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*The Bible in Medieval Love Lyrics:
A Fundamental Element of
European Poetry Books*

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O. Abbreviations

BdT	Alfred Pillet, <i>Bibliographie der Troubadours</i> , Halle: Niemeyer, 1933.
BL	London, British Library
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
CSCO	Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium
CLPIO	D'Arco Silvio Avalle (ed.), <i>Concordanza della lingua italiana delle origini</i> , Milano, Napoli: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore, 1992.
Fol./f./ff.	Folio/Folia
GdC	Lino Leonardi, Guittone d'Arezzo, <i>Canzoniere: i sonetti d'amore del codice laurenziano</i> , Torino: Einaudi, 1994
IMEV	Carleton Brown and R.H. Robbins (eds.) <i>Index of Middle English Verse</i> , New York, 1993.
MCE	Gaunt, Simon, Ruth Harvey and Linda Paterson (eds.), <i>Marcabru: A Critical Edition</i> , Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2000
MS(S)	<i>Manuscript(s)</i>
PD (I, II)	Gianfranco Contini, <i>Poeti del duecento</i> , Milano, Napoli: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore, 1960, Tomi 1 and 2.
PIMS	Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies
THL	Brooks, G. L. (ed.), <i>The Harley Lyrics: The Middle-English Lyrics of MS. Harley 2253</i> , Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1948.

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Per Marina

*Tu, donna, se' la luce chiara e bella
per cui nel tenebroso mondo accorto
vivo; tu se' la tramontana stella
la quale io seguo per venire a porto;
ancora di salute tu se' quella
che se tutto 'l mio bene e 'l mio conforto;
tu mi se' Giove, tu mi se' Apollo,
tu se' mia musa, io l'ho provato e sollo.*

~G. Boccaccio, *Il Filostrato*, Parte Prima, vv. 9 - 16

Avant Propos: Europe and Literature

One of the first and most famous instances of an idea of a unified literary Europe is found in a story involving the Apostle Paul. In a noted biblical passage this man from Tarsus, in what is now southern Turkey (in the province of Mersin), was able to claim that he was a Roman, and thus part of the European Community, such as it was in his time. In the *Acts of the Apostles*, chapter 22, verses 27 and 28 we read a conversation between Paul and a judge:

accedens autem tribunus dixit illi dic mihi tu Romanus es at ille dixit etiam et respondit tribunus ego multa summa civitatem hanc consecutus sum et Paulus ait ego autem et natus sum.¹

Paul was a Roman by birth and therefore had the rights and privileges that this citizenship entailed. During the Roman Empire there was, in Latin, a common Roman literature, taught in the schools and well diffused.² But with the fall of the Roman Empire in the west, around the year 476 AD, the unified Empire failed, throwing the West into a tumultuous era that historians have called the Dark Ages until the very recent past.³ Though some men made a valiant effort to recall for posterity the ideas of late antiquity (especially members of the Church, like Isidore of Seville, whose works will be discussed in chapter one of the present study) the ideas espoused in the Western writings became more local, less international and therefore less European.⁴ This is the geographic place and the point in history where my research begins.

Slowly and haltingly more people in the West began writing more systematically, and as the early Middle Ages progressed people once again began to have an idea of a unified European literature. There were two main building blocks of this long process: the works of

¹ All biblical citations in the body of our study will come from Bonifatius Fischer, Robert Weber, Roger Gryson (eds.), *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgata Versionem, editionem quintam emendatam*, Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007, except when we discuss original medieval translations. Translations of the text within the notes will always come from *The Holy Bible: containing the Old and New Testaments translated out of the original tongues and with the former translations diligently compared and revised: King James (authorized) version*. London [etc.]: The British and Foreign Bible Society, 1969, except in those cases in which the Authorized Version does not contain the text of the *Vulgate*: in those cases the reference Bible in English will be *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, 3rd edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. “Then the chief captain came, and said unto him, Tell me, art thou a Roman? He said, Yea. And the chief captain answered, With a great sum obtained I this freedom. And Paul said, But I was free born.”

² One can look at the letters of Seneca or the writings of Augustine as just two of the many examples that show this to be the case in the first centuries AD. While many authors (though by no means all of them) also wrote in Greek, the tendency in Imperial Rome was to use Latin both for business and pleasure (theater, song, literature). For a short introduction to the use of Latin in this era, see Rosella Frasca, *Educazione e formazione a Roma: storia, testi, immagini*, Bari: Dedalo, 1996.

³ For recent information on this debate, see at least Stefano Gasparri and Cristina La Rocca (eds.), *Tempi barbarici: l'Europa occidentale tra antichità e medioevo (300-900)*, Roma: Carocci, 2012.

⁴ The situation is, however, quite complex. See, for example, Pierre Riché, *Education et culture dans l'Occident barbare. VIe - VIIIe siècle*, Paris: Ed. du Seuil, 1962.

Virgil and the *Vulgate* of Jerome, followed by the translations of this second work into more and more vernacular languages as time continued to pass. In the thirteenth century there then came a period of a systematic writing down of vernacular love poetry in several countries all (roughly) at the same time. This love poetry would go on to form the basis of the literary Renaissance and is therefore a fundamental link between modern literature and the Classics of the Roman Empire.⁵

The poems that were copied into some of the most grandiose manuscripts during the thirteenth century were written by men who knew both the stories of the fall of Troy and the Bible intimately. These two cornerstones touched most of the literature of the high Middle Ages to some degree, but in the case of the influence of the Bible on vernacular love poetry (that is, carnal love on the part of a man for a woman) the situation is somewhat complex. Due to the shifting nature of the Papacy and the monopoly that this institution had over information during the period in question, writing the wrong thing could easily lead to charges of blasphemy or, even worse, of heresy. Given the political and social situation of the age, it is interesting that some of the most important poetry collections used the biblical narrative in a way that was at times bold and, in extreme circumstances, even considered heretical.

Our study will examine chronologically three of these poetry books from three different countries⁶ in depth: they are Provençal Manuscript D^a: Modena, Biblioteca Estense ed Universitaria, *α*.R.4.4, ff.153r - 216v, completed in 1254, according to the colophon; Firenze, Biblioteca Laurenziana MS Rediano 9, which is based largely on the life's work of Guittone d'Arezzo and completed towards the end of the thirteenth century; and London, British Library MS Harley, 2253, a trilingual manuscript that contains both poetry and prose and which represents a collection of writings that were famous in England throughout the thirteenth century, but which was probably copied in the first half of the following century. These three manuscripts show an incredible amount of commonality, while still preserving distinctive elements of the places and times in which they were copied.⁷ We will look at the

⁵ For a brief introduction to this uncontested idea, see (from among the many studies) Andrea Acribo, *Petrarca e petrarchismo : capitoli di lingua, stile e metrica*, Roma: Carocci, 2009; Lea Ritter Santini, *Sorte e ragione : Petrarca in Europa: lezione Sapegno 2003*, Torino: Aragno, 2008; and Alfonso de Petris and Giuseppe de Matteis (eds.), *Francesco Petrarca : umanesimo e modernità*, Ravenna: Longo, 2008.

⁶ Time, space and reading knowledge limit our study to only three countries as we think of them today: England, France and Italy, which were home to the three most active productions of manuscripts in the thirteenth century: London, Paris and Bologna. The Iberian peninsula, Northern Europe and Eastern Europe all fall outside the scope of this study.

⁷ As we have seen, the manuscripts in question are in several different languages (even within the same manuscript!). The poetry that we will see is also in several different languages, a fact which poses a problem for those who cannot read Latin, Old French, Middle English, Occitan and Italian. Therefore the poetry that we

trends found in these three manuscripts both on a macro and micro level, and although the main focus of our research will be on that which is found therein, no philological enquiry can be complete without comparisons to other important manuscripts that were copied in the same places and eras that contain many of the same poems found in the three principle MSS.

The following study is divided into three large sections: in order to show the literary trends that were not bound by geography but that led to a European literature which began to take shape toward the end of the Middle Ages, the first chapter will be dedicated to some background information on the availability of the Bible to the laity from the fifth through the thirteenth centuries, ordered chronologically as opposed to geographically. Included in this section of the study are found some of the more important instances of the literary use of the Bible in different genres throughout the Middle Ages. What we mean by vernacular lyric love poetry will also be discussed in this section, as will the entrance of the Bible into such poetry.

Chapter two will then explain the choice of our corpus: the manuscripts that we have chosen to examine and the different authors will be presented in their historical and social frameworks (macro examination). The focus of our research on Modena, Biblioteca Estense ed Universitaria, α.R.4.4 is centered on the songs of Marcabru, an Occitan poet active in the first half of the twelfth century, though the MS was put together midway through the thirteenth. Our analysis of the second MS will focus on the works of Guittone d'Arezzo, an important central Italian poet who found himself between the *Scuola Siciliana* under King Frederick II and the poets of the *Dolce Stil Novo*, most famous of whom is Dante Alighieri. The final MS creates no small amount of problems in a study of this nature: while Marcabru and Guittone have personal histories (and names!) almost all of the poetry found in the so-called Harley Manuscript has survived to the present day anonymously. The solution to this problem has been to treat the copyists of the MSS as individuals who made literary and editorial choices in their own right; thus the entirety of the choices made by both the authors and the copyists should reveal the Bible's place in European poetry books. It is for this reason that our research requires a close examination of at least the other most important MSS that contain the poetry in consideration. At this point in the study we will show our criteria of research and our methods: looking at these poetry books from a philological perspective

examine will be found in the body of our study in the original language, while the translations into modern English will be found in the footnotes. Any time that the translation is not my own will be duly noted. For purposes of fluidity and ease of reading, I have translated all criticism directly into English in the body of the study, when no translation already exists, with the original languages of these various critics being found in the footnotes.

should grant us access to a plethora of insights. For philology not only allows us to attain the most accurate (hopefully) text of any given literary opera, but it also allows us to discover trends in the works' style, language, provenance and audience, the last of which will prove to be fundamental in understanding some of the poets' choices. Through a philological examination of the individual poems, together with our chronological examination of the literary trends of medieval Europe, we may be able to see not only the ways in which the Bible was used to create a unified poetic voice, but also (and moreover) whence these habits came, where they went and what all of this meant for the European literatures and societies that would come directly thereafter.

Chapters three through five then contain the textual analysis of the individual poems in question (micro examination). The poems to be examined in depth have been chosen due to their place in the three principle MSS, but in analyzing the entire *oeuvres* of Marcabru and Guittone, it has come to light that several poems that are not present in the three principle MSS use the Bible in often surprising and innovative ways. We will see three different ways of using the Bible in medieval European love poetry, all of which are found within our chosen manuscripts: the presence of biblical characters, the use of the Old Testament Wisdom books, and finally the conversion *topos* in medieval poetry generally and in our three MSS specifically. We will also see various iconographic representations of the different biblical narratives as found in both the plastic arts and in illuminated MSS⁸. Since the intended audience of our poets is such an important aspect, it is necessary to see who might have been a part of it. Mariateresa Fumagalli Beonio Brocchieri⁹ has argued that certain images belong to a High culture, rather than to a Low, or popular culture, and as such different audiences in the Middle Ages were able to understand the same works of art and literature in different ways. In analyzing the differences and similarities of these aspects of biblical influence on love poetry, we will attempt to show that, though there are differences among our poets and countries, the similarities point to a common highly cultured voice, built of a common human and poetic experience, as seen through the extant manuscripts of the High Middle Ages and which is clearly visible under the lens of a philological eye.

⁸ All of the images taken from MS found in the BL are taken from their Digital MS Image viewer; the provenance of all other images are duly noted.

⁹ Mariateresa Fumagalli Beonio Brocchieri, *Le Bugie di Isotta: Immagini della mente medievale*, Roma-Bari: Laterza, 1987.

I. Introduction

I.i. Background

Throughout the Middle Ages there were two main influences on the literature of Western Christendom: the stories surrounding the fall of Troy and the eventual succession of its peoples to Rome¹⁰ and the various biblical narratives as found in the *Vulgate* translation of Saint Jerome.¹¹ While the first of these two narratives was quite popular throughout the Middle Ages, as “Any medieval student who learned Latin would read Vergil and Ovid, who everywhere allude to the Trojan matter”¹², the biblical narrative was both more widespread and much more influential on the lives, and therefore on the writings, of European writers throughout this period of time. The case of the biblical influence over people’s lives is summed up succinctly by Greti Dinkova-Bruun, who asserts that “during the Middle Ages the Bible dominated people’s lives and exerted a powerful influence over the imagination and creativity of writers and poets [...]”¹³ She goes on to explain the ways in which the biblical narrative was used in Latin poetry by such authors as Lawrence of Durham, Leonius of Paris, and Petrus Riga among many others. The truth of her assertion is not only found, however, in the Latin poets of this era; indeed, the stories recounted in the *Vulgate*, as read out loud by preachers and other learned readers of Latin, were to form the basic building blocks of the literature recorded in the earliest forms of the vernacular languages that are still in use in Europe (and around the world) to this day.

¹⁰ For the story of the fall of Troy, medieval writers were less likely to turn to Homer and Virgil than to their later counterparts Dares and Dictys. From their works Benoît de St. Maure wrote his *Roman de Troie* in circa 1155/1160. Guido delle Colonne then wrote a Latin paraphrase of Benoît’s work in 1287, known as the *Historia Trojana*. Giovanni Boccaccio then wrote his *Filostrato* using various aspects of his predecessor’s work. The culmination of this story in the Middle Ages is found in *Troilus and Criseyde* by Chaucer, written towards the end of the fourteenth century. For a short overview of the principle fonts for the legend of Troy in Medieval Europe see Stephen A. Barney (ed.), *Troilus and Criseyde*, New York, London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2006, pp. ix - xii. For a more in depth study on the question, see Maria Gozzi, “Sulle fonti del *Filostrato*: Le narrazioni di argomento troiano,” in *Studi sul Boccaccio*, 5 (1969), pp. 123 - 209.

¹¹ While there were already several translations of various parts of the Bible into Latin before the work of Jerome, his translation went on to become the only Bible approved by the Catholic Church, but not until the Council of Trent, called for by Pope Paul III in 1542. For more details on Jerome’s work See Christopher de Hamel, *The Book: A history of the Bible*, London: Phaidon, 2001.

¹² Barney, *op. cit.* p. x.

¹³ Greti Dinkova-Bruun, “Rewriting Scripture: Latin Biblical Versification in the Later Middle Ages,” in *Viator. Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 39/1 (2008): 263 - 284, p. 264.

While the authors that Dinkova-Bruun studies were all exegetes and well versed in Latin, the vast majority of the population in Europe was, in the words of Berryl Smalley, “handicapped by being illiterate”¹⁴ and therefore unable to know the Bible firsthand. Some men, however, ventured to change this situation by way of translating the Bible into languages that were better known among the laity between the sixth and fourteenth centuries.¹⁵ Before studying the influence of the Bible on vernacular love poetry it is important to explain quite briefly the relationship between the Catholic Church and the Bible, from the first Gothic translation dating to before the *Vulgate* through the fourteenth century.¹⁶

I.i.i Which Bible, when and where?

A. In the beginning

The first of the most important translations into a vulgar language of the Bible is that written in Gothic and completed in the fourth century, slightly before Jerome was asked by Pope Damasus (who reigned from 366 - 384) to undertake the task of producing a standardized version of the Bible in Latin. The Gothic translation was undertaken by an Arian Gothic bishop named Ulfilas (311 - 382/3) with the help of his assistants.¹⁷ Ulfilas’ work is interesting for several reasons, not least of which is that it was completed before the *Vulgate*.

While there are some differences in the text that reflect the translator’s Arian beliefs, it is also

¹⁴ Berryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, Oxford: B. Blackford, 1952 p. xxxiv.

¹⁵ While this was not necessarily the motivation for every translator of the Bible, it was the case for the Venerable Bede and Waldo of Lyon, both of whom we will come back to later. But see also Alessandro Zironi, *L’eredità dei Goti: Testi barbarici in età carolingia*, Spoleto: Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo, 2009, pp. 75 - 86.

¹⁶ Smalley, whose *Study of the Bible* we are following, with the difference, however, of focusing on the lay experience, explains at length her reasoning for ending her study at the beginning of the fourteenth century: “Some defence is needed for choosing the conventional date of 1300 as my boundary. [...] I deal only with the Bible in Latin and with its study by ecclesiastics. My scholars are men whose calling obliged them to meditate and comment on the Bible. *The whole question of Scripture in the vernacular and of the lay approach to it has been omitted.*” Smalley, *op. cit.*, p. xxxiv. The italics are mine. The nature of our research, on the other hand, will focus on the whole question of Scripture in the vernacular.

¹⁷ For an analysis on the life and times of Ulfila, see Edward A. Thompson, *The Visigoths in the time of Ulfila*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966, and Peter J. Heather, *Goths and Romans: 332 - 489*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991. For the history of the Gothic Bible that Ulfilas translated, see Peter J. Heather and John Matthews, *The Goths in the fourth century*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1991, especially chapters 4 - 6.

interesting that Ulfilas did not translate the Old Testament book of Kings, because it “contains the history of the wars, in order to dampen the battle lust of a people who delighted in warfare, instead of stirring them up for it.”¹⁸ As a missionary, Ulfilas was well aware of the nature of the Goths who would hear the biblical narrative as he translated it and thus took certain precautions based on this aggressive nature. This early editorial decision is a foreshadowing of the conversations that would later take place in the High Middle Ages.

