superbi ergo appetant et diligant regna terrarum: Beati autem pauperes spiritu, quoniam ipsorum est regnum coelorum" ["Let the proud then seek after, and delight in, the kingdoms of the earth, but blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven"].⁴⁴²

With themes of asceticism and poverty, these songs fit perfectly into the thematics of Fauvel. These interpolations come at a point in the romance when Fortune discourses on the mutability of human existence. She asserts that, contrary to what one might believe, it is not good fortune to have material goods, because they cannot convey the two most important riches in life—happiness and health.

Mai je te di pour verité
Que ce n'est pas felicité
De temporel richece avoir,
[.....]
Mès richece ne parfit mie

[But I tell you in truth
that it is not happiness
to have temporal riches
{ }
but riches never availed

⁴⁴¹ Rankin, "Catalogue Raisonné," Fauvel Studies 427-8.

⁴⁴² Augustine, De Sermonibus Domini in monte I.i.3, cited in Singleton's commentary on *Purgatorio*. See Dante Alighieri, The Divine Comedy ed. and trans. Charles S. Singleton, vol. 2, pt. 2 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1973) 266.

Riches en ceste mortel vie,
 Car de legier richece faut,
 Et si ont riches maint deffaut,
 Comme de santé ou de joie
 Que ne leur puet donner monnoie.
 (ll. 2805-7, 2813-18)

the rich in this mortal life
 because riches easily fail
 and the rich lack many things,
 such as health or joy,
 that money cannot give them.]

Fortune continues by calling it a sin to love the world more than God:

Car c'est mauvaise diligence
 De tant amer le monde amer
 Qu'on en laisse Dieu a amer.
 Et nul ne puet bien, ce me semble,
 Amer Dieu et le monde ensemble,
 Car il sont de conditions
 Contraires. (ll. 2874-2880)

[For it is an evil enterprise
 to love the bitter world so much
 That one leave off loving God because of it.
 And no one can truly, it seems to me,
 love God and the world together
 because they are contrary conditions.]

The first interpolated sacred song, *Nemo potest duobus dominus servire*, fits perfectly with the theme of not having two masters. The lines "Et nul ne puet bien, il me semble,/ Amer Dieu et le monde ensemble" (ll. 2877-8) that directly precede the song place the world and God in a contrary and conflictual relationship. The song *Beate pauperes spiritu* continues the theme of placing God before worldly goods; it explicitly lauds the generous rich to whom the romance explicitly alludes:

Nepourquant li horns
 Qui a richece a grant plenté
 Mai n'y a pas le cuer enté
 Ainçois les despent bien et donne
 Selon Dieu et largesce bonne
 Tel povre en esperit rich homme
 L'euvangille a eüres nomme.
 (ll. 2880-2886)

[However the man
 who has riches in great plenty
 but does not have his heart fixed on them,
 but rather spends it well and gives
 according to God and good generosity,
 such a poor man, rich in spirit
 scripture names as happy.]

While the narrator has claimed earlier in this passage that loving money more than God brings nothing, here he focuses precisely on that group that could most likely be accused of taking too much pleasure in money--the rich. Calling on the rich to give generously, the narrator offers them a way into sanctity: provided that they are generous, they may become a part of the "beate pauperes spiritu" and so blessed despite their riches. The openness of their hearts--and wallets--defuses any accusation of greed. In this description of the rich as

blessedly poor in spirit (referring implicitly to the Latin hymn), Fortune seems to praise the generous rich, and fr. 146 blesses them further with this sacred song.

These passages and songs concerning spiritual versus material wealth guide the reader beyond the frames of the manuscript. Brownlee sees these two sacred songs not only as reinforcements to Fortune's speech, but also as extratextual commentaries:

These musical intercalations thus serve to re-enforce the scriptural authority of Fortune's discourse at the moment in her speech when she sounds most like a Christianized version of the Boethian Lady Philosophy. At the same time, they dramatically (and literally) provide the dimension of song that had been missing in Jean de Meun's lady Reason (Fortune's other key literary model). Finally, they seem to emanate from the author-figure, rather from the character Fortune.⁴⁴³

Brownlee indicates here the extent to which Chaillou self-consciously modelled his additions to Gervès' romance on Jean de Meun's rewriting of Guillaume de Lorris. In addition, as Brownlee suggests, this Biblical allusion to the wealthy who give away their wealth, while not naming a particular patron, seems to come more from the author than the character Fortune. It comes as no surprise that in Chaillou's version, he names not only Gervès but also himself immediately following the musical interpolation.

<g> clerck le Roy françois deRues,
aus paroles qu'il a conceues
En ce livret qu'il a trouvé
Ha bien et clèrement prové
Son vif engin, son mouvement;
Car il parle trop proprement:
Ou livret ne querez ia men-
Çonge. diex le gart! amen.
[in prose:]
<C>i s'ensivent les addicions que
mesire Chaillou de Pesstain ha mises
en ce livre, outre les choses dessus
dites qui sont en chant.⁴⁴⁴

[G deRues, clerk of the French king
with the words that he conceived
in this little book that he composed
has well and clearly proven
his lively mind, his motivations;
because he speaks very properly:
Never seek lies in the little book.
May God protect him! Amen.

Here follow the additions that
Monsieur Chaillou de Pesstain has put
in this book, in addition to the things
said above that are in song.]

⁴⁴³ "Authorial Self-Representation," *Fauvel Studies* 79.

⁴⁴⁴ See Långfors 137. I have followed the transcription proposed by Kevin Brownlee ("Authorial Self-Representation in *Fauvel*" 74-75).

While Gervès is named in verse, Chaillou's name appears in prose. The prose interrupts the verse of the text; it signals the spontaneity of this interpolation, and also makes an important link between Gervès and the romance. In this way, Gervès as author has become a textual figure of Chaillou's text. Because this act of naming occurs in conjunction with a Biblical verse that calls on the rich to give generously, it creates a connection between patron and author. That is, while the Biblical verse reminds the reader and patron of the heavenly rewards of giving generously, the instances of authorial naming indicate to the patron the person to whom he is invited to give generously: the author who created this version of *Fauvel* in fr. 146. Chaillou realized that the two would be connected in the mind of the reader; read in this light, Chaillou appears to be making a plea for monetary remuneration. The textual passage and musical interpolations act as a reminder of the duty of patrons to artists and writers, and thereby recall for the reader the physical production of the manuscript.

Whereas the Latin songs in column b come from the Bible, the ultimate source of sanctity, the songs in column c are much more rooted in the secular world. Both songs are in the vernacular French, and because of the central theme of love, are linked with the tradition of courtly lyric. Although it is described in the text as a ballade, *Providence la senee* is, according to Butterfield, more properly described as a virelai.⁴⁴⁵

Providence la senee stands out in part because it is the first song inserted after the rubrics naming Gervès and Chaillou as the authors of this new compiled *roman*.⁴⁴⁶ In addition, it is, like *Porchier miex estre ameroie*, an instance of the new melodic language of monophony, which is directly linked to Fauvel.⁴⁴⁷ Sung by Fauvel, this love complaint

⁴⁴⁵ Butterfield, "Refrain and Transformation," *Fauvel Studies* 128. As a musical piece, *Providence la senee* reveals several developments of the music of the *ars nova*. For instance, Page sees the textual misidentification of the song as a ballade as an indication that the ballade and virelai forms were intertwined in second half of the thirteenth century ("Tradition and Innovation," *Fauvel Studies* 372).

⁴⁴⁶ Butterfield, "Refrain and Transformation," *Fauvel Studies* 140.

⁴⁴⁷ Arlt, "Jehannot de Lescurel," *Fauvel Studies* 29.

protests Fortune's refusal of marriage, and offers the reader a summary of Fauvel's courtship and his eventual marriage to Vaine Gloire.⁴⁴⁸

The second interpolated vernacular song on this page comes at the very bottom of column c; however, we read only the first two lines of this song: "En chantant me veul complaindre/ a vous dame seigneurie, de ce...." This ballade is an anomaly in the manuscript because of its short length: only a single stanza.⁴⁴⁹ Because much of its vocabulary and tone draw directly on the courtly lyric, *En chantant me veul complaindre*, attributed to Fauvel, introduces the idea of Fauvel as a courtly lover.⁴⁵⁰ This ballade is unusual, Butterfield argues, as are the images that accompany it on the facing-page folio 24r:

Both picture and initial are unusual: this courtship episode is the only section of the manuscript in which musical interpolations are illustrated, and this size and type of initial occurs elsewhere only to mark the book divisions and the lai on fos. 28 bis and ter.⁴⁵¹

Because the images show Fauvel as a half-human half-horse, Fauvel appears a parody of the courtly lover (fig. 21). Similarly, the *mise-en-page*, which splits the song over two pages, visually interrupts Fauvel's song, and by extension his pose as courtly lover.

Unlike the Biblical songs, which, spoken by Fortune, provide the sacred *auctoritas* of her vernacular words, the French songs in column c are linked to Fauvel and the secular world.⁴⁵² While the Biblical songs are tied to the passage of double authorial

⁴⁴⁸ See Brownlee's discussion in "Authorial Self-Representation," *Fauvel Studies* 79.

⁴⁴⁹ Butterfield, "Refrain and Transformation," *Fauvel Studies* 128. Like *Providence la senee*, this song indicates a intertwining of musical forms current during this time period; moreover, it reveals the development of a new form, the ballade, from an older musical source, the *grand chant courtois* of the trouvères. Page notes that this song, like others such as *Douce dame debonaire* and *Ay, amours tant me dure*, adds a refrain to the AB AB structure of trouvère chansons to become a ballade ("Tradition and Innovation," *Fauvel Studies* 370-371).

⁴⁵⁰ Brownlee, "Authorial Self-Representation," *Fauvel Studies* 79. Page sees however no direct allusion either to Fauvel or the narrative of the romance in *En chantant me veul complaindre* ("Tradition and Innovation in BN fr. 146: The Background to the Ballades," *Fauvel Studies* 390).

⁴⁵¹ Butterfield, "Refrain and Transformation," *Fauvel Studies* 128.

⁴⁵² Brownlee, "Authorial Self-Representation," *Fauvel Studies* 79.

naming because of their columnar proximity, the songs in column c function less as a part of Gervès' romance and more as an introduction to Chaillou's first lengthy addition, Fauvel's long speech and musical interpolations. This addition is quite long: the reader, who reads line 2892 of Gervès' text at the end of column b of folio 23v, must wait for folio 28 to read line 2893. As Roesner and Brownlee among others have noted, this addition acts as a site of multi-voiced discourse. Chaillou's long additions--both musical and narrative--as a result transform Fauvel's long monologue in Gervès' version into a dramatic dialogue in Chaillou's.⁴⁵³ Consequently, these ballades highlight Chaillou's transformation of Gervès' text, following once again the model of Jean de Meun's continuation of *Lorris*' text.⁴⁵⁴

The rubrics, as instances of authorial naming, accentuate Chaillou as the author of fr. 146's version of *Fauvel*. The contrast of the sacred and the profane on this folio, as on folio 10r, further associates the author with such laudable spiritual values as poverty; moreover, because the Biblical songs precede the rubrics, they function as an angelic musical opening to the announcements of authorship. The authors, especially Chaillou, are figured as devout and holy. Once again, by reading the sacred and the profane as morally ranked, the message of spiritual values (humility, poverty, etc.) is associated specifically with the author. I examine in the next section an image, occurring at the beginning of *Fauvel*, which suggests a relationship of the author with the Church.

The Author and a Holy Patroness

One illustration that appears early in the manuscript may because of its iconography present an author portrait with a religious scene. On folio 4r, a seated crowned queen points and gestures at a tonsured cleric, who, also seated, holds his hand up, palm out, in

⁴⁵³ Roesner *et al.* 7; Brownlee, "Authorial Self-Representation," *Fauvel Studies* 79.

⁴⁵⁴ Brownlee, "Authorial Self-Representation," *Fauvel Studies* 78-80.

response (fig. 22). Elizabeth A. R. Brown identifies this woman as representing the Church.⁴⁵⁵ Lines above the image describe the Church as a queen: "La dame des rois et des princes,/ Princesse de toutes provinces,/ Giest au jour d'huy sous le treü" (ll. 391-93) ["The lady of kings and princes, Princess of all provinces, lies today under the royal throne"⁴⁵⁶].

Although scholars have not identified this cleric as the author, the iconography of the scene evokes scenes of a writer and his patron seen in other dedication images.⁴⁵⁷ In addition, the lines that immediately surround the illustration come directly from the author: the lines "Or te veil monstrier la maniere/ Com'i met ce devant deriere" (ll. 401-2) ["Now I want to show you how he puts what is before, behind"] comes directly above the image, while the line: "Or entent, tu qui Fauvel torches" (l. 403) ["Now listen, you who curry Fauvel"], appears below the image. In all three lines, the author/narrator takes the first person status, directly addressing the reader. Speaking thus to the reader ("*te veil monstrier*" [I want to show you] and "*entent, tu*" [listen, you]), the author engages him through the manuscript; moreover, considering that his intended audience is regal, his tone

⁴⁵⁵ Brown argues that the moon that appears over the cleric symbolizes an eclipse, which by extension reveals the eclipse of ecclesiastical power by Fauvel and his bestial rule. Certainly the line of the narrative that describes the Church as lying under the throne ("La dame des rois et des princes [...] Giest au jour d'huy sous le treü" [391-93] ["The lady of kings and of princes [...] lies today under the throne"]) indicates the monarchy's domination of the Church. Brown also sees this image as an attack on the contemporary Church and the Templars; in addition, she also links the theme of the eclipse to the double eclipse of 1314 that was thought to have foreshadowed the deaths of Pope Clement V and Philip the Fair. "Représentations de la royauté dans les *Livres de Fauvel*," in *Représentation, Pouvoir, et Royauté à la fin du Moyen Âge* ed. Joël Blanchard (Paris: Picard, 1995) 220-221. In addition, on the verso side of this folio (folio 4v) appears an image of a seated Christ holding a large key and pointing at a genuflecting St. Peter. This proximity of this image of the creation of the Church (folio 4v) with that of the woman and cleric (folio 4r) may further suggest that the woman represents the Church.

⁴⁵⁶ "Treü" can mean any kind of seignorial power; I have chosen "royal throne" in order to symbolize this temporal power.

⁴⁵⁷ One folio of the Latin Bible *Moralisée* produced for Blanche of Castile (New York, Morgan Library MS 240, folio 8r) shows a similar scene of patrons with an author and an artist. A full-page image divided into four sections show, on the top left, Blanche with her left hand raised; on the top right, St. Louis holding a scepter; on the left bottom, a scribe before an open book, who points at an illuminator working with stylus and knife on the right bottom. Because the Vienna manuscript derives from the same milieu as well as the same general period, I find it informative for my interpretation of this image on folio 4r of *Fauvel* 146.

is decidedly familiar. These authorially self-referential lines allow the image to be doubly symbolic, so that the queen simultaneously represents the Church and a patroness. If we consider the woman as representing the Church, the pairing of her with the cleric/author may indicate a kind of spiritual directive for the author's text. Viewed as a scene of author and patroness, the image and the accompanying interpolated lines highlight Chaillou's role in creating this version of the romance, and his keen awareness of a reading audience. Since this portrait appears early on, within Gervès' text, it marks Chaillou's authorial presence and how he reworks Gervès' romance.

The devout Author, praying to the divinities

Unlike the preceding pair which contextually indicate the author, other images contain explicit author portraits. These images are sacred: they draw on, and adhere to, standard religious and devotional iconography. Accompanying a conventional ending prayer in which the narrator prays for divine deliverance from Fauvel, these images appear at the end of the romance.

The first, an image of the author kneeling before the Virgin and Child, appears on folio 42v (fig. 23). This scene recalls the tradition of devotional and intercessory scenes;⁴⁵⁸ underneath a double arch the tonsured author kneels, praying, before the seated Virgin who holds a dove, perhaps a symbol of the Holy Spirit, in her right hand, and the Christ child in her left. While holding a sphere in his left hand, Christ gestures toward the author with his right hand, and leans toward him, suggesting a positive reception of his prayer.

This image of the author before the Virgin and Child is placed carefully in relation to the narrative of the romance and the music accompanying it. While much of the text

⁴⁵⁸ See Kauffmann, "Satire, Pictorial Genre," *Fauvel Studies* 285-286.

above the image directly addresses Lady Fortune,⁴⁵⁹ the text below the image speaks of the glories of the Virgin as queen:

Hee, dame du ciel esmeree,
De sains et de saintes honoree
Dedens la court celestial.
(App. ll. 1650-55)

[Oh, pure lady of heaven
honored by male and female saints
in the celestial court.]

The text portrays the Virgin as the Queen of Heaven: courtly terms, such as "la royne a qui le ciel est tout encline", "dame du ciel" and "la court celestial", highlight her royalty in this the celestial court. The artist represents the Virgin as both queen and mother: she is crowned, and holds the Christ child. The artist has chosen to emphasize her importance as the mother of the savior; the narrative accentuates this relationship by mentioning Christ repeatedly:

Car depri en especial
Ton douz filz saveur
Que il Fauvel du tout confonde
et nous toille lui et s'estrille
Et sa suite, qui est tant vile.
(App. ll. 1656-60)⁴⁶⁰

[Do pray especially
to your sweet son the savior
That he destroy Fauvel completely
and take him from us and deliver us from him
and his retinue, that is so despicable.]

The narrator invokes the figure of the Virgin as mediatrix; his appeal is for Christ to save humanity from Fauvel. The illustration not only follows the narrative, but also refers to the

⁴⁵⁹ While the narrator begins by addressing Fortune at the bottom of column a, two lines above the image he shifts his comments so as to describe the Virgin:

Fortune comment sueffre tu
Que ce larron soit revestu
de tel bien et de tel noblesce
Et que doit que ton cuer ne blesce
Ce qu'il osa passer ton sueil
Par son envenimé conseil
Pour ton cors demander a fame,
Qui es la souveraine dame
De tout le mont après la royne
A qui le ciel est tout encline.

[Fortune, how can you allow
this thief to be invested
with such goods and such nobility?
And should it not pain your heart
that he dared to cross your threshold,
by his poisoned counsel,
to ask for your body to wife,
{You} who are the sovereign lady
of the whole world after the queen {i.e., Virgin}
to whom all of heaven bows down?]

The image immediately follows this line.

⁴⁶⁰ Although interrupted by the motet *Celi domina/ Maria virgo virginum/ Porchier mieuz estre-*, these lines lead directly into a description of the Trinity (ll. 1661-1692int.) on folio 43r. (The lines "En ce faisant ne soiez feble:/ Je le te pri par mi ce treble" ["In doing so do not be feeble, I pray you in this treble"] introduce the motet *Celi domina/ Maria virgo virginum/ Porchier mieuz estre.*)

upper voices of the motet that accompanies it--*Celi domina/ Maria virgo virginum/ Porchier mieuz estre*-- both of which highlight her as the virginal mother of God.

The second sacred image on the facing page folio (43r) presents the Trinity instead of the Virgin (fig. 24). The artist depicts the author here in a pose identical to that of folio 42v: tonsured, kneeling, with hands joined in prayer. This "Gnadenstuhl" or "Mercy Seat" Trinity depicts the largest seated figure in the background, God, looking regal and Byzantine, holding a smaller Christ on the Crucifix while a dove, the symbol of the Holy Spirit, flies from God's beard to Christ's head.⁴⁶¹

This image of the author's final prayer for deliverance again is placed strategically, since the narrative the follows refers to the Trinity:

Sire diex, pere esperitable
Tout puissant, sage, veritable,
Qui mainz en sainte trinité
En un mesme deïté.
(App. ll. 1661-4)

[Lord God, spiritual father
all-powerful, wise, true,
who resides in the Holy Trinity
in one single deity.]

This image also invokes the reference to the trinity contained in the motet on the page, *Firmissime fidem/Adesto, sancta trinitas/Alleluya*.⁴⁶² Further, the song, Omnipotens domine, just to the left of the image may be a reference to this Trinity image. Both this scene and that of the author before the Virgin and child, as Kauffmann notes, belong to the sort of religious imagery current in the Parisian courtly milieu.⁴⁶³

These two images of the author praying before a religious figure recall the tradition of self-representation by artists and scribes that flourished especially in the twelfth century. A later famous example of this is the image of Richart and Jeanne de Montbaston, the illuminators of the Roman de la Rose found in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France f.

⁴⁶¹ See Kauffmann, "Satire, Pictorial Genre," Fauvel Studies 285.

⁴⁶² Because of design considerations, this motet is the only one in which one must turn the page to read the entire song. See Roesner *et al.* 29. Anne Walters Robertson examines the heavy trinitarian orientation of this motet in "Which Vitry? The Witness of the Trinity Motet from the Roman de Fauvel" in Hearing the Motet 53-57.

⁴⁶³ Kauffmann, "Satire, Pictorial Genre," Fauvel Studies 285, 287.

fr. MS 25526, folio 77v (fig. 25). This image of Richart and Jeanne appears in the bas-de-page, and Michael Camille argues that the lowly status of the artist relative to his production is a "matter of religious humility, one that always pointed beyond himself."⁴⁶⁴ In fr. 146 the author kneels before both sacred scenes, demonstrating his desire for intercession. The author is not, however, on the margins as are Richart and Jeanne de Montbaston, but is an integral part of each scene. His relatively large size recalls images of royal patrons kneeling before the Virgin, such as the image of Jeanne II of Navarre before the Virgin and Child in her Book of Hours (fig. 26).⁴⁶⁵ In the image in which the author prays before the Virgin, he is included as a central focus, since he receives the gaze of both the Virgin and the Christ child. Both images accentuate the status of the author and establish a strong link between the author and the sacred.

In conclusion, the sacred (biblical, religious) and the profane (secular, vernacular) in Fauvel fr. 146 highlight varying levels of interpretation and a polyphony of possible meanings, precisely because these two poles—or complex aspects thereof—are contrasted. Our understanding of their interactions depends on the sacred and profane as fundamentally ranked. The spiritual values expressed by the religious interpolations interact with the secular text of Fauvel and the secular interpolations; their moral messages have particular significance for figures close to the manuscript itself. As an *admonitio* to Philip V, the version of Fauvel in fr. 146 offers a didactic message of sinful ("fauvelized") behavior to avoid, and the virtues to practice, which, perhaps not coincidentally, are also ascribed to the author. On every folio that I have examined here, the sacred and profane, like the various instances of medieval media, collide with each other, interrupting the reading of the narrative and compelling the reader to search for meaning beyond the narrative of the

⁴⁶⁴ Camille, Image on the Edge 149.

⁴⁶⁵ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, nouv. acq. lat. 3145, fol. 121v; this image appears in Kauffmann, "Satire, Pictorial Genre," Fauvel Studies 286.

romance. The interpolations are dramatic, adding a strong element of performance to a manuscript intended to be a presentation copy. This manuscript's version of Fauvel indicates, and associates, both the extratextual act of poetic composition and the fictionalized, didactic world of the romance.⁴⁶⁶ The sacred and profane as a result play an integral role in directing the reader to interpret in two directions simultaneously: both within the manuscript, in the allegorical world of Fauvel, and without, in the world of the author, patron, and circumstances (of composition, of the historical context) of the manuscript.

In Dante's Commedia, which I examine in the final chapter, the way the sacred and the profane function resembles in many ways that of Fauvel fr. 146: as keys to meaning, they accentuate reading as an interpretative game, and they also aim to highlight, even bless, the figure of the author. In the Commedia, however, the sacred and profane are subtly evoked and contrasted; the two are so intertwined so as to be virtually inseparable. In this, Dante's use of the sacred and the profane recalls Gautier's songs examined earlier. However, since the universe and geography of the Commedia are so heavily religious, the instances in which the reader finds a recognizable pairing of the sacred and profane occur when the poet self-consciously, and profanely, refers to the sacred poetics of his song.

⁴⁶⁶ Sylvia Huot distinguishes single-author compilations from romance compilations based on the degree of extratextuality. From Song to Book 211-213.

CHAPTER V

THE COLLISION OF SACRED AND PROFANE SONG

IN DANTE'S COMMEDIA

The various ways that lyric can serve as an index of the sacred and profane, as I have already explored in the works by Gautier, Matfre, and Chaillou offer precedents for understanding Dante's complex juxtaposition of the sacred and profane through the vehicle of song. Dante's use of song is not a case of interpolated lyric, as we saw in Fauvel 146, nor a set of lyrics within a treatise marked as perilous as in Breviari, nor a series of religious lyrics that employ a doubled spiritual and courtly lexicon as in the Miracles de Nostre Dame. Instead, the Commedia is a poetic creation, written in the vernacular, and includes historical personages; it is also, moreover, religious, in that it contains explicitly religious hymns and characters (such as saints and the Virgin) and details of the afterlife.⁴⁶⁷ The collision of the sacred and profane is perhaps the primary nexus of the Commedia. This poetics of the intertwining of sacred and profane is apparent throughout the poem; it resonates not only in specific cantos but also in the underlying structure. In fact, it governs the central premise of the work: that this work is simultaneously by a human author and yet a representation of God's art.

Before turning to the central premise of this chapter, the juxtaposition of sacred and secular song, a brief exploration of other manifestations of the sacred and profane in the Commedia is in order, since Dante places these two terms in contradistinction throughout the poem in various forms. Dante juxtaposes the sacred and the profane temporally, for

⁴⁶⁷ Dante Alighieri, La Commedia secondo l'antica vulgata ed. Giorgio Petrocchi (Milan: Mondadori, 1966-67). English translations are from Dante Alighieri, The Divine Comedy ed. and trans. Charles S. Singleton, 6 vols. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1973).

instance, by showing the after-life results of human actions on earth. In this sense, Dante presumes his ability as poet to judge human behavior in terms of the eternal. Dante's divine judgment in the *Commedia* differs from any earlier understanding of morality; his ranking of sin, for example, overturns many of the traditional models of sin according to the Ten Commandments. This reworking of the hierarchy of sin is most apparent in the structure of Hell: traitors, for instance, appear much closer to Lucifer (*Inf.* XXXI-XXXIII) than those who committed acts of violence (*Inf.* XII-XIV). In short, Dante projects human actions in this world into an eternal future.

Conversely, the series of images that recall life on earth which appear in the afterlife also juxtapose the sacred and profane. The lyrical, bucolic peasant images which appear in *Inferno*, for instance, create a stark contrast to the horrifying and freakish environment of Hell.⁴⁶⁸ Similarly, the evocations of clocks in paradise add a marker of time to the eternal, timeless heavens.⁴⁶⁹ Dante also often evokes the human body in this afterlife. In *Purgatorio*, for instance, the poem refers again and again to the pilgrim's earthly body in contrast to the bodiless souls there.⁴⁷⁰ In *Paradiso*, on the other hand, the souls in heaven await the Last Judgment, when they will regain their purified bodies of flesh, in order to be more complete, and hence perfect, and to enjoy the experience of blessedness physically as well as spiritually.⁴⁷¹ In other words, aspects of life on earth appear often within these sanctified realms of the afterlife.

Another instance of the opposition of sacred and profane occurs when Dante contrasts Christian spirituality with the earthly institutions that ostensibly support it. Although religious figures, many of them contemporaries of the poet, appear in

⁴⁶⁸ *Inferno* XXIV, 1-15; XXVI, 25-32; XXXII, 25-36.

⁴⁶⁹ *Paradiso* X, 139; XXIV, 13.

⁴⁷⁰ *Purgatorio* III, 19-21, 88-96; V, 4-6 and 25-30; VIII, 58-60; XIII, 130-132; and XIV, 1-3 and 10-15, among others.

⁴⁷¹ *Paradiso* XIV, 37-66.

paradise,⁴⁷² Dante condemns several of the most visible members of the Church. The appearance of popes Nicholas III, Boniface VIII,⁴⁷³ and Clement V among the simonists in the third bolgia (*Inferno* XIX), and the Jovial Friars (the *Ordo Militae Beatae Mariae*) figure among the hypocrites in the sixth bolgia (*Inferno* XXIII) of the eighth circle of Hell, confirms the poet's sharp condemnation of those earthly institutions and figures which are most meant to represent the sacred on earth, but which are, according to the poet, quite criminal.

Conversely, Dante also sketches out a sacred dimension to earthly political leadership. The first example of this is Ulysses, who leads his men in a foolish attempt to surpass the boundaries ordained by God for humanity (*Inferno* XXVI), recalling the fraudulent counsel that caused him to be consigned to Hell. In *Purgatorio* VII and VIII, Sordello presents leaders such as the Emperor Rudolf I, King Phillip III of France, King Henry I of Navarre, King Charles I of Naples and Sicily, and the Ghibelline Corrado II. Although these rulers were generally good leaders, and seem to have committed no serious crimes, they seem (at least in Dante's eyes) to have diminished through their laws and decisions the chance for their people to gain salvation. While they were decent rulers, they merited not paradise, but only purgatory; their salvation is not immediate. Also in *Purgatorio*, Marco Lombardo laments Italy's lack of imperial guidance, and the pope's excessive temporal power.⁴⁷⁴ In *Paradiso* VI, the emperor of Constantinople, Justinian I, discusses the history of the Roman imperial eagle, ultimately condemning both the Ghibellines (for appropriating the imperial ensign for their own purposes) and the Guelphs

⁴⁷² Among these religious figures are many medieval saints: St. Thomas Aquinas, who praises St. Francis in *Paradiso* XI and who appears again in *Paradiso* XIII; St. Bonaventure, who praises St. Dominic in *Paradiso* XII; St. Peter Damian in *Paradiso* XXI; St. Benedict in *Paradiso* XXII; and St. Bernard of Clairvaux in *Paradiso* XXXI.

⁴⁷³ St. Peter condemns Boniface and his successors in *Par.* XXVII, 1-66.

⁴⁷⁴ *Purgatorio* XVI, 97-105, 106-114.

(for supporting papal dominion in temporal affairs).⁴⁷⁵ Although Dante is equivocal on the issue of personal responsibility versus failures of public leadership, he comes back to it often enough to create a link between the actions of leaders and their resulting place in the afterlife.

Yet another mark of the contrast of the sacred and profane is apparent in Dante's treatment of pagans. Dante, following in the tradition of the Harrowing of Hell, subsumes pagan antiquity into Christianity by placing several pre-Christian figures into this Christian afterlife. For example, Dante places several Classical poets, including Virgil, Homer, Horace, Ovid, and Lucan in the limbo of those who committed no crime but who were not baptized.⁴⁷⁶ Other pagans reside in limbo, including personages of literary and historical importance, such as Hector, Aeneas, Camilla, and Saladin, and renowned philosophers including Socrates, Plato, Seneca, and Ptolemy.⁴⁷⁷ Although the Christian doctrine of the Harrowing of Hell suggests that pagans, because of their misfortune of being born before Christ, must be consigned to hell to await the Harrowing, Dante places several key pagan figures not in hell, but in the other parts of the afterlife, in purgatory and paradise. In *Paradiso*, St. Bernard describes those Old Testament figures who believed in Christ although he had not yet come, including Hebrew women such as Rachel, Sarah, Rebecca, Judith, and Ruth seated among the blessed in the celestial rose.⁴⁷⁸ Dante's treatment of certain pagans, however, offers an alternative to the duality of sacred and profane. For example, although Cato was a pagan, and a suicide at that, he appears not in limbo, nor in

⁴⁷⁵ *Paradiso* VI, 100-108.

⁴⁷⁶ *Inferno* IV, 85-90. Virgil's place is here in limbo as well, but he has been accorded the honor of guiding the pilgrim through *Inferno* and *Purgatorio* to Beatrice. See *Inferno* II, 58-74; IV, 80-81.

⁴⁷⁷ *Inf.* IV, 121-144. Jacomuzzi terms this invocation of poets, heroes, and personages of the pagan world an allegorical process within the tradition of the *accessus ad auctores*. Angelo Jacomuzzi, *L'immagine al cerchio: Invenzione e visione nella Divina Commedia* (Milan: Silva, 1968) 77-78.

⁴⁷⁸ *Paradiso* XXXII, 7-24. Describing Christ's Harrowing of Hell, Virgil also names other pre-Christians who were saved by Christ: Adam, Abel, Noah, Moses, Abraham, David, and Israel, among others (*Inferno* IV, 55-63).

the wood of the suicides, as one might expect, but, because of his celebrated morality, as the guardian of purgatory.⁴⁷⁹ Statius, another pre-Christian, also resides in the earthly paradise of *Purgatorio*.⁴⁸⁰ He explains to the pilgrim that he had been baptized, and secretly, a practicing Christian.⁴⁸¹ These figures seem to be outside the continuum of a strict, Christian reading of the sacred and profane; they suggest a third category, a way of navigating between the two poles. This notion of navigating between the sacred and profane is crucial for this study, since I argue that the poet himself creates in the Commedia a song that similarly moves between this binary.

Thus the intersection of the sacred and profane is clearly a primary concern of the poet, and can be seen throughout the whole of the Commedia. Before turning to the central thesis of this chapter, I will briefly examine the way in which critics have responded to Dante's complex use of the sacred and profane. Perhaps because Dante deliberately and consciously juxtaposes the sacred and the profane in the Commedia, critics and scholars have long wondered how to understand the work. Is the Commedia meant to be read as a sacred text, one that transports the reader to an intimate meeting with the divine? Is the poem a work of poetic creation which makes use of a spiritual backdrop but whose primary focus is on the contemporary socio-political situation? Or rather, is the Commedia both a work of divine revelation and poetic creation?

Medieval scholars wrote commentaries on the Commedia within twenty years of Dante's death, serving to extend canonical status to a contemporary work, and moreover, establishing the Commedia as a text that required extensive explication.⁴⁸² Many

⁴⁷⁹ *Purgatorio* I, 31, and 76-78.

⁴⁸⁰ Statius first appears in *Purgatorio* XXII, 10.

⁴⁸¹ *Purgatorio* XXII, 88-93.

⁴⁸² Deborah Parker, Commentary and Ideology: Dante in the Renaissance (Durham and London: Duke UP, 1993) 29-30. See also Benedetto Croce, *La Poesia di Dante* (Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli, 1948) 5; and Aldo Vallone, *Storia letteraria d'Italia, IV/1, Storia della critica dantesca dal XIV al XX secolo* vol. I (Milan, Padua: F. Vallardi, 1981) 93. See also, by the same author, Antidantismo politico e dantismo letterario (Roma: Bonacci, 1988).

contemporary critics were vocal in their denunciation of Dante's doctrinal views, and this condemnation extended to his Commedia. Because in De Monarchia Dante denounces the interference of ecclesiastical figures in temporal rule, asserts Parker, the Commedia was by extension condemned by certain members of the clergy.⁴⁸³

In the fourteenth century commentators such as Graziolo Bamaglioli and the Ottimo commentator defend the orthodoxy of Dante's views, or choose to read the Commedia as an allegory, seeing its historical characters as figures of vices and virtues, as do Jacopo Alighieri, Jacopo della Lana, and Guido da Pisa, for instance.⁴⁸⁴ Commentators in the fifteenth century, however, are less concerned with defending the Commedia as dogmatically as had been done in the previous century.⁴⁸⁵ Commentators such as Girolamo Benivieni, Trifone Gabriele, and Thiepolo tend to view the Commedia in relation to the sciences and the classical world.⁴⁸⁶ Other fifteenth-century commentators such as Leonardo Salviati and Bernadetto Buonromei insist that the Commedia is a mixture of sacred and profane.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸³ Parker, Commentary and Ideology 31. De Monarchia was condemned by the Church in 1328 or 1329, and remained so until 1881. The Commedia was put on the Index of censored books in 1614, with the injunction that three passages needed to be expurgated. Dante: The Critical Heritage 1314 (?)–1870 ed. Michael Caesar (London and New York: Routledge, 1989) 3, 31, 36.

⁴⁸⁴ Parker, Commentary and Ideology 31–33.

⁴⁸⁵ Jacopo Mazzoni, however, defends Dante from the accusation that placing historical figures into a "poema sacro" damages the dignity of the poem. Because Mazzoni sees the Commedia as a narrative and dramatic poem, according to Vallone, there is nothing improper about its inclusion of historical figures. Cited in Aldo Vallone, L'Interpretazione di Dante nel Cinquecento: Studi e Ricerche 2nd ed., (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1969) 195.

⁴⁸⁶ For Girolamo Benivieni, according to Vallone, the Commedia is both poetry and science (in Vallone, Interpretazione 67). For Trifone Gabriele, the "ben de l'intelletto" (*Inf.* III, 18) is none other than the "conoscimento di Dio" (in Vallone, Interpretazione 99). Thiepolo seems to read Dante as both neo-platonic and Aristotelian, and yet sees the Commedia as inspired by God (in Vallone, Interpretazione 110–112).

⁴⁸⁷ Salviati saw in the Commedia a mix of human and divine, terrestrial and historical (Vallone, Interpretazione 199). Similarly, Buonromei views Dante as a "poeta filosofo non meno che teologo" ["a poet no less philosophical than theological"]. (Vallone, Interpretazione 203). Although V. Borghini names Dante as a poet ("Poeta grande" 224), he nevertheless defends the Catholic orthodoxy of Dante's views, especially in terms of the conception of sin (Vallone, Interpretazione 225).

The question of whether the Commedia is a sacred text, with a theologian as author; a fictive creation, with a poet as author; or a mixture of the two, haunts the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Without repeating Teodolinda Barolini's work,⁴⁸⁸ I will briefly review some of the positions that modern and postmodern scholars have taken in regards to the Commedia.

Certain scholars see the Commedia as a purely sacred text. Bruno Nardi, for instance, views Dante as a prophet, and the Commedia as a "poema sacro."⁴⁸⁹ For Nardi, Dante is a prophet because he was able raise his vision above the quotidian, adding an eternal ideal of justice as a criterion to judge men and their actions.⁴⁹⁰ Giorgio Padoan also prefers to see the Commedia as a "poema sacro," as the title of his book indicates; he concedes that Dante is simultaneously a prophet and a poet.⁴⁹¹ Like Padoan, other modern scholars such as Singleton and Hollander accept the dual sacred/profane nature of Dante's

⁴⁸⁸ In her introductory chapter to The Undivine Comedy, Teodolinda Barolini outlines the positions of various critics and scholars in the twentieth century. The Undivine Comedy: Detheologizing Dante (Princeton, Princeton UP, 1992) 3-20.

⁴⁸⁹ Nardi sees the Commedia as a sacred poem: "Poesia, e poesia altissima, è certamente il poema dantesco, come permeati di poesia sono i libri profetici della Bibbia; ma il motivo centrale che anima siffatta poesia è un motivo morale e religioso, sì che chi considera la visione dantesca e il rapimento del poeta al cielo come finzioni letterari, travisa il senso di quelle che per Dante è, prima di tutto, 'poema sacro', perchè inteso a narrare la meravigliosa rivelazione concessa allo spirito del poeta da Dio" (392) ["Poetry, and the highest poetry, the Dantean poem certainly is, as the prophetic books of the Bible are permeated with poetry; but the central motive that animates such poetry is a moral and religious one, so that anyone who considers the Dantean vision and the delight of the poet in heaven as a literary fiction, distorts the meaning of what for Dante is, above all, a 'sacred poem', because it is intended to narrate the wondrous revelation granted to the spirit of the poet of God"]. Bruno Nardi, Dante e la cultura medievale (Bari: Laterza, 1949).

⁴⁹⁰ Nardi, Dante e la cultura medievale 415.

⁴⁹¹ Padoan's analysis focuses on the importance of contradiction in the Commedia: "Non tutti saranno pronti ad ammettere che nel 'poema sacro' ricorrano errori e contraddizioni, preferendo forse il velo pietoso ed ipocrita di più sfumate elocuzioni. Ma è poi vero che la poesia, la grande poesia, non si nutra anche di errore e di contraddizioni? Talvolta anzi le rendono più genuina, e perciò più fresca e più vera; e questa indagine, frutto tutta di mentalità e di metodo filologici, ha ambito a capire intimamente la ragione del testo: e dunque dell'autore e della sua poesia" (123) ["Not everyone will be ready to admit that in the 'sacred poem' frequent errors and contradictions recur, preferring perhaps the pious and hypocritical veil of more vague expressions. But is it then true that poetry, great poetry, is not also nourished by errors and contradictions? At times in fact they render it more genuine, and thus more fresh and true; and this research, all fruit of philological intelligence and method, has the ambition of understanding intimately the reason of the text: and therefore of the author and his poetry."]. Giorgio Padoan, Il Lungo cammino del "poema sacro": Studi danteschi (Firenze: Olschki, 1993).

Commedia, but still prefer to privilege the sacred aspect.⁴⁹² According to Singleton's understanding of the allegory of theologians, the Commedia is meant to be read as the Flesh in the Word and the Word in the Flesh--two natures in one, fused in an irreducible vision.⁴⁹³ Similarly, for Hollander, Dante is "theologus-poeta" who uses the fourfold method of exegesis.⁴⁹⁴ Freccero, like Hollander, sees Dante as a "theologus-poeta". In his study of the *terza rima*, Freccero argues that theology, which derives from literary principles, underlies the form of the Commedia.⁴⁹⁵ Benedetto Croce, on the other hand, while acknowledging the mix of sacred and profane in Dante's work, sees the role of poet as primary.⁴⁹⁶ For Barolini Dante is a *scriba Dei*; she argues that Dante has been called by God on a divine mission in which he must "put all his poetic cunning to work."⁴⁹⁷

These many different interpretations of how to read the poet's works reveal the extent to which ambiguity dominates the Commedia. Deborah Parker argues that Dante does not reveal the significance of his work, but instead invites the reader to speculate (28). While offering the reader a role of active interpretation, Dante is creator and interpreter of his own works, as his ongoing auto-exegesis in the commentary of poems in the Vita Nuova and the Convivio indicate. I suggest that Dante is working very much within paradox; he is a writer who is *poeta* and *theologus*, creating and interpreting his work. I

⁴⁹² See also Aleramo P. Lanapoppi, "La Divina Commedia: Allegoria 'dei poeti' o allegoria 'dei teologi'," Dante Studies LXXXVI (1968) 17-39.

⁴⁹³ Charles S. Singleton, "The Irreducible Vision," in Peter Brieger, Millard Meiss, and Charles S. Singleton, Illuminated Manuscripts of the Divine Comedy (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1969) 1-29.

⁴⁹⁴ Robert Hollander, Allegory in Dante's Commedia (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1969) 46-47.

⁴⁹⁵ John Freccero, Dante, The Poetics of Conversion ed. Rachel Jacoff (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard UP, 1986) 258-271, esp. 269.

⁴⁹⁶ Croce emphasizes that Dante is above all a poet: "Ma parebbe inutile ripetere cosa che dovrebbe ormai ritenersi evidente: che Dante poeta non combacia con Dante critico, e che l'atto della creazione poetica e l'atto del pensiero filosofico di essa sono due atti distinti e diversi, e che perciò bisogna trattare la poesia dantesca, non secondo Dante, ma secondo verità: [...] la verità della poesia" (22) [But it seems useless to repeat something that should already be considered as evident: that Dante the poet is not coextensive with Dante the critic, that the act of poetic creation and the act of philosophical conception of it are two distinct acts, and that for this reason it is necessary to treat Dante's poetry, not according to Dante, but according to truth: ... the truth of poetry.]

⁴⁹⁷ Barolini, Undivine 8, 13.

would argue that the hand of a poet, rather than that of a prophet or theologian, ultimately crafts the song of the Commedia. Song is the vehicle through which Dante interweaves the sacred and the profane, and functions as the basis of the present study.

The poet marks the structure of the Commedia with the lyric form. Song not only serves as the structural frame of the Commedia but also its major concern.⁴⁹⁸ Dante's structure for the Commedia relies upon the canto, which is linked by virtue of its length to his lyric *canzoni*, as Barolini has already noted.⁴⁹⁹ We are meant to read the Commedia as Dante's song,⁵⁰⁰ as his answer to his earlier lyric of the Vita Nuova.⁵⁰¹ The primacy of lyric and song inspires my exploration of the sacred and the profane in Dante's Commedia.

Song and the act of singing occur most frequently in *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso*: the Concordanza della Commedia yields thirty-eight instances of some form of the verb "cantare" [to sing] in *Purgatorio*, twenty-six in *Paradiso*, and only six in *Inferno*. The substantive "canto" or its plural "canti" occurs twelve times in *Purgatorio*, eighteen times in *Paradiso*, but a mere three times in *Inferno*.⁵⁰²

Dante manipulates the coexistence of the sacred and profane through the vehicle of song in a three-fold process. First, he displaces the dangerously enticing nature of secular love songs onto various singers, such as Ulysses, the Siren and Casella, who sing lyrics that are marked in the text as spiritually dangerous. Second, the poet invokes throughout,

⁴⁹⁸ Furthermore, as Maria Ann Roglieri notes, the Commedia lends itself to music: more than one hundred and twenty musical scores of the Commedia have been composed. "From the *rime aspre e chioce* to the *dolce sinfonia di Paradiso*: Musical settings of Dante's Commedia," Dante Studies 113 (1995) 175.

⁴⁹⁹ Barolini, Undivine 257.

⁵⁰⁰ "Mio canto": see, for instance, *Purgatorio* I: 10; XIX: 23, and *Paradiso* I: 12. Furthermore, in the two instances that the poet uses the term "comedia" to describe this work, it is connected to music: "e per le *notel* di questa *comedia*, lettor, ti giuro" (*Inf.* XVI: 127-128); "che la mia *comedia* *cantar* non cura" (*Inf.* XXI: 2)

⁵⁰¹ Robert Pogue Harrison sees the Commedia as initiated and envisioned in the Vita Nuova, and yet problematizes this theory. The Body of Beatrice (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins UP, 1988), esp. 30.

⁵⁰² Hell is not a place in which souls sing! Concordanza della Commedia di Dante Alighieri ed. Luciano Lovera, 3 vols. (Turin: Einaudi, 1975) 267-270.

but especially in *Purgatorio*, religious lyrics which balance the secular songs.⁵⁰³ Finally, in *Paradiso* Dante forges a link between sacred song and his own poetic production.⁵⁰⁴

This chapter will follow that poet's tripartite strategy. I begin with an exploration of secular poetry primarily in *Purgatorio*. This part has three sections. In the first, I look at secular poets such as Guido Guinizelli and Arnaut Daniel, in order to see how courtly love lyric, and in particular the *dolce stil novo*, is evoked and yet shown to have no place in the afterlife. In part two I analyze the figure of the poet in *Purgatorio*, since it is in *Purgatorio* that the poet is working to define himself as a poet.

The third section concerning secular poetry is the heart of this chapter. With a focus on the Siren of *Purgatorio* XIX, I analyze those characters whose secular singing is perilously seductive. The poet's figuration of these dangerous singers; and the way that he closes them off from the rest of the text, reveals not only how dangerous secular lyric is in terms of salvation, but how implicated in this danger Dante himself is in writing the *Commedia*. More importantly, Dante defuses the danger of secular seductive song by representing its negative consequences for the singers (living forever in Hell as does Ulysses or being revealed as a stinking belly as is the Siren). In doing so, the poet distances himself from courtly love lyric, and in particular, his own corpus of love lyric. While the poet's own song, the *Commedia*, retains its enticing nature, it is, by means of these singers, purified and made sacred, an appropriate song for representing the celestial heavens.

By way of a transition from secular love songs in *Purgatorio*, I explore several examples of religious lyric in the *Commedia*, which appear mostly in *Purgatorio* but also

⁵⁰³ James Fiatarone argues that vocal song in the *Purgatorio* reestablishes spiritual priorities as it fuses elements of courtly lyric with the sublime. "From 'selva oscura' to 'divina foresta': Liturgical song as path to Paradise in Dante's *Commedia*," diss. Berkeley: U of California, 1986, 539-573.

⁵⁰⁴ My argument in this chapter follows Dante's own valorization of *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso*. See Robin Kirkpatrick, *Dante's Inferno: Difficulty and Dead Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987) 1-33, 433-442.

Paradiso. I examine how the sacred lyric is designed to fit the context of the *cantica* in which it appears. I also study a few examples in which the extra-textual resonances of the lyric (i.e., when it was generally sung, and for what purpose) adds a new level of meaning to the text.

I then move to an examination of the figure of the poet in *Paradiso*. In this *cantica*, the poet can figure himself as a sanctified Siren, as a creator of holy songs, since he has already displaced any perilous qualities of seductive song onto the singers in *Purgatorio*. While the bulk of what I would term the process of sanctification occurs in *Purgatorio*, a study of the poet and his song in *Paradiso* affords a clearer sense of how the poet envisions his Commedia as a whole as sacred. In this final section I explore the triple conjunction of song, the mechanics of concentricity (for instance, circling, wheels, and clocks), and the ineffability topos. I suggest that through this conjunction in *Paradiso*, the poetic process, and the poet's own mechanics of writing, are both highlighted and revealed as sanctified. Dante reveals himself in *Paradiso* as both poet and prophet; his Commedia, a sacred, and true, work of fiction. In order to get to this locus of poetic sanctity, however, Dante must first come to terms with the courtly love poets of *Purgatorio*.