The translation has survived in a mutilated form (for example, of the Old Testament only *Nehemiah* 5 - 7 has survived) while the majority of the translation of the New Testament is found in the *Codex Argenteus*, a purple tinted parchment written in silver ink, the remains of which are found in the Uppsala University Library. The codex was probably created for the Ostrogoth king Theoderic the Great, 454 - 526, who ruled Italy from 493 until his death.¹⁹ Theoderic was also an Arian Christian and this might lead one to believe that the Church in Rome would have a problem with a heretical leader ruling Italy from Ravenna. Indeed, John Moorehead explains that

In so far as they were adherents to different creeds, relations between the Goths and Romans need not have been good. [...] By 488 Pope Felix was aware of the problems caused by Catholics who submitted to rebaptism as Arians.²⁰

But in truth, Moorehead continues, Theoderic left the Roman Church to see to its own affairs and was well liked and respected by the clergy during the majority of his reign. He continues:

the only occasions when the Liber Pontificalis refers to Theoderic as a heretic occur in its account of Pope John [...] which describes the period in the closing years of Theoderic's reign when his relations with the Catholics took a sudden turn for the worse.²¹

¹⁸ Herwig Wolfram, *History of the Goths*, Translated by Thomas J. Dunlap, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988 [Original text: *Geschichte der Goten. Entwurf einer historischen Ethnographie*, München, C.H. Beck, 1979], p. 75.

¹⁹ One of the best and most concise studies on Theoderic and the Goths is Piergiuseppe Scardigli, *Lingua e storia dei Goti*, Firenze: G.C. Sansoni, 1964. See also Zironi, *op. cit.*, especially chapters 2 and 3.

²⁰ John Moorehead, *Theoderic in Italy*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1992, p. 90.

²¹ *Idem*, p. 92.

In the end, Theoderic was Arian and thus had a different idea of the nature of Christ and the Holy Spirit with respect to the official orthodox doctrine. While Arianism in general is not our chief concern in this study, it is important to note that Theoderic was a heretic in the eyes of the Church, both Western and Eastern, as was the translation found in the *Codex Argenteus*. Unfortunately, the history of this manuscript is shrouded in mystery, according to the University of Uppsala, and therefore we know very little of its influence on the general biblical knowledge of the Middle Ages in our countries in question. Alessandro Zironi points out that “One of the great mysteries in Gothic philology has to do with the 1,000 years that intervened between the production of the *codex* in Ravenna and its reappearance”.²² The one point that Gothic philologists agree on regarding this manuscript is the fact that it was already in Germany during the Carolingian period. For our current purposes, it is important to note that already in the fourth century there was the first translation into a vulgar language of the Bible.²³ Due to the nature of the general purpose of this section of our study, as well as to the fact that the *Codex Argenteus* was completely unknown in our countries under examination for the period of time under consideration, we will leave the study of this tradition to experts of Gothic texts and now turn our attention to England, where it is the clergy who set about translating the Bible from that of Jerome into the vernaculars of the day.

B. *The English Situation*

The history of the Bible in English is complicated in that it begins in the eighth century and spans at least three distinct languages through the end of the Middle Ages. Despite the complications arising from the differences in languages (Old English, Anglo-Norman and

²² Alessandro Zironi, *op. cit.*, p. 87. “Uno dei grandi misteri legati agli studi di filologia gotica è relativo ai mille anni che intercorsero tra la produzione del codice a Ravenna e la sua ricomparsa”.

²³ Other important early manuscripts of the Gothic translation are found in the *Codex Carolinus*, currently in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana and Torino, Biblioteca Universitaria; and in The *Codices Ambrosiani A and B*, and *C* of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan. For more on these manuscripts, see Bernhard Bischoff, *Latin Paleography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. Especially pages 181 - 201.

Middle English), there are a few concrete elements of the tradition that must be outlined in order to understand the biblical situation in England for the time that concerns our study. The medieval history of translations of the Bible into English begins with an honored member of the clergy, the Venerable Bede, and will finish with one of the greatest enemies of the Catholic Church, John Wycliffe.

Bede, active in England from the middle of the seventh century through circa 735, was not only one of the most important English historians, but also the first man to be involved in the translation of the Bible into Old English. There are conflicting reports about the circumstances of the translation, which has not come down to us in any form: the problems of the Bible in English are summed up succinctly by Mary Dove:

Palmer cites as one of the arguments of those favoring translation [into English] that it is said that the Venerable Bede translated the whole Bible into the English language and he would not have done so had it not been lawful. Palmer replies that even if he had done so the Church has not approved any translation made by Bede - evidently, and tellingly, he is of the opinion that any translation, new or old, requires ecclesiastical approval - and, in fact, Bede only translated such parts of scripture as are necessary for salvation.²⁴

In her footnote, the scholar mentions several differing opinions on which parts of the Bible Bede actually translated: either John 1:1 - 6:9, the entire gospel of John or the entire Bible. The question goes back to the third letter of Cuthbert:

Cuthbert's letter describing the death of Bede, who had been Egbert's teacher, discloses a scene of instruction. It is in this letter that Cuthbert tells how Bede in his last sickness turned two little books into English - the Gospel of John up to chapter vi, and a work of Isidore of Seville. On the strength of this story, Bede has often been credited with finishing off with his last breath the first translation into English of a book of the Bible.²⁵

²⁴ Mary Dove, *The first English Bible: the text and context of the Wycliffite versions*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, p. 14. See also Roy M. Liuzza (ed.), *The Old English Version of the Gospels*, I., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.

²⁵ Geoffrey W.H. Lampe (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Bible: The West from the Fathers to the Reformation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969, pp. 371 -372.

There is, however, no documentation to prove or disprove this scene described by Cuthbert; still, according to modern scholars of the medieval Bible, the first translator of the Bible into English would go on to be venerated by the Catholic Church.²⁶

From Bede's presumed translation into Old English our study moves on to the next translations of sections of the Bible into Old English. The successive two most important translators into Old English of various parts of the Bible are, like the Venerable Bede, two members of the clergy. In the tenth century Aldred translated the gospels in their entirety into Old English, while in the same century Ælfric²⁷ translated various parts of the Old Testament, among which are the books of Genesis, Job, and Esther, while he also paraphrased and translated large sections of Maccabees and Judith.

Between 698 and 721 a single monk, a certain Eadfrith²⁸, worked on a version of the Gospels in Latin that is today housed in the British Library and known as the Lindisfarne Gospels, in the MS BL, Cotton MS Nero D.IV. Around the tenth century a clergyman named Aldred translated word for word into Old English the entirety of the gospels and added a colophon to Eadfrith's work; this is the first translation that has come down to us of any part of the Bible in Old English. The entire manuscript is available to see at the British Library and 40 *cartae* are available to view on the internet.²⁹ Aldred was quite concerned with the

²⁶ Bede, even if he did not translate the Bible (which we cannot know) was not in any way opposed to the translation of the Holy Book: "A similar appreciation of the use of the vernacular for instructional purposes, though in a wider field, is manifested in Bede's last letter to the same Egbert of York, where Bede reminds the new bishop of the essential pastoral duty of instructing his people. Let those who can read Latin, he urges, use Latin to increase their knowledge of the faith. This is the best method. But let those, priests and laymen, who know only the vernacular, use the vernacular for the purpose. For the unlettered, Bede recalls that he himself has translated the Creed and the Lord's Prayer into English." *idem.*, p. 372

²⁷ See Richard Marsden (ed.), *The old English Heptateuch and Ælfric's Libellus de veteri testamento et novo*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

²⁸ See Richard Gameson, "Why did Eadfrith write the Lindisfarne gospels?" in Richard Gameson and Henrietta Leyser (eds.), *Belief and culture in the Middle Ages: studies presented to Henry Mayr-Harting*, Oxford: Oxford University press, 2001, pp. 45 - 58.

²⁹ <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/virtualbooks/index.html>, last visited October, 2013.

ignorance of the clergy of his time and his translation of the Bible into the vernacular may be seen as his attempt to correct this problem.³⁰

Ælfric's works³¹, on the other hand, are more complex than those of Aldred. While at times this member of the clergy did translate word for word from Latin into Old English, he had the tendency to omit large sections of the original Latin that he found repetitive. This is particularly the case in his Homely on Esther, in which he translates large parts of the work, but leaves out books nine through sixteen due to their resemblance to books one through eight. Ælfric had a difficult relationship with translating the Bible: he was worried that the laity might not understand the deeper meaning found therein if they were to read it on their own without the help of the clergy (a fear that Smalley cites numerous times in her seminal opera). Tristan Major explains in detail the nexus of the relationship that our translator had with the Bible, but in the end, according to Major, Ælfric was convinced that translating the Bible was the right thing to do:

On the basis of these typological correspondences, it is not only permissible but necessary to translate portions of the Bible, because the translator fulfils the task of the disciple by proclaiming the gospel to a new nation in that nation's language. In effect, Ælfric's Old English translations of the Bible thus counteract the pagan elements of the dispersal after the destruction of the tower of Babel in that they offer a legitimate linguistic medium to the Anglo Saxon nation by which the nation may be saved through Christ.³²

While Ælfric, a member of the clergy, did face significant problems in translation that we will see likewise in other times and places within our study, his translations of the Old Testament, taken together with the translation of the gospel by Aldred, are an incredibly important patrimony in Old English studies, but not only; these two translators are extremely important for Biblical studies within the English language. Roy Michael Liuzza underlines the fact that:

³⁰ For more details on the Lindisfarne Gospels and the work of Aldred, see Michelle P. Brown, *The Lindisfarne gospels: society, spirituality and the scribe*, London: British Library, 2003.

³¹ For a detailed analysis of all of his works, see Caroline Louisa White, *Ælfric: a new study of his life and writings*, [S.I.]: Archon Books, 1974.

³² Tristan Major, "Rebuilding the Tower of Babel: Ælfric and Bible Translation", in *Florilegium*, 23.2 (2006): 47-60, p. 55.

The Old English version of the Gospels, which survives in four manuscripts and two fragments from the eleventh century, was copied twice in the twelfth century, once in the middle and again at the very end of the century.³³

These translations that we have mentioned above form an important block within the Middle English canon. With the manuscripts at hand one can see the progress made from one language to another as well as how different societies translated the same things in different ways. Finally it is important to underline one last time that these men who translated the Bible into English in the Middle Ages were all members of the clergy. Perhaps there is no better demonstration of the fickle nature of medieval Papal policy than a comparison between Biblical translation in France and in England: members of the English clergy translated the Bible into the vernacular with no negative repercussions from the Papacy, whereas members of the Laity in southern France who did the same thing were not only excommunicated, but their actions directly influenced the prohibitive actions of the Church in the early years of the thirteenth century. Between these two different times and places in medieval Europe we see a definitive regression in the ability of the laity to know the Bible directly.

C. France and the ban on translation

Biblical translation in what is now France was pervasive and enduring throughout the Middle Ages. Between the tenth and fourteenth century there were produced at least 240 biblical translations into vernacular languages spoken in the kingdom of France, or western *Francia*, as it was created in 843.³⁴ With so many extant translations one can presume that there were even more vernacular biblical translations in circulation during this period. Indeed, at the Council of Tours of 813 it was ordered that homilies on faith and the Last Judgement be

³³ Roy M. Luizza, "Scribal Habit: the evidence of the Old English Gospels" in Swan and Treharne (eds.), *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 143 - 165, p. 149

³⁴ While Old French was the dominant language of the kingdom, Germanic languages and Occitan were spoken and written in the frontier regions. See Lorenzo Renzi and Alvise Andreosi (eds.), *Manuale di linguistica e filologia romanza*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2012; and Clive R. Sneddon, "The Bible in French", in Richard Marsden and E. Ann Matter (eds.), *The New Cambridge History of the Bible: From 600 to 1450*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, pp. 251 - 267; p. 251 and *passim*.

translated “in rusticam Romanum linguam aut Theotiscam.”³⁵ Within the physical territory of France there were many spoken languages, a fact which is reflected in the translations as well. As our study is concerned with the poetry of Marcabru, written in Occitan, we will focus on the translations of biblical passages into that language.³⁶

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries prominent figures in French society were probably responsible for the commissioning of vernacular translations of the Bible³⁷, but towards the end of the twelfth century a common person ordered a translation of the *Vulgate* for his own particular purposes. Waldo (also known as Valdo or Vaudès) was a wealthy merchant from Lyon who lived towards the end of the twelfth century. He belonged to the new and growing category of businessmen, which at the time was changing the face of feudal Europe.³⁸ Although Smalley counts him among the “illiterate laity” Carlo Papini contests this notion at length:

The Waldensians, or “Poor in spirit”, are always presented as “ignorant and illiterate”, that is to say that they are without culture or any notion of either Latin or Theology, in order to justify the ban on preaching in public due to the risk of grave doctrinal “errors”. We know, rather, from other sources that this is merely a polemical invention: many of the waldensian “brothers” were in no way unlearned and in fact they knew at least a little Latin and were very familiar with the Holy Bible and some of the writings of the Church Fathers.³⁹

Papini goes on to show that from the outset of his preaching, Waldo’s disciples were quite well versed in the Bible (both Old and New Testaments) by citing some of the Catholic

³⁵ Canon 22, printed in Brian Woledge and Harry P. Clive, “Répertoire des plus anciens textes en prose française. Depuis 842 jusqu’aux premières années du XIIIe siècle”, in *Publications Romanes et Françaises*, 79, Genève: Droz, 1964, p. 9. “Into rustic Roman or German language”. The translation is Sneddon’s.

³⁶ For the translations into other languages, see Sneddon, *op. cit.*

³⁷ With patrons such as Louis IX, Jean II and finally, Charles V. See Sneddon, *op. cit.* p. 254.

³⁸ For a concise description of the life and times of Waldo, see, other than the work by Papini, John Henry Blunt, *Dictionary of Sects, Heresies, Ecclesiastical Parties and Schools of Religious Thought*, London: Rivingtons, 1874, pp. 616 - 620; Grado Merlo, *Eretici ed eresie medievali*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 1989 and Gabriel Audisio, translated by Claire Davison, *The Waldensian Dissent: persecution and survival, c. 1170-c. 1570*, Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

³⁹ Carlo Papini, *Waldo di Lione e i « poveri nello spirito »*, il primo secolo del movimento valdese, 1170-1270, Torino: Claudiana, 2001. “I Valdesi, o “poveri nello spirito”, vengono sempre presentati come “ignoranti e illetterati”, cioè privi di cultura e di ogni nozione sia di latino sia di teologia, onde giustificare il divieto di predicare in pubblico per il rischio di gravi “errori” dottrinali. Sappiamo invece da altre fonti che si tratta di una invenzione polemica: molti “fratres” valdesi non erano affatto incolti e conoscevano almeno un po’ di latino e molto bene la Sacra Scrittura e alcuni scritti dei Padri.” p. 58. For an ample history Waldo see pages 85 - 119.

writers of the time who had a direct knowledge of the Waldensians.⁴⁰ Within this section of his study, titled *Il livello culturale dei primi predicatori e l'accusa d'ignoranza*⁴¹, one of the most interesting points for our purposes is found in the description of one of the foremost preachers of this movement, Durando d'Osca:

The declared purpose of the *Liber Antiheresis* by Durando d'Osca is to offer to his colleagues a handbook of citations and a doctrinal compendium for those who could not get to a library. One must note that Durando wrote his book (in a small format, to be carried at all times) in a refined and often elegant Latin. It is the best demonstration that a great part of the "brothers and sisters" of the time were "literate."⁴²

True though it seems to be that many of the followers of Waldo were at least somewhat versed in Latin, it is equally true that Waldo himself commissioned a translation of the Bible into his native tongue.⁴³ It is important to note here that Waldo's activities were based on three foundations: the first was a literal understanding of the Bible, which brought him and his followers to the other two foundations, or poverty and preaching. Indeed, as Gabriel Audisio points out, "The only canon was that they should live like the apostles by their ministry, according to the New Testament."⁴⁴

A study by Samuel Berger⁴⁵ aims, in part, to establish the translation of the Bible that Waldo ordered, as well as the possible heretical ideas found therein. The author discusses several manuscripts in which medieval translations of the Bible into Occitan have come down

⁴⁰ *Idem.*, pp. 377 - 381.

⁴¹ *The cultural level of the first preachers and the accusation of ignorance.*

⁴² *Idem.*, p. 377. "Scopo dichiarato del *Liber antiheresis* di Durando d'Osca è proprio quello di offrire ai suoi colleghi un prontuario di citazioni e un compendio dottrinale per chi non aveva la possibilità di attingere ad una biblioteca. Si noti che Durando scrive il suo libro (di piccolo formato, da portare con sé) in un latino forbito e talvolta ricercato. È la migliore dimostrazione che la grande maggioranza dei "fratres et sorores" del tempo erano "litterati."

⁴³ Which would most accurately be called 'Lyonnaise'. During Waldo's life Lyon was part of Provence, the language of which is accurately called Provençal. But as the language adapted over time the differences remained while the nomenclature has not kept up. Occitan, while a modern invention, is a non spatial term for the loose conglomeration of all of those languages that were in use (and very similar) in France south of the Rhône river in the Middle Ages. These include Gascon, Languedocien and Provençal. We will call this language 'Occitan' from here forward, in agreement with the majority of modern scholars.

⁴⁴ Gabriel Audisio, *op. cit.* p. 16.

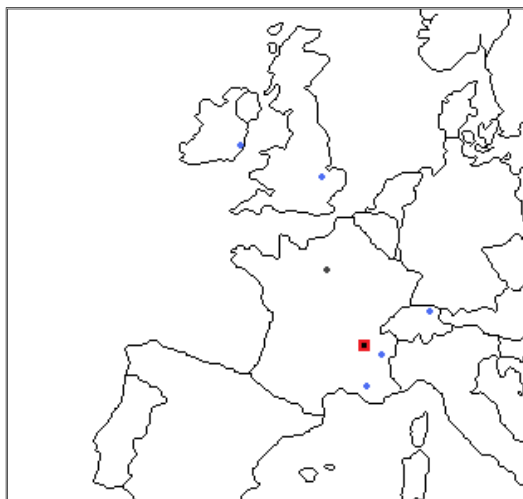
⁴⁵ Samuel Berger, "Les Bibles provençales et vaudoises", in *Romania*, XVIII, (1889), pp. 353 - 438.

to the present day. The manuscripts, containing either the entire Bible or simply the New Testament, are listed as follows:

The manuscripts that we are going to study are seven, without mentioning a few Waldensian fragments.⁴⁶ These are naturally divided into two classes:

1°: Provençal Texts: manuscripts conserved in Lyon and in Paris⁴⁷

2°: Waldensian texts: manuscripts conserved in Carpentras, Dublin, Grenoble, Cambridge and Zurich.⁴⁸



The biblical translations that Berger discusses were probably made in Lyon (red). The map shows where they are currently kept.

Key

Red: Presumed production (Lyon)
Black: Current location of 'Provençal' texts.
Blue: Current location of 'Waldensian' texts.

Through a very thorough parsing and examination of all of the manuscripts, the author arrives at an interesting point for us: the extant manuscripts in question, though dating to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, share a common ancestor that was made in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. "In the ancient Anglo-Norman version of the Revelation, the manuscripts of which bring us very close to 1200, we read, following the manuscripts, both translations."⁴⁹ As we can see, thanks to the work of Berger, there was a very detailed conversation in France

⁴⁶ While Berger does not mention the fragments in this part of his study, they are of the utmost importance for our study and will therefore be discussed in chapter II.

⁴⁷ The descriptions of the manuscripts in question are found on pages 414 - 422 in Berger's study. The MSS are: Lyon: Bibliothèque du Palais des Arts, N° 36 ; Paris: BnF 2423 ; Carpentras: Bibliothèque Municipale N° 22 ; Dublin: Trinity College, A. 4. 13 ; Grenoble: Bibliothèque Municipale U. 860 ; Cambridge, University Library, DD. 15. 34 ; Zurich: Zentralbibliothek, C. 169.

⁴⁸ *Idem.*, p. 356. "Les manuscrits que nous avons à étudier sont au nombre de sept, sans parler de quelques fragments. Ils se divisent naturellement en deux classes: 1° Textes provençaux: manuscrits de Lyon et de Paris ; Textes vaudois: manuscrits de Carpentras, de Dublin, de Grenoble, de Cambridge et de Zurich." Berger discusses the difference between translations that are merely "Provençaux", or in that particular language but of a Catholic nature, to those that are "Vaudoises", or translations that are in the same language, but with a different religious ideology.

⁴⁹ *Idem.*, pp. 401, 402. "Dans l'ancienne Apocalypse normande, dont les manuscrits remontent fort près de l'an 1200, nous lisons, suivent les manuscrits, les deux traductions." The "deux traductions" that Berger is discussing here are of the extant versions of the Revelation of John of Patmos.

on *how* to translate the Bible around the year 1200: the goal of these translations was to “render the *Vulgate* in a clear Old French prose which respected the register and style differences between Bible books and was generally accessible to readers.”⁵⁰ Waldo and his followers played a very large role in this debate, attempting to render the Bible as explicitly as possible. But there was a significant problem inherent in this situation: Waldo’s actions were not seen in a positive light by the leaders of the Catholic Church. Raoul Manselli writes, for example, that

from this [Waldo’s translation of the Bible into a vulgar language] is born, however, a motivation for problems with the clergy who, on the other hand, *on the basis of an undiscussed canonic tradition*, intended to maintain the monopoly of preaching and of the diffusion of the word of God.⁵¹

Waldo’s translation was a problem for the clergy despite the fact that there was no rule or law against translating the Bible into vulgar languages. This was due in large part, at least initially, to the clergy who looked upon the Waldensians as unlearned men and women who were attempting to usurp a position that they were unprepared to fulfill competently. Walter Map, who was present at the third Lateran Council, held in Rome in 1179, wrote a chapter on his impressions of these usurpers:

Vidimus in concilio Romano sub Alexandro papa tercio celebrato Valdesios, homines ydiotas, illiterates, a primate ipsorum Valde dictos, qui fuerat ciuis Lugduni super Rodanum, qui librum domino pape presentauerunt lingua conscriptum Gallica, in quo textus et glosa Psalterii plurimorumque legis utriusque librorum continebantur. Hii multa petebant instancia predicacionis auctoritatem sibi confirmari, quia periti sibi uidebantur, cum iux essent scioli.⁵²

⁵⁰ Sneddon, *op. cit.*, p. 256. For more on translation practice in medieval France, see Clive R. Sneddon (ed.) “Medieval Translation”, in *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 35.4 (1999).

⁵¹ Raoul Manselli, *Il secolo XII: Religione popolare ed eresia*, Roma: Società editoriale Jouvence, 1998, p. 19. “Da qui nasce, però, un motivo di contrasto con il clero che, invece, *sulla base di un’indiscussa tradizione canonica*, intende mantenere il monopolio della predicazione e della diffusione della parola di Dio.” The italics are mine.

⁵² Walter Map, *De Nugis Curiclium*, (*Courtiers Trifles*), Edited and translated by Montague Rhodes James, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983, pp. 125 - 129. “At the Roman Council under Pope Alexander III, I saw some Waldensians, simple illiterate men, called after their leader Waldo (Valdès), who was a citizen of Lyons on the Rhône. They offered the pope a book written in the French tongue, in which was contained the text, with a gloss, of the Psalter and many of the books of the two Testaments. They pressed very earnestly that the right of preaching should be confirmed to them; for in their eyes they were learned, though in reality hardly beginners.”

Map goes on to explain that it was left to him to discern the level of these men's understanding of the Bible, during which examination the Waldensians proved themselves not to understand the work nearly enough to become preachers, ending with their shameful exit from the Council. Waldo had sent them to Rome in order to obtain the blessing of the Pope for their ministry, while instead it was decided that the Waldensian movement was neither heretical nor a problem that the Church needed to react to at that point. The Cathar movement in Southern France⁵³ was much more important to the Pope and to the Church in general at this point and thus the Waldensians were considered to be of no immediate concern.

At the third Lateran Council Waldo and his followers were condoned, in a way: it was decided to pass no written judgement about the preaching of the Waldensians. The situation would change very shortly after the death of Waldo, but it is important to note at the moment that Waldo's actions were in no way in contrast with canonical law, such as it was in the late twelfth century. Five years later, by way of the Papal Bull *Ab Abolendam* of 1184, Waldo and his followers would be called heretics by the Church, along with several other groups: "Imprimis ergo Catharos et Patarinos et eos, qui se Humiliatos vel Pauperes de Ludguno falso nomine mentiuntur."⁵⁴ This Papal Bull which began the persecution of Waldo was merely the first step in the direction of more stringent control of the Bible on the part of the Church. Indeed, what follows in the Papal Bull would go on to form the third Canon of the 4th Lateran Council of 1215, wherein the Church condemned even more strictly that which Waldo and his followers had been engaged in up until that point. It reads:

Quia vero nonnulli *sub specie pietati, virtutem eius*, iuxta quod ait Apostolus, *abnegantes*, auctoritatem sibi vendicant praedicandi, cum idem apostolus dicat: *Quomodo praedicabunt, nisi mittantur?* Omnesi qui prohibet ven non missi, praeter

⁵³ For an introduction to the Cathars, see at least Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy. Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation*, 2nd edition, Oxford: Blackwell, 1992.

⁵⁴ Concile de Vérone. Decretale *Ad abolendam* diversarum haeresium pravitate du 4 novembre, 1184, in Giovanni Gonnet (ed.), *Enchiridion fontium Valdensium: recueil critique des sources concernant les Vaudois au Moyen Âge*, Vol. 1, Torre Pellice: Claudiana, 1958, p. 50. "To begin then, the Cathars and the Patarines and those who belie themselves with the false name of Humiliati or Poor men of Lyon."

auctoritatem ab apostolic sede, vel catholico episcopo loci susceptam, publice vel privatim praedicationis officium usurpare praesumpserint, excommunicationis vinculo innodentur, et nisi quantocius resipuerint, alia competent poena plectantur.⁵⁵

With this canon the Church banned the Waldensians from preaching, thus taking away one of the three foundations upon which their existence depended. Still, it was not illegal to render the Bible in vernacular languages, despite the many problems that Waldo's followers encountered. In fact, before beginning his analysis of the manuscripts in which there are translations of the Bible, Berger underlines that "the first ban on the Bible in a vulgar language by an ecumenical council dates to the Council of Toulouse in 1229."⁵⁶ The fourteenth canon explicitly states that

Prohibemus etiam, ne libros veteris testamenti aut novi, laici permittantur habere: nisi forte psalterium, vel breviarium pro Divinis officiis, aut horas beatae Mariae aliquis ex devotione habere velit. Sed ne praemissos libros habeant in vulgari translatos, arctissime inhibemus.⁵⁷

While this was not a full Ecumenical Council, it did produce the Inquisition and the canons written therein became canonical law. Apparently, however, that ban was not enough for the Church and thus at the Council of Tarragona in 1234 it was decreed that

Item, statuitur, ne aliquis libros veteris vel novi testamenti in Romanico habeat. Et si aliquis habeat, infra octo dies post publicationem huiusmodi constitutionis a tempore sententiae, tradat eos loci episcopo comburendos, quod nisi fecerit, sive clericus fuerit, sive laicus, tamquam suspectus de haeresi, quousque se purgaverit, habeatur.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Norman P. Tanner S.J. (ed.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical councils, Volume 1: Nicaea I to Lateran V*, London and Washington D.C.: Sheed & Ward and Georgetown University Press, 1990, pp. 234 - 235. "There are some who holding to the form of religion but denying its power (as the Apostle says), claim for themselves the authority to preach, whereas the same Apostle says, How shall they preach unless they are sent? Let therefore all those who have been forbidden or not sent to preach, and yet dare publicly or privately to usurp the office of preaching without having received the authority of the apostolic see or the catholic bishop of the place, be bound with the bond of excommunication and, unless they repent very quickly, be punished by another suitable penalty." The italics in the original Latin are the editor's.

⁵⁶ Berger, *op. cit.*, p. 364. "La première interdiction de la Bible en langue vulgaire par un concile du Midi date du Concile de Toulouse, 1229."

⁵⁷ Concilium Tolosanum, Canon 14 in Ioannes Dominicus Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova Amplissima Collectio*, Vol. 23, Venice, 1779, p. 197. "We prohibit also that the laity should be permitted to have the books of the Old or the New Testament; unless anyone from motives of devotion should wish to have the Psalter or the Breviary for divine offices or the hours of the blessed Virgin; but we most strictly forbid their having any translation of these books." Translation by Edward Peters, in his *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980, p. 195.

⁵⁸ The Church Council of Tarragona 1234 AD; 2nd Cannon, in Mansi, *op. cit.*, p. 329. "Likewise, we maintain that no one may possess the books of the Old and New Testaments in a vulgar language, and if anyone possesses them he must turn them over to the local bishop within eight days of the publication of this sentence, so that they

From this point on it was illegal for any member of the laity or clergy to possess the Bible in a language other than Latin, but by then the work of Waldo had already taken hold and the thirteenth century saw an explosion of translations of the Bible into both Old French and Occitan.⁵⁹ This does not change the fact that for the Church Waldo was a heretic and his ideas were dangerous. This is but one example of the ways that under different Popes and historical situations the translation of the Bible was seen in very different ways. As we have already shown, the history of the Bible in England began with the clergy and would eventually go on to have a particularly significant outcome.⁶⁰

D. *To come full circle*

This brief introduction began with an overview of the biblical situation directly before the fall of the Roman Empire, with the Gothic Bible. The end of our time period and discussion on the availability of the Bible in vernacular languages takes us once again to the Italian peninsula, home of the Papacy during the entirety of our historical framework.⁶¹ We have already seen above the two bans on the translating of the Bible into vernacular languages: while these bans were upheld to various degrees in different countries, the situation on the Italian peninsula was more complicated both religiously and culturally than those in France and in England during the same period of time. The papacy had a much stronger influence in this part of Europe than in the farther outlying sections, such as England and Germany. For

may be burned, and that unless this is done, be he clergy or laymen, he will be suspected of heresy until having purged himself.”

⁵⁹ There were no less than six different extant biblical translations into Occitan during the thirteenth century. See Sneddon, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

⁶⁰ Though Wycliffe and his translation are outside the scope of our study, with his translations into Middle English the discussion of heresy will come even to the shores of England in the late fourteenth century. For more on him and his translation, see Margaret Deanesly, *The Significance of the Lollard Bible*, London: The Athlone Press, 1951 and Kantick Ghosh, *The Wycliffite heresy: authority and the interpretation of texts*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. For a modern edition of the Wycliffite Bible, see William R. Cooper (ed.), *The Wycliffe New Testament (1388): An edition in modern spelling with an introduction, the original prologues and the Epistle to the Laodiceans*, London: The British Library, 2002.

⁶¹ As we have chosen to follow Smalley in her choice of ending the study in the year 1300, the Papacy’s time in Avignon, France, does not concern our study.

this reason in particular, the vulgarization of the Bible in Italy had a much more difficult journey than in other countries in the Middle Ages. Professor Carlo del Corno explains that translations into the languages in use at the time were aimed at different ranges of people in this time:

[...] in Latin if they were aimed at the scholars, the clergy or the University students; and above all in vulgar (from Latin and French) if they were destined to be read by the laity or commissioned by female religious orders or other male orders organized in fraternities, 'islands of coral' close to the Church.⁶²

Each of the different sections of society had its own language into which important works were translated in the later Middle Ages in Italy. For these two reasons (the influence over all things cultural on the part of the Church in Italy in the Middle Ages and the cultural differences among the various ranges of society in this country) the translation of the Bible into the medieval Italian vernaculars was more complex than the conditions found in England and in France called for. These conditions also render the study of the Bible in translation in Italy more difficult than in its northern counterparts. Unlike in France and in England, the manuscripts in which one finds the translations (*volgarizzamenti*) are not all catalogued yet and there has not been the same focus of study on this aspect of biblical studies throughout the centuries. Indeed, Lino Leonardi has recently underlined yet again the difficulties in this field:

To this day, establishing the medieval history of the Bible in Italian remains a complicated task. Only in recent years has there been systematic research on the manuscripts and, although the first critical editions have been produced, it is still not possible to draw up a fully coherent picture of the translation tradition.⁶³

The process of translating the Bible did not occur as in our other countries, with someone deciding to translate systematically. Rather, it was "born with the beginning of literature in

⁶² Carlo del Corno, "Produzione e circolazione dei volgarizzamenti" in Leonardi (ed.), *La Bibbia in Italiano tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, Firenze: Sismel, 1998, pp. 3 - 24, p. 6. "Parlando poi della letteratura di pietà veneziana del Tre e Quattrocento, egli torna a sottolineare l'importanza delle traduzioni: in latino se rivolte ai dotti, chierici e universitari; e soprattutto in volgare (dal latino e dal francese) se destinate ai laici e commissionate da ordini religiosi femminili e terzi ordini maschili organizzati nelle confraternite, "isole di corallo" attorno alle chiese".