Courtly Love Poets in *Purgatorio*

Several courtly love poets appear in the various *cantiche* of the Commedia, invoking secular song.⁵⁰⁵ More often than not, while a poet may appear, their poetry does not. For instance, the poets who appear in *Inferno*, Pier della Vigna in the wood of the suicides in *Inferno* XIII, and Bertran de Born among the traitors in *Inferno* XXVIII, are

⁵⁰⁵ Courtly poets who are mentioned, but who do not appear in the Commedia, include Guiraut de Bornelh (*Purg.* XXVI: 120); and Guido Calvalcanti (*Inf.* X, 60-69, 111; *Purg.* XI, 97). For an in-depth exploration of Dante's treatment of poets in his works, see Teodolinda Barolini, Dante's Poets: Textuality and Truth in the Comedy (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1984). Francesca's lyrical speech to the pilgrim (*Inf.* V, 100-107), with its triple repetition of "amor" invokes love poetry as well; Robin Kirkpatrick suggests that her speech mimes the misuse and danger of love lyric. Dante's *Inferno*: Difficulty and Dead Poetry 7-9.

not portrayed as poets but as sinners. Neither poet is in Hell because of their poetry; their poetry is not even mentioned.⁵⁰⁶

Two poets who appear in *Purgatorio* XXVI, Guido Guinizzelli and Arnaut Daniel, do invoke the form and lexicon if not the content of courtly love lyric. On the one hand, because both poets are associated with courtly love lyric and the *dolce stil novo*, Guido Guinizzelli and Arnaut Daniel recall Dante's own corpus of love lyric which he had written prior to the *Commedia*. On the other hand, however, these poets tend to emphasize not the association but rather the disassociation of Dante with secular song, since both repent of the folly of love lyric.⁵⁰⁷

⁵⁰⁶ The sins of both do not involve their poetry: Pier has committed suicide, Bertran caused political infighting. However, the poet recalls Pier's lyric writing through the courtly reply that he gives to the pilgrim:

E 'l tronco: 'Sì col dolce dir m'adeschi,
ch'i' non posso tacere; e voi non gravi
perch' iò un poco a ragonar m'inveschi.
(Inf. XIII, 55-57)

[And the stub said, 'You so allure me with
your sweet words that I cannot keep silent;
and may it not burden you that I am enticed
to talk a little.]

Pier is very gracious in his reply, but describes not his own singing but Virgil's words as sweet and enticing. Because of the graciousness of his speech, however, the poet recalls for the reader Pier's status as a courtly love poet, not only as a suicide. Similarly, the poet's focus on Bertran de Born's political misdeeds recalls as well his lyric writing, since his misdeeds were committed in part in his *sirventes* and other poems of war:

E perché tu di me novella porti,
sappi ch'i' son Bertram dal Bornio, quelli
che diedi al re giovane i ma' conforti.
Io feci il padre e 'l figlio in sé ribelli;
Achitofel non fé più d'Absalone
e di David coi malvagi punzelli.
(Inf. XXVIII, 133-138)

[And that you may carry news of me,
know that I am Bertran de Born, he who
to the young king gave the evil counsels.
I made the father and the son rebel against
each other. Ahithophel did not more with
Absalom and David by his wicked
instigations.]

Leo Spitzer analyzes the Provençal aspects of Dante's language in *Inferno* XIII. "Il Canto XIII dell'*Inferno*," in *Lecture Dantesche: Inferno*, ed. Giovanni Getto (Florence: Sansoni, 1955) 230-236. Anthony K. Cassell argues that Dante placed Pier in the wood of the suicides not only because of his suicide but because of his history of violence toward others. "Pier della Vigna's Metamorphosis: Iconography and History," in *Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio: Studies in the Italian Trecento in Honor of Charles S. Singleton* eds. Aldo S. Bernardo and Anthony L. Pellegrini (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1983) 31-76. On Dante's treatment of Bertran de Born's war poetry, see Kirkpatrick, *Dante's Inferno: Difficulty and Dead Poetry* 367-377.

⁵⁰⁷ See Jacomuzzi 48-51.

The pilgrim meets both poets among the souls who are on the last terrace of Purgatory. Tender feelings, as for one's parents, fill the passage that describes the meeting of the pilgrim and Guido:

Quali ne la tristizia di Ligurgo
 si fer due figli a riveder la madre,
 tal mi fec' io, ma non a tanto insurgo,
 quand' io odo nomar sé stesso il padre
 mio e de li altri miei miglior che mai
 rime d'amor usar dolci e leggiadre;
 e sanza udire e dir pensoso andai
 lunga fiata rimirando lui,
 né, per lo foco, in là più m'apressai.
 (*Purg.* XXVI, 92-102)

[As in the sorrow of Lycurgus
 two sons became on beholding their mother
 again, so I became, but I do not rise to such
 heights, when I hear name himself the father
 of me and of others my betters who ever
 used sweet and gracious rhymes of love;
 and without hearing and speaking, I went
 pondering, gazing a long time at him;
 nor did I draw nearer to him, because of the
 fire.]

The use of "madre" and "padre" portrays the relationship of Dante and Guido as intimate and familial, and recalls how the pilgrim regards Virgil.⁵⁰⁸ Because Guido functions as a model for, even father of, Dante's earlier writing of love lyric, this scene also recalls vividly the pilgrim's earlier meeting with Brunetto Latini in *Inferno* XV.⁵⁰⁹ Whereas the pilgrim reaches down toward Brunetto's face (*Inf.* XV, 29), in this scene in Purgatory the pilgrim is kept at a distance from Guido. The pilgrim only gazes at Guido, but draws no nearer to him ("né, per lo foco, in là più m'apressai"); the pilgrim does not speak for a long time, but simply gazes meditatively at Guido ("e sanza udire e dir pensoso andai/lunga fiata rimirando lui"). Furthermore, the syntax of this passage also separates the pilgrim from Guido. The reaction of the pilgrim upon seeing Guido, for instance, is obscured by the initial simile: "Quali ne la tristizia di Ligurgo/ si fer due figli a riveder la madre/ tal mi fec' io." The poet, through a complex and truncated syntax, further distances the pilgrim from

⁵⁰⁸ The pilgrim, for instance, calls Virgil sweet father ("lo dolce padre") in *Inferno* VIII, 110; and sweetest father ("Virgilio dolcissimo padre") in *Purgatorio* XXX, 50, and Virgil is compared to a mother in *Inferno* XXIII, 37-45. Barolini traces how Guido seems to move through Dante's texts "in a crescendo of increasing importance," culminating here in *Purgatorio* as Dante's father (*Dante's Poets* 129-132).

⁵⁰⁹ This meeting with Guido Guinizzelli recalls the meeting that occurs between the pilgrim and his beloved teacher, Brunetto Latini, who repeatedly calls the pilgrim his "little son" ("figliuol mio") in *Inferno* XV, 31, 37, while the pilgrim names him as a paternal figure in *Inferno* XV, 83. The similarities between the two are many. Both are poets, Dante's poetic fathers, and the sins of both poets involve inappropriate sexuality (Guido, a hermaphrodite, Brunetto, a sodomite).

the Guido and the courtly love lyric that made Guido famous: "padre" appears separated from "mio"; other writers, purportedly better than Dante ("li altri miei miglior"), fill the line that follows between the pilgrim and the mention of "rime d'amor," interrupting the association of Dante with the composition of love poetry. The other poets are, syntactically speaking, the active subjects of "usar"; it is these others who frequented these sweet rhymes of love, not Dante.⁵¹⁰ The love lyric associated with Guido appears far from the personal pronouns that refer to the pilgrim, and by extension, the poet. The poet also disassociates himself from these love lyrics by remarking that other poets, better than he, write love lyric. The poet's allusion to his ostensible inability to write love lyric well suggests that his poetry may be less dangerous in terms of salvation. In other words, because his poetry is inferior, it is less seductive and thus less dangerous.

When the pilgrim reveals that he reveres Guido for his poetry, Guido's response humbly dismisses his own work, and directs the pilgrim (and the reader) to another poet, Arnaut Daniel (*Purg.* XXVI, 115-120). Because Guido's last words ask the pilgrim to say a paternoster for him before Christ, he does seem to imply that praying is more important than creating love lyrics in terms of one's salvation (*Purg.* XXVI, 127-132).

Arnaut Daniel also, like Guido, asks the pilgrim to pray for him; he mentions his poetry not at all. As if to recall to the reader that Arnaut was a Provençal troubadour, the poet writes Arnaut's speech to the pilgrim in his native Occitan:

Tan m'abellis vostre cortez deman,
qu'ieu no me puec ni voill a vos cobrire.
Ieu sui Arnaut, que plor e vau cantan;
consiros vei la passada folor,
e vei jausen lo joi qu'esper, denan.
Ara vos prec, per aquella valor

['So does your courteous request please me
that I neither can nor would conceal myself from
you. I am Arnaut, who weep and sing as I go;
contritely I see my past folly, and joyously
I see before me the joy that I await.
Now I pray you, by that power

⁵¹⁰ All traces of dangerous sensuality in this canto are put at a distance from the pilgrim, and by extension, the poet. Even the potential physicality of sexual sin evoked earlier in *Purgatorio* XXVI is made spiritual. The image of the souls kissing each other on the lips resembles not an amorous encounter but a brief kiss of peace: "Li veggio d'ogne parte farsi presta/ ciascun' ombra e baciarsi una con una/ senza restar, contente a brieve festa" *Purg.* XXVI, 31-33) ["There on every side I see all the shades making haste and kissing one another, without stopping, content with brief greeting"].

que vos guida al som de l'escalina,
sovenha vos a temps de ma dolor!
(*Purg.* XXVI, 140-147)

which guides you to the summit of the stair,
in due time be heedful of my pain.']

In this passage, Arnaut introduces himself by way of a lyric of spiritual repentance.

Singing here is linked with tears, "plor", and by extension with the rhyme words "folor," "dolor" and "valor", all terms that derive from the troubadour poetic lexicon.⁵¹¹

Furthermore, Arnaut's reply is replete with courtly graciousness: "Tan m'abellis vostre cortes deman,/ qu'ieu no me puesc ni voill a vos cobrire." That Arnaut speaks in Occitan reveals in my view a significant desire on the part of the poet to conserve the language of the troubadours and assimilate it into a spiritually redemptive moment.⁵¹² However poetic Arnaut's speech may be, the fact remains that he too, like Guido, has turned his attention away from the production of love lyric: his weeping is caused not by unrequited love, but by the memory of his folly; his singing is caused not by corporeal love, but by the promise of his salvation. Like Guido, instead of discussing his lyrics, Arnaut simply asks the pilgrim to remember him (*Purg.* XXVII, 145-147). The pilgrim's reaction to seeing Arnaut is not even hinted at in this passage; Arnaut disappears into the fire, and the pilgrim moves on.

These singers of secular love lyric in *Purgatorio* serve in a sense as foils for the poet: Guido was a poet of the *dolce stil novo*; Arnaut was a love poet, inspired by love.⁵¹³ As love poets, they recall for the reader the poet's own production of love lyric, and yet

⁵¹¹ See, for instance, Bernart de Ventadour's tenso "Amics Bernartz de Ventadorn", in *Anthology of Troubadour Poets* 52-53.

⁵¹² Nathaniel B. Smith, however, sees the poet's use of Arnaut's native Occitan as revealing his ambivalence toward Occitan and the troubadours. "Arnaut Daniel in the *Purgatorio*: Dante's Ambivalence toward Provençal," *Dante Studies* 98 (1980) 99-109. For a study on plurilingualism in the *Commedia*, see Mauro Braccini, "Paralipomeni al 'Personaggio-Poeta' (*Purgatorio* XXVI, 140-7)," in *Testi e interpretazioni: Studi del Seminario di filologia romanza dell' Università di Firenze* (Milan-Naples: Ricciardi, 1978) 169-256.

⁵¹³ See Barolini, *Dante's Poets* 112-115, and Maurice Bowra, "Dante and Arnaut Daniel," *Speculum* 27 (1952) 459-474.

distance the poet from this same lyric.⁵¹⁴ The reader is instead compelled to focus on the poetics of the poet's new song, his Commedia.

If Guido Guinizzelli and Arnaut Daniel are figures meant to suggest courtly lyric, and yet reveal the distance between the poet of the Commedia and his earlier work, one figure in *Paradiso* represents the way in which Dante directs the reading of the Commedia. The only troubadour to appear in *Paradiso*, Folquet of Marseille, renounced lyric writing to become a Cistercian monk, abbot and then bishop of Toulouse. His address to the pilgrim forges an association of his courtly love poetry with the classical figure of Dido:

Folco mi disse quella gente a cui
fu noto il nome mio; e questo cielo
di me s'imprenta, com' io fe' di lui;
ché più non arse la figlia di Belo,
noiando e a Sicheo e a Creusa,
di me infin che si convenne al pelo;
né quella Rodopëa che delusa
fu da Demofonte, né Alcide
quando Iole nel core ebbe rinchiusa.
(*Par.* IX, 94-102)

[Folco the people called me to whom
my name was known, and this heaven
is imprinted by me, as I was by it:
for the daughter of Belus,
wronging both Sichaeus and Creusa,
burned not more than I,
as long as befitted my locks;
nor yet the Rhodopean maid who was
deluded by Demophoön, nor Alcides
when he had enclosed Iole in his heart.]

Dido, "la figlia di Belo," here stands as testimony to the intensity of Folquet's passion, of which he wrote in his love lyrics. Her fate, taking her own life, recalls Pier della Vigna's suicide, and informs the reader that Folquet did not follow this path of suicide nor of love lyric. His singing of love lasted only while he was young ("infin che si convenne al pelo," or until he turned gray). Humility does not appear in Folquet's speech, despite his renunciation of the secular world. First, while Folquet names himself only through the voice of others, the syntactical construction of this act of naming places a strong emphasis on his name: "*Folco* mi disse quella gente a cui/ fu noto *il nome mio*." Second, that

⁵¹⁴ The poetry of the *dolce stil novo* can be distinguished from troubadour poetry, Robert Harrison writes, because of its "preoccupation with epistemology and metaphysics, [its] uncompromised quest for the limits of figurative language, and [its] extravagant noetic claim" (The Body of Beatrice 33). See also Maurice Valency, In Praise of Love (New York: Macmillan, 1969) 205-55, and German and Italian Lyrics of the Middle Ages: An Anthology and a History trans. and ed. Frederick Goldin (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1973) 343-363; both cited in Harrison 177, n.3.

Folquet compares himself favorably to Dido, Phyllis and Hercules, who burned no more than he ("più non arse la figlia di Belo [...] di me"), forges an association of Folquet with the classical legends, in which Folquet surpasses even these classical figures in passion.⁵¹⁵ The term "arse," moreover, indicates not only love but the action of burning, which in turns recalls to the reader Folquet's role in the Albigensian Crusade.⁵¹⁶ Finally, Folquet suggests a reciprocal, even mirroring, relationship between himself and heaven: "e questo cielo/ di me s'imprenta, com' io fe' di lui." Folquet here asserts how he is in a sense made by this heaven, as this heaven is made by him--revealing a perfect union, even symbiosis, between himself and the celestial and divine world. In this passage, Folquet refers to himself as (formerly) lover and poet in obliquely laudatory terms, unlike Arnaut, who calls his life of writing love poetry a folly [folor].

Dante uses Folquet as an example of a love poet who, unlike Guido Guinizzelli and Arnaut Daniel, does attain salvation, and who can at least allude in superlative terms to his love lyric. In fact, Folquet's use of the term "s'imprenta," the mutual imprinting of Folquet and the heaven of Venus, also evokes the production of writing. That Folquet, a former love poet, speaks of "imprinting" or writing the third heaven recalls Dante, and his own imprinting of all the heavens in the *Commedia*. Folquet serves as foil for the poet, a clue for the reader of how Dante wishes to be perceived. Because Dante, unlike Folquet, has not renounced poetry, his crafting of the *Commedia* involves as a result the sanctification of his voice. In other words, if Dante, like Folquet, makes an imprint on heaven, the heavens imprint Dante's song as sacred. Through the process of sanctification that takes place, I suggest, in *Purgatorio*, the poet's voice in *Paradiso* is no longer as concerned with--and

⁵¹⁵ Barolini sees Folquet as an emblem of the sublimation of eros that occurs in *Paradiso*. *Dante's Poets* 115-123.

⁵¹⁶ From this one might assume that it was not Folquet's poetry, but his battle against the heretics which merits him a place in heaven.

endangered by--issues of secularity and seductive courtly lyric. In *Purgatorio* the poet struggles not only to define himself as a poet but also to sanctify his poetic voice.

The Poet in *Purgatorio*

The process of this sanctification of the poet's voice is most evident in *Purgatorio*. In fact, it is in *Purgatorio* that we enter most easily into the dynamic of the sacred and the profane. As a locus of integral suspension and instability, *Purgatorio* paradoxically offers to the reader the most stable place in which to explore the interaction of the sacred and the profane. The poet constructs at the beginning of *Purgatorio* a scene of a ship departing: "Per correr miglior acque alza le vele/omai la navicella del mio ingegno,/ che lascia dietro a sé mar sì crudele" (*Purg.* I, 1-3). With this image he builds on the notion of being in a space of in-between.⁵¹⁷ Functioning as a place of limen, Purgatory offers an extended moment of hiatus that prepares the pilgrim's arrival in Paradise.

In *Purgatorio*, this space mid-way between Hell and Paradise, we also find Dante hardest at work in defining not only poetry in a general sense, but himself as a poet. As Teodolinda Barolini notes, it is in *Purgatorio* that Dante explores art, especially poetry. Barolini sees this art as a mark of *Purgatorio's* major concerns.⁵¹⁸ Art is, she claims, the "emblem of *Purgatorio's* fundamental problematic: the transcending of an object of desire that is intrinsically worthy but earthbound and subject to time."⁵¹⁹ It is revealing that the verb "cantare" appears most often by far in *Purgatorio*; if, as Barolini suggests, Dante is

⁵¹⁷ Jacques le Goff calls Dante's *Purgatorio* a sublime conclusion in the development of the medieval notion of Purgatory as a place in between Heaven and Hell. *La Naissance du Purgatoire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1981) 449-479.

⁵¹⁸ See also Kenneth John Atchity, "Dante's *Purgatorio*: The Poem Reveals Itself," in *Italian Literature: Roots and Branches: Essays in Honor of Thomas Goddard Bergin* eds. Giose Rimanelli and Kenneth John Atchity (New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1976) 85-115.

⁵¹⁹ Barolini, *Dante's Poets* 13.

working on defining himself as a poet and artist, he is, by extension, exploring the act of singing as the exemplary symbol of his peculiarly complex poetics.

That Dante begins *Purgatorio* with two references to his own singing (and by extension, to the *Commedia*) is no accident. He specifically says that he will sing (4) and asks that Calliope accompany him with instruments:

Ma qui la morta poesì resurga,
o sante Muse, poi che vostro sono;
e qui Calliopè alquanto surga,
seguitando il mio canto con quel suono
di cui le Piche misere sentiro
lo colpo tal, che disperar perdono.
(*Purg.* I, 7-12)

[But here let dead poetry rise again,
O holy Muses, since I am yours;
and here let Calliope rise up somewhat,
accompanying my song with that strain
whose stroke the wretched Pies felt
so that they despaired of pardon.]

The ebb and flow evoked by the verbs "resurga" and "surga" indicate not only tidal movement but also the resurgence of new life for poetry. Like bulbs pushing forth from the earth, poetry, that which was once dead and that which was sung by Calliope, surges into life. Furthermore, Dante declares his song as a sign of the resurrection of poetry: the repetition of "qui" in this passage signals the immediacy of Dante's own song. In addition, the pairing of the rhyme words "sono" and "suono" marks this poetry in a very personal way as Dante's. Dante makes here a clear break with traditional classical poetry, as well as with his own poetry of *Inferno*, thus alerting the reader to the transformation of his poetics in *Purgatorio*.⁵²⁰ He signals the primacy of his own poetry over that of classical Greek and Latin poetry: that the Muses and Calliope are to accompany, even follow *his* song ("seguitando il mio canto") reveals the primacy and newness of Dante's voice in *Purgatorio*. Poetry, once dead, has again come alive; Dante's poetry recalls the hope and joy that accompanied Christ's resurrection.

⁵²⁰ On the *Inferno* as Dante's dead poetry, see Kirkpatrick, *Dante's Inferno: Difficulty and Dead Poetry* 433-442.

In fact, it is in *Purgatorio* that we find two of the three autocitations of the *Commedia*.⁵²¹ In *Purgatorio* II, Casella sings the incipit of Dante's love song from his *Convivio*, "Amor che ne la mente mi ragiona" (112).⁵²² In *Purgatorio* XXIV, Bonagiunta quotes "Donne ch'avete intelletto d'amore" from Dante's *Vita Nuova*.⁵²³ If it is in *Purgatorio* that Dante explores most extensively the notion not only of poetry but of himself as a poet,⁵²⁴ these autocitations, which I will consider in greater detail below, become markers of the poet's prior literary life. Barolini, for instance, notes that these autocitations occur during personal encounters of the pilgrim with friends. In this way, the "autocitations, or poetic reminiscences, are linked to personal encounters, or biographic reminiscences, so that the literary and literal moments of the poet's life are fused together in a highly suggestive pattern."⁵²⁵ By placing these autocitations from his own *Convivio* and *Vita Nuova* respectively, Dante configures them in a new context, and rewrites their meaning in sacred terms to fit the context of the *Commedia*. In other words, Dante, unlike Folquet, does not need to renounce his poetic corpus; he assimilates the autocitations within his sacred poem, thereby forging a link between the poetic and prophetic qualities of his voice in the *Commedia*.

Dante's concern for the truth-value of *his* representation, with his seductive song as spiritually appropriate and good, reveals itself early in the *Commedia*. In *Inferno* XVI, the poet makes a self-referential comment about poetry and representation, and specifically about the truth-value of *his* song:

⁵²¹ In *Paradiso* VIII, Charles Martel gives the last quotation of Dante's love lyric: "Voi che 'ntendendo il terzo ciel movete" (*Par.* VIII, 37).

⁵²² *Convivio* III. In his commentary to the *Purgatorio*, Singleton notes that Casella is "said to have set music to some of Dante's verses" (35). It is thus somehow fitting that in the *Commedia* Casella sings one of Dante's lyrics.

⁵²³ *Vita Nuova* XIX, 1-2. See also Marcello Ciccuto, "Dante e Bonagiunta: reperti allusivi nel canto XXIV del *Purgatorio*," *Lettere italiane* 34:3 (1982) 386-395.

⁵²⁴ Dante is almost always throughout the *Commedia* exploring the notion of himself as a poet. See, for a few examples, *Inferno* XV, XXIV, and XXV.

⁵²⁵ Barolini, *Dante's Poets* 13-14.

Sempre a quel ver c'ha faccia di menzogna
 de' l'uom chiuder le labbre fin ch'el pote,
 però che senza colpa fa vergogna;
 ma qui tacer nol posso; e per le note
 di questa comedia, lettor, ti giuro,
 s'elle non sien di lunga grazia vote,
 ch'i' vidi per quell'aere grosso et scuro
 venir notando una figura in suso,
 [.....].
 (*Inf.* XVI, 124-131)

[To that truth which has the face of a lie
 a man should always close his lips so far as
 he can, for through no fault of his it brings
 reproach; but here I cannot be silent; and,
 reader, I swear to you by the notes of this
 Comedy--so may they not fail of lasting
 favor--that I saw, through that thick and
 murky air, come swimming upwards a
 figure,
 {.....}.]

Already in *Inferno*, the poet links a truth that has the face of a lie (*quel ver c'ha faccia di menzogna*) with his own seductive song, and signals the *Commedia* as a true and redemptive representation of divine art.⁵²⁶ Poetry and song function as markers of the tension of the sacred and the profane, of the problematic of a human creating divine song. As a poet, the writer of a divinely-inspired song, Dante is clearly interested in the persuasive function of song. The poet's project, to represent divine truth through the art of song, depends upon the notion of song as seductive. The poet both employs and manipulates alluring song. By attributing the potentially perilous nature to the songs of other figures, such as those of Casella and the Siren, the poet appropriates the form, and yet distances his own song from those that ensnare their listeners. The poet offers to the listener his own pleasing and yet redemptive, spiritually purifying, *Commedia*. While the poet uses and builds upon instances of seductive song throughout the *Commedia*, in *Purgatorio* we find an exploration of the secular forms and acts of lyric, which the poet manipulates so as to establish that his lyric entices spiritually, but not dangerously.