⁶³ Lino Leonardi, *The Bible in Italian*, in Richard Marsden and E. Ann Matter, *The New Cambridge History of the Bible: From 600 to 1450*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, pp. 268 - 287, p. 268.

the Italian vernaculars”⁶⁴, namely in poetry. Two early instances of biblical translation that Leonardi points out are found in documents from the first quarter of the thirteenth century: the *Laudes Creaturarum*⁶⁵ by Saint Francis of Assisi paraphrases several verses from the Old Testament book of Daniel, while a northern (Piedmont) Italian translation of the Lord’s prayer is found in a book of sermons, the *Sermoni subalpine*.⁶⁶ While Saint Francis paraphrased various biblical verses, the 22 homilies that make up this last book explain various biblical verses that are given in Latin at the beginning of each one. Indeed, according to Leonardi, “the para-liturgical or homiletic context of these first occurrences was probably also that in which the first translations of complete biblical books were produced.”⁶⁷

Scholars currently know of no complete early biblical translation into a vernacular Italian language, like the ones that we saw in England and France, nor even like the translation into Gothic. Still, as Leonardi pointed out, the scholarship on this phenomenon has only recently begun and there are many manuscripts still to be indexed and examined. This study is ongoing and we will remain informed of the latest developments brought about by Sismel.⁶⁸

To conclude

Thus we have set out to examine quite briefly the history of the relationship between the Catholic Church and the availability of the Bible. While this is a vast and complex relationship we have attempted to look at very specific elements of this history in our countries of interest: England, France and Italy from the fourth through the fourteenth

⁶⁴ *Idem*.

⁶⁵ Printed in PD I, pp. 29 - 34.

⁶⁶ Silvana Delfuoco and Piergiuseppe Bernardi (eds. and translators), *Sermoni subalpini: XII secolo: Biblioteca nazionale universitaria di Torino, manoscritto D.VI.10*, Torino: Centro Studi Piemontesi, 2005.

⁶⁷ Leonardi, *op.cit.*, p. 269.

⁶⁸ The acronym stands for *Società Internazionale per lo Studio del Medioevo Latino*. Their website in English (which is not as complete as the Italian site) can be found at <http://www.sismel.it/default.asp>. Last visited October, 2013.

centuries. The ever changing nature of the Papacy led to different rules for translators throughout the Middle Ages: while some who translated the Bible into a vulgar tongue were esteemed by the Church, others were excommunicated and their works burned. Still, the Papacy was unable to stop the translation of the Bible into vulgar languages and thus it was used in ways that even the translators, perhaps, did not envision. Hopefully we have built a solid foundation from which to proceed onto a study of the various literatures of the later Middle Ages that used the Bible, either directly or indirectly, in ways that have nothing to do with biblical exegesis.

Different political and religious situations in various times in our countries under examination all lead to widespread use of the Bible in love poetry in each culture, language and literature. Knowing the relative availability of the Bible in the languages that people were able to read will enable us to better analyze the ways in which this work was used by poets of differing times and places. Each will bring his own cultural offerings and thus influence in profound ways the literature that will come afterwards.

I.ii The Bible in Literary Genres

While Dinkova-Bruun has focused on the Latin poetry of the Middle Ages, following in the footsteps of Arthur George Rigg and (to a lesser degree) of Peter Dronke, poetry is but one of the genres that was heavily influenced by the Bible. From the first extant examples of many of the European vernacular languages there are several instances of, at times, the direct quotation of scripture and, at others, at the very least a strong influence of the Biblical narrative on the vernacular writings, be they poetry, last wills and testaments, or romance stories. True though it may be that Latin poetry was often a direct result of a clergy that desired to help the laity better understand the word of God and that this is a topic worthy of much further investigation (and which Dinkova-Bruun is currently engaged in), it is our intention to examine the ways in which the biblical narrative eventually went on to influence vernacular European lyric love

poetry. In order to see this, it is important first to understand the ways in which the Bible entered into the various genres most used during the Middle Ages; thus we will examine but a few instances of the use of the Bible in a few of the more prevalently spoken (and written) European languages during this time period in order to show the pervasive nature of the Bible in the minds of European writers in many different genres. For purposes of space the pieces that we use as exemplars will be but a few of the many and will come from several different countries as we know them today. After this brief outline of the situation in Europe for the chosen genres, we will set out to define exactly what we mean by “vernacular lyric love poetry” in our various languages and countries, before briefly discussing some of the first instances of this practice in each of these, as well as in Latin.

I.ii.i. *Charters*

“The primary and most accessible record of the interaction between early Anglo-Saxon society and the written word is the Latin land-charter (technically, diploma) and the associated vernacular documents which deal with land and property.”⁶⁹ The first instances of the use of vernacular Old English that have come down to us are found in these chronicles that were used as legal documents. While the authenticity of what is written is often spurious, there exist some 1,500 Anglo-Saxon documents from before the Norman Conquest that give the modern scholar insight into the use of the vernacular language at the time. Susan Kelly underlines the fact that wills⁷⁰, leases, and miscellaneous legal agreements, in a mixture of Latin and Old English, contain the first extant examples of the use of the vernacular in written works, while pointing out that “The only vernacular documents to survive from the seventh century are the four southern law codes.”⁷¹ Due to the fact that all of these different media were intended for legal purposes, and that the Church was the prime mover of all things legal,

⁶⁹ Susan Kelly, “Anglo-Saxon Lay Society and the Written Word,” in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, 36 - 62, p. 38.

⁷⁰ There are 58 extant wills from Anglo-Saxon England, of which 53 are in Old English.

⁷¹ *Idem.*, p. 46.

it is to be expected that the documents in the vernacular language should reflect this ecclesiastical influence.

A careful examination of but a sample of these documents⁷² reveals that these charters were influenced by the knowledge of the Bible in three distinct ways: the most obvious is in direct quotations of the Bible within the charters, the second being in the various curses imposed upon any man who would change that which is written therein, while the final way that the influence shows itself is in the language used; this last being more difficult to individualize but pervasive in these earliest of English documents.⁷³ What follows is a brief glimpse into the vast amount of extant documentation written in England between the Christianization of that country and the Norman Conquest thereof.

Robertson has followed a chronological ordering of the charters that she has examined and the first two documents for discussion are from two very different eras, closely connected though they may be. The charters that she has labeled XI and CXX were written nearly 200 years apart but they are quite similar. The first⁷⁴ is a charter of King Æthelbert to Sherborne, written in 864, in which the king grants complete financial freedom to the lands of the church, with the exception of military service and the construction of bridges. The king's reasoning is put forth in the charter by quoting scripture in Latin and then translating it into Anglo-Saxon:

Forþon ic Æþelbreht mid Godes gife Westsaxna kyning witoðlice ic þence and me on gemynde is mid þissum eorþlicum ðingum þa ecelican gestreon to begitanne · Sicut Salomon dixit · redemptio animę proprię divitię · Swa Swa Salomon cwæp · ðæt we sceolden mid urum spedom urum saulum þa ecen gesælinessse begitan ·⁷⁵

⁷² I have used the editions of the charters found in Agnes Jane Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939.

⁷³ For reasons of time and space, and due to the fact that the intention here is merely to underline the influence of the Bible in vernacular writings, this last form of influence will not be discussed here.

⁷⁴ Found in Robertson, *op. cit.* pp. 17 - 21.

⁷⁵ *Idem.*, p. 16. "For that reason I, Æthelbert, by the grace of God King of Wessex, truly intend and have it in mind to procure the everlasting treasure by means of these earthly things *sicut Salomon dixit, Redemptio animae propriae divitiae*, according to the words of Solomon that by means of our wealth we should obtain everlasting bliss for our souls." The translation into modern English and the italics here and in the following notes are Robertson's.

The Latin comes from Proverbs 13, 8: “redemptio animae viri divitiae suae qui autem pauper est increpationem non sustinet.”⁷⁶ In order to obtain the Lord’s favor, therefore, King Æthelbert gave away much of his wealth and land, a common occurrence for the kings of medieval England. So common, in fact, that another king, Edward the Confessor, did the same thing, for the same reasons and with the same language. His charter (CXX in Robertson,⁷⁷) was written in 1061 but is found in the same manuscript as the first in our discussion, the so-called Sherborne Cartulary of the British Library. While Æthelbert’s charter is found on *f.16b*, we find this charter from Edward on *f.29b* and is unfinished, as folio 30 is missing. The quote from Solomon and the explanation of his words are, however, intact in the manuscript and are very nearly the exact same words as found on *f.16b*:

[and] me on gemende þisum eorðlicum þingum þa ecanlican gestreon to begytende · sicut Salomon dixit · Redemptio animę proprię diuitię · Swa swa Salomon cwæð · and we sceoldon mid urum spedum urum sawlum þa ecan gesælignysse begytan ·⁷⁸

While both kings of England quote directly from the *Vulgate* here (apart from the fact that the word “viri” is not included after “animae” in either of the transcriptions) they both go on to translate the meaning of the passage into their vernacular. This is not entirely common in the charters that I have been able to analyze thus far but it does show that the Bible was both used and explained in distinctly vernacular writings. The similarity between these two royal charters has not gone unnoticed by Robertson and she amply supplies further information on this phenomenon. Given, however, that the vast majority of the Old English charters that have survived until the present are of a “stereotyped form” (as the author explains in her introduction, p. xxii) the similarity seen above should come as small surprise.

⁷⁶ “A person’s riches may ransom their life”.

⁷⁷ *Idem.*, pp. 220 - 223.

⁷⁸ *Idem.*, 221 - 2. “For it is in my mind to obtain the everlasting treasure by means of these earthly things, *sicut Salomon dixit: Redemptio animae propriae divitiae*, according to the saying of Solomon that by means of our wealth we should obtain everlasting bliss for our souls.”

This verse of the Psalms is not the only one, however, that was directly quoted in an Old English charter. Circa 934 King Æthelstan visited St. Cuthbert's cathedral and consequently wrote a short grant for a book that he left as a gift for the church. Nearly the entire extant (quite short) grant is an invective and a warning to anyone who should either remove the book or change the grant. The king finished his warning with a quote from the *Vulgate*, with the second part reading:

Gif þonne hwelc monn to þæm dystig beo · þæt he þisses hwæþ breoce oððe wende ·
beo he scylding wiþ God and wiþ men · and dæl neomende Iudases hletes Scariothes, and
on Domes dæge þæs egeslican cwides to geheranne and to onfone · discedite a me
maledicti in ignem æternum et reliq.⁷⁹

Here the king has used a quotation from the *Vulgate* and a comparison to Judas, the betrayer of Jesus of Nazareth. The Latin quote shown above is from the gospel of Matthew, 25: 41. The entire verse is “tunc dicet et his qui a sinistris erunt discedite a me maledicti in ignem æternum qui paratus est diabolo et angelis eius”⁸⁰ and is part of a series of parables that Jesus told his disciples about what would happen with the coming of the Son of God. King Æthelstan used Christ's words of warning, together with the image of Judas, to discourage any possible future changes to the document as he wrote it.

The vast majority of the charters, however, do not quote directly from the Bible, but they do often mention different characters found therein, Judas being the most common. Robertson explains in her introduction that “these clauses merely express in a stereotyped form a blessing on those who uphold the grant and a curse on those who break it.”⁸¹ The blessings are to come from Jesus Christ, his mother and the Saints generally while the curses are often more flamboyant and more interesting. These curses on the people who would

⁷⁹ Robertson, *op. cit.*, pp. 48, 9: “If, however, anyone is so presumptuous as to violate or change this in particular, he shall incur the wrath both of God and of men, and shall participate in the fate of Judas Iscariot, and on the Day of Judgement shall hear and receive the dread sentence, ‘Depart from me, ye accursed, into everlasting fire.’”

⁸⁰ “Then shall he say also unto them on the left hand, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.”

⁸¹ *Idem.*, p. xxii.

illegally change the charter in any way were often threats of excommunication, both in this world and the next; the people were compared to characters from the Bible, most often, but not always Judas Iscariot; and they were likewise reminded of the eternal fires of Hell. In a short land grant by the Earl Æthelstan to Abingdon dated to no later than 931⁸² it is written that anyone who “should ever undo this grant or reduce this estate [...] shall be cut off and hurled into the abyss of hell forever.” This is the most common warning against changes in the Old English charters and is present in at least 38 of the 122 that Robertson has compiled that date from before the Norman Conquest. Robertson’s charter XCIV, one of the last that the scholar analyzes, was written in 1042 and employs slight variations on the themes that we have seen thus far. After the assurance that any man who upholds the gifts therein recounted will be duly blessed by God, the author, Bishop Lyfing, goes on to warn that

gif ænig þonne sy uppahofen and inblawen on þa oferhyda þære geættredean deofles lare
· and wylle þas ure sylena gewemman oððe gewonian on ænigum þingum · wite he hine
amansumadne mid Annaniam and Saphiram on ece forwyrd · butan he hit her ær
wurðlice gebete Gode and mannum.⁸³

The words and characters used have changed slightly in this later charter but the fundamental elements of what we have seen to be biblical influence on these early law writings remain intact. Rather than Judas Iscariot we see Ananias and Sapphira, whose very brief story is recounted in Acts 5: 1 - 10⁸⁴, and we see too that everlasting perdition has taken the place of

⁸² Robertson, *op. cit.* pp. 44 - 5, 299 - 300.

⁸³ “If anyone, however, is uplifted and inflated with the arrogance of the devil’s poisoned teaching and attempts to impair or diminish in any way these our gifts, he shall find himself cast out with Ananias and Sapphira to everlasting perdition, unless he has duly made amends for it here both to God and to men.”

⁸⁴ “Vir autem quidam nomine Ananias cum Saffira uxore sua vendidit agrum et fraudavit de pretio agri conscia uxore sua et adferens partem quandam ad pedes apostolorum posuit dixit autem Petrus Anania cur temptavit Satanas cor tuum mentiri te Spiritui Sancto et fraudare de pretio agri nonne manens tibi manebat et venundatum in tua erat potestate quare posuisti in corde tuo hanc rem non es mentitus hominibus sed Deo audiens autem Ananias haec verba cecidit et exspiravit et factus est timor magnus in omnes qui audierant surgentes autem iuvenes amoverunt eum et efferentes sepelierunt factum est autem quasi horarum trium spatium et uxor ipsius nesciens quod factum fuerat introiit respondit autem ei Petrus dic mihi si tanti agrum vendidistis at illa dixit etiam tanti Petrus autem ad eam quid utique convenit vobis temptare Spiritum Domini ecce pedes eorum qui sepelierunt virum tuum ad ostium et efferent te confestim cecidit ante pedes eius et exspiravit intrantes autem iuvenes invenerunt illam mortuam et extulerunt et sepelierunt ad virum suum.”

“But a certain man named Ananias, with Sapphira his wife, sold a possession, And kept back part of the price, his wife also being privy to it, and brought a certain part, and laid it at the apostles’ feet. But Peter said, Ananias, why hath Satan filled thine heart to lie to the Holy Ghost, and to keep back part of the price of the land? Whiles

the fires of Hell. Stereotypes though these influences may be, the writers of the Old English Charters were well aware of at least certain parts of the biblical narrative. Though our last example comes from the hand of a Bishop, who therefore ought to have known quite well the stories from the Bible, and many others come from the kings of England who ostensibly also ought to have known the biblical narratives, there is a great difference between knowing stories from the Bible and using those stories to make a point in documents that are not strictly ecclesiastical. These few instances that we have briefly examined help to show the all encompassing nature of the Bible in the lives of those who wrote in the Middle Ages.

I.ii.ii. *Epic Poetry*

Aristotle wrote in his *Ars Poetica* on the differences and similarities between Tragic and Epic poetry. His description of the Epic poem and his unflinching praise of Homer's *Illiad* and *Odyssey* remain relevant to this day when one considers the epic poem. For Aristotle the epic

should have for its subject a single action, whole and complete, with a beginning, a middle, and an end. [...] Again, Epic poetry must have as many kinds as Tragedy: it must be simple, or complex, or 'ethical,' or 'pathetic.' [...] Epic poetry differs from Tragedy in the scale on which it is constructed, and in its meter. [...] Epic poetry has, however, a great — a special — capacity for enlarging its dimensions, and we can see the reason. [...] As for the meter, the heroic measure has proved its fitness by hexameter test of experience.⁸⁵

While Homer's epic poems were praised and imitated in antiquity, most notably by Virgil, whose readership never flagged throughout the Middle Ages⁸⁶, the epic genre would go on to be used by authors in Europe at least until the time of Milton's *Paradise Lost*. As has already

it remained, was it not thine own? and after it was sold, was it not in thine own power? why hast thou conceived this thing in thine heart? thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God. And Ananias hearing these words fell down, and gave up the ghost: and great fear came on all them that heard these things. And the young men arose, wound him up, and carried him out, and buried him. And it was about the space of three hours after, when his wife, not knowing what was done, came in. And Peter answered unto her, Tell me whether ye sold the land for so much? And she said, Yea, for so much. Then Peter said unto her, How is it that ye have agreed together to tempt the Spirit of the Lord? behold, the feet of them which have buried thy husband are at the door, and shall carry thee out. Then fell she down straightway at his feet, and yielded up the ghost: and the young men came in, and found her dead, and, carrying her forth, buried her by her husband."

⁸⁵ Aristotle, *Poetics*, Translated by Stephen Halliwell and William Hamilton Fyfe, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995. Paragraphs 23, 24. But see also paragraphs 2, 5, 8, 23 - 25.