⁵²⁶ Dante not only takes pride in his poetry ("Lettor, tu vedi bene com'io innalzo/ la mia materia, e però con più arte/ non ti maravigliar s'io la rinalzo," *Purg.* IX:70-2) but also implies an analogy between God's art and his own in *Purgatorio* X. See Teodolinda Barolini, "Re-Presenting What God Presented: The Arachnean Art of Dante's Terrace of Pride," *Dante Studies* 105 (1987) 43-62.

The Transformation of the Siren

Purgatorio is a place in which, as the poet says, "la morta poesì resurg[e]" (*Purg.* I, 7). In the two moments in *Purgatorio* in which song poses a spiritual threat to the pilgrim, the poet focuses on his need to transform and transcend the art of his song. As Nancy J. Vickers notes, "The esthetic moment ... is a moment for the beginning of a journey, a moment to be interrupted and transcended."⁵²⁷ The seductive songs in *Purgatorio*, those of Casella and the Siren, are left unfinished. Through the device of dramatic interruption, the poet has created a series of gaps in these purgatorial songs, gaps which consequently allow him to appropriate the seductive songs and to use them legitimately. Although in several passages the poet deploys seductive songs, it is in *Purgatorio* that he significantly modifies them.

While the poet invokes seductive song in *Inferno* XXVI and its interrupted form in *Purgatorio* II, we wait until *Purgatorio* XIX to see the poet (and the pilgrim as poet) effect a metamorphosis on seductive song and its creator. The nineteenth canto of *Purgatorio* begins with a dream of the Siren, the seductive creature who, singing, lured Ulysses, and who in his dream attempts to entice the pilgrim. I will focus first on canto XIX of *Purgatorio*; it is precisely in the pilgrim's transformation of the Siren that gaps in the topos of seductive song are revealed and exploited by the poet, gaps which allow space for the new (and authorized) enticing song that the poet sings in *Paradiso* II. I am interested specifically in tracing the transformation of the Siren's seductive song, as it recalls Ulysses' seductive speech to his men in *Inferno* XXVI and Casella's song in *Purgatorio* II, and as it prefigures the poet's address to the reader in *Paradiso* II.⁵²⁸

⁵²⁷ Nancy J. Vickers, "Seeing is Believing: Gregory, Trajan, and Dante's Art," *Dante Studies* 101 (1983) 80-81.

⁵²⁸ Although beyond the scope of this study, the figure of Matelda in *Purgatorio* XXVIII is in many ways the sacred counterpart to the dangerous Siren. While both women are associated with a certain lyric sensuality (and this is made clear in Matelda's initial appearance before the pilgrim, 37-42), Matelda's song

Through the figure of the Siren (and by extension, of Ulysses and Casella), the poet calls forth the topos of dangerous, seductive song in order to defuse the possibility that his own alluring song, the *Commedia*, is spiritually perilous.⁵²⁹ Further, the kaleidoscopic mirroring of this topos allows the poet, through the figure of the Siren, to transform the nature of seductive song.⁵³⁰ The poet appropriates, in a redemptive mode, *in bono*, the seductive aspects of the Siren's speech; he remakes his own poetic image as an authorized version of the Siren.

In the introductory section of the Siren episode (*Purg.* XIX, 7-18), the pilgrim dreams about a stammering woman of sallow color, her eyes squinted, her feet and hands twisted. As the pilgrim gazes upon her, she becomes beautiful: she gains color in her face, her limbs straighten out, but most importantly, she sings a song of purported pleasure and satisfaction to Ulysses and other sailors.⁵³¹ Her singing is such that the pilgrim cannot turn away from her; however, a lady interrupts abruptly, asking Virgil who she is. Virgil seizes the Siren and uncovers her to show the pilgrim her belly, from which comes a horrible stench that subsequently wakes the pilgrim. The metamorphosis of the Siren reveals not only her dual nature, but more importantly the way in which the poet is in control of her physical changes. In this passage, the poet transforms her image; that is, through the figure of the pilgrim, he poetically re-creates the Siren's shape. Dante the poet figures the dreaming pilgrim as a dramatic artist; this passage sets up the pilgrim as a font of transformation from whom poetic metamorphosis flows.

is not an enticing, seductive song, but a didactic psalm. See James Fiatarone, "From 'selva oscura' to 'divina foresta': Liturgical song as path to Paradise in Dante's *Commedia*" 544-603.

⁵²⁹ Teodolinda Barolini explores the figure of Ulysses as the poet's "lightning rod," the figure who absorbs the poet's own potential trespass; I suggest that the Siren's song functions in much the same way. *Undivine* 52-53.

⁵³⁰ Mazzotta argues that in *Purgatorio* XIX, Dante is rethinking two critical issues: poetry and the self. *Dante's Vision* 135-153.

⁵³¹ Robert Hollander analyzes the classical sources, primarily Ovid and Virgil, for Dante's Siren. "Purgatorio XIX: Dante's Siren/Harpy," in *Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio: Studies in the Italian Trecento* 77-88.

In the first *terzina*, the pilgrim describes the Siren working purposeful expansions on the traditional *blason*. The pilgrim draws the reader's attention to the Siren's various body parts:

mi venne in sogno una femmina balba,
nelli occhi guercia, e sovra i piè distorta,
con le man monche, e di colore scialba.
(*Purg.* XIX, 7-9)

[there came to me in a dream a woman, stammering,
with eyes asquint and crooked on her feet,
with maimed hands, and of sallow hue.]

The poet employs a continual juxtaposition of sounds that mirror the stammering of the Siren. On a phonological level, the adjectives that serve to describe these various body parts, *balba*, *guercia*, *distorta*, *monche*, and *scialba*, repeat a series of low back vowel sounds ([a] and open [o]), which prolong the verse. Further, the abrupt caesurae of lines 8 and 9 cause not only the pilgrim but also the reader to stammer in an echo of the stuttering Siren.

In addition, the prepositions *nelli*, *sovra*, *con*, and *di*, leave a verbal trace of the pilgrim's gaze; this repetition of the syntactical construction—preposition followed by noun and a modifying adjective—directs the reader's attention, and consequently guides the reader in forming a mental image of the Siren. The image of the Siren that the pilgrim presents is one marked by division. Too, the prepositions effect a piling-up of body parts, a curious dissection not only of syntax but also of the Siren's body. Like the disordered trajectory of the *blason*, the pilgrim's gaze moves in an erratic fashion, from the Siren's eyes, to her feet, back up to her hands, and finally to her skin, presumably her face.⁵³² The pilgrim's gaze moves like a poorly-operated video-camera, jumping from one body part to another. These odd shifts in perspective create an outline of the Siren's body (or rather, of her disjunct body parts); again, although the prepositions serve as a guide, they

⁵³² See Guillaume de Lorris' description of Dame Oyseuse in the *Roman de la Rose*, ll. 525-574 (Paris: Flammarion, 1974). Similarly, Nancy J. Vickers documents how Petrarch describes Laura as disassociated body parts in "Diana Described: Scattered Woman and Scattered Rhyme," *Critical Inquiry* 8:2 (Winter 1981) 265-279.

nevertheless do not allow the formation of a complete or unified picture of the Siren. The pilgrim omits her torso and belly, contributing to the effect of Virgil's abrupt and shocking unveiling of these in lines 31-33.

Despite the Siren's unattractive appearance, the pilgrim seems mesmerized by her: "*Io la mirava*," the pilgrim explains explains, the only moment in this passage in which he declares his active subjectivity. The pilgrim's use of "*mirava*" marks a shift toward the imagery of light and its effects, a shift already suggested in the beginning of the canto by the coming light of dawn ("*quando i geomanti lor Maggior Fortuna/ veggiono in oriente, innanzi a l'alba/ surger per via che poco le sta bruna*" 4-6). We move, then, from the dim light of the pilgrim's dream, with its anticipation of the coming dawn, to a simile in which the poet compares his regard to the sun. The Siren is literally beautified by the pilgrim's gaze, just as the sun warms limbs stiffened and chilled by the night:

*Io la mirava; e come 'l sol conforta
le fredde membra che la notte aggrava,
così lo sguardo mio le facea scorta
la lingua, e poscia tutta la drizzava
in poco d'ora, e lo smarrito volto,
com' amor vuol, così le colorava.
(Purg. XIX, 10-15)*

[I gazed upon her: and even as the sun revives
cold limbs benumbed by night,
so my look made ready her tongue,
and then in but little time set her full straight,
and colored her pallid face
even as love requires.]

The pilgrim refers to his embellishing gaze in curiously tender language: his gaze is like a sun which comforts ("*e come 'l sol conforta le fredde membra*"). Again, it is significant that this simile continues the image of body parts, as opposed to a whole human being: the pilgrim's light-filled gaze does not purport to warm a whole body, but "*le fredde membra*."

Whereas in the first *terzina* the poet describes himself as a passive recipient of the Siren dream ("*mi venne in sogno una femmina balba*"), his gaze establishes him as active re-creator of the Siren's image. The poet attributes to the pilgrim's glance the potential for action; the poet in some sense occludes his own agency by projecting his activity onto that

of his stare. The poet institutes a division within his own body; he describes the faculty of his gaze as somehow separate from himself, as an autonomous agency.

The pilgrim's gaze certainly lights the image of the Siren; in a sense his poetic abilities place him in the role of artist. Through the pilgrim's gaze the Siren's posture straightens, and she gains color in her pale face (13-14). In addition, the poet represents the effects of the pilgrim's gaze with artistic language: "così le colorava" suggests the action of an artist's brush. The pilgrim is a painter with passion; he refigures her image "com'amor vuol" (15), rather conventional language which recalls the tradition of courtly love poets. By placing himself in the position of courtly love painter/poet guided by love, the poet, via the pilgrim, consequently suggests the production of courtly love lyric in his transformation of the Siren.

The pilgrim's gaze transfigures not only the Siren's image, but also her voice. Calming her tongue, the pilgrim through his stare releases the Siren from her stammer. Although the pilgrim's glance should logically affect the Siren's image, the poetic construction of the *terzina* ascribes first importance to the transformation of her voice, placing the syntactic emphasis on the metamorphosis of her tongue through the *enjambement* of lines 12-13, which places "la lingua" at the beginning of line 13, and consequently highlights it. In the following *terzina* the poet stresses the transfiguration of the Siren's voice:

Poi ch'ell'avea il parlar così disciolto,
cominciava a cantar sì, che con pena
da lei avrei mio intento rivolto.
(*Purg.* XIX, 16-18)

[When she had her speech thus unloosed,
she begn to sing so that it would have been hard
for me to turn my attention from her.]

This *terzina* reflects the dramatic nature of the change of the Siren's voice: without a moment of transition, the Siren's stammering speech is untied, melted ("disciolto") by the warmth of the pilgrim's stare, and she begins to sing.⁵³³ The Siren does not merely sing,

⁵³³ Her tongue is made liquid (*disciolto*), highlighting the water imagery associated with the Siren.

but enchants: the consequential "si" indicates the extent to which her singing mesmerizes the pilgrim.⁵³⁴

Although the pilgrim has the power to paint a more attractive image of the Siren, who is capable of producing her alluring song, he finds it difficult to avert his gaze; his own creation hypnotizes him. Nancy J. Vickers terms the effect of art on the spectator as "affective transport," commenting that "(p)ainters, sculptors and poets bring images to life; viewers and readers react in a state of suspended attention."⁵³⁵ The pilgrim acts as both creator and spectator before his artistic creation; like Pygmalion, he cannot easily turn away from the Siren precisely because she is a figure of his creation, of his art. Consequently, the pilgrim's mesmerized before the Siren signals a type of idolatrous self-congratulation; that is, the pilgrim's amazement by extension directs the reader to the poet, since it is the poet who has ultimately created the Siren.

This detail of the pilgrim's inability to turn away from the Siren, the revelation of the power of a seductive voice, hearkens back to two parallel episodes in the *Commedia*: Ulysses' speech to his mariners in *Inferno* XXVI, and Casella's song in *Purgatorio* II. A glance at these passages will reveal what I believe to be the poet's specific motivations for recalling them in *Purgatorio* XIX.⁵³⁶ These earlier passages establish song not only as aesthetically seductive but as spiritually dangerous; recalling them in *Purgatorio* XIX positions the poet to reconfigure this alluring song.

In the bolgia of the fraudulent counselors (*Inferno* XXVI), Ulysses repeats to the pilgrim the speech with which he incited his comrades to accompany him on his *folle volo*

⁵³⁴ Matelda, who sings in *Purgatorio* XXVIII, is in many ways the sacred counterfoil to the Siren. This is a study for another time.

⁵³⁵ Vickers, "Seeing is Believing" 80.

⁵³⁶ Barolini explores the local significance of this evocation of Ulysses in *Purgatorio* XIX, arguing that the poet, by creating an association of Ulysses' *cammino errato* with the pilgrim, characterizes his own path as utterly new (*Undivine* 105-115).

(*Inf.* XXVI, 125). His speech is carefully laden with hortatory conventions to manipulate the sailors' passions, to persuade them to accompany him.

'O frati,' dissi, 'che per cento milia
perigli siete giunti all'occidente,
a questa tanto picciola vigilia
d'i nostri sensi ch'è del rimanente,
non vogliate negar l'esperienza,
di retro al sol, del mondo sanza gente.
Considerate la vostra semenza:
fatti non foste a viver come bruti,
ma per seguir virtute e canoscenza.'
Li miei compagni fec' io sì aguti,
con questa orazion picciola, al cammino,
che a pena poscia li avrei ritenuti;
e volta nostra poppa nel mattino,
de' remi facemmo ali al folle volo,
sempre acquistando dal lato mancino.
(*Inf.* XXVI, 112-126)

['O brothers,' I said, 'who through a hundred
dangers have reached the west,
to this so brief vigil of our
senses that remains to us,
choose not to deny experience,
following the sun, of the world that has no people.
Consider your origin:
you were not made to live as brutes,
but to pursue virtue and knowledge.'
With this little speech I made my companions
so keen for the voyage that then
I could hardly have held them back.
And turning our stern to the morning,
we made of our oars wings for the mad flight,
always gaining on the left.]

Ulysses appeals to the sailors' pride on several levels: he recalls to them their shared past exploits ("cento milia/ perigli," 112-3) and their heroic heritage ("semenza," 118), and creates a flattering association of them with himself ("O frati/ nostri," 112, 115). Ulysses' words appeal to the sailors' vanity, while dismissing any fear they might have. He maximizes the sailors' exploits by means of hyperbole ("per cento milia /perigli," 112-3). On the other hand, he also minimizes the span of life which they risk on this voyage to the ends of the world through an amplified diminutive: "a questa tanto picciola vigilia" (114). Ulysses creates an inflated epic past and heroic future as effective tools of persuasion.

Furthermore, Ulysses appeals not only to the sailors' pride in their heritage and identity, but also to lofty ideals which inform the pilgrim's own voyage through the realms of the afterlife. Ulysses highlights the values of virtue and knowledge as well as of worth and strength ("virtute e canoscenza") which, coupled with the notion of a "folle volo", specifically recall the pilgrim's own voyage. In *Inferno* II, the pilgrim asks Virgil,

'Ma io perché venirvi? o chi 'l concede?
Io non Enëa, io non Paulo sono:
me degno a ciò né io né altri crede.

['But I, why do I come there? And who allows it?
I am not Aeneas, I am not Paul;
of this neither I nor others think me worthy.

Per che, se del venire io m'abbandono,
temo che la venuta non sia folle:
 se' savio; intendi me ch'i' non ragiono.'
 (*Inf.* II, 32-36)

Wherefore, if I yield and come,
 I fear that the coming may be folly.
 You are wise; you understand better than I explain
 it.']

The poet's self-positioning among these towering historic figures gives the lie to the apparent humility of these lines. While Aeneas, the founder of Rome, personifies earthly political power, Paul, the apostle in charge of converting the Gentiles, represents spiritual supremacy.⁵³⁷ By comparing himself negatively to Aeneas and Paul, the poet (through the pilgrim) appears to proclaim that he is inferior and unworthy; however, his voyage through the realms of the afterlife will lead him not to Rome, but to Heaven. The purported fear that his voyage may be a form of perilous trespass ("*che la venuta non sia folle*"), signals at once its similarity to and distance from Ulysses' *folle volo*. Not only does Ulysses' *folle volo* cause him to lose his life along with his sailors, it also serves as an example of the fraudulent counsel that merits him a place in Hell. The pilgrim, on the other hand, will arrive safely in the circles of Paradise closest to God.

Ulysses' speech to his sailors not only recalls the pilgrim's voyage, but also functions as an example of the power of seductive speech, and consequently implicates the activity of the poet. Ulysses' speech, although short ("*picciola*"), is rousing: his men immediately go into action, so enflamed that even Ulysses himself could scarcely have held them back. The pilgrim's difficulty in turning away from the Siren in *Purgatorio* XIX recalls Ulysses' impassioned sailors; the repetition of "*che con pena*" in *Purgatorio* XIX mirrors Ulysses' "*a pena poscia li avrei ritenuti*" (123). The Siren's song like Ulysses' speech, has the potential to exert persuasive, and seductive, power over the listener.

The Siren's song, and its effects on the pilgrim, is also reminiscent of yet another song. Casella's song (*Purgatorio* II) in many ways echoes that of the Siren, in that both

⁵³⁷ Aeneas and Paul are implied in Ulysses' notions of knowledge and virtue.

are characterized by dangerously seductive allure.⁵³⁸ *Purgatorio* II reveals Casella as a Siren figure, associated with the sea as well as with enticing song.⁵³⁹ Not only do Virgil and the pilgrim encounter Casella on a beach ("Noi eravam lunghesso mare ancora" 10), but Casella himself further strengthens his association with the sea: "Ond'io, ch'era ora alla marina volto, /dove l'acqua di Tevere s'insala, /benignamente fu' da lui ricolto" (100-2). More important, Casella's most sirenic aspect is his song, replete with sweet melody. Significantly, Casella's song also implicates Dante the poet; it is one of Dante's own earlier love lyrics, which he explicates in the third section of the *Convivio*.⁵⁴⁰

'Amor che ne la mente mi ragiona'
cominciò elli allor sì dolcemente,
che la dolcezza ancor dentro mi sona.
(*Purg.* II, 112-114)

['Love that discourses in my mind,'
he then began so sweetly that
the sweetness still within me sounds.]

"Dolcemente" and "dolcezza" insist on the pleasing effect of his song. This lexicon based on "dolce" recalls the vocabulary of courtly love lyric, and again points to Dante in his earlier role of lyric love poet. Casella does not speak these words, but sings them; like the notes of music played on an instrument, the words resonate still within the poet's heart.

⁵³⁸ Unlike Charles Singleton, for whom Casella's song alternates between a "temptation" and "a consolation and a delight," I tend to agree with Robert Hollander, who views Casella's song as spiritually dangerous. In his study of Cato's rebuke, Hollander notes that although we only read the incipit, "In exitu Israël de Aegypto," the souls sing all of Psalm 113. The rest of the psalm, which refers to the worship of false idols, is significant according to Hollander, and signals that "Casella's song cannot be taken as innocent or only slightly inappropriate amusement." Robert Hollander, "*Purgatorio* II: Cato's Rebuke and Dante's 'scoglio,'" *Studies in Dante* (Ravenna: Longo Editore, 1980) 91-105. I have cited Singleton from Hollander's article (92, n. 2, 3). Giuseppe Mazzotta, on the other hand, claims that the Song of the Siren is one of death. I do not agree; the Siren, I suggest, has more to do with poetic identity than death. See "The Dream of the Siren" in *Dante's Vision and the Circle of Knowledge* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1993) 141-150.

⁵³⁹ The poet also recalls here the beginning of *Purgatorio*: "Per correr miglior acque alza le vele/ omai la navicella del mio ingegno" (*Purg.* I, 1-2) ["To course over better waters the little bark of my genius now hoists her sails"].

⁵⁴⁰ Barolini examines the verbal sweetness of the first stanza of the *Convivio*'s 'Amor che ne la mente mi ragiona' (*Dante's Poets* 38-39). In his article "Casella's Song," John Freccero links this song not with secular love lyric, but with the allegorical figure of Lady Philosophy in *The Consolation of Philosophy*. In Freccero's schema, this song, which suggests the quest for philosophy's consolation and guidance, is misguided here in *Purgatorio*: "In such a setting, the *otium* traditionally required for philosophy is *negligenza* (v.121) and philosophical pride (cf. "usato orgoglio," v.126) must give way to Christian humility." *Dante Studies* 91 (1973) 79.

More important, the lyric cited here provides another clue that this song, within the *Commedia*, is dangerously sweet and even hypnotic. Casella's song mesmerizes all the listeners who remain transfixed: "Noi eravam tutti fissi e attenti / alle sue note" (ll. 118-9). Casella's transfixed audience prefigures the pilgrim of *Purgatorio* XIX; the sirenic singer Casella's recitation of Dante's earlier love lyrics also indicates the poet's aspiration that his own songs be not merely pleasurable but hypnotic.

Just as Casella's song entrances and paralyzes the listeners, the Siren's song intoxicates the pilgrim. In addition, like Casella's song, the Siren's song creates pleasure, but more importantly, the feelings of completeness and fullness.⁵⁴¹ The Siren's song receives a longer exposition; whereas we only hear the incipit of Casella's song, in *Purgatorio* XIX the poet offers an extended version of what the Siren sings.

'Io son,' cantava 'io son dolce serena,
che i marinari in mezzo mar dismago;
tanto son di piacere a sentir piena!
Io volsi Ulisse del suo cammin vago
al canto mio; e qual meco si ausa
rado sen parte, sí tutto l'appago.'
(*Purg.* XIX, 19-24)

['I am,' she sang, 'I am the sweet Siren
who leads mariners astray in mid-sea,
so full am I of pleasantness to hear.
Ulysses, eager to journey on, I turned aside to
my song; and whosoever abides with me
rarely departs, so wholly do I satisfy him.']

In the Siren's song, the poet plays with the same sweetness that we saw in Casella's song. Marked by alliteration and assonance, such as the repetition of the sibilants [s], [s^], and the low back vowel sounds [o] and [a], the Siren's song is saturated with soft, soothing, sensual sounds. It is not her song that the poet describes as sweet; instead, he has the Siren describe herself as "dolce" (19). This self-portrait as sweet serves to locate the seductive power of the Siren's song within her body.⁵⁴² As she projects herself and her song as the

⁵⁴¹ This detail is important, as the Siren is soon to be revealed to be nothing but a stinking gap.

⁵⁴² Virgil disrobes the Siren's belly/ genitals indicating that he too reads her body as the locus and source of this spiritually dangerous sensual song.

sailors' goal, the Siren carves out and insists upon autonomy, repeating "io son" (and in line 22 "Io") as a double self-identification, even auto-citation.⁵⁴³

While in our mind's eye we see the transformed image of the Siren, it is significant that the pilgrim's transformation of the Siren's image first affects and transforms her voice. The repetition of images related to voice and song suggests metamorphosis: the stuttering voice of the Siren becomes, thanks to the pilgrim's gaze, a song. The notion of voice is repeated several times, as we have already seen; words such as "balba", "lingua", and "parlar così disciolto" (7,13,16) become, through the pilgrim's transforming gaze, instances of song. The pilgrim insists upon her speech pattern as song, repeating "cominciava a cantar, cantava", and inserting in his direct quotation of the Siren's speech, "al mio canto" (17,19,23). Through his gaze, his transformative art, the pilgrim essentially creates the possibility for the Siren's song. More importantly, the dreaming pilgrim through his art of metamorphosis creates a general liquefying effect on the Siren's voice and language, and allows the actualization of the song's seductive potential.

Although the reactions of the listeners in *Purgatorio* II and XIX attest to the seductive nature of both Casella's and the Siren's song, neither song is completed, as each is truncated by an authority figure.⁵⁴⁴ In *Purgatorio* II, Cato arrives to chastise the listening spirits before Casella is finished:

Noi eravam tutti fissi e attenti
alle sue note; ed ecco il veglio onesto
gridando: "Che è ciò, spiriti lenti?
qual negligenza, quale stare è questo?
Correte al monte a spogliarvi lo scoglio
ch'esser non lascia a voi Dio manifesto.'

[We were all rapt and attentive to his notes,
when lo, the venerable old man, crying,
'What is this, you laggard spirits?
What negligence, what stay is this?
Haste to the mountain to strip off the slough
that lets not God be manifest to you.']

⁵⁴³ As Robert Hollander notes in his chapter "The Women of *Purgatorio*: Dreams, Voyages, Prophecies," this double self-identification previews that of Beatrice later in *Purgatorio*: "Ben son, ben son Beatrice." (*Purg.* XXX: 73). *Allegory in Dante's Commedia* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1969) 144 n.8.

⁵⁴⁴ In her study on the similarity between the Siren of *Purgatorio* XIX and the initial scenes of Boethius' *De Consolatio*, Giuseppina Mezzadrolì briefly explores this textual similarity between *Purgatorio* II and XIX. "Dante, Boezio, e le sirene," *Lingua e Stile: Trimestrale di Linguistica e Critica Letteraria* 25: 1 (1990) 25-56.

(*Purg.* II, 120-123)

Although the pilgrim signals that the spirits' listening was interrupted, and by consequence so was Casella's song, the reader only experiences this interruption textually. That is, although we may assume that Casella sang beyond the first line quoted in the text ("*Amor che ne la mente mi ragiona*" 112), we do not hear either the song nor at what point Cato interrupts it. Because we read only the incipit, however, as readers we do indirectly experience Cato's interruption of Casella. Furthermore, only the pilgrim's use of a demonstrative pronoun, "ed ecco" (119), signals any surprise.⁵⁴⁵ Instead of focusing on the abruptness of the interruption, the poet depicts the reaction of the spirits to Cato's rebuke through a rather pastoral, lyric image of doves frightened into flight:

Come quando, cogliendo biada o loglio,
li colombi adunati alla pastura,
queti, senza mostrar l'usato orgoglio,
se cosa appare ond'elli abbian paura,
subitamente lasciano star l'esca,
perch'assaliti son da maggior cura;
cosí vid'io quella masnada fresca
lasciar lo canto, e gire in ver la costa,
com'uom che va, ne sa dove riesca:
ne la nostra partita fu men tosta.

(*Purg.* II, 124-133)

[As doves, when gathering wheat or tares,
assembled all at their repast and quiet,
without their usual show of pride,
if something appears that frightens them,
suddenly leave their food because
they are assailed by a greater care;
so I saw that new troop leave the song
and hasten toward the hillside, like one who goes
forth, but knows not where he may come forth;
nor was our departure less quick.]

Only in this simile of the doves do notions of surprise and fear signaled by the terms "appare", "paura", "subitamente", "assaliti", and "maggior cura" appear. However, the beauty of the image, of a flock of white doves suddenly taking flight, imbues the scene with a lyricism that softens the seriousness of Cato's rebuke. Although the spirits move hastily (II. 127-133), there is little sense of urgency or real danger; the pilgrim himself is removed from the action, narrating, as he indicates: "cosí vid'io". This simile effectively slows the verse, and safely contains within its metaphoric frame any sense of real danger.

⁵⁴⁵ However, because *ed ecco* appears in the middle of a line, it does reenact a clear semantic disruption.

Neither the spirits nor the pilgrim are in true spiritual peril; they need only move away and continue their voyage.

Whereas the reaction of the spirits to Cato's scolding is conveyed through the bucolic simile of the doves, the aftermath of the Siren's song instead takes on darkly dramatic overtones. A holy lady suddenly appears like Cato, and angrily demands to know the identity of the singer.

Ancor non era sua bocca richiusa
quand'una donna apparve santa e presta
lunghezzo me per far colei confusa.
'O Virgilio, Virgilio, chi è questa?'
fieramente dicea; (*Purg. XIX*, 25-28)

[Her mouth was not yet shut
when a lady, holy and alert, appeared close
beside me to put her to confusion.
'O Virgil, Virgil, who is this?'
she said sternly.]

The holy lady's call "O Virgilio, O Virgilio" recalls the Siren's stammering auto-citation ("Io son,... io son dolce sirena" 19), and consequently juxtaposes Virgil with the Siren as an alternative authority figure, as a more appropriate muse. In *Purgatorio XIX* the interruption of seductive song is highly charged with drama; while the Siren sings, a holy lady appears so suddenly that the Siren does not even have the time to close her mouth. The reader is left with an image of the Siren as a wide-open mouth, the gaping orifice prefiguring the unveiling of her belly.

Virgil's subsequent actions expand the dramatic tone of the scene, adding a curiously graphic malevolence.

[...] ed el venìa
con li occhi fitti pur in quella onesta.
L'altra predea, e dinanzi l'apria
fendendo i drappi, e mostravami 'l ventre:
quel mi svegliò col puzzo che n'uscita.
(*Purg. XIX*, 29-33)

[... and he came on with his eyes
fixed only on that honest one.
He seized the other and laid her bare in front,
rending her garments and showing me her belly:
this waked me with the stench that issued therefrom.]

Like Perseus who is unable to look directly at the Medusa when he slays her, Virgil cannot gaze on the Siren as he disrobes her. The dramatic nature of the holy lady's appearance is further emphasized by Virgil's gaze, "fitta" (fixed) on her, recalling the pilgrim's own inability to turn away from the Siren (17-8). And finally, Virgil tears apart the Siren's

clothes like curtains on a stage, revealing a horrifying scene underneath. The spectator/pilgrim is assailed not only by the sight of the Siren's belly, but also by its putrid odor. This stench rouses the pilgrim from his stupor; he experiences her spiritual corruption as a terrifying physical decay that fills his nostrils.

In a broad sense, the pilgrim stands in for the poet, just as the Siren may represent poetic creation. Although presumably the main character of the dream is the Siren, in this passage Dante, via the figure of the pilgrim, highlights his own poetic capabilities. The poet has created the pilgrim (who in turn transforms the stuttering old woman into a beautiful, autonomous, and dangerous temptress), and orchestrates *Purgatorio* XIX as a series of framed dramatic scenes. As a stage director, the poet identifies the incompletely enlightened pilgrim as the origin of this unleashing of the Siren and her song, and distances himself from the Siren and her dangerously seductive song. In Barolini's terms, the poet defuses his own potentially perilous song through the figure of the Siren; like Ulysses, the Siren acts as a lightning rod. The Siren, in relation to the poet, acts as a foil for him; the poet employs the figure of the seductive Siren to distract and subtract himself and his poetry from her and her verse. Consequently, while in this passage the pilgrim as poet dramatically sets the stage for the Siren's verse, he highlights the poet as the ultimate and transcendent creator, and as a result distinguishes his poetry from the spiritually corrupting song of the Siren.

The poet dramatizes the episode of the Siren in *Purgatorio* XIX not only to leave a grim, lasting impression upon the reader, but to punctuate (literally and figuratively) the seductive song with gaps which consequently allow him to acknowledge the perilous aspects of seductive song, and to defuse them in the same moment. In other words, the poet highlights the pleasure the listening pilgrim receives from the Siren's song and ensures the pilgrim's spiritual safety so that he is not led astray like Ulysses and the other sailors the Siren has lured (*Purg.* XIX, 20). In broad terms, the poet accentuates the

dangerous nature of seductive song via the Siren in order to displace all that is dangerous about it onto her. The poet transforms the image and the voice of the Siren so as to appropriate her song safely and divinely. The poet revisions himself as the new, authorized Siren; his song, the Commedia, has the potential to lead the faithful/ faith-filled reader to a nearly direct encounter with the divine, far beyond that which any human has ever safely, both physically and spiritually, experienced. In contrast to the Siren's seductive and perilous song stand the many religious hymns of *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso*. These hymns counter the dangerous beauty of the Siren's song; moreover, their stable and harmonious sanctity confirms the orthodoxy of Dante's song.

Holy Songs in the *Commedia*

In *Paradiso*, Dante terms his work a sacred poem ("sacrato poema" *Par.* XXIII, 62; "poema sacro" *Par.* XXV, 1), and indeed religious hymns fill *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso*.⁵⁴⁶ The hymns derive from two main sources: Biblical and liturgical. The religious hymns impart a sense of stability, not only in terms of salvation for the souls, but also for the narrative. In other words, because the religious hymns derive from a common body of knowledge, from the Bible and the liturgy, they offer the reader a sense of familiar ritual akin to reading the Bible or attending Mass.

These sacred citations, many of which are sung, appear in abundance in *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso* (thirty-two in *Purgatorio*, six in *Paradiso*), whereas they are rare in the *Inferno* (Concordanza, 2626-27).⁵⁴⁷ It is significant that the bulk of the sacred songs appear in *Purgatorio*, since it is in this *cantica* that Dante is, as I contend, dispelling the dangerous essence from his song and sanctifying it. Since there are only six religious

⁵⁴⁶ While the body of Scriptural and liturgical citations is quite large, I limit my analysis to those hymns that are sung.

⁵⁴⁷ Showing Satan to the pilgrim, Virgil sings the only sacred hymn in *Inferno*, "Vexilla regis prodeunt inferni," and distorts it (*Inf.* XXXIV: 1).

hymns in *Paradiso*, it appears that the poet is less concerned with purifying his song, that the sacred is here assured and need no longer be pursued.

Throughout *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso*, the sacred songs are communal hymns; in general a large number of souls sing them and, because of their familiarity and frequency in the Bible and the liturgy, the reader as well is expected to join in.⁵⁴⁸ For instance, in *Purgatorio* II, we read:

<p>'In exitu Israël de Aegypto' cantavan tutti insieme ad una voce con quanto di quel salmo è poscia scripto. (<i>Purg.</i> II, 46-8)⁵⁴⁹</p>	<p>['In exitu Israel de Aegypto' all of them were singing together with one voice, with the rest of the psalm as it is written.]</p>
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This hymn, sung chorally but as one voice, creates a description of a harmonious blending of voices. The pilgrim reminds the reader of the rest of the psalm, jogging our memory of its existence as a written Biblical text: "con quanto di quel salmo è poscia scripto". Because he cites only the incipits, Dante allows the text to move beyond its boundaries in the mind of the reader who is familiar with the various hymns.⁵⁵⁰ While the reader reads of the souls singing only the first line, the reader familiar with the hymn is invited to complete the singing, filling out the text. Dante allows the reader to enter into the text and to participate in the singing during these instances of holy songs. The singing is shared by everyone, including the pilgrim and even the reader. The religious songs that Dante draws on do not stand as testaments to his personal poetic skill, but rather comprise a corpus of hymns that is common knowledge.

⁵⁴⁸ See Erminia Ardissino, "I Canti liturgici nel *Purgatorio* dantesco," *Dante Studies* 108 (1990) 39-65. James Fiatarone's work on liturgical song in *Inferno* and *Purgatorio* is a very thorough study to which I refer the reader. "From 'selva oscura' to 'divina foresta': Liturgical song as path to Paradise in Dante's *Commedia*."

⁵⁴⁹ See Charles S. Singleton's seminal article on this hymn: "In exitu Israel Aegypto," *Dante Studies* 78 (1960) 1-24.

⁵⁵⁰ Other songs in the *Commedia*, such as Dante's own autocitations, are also only mentioned by incipit; because they derive from the Church and the Bible, one might easily imagine the religious songs as more accessible to a broad audience.

In general, the religious lyrics of *Purgatorio* fit the context of the *cantica*. The souls do penance, waiting in exile for absolution and hoping to arrive in the presence of God, and thus they sing hymns that reflect these emotions. For instance, early in *Purgatorio* the souls, praying to be admitted into Purgatory, sing "Miserere" (Psalm 50), one of the penitential psalms (*Purg.* V, 24); when the pilgrim makes his confession in *Purgatorio* XXXI, he hears the hymn "Asperges me" (also Psalm 50:9; *Purg.* XXXI, 98), a hymn used when a priest is absolving someone who has just made his confession, as Singleton notes in his commentary.⁵⁵¹

The religious hymns in *Paradiso* are, by contrast, joyous. Praising God and the Virgin, the heavenly spirits sing songs that ring with beatific adoration. For instance, on more than one occasion the souls sing "Ave Maria" (*Par.* III, 121-123; XVI, 34; XXXII, 94-96); they also acclaim the Virgin as the queen of heaven, singing "Regina celi" (*Par.* XXIII, 128). Hosannahs ring out numerous times (*Par.* VII, 1-3; VIII, 29; XXVIII, 118; XXXII, 135); and God the Father is also praised ("Sperent in te" *Par.* XXV, 97-99; "Te Deum Laudamus" *Par.* XXIV, 112-114).

The sacred songs remind the reader of the poet's engagement with the world of prophecy, since he imagines them being sung by souls in the afterlife. Stably sacred, the religious hymns, unlike the songs of Casella and Siren, do not interrupt the pilgrim's progress through the afterlife; instead, they add a sacred seriousness and transcendent beauty to his voyage. Further, since the songs are sung by groups, not individuals, they impart a sense of communal harmony, unlike the transfixed songs of Ulysses, Casella and the Siren.

The emphasis that Dante places on religious song within his own is established by the presence of these sacred incipits. They stand as a confirmation of the orthodoxy of

⁵⁵¹ Singleton, commentary on the *Purgatorio* (769).

Dante's song, giving it a sacred allure that helps to defuse the potentially impious claims of his *Commedia*. It is in *Paradiso*, with its association of song with the metaphor of the wheel, that the reader sees how Dante forges a sacred allure for the poetics of his song. The poet in *Paradiso* self-reflectively confirms the new sanctity of his voice.

The Poet in *Paradiso*

At the very beginning of *Paradiso*, Dante casts a backward glance at how far he has come, specifically at his own poetic project. The most obvious instance of the poet's appropriation of seductive song, its dangerous qualities now safely assigned to the gap/gaping figure of the Siren, appears in *Paradiso* II:

O voi che siete in piccioletta barca,
desiderosi d'ascoltar, seguiti
dietro al mio legno che cantando varca,
tornate a riveder li vostri liti:
non vi mettete in pelago, ch , forse,
perdendo me, rimarreste smarriti.
L'acqua ch'io prendo gi  mai non si corse;
Minerva spira, e conducemi Appollo,
e nove Muse mi dimostran l'Orse.
Voi altri pochi che drizzaste il collo
per tempo al pan delli angeli, del quale
vivesi qui ma non sen vien satollo,
metter potete ben per l'alto sale
vostro navigio, servando mio solco
dinanzi all'acqua che ritorna equale.
(*Par.* II, 1-15)

[O you who are in your little bark,
eager to hear, following behind my ship
that singing makes her way, turn back
to see again your shores. Do not commit yourselves
to the open sea, for perchance, if you lost me,
you would remain astray.
The water which I take was never coursed before.
Minerva breathes and Apollo guides me,
and nine Muses point me out the Bears.
You other few who lifted up your necks
betimes for bread of angels, on which
men here subsist but never beome sated of it,
you may indeed commit your vessel to the deep brine,
holding to my furrow ahead of the
water that turns smooth again.]

Just as the pilgrim later in *Paradiso* looks back and sees the mad track of Ulysses (*Par.* XXVII, 83),⁵⁵² in this passage we see the poet casting a backwards glance at whence he has come.⁵⁵³ The line "perdendo me, rimarreste *smarriti* " call to mind the pilgrim's own voyage at the beginning of the *Commedia* ("Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita/ mi ritrovai per una selva oscura/ che la diritta via era *smarrita* " *Inf.* I, 1-3). Furthermore, the

⁵⁵² Cf. *Inf.* XXVI: 125.

⁵⁵³ William J. O'Brien suggests that this passage has a liturgical, even penitential, function. "The Bread of Angels' in *Paradiso* II: A Liturgical Note," *Dante Studies* 97 (1979) 97-106.

poet associates much of the Ulyssean imagery with the readers: he indicates that it is the Ulyssean reader in the "piccioletta barca/ desiderosi d'ascoltar" (1-2) who should turn back from the high seas, lest they lose the poet (as guide), and end up spiritually lost.⁵⁵⁴ This passage clearly recalls both Ulysses and the Siren. The poet's boat is, appropriately enough, powered by song: "mio legno che cantando varca" (3). In addition, the pilgrim's transformation of the Siren is also remembered, as the poet addresses those readers "che drizzaste il collo" (10) who straighten up (literally heaven-ward!) under the influence of the poet's song, just as the Siren did before the pilgrim's gaze (*Purg.* XIX, 13). The song of the poet can inspire the reader to travel seas never before explored, even by Ulysses: "L'acqua ch'io prendo già mai non si corse" (7). The poet envisions himself as a Siren figure *in bono*, one who is divinely inspired and whose effect is salvific.

Dante's little bark has taken him, in *Paradiso*, far from *Purgatorio*'s Siren and her dangerously seductive song.⁵⁵⁵ This image of a "piccioletta barca" recurs later in *Paradiso*

⁵⁵⁴ The poet indicts the readers as Ulyssean voyagers here in *Paradiso* indicating the length to which he goes to deflect criticism of his own song as dangerously seductive. Not too long ago in *Purgatorio* XXXI, Beatrice identified the pilgrim as a Ulyssean figure, whose wanderings and subsequent encounters with the Sirens (Casella and the Siren) have been perilous:

Tuttavia, perché mo vergogna porte
del tuo errore, e perché alta volta,
udendo le sirene, sie più forte,
pon giú il seme del piangere ad ascolta:
sì udirai come in contraria parte
mover dovieti mia carne sepolta.
(*Purg.* XXXI, 43-48).

[Still, that you may now bear shame
for your error, and another time,
hearing the Sirens, may be stronger,
lay aside the seed of tears and listen:
so shall you hear how in opposite direction
my buried flesh ought to have moved you.]

⁵⁵⁵ In fact, two references to sirens in *Paradiso* further mark the distance between Dante's song and that of the Siren of *Purgatorio*. The first occurs when the Pilgrim describes St. Bonaventura as a flame whose song conquers the siren:

Sì tosto come l'ultima parola
le benedetta fiamma per dir tolse,
a rotar cominciò la santa mola;
e nel suo giro tutta non si volse
prima ch'un'altra di cerchio la chiuse,
e moto a moto e canto a canto colse;
canto che tanto vince nostre muse,
nostre serene, (*Par.* XII, 1-9)

[As soon as the blessed flame
took to speaking its last word
the holy millstone began to turn,
and it had not yet made a full circle
when a second enclosed it round and matched
motion with motion and song with song:
song which, in those sweet pipes,
as much surpasses our Muses, our Sirens.]

The syntax and repetition of "e moto a moto e canto a canto colse" suggest the pairing of mechanical work and singing. The terms "muse" and "serene" evoke pagan poetic inspirations of song; the poet thus suggests

XXIII, and now that the figure of Ulysses has lost his threatening allure, the little bark becomes not only a symbol of the poet's "ingegno," but also a vehicle for the sacred. As he describes the singing of the holy face, Dante explicates not only his writing style in *Paradiso*, but also his view of the *Commedia* as a vehicle of divine truth.

Se mo sonasser tutte quelle lingue
che Polimnìa con le suore fero
del latte lor dolcissimo più pingue,
per aiutarmi, al millesmo del vero
non si verria, cantando il santo riso
e quanto il santo aspetto facea mero;
e così, figurando il paradiso,
convien saltar lo sacrato poema,
come chi trova suo cammin riciso.
Ma chi pensasse il ponderoso tema
e l'omero mortal che se ne carica,
nol biasmerebbe se sott'esso trema:
non è pareggio da picciola barca
quel che fendendo va l'ardita prora,
né da nocchier ch'a sé medesmo parca.
(*Par.* XXIII, 55-69)

[Through all those tongues which
Polyhymnia and her sisters made most rich
with their sweetest milk should sound now to aid me,
it would not come to a thousandth part of the truth,
in singing the holy smile,
and how it lit up the holy aspect;
and so, depicting Paradise,
the sacred poem must needs make a leap,
even as one who finds his way cut off.
But whoso thinks of the ponderous theme
and of the mortal shudder which is laden therewith,
will not blame it if it tremble beneath the load.
It is no voyage for a little bark,
this which my daring plow cleaves as it goes,
nor for a pilot who would spare himself.]

here the appropriation of pagan song by Christianity. The fact that the muses and sirens are described with a possessive "nostre" creates a genealogy for poetic glory; in other words, by calling the muses and sirens "ours," Bonaventure not only appropriates classical song, but the glory of classical writing. Hammering away in song, so to speak, the poet, like Christians in general, conquers and rewrites sinful pagan song.

A second and even clearer example of how the pilgrim repudiates the Siren and her song appears in *Paradiso* XXVII. In this instance, Beatrice, describing the Primum Mobile, laments human *cupiditas* using many of the same terms to describe the Siren:

Tale, balbuzièndo ancor, digiuna,
che poi divora, con la lingua sciolta,
qualunque cibo per qualunque luna;
e tal, balbuzièndo, ama e ascolta
la madre sua, che, con loquela intera,
disia poi di vederla sepolta.
(*Par.* XXVII, 130-135)

[One, so long as he lisps, keeps the fasts,
who afterward, when his tongue is free,
devours any food through any month;
and one, while he lisps, loves his mother
and listens to her, who afterward,
when his speech is full, longs to see her
buried.]

This scene recalls the development of sin for the reader in terms of a human lifespan. The children of this passage represent an innocence that is lost in adulthood with serious consequences: non-adherence to Christian ritual, and even matricide. The repetition of "balbuzièndo" and "la lingua sciolta" recall for the reader the figure of the Siren, who was described in similar terms in *Purgatorio* XIX ("una femmina balba" 7; and "ell'avea 'l parlar cosí disciolto" 16). In both episodes, the stammering figure represents what is true: the Siren's repugnant ugliness, the children's innocence. In both episodes as well, once their speech is smoothed, the figures become dangerous: the Siren for her song, the children, now adults, for their lawlessness. Dante thus rewrites the Siren episode in brief, giving it here in *Paradiso* a serious condemnation of the state of the human family in its broadest sense.

The use of the metaphor "come chi trova suo cammin riciso" reminds the reader of the pilgrim's lost path at the beginning of *Commedia*, and sets it up in juxtaposition to the poet's own divine progress. Unlike the pilgrim, and unlike Ulysses who is condemned for breaking boundaries set for humans by God, the poet accentuates and valorizes his own poetic voyage. His voyage, unlike that of the pilgrim, is neither lost nor truncated; his bark is neither that of Ulysses nor that of the reader: "non è pareggio da picciola barca/ quel che fendendo va l'ardita prora,/ne da nocchier ch'a se medesmo parca". The reference to "l'ardita prora" recalls the figure of Ulysses,⁵⁵⁶ and yet the poet places his project of figuring paradise as beyond human comprehension. The poet seems to have left behind his little bark of *Paradiso* II; his vehicle now is brave enough (and sacred enough) to undertake the poetic description of God even as it skips,⁵⁵⁷ the pilot willing to go to any length, again summoning the figure of Ulysses.⁵⁵⁸

If *Inferno* and *Purgatorio* represent the textual struggle of the pilgrim, as Marguerite Mills Chiarenza argues, I suggest that it is in *Paradiso* that the poet struggles with creating a consecrated representation of heaven.⁵⁵⁹ In fact, if *Purgatorio* is most open to an exploration of poetry and art, as is noted by Edoardo Sanguineti, then *Paradiso* celebrates precisely the poet's own poetry and art.⁵⁶⁰ Linking himself to Virgil and Statius, Dante refers to himself as a poet in *Paradiso* XXV.⁵⁶¹ He becomes, as Barolini argues,

⁵⁵⁶ *Inf.* XXVI, 97.

⁵⁵⁷ Dante declares that his poem must jump in order to depict paradise: "e così, figurando il paradiso/ convien saltar lo sacrato poema" (*Par.* XXIII, 61-62).

⁵⁵⁸ Barolini, however, sees the poet in this passage as "potentially underequipped for his Ulyssean task." *Undivine* 224.

⁵⁵⁹ Marguerite Mills Chiarenza, "The Imageless Vision and Dante's *Paradiso*," *Dante Studies* 90 (1972) 81. James Fiatarone notes a linguistic progression in vocal song in *Purgatorio*; that is, figures such as the Angel-guardians who begin singing in Latin, progressively sing more and more in the vernacular. This theory reveals, I believe, the increasing primacy of the poet. "From 'selva oscura' to 'divina foresta': Liturgical song as path to Paradise in Dante's *Commedia*" 539-545.

⁵⁶⁰ Edoardo Sanguineti, "Infernal Acoustics: Sacred Song and Earthly Song," *Lectura Dantis* 6 (Spring 1990) 77.