⁸⁶ See Greti Dinkova-Bruun, "Biblical Versifications From Late Antiquity to the Middle of the Thirteenth Century: History or Allegory?", in *Poetry and Exegesis in Premodern Latin Christianity*, Eds. Willemien Otten & Karla Pollmann, Boston: Leiden, 2007. 315 - 342, p. 316.

been noted above, Virgil's epic poem was one of the two basic building blocks of western European literary activity; its influence on the various epic poems in vulgar languages is therefore both obvious and paramount. But we must ask ourselves how that other central book of European thought, the *Vulgate* of Jerome, was either incorporated or used by the authors of epic poems. We will quickly examine two of the most famous medieval epic poems from Western Europe with which our study is linguistically concerned in order to see how biblical narrative was incorporated into this most ancient of poetic genres.

A. *Beowulf*

Our current knowledge of *Beowulf*, the earliest extant epic poem in Old English, is based entirely upon one damaged manuscript (British Library MS. Vitellius A. XV) which contains the whole poem and one leaf of another manuscript (the so-called "Finnesburg fragment"). The Vitellius manuscript was written around 1000⁸⁷, but a precise date for its composition is not possible to attain and the leading scholars on the topic are in slight disaccord as to both the manuscript's dating and origin. These scholars do agree, however, that the poem itself was written at least two centuries before this manuscript was copied and most likely had a Christian audience in mind, placing it therefore after the conversion of Saxon England.⁸⁸ The reason that scholars place the story to such a period has to do with various biblical words and ideas that had been introduced to the Saxons with the Bible. In fact,

Beowulf is primarily a poem setting forth the exploits and virtues of its hero Beowulf - albeit in a wide and varied background of Germanic traditional material and in the light of an implicit Christian philosophy."⁸⁹

We will point out but a few of the ways in which the Bible influenced the writer of the Old English epic poem.

⁸⁷ See Robert Denis Fulk, Robert E. Bjork and John D. Niles, (eds.), *Klaeber's Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008, pp. xxv - xxxv.

⁸⁸ See Charles Leslie Wrenn and Whitney French Bolton, (eds.), *Beowulf*, Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1996 (1953), pages 28,9 and his bibliography. For a much more complete bibliography see Fulk *et al.*, *op. cit.*

⁸⁹ Wrenn, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

The Christian aspects of *Beowulf* have interested scholars for at least the past century and the studies on the poet's use of the Bible and Christian doctrine are many and varied. One of the first articles written on this topic goes back to 1897, when Francis Adelbert Blackburn⁹⁰ expounded on the Christian "colouring" of the poem. In this work the scholar listed every instance in the poem that might have been influenced by the Bible or taken directly from it before analyzing them in depth. He argues, however, that the poem was written by a "heathen" and was only later changed by a Christian writer to reflect his own beliefs. As this idea is still debated among scholars of Old English literature, and since it is not our goal here to join the discussion, we will merely point out some of the more evident biblical references in the poem as it has come down to us today.

The two Biblical references that we will underline are both found from verses 90 - 114. At this point in the poem the audience is first introduced to the foe Grendel, who Beowulf will go on shortly thereafter to kill. The introduction of this character uses the stories of the Creation and of Cain and Able from Genesis 1 and 2 in order to give a bit of background as to the villain's creation.

swutol sang scopes. Sægde se þe cuþe
frumsceaft fira feorran reccan,
cwæð þæt se ælmihtiga eorðan worhte,
wlitebeorhtne wang, swa wæter bebugeð,
gesette sigehrepig sunnan ond monan

leoman to leohte landbuendum
ond gefrætwaðe foldan sceatas
leomum ond leafum, lif eac gesceop
cynna gehwylcum þara ðe cwise hwyrfaþ.
Swa ða drihtguman dreamum lifdon

eadiglice, oððæt an ongan
fyrene fremman feond on helle.
Wæs se grimma gæst Grendel haten,
mære mearcstapa, se þe moras heold,
fen ond fæsten; fifelcynnes eard

⁹⁰ Francis Adelbert Blackburn, "The Christian Coloring in the Beowulf", in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XII (1897), pp. 205 - 255.

wonsæli wer weardode hwile,
 sibðan him scyppend forscifen hæfde
 in Caines cynne. þone cwealm gewræc
 ece drihten, þæs þe he Abel slog;
 ne gefeah he þære fæhðe, ac he hine feor forwræc,

metod for þy mane, mancynne fram.
 þanon untydras ealle onwocon,
 eotenas ond ylfe ond orcneas,
 swylce gigantas, þa wið gode wunnon
 lange þrage; he him ðæs lean forgeald.⁹¹

The song that the minstrel sings in these verses recounts the story of the creation of the world as seen in the first chapter of Genesis. The poem continues with a mention of the fratricide on the part of Cain and his exile, recounted in its own right in Genesis 2. Grendel, then, is a descendant of the biblical Cain, which the audience of the poem would have recognized immediately. This direct use of the Bible is uncommon in *Beowulf* but it does show that both the author and the audience of the poem (in its extant form) were familiar at the very least with Genesis and some of the stories therein.

While there are nearly 70 other uses of the Bible in *Beowulf*, according to Blackburn's count, the vast majority of them are simply the use of the word "God" or "Hell" in a Christian way. On the other hand, as Chadwick points out, "there are no references to the saints, to the cross or to the church, nor to any Christian rites or ceremonies."⁹² Absent as well from this poem is any reference to Jesus Christ, to the Holy Ghost, and to any specific narrative from the New Testament. Many scholars have tackled this issue and have come to different conclusions. For our purposes it suffices that, whether extant already in the original poem or

⁹¹ The Old English text is that of Wrenn and Bolton (eds.), *Beowulf: with the Finnesburg fragment*, Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1996, while the modern English translation is by Francis M. Gummer in Charles W. Eliot (ed.), *Epic and Saga: Beowulf et. al. The Five Foot Shelf of Classics, Vol. XLIX*, New York: Macmillan, 1910. "He sang who knew / tales of the early time of man, / how the Almighty made the earth, / fairest fields enfolded by water, / set, triumphant, sun and moon / for a light to lighten the land-dwellers, / and braided bright the breast of earth / with limbs and leaves, made life for all / of mortal beings that breathe and move. / So lived the clansmen in cheer and revel / a winsome life, till one began / to fashion evils, that field of hell. / Grendel this monster grim was called, / march-riever mighty, in moorland living, / in fen and fastness; fief of the giants / the hapless wight a while had kept / since the Creator his exile doomed. / On kin of Cain was the killing avenged / by sovran God for slaughtered Abel. / Ill fared his feud, and far was he driven, / for the slaughter's sake, from sight of men. / Of Cain awoke all that woful breed, / Ettins and elves and evil-spirits, / as well as the giants that warred with God / weary while: but their wage was paid them!"

⁹² Hector Munroe Chadwick, *The Heroic Age*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1912, p. 48.

placed in the poem later by a Christian scribe, the sole version of *Beowulf* that has come down to us contains explicit references to biblical stories.

B. *Chanson de Roland*

Generally thought of as the earliest extant example of the Old French *chanson de geste*, the *Chanson de Roland* is an epic poem of 4002 verses written between 1087 and 1095 and concerning the death of Roland, the nephew of the emperor Charlemagne. The earliest extant copy of the poem that has come down to us is found in the well noted manuscript of the Bodleian Library at Oxford known as Digby 23, copied by an Anglo-Norman scribe in the second half of the twelfth century.⁹³ In the introduction to his new verse translation of the poem Michael A. H. Newth underlines the two dominant storylines of the poem as religious and feudal loyalty, before pointing out that

The religious sentiment that provides the moral axis about which the drama and humour of the *Chanson de Roland* move, is expressed most succinctly in l.1015 of the work: “The pagan’s wrong; the Christian way is right.”⁹⁴

This, then, is a work heavily influenced by the prevailing socio-political climate of the time, by Christianity, and by Church doctrine, but is it necessarily influenced by the Bible?⁹⁵

In his analytical edition of the *Chanson de Roland*⁹⁶ Gerard J. Brault meticulously points out the many uses of the Bible in this poem. There are, in fact, a plethora of direct references within the poem to 46 different books of the Bible, both from the Old and New Testaments. The author even goes so far as to have placed in the index a section titled “Influence of the Bible.”⁹⁷ As the direct use of the Bible in this epic poem has been written

⁹³ See Joseph Bédier, *La chanson de Roland*, Paris: Art H. Piazza, 1922 (1947).

⁹⁴ Michael A.H Newth, *The Song of Roland*, New York: Italica Press, 2011, p. xix.

⁹⁵ It is interesting to note that the author of *Roland* explicitly cites both Homer and Virgil by name in verse 2616, while not once does he directly cite either a biblical book or character, with the exception of Jesus and his mother.

⁹⁶ Gerard J. Brault, *The Song of Roland, An Analytical Edition*, University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1978.

⁹⁷ *Idem.*, p. 521.

about both by Brault and many others⁹⁸ it will suffice here to simply point out a very few of the numerous examples.

The first time that the poet mentions Saragossa, Spain, (in verse 6) where the pagan king Marsilie is stationed, he has placed the town on the top of a mountain, whereas in reality the town is situated in a valley. Brault has given a biblical explanation to this topographical anomaly, likening Saragossa to the tower of Babel, as found in Genesis 11:4, and to the walls of Tyre as seen in Ezekiel 26:4. Thus, he explains, the audience of the poem is to have interpreted the town of Saragossa as “a symbol of overweening pride” which is “doomed to fall before the forces of righteousness.”⁹⁹ From the outset of the poem, then, if we follow Brault’s interpretation, the poet uses the audience’s knowledge of the biblical narrative in a decidedly poetic fashion.

After the death of Roland the Emperor laments the passing of his nephew from verses 2898 - 2942. The verses 2909 through 2913 are those that interest us foremost here:

«Ami Rollant, jo m’en irai en France.
Cum jo serai à Loün, en ma chambre,
De plusurs regnes vendrunt li hume estrange,
Demanderunt: «U est li quens cataignes ?»
Je lur dirrai qu’il est morz en Espaigne.¹⁰⁰

Within this lament there exists a series of prophecies: that the Emperor will return to France, that strangers will come to him from foreign countries and ask where Roland is and that the Emperor will tell them that his nephew is dead. The theme of strangers coming from afar to learn news of a person that they’ve heard about is quite similar to the story of the magi who follow the star to meet Christ, recounted in Matthew 2; 1-2. Whereas in the biblical narrative

⁹⁸ For a bibliography, see Brault, *op. cit.*, p. 352, note 148.

⁹⁹ *Idem.*, p. 120. Brault is not the only scholar to have reached this conclusion. See his note 20 on page 386.

¹⁰⁰ The following quotes from the poem are found in Jean Defournet, *La Chanson de Roland*, Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1993, while the English translations will both be by Jessie Crosland, *The Song of Roland*, Cambridge and Ontario: In Parentheses Publications, 1999. "Friend Roland, I shall go back to France. When I am at Laon, my own domain, strangers will come to me from many lands and will ask: 'Where is the count, the captain?' I shall tell them that he died in Spain", p. 58.

the story is a happy one, in the song of Roland this same motif is used to underline the grief that the emperor will face when he returns home and will be forced to recount the death of his favorite warrior and kinsman.¹⁰¹

The final and perhaps most obvious of the direct references to the biblical narrative occurs in verses 2449 - 51. Charlemagne, in order to seek revenge for the death of Roland at the battle of Roncevaux, asks God to make the sun halt in its tracks so as to allow the French to overtake the Saracens before nightfall.

Culchet sei a tere, si priet Damnedeu,
Qui mi soleilz facet pur lui arester,
La nuit targer e le jur demurer.¹⁰²

This same miracle is found in the book of Joshua, 10: 12 - 14:

Tunc locutus est Iosue Domino in die qua tradidit Amorreum in conspectu filiorum Israhel dixitque coram eis sol contra Gabaon ne movearis et luna contra vallem Ahialon steteruntque sol et luna donec ulcisceretur se gens de inimicis suis nonne scriptum est hoc in libro Iustorum stetit itaque sol in medio caeli et non festinavit occumbere spatio unius diei non fuit ante et postea tam longa dies oboediente Domino voci hominis et pugnante pro Israhel.¹⁰³

In this way Joshua and his troops overtook the town of Gibeon and Charlemagne over took his Saracen foes and slew them in the river Ebro. The direct use of a famous biblical story is nowhere more evident in the *Chanson de Roland* than in this episode which clearly shows that the work was dependent upon the bible for much of its imagery and language.

These examples taken from just two epic poems only begin to show the ways in which the Bible was used by poets in Medieval Europe. As important as the Bible was in the 'era of

¹⁰¹ For more on this, see Brault, *op. cit.*, 284 - 6 and 457 - 8.

¹⁰² *Idem*, p. 49. "[he] lies down upon the ground and prays to the Lord God that he will cause the sun to stop in its course for him, that the night might tarry and the day remain."

¹⁰³ Then spake Joshua to the LORD in the day when the LORD delivered up the Amorites before the children of Israel, and he said in the sight of Israel, Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon; and thou, Moon, in the valley of Aijalon. And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed, until the people had avenged themselves upon their enemies. Is not this written in the book of Jasher? So the sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down about a whole day. And there was no day like that before it or after it, that the LORD hearkened unto the voice of a man: for the LORD fought for Israel.

heroes' this fact comes as no surprise. But epic poetry soon gave way to a different form of poetry that brings the narrative closer to that which will ultimately be under consideration.

I.ii.iii. *Romance*

In his study of the epic and romance poetry in medieval Europe, William Ker describes what took place in twelfth century literature:

Together with the influence of the Provençal lyric idealism, it [romance] determined the forms of modern literature, long after the close of the Middle Ages. The change of fashion in the twelfth century is as momentous and far-reaching in its consequences as that to which the name "Renaissance" is generally appropriated.¹⁰⁴

This *Renaissance* of the twelfth century saw the decline of the age of European epic poetry and the beginning of the literature that would go on to become the basis of modern prose literature in the West. Apart from the literary factors that have been discussed thus far and which will continue to be discussed throughout the present work, there are also many socio-economic and religious factors that encouraged the creation and spread of this new vernacular literature that are too complicated to address in a short introduction, but as we have seen in the other two genres examined thus far, the biblical narrative is once again a cornerstone of the creation of this new Romance literature. Towards the end of the century Jehan Bodel, a poet from the North of France, wrote at the beginning of his *Chanson des Saisnes*¹⁰⁵ that

N'en sont que trois materes a nul home vivant:
De France et de Bretagne et de Ronme la grant ;
Ne de ces trois materes n'i a nule semblant.¹⁰⁶

These three "matters" that are worthy of poetry are, respectively, the histories of Charlemagne and his battles with Muslim enemies, the legends of King Arthur and the ancient stories out of Roman and Greek history and mythology with a special focus on Julius Caesar and Alexander the Great. The new popular literature of Brodel's time used these three matters as a

¹⁰⁴ William Paten Ker, *Epic and Romance: Essays on Medieval Literature*, London: Macmillan, 1931, p. 323.

¹⁰⁵ Jehan Bodel, *La Chanson des Saisnes*, Edition critique par Annette Brasseur, Tome I, *Texte*, Genève: Droz, 1989. We have used manuscript A for our study, as, according to the editor, it is in the poet's own hand.

¹⁰⁶ vv. 6 - 8. "There are only three matters that men must know about / Those of France, of Britain and of the grand Rome / And these three matters have nothing in common."

background for their stories of chivalry and virtuous deeds on the part of a knight whose goal it was, usually, to win the heart of a maiden and to demonstrate the chivalrous ideal by way of various quests, be they religious or chivalric in nature. We shall briefly see the way that the Bible was used in this decidedly Christian literature in two of the more popular Romance poems of the thirteenth century.

A. Tristan et Iseult

Maria Luisa Meneghetti places this poem within the “Golden Age” of medieval romance: even though not all critics agree on the exact date of composition, she exerts that “the oldest of these romances [of the Golden Age] is *Tristan* by Béroul.”¹⁰⁷ Indeed, in addition to being one of the oldest poems of this genre it is also one of the most popular, as it was copied in several manuscripts and revisited by many authors of the period. The oldest poem in Old French on this love story is that of Béroul, which was composed between 1150 and 1190¹⁰⁸ and of which only one manuscript has survived until the present day: Paris, BNF, MS fr. 2171, copied in the second half of the thirteenth century. This famous story is one of, not love, but adultery, focusing on both civic and erotic passions. In brief, it is the story of a tragic and magically induced love between the two titular characters: the main problem of which is the fact that Iseult is married to a king named Marc. On this edition, Meneghetti suggests that such a “legend of this kind can not have a cultured, clerical matrix.”¹⁰⁹ She goes on to suggest that another poem that recounts the same story, written in circa 1173 by Thomas of England, is both cultured and clerical, and as such one would expect for certain biblical references to be found into the text. In this first version, however, and given that its author was neither a man of the clergy nor particularly cultured, it is interesting to note the different ways in which the Bible was used in the composition of this romance.

¹⁰⁷ Maria Luisa Meneghetti, “Il Romanzo”, in Costanzo di Girolamo (ed.), *La Letteratura Romanza Medievale*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 1994, pp. 127 - 192. p. 150. “il più antico dei grandi romanzi di quest’epoca sia il *Tristan* di Béroul.”

¹⁰⁸ With most modern critics tending to place the composition of the poem closer to 1150 than to 1190.

¹⁰⁹ *Idem.*, “una leggenda del genere non può avere matrice colta, clericale”, pp. 152,3.

In Bérout's poem there are two principle ways in which the Bible was used to tell the story: the first is in the many vocative calls for God (*Par Deu!*) found throughout the poem. The way in which the poet has his characters invoke God is slightly different from the most usual form of evocation, which usually have no quantifiers for the deity. The second use of the Bible is found in two direct quotations that will be discussed shortly, that are supposed to have come from the Proverbs of Salomon the Wise.

Many times throughout the extant 4,000 or so verses of Bérout's *Tristan* the characters find themselves in trouble with authorities, angry with other characters or just generally excited. In these instances the poet has shown the excitement of his characters by having them invoke God. The poem begins with the lovers in the forest outside of King Marc's castle. The two are speaking about their troubling circumstances while the king himself hides in a tree above them hearing their every word. The two lovers know that the king is listening and thus use their conversation to convince him of their innocence. At verse five Iseult invokes God for the first time in the poem.¹¹⁰ "Sire Tristan, por Deu le roi!"¹¹¹ she cries out. This is the first invocation of God and it is interesting that he should be called "God the king [of heaven]". Throughout the poem he will be invoked by many different characters but almost never simply as "God": his name is nearly always followed by a restrictive appositive. In verse 16 he is invoked as "God, who made the air and the sea."¹¹² Going forward, he is invoked as "God, the son of Saint Marie"¹¹³, and "God, the glorious Sire/who formed heaven and Earth and us."¹¹⁴ This format for invocation is repeated many other times throughout the romance in ways that show that the author was interested in specifying, apparently, that the God being invoked is the God of Christianity. While these appositives that we have seen, "Son of Mary",

¹¹⁰ That is, in the extant form as it has come down to us. The beginning of the manuscript is destroyed and the poem, as we have it, begins *in medias res*.

¹¹¹ All citations of this poem are from Daniel Lacroix and Phillippe Walter (eds.), *Tristan et Iseut: Les poèmes français, La saga norroise*, Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1989.

¹¹² « Par Deu, qui l'air fist et la mer ».

¹¹³ v. 148: « Por Deu, le fiz sainte Marie. »

¹¹⁴ vv. 225,6: « Par Deu, il sire glorios,/Qui forma ciel et terre et nos, ».

“creator of Heaven and Earth” are not enough to show that the author had any firsthand knowledge of the bible, the two biblical citations should help to shed light on the influence that this book had over the author.

At two different sections of the poem the author has taken great pains to try to quote Solomon, one of the most beloved biblical characters during the Middle Ages.¹¹⁵ As we saw above in the section on English charters, the wisdom of Solomon was often invoked in the literature of the Middle Ages and the book of Proverbs was widely distributed throughout Europe as a single book. Solomon is invoked for the first time in this poem at the very beginning, in the same opening scene in which Iseult pleads with Tristan to let her be:

Je puis dire: de haut si bas !
Sire, molt dist voir Salemon:
Qui de forches traient larron,
Ja pus ne amera nul jor.¹¹⁶

Phillippe Walter notes that this is not exactly what Salomon said in Proverbs: the editor suggests that the poet was thinking of either Psalms XXVIII, 17 or rather Psalms XXIX, 10. By looking at these passages from the Bible one can plainly see that the words of the poet are not the words of Solomon: “A man that doeth violence to the blood of any person shall flee to the pit; let no man stay him.”¹¹⁷ The second suggestion by Walter is equally far from the words that Iseult says to Tristan: “The bloodthirsty hate the upright: but the just seek his soul.”¹¹⁸ In fact, a quick examination of all of the biblical works of Solomon shows that this is not something that Solomon ever said, as recounted in the Old Testament. Both Walter and Reid¹¹⁹ show the similarity between that which Iseult proclaims and a passage from the dialogue *De Marco et de Salomons*, which has “Qui en sa meson atret lou larron damage i

¹¹⁵ Other than quotes like those that follow, which were pervasive in the Middle Ages in a variety of works, Gerardo Patecchio went so far as to write a *Splanamento de li Proverbii de Salamone* (Explanation of the Proverbs of Solomon) in the first half of the thirteenth century. Printed in PD II, pp. 557 - 588.

¹¹⁶ vv. 40 - 43. « I can say: from high to so low!/Sire, Solomon said the truth:/ he who saves the thief from the gallows/ will never be loved by him.”

¹¹⁷ King James Bible, Proverbs 28, 17.

¹¹⁸ King James Bible, Proverbs 29, 10.

¹¹⁹ Thomas Reid, “On the text of ‘Tristan’ of Bérout”, in Frederick Whitehead, Armel Diverres and Richard F. E. Sutcliffe (eds), *Medieval Miscellany*, Manchester: MUP, 1965, pp. 263-288, pp. 279,80.

reçoit, Salomon le dit.”¹²⁰ This dialogue, with three versions in French, one in Latin and two in German, has little to do with the Bible and much to say about the prevailing humor of the era in which it was written, the last version in Old French having been penned circa 1216 - 1220.¹²¹ It seems to be the case that the poet knew of this dialogue and therefore prescribed the sayings therein to the Biblical Solomon. That conjecture aside, both Walter and Reid have turned to the work of Jerzy Morawski¹²² in which he put forth a list of old French proverbs that are not of a Biblical nature. Two of his proverbs seem to be somewhat close to that which Iseult proclaims in the citation above. His proverb number 1180 reads “Mal se garde du larron qui l’enclot en sa meson”¹²³, while the second is “On ne se peut garder de privé larron”¹²⁴. Both of these proverbs are closer to Iseult’s citation of Salomon and, according to the critic, the first time that these proverbs were recorded in a list of other proverbs are from two manuscripts that were completed after the writing of this poem. They are a fifteenth century manuscripts housed today in Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica, Reg. 1429 and Paris, BNF, Latin 14955, from the thirteenth century. This “biblical citation”, then, is not actually found anywhere in the Bible; rather, the author understood that the quote in question was first said by Solomon and thus entered it into his poem in order to show the wisdom of his female character. The use of Solomon in a poetic work lends authority to the speaker, even when the words are not necessarily taken from the Bible.

The second instance in the poem in which the author cites Solomon is found in verses 1461,2: “Salemon dit que droituriers / Que ses amis, c’ert ses levriers.”¹²⁵ Quite briefly it can be said that nowhere in the biblical books of Solomon, neither in Proverbs, Ecclesiastes nor the Song of Solomon, is there any mention of this idea that Solomon’s dogs are his friends.

¹²⁰ “He who takes a thief into his house will regret it, so says Salomon”.

¹²¹ See John M. Kemble, *The Dialogue of Salomon and Saturnus: With an Historical Introduction*, London: Aelfric Society, 1848, especially pages 73 - 83.

¹²² Jerzy Morawski, *Proverbes français antérieurs au XV siècle*, Paris: Edouard Champion, 1925.

¹²³ “Beware the thief that you have in your own house”.

¹²⁴ “There is no avoiding a thief that you know”.

¹²⁵ “Solomon justly says that / his friends are his greyhounds.”

Kemble ends his section on the medieval character of Solomon showing the pervasiveness of this and the first proverb seen above in various languages throughout the Middle Ages:

But to come more decisively to the point, there are proverbs quoted under the name of this prince [Solomon] which are not found in the Bible at all, and which bear no resemblance to anything found there: thus in *Tristan*, l. 1425: Salemon dit que droituriers / Que ses amis, c'ert ses levriers.¹²⁶

Without going into a lengthy discussion on the possible motivations of Béroul of quoting Solomon, we have seen that this romance author tried to use the biblical references in the writing of his *Tristan et Iseult*. Due to the fact that the Bible, at the time of the writing of this poem at least, had still not been translated into Old French, together with the fact that the author was neither cultured nor clerical (and thus most likely did not read the Latin *Vulgate*) it should come as no surprise that the influence that the Bible had on his poem was imprecise and confused. As the next poet to look at shows, however, this confused situation will become less and less common as more translations of the Bible become available and more cultured writers tackle literature.

B. *Perceval ou le Roman du Graal*

Julien Gracq, in his introduction to the *Roi Pêcheur*, writes that “the two great myths of the Middle Ages, that of Tristan and that of the Grail, are not Christian.”¹²⁷ This is a difficult assertion to make given the text of one of the most famous and popular poems of the grail story that has come down to us: *Perceval, or the Romance of the Holy Grail*, written by Chrétien de Troyes circa 1180. This poem is found in no less than 15 different manuscripts that are housed today in three different countries. Chrétien, like Béroul before him, thus represents one of the most read and copied poets of the Golden Age of European Romance. He is responsible for at least five of the more popular romances of the period (the last decade before 1200, the poet having been placed in a home for lepers in 1202 where he stayed until

¹²⁶ Kemble, *op. cit.*, p. 109 ; for the full treatment of the Character of Solomon see Kemble's pp. 104 - 112.

¹²⁷ « Les deux grands mythes du Moyen Age, celui de Tristan et celui du Graal, ne sont pas chrétiens [...] » Cited in the preface to Jean-Pierre Foucher, *Perceval, ou le Roman du Graal*, Paris: Gallimard, 1994, p. 18. The citations from the poem will all be from this edition.

his death some ten years later). Given the nature of the subject matter in his *Perceval*, one may easily conclude that this romance will have somewhat more to do with the Bible than the previous work that we examined. In fact, from the very outset, in the dedication of the poem to king Phillip of Flanders, the poet engages in a lengthy explanation on his writing, quoting directly from the Bible at one point to show that he is worthy of such an undertaking. Briefly then, and finally, we will point out but a few instances in which Chrétien used the biblical narrative to achieve his final purposes.

Qui petit seme petit quialt,
et qui auques recoillir vialt
an tel leu sa semance espande
que fruit a cent doubles li rande;
car an terre qui rien ne vaut,
bone semance i seche et faut¹²⁸.

Thus begins the poem of Chrétien, with a perfect translation of verse 6 of 2nd Corinthians, chapter 9: “hoc autem qui parce seminat parce et metet et qui seminat in benedictionibus de benedictionibus et metet.”¹²⁹ The following verses also employ imagery of one of the parables of Jesus Christ, as recounted in Matthew 13, 3 - 9, in which Jesus says (at verse 8) that “alia vero ceciderunt in terram bonam et dabant fructum aliud centesimum aliud sexagesimum aliud tricesimum.”¹³⁰ This is but the first indication that the poem, which has not even truly begun at this point, will rely heavily on biblical narrative and imagery. In the verses that follow shortly upon these introductory lines, the poet will go on to quote directly from the Bible. When speaking favorably about Phillip, the Count of Flanders, the poet says that

s'est plus larges que l'an ne set,
qu'il done selonc l'Evangile,
sanz ypocrisie et sanz guile,

¹²⁸ *Perceval*, vv. 1 - 6. “He who sows little reaps little, he who wants a good crop must sow his grain in such good land that God rends unto him 200 times, because on land that is worthless, good seed dries and is wasted.”

¹²⁹ “But this I say, He which soweth sparingly shall reap also sparingly; and he which soweth bountifully shall reap also bountifully”.

¹³⁰ “Other [seed] fell onto good ground, and brought forth fruit, some an hundredfold, some sixtyfold, and some thirtyfold”.

qui dit: « Ne saiche ta senestre
le bien, quant le fera la destre.¹³¹

Once again, in the Gospel of Matthew, in chapter six verse three we find “te autem faciente elemosynam nesciat sinistra tua quid faciat dextera tua.”¹³² The poet continues with a form of exegesis, explaining why it is that the Bible should say something of the sort. Already, then in the first 32 verses of this poem we see that the author had the Gospel of Matthew very clearly in his mind and he was more than willing to use it poetically and even to quote directly from it and comment upon its meaning. There is still one more interesting section of these introductory verses that merit our attention. After the above mentioned moment of biblical exegesis the poet goes on to explain the relationship between God and Charity, as seen in the writings of Saint Paul:

Dex est charitez, et qui vit
an charité, selonc l'escrit,
sainz Pos lo dit et je le lui,
qu'i maint an Deu et Dex an lui.¹³³

Chrétien was not only well versed in the Gospel of Matthew, as we saw above, but he also read the words of Paul on charity.¹³⁴ 1st Corinthians, Chapter 13 is a lengthy explanation on the Charity (or Love) of God. This letter is attributed to the Apostle Paul and does reflect the ideas that Chrétien is espousing here. On the other hand, and importantly, the final verse that we have cited here is not in any of the letters of Saint Paul, but rather in 1st John, chapter 4. Verse 16 reads “et nos cognovimus et credidimus caritati quam habet Deus in nobis Deus caritas est et qui manet in caritate in Deo manet et Deus in eo.”¹³⁵ The poet, thus, did correctly

¹³¹ Verses 28 - 32. “He is greater than [people of] the age know. He gives according to the Gospels, without hypocrisy or deception, which says “Don’t let your left hand know the good that your right hand does”.

¹³² “But when you give to the needy, do not let your left hand know what your right hand is doing.”

¹³³ Verses 47 - 50. “God is Charity, and he who lives in charity, according to Scripture, Saint Paul said it and I have read it, lives in God and God in him.” The italics are mine.

¹³⁴ While Paul’s word choice here in the original Greek, “agape” has famously been translated both as “love” and as “charity”, the famous argument regarding this word only came up in the beginning of the seventeenth century. As such, and as all of our authors chose a form of the romance/germanic word “charity”, we have chosen to use this in our study.

¹³⁵ “And we have known and believed the love that God hath to us. God is love; and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him.”

cite the Bible word for word and also in meaning, but he was mistaken as to who the author of the actual quotation was.¹³⁶ That notwithstanding, the poet has proven, in the first 50 verses of a poem of 8,960 total verses, that he is well versed in the Bible and that he was willing to use both its imagery and exact words for his own poetic purposes.¹³⁷

We have seen how the Bible was used in various ways during the Middle Ages in different literary genres that are not precisely concerned with biblical exegesis. From the first extant documentation on life in medieval England through the renaissance of the thirteenth century, authors of all genres and backgrounds used the biblical narrative (or at times used what they thought the biblical narrative to be) in different ways for their own purposes. This chronological sequence that we have seen leads us to a discussion of the genre that most concerns our specific study: that is, how did the authors of vernacular lyric love poetry use the Bible? To answer this question we must briefly examine this genre and see the ways that its very development would go on to become a centerpiece of European literature.

I.iii. Vernacular lyric love poetry

There is a problem in the study of lyric love poetry of the Middle Ages in our cultures in question which stems from the exact definition of lyric poetry, when it first came to be and how it was used, by whom and for what purpose. There are a plethora of studies on this very subject¹³⁸ and as ours is but an introduction to our true concern we can only very briefly cover the problem and send the reader to more specific studies in the notes.

¹³⁶ Further study on this aspect of the poem may help to identify the Bible that he read these verses in.

¹³⁷ This is not to suggest that the biblical narrative is absent from the remainder of the poem. In fact, the poet explains the life and significance of Jesus very precisely and at some length in the scene with the Hermit, vv. 6,009 - 6,287. But as we have already established that the author knew and used the biblical narrative for his poem, our purposes with Chrétien have been fulfilled.

¹³⁸ For a good starting point for information on the question in each of the three languages under consideration, see Aurelio Roncaglia, *Il costituirsi di una tradizione lirica nel mondo romanzo (momenti e sviluppi determinanti). Testi e appunti per il corso di Filologia Romanza [...] nell'anno accademico 1972 - 73*, Roma: Elia, 1973; Madeleine Tyssens (ed.), *Lyrique romane médiévale. Actes du Colloque de Liège* (1989), Liège: Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, 1991; and William D. Paden (ed.), *Medieval Lyric: Genres in Historical Context*, Urbana: University of Illinois, 2000. For a more detailed bibliography on lyric poetry in

The first problem to confront in this study is the definition of what lyric poetry is and why it is important. As good a place to start as any is with the dictionary definition: Oxford English Dictionary says that lyric poetry is that form of verse that “expresses the writer’s emotions, usually briefly and in stanzas or recognized forms.”¹³⁹ A major difference, then, between this new lyric poetry and the other forms of poetry that we have seen above is the employment within the poetry itself of the first person singular as narrator of the poem or even, and as is usually the case, as an active participant in the story that the poem tells. This novelty will be very important in the poems that we fully examine in chapters 3 - 5 and is crucial for the direction that European literature will take from the high Middle Ages through the present day. The entry for “lyric” goes on to briefly explain the origins of this definition, stating that it is from the “the late 16th century: from French *lyrique* or Latin *lyricus*, from Greek *lurikós*, from *lúra* ‘lyre’.” Lyric poetry, then, derives from ancient Greek poetry that was sung to the accompaniment of a musical instrument and differs from epic poetry in that lyric poetry is usually short and in stanzaic forms. *Encyclopedia Britannica* further explains what lyric poetry is, beginning with Sappho and Alcaeus and continuing with the fact that “Latin lyrics were written by Catullus and Horace in the 1st century BC; and in medieval Europe the lyric form can be found in the songs of the troubadours, in Christian hymns, and in various ballads.”¹⁴⁰ This encyclopedic entry outlines that which we will now show in somewhat more detail: starting with Latin lyric poetry from the late republican and Augustan periods, through the early medieval Christian lyric poetry written in Latin, this genre will be taken up finally by the troubadours of Southern France, Northern Spain, and Italy before going on to become the preferred form of poetry for the new European languages.