⁵⁶¹ Dante imagines his return from exile to Florence to receive the laurel crown:

Se mai contingua che 'l poema sacro

[If ever it came to pass that the sacred poem

the “*poeta of Paradiso*,” the heavenly fulfillment of these epic poets.⁵⁶² Mazzotta, who places Dante’s poetry within a context of a whole, a unified totality akin to cosmological works and encyclopedias, sees the poet as in touch with the celestial:

Dante’s sense of himself as a poet, in short, occurs at the outer frontier of the planets because poetry for him has the power to grasp the literally global framework of creation and make intelligible its origins; his poetry can be characterized as having the two aspects of Saturn, simultaneously earthly and heavenly; more than that, poetry is for him the crucial enterprise that gains access to the unexplored realms of the planets and comprehends the essence of the sciences each of them stands for.⁵⁶³

For Mazzotta, Dante discovers the origins of his poetry and his destiny as a poet in the heaven of the fixed stars.⁵⁶⁴ The closer that Dante gets to God, the more his poetic project, the song of the *Commedia*, becomes sanctified. In *Paradiso*, the poet highlights the difficulty of representing the heavens through the topos of ineffability while drawing the reader’s attention to his poetry and its production through mechanical metaphors of concentricity. This “*circulata melodia*” of *Paradiso* confirms the sanctity of Dante’s song.

al quale ha posto mano e cielo e terra,
 sì che m'ha fatto per molti anni macro,
 vinca la crudeltà che fuor me serra
 del bello ovile ov' io dormi' agnello,
 nimico ai lupi che li danno guerra;
 con altra voce ormai, con altro vello
 riternerò poeta, e in sul fonte
 del mio battesimo prenderò 'l cappello;
 però che ne la fede, che fa conte
 l'anime a Dio, quivi intra' io, e poi
 Pietro per lei sì mi girò la fronte.
 (*Par.* XXV, 1-12)

to which heaven and earth have so set hand
 that it has made me lean for many years
 should overcome the cruelty which bars me
 from the fair sheepfold where I slept as a
 lamb, an enemy to the wolves which war on
 it, with changed voice now and with
 changed fleece a poet I will return,
 and at the font of my baptism will I take the
 crown; because there I entered into the Faith
 that makes souls known to God; and
 afterward Peter, for its sake, thus encircled
 my brow.]

⁵⁶² Barolini emphasizes, and I agree, that epic here means more a work of “social, historical, and prophetic pretensions,” and is not a national epic, or even generically an epic. *Dante's Poets* 269-271.

⁵⁶³ Giuseppe Mazzotta, *Dante's Vision and the Circle of Knowledge* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1993) 3-4, 168.

⁵⁶⁴ See *Paradiso* XXII, 112-114.

The Sanctification of Dante's Writing: *Paradiso's* "circulata melodia"

In *Paradiso*, song is everywhere and everpresent. In addition to the religious hymns that I have already explored, other, less specific (often wordless) instances of song fill this *cantica*.⁵⁶⁵ Unlike *Purgatorio*, where the focus is placed more on the act of singing, in *Paradiso* the emphasis is on song as a substantive, a quasi-atmospheric quality that fills the heavens. Song seems more a performance than an activity in which the reader participates. In other words, song is apparent in *Paradiso*, but often the reader does not know exactly what is being sung, only that there is singing.⁵⁶⁶ In *Paradiso* XV, for instance, the pilgrim hears a song but is unable to understand the words:

E come giga e arpa, in tempra tesa

[And as viol and harp, strung

⁵⁶⁵ Significantly, the one instance in which song is quoted from a secular source in *Paradiso* is an auto-citation from Dante's *Convivio*. The angelic Charles Martel, speaking directly to the pilgrim, quotes from the first canzone of Dante's *Convivio*:

'Noi ci volgiam coi principi celesti
d'un giro e d'un girare e d'una sete,
ai quali tu del mondo già dicesti:
"Voi che 'ntendendo il terzo ciel movete";
e sem sì pien d'amor, che, per piaceri,
non fia men dolce un poco di quiete.'
(*Par.* VIII, 34-39)

['With one circle, with one circling and
with one thirst we revolve with the celestial
Princes to whom you in the world did once
say, "You who move the third heaven by
intellection"; and we are so full of love that,
in order to please you, a little quiet will not
be less sweet to us.']

One angelic light, having just sung a celestial Hosanna with the others (*Par.* VIII, 28-30), uses this quotation from the poet's secular *Convivio* in order to describe the heavens. Because it is one of the heavenly lights that quotes from Dante's secular poetry, it blesses the song by virtue of the celestial context.

In *Paradiso* XVII, Beatrice makes a direct reference to Dante's own writing:

Tu, perché non ti facci maraviglia,
pensa che 'n terra non è chi governi;
onde sí svia l'umana famiglia.
(*Par.* XXVII, 139-141)

[That you not marvel at this, consider
that on earth there is no one to govern,
wherefore the human family goes astray.]

Beatrice's words to the pilgrim "Tu [...] pensa che 'n terra non è chi governi" make allusion to the poet's *De Monarchia*. Just as in the Siren episode in *Purgatorio*, once again the reader is reminded of the poet and his earlier, secular poetic production. Here this work condemned by ecclesiastics during Dante's lifetime attains a sacred allure, since it is alluded to by the pilgrim's celestial guide Beatrice in a description of the celestial Primum Mobile. This allusion accentuates a new singer, and a sanctified song.

⁵⁶⁶ This is not the case with the religious hymns which are quoted and which, by virtue of their familiarity, invite the reader to join in the singing. In comparison to the quantity of religious hymns identified in the *Purgatorio*, those in *Paradiso* are relatively infrequent.

s'accogliea per la croce una melode
che mi rapiva, senza intender l'inno.
(*Par.* XIV, 118-123)

there a melody gathered through the cross
which held me rapt, though I followed not
the hymn.]

Although the onomatopoeic description of the sound of the viol and harp (the "tintinno") gives a slight description of the song heard by the pilgrim, the reader is cut off from perceiving the music. The experience of not being able to understand the hymn is repeated twice in this passage, once metaphorically (118-120), and once as experienced by the pilgrim (121-123). While the pilgrim cannot follow the hymn, the poet does offer a metaphor to describe it. The reader is twice removed from the song, unable even to understand the metaphor that purports to explain it.⁵⁶⁷

That song is everywhere and yet not distinguished by its lyrics echoes the poet's seemingly increasing inability to describe this heavenly universe. While the angels often sing songs of unknowable holiness, again and again the poet signals the ineffability of *Paradiso*.⁵⁶⁸ At the very end of *Paradiso*, for instance, the poet exclaims that language is not enough to express the divinity that the pilgrim encounters:

Oh quanto è corto il dire e come fioco
al mio concetto! e questo, a quel ch'i vidi,
è tanto, che non basta a dicer 'poco.'
(*Par.* XXXIII, 121-123)

[O how scant is speech, and how feeble
to my conception! and this, to what I saw,
is such that it is not enough to call it little.]

These references to speech ("il dire") and thought ("mio concetto") denote the poet; the adverbs of quantity "quanto" and "tanto" heighten the inexpressability of this experience. The poet is without words, and even the intellectual capacity to formulate them, before the

⁵⁶⁷ Similarly, in *Paradiso* X, there is only a vague description of song, but no actual words: "e 'l canto di quei lumi era di quelle" [and of these was the song of those lights] (*Par.* X, 73). In the passage cited above from *Paradiso* XII, the word song ("canto") is repeated three times, but the reader never knows just what Bonaventure sings (*Par.* XII, 6-9). In *Paradiso* XXXI, the angels sing of Christ's glory ("ma l'altra, che volando vede e canta/ la gloria di colui che la 'nnamora/ e la bontà che la fece cotanta" 4-6 ["But the other host--who, as it flies, sees and sings His glory who enamors it and the goodness which made it so great"]), but with which words, the reader does not know.

⁵⁶⁸ Other instances of this ineffability topos occur in *Par.* I, 6-12; *Par.* XVIII, 10-12; *Par.* XXI, 139-141; *Par.* XXIII, 22-24; *Par.* XIV, 22-27; *Par.* XXX, 28-33; and *Par.* XXXIII, 55-75. See on this subject, Jacomuzzi 103-152.

transcendent and indescribable divinity. More importantly, if the reader is not always meant to be capable of understanding what the pilgrim experiences, sees and hears in heaven, the very ineffability of this *cantica* directs the reader toward the poet who has created this representation of heaven.

The ineffability topos governs the structure of *Paradiso*.⁵⁶⁹ Dante asserts that his poem is not only sacred, but mystical, actively surpassing the limits of human comprehension: "e così, figurando il paradiso/ convien saltar lo sacrato poema" (*Par.* XXIII, 61-2). Dante's emphasis on his poem figuring Paradise ("figurando") here links it to notions of *figura* and *mimesis*.⁵⁷⁰ The poet as a result claims that the poem is both a true, mimetic representation of the kingdom of God, and that it has been divinely sanctioned. Furthermore, the term "figurando" here also suggests the existence of a poetics behind this representation of the afterlife. The poem must jump ("saltar"), which closes off the possibility of both representation and interpretation, making it more difficult for the reader to analyze and to understand *Paradiso* as a text.⁵⁷¹ As a result, these poetic jumps place this *cantica* on the same level as holy scripture, whose mysteries can never be fully understood.⁵⁷²

⁵⁶⁹ On the topos of ineffability in *Paradiso*, see Peter Hawkins, "Dante's *Paradiso* and the Dialectic of Ineffability," *Ineffability: Naming the Unnamable from Dante to Beckett* ed. Anne Howland Schotter (New York: AMS Press, 1984) 5-21. Joan M. Ferrante analyzes neologisms and images of fusion in Dante's language in *Paradiso*. She argues, since the normal rules of language and grammar do not apply, Dante's conception of language reflects God. "Words and Images in the *Paradiso*," in *Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio: Studies in the Italian Trecento* 115-132.

⁵⁷⁰ See Augustine's discussion of ambiguous signs and figurative expressions in Book 4 of *De Doctrina Christiana* (Green 132-195); Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature* trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1953) 174-202.

⁵⁷¹ According to Barolini, apostrophes, exclamation, and lyrical simile interrupt the plot in *Paradiso* and prevent a narrative line from forming (*Undivine* 225-227). John Freccero notes that terza rima's forward motion is interrupted in *Paradiso*. *Dante: the Poetics of Conversion* 267.

⁵⁷² Jacomuzzi argues that this ineffability is antithetical to the prophetic mode, and proposes that the *Commedia* exists as a sacred poem because of the structural tension and opposition of "sacred" and "poetic" (150).

The cosmic circling of the love which moves the universe recalls the (supposed) inability of the poet to express this circling:

Quella circolazion che sì concetta
pareva in te come lume riflesso,
da li occhi miei alquanto circunspecta,
dentro da sé, del suo colore stesso,
mi parve pinta de la nostra effige:
per che'l mio viso in lei tutto era messo.
Qual è 'l geomètra che tutto s'affige
per misurar lo cerchio, e non ritrova,
pensando, quel principio ond'elli indige,
tal era io a quella vista nova:
veder voleva come sì convenne
l'imago al cerchio e come vi s'indova;
ma non eran da ciò le proprie penne:
se non che la mia mente fu percossa
da un fulgore in che sua voglia venne.
A l'alta fantasia qui mancò possa;
ma già volgeva il mio disio e 'l velle
sì come rota ch'igualmente è mossa,
l'amor che move il sole e l'altre stelle.
(*Par.* XXXIII, 127-145)

[That circling which, thus begotten,
appeared in Thee as reflected light,
when my eyes had dwelt on it for a time,
seemed to me depicted with our image
within itself and in its own color,
wherefore my sight was entirely set upon it.
As the geometer who wholly applies himself
to measure the circle, and finds not,
in pondering, the principle of which he is in need,
such was I at that new sight.
I wished to see how the image conformed
to the circle and how it has its place therein;
but my own wings were not sufficient for that,
save that my mind was smitten by a
flash wherein its wish came to it.
Here power failed the lofty phantasy;
but already my desire and my will were revolved,
like a wheel that is evenly moved,
by the Love which moves the sun and the
other stars.]

Dante figures himself as a geometer in this passage, and humbly portrays his skills as incomplete in this heavenly realm. These references call to mind a popular conception of God as creator/geometer with compass;⁵⁷³ moreover, the association of these notions of circularity and creation serves to highlight once again the role of the poet as (divine) creator. While Dante does not claim outright to be God in these passages, he nevertheless creates a simile that links him, as a poet trying to represent the circling of love, to God the creator/architect. As a poet/geometer, Dante forges a connection between the art of representation and the circling of the heavens. In this passage, the mechanical aspect of circling, through the simile of God as creator/geometer directs the reader to the poet's art.⁵⁷⁴

⁵⁷³ An image of this appears in the Bible Moralisée in Vienna (Osterreich Nat. Bib. MS Cod. Vindo. 2554, fol. 1v) and in the mosaics in Monreale cathedral.

⁵⁷⁴ John Freccero argues that the metaphor of the wheel represents Dante's "idea of the soul's ultimate relationship to God," and associates the movement of the wheel with Ezechiel and Neo-Platonic *paideia* (246-247). *Dante, The Poetics of Conversion* 245-257.

Song throughout *Paradiso* is very much linked to mechanics, in specific, to images of circles and wheels. The "circulata melodia" (*Par.* XXIII, 109-110) becomes a recurring image of song in *Paradiso*.⁵⁷⁵ Not only do songs contain a melody that wheels around, but the songs are sung in places of circularity, and the singers themselves are often turning around in circles. For instance in *Paradiso* XXIV, song echoes through the spheres: "l'alta corte santa/ risono per le spere un 'Dio laudamo'/ ne la melodia che la su si canta" (*Par.* XXIV, 112-114) ["the high and holy court resounded a '*Te Deum laudamus*' through the spheres, in the melody which up there is sung"].⁵⁷⁶ In other words, because of the spherical construction of the heavens,⁵⁷⁷ the resonance of song imitates this same shape.

⁵⁷⁵ According to Barolini, the angel's song and his circling movement described by "la circulata melodia" (*Par.* 23, 109-110) fracture discourse, and paradoxically, create a unified linguistic texture (*Undivine* 228-229).

⁵⁷⁶ This passage is noteworthy as well for its curious mix of the familiar and the unfamiliar. The poet names the song in its vernacular form, rendering it accessible perhaps for a wider class of reader, while preventing the reader from knowing the melody, since it is one that is sung only in heaven ("la su").

⁵⁷⁷ The heavenly universe is constructed in a circular manner. For instance, in *Paradiso* XIII, the pilgrim describes the universe of heaven as two wheels on an axle (*Par.* XIII, 1-18); later, the pilgrim paints an image of the heavens as conjoined burning circles (*Par.* XXVIII, 22-45; -78). More importantly, Beatrice describes the entire universe, not only the heavens, as revolving around a divine center which is calm and which acts as the source and object of love that moves the wheels of the universe.

La natura del mondo, che quïeta
il mezzo e tutto l'altro intorno move,
quinci comincia come da sua meta;
e questo cielo non ha altro *dove*
che la mente divina, in che s'accende
l'amor che 'l volge e la virtù ch'ei piove.
Luce e amor d'un cerchio lui comprende,
sì come questo li altri; e quel precinto
colui che 'l cinge solamente intende.'
(*Par.* XXVII, 106-120)

['The nature of the universe which holds the
center quiet and moves all the rest around it,
begins here as from its starting point. And
this heaven has no other *Where* than the
divine mind, wherein is kindled the love that
revolves it, and the virtue which it rains
down. Light and love enclose it in a circle,
as it does the others. and this engirdment
He alone who girds it understands.']

This image of cosmology reminds the modern reader of a hurricane, with its circling winds and calm center. By describing the universe as circles revolving around and in the tranquil divine mind, Beatrice focuses on the function of love. Love serves as the motor that drives the revolutions of the universe; moreover, the combination of light and love shape it into a circular form. Only the divine mind can understand this circularity, which points once again, albeit indirectly, back to our poet, since it is he who describes this cosmology, creating it in words.

In *The Undivine Comedy*, Barolini asserts that the image of concentricity is the most basic image of the heaven of the sun, and is devoted to representing not only different ideas but also different registers of language.⁵⁷⁸ I propose that this image of concentricity is linked with both song and the mechanics of wheels throughout the heavens of *Paradiso*, and serves to direct the reader toward the art of the poet.⁵⁷⁹ The three strands of this analysis--song, ineffability, and the mechanics of the wheel--come together to direct the reader towards the poet's art, sanctified in *Paradiso* as true and sacred. In other words, the association of song with wheels and concentricity, conjoined with a claim of the inexpressible, serves not only as a representation of heaven, but also of the poet's own song, his *Commedia*. Song in *Paradiso*, I argue, serves as a *figura* for Dante's work as a whole. In this way Dante's song, like song in the heavenly realm, is made sacred.

⁵⁷⁸ Barolini, *Undivine* 208.

⁵⁷⁹ For example, in *Paradiso* XIII, the repetition of the imperative "imagine!" ("imagini"), a reinvocation of the poet's activity, marks a description of the wheels of heavens:

Imagini, chi bene intender cupe
 quel ch'i or vidi--e ritegna l'image,
 mentre ch'io dico, come ferma rupe--,
 quindici stelle che 'n diverse plage
 lo cielo avvivan di tanto sereno
 che soperchia de l'aere ogne compage;
 imagini quel carro a cu' il seno
 basta del nostro cielo e notte e giorno,
 sì ch'al volger del temo non vien meno;
 imagini la bocca di quel corno
 che si comincia in punto de lo stelo
 a cui la prima rota va dintorno,
 aver fatto di sé due segni in cielo,
 qual fece la figliuola di Minoi
 allora che senti di morte il gelo;
 e l'un ne l'altro aver li raggi suoi,
 e amendue girarsi per maniera
 che l'uno andasse al primo e l'altro al poi;
 e avrà quasi l'ombra de la vera
 costellazione e de la doppia danza
 che circolava il punti dov' io era:
 poi ch'è tanto di là da nostra usanza,
 quanto di là dal mover de la Chiana
 si move il ciel che tutti li altri avanza.
 (*Par.* XIII, 1-24)

[Let him imagine, who would rightly grasp
 what I now beheld {and, while I speak,
 let him hold the image as firm as a rock},
 fifteen stars which in different regions
 vivify the heaven with such great brightness
 that it overcomes every thickness of the air;
 let him imagine that Wain for which the
 bosom of our heaven suffices night and day
 so that with the turning of the pole it does
 not disappear; let him imagine the mouth of
 that Horn which begins at the end of the axle
 on which the first wheel revolves--all to
 have made of themselves two signs in the
 heavens like that which the daughter of
 Minos made when she felt the chill of death;
 and one to have its rays within the other,
 and both to revolve in such manner that one
 should go first and the one after; and he will
 have as it were a shadow of the true
 constellation, and of the double dance, which
 was circling round the point where I was;
 for it as far beyond our experience as the
 motion of the heaven that outspeeds all
 the rest is beyond the motion of the Chiana.]

Dante is concerned with placing his poetic creation within the concentric realm of divine poetry.⁵⁸⁰ In *Paradiso* X, the poet calls on the reader to pay attention to the mechanics of this heavenly art:

Leva dunque, lettore, a l'alte rote
meco la vista, dritto a quella parte
dove l'un moto e l'altro si percuote;
e lì comincia a vagheggiar ne l'arte
di quel maestro che dentro a sé l'ama,
tanto che mai da lei l'occhio non parte.
(*Par.* X, 7-12)

[Lift then your sight with me, reader, to the
lofty wheels, straight to that part where the
one motion strikes the other;
and amorously there begin to gaze upon that
Master's art who within Himself so loves it
that His eye never turns from it.]

The repetition of the imperative construction ("Leva" and "comincia") here wakes the reader out of her fictional slumber; the poet, talking to her directly, compels her to look at the wheels ("l'alte rote") which turn the heavens.⁵⁸¹ The wheels are loci of pleasure and love; the language the poet uses ("vagheggiar" and "l'ama") derive from secular love lyric. By drawing the reader's attention to the mechanics behind the turning of the stars, the poet by extension suggests the mechanics and the poetics of his own writing, behind this, *his* representation of the heavens. In other words, while the poet attributes the creation of these wheels to God ("l'arte / di quel maestro"), he turns the reader's attention to his own poetry, his own representation of God's art. The term "arte" is doubly significant, reflecting both God's and, obliquely, the poet's art. Furthermore, the poet places both the reader and God

⁵⁸⁰ Dante not only figures his poetic creation as divinely sanctioned but also portrays himself as a vehicle through which the divine verses flow, directly from the word of God. In *Paradiso* XXV, for instance, Dante defines hope, and asserts that this definition has been instilled in him by the supreme singer, the psalmist of God's word (*Par.* XXV, 67-75). The repetition of the terms of stillation, such as "distillo", "stillasti", and "stillar," evoke an alchemical process, and heighten this notion of a mysterious chemical transformation that is operative through the figure of the poet. Furthermore, in this light, one might consider Dante's definition of hope as expectation of future glory, produced by divine grace ('Spene,' diss'io, 'e uno attender certo/ de la gloria futura, il qual produce/ grazia divina' *Par.* XXV, 67-69 ["'Hope,' I said, 'is a sure expectation of future glory, which divine grace produces'"]), and as an allusion to himself as a poet. Dante as a result seems to be opening up the possibility that his own poetic creation has been instilled in him, just as the divine psalms were into David. Dante's song seems to have come to him directly from God, and is just as sacred as holy writ.

⁵⁸¹ John Freccero sees in the description of these wheels a description of the zodiac, and by extension sees Dante employing stellar movement as a metaphor for beatitude. "*Paradiso* X: The Dance of the Stars," *Dante Studies* 86 (1968) 85-111.

in the role of lover: both gaze amorously with pleasure upon these wheels.⁵⁸² God's eyes do not turn from the sight of these wheels ("tanto che mai da lei l'occhio non parte") recalling the way in which the pilgrim is similarly mesmerized by the Siren's song ("con pena / da lei avrei mio intento rivolto" *Purg.* XIX, 17-18). While these wheels are pleasurable like the Siren's song, they clearly are not dangerous but sacred, a part of the divine creation, since even God gazes with pleasure upon them. This passage also creates a significant conflation of God and the poet; by calling God a master, and the workings of heaven as His art ("l'arte/ di quel maestro") the poet deliberately employs a lexicon that might easily describe a poet and artist and his creation. Throughout this passage, the poet calls our attention to the art of his representation of the heavenly wheels. In this way, the construction of the poet's song mirrors the construction of the heavens; Dante's vernacular song becomes, by extension, a sacred text.

This notion of circularity and cosmology as references to the poet's art is evidenced in *Paradiso* II. Here, Beatrice describes the universe of heaven as graded circles (*Par.* II, 112-138); curiously, she uses the image of a stamp and a seal in her description: "e 'l ciel cui tanti lumi fanno bello,/ de la mente profonda che lui volve/ prende l'immagine e fassene suggello" (*Par.* II, 130-132) ["and the heaven which so many lights make beautiful takes its stamp from the profound mind that turns it, and of that stamp makes itself the seal"]. God, "la mente profonda," not only turns the heavens but gives it its shape, as a seal stamps an image. This image of the stamp and seal also indicates the poet's artistic creation, since it concerns art and representation: the heavens take their shape from the profound mind ("e 'l ciel [...] prende l'immagine"). This recalls the engravings of *Purgatorio* X, which, as Barolini has argued, attest to the poem's re-presentation of the divine.⁵⁸³ Linking this

⁵⁸² If the reader focuses on the art of these wheels as indicating the poet's art, the fact that both God and the reader gaze with pleasure on it indicates the sanctified, even sacred, nature of the poet's song.

⁵⁸³ Barolini, "Re-presenting what God Presented" 43-62.

image of a stamp with the heavenly universe places the poet in a particularly powerful position. While the stamp does not recall the poet, it is clear that this image directs the careful reader toward him, and places him in the role of creator.

The figure of Dante is ultimately highlighted in the circular ordering of the universe. Not only does song move in a circular fashion because of the make-up of the heavens; at times song seems to encircle the pilgrim as he moves through paradise. For instance, in *Paradiso* X, the souls as light encircle Dante and Beatrice, and sing:

Io vidi più folgór vivi e vincenti
far di noi centro e di sé far corona
più dolci in voce che in vista lucenti:

[.....]

Poi, sì cantando, quelli ardenti soli
si fuor girati intorno a noi tre volte,
come stelle vicine a' fermi poli,
donne mi parver, non da ballo sciolte,
ma che s'arrestin tacite, ascoltando
fin che le nove note hanno ricolte.

(*Par.* X, 64-66, 76-81)

[I saw many flashing lights of surpassing brightness
make of us a center and of themselves a crown,
more sweet in voice than shining in aspect.

[.....]

When, so singing, those blazing suns
had circled three times around us,
like stars neighboring the fixed poles,
they seemed as ladies not released from the dance,
but who stop silent, listening
till they have caught the new notes.]