Europe in the Middle Ages see *Lo spazio letterario del Medioevo 2, Il Medioevo Volgare, vol. V, Cronologia e bibliografia della letteratura medievale volgare*, Roma: Salerno, 2005, pp. 141 - 146.

¹³⁹ <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/111676?rskey=ISZSfO&result=1#eid> Last consulted February, 2013.

¹⁴⁰ <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/353026/lyric> Last consulted February, 2013.

I.iii.i *Latin*

Though we saw the dictionary definition of lyric poetry, it is somewhat insufficient for the discussion on lyric poetry in classical Latin authors. Arguably two of the most important poets of the Classic period of Latin poetry wrote this genre of poetry. Gaius Valerius Catullus (c. 84 BCE - c. 54 BCE) is the first of our Latin poets to examine, while the second of this pre-Christian era is Quintus Horatius Flaccus (Horace in modern English) who lived from 65 to 6 BCE and who was heavily influenced by Catullus (as were Virgil and Ovid). This second poet provided a definition of lyric poetry many times within his poetry itself and at least once in his epistles. While discussing Alcaeus, Horace writes that, “hunc ego, non alio dictum prius ore, Latinus volgavi fidicen.”¹⁴¹ Horace calls himself here the Latin lyre-player, or the lyric poet in the Latin language. In one poem (C.4.3.23) he will call himself the “player on the Roman Lyre” (Romanae fidicen lyrae). The difference between Catullus and Horace, according to Michael Putnam (who follows the same logic as Quintilian) is that Catullus wrote mainly in iambs while Horace used more traditionally Greek, and therefore “lyric” meters (both Sapphics and Alcaics). Yet meter is not the only way in which Lyric poetry is defined in modern terms; Putnam explains that

If, however, we allow ourselves a broader, more comprehensive definition of lyric that transcends meter - which is to say, at least in part, if we extend our consideration beyond the particularities of a poem’s construction or manner of presentation so as to combine them, to whatever degree, with the matter and content of the poem itself - then the relationship between our two poets takes a different, more universal form.¹⁴²

In fact Horace himself, in his *Ars Poetica*, wrote that lyric poetry should not be bound merely by metrical concerns, but by the content of the poetry:

musa dedit fidibus divos puerosque deorum
et pugilem victorem et equum certamine primum

¹⁴¹ Horace, *Epi.* 1.19.32-33. “He is the one, not sung before by other lips, that I, the Latin lyre-player, have made known”. The quotation and translation come from Michael C.J. Putnam, *Poetic Interplay: Catullus & Horace*, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006, p. 2. The edition of Catullus that Putnam uses is Roger A.B. Mynors, *C. Valerii Catulli Carmina*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1958. The edition of Horace is Friedrich Klingner, *Q. Horatii Flacci Opera*, Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1959.

¹⁴² *Idem.* p. 3.

et iuvenum curas et libera vina referre.¹⁴³

Putnam will go on to discuss similarities in word choice, themes and style between Catullus and Horace, but for us it is enough to know that lyric poetry can be described as both using a certain type of meter and as dealing with the personal feelings of the author (or of the narrator). This being the case from the time of Catullus and Horace, through the medieval period and to the present, we can now look at some of the poems in question.

I.iii.i.i *Catullus*

The works of Catullus were mostly unknown during the Middle Ages; during the period that concerns us, in fact, there was only one manuscript created with any of his works¹⁴⁴, while there were two manuscripts made featuring the works of Catullus in *circa* 1300.¹⁴⁵ Though his texts were unavailable for the most part during the period under examination, Catullus' influence on other poets whose works were well known in the Middle Ages is fundamental and therefore must be at least briefly examined. We will look at but a few of his poems (*carmen* 5, 11 and 51) before going on to Horace, the more well known poet to medieval writers.

The first poem to look at is one of the most influential of all Catullus' works, both immediately after its writing as well as on later writers. Poem five is the quite famous lyric in which the name Lesbia appears for the first time:

Vivamus, mea Lesbia, atque amemus,
rumoresque senum severiorum
omnes unius aestimemus assis!

¹⁴³ *Idem*. p. 4, which cites *Ars Poetica*, vv. 83 - 85. "The muse granted to the lyre to tell of gods and children of gods, of the victorious boxer and horse, first in his contest, and of the trials of youth and wine's freedom".

¹⁴⁴ The poem is his *Carmen* 62, and is found in Paris, BnF, MS Latin 8071, from the ninth century. Catullus' poem is found on f.51 recto and verso. This MS is known as the *Codex Thuanneus* and is an anthology of Latin poetry.

¹⁴⁵ All that we currently know of Catullus' poetry was written in a 13th century manuscript known as the *Codex Veronensis* which has since gone missing. From this MS two more were copied, one of which is lost while the other is known as the *Codex Oxoniensis*, currently at the British Library. For a more detailed discussion on the missing Verona MS see Robinson Ellis, *Catulli Veronensis Liber*, Oxford, 1867, while for a more detailed and up to date discussion on the question of the Catullan manuscripts see Douglas Ferguson Scott Thomas, *A new look at the manuscript tradition of Catullus*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973.

soles occidere et redire possunt:
 nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux,
 nox est perpetua una dormienda.
 da mi basia mille, deinde centum,
 dein mille altera, dein secunda centum,
 deinde usque altera mille, deinde centum.
 dein, cum milia multa fecerimus,
 conturbabimus illa, ne sciamus,
 aut ne quis malus invidere possit
 cum tantum sciat esse basiorum.¹⁴⁶

This poem represents the definition of lyric poetry: it is a short hendecasyllabic poem (of a mere 13 verses), in which the author addresses himself directly to his lover while showing his emotions. The narrator argues that the two lovers should let themselves live and love here and now (verse one) because life is short and death comes to us all (verses 5 and 6). What follows then is a plea to love so much so that not even the two lovers are sure of the number of kisses that they will have given each other. When read aloud the poem is quite fluid thanks to many elisions and has since been put to music¹⁴⁷, thus going back full circle to the ancient Greek definition of lyric poetry, or poetry set to the music of a lyre.

The next poem to look at is actually written in the meter used by the ancient Greek poet Sappho, one of the two originators of the Lyric, along with Alcaeus. Catullus' poem 11 once again alludes to the relationship between the poet and Lesbia, but the situation has changed and one of the motifs that will become very popular in medieval lyric poetry, the sending of a message (or, often, the poem itself) to the person for whom it was intended, finds one of its first uses here in Catullus 11.

Furi et Aureli, comites Catulli,
 sive in extremos penetrabit Indos,
 litus ut longe resonante Eoa
 tunditur unda,

¹⁴⁶ Both the Latin and the English translation of all of the following poems by Catullus are found in Michael C.J. Putnam, *op. cit.* "Let us live, my Lesbia, and let us love, and let us value all the chattering of gruff old men as worth one penny! Suns can set and return. When once our brief light has set, it is one continuous night of sleeping. Give me a thousand kisses, then a hundred, then another thousand, then a second hundred, then another continuous thousand, then a hundred. Then, when we will have made many thousands, we will throw count into confusion so that we won't know, and so that no evil creature may stare with envy when he knows that there are so many kisses." pp. 14 - 15.

¹⁴⁷ By Carl Off in his *Catulli Carmina* (1943).

sive in Hyrcanos Arabasve molles,
seu Sagas sagittiferosve Parthos,
sive quae septemgeminus colorat
aequora Nilus,

sive trans altas gradietur Alpes,
Caesaris visens monimenta magni,
Gallicum Rhenum horribile aequor ulti
mosque Britannos,

omnia haec, quaecumque feret voluntas
caelitum, temptare simul parati,
pauca nuntiate meae puellae
non bona dicta.

cum suis vivat valeatque moechis,
quos simul complexa tenet trecentos,
nullum amans vere, sed identidem omnium
ilia rumpens;

nec meum respectet, ut ante, amorem,
qui illius culpa cecidit velut prati
ultimi flos, praetereunte postquam
tactus aratro est.¹⁴⁸

What starts as a catalogue of the names of the geographic extremes of the known world (stanzas 1 - 3) becomes an exaggerated description of Lesbia's sexual promiscuity (as seen in her embracing 300 lovers at once). The poem ends with the image of a flower that has been ploughed over and the sexual connotations are manifold. This poem will also go on to influence Horace (which we will see in the next section) as will the next poem to look at, number 51.

This is the last poem that concerns in the study of Catullus and is also the only other one (after 11) which was written in a Sapphic meter. Not only is it in the Sapphic meter, but it is itself a sort of rewriting of Sappho's poem number 31, which is fragmented in its extant

¹⁴⁸ Putnam, *op cit.*, pp. 35 - 36. "Furius and Aurelius, comrades of Catullus, whether he will make his way into the farthest Indians, where the shore is beaten by the loud resounding Eoan wave, or the Hyrcani or soft Arabes, or the Sagae and arrow-bearing Parthi, or the waters that seven-twinning Nile dyes, or whether he will stride across the lofty Alps, watching the reminders of mighty Caesar, the Gallic Rhine, the dread water, and the farthest Britons, prepared to investigate together whatever the will of the gods will bring, proclaim a few, not good, words to my girl. Let her live and flourish with her adulterers, three hundred of whom she holds together in her embrace, loving none truly by repeatedly rupturing them all. Nor let her look, as before, for my love, which through her fault has fallen like a flower in the farthest meadow after it has been touched by a passing plough."

form.¹⁴⁹ This poem will also be referenced once again by Horace (C.1.22) and as such there will be a direct line from the medieval European poets who knew and imitated Horace through the Latin poetry of Horace and Catullus, all the way back to the original poetess of Greek lyrics.

Ille mi par esse deo videtur,
ille, si fas est, superare divos,
qui sedens adversus identidem te
spectat et audit

dulce ridentem, misero quod omnis
eripit sensus mihi: nam simul te,
Lesbia, aspexi, nihil est super mi
<vocis in ore;>

lingua sed torpet, tenuis sub artus
flamma demanat, sonitu suo
tintinant aures geminae, teguntur
lumina nocte.

otium, Catulle, tibi molestum est:
otio exsultas nimiumque gestis:
otium et reges prius et beatas
perdidit urbes.¹⁵⁰

Looking at the two English translations, the similarities between the two poems, Catullus' and Sappho's, are abundantly clear. The language, meter, subject matter and narrative are all identical in the two poems, but Catullus does not merely translate the Greek poem into Latin;

¹⁴⁹ The standard edition of Sappho's poem is found in John A. Moore, *Selections from Greek Elgic, Iambic and Lyric Poets*, Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1947, pp. 148 - 149. "φαίνεται μοι κῆνος ἴσος θεοῖσιν/ ἔμμεν' ὦνρη, ὅττις ἐνάντιός τοι/ ἰσθάνει καὶ πλάσιον ἄδω φονεῖ-/ σας ὑπακούει/ καὶ γελαίσας ἡμέροεν, τό μ' ἦ μὰν/ καρδίαν ἐν στήθεσιν ἐπτόαισεν-/ ὥς γὰρ ἔξ σ' ἴδω βρόχε', ὥς με φώναι-/ σ' οὐδ' ἐν ἔτ' εἴκει/ ἀλλὰ καὶ μὲν γλώσσα ἔαγε, λέπτον/ δ' αὐτίκα χροῖ πῦρ ὑπαδεδρόμηκεν,/ ὁππάτεσσι δ' οὐδ' ἐν ὄρημι, ἐπὶ πόρῳ-/ βεισι δ' ἄκουαι/ καὶ δὲ ἰδρὼς κακχέεται, τρόμος δὲ/ παῖσαν ἄγρει, χλωροτέρα δὲ ποιάς/ ἔμμι, τεθνάκην δ' ὀλίγω 'πιδεύης/ φαίνομ' ἔμ' αὐτὰ./ ἀλλὰ πᾶν τόλματον, ἐπεὶ καὶ πένητα [...]" The English translation is from Roger D. Woodard (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Mythology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, p. 29. "He appears [*phainetai*] to me, that one, equal to the gods [*isos theoisin*], / that man who, facing you, is seated and, up close, that sweet voice of yours / he hears, / and how you laugh a laugh that brings desire. It just / makes my heart flutter within my breast. / You see, the moment I look at you, right then, for me / to make any sound at all won't work any more. / My tongue has a breakdown and a delicate / - all of a sudden - first rushes under my skin. / With my eyes I see not a thing, and there is a roar / my ears make. Sweat pours down me and a trembling / seizes all of me; paler than grass / am I, and a little short of death / do I appear [*phainomai*] to myself." The italics are the editor's.

¹⁵⁰ "That man seems to me to be equal to a god, that man, if it may be said, seems to surpass the gods, who sitting across from you, again and again watches you and hears you, laughing sweetly, which snatches away all senses from lovesick me: for when I look at you, Lesbia, for me there is no more voice in my mouth But the tongue slips, under the limbs a thin flame pours down, with their own sound both ears are ringing, the lights (eyes) are covered by night. Leisure, Catullus, is mischievous to you: You revel in and desire leisure too much: Leisure has previously destroyed kings and lost cities." Putnam, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 48.

his managing of the original work is more complex than a translation.¹⁵¹ Catullus the narrator does not feel “nearly dead” like in Sappho, while the final stanza and entire discussion of *otium*, or leisure, are nowhere to be found in the Sapphic poem as it has come down to the present day. The Latin poet also chose not to include the Greek words “ἄδυ φονείσας”, (laughing sweetly), which will come up again in our discussion of Horace. Despite these slight differences, we have seen in this poem, as well as in those that preceded it, that there is a direct line from Sapphic lyric poetry through the lyric poetry of Catullus. Still, as he was unknown to medieval writers and readers, it is necessary to look at Horace’s works in which this later poet incorporated Catullus’ themes, and even language, into his own poetry which was very well known in Europe throughout the entirety of the Middle Ages.

I.iii.i.ii *Horace*

According to the important study by Birger Munk Olsen¹⁵², the works of Horace were copied in 246 different manuscripts during the Middle Ages. 124 of these MSS contain the entirety of his *Ars Poetica* while 98 of them contain all four books of his *Carmen*. Olsen has given a plethora of information on most of these MSS, including (where possible) the origins, approximate dates of composition, where they now reside and even (at times) the hand that created the work.¹⁵³ Through a careful reading of all of her information on the Horatian MSS, we find that 79 of them were produced (probably) in France, 30 in Italy, 3 in England and 45 in Germany from the 9th through the 13th centuries. A quick comparison to the firsthand knowledge of the poetry of Catullus has already been seen above, but we can easily see the

¹⁵¹ For a detailed analysis on the differences between these two poems, see Ronnie Ancona, “The Untouched Self: Sapphic and Catullan Muses in Horace Odes 1.22”, in Efrassini Spentzou and Don Fowler (eds.), *Cultivating the Muse: Struggles for Power and Inspiration in Classical Literature*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002, pp. 161 - 186, especially pp. 171 - 186.

¹⁵² Birger Munk Olsen, *Les Auteurs Classiques Latins aux IXe et XIIe siècles. Tome I, Catalogue des manuscrits classiques latins copiés du IXe au XIIe siècle: Apicius - Juvénal*, Paris: Éditions du Centre de la Recherche Scientifique, 1982, pp. 421 - 522.

¹⁵³ This is obviously not only true for the works of Horace, but for 51 Latin authors, among which are Catullus, Ovid and Virgil.

standing of Horace in the minds of medieval manuscript producers (at the very least) by confronting these data to those of other authors whom we know were highly influential during the same time frame. The *Ars Amatoria* by Ovid was reproduced in its entirety a total of 6 times, while his *Metamorphoses* was copied entirely in 18 different manuscripts.¹⁵⁴ On the other hand, Virgil's works are found in 299 MSS from the Middle Ages¹⁵⁵ of which 70 contain the entire *Aeneid* and 84 contain his *Georgics* in its entirety. Virgil was, as has already been mentioned earlier, the most copied classical Latin poet throughout the Middle Ages, but Horace did follow hard thereupon.

The manuscript evidence shows that the works of Horace were quite popular throughout the Middle Ages, but there is more evidence still that shows, possibly, the reason that Horace was beloved of the predominantly Christian authors of the era, while Catullus was nearly left to be forgotten. Catullus was specifically named only twice in works from this period that have survived to the present; these are found in the works of Isidore of Seville (c. 560 - 636) and of Rather of Verona (890 - 974). Isidore directly quotes Catullus in his *De Libri Conficiendis*:

Circumcidi libros Siciliae primum increbuit. Nam initio pumicabantur. Vnde et Catullus ait:

Cui dono lepidum novum libellum
arido modo pumice expolitur?¹⁵⁶

This quotation is taken from Catullus' first poem in his Carmine as they have come down to us. Isidore uses it almost non-consequentially, as if the works of Catullus were known to his audience. This is also the first and only time that Isidore quotes Catullus directly. In book

¹⁵⁴ While only two of the manuscripts contain both works in their entirety: they are Frankfurt Am Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, S. Barthol. 110 and Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, 879.