This passage places not only Beatrice but also Dante within a spiritually symbolic center. The lights singing as they revolve around the pair three times is significant: as divine poet, Dante seems to have found his trinitarian sanction. Because these lights, as suns ("soli"), encircle Dante and Beatrice as stars, our two protagonists are in, and represent, the center of this divine circle. The poet highlights the song of these lights, rather than their brightness, indicating once again the importance of song in this *cantica*, and more specifically, the relationship between song and circular motion.

This is not the only occasion in which the pilgrim is encircled by singing beings; a similar instance of this divine sanction that takes the form of encircling the pilgrim occurs later in *Paradiso* XXIV. The joy of the heavenly beings is so great at Dante's confession of faith that the apostolic light (St. Peter) encircles him a symbolic three times, singing benedictions:

così, benedicendomi cantando,
 tre volte cinse me, sì com' io tacqui,
 l'appostolico lume al cui comando
 io avea detto: sì nel dir li piacqui!
 (*Par.* XXIV, 151-154)

[so, singing benedictions on me, the
 apostolic light at whose bidding I had spoken
 encircled me three times when I was silent,
 I so pleased him by my speech.]

This example, like that of *Paradiso* X, highlights the figure of the pilgrim as a center around which song revolves; he becomes in some sense the magnetized force for song. That Dante is encircled by the singing light of St. Peter directs us paradoxically outside the pilgrim's circle to that of the poet. While we see the pilgrim as the center of this circling, the poet clearly stands behind this creation, giving himself, via the pilgrim, this divine sanction, a halo of sorts for his poetry. This encircling of song around the figure of the pilgrim serves not only to invoke but also to accentuate the art of the poet.

Just as the poet highlights his own poetic creation through the circling song of *Paradiso*, he also distances it from the reader. That is, just as the reader is not permitted full understanding of *Paradiso*'s divine mysteries because of the construction, the skips and jumps of this *cantica*, she is also not permitted to experience in full the songs of *Paradiso*. Unlike *Purgatorio*, in which the reader is invited to share in the singing through the incipits of familiar songs, in *Paradiso* Dante most often highlights the inability of the reader to understand some aspect of the songs, whether it be their literal meaning or their beauty. The poet's deliberate veiling of the poem occurs frequently in conjunction with the "circulata melodia", those moments in which song turns and revolves in concentric motion. If the reader is distanced from the pilgrim in *Paradiso*, unable to come within the circle of song and share in the singing, she is also often unable to understand the song. The poet accentuates the art of his song, and yet hides it from the reader. This triple nexus of song, concentricity, and the inability to know and understand the poem, I argue, serves to point to the poet's art.

In *Paradiso* VII, for example, the poet evokes a revolving song that linguistically closes off access to the reader. Here, Dante quotes a song that mixes both Hebrew and Latin, calling attention to its difficulty for comprehension by the reader.

*"Osanna, sanctus Deus sabaòth,
superillustrans claritae tua
felices ignes horum malacòth!"*
Così, volgendosi a la nota sua,
fu viso a me cantare essa sustanza,
sopra la qual doppio lume s'addua;
ed essa e l'altre mossero a sua danza,
e quasi velocissime faville
mi si velar di sùbita distanza.
(*Par.* VII, 1-9)

[*Hail, holy God of hosts,
doubly illumining with thy brightness
the happy fires of these kingdoms!*
--so revolving to his melody
I saw that substance sing,
on whom a double light is twinned;
and he and the others moved in their dance,
and like swiftest sparks veiled
themselves from me by sudden distance.]

This hybrid song is significant for its circularity; the dance revolves as does the double light ("volgendosi a la nota sua").⁵⁸⁴ Even a reader familiar with Latin might stumble over the meaning of the Hebrew words inset in this song. Although "osanna", "sabaòth", and "malacòth" all appear in religious texts familiar to Christians,⁵⁸⁵ these words would be understandable only by those readers who could read Hebrew or Latin. Similarly, the lights within this passage also engage in concealment: the fastest lights veil themselves from the pilgrim ("mi si velar di sùbita distanza"), imparting a sense of mystery to their song. In both its linguistic hybridity and obfuscation, this passage as a result recalls Dante's own song, the *Commedia*.⁵⁸⁶

A second example of this association of circular song and obfuscation occurs in *Paradiso* X. In this passage, the poet highlights not only the connection of song to a wheel, but the reader's inability to fully experience the song:

⁵⁸⁴ This circular singing of "Hosanna" reappears in the following canto, when circles of lights again sing "Hosanna" (*Par.* VIII, 25-30). The circularity of dance that this bilingual "Hosannah" depicts is also recalled in later cantos. In *Paradiso* XII, the poet combines song and lights in a dance (*Par.* XII, 22-30). And again, in *Paradiso* XXV, St. John, upon arriving, approaches two who were wheeling to the song *Sperent in te* (*Par.* XXV, 97-108).

⁵⁸⁵ In his commentary to *Paradiso*, Singleton notes that "osanna" and "sabaòth" occur in the Bible, and "malacòth" appears in St. Jerome's preface to the Vulgate called *Prologus Galeus* (129).

⁵⁸⁶ Dante includes Italian, Latin, Occitan, Hebrew, and some unknowable words in the *Commedia*.

Indi, come orologio che ne chiami
 ne l'ora che la sposa di Dio surge
 a mattinar lo sposo perché l'ami,
 che l'una parte e l'altra tira e urge,
 tin tin sonando con sì dolce nota,
 che 'l ben disposto spirto d'amor turge;
 così vid'io la gloriosa rota
 muoversi e render voce a voce in tempra
 e in dolcezza ch'esser non pò nota
 se non colà dove gioir s'insempra.
 (*Par. X*, 139-148)

[Then, like a clock which calls us at the hour
 when the Bride of God rises to sing her matins
 to her Bridegroom, that he may love her,
 in which the one part draws or drives the other,
 sounding ting! ting! with notes so sweet
 that the well-disposed spirit swells with love,
 so did I see the glorious wheel move
 and render voice to voice with harmony and sweetness
 that cannot be known except
 there where joy is everlasting.]

In this passage, the poet highlights the union of separate parts--"l'una e l'altra", "la sposa" and "lo sposo", "voce a voce", even the verbs "tira e urge" and "surge" and "turge"--into a lyric harmony. The sensuality of these alliances is marked; the image of the bride rising up to sing to her bridegroom so that he may love her recalls the sensual and yet allegorical imagery of the Song of Songs. Barolini suggests that the mechanical clocks and wheels of *Paradiso X* serve as "lyrical explosions" which harmonize difference.⁵⁸⁷ Furthermore, the poet connects song in the passage with a series of wheels. Calling the bride to begin her song, the clock is not unlike the troubadour's invocation of the nightingale at dawn that begins its song.⁵⁸⁸ Further, the song that the pilgrim hears is likewise described as the sound of a glorious wheel turning: "così vid'io la gloriosa rota/ muoversi e render voce a voce in tempra." While the poet gives the reader a clue of how the clock sounds ("tin tin sonando"), she is ultimately not allowed to experience any more than this very mechanical sound. Only those in Paradise can experience the full song of the glorious wheel. The reader is limited to hearing the mechanical sounds of the metaphor; the true song of the wheel is closed off to her.

⁵⁸⁷ *Undivine* 207. Other instances of these lyrical explosions include *Paradiso X*, 79-81 and *Paradiso XXIV*, 10-27.

⁵⁸⁸ Jaufre Rudel, for example, opens his "Quan lo rius de la fontana" with the nightingale. In *Anthology of the Provençal Troubadours* 31-32. Patricia Zupan suggests that these lines from *Paradiso X* represent the poet's reworking of the troubadour *alba*. "The New Dantean *Alba*: A Note on *Paradiso X*, 139-148," *Lectura Dantis* 6 (Spring 1990) 92-99. In addition, the poet creates his own courtly love poem, with a similar invocation of Nature, in *Paradiso XXIII*, 1-18.

The poet's choice to use the image of a clock as a metaphor for the harmony of the wheeling song is also significant, since it inserts a notion of time into a place of eternity. The poet represents the eternal song of the glorious wheel as temporary; like the sound of a bell ringing the hour, the sound of this wheel fades away as soon as we leave the metaphor. This metaphor of the clock reminds the reader not only of time but also a present tense of poetic creation. This emphasis of time in conjunction with the creation of metaphoric language signifies the poet at work writing the metaphor. In other words, the metaphor of the clock leads the reader into the realm of poetic creation, which as a result circles around once again to the presence of the poet.

If this metaphor of the clock in *Paradiso* X hints at poetic creation, in *Paradiso* XXIV we find a clear reference to Dante's writing of the poem. Once again the poet uses the metaphor of a clock not only to introduce his poetic presence but also to describe the action of the singing spirits:

[...] e quelle anime liete
 sì fero spere sopra fissi poli,
 fiammando, volte, a guisa di comete.
 E come cerchi in tempra d'orìuoli
 sì giran sì, che 'l primo a chi pon mente
 quìeto pare, e l'ultimo che volì;
 così quelle carole, diferente-
 mente danzando, de la sua ricchezza
 mi facieno stimar, veloci e lente.
 Di quella ch'io notai di più arezza
 vid'io uscire sì felice,
 che nullo vi lasciò di più chiarezza;
 e tre fiate intorno di Beatrice
 sì volse con un canto tanto divo,
 che la mia fantasia nol mi ridice.
 Però salta la penna e non lo scrivo:
 che l'immagine nostra a cotai pieghe,
 non che 'l parlare, è troppo color vivo.
 (*Par.* XXIV, 10-27)

[... and those glad souls made
 themselves spheres upon fixed poles,
 flaming like comets, as they whirled.
 And as wheels within the fittings of clocks revolve,
 so that to one who gives heed the first
 seems quiet and the last to fly,
 so did those carols, dancing
 severally fast and slow,
 make me judge of their riches.
 From the one I noted as the richest
 I saw issue a fire so joyful
 that it left there none of greater brightness;
 and it revolved three times around Beatrice
 with a song so divine that
 my phantasy does not repeat it to me;
 wherefore my pen leaps and I do not write it,
 for our imagination, not to say our speech,
 is of too vivid a color for such folds.]

Much of this passage echoes other passages I have already examined here. For instance, terms such as "spere" and "comete" link the spirits to cosmology of the universe, recalling

Paradiso XVII. Again we see the trinitarian circling ("e tre fiate intorno di Beatrice/ si volse"), here around Beatrice, as we did in *Paradiso* X and XXIV. Furthermore, the souls that sing and dance appear to the pilgrim as the wheels inside a clock, just as in *Paradiso* X: "E come cerchi in tempra d'oriuoli/ si giran sì, che 'l primo a chi pon mente/ quièto pare, e l'ultimo che voli." In this passage, as Barolini notes, the poet inscribes difference by means of its lexicon describing the different velocities ("primo", "l'ultimo", "veloci e lenti", "più arezza", and "più chiarezza"⁵⁸⁹). More importantly, the enjambement of the adverb "differentemente", Barolini suggests, reminds the reader that "different minds--individual and irreducible *differenti menti*--are required for the sweet symphony of paradise."⁵⁹⁰

This metaphoric link between song and the wheels of a clock, as in *Paradiso* X, directs the reader to the poet and the production of the poem. The insertion of a time-keeping device, the "oriuoli", like the "orologio" of *Paradiso* X, into the eternal paradise indicates the presence of the poet and the present act of writing. In this passage the poet intrudes within his own poetic creation, creating a conflation of the pilgrim and the poet. The first-person pronouns and verb construction refer at first to the pilgrim who witnesses the singing ("così quelle carole, differente-/mente danzando, de la sua ricchezza/ *mi* facieno stimar, veloci e lente./ Di quella ch'*io* notai di più arezza/ *vid'io* uscire sì felice"), and finally to the poet who inscribes the scene ("non lo *scrivo*"). The poet inserts himself within this description of the singing, calling attention to his (supposed) inability to recount the song. The wheeling song is such that poet's memory cannot retain it ("la mia fantasia nol mi ridice"), nor can human imagination conceive of it ("che l'immagine nostra a cotai pieghe,/ non che 'l parlare, è troppo color vivo"). Further, the poet completely closes off

⁵⁸⁹ *Undivine* 229.

⁵⁹⁰ See, concerning this enjambement of "differentemente," Barolini, *Undivine* 230. In addition, Barolini cites two other authors: Giovanni Reggio, *La Divina Commedia* ed. and comm. Umberto Bosco and Giovanni Reggio, vol. 3 (Florence: Le Monnier, 1979) 398; and Aldo Scaglione, "Periodic Syntax and Flexible Meter in the *Divina Commedia*," *Romance Philology* 21 (1967) 19. *Undivine* 342, n. 20 and 21.

sharing this experience with the reader, claiming that his creative artistry is insufficient to describe the song: ("Però salta la penna e non lo scrivo"). The poet once again does not allow the reader complete access to this song, and justifies it by cloaking it in a sense of mystery with terms such as "fantasia," and "salta la penna," as if the pen is controlled by something else besides the poet.

This jumping pen gives the reader an image of the poet at work. While the poet asserts that the song is so divine that his mind (his "fantasia") does not repeat it to him, obscuring the song from the reader, he nevertheless refers to the utensil of writing (his pen, "la penna"), and places the reader as present during the act of writing.⁵⁹¹

To conclude, then, in *Purgatorio* the poet works hard to define a new type of song, one that is as sacred as it is seductive. The poet renounces his previous poetic association with courtly love lyric through the regrets of the repentant Guido Guinizelli and Arnaut Daniel. More importantly for the present study, Dante displaces the dangerous nature of song, while appropriating its seductive and pleasurable effects, using such figures as Casella and the Siren as figurative lightning rods. The many religious hymns in *Purgatorio* signal the tension inherent in this action, as Dante reconfigures his vernacular, creative lyric as an appropriate vehicle with which to represent the divine.

In *Paradiso*, conversely, the poet no longer strives to transform his song into a sacred text. Here in this *cantica*, the poet highlights the fact that his song has already been sanctified. Linking song to a certain mechanics of concentricity by highlighting the workings of wheels, clocks, and even the revolution of circling, the poet closes off interpretation. Again and again in these passages of wheeling song, the poet claims the inability to represent God's art. By making this claim, however, the poet subtly draws the

⁵⁹¹ This is not the only instance in Paradise in which the poet seems to break the frame; in *Paradiso* V, the poet refers to the act of writing in the present: "Così Beatrice a me com' io scrivo" (85) ["Thus Beatrice {said} to me, even as I write"].

reader's attention to his work as a poet, to the very processes of writing. When conjoined with the mechanics of concentricity, the ineffability topos highlights the poet's creation of a seductive song that is, despite its fictive creativity, not only sanctioned but sacred.

The instances in which the sacred and profane coexist in song occur, then, when the poet self-consciously, and profanely, establishes the poetics of his song as sacred, like the religious hymns, and distanced from secular love lyric. Dante uses the collision of the scriptural and liturgical lyric with evocations of dangerously seductive songs, including his own love poetry, in *Purgatorio* in order to assign the dangerous elements to these singers within the Commedia. Dante keeps his own song well within the sacred, and sanctifies his own writing in *Paradiso*. By pairing his own production of writing with the perfect circular songs of the heavenly spirits, Dante gives himself an unprecedented poetic identity: that of the poet/prophet. Dante reveals his theology and his status as prophet through his poetry, through his identity as a poet rather than theologian. Ultimately, Dante's poetic identity, like his song, depends on a complex conception of the sacred that retains the profane, seductive allure—now rendered safe and appropriate in terms of salvation—of courtly lyric and the *dolce stil nuovo*. Dante effects a collision of the sacred and profane so that his song, and his voice as a poet, both rooted in the secular and vernacular, take on the status of sacred *auctoritas*.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION: READING THE SACRED AND PROFANE BACKWARDS AND FORWARDS

It is only natural that we, who live in an industrial age, should find difficulties in reading poetry that was written for a scholastic and aristocratic age. We must proceed with caution, lest our thick, rough fingers tear the delicate threads that we are trying to untangle.⁵⁹²

C.S. Lewis' caution concerning how to read medieval literature is particularly pertinent for the present study. The danger of exploring a duality such as the sacred and profane is the possibility of falling into that very same binary mode, our thick and clumsy fingers constructing a view of the medieval world that is structured *ad nauseam* by opposing pairs, destroying those delicate threads of ambiguity presented by each of the texts studied here.

Had I intended this work on the sacred and profane to be an authoritative sacred reading of thirteenth-century poetics, I might end my discussion of the sacred and profane with a tidy summary of the levels of significance--literal, allegorical, tropological, anagogical--of these contrary terms in these four vernacular texts. D.W. Robertson proposes such a reading of medieval texts in his work on Chaucer.⁵⁹³ To do so would be following patristic exegesis, the model for medieval poetics proposed by theologians for religious literature.

This study does not, however, have any pretense at being authoritative. Christian exegesis hardly fits for the concluding remarks on the way in which these four medieval texts pose the sacred and profane as contraries. My perspective is informed more by

⁵⁹² C.S. Lewis, The Allegory of Love 173-174.

⁵⁹³ D.W. Robertson, A Preface to Chaucer: Studies in Medieval Perspectives (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1962). For a critique of Robertsonian exegetical interpretative practices, see Lee Patterson, Negotiating the Past 3-39.

medieval dialectic than Christian exegesis; I suggest that the four texts that I study here each present a sort of "argumentative" space in which these two provocative terms can be juxtaposed with parity.

As I have explored in the Introduction, both Christian exegesis and dialectic allow for inherent contraries. One simple difference distinguishes the two perspectives: although Christianity, on the one hand, hierarchically pairs the sacred and the profane in the figure of Christ, dialectic, on the other hand, brings opposites such as the sacred and profane together as equals, as equally valid, if only within that argumentative space.⁵⁹⁴ Simply put, Christian exegesis works by deduction, and dialectic by induction; dialectic thus tends toward the discovery of potential new meanings. Furthermore, the texts I have examined in this dissertation, while often concerned with Christian faith and worship, are nonetheless not religious texts. Although they are, to varying degrees, vehicles for religious ideas, the works remain vernacular and secular, outside any strict ecclesiastical or monastic usage. Because of their secularity, these texts have the freedom to present the sacred and profane in a contrasts that do not depend upon a salvific interpretation.⁵⁹⁵

The contrary pair of the sacred and profane in the four works that I examine here reveals the extent to which dialectical practices are present in a variety of vernacular texts.⁵⁹⁶ Contemporary conceptions of dialectic--whether in rhetoric, philosophy, or

⁵⁹⁴ For the importance of contrariety in dialectic especially according to Aristotle, see C.W.A. Whitaker, Aristotle's *De Interpretatione: Contradiction and Dialectic* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

⁵⁹⁵ H.R. Jauss sees in the Middle Ages an "aesthetic experience" contrary to that formulated by Christianity:

It is much more the case that in the Middle Ages there was a contrary movement of aesthetic experience to retreat from religious experience first and foremost through the development of and perfection of continuity, retreating from religious experience which for its part answered such self-enjoyment of humanity's trials with the evangelical call for a world-negating conversion. (196)

"The Alterity and Modernity of Medieval Literature," *New Literary History* vol. 10, no. 2 (1979): 181-227.

⁵⁹⁶ In a letter to John of Vercelli, St. Thomas Aquinas, revealing the prevalence of dialectical structures within theology, allows that even the opposite of a sanctioned doctrine may be accepted without heresy: "Videtur tamen mihi contrarium posse tolerari absque fidei periculo" ["It seems to me, however, that a contrary can be maintained without danger to faith"]. Cited in Hans Blumenberg, *The Genesis of the Copernican World* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1987) 143; also cited in *The New Medievalism* eds. Marina S.

theology--manifest an understanding of the juxtaposition of the sacred and the profane apparent in vernacular literature during the High Middle Ages. Medieval dialectic also allows this aesthetic convergence of binaries; as a result, I suggest that this complex way of considering these two poles is not only a literary but a broad cultural phenomenon.

The four texts that I study here, like dialectical argumentation, bring together the sacred and the profane as a pair on an equal level of signification, as contraries whose conjoining compels new meaning. Each text, moreover, clearly employs the contrariety of sacred and profane in dynamic and distinctive ways. Gautier de Coinci's songs to the Virgin interweave the vocabulary of courtly love with devotion to her. In this context, the sacred assimilates the profane, directing love towards a transcendent spirituality. The sacred, however, depends on the expression of profane love witnessed in the lyrics of the troubadours and trouvères. The poetry of courtly love, in this way, gives these devout lyrics not only their form but their vocabulary. Although Gautier refashions the beloved interlocutor, by fusing the lexicon of devotion with that of courtly love, he focuses on the primacy of the poetry's semantics and so reinscribes the circularity of song that Zumthor attributes to twelfth- and thirteenth-century trouvère lyric.⁵⁹⁷

The sacred and profane, interwoven in Gautier's lyrics, are similarly complex in Matfre Ermengaud's Breviari d'Amor. Employing the central metaphor of the tree of love, Matfre bases his work on a defined conception of sacred and legitimate forms of love throughout the Breviari. Human love is, nevertheless, not marked as impure. The dangerous and profane elements of desire are not defused or spiritualized in the troubadour

Brownlee, Kevin Brownlee, and Stephen G. Nichols (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins UP, 1991) 22.

⁵⁹⁷ This is not to say that Gautier erases his own subjectivity in creating lyrics to the Virgin based on the lexicon of courtly love lyric. I would suggest instead that Gautier, like the other authors studied here, uses contraries such as the sacred and the profane in such a way to construct a unique poetic identity. A scholar such as Zumthor might disagree, however, since he argues that subjectivity is not a feature of this lyric. Zumthor, "De la circularité du chant" 129-140. For more on subjectivity in troubadour poetry, see Sarah Kay, Subjectivity in Troubadour Poetry.

lyric contained in the "Perilhos tractat" as they are in Gautier's lyric, because the courtly love lyric is quoted verbatim, without any moralizing gloss. The directness of these troubadour citations does not disturb their original poetic and ideological concerns; as a result, the troubadour citations complicate the religious definition of love that makes up the bulk of the Breviari. In this context, the Breviari asserts a hierarchical relationship of divine versus human love while deconstructing the stability of this definition.

The *mise-en-page* of Chaillou de Pesstain's version of the Roman de Fauvel in fr. 146 conversely establishes religious and secular lyric as equivalents and yet interprets them in a hierarchical fashion. In other words, while the *mise-en-page* allows for a non-hierarchical placement of religious songs vis-à-vis secular songs, the sacred and secular are nonetheless spiritually ranked according to moral ideals. Like the various instances of medieval media, the complex series of contraries in Fauvel 146 collide with each other, interrupting the narrative; moreover, they force an understanding of this manuscript's version of Fauvel that includes not only the narrative of the romance but also the socio-historical context of the manuscript's production.

In Dante's Commedia, the reader is faced with a complex usage of the religious and secular, at once interwoven and yet firmly opposed. While the pilgrim embarks on a sacred journey, the poet works especially in *Purgatorio* to define his Commedia in relation to sacred and secular song. By placing the production of the Commedia, as his song, in opposition to the courtly love lyric evoked by references to such poets as Guido Guinizelli and Arnaut Daniel and also by the figure of the Siren, Dante appropriates the seductiveness of secular lyric while displacing its perilous effects. Conversely, by associating his lyric with citations of religious hymns, Dante self-consciously sanctifies his own song. This becomes most clear in *Paradiso*, when the confluence of ineffability, concentricity and song direct the reader to its sacred poetics. The poet both contrasts and interweaves the sacred and profane in a complicated game of push-and-pull. Dante establishes the poetics of

his song as dual: sacred, like the religious hymns, and yet seductive, like secular love lyric but without its danger. Dante creates a doubled poetics for his Commedia, both sacred and profane; in this way, the Commedia is sanctified in its profane vernacularity and seductive in its sacredness.

Read as tools which suggest a multitude of other contraries (including, but not limited to, religious/secular, liturgical/courtly, holy/temporal, biblical/worldly, and even Latin/vernacular, lyric/narrative, fictive/didactic, center/margin, text/context), the sacred and the profane in these four texts function in different ways and yet complement each other, producing a polyphony of new meanings in comparison with more unambiguous manifestations of these terms. In addition, the reader is faced with a common generic link that binds these disparate texts together in their exploration of sacred and profane. That is to say, despite their many differences, all four texts center their use of the sacred and profane in particular within lyric.

More important, while all four authors employ this contrary of the sacred and profane in varying ways, they all are very much at work at creating a kind of poetic identity based on their use of contraries. That is to say, the authors construct a poetic identity that is subjective and even rather individual in relation to this dynamic consideration of a contrary pair such as the sacred and profane. Exploring the way in which such authors as I have studied here carve a place for themselves as poets expands A.J. Minnis' theory of authorship, which is based on the study of scriptural *auctores* and the *auctoritas* of sanctioned religious writings.⁵⁹⁸ Their authority as poets draws on and yet transforms that of authoritative Latin writers. In other words, this study argues that the authors of these vernacular texts attain a certain *auctoritas* of their own precisely because of their use of contraries.

⁵⁹⁸ A.J. Minnis, Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages (London: Scolar Press, 1984).

As different as they may be, these texts share in what I would term a new medieval poetics specific to the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, one very much influenced by scholasticism. Zumthor's comments on poetics as a particular discipline may be useful here. He associates poetics with rhetoric, stressing that the "parts" of poetics were confused with those of rhetoric.⁵⁹⁹ By linking the two, Zumthor makes a case for a second type of medieval poetics, one that is not based on Christian exegesis. He argues that rhetorical practices were a strong influence on vernacular writing of the Middle Ages. While conceding that there is no way to classify the degree to which different genres make use of rhetoric, Zumthor sees courtly lyric as especially marked by rhetoric:

La poésie lyrique courtoise constitue un cas extrême: imprégnée de rhétorique (sur le plan des procédés stylistiques, non sur celui de la composition), elle opère la transmutation totale de ces facteurs dans un système d'expression originale.⁶⁰⁰

[Courtly lyric constitutes an extreme case: filled with rhetoric (on the level of stylistic techniques, not on the level of composition), it brings about the complete transmutation of these elements in an original system of expression.]

Zumthor demonstrates the strong influence that such rhetorical arts as dialectic had on courtly vernacular lyric. He thus makes a case for associating rhetoric and vernacular lyric. I would suggest, then, that the rhetorical arts, and in particular dialectic, offer the modern reader a possible model for how to consider contraries in high medieval vernacular texts.

Constructing a model of a medieval poetics is not without risk, especially as I do not wish to classify texts generically in formalistic terms. This work has been done by such scholars as Vinaver and Zumthor, who establish a medieval poetics based largely upon formal aspects of literary style.⁶⁰¹ My focus here, a medieval poetics of contraries,

⁵⁹⁹ Until the thirteenth century, he states, even the words "poesis" and "poema" were hardly used; the different parts of poetics were comprised in the *ars dictaminis* of rhetoric. Zumthor, "Rhétorique et poétique," *Langue, texte, énigme* (Paris: Seuil, 1975) 93-124, esp. 107-114.

⁶⁰⁰ Zumthor, "Rhétorique et poétique" 113.

⁶⁰¹ Eugène Vinaver, "A la recherche d'une poétique médiévale," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* II (1959) 1-16, and his book of the same name (Paris: Nizet, 1970); and Zumthor's *Essai de poétique médiévale*.

explored in this study through the terms of sacred/profane, exists within the dynamic of continuity and change, of fluid boundaries, that represents "the new medievalism's" approach to medieval texts.⁶⁰² The presence of contraries such as the sacred and profane in vernacular medieval texts thus offers the modern reader an alternate reality, a glimpse of the complexity and fluidity of high medieval book culture, and of the authors behind them.

⁶⁰²See Brownlee, et al., The New Medievalism 1-26.

FIGURES

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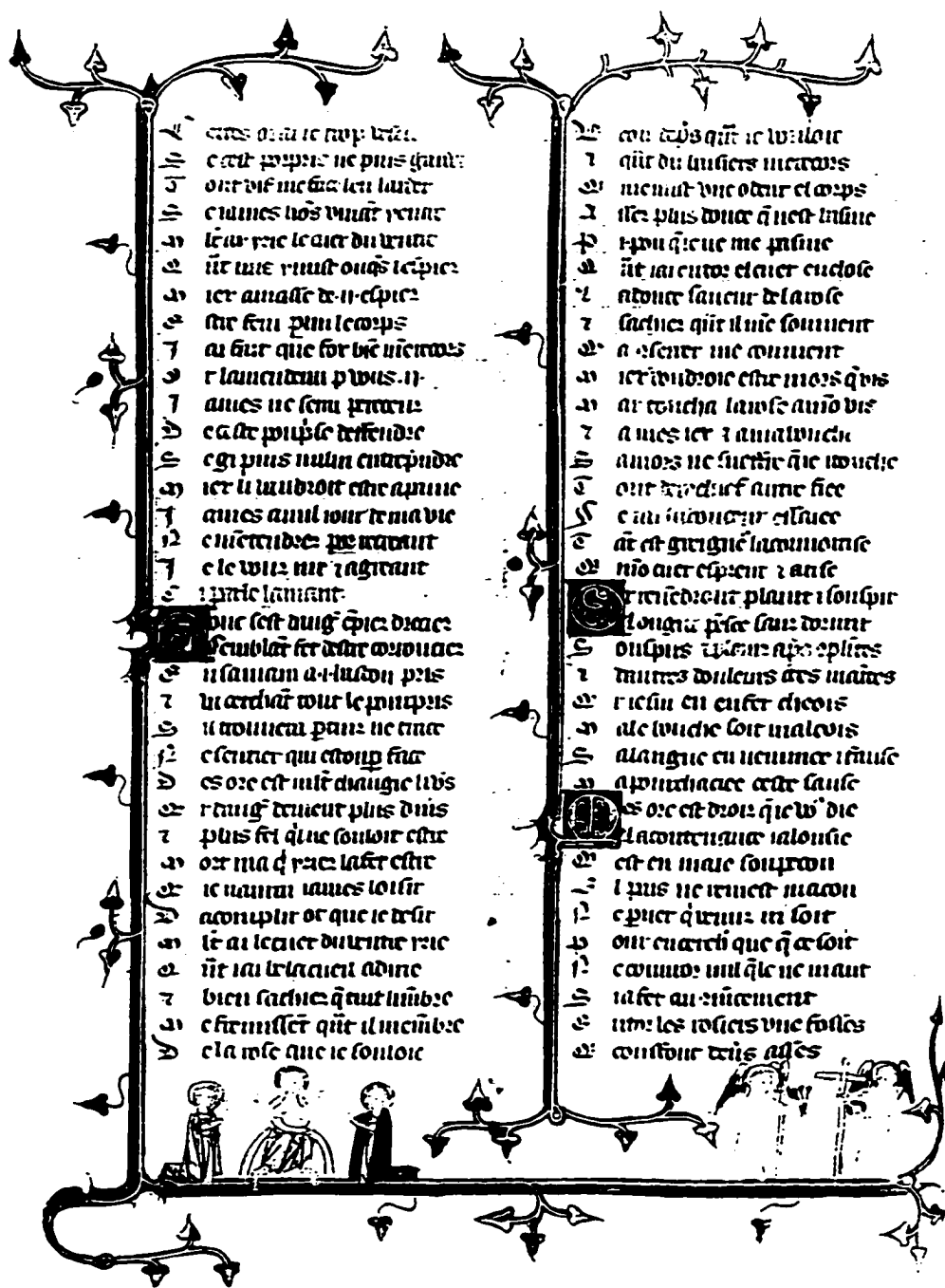


Fig. 1. Roman de la Rose. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.
MS fr. 25526 fol. 29v.

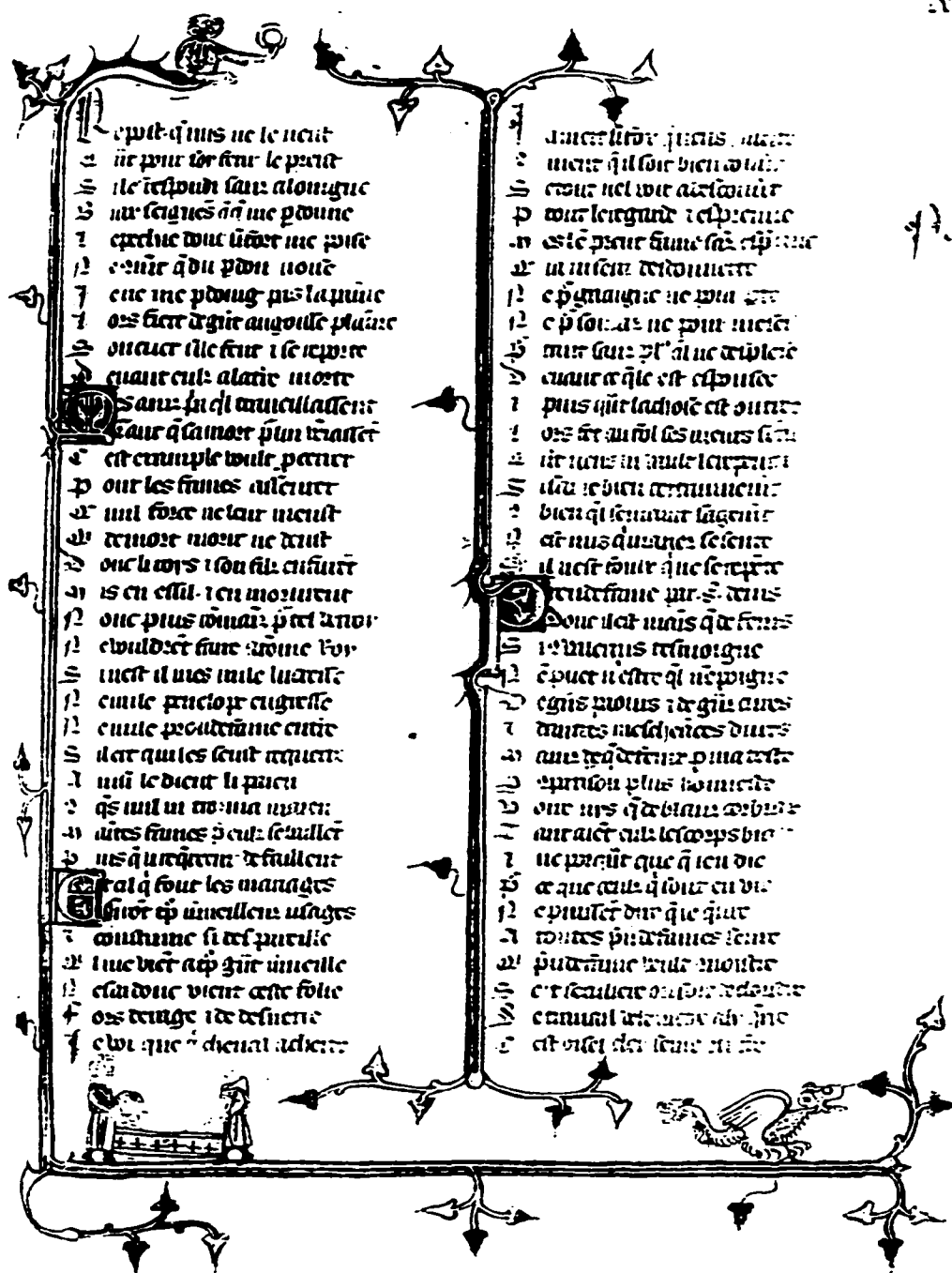


Fig. 6. Roman de la Rose. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.
MS fr. 25526 fol. 66r.

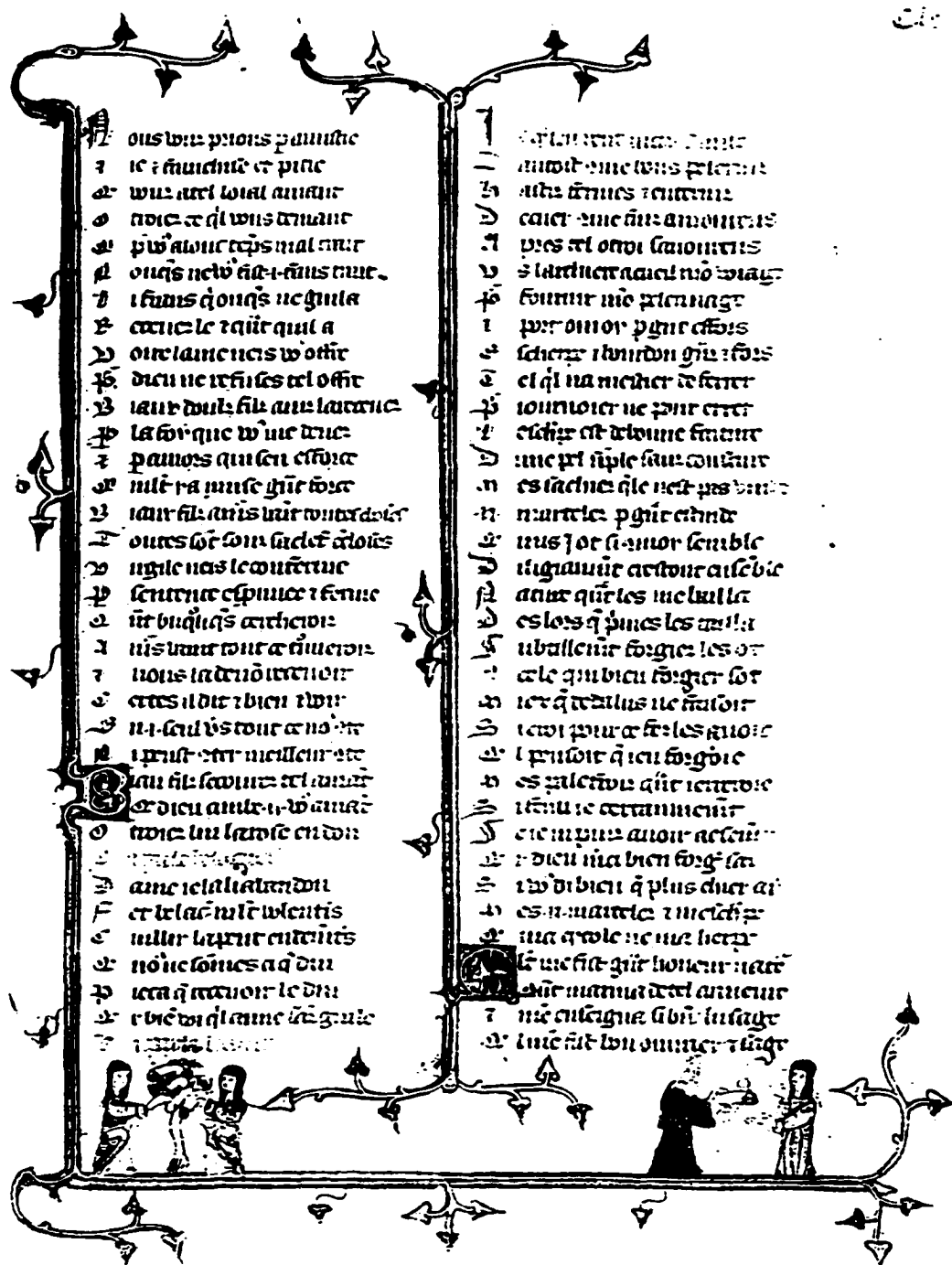


Fig. 8. Roman de la Rose. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.
MS fr. 25526 fol. 160r.

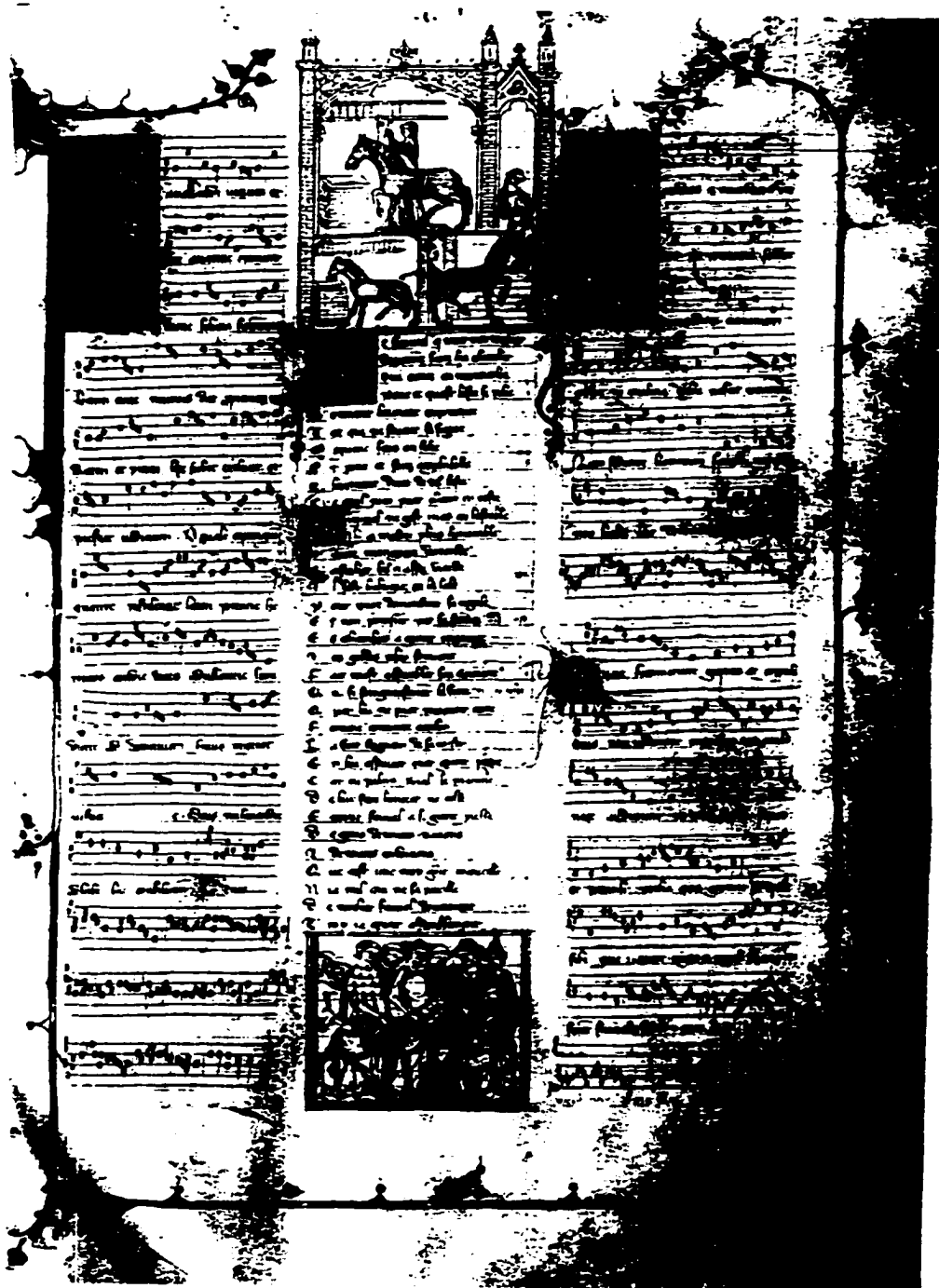


Fig. 9. Roman de Fauvel. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.
MS fr. 146 fol. 1r.

[illegible]

Fig. 10. Roman de Fauvel. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.
MS fr. 146 fol. 1v.

[illegible]

**Fig. 11. Roman de Fauvel. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.
MS fr. 146 fol. 2r.**

[illegible]

Fig. 13. Roman de Fauvel. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.
MS fr. 146 fol. 3v.

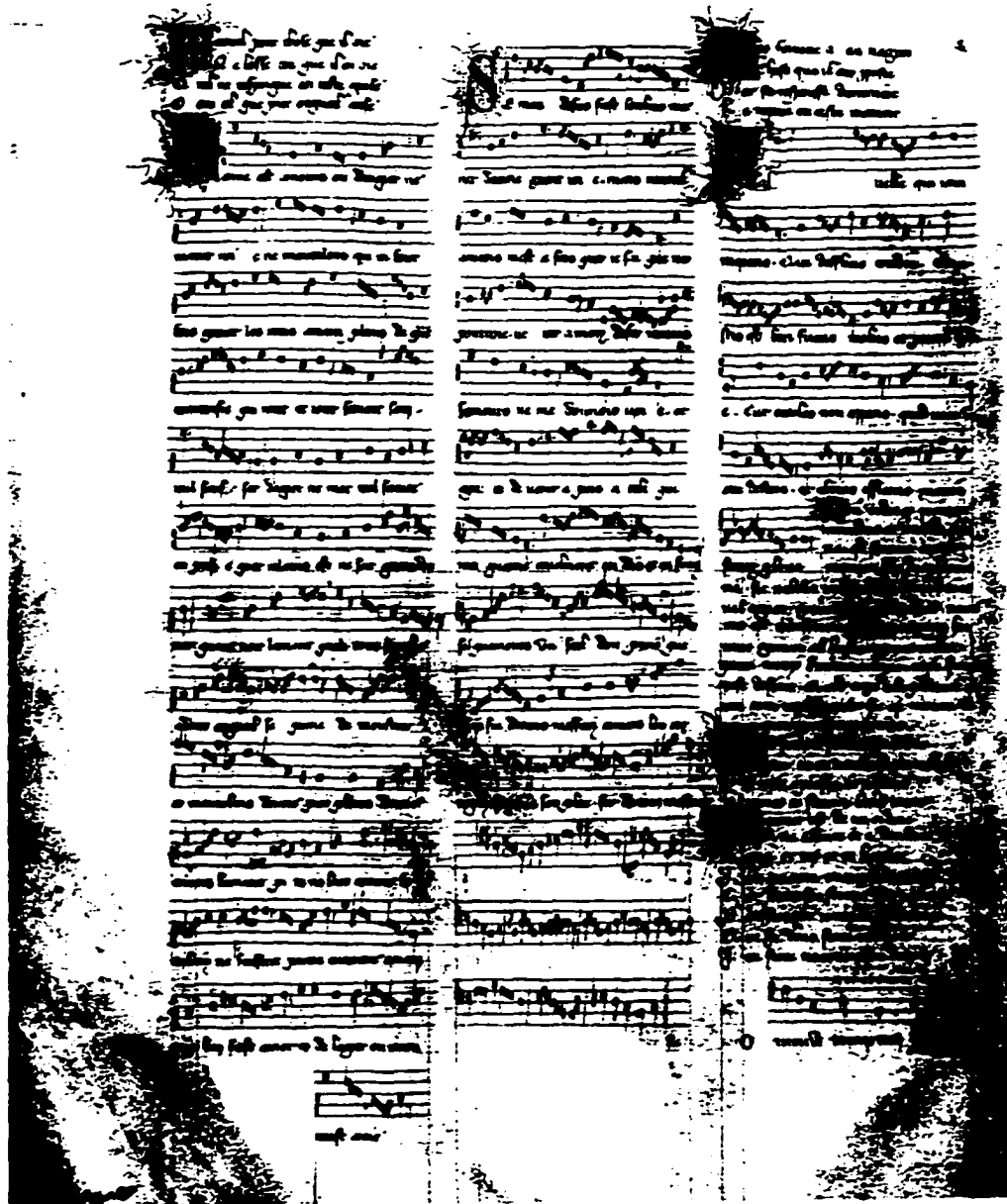


Fig. 16. Roman de Fauvel. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.
MS fr. 146 fol. 29v.

[illegible]

Fig. 17. Roman de Fauvel. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.
MS fr. 146 fol. 41v.

[illegible]

Fig. 19. Roman de Fauvel. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.
MS fr. 146 fol. 10r.

[illegible]

**Fig. 21. Roman de Fauvel. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.
MS fr. 146 fol. 23v.**

.du.

The manuscript page displays Gregorian chant notation on four-line red staves. The text is written in a Gothic script. A central miniature depicts a religious scene, likely the Resurrection, with figures in a tomb and a standing figure. The text is arranged in two columns flanking the miniature.

Left Column:

...mundo dicit populi pater
 dicit amc. A in mundum munda
 unda primas in unius. Tu nos e
 munda stamdi nequias unda
 Agnus pastus pro uiri impialis
Immensum fidem accendit cum
 ciao pateru diligimus qui nos ten
 o amc dicit pro mcm dicit ad
 diam etc etc ut propus naco
 non pariter sed pro nobis fime nre
 a. audet diligimus custem Alu
 nobis norem nobis propiam. A in fons de am fuisse ut
 nam seru accepit. hic fons de pater obdura et in cru a fide

Right Column:

subuenit miseris miseris qui dicit
 no. fames cum repobio dampnato
 car bene nobis. Di fua sic fiam dicit
 in pater q. reuocet. A. Agellu uenit
 gallia t. orem dno munda uenit
 in fons amc munda uenit
 dicit nobis
 in fons de uenit de uenit
 fin pater in pater
 dicit nobis
 dicit nobis

Fig. 24. Roman de Fauvel. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.
 MS fr. 146 fol. 43r.



Fig. 26. Book of Hours. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.
MS nouv. acq. lat. 3145 fol. 121v.

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