¹⁵⁵ Nine of them are from before the ninth century, but Olsen includes them in her research anyway. Two of them are from the fourth century, three from the fifth, one from the sixth and three from the eighth century.

¹⁵⁶ Wallace Martin Lindsay (ed.), *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi, Etymologiarum Sive Originum, Libri XX*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1911 (1985), I.xii, 3. "It first became usual to trip books in Sicily, for at first they were smoothed by pumice, whence Catullus says (1.1): To whom am I giving my charming little book just now smoothed with dry pumice?". The translation is found in Stephen A. Barney et al. (eds.) *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, p. 141.

XIX, on the other hand, Isidore cites Cinna as having penned another Catullan poem: “Strophium est cingulum aureum cum gemmis. De quo ait Cinna: strophio lactantes cincta papillas.”¹⁵⁷ The citation is actually from Catullus 65, rather than Cinna, who is also cited two other times in the *Etymologies*. While Catullus was cited correctly once and used twice by Isidore in this work, it is interesting to note the frequency with which the Spanish bishop quoted other classical authors: Virgil is quoted directly 248 times, Horace and Ovid 12 times each, and even Cinna is quoted 3 times. Given this information, together with the two quotations of Catullus in Isidore’s work, we learn two things: that Catullus was known in what is now Spain in the seventh century, and that his poetry was at least somewhat useful in explaining different concepts to Isidore’s audience, though not nearly as useful as Virgil, Horace or Ovid. What they do not explain is why these other poets were so popular in this era and Catullus was not. Part of the answer lies in the works of the only other attestation of the older poet’s name being written down during these centuries.

Rather of Verona¹⁵⁸ was a bishop in several different towns during his long and eventful life. He was well versed in the scriptures, in the writings of the Church fathers, and in the classical Latin (pagan) authors. Rather argued, at one point, that the use of the classics was more than permissible, it was in fact biblically ordained:

Nam etsi alienigenam prisca non prohibeamur ducere lege; tamen nisi prius raso capite, caeterisque superfluis non sine mysterio, ut melius nostris, recisis, ducatur legitime, Syromasten Phineen cempellimur formidare; cum et vasa aurea vel argentea ex Aegypto furari non ideo sit Jacobitis praeceptum, ut in eodem quo apud eos maneret officio, sed ut spoliata gente reprobata, populus ditaretur Hebraeorum eisdem copiis, postea qui Domini comeret templum.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ *Idem*, XIX, xxxiii, 3. “A *strophium* is a gold *cingulum* with gems. Cinna says this of it (cf. Catullus, *Poems*, 64.65): With a *strophium* encircling milk-white breasts”, p. 392. The translation, italics, and citation of Catullus belong to the editors.

¹⁵⁸ For details on his life and works, as well as an introduction to the modern extent of criticism on this author, see Peter L.D. Reid (ed.), *The Complete Works of Rather of Verona*, Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1991, as well as the introduction (in Latin, but much more detailed) to Pietro e Girolamo Ballerini (eds.), *Ratherii Episcopi Veronensis: Opera Omnia*, Verona: ex typographia Marci Moroni, 1765.

¹⁵⁹ Pietro et Girolamo Ballerini, *op. cit.*, p. 650. “For even though we are not prohibited by the Old Testament from marrying a foreigner, yet, unless it is a lawful marriage with the head first shaved and - in full mystery, as

Rather is explaining here the use of classical pagan texts in Christian writings, as if they were the spoils of war taken by the Jews from the Gentiles, as recounted countless times in the Old Testament. The use of these verses (or *vases*) is not to be the same as the original one, but rather they are to be taken from the pagans and used for the glory of God (in his temple). Thus, in the works of Rather we see the works of Virgil, Ovid, Statius, Horace and others used in the same way as the works of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, and often in the same paragraph with no distinction between the two very different sources. The classical writers were used as a way to teach people various messages that were important for Christianity; while Isidore used the *Aeneid* to discuss grammar¹⁶⁰, Rather used all of the classical knowledge that he had at his behest in order to preach, teach, scold, and praise. Indeed, Rather uses the *Aeneid* to scold his fellow clergy:

...quid his putamus manere tormenti, qui non solum pascere, (etiamsi ad hoc uideantur idonei) gregem sibi neglegunt commissum, sed ad infamiam quoque tanti, quod gestant, nominis, semetipsos agree non desinunt per abrupt uitiorum? qui ludis secularibus, uenatibus et illecebrosis iugiter orrumpantur aucupiis? qui: *Theuthonico ritu soliti torquere cateias*, sanctas penitus dissuescunt scripturas? qui Deo exuti, mundo induti, ipsis laicis non timent uestibus indusiari?¹⁶¹

The cursive quote is from the *Aeneid*, book 7, line 141. Thus, while chastising “secular games” the bishop uses a piece of secular literature (albeit a quite famous piece of literature) to make his point. This quotation is not directly cited as being Virgilian, in the same way that Rather often quoted the classics without any mention of his sources; it is as if the words of Cicero, Seneca, Syrus, Juvenal and Terence were common knowledge to his public. The

you well know - the other superfluities cut off, we are bound to fear Phineas, the striker of the Lydianite woman, since the Israelites were ordered to steal the gold or silver vases from Egypt not so they could serve the same functions but so that the wicked race would be plundered and the Hebrew people would be enriched with the same wealth and later decorate the Lord's Temple with it.” Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

¹⁶⁰ In book one of his *Etymologies*.

¹⁶¹ Peter L.D. Reid (ed.), *Ratherius Veronensis: Praeloquiorum libri VI, Phrenesis, Dialogus confessionalis, Exhortatio et preces, Pauca de vita Sancti Donatiani, Fragmenta nuper reperta*, Turnhout: Brepols, 1984, p. 146. “What torments do we think await those who not only neglect to feed (even if they seem fit to do so) the flock entrusted to them, but to the infamy of the great name they bear, never stop driving themselves into the pit of vices? Who are continually active in secular games, wanton hunting and birding? Who *in Teuton fashion are wont to hurl their darts* and make the holy Scriptures out of fashion?” The italics, and translation are by Reid, *op. cit.* 1991.

pagan authors of antiquity once again stand side by side with the Holy authors of the Bible with no distinction at all between the two.

And then there is Rather's lone naming of Catullus. In all of his works¹⁶² this bishop only mentions Catullus one time. He does not quote the poet, but rather uses his name in order to speak honestly about his activities and the difficulties inherent in being a member of the clergy, in his *Sermon on Maria and Martha*:

Sed econtra non me solum, sed et omnes mihi comissos, precipue uere magis necessaries corrumpendo, eum die noctuque (quamuis in eum nulla cadat passio) ad iracundiam prouocare, quid de me dicere, quid ualeo cogitare - et (ut turpia subsidens, honesta solum prohibita licet, depromam) si in lege Dei, ut debitorem me fore non nescio, die <non> meditor et nocte Catullum numquam antea lectum, Plautum quando iam olim lego neglectum?¹⁶³

Reading Catullus, then, is possible for Rather and he even admits to doing it. But it is an act that is against his vow to think on God's Law all day and night. The Bishop says that this is something that he should not be doing but that he must admit to, or else he would be unfair to posterity, in only writing down the good and foregoing the bad. The bad in this case is clearly the reading of Catullus, as he is cited nowhere else in all of Rather's many and varied works.

There is a difference then between Catullus and the other pagan writers. The problem was not that his poetry was entirely unavailable or unknown to medieval writers, but that his works were not conducive to Christian thoughts and lessons. While catullan poetry was sometimes able to be used when speaking of books or boats, in general it was considered too *unchristian* to be used for any worthy purpose. Though it seems that many of Catullus' works could have been used for Christian purposes, perhaps it was a bit difficult for the Christian writers to accept that the author of Carmen 16 could ever be used in a Holy lesson:

¹⁶² 1,300 pages in the 1765 edition cited above.

¹⁶³ Peter L. D. Reid (ed.), *Ratherii Veronensis: Opera Minora*, Turnhout: Brepols, 1976, pp. 147 - 148. "What can I say of myself (to omit the shameful acts and put down only the honourable, though forbidden, ones) what can I think of myself, if I do not meditate - as I am well aware that I ought - day and night on the law of God, when I now sometimes read Catullus not read before and Plautus long neglected." The translations into English is in Reid, 1991, p. 458.

Paedicabo ego vos et irrumabo,
 Aureli pathice et cinaede Furi,
 qui me ex versiculis meis putastis,
 quod sunt molliculi, parum pudicum.
 Nam castum esse decet pium poetam
 ipsum, versiculos nihil necesse est,
 qui tum denique habent salem ac leporem,
 si sunt molliculi ac parum pudici
 et quod pruriat incitare possunt,
 non dico pueris, sed his pilosis,
 qui duros nequeunt movere lumbos.
 Vos quod milia multa basiorum
 legistis, male me marem putatis?
 Paedicabo ego vos et irrumabo.¹⁶⁴

We will end this Latin introduction, then, with a few of the popular lyric poems by Horace, a far more acceptable and much less controversial author¹⁶⁵, that show his indebtedness to Catullus and which will be called upon again by a variety of writers in neo-Latin languages that are the main concern of our research.

The first of Horace's lyric poems to quickly examine is found in his first book of *Carmens*, poem number 4. This is seemingly a lyric on the coming of Spring, a theme that will come up quite often in the lyrics of the Middle Ages; the end of the poem, however, takes on a very different theme, one that we have already seen in Catullus' fifth poem and the first that we examined.

Solvituaeris hiems grata vice veris et Favonr i,
 trahuntque siccac machinae carinas.
 ac neque iam stabulis gaudet pecus aut arator igni;

¹⁶⁴ "Fuck you, boys, up the butt and in the mouth, you queer Aurelius and you fag Furius! You size me up, on the basis of my poems, because they're a little sexy, as not really decent. A poet has to live clean - but not his poems. *They* only have spice and charm, if somewhat sexy and really not for children - if, in fact, they cause body talk (I'm not talking in teenagers, but in hairy old man who can barely move their stiff bums). But you, because you happen to read about "many thousands of kisses," you think *I'm* not a man? Fuck you, boys, up the butt and in the mouth". Translation by Micaela Wakil Janan, "*When the lamp is shattered*": *Desire and Narrative in Catullus*, Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1994, p. 45. For a discussion on the problems in the translation of this poem see Thomas Nelson Winter, "Catullus Purified: A Brief History of Carmen 16", in *Arethusa*, Vol. 6 (1973) 2, Faculty Publications, University of Nebraska Press, pp. 257 - 265.

¹⁶⁵ Horace was studied throughout the Middle Ages, as we have seen; but he was quoted by such Christian authors as Metellus of Tergensee, a Bavarian poet who used Horace's odes as inspiration for his own poetry, and Hugh of St. Victor, who quoted the *Ars Poetica*. For more, see Brian Stock, *Ethics through Literature: Ascetic and Aesthetic Reading in Western Culture*, Lebanon (New Hampshire): Brandeis University Press, 2007, pp. 93 - 97.

nec prata canis albicant pruinis.

iam Cytherea choros ducit Venus imminente luna,
iunctaeque Nymphis Gratiae decentes
alterno terram quatunt pede, dum gravis Cyclopum
Vulcanus ardens urit officinas.

nunc decet aut viridi nitidum caput impedire myrto
aut flore, terrae quem ferunt solutae.
nunc et in umbrosis Fauno decet immolare lucis,
seu poscat agna sive malit haedo.

pallida Mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas
regnumque turris. o beate Sesti,
vitae summa brevis spem nos vetat inchoare longam;
iam te premet nox fabulaeque Manes

et domus exilis Plutonia; quo simul mearis,
nec regna vini sortiere talis
nec tenerum Lycidan mirabere, quo calet iuventus
nunc omnis et mox virgines tepebunt.¹⁶⁶

What begins with a traditional poem on the beginning of spring, with all of the differences between that season and the winter, turns into a lyric on the brevity of life and the importance of living in the now, as was seen above in Catullus, 5. The repetition of the word “*nunc*”, or now, in verses 9 and 11 sets up the difference between the joy that is the life that we have now and the inevitable death that will eventually come for all men. Indeed, in verse 12 the personification of Death shows up immediately, as *Pallida Mors* in a very clear juxtaposition with that which the poet tells us is fitting behavior in the here and now. While these notions will be very popular during the high Middle Ages, there is a precedent for this poem in Catullus. The narrator of Catullus’ fifth poem warns Lesbia that “nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux, / nox est perpetua una dormienda.” In Horace, the narrator warns Sestius (in place

¹⁶⁶ Horace, *Odes*, 1.4; the English translation is found in Joseph P. Clancy (ed. and translator), *Horace, Odes and Epodes*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960, p. 29. “Winter’s fists unclench at the touch of spring and western breezes, / dried-out keels are drawn down to the waves, / flocks are no longer at ease in stables, farmers at firesides, / meadows are no longer white with frost. / Under a hovering moon come dancers led by fair Aphrodite, / the slender Graces join hands with the nymphs / lightly to dance on the grass, as Cyclopes under sweltering Vulcan forge bolts of lightning for the storms to come. / Now is the time to garland glistening hair with green myrtle / or flowers, as the freed earth rejoices in birth; / now a gift to Faunus is proper, in shadowy groves a victim, / whatever is to his taste, ewe lamb or kid. / Death with his drained-out face will drum at destitute cottage / and royal castle. You have been lucky, Sestius: / all of life is only a little, no long-term plans are allowed. / Soon night and half-remembered shapes and drab / Pluto’s walls will be closing in; enter his halls and you’re done with / tosses of dice that crown you toastmaster, / marveling glances at slim young Lycidas, for whom all the boys are / now burning, and the girls will soon catch fire.”

of Lesbia) that “vitae summa brevis spem nos vetatat inchoare longam; / iam te premet nox fabulaeque Manes.” Life is brief for both of our poets and the perpetuity of death follows immediately thereafter. While Catullus goes on in his poem to urge Lesbia to seize the day and show her love, Horace ends his poem with a vision of all that death brings, and that which death will take away from what we have in this life. While these two poems share a common theme, the difference in the solution to the poem that each poet offers is succinctly underlined by Putnam:

The earlier poet’s meditation on life’s brief passage precedes a plea for numberless kisses, whose continuous counting will magically countervene the gossip of the loveless aged as well as the speaker’s apothegm on human transience. Horace, by contrast, is facing death squarely and making Catullus’s concise moment of abstraction his central, all-consuming theme. For Catullus, frenzied sexuality may temporarily obscure time’s lethal presence. For Horace, once death has arrived, there is no escaping its importunity.¹⁶⁷

This helps, perhaps, to explain why Horace’s poetry was so beloved of the medieval Christian poets of Latin lyrics while Catullus was relegated to *quasi* non-being.

The second, and final, poem to see from among the many works of Horace takes on elements of Catullus’s poems 11 and 51, and will signal the link between medieval poets and Sappho, originator of lyric poetry. The lyric in question is Horace’s *Carmen* 1.22, which looks back, in part, to Catullus’s reworking of Sappho’s poem that we saw above, while also responding to Catullus’s poem 11 to his friends Furius and Aurelius:

Integer vitae scelerisque purus
non eget Mauris iaculis neque arcu
nec venenatis gravida sagittis,
Fusce, pharetra,

sive per Syrtis iter aestuosas
sive facturus per inhospitalem
Caucasum vel quae loca fabulosus
lambit Hydaspes.

namque me silva lupus in Sabina,
dum meam canto Lalagen et ultra

¹⁶⁷ Putnam, *op. cit.* p. 104.

terminum curis vagor expeditis,
fugit inermem,

quale portentum neque militaris
Daunias latis alit aesculetis
nec Iubae tellus generat, leonum
arida nutrix.

pone me pigris ubi nulla campis
arbor aestiva recreatur aura,
quod latus mundi nebulae malusque
Iuppiter urget,

pone sub curru nimium propinqui
solis, in terra domibus negata:
dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo,
dulce loquentem.¹⁶⁸

This poem, like Catullus's number 11, uses the Sapphic meter and is of the exact same length as its Catullan predecessor. Like Catullus, too, this poem begins with a travelogue (verses 5 - 8), though here it is much less grand in scope than its earlier influence. Ronnie Ancona¹⁶⁹ points out the Sapphic and Catullan influences on Horace that are evident in this poem. The last two verses here (Dulce ridentem Lalago amabo / dulce loquentem) are the verses that Catullus left out of his own re-working of Sappho's poem number 31 (as we saw above). It has also been argued¹⁷⁰ that both of the poems are songs about song. Horace's relationship with Lalage is seen as his relationship "with the lyric tradition from Sappho to Catullus".¹⁷¹ What we see in this poem, then, is Horace's acknowledging of his indebtedness both to Catullus (whom the latter poet mentions by name only once) and to Sappho (mentioned quite often throughout Horace's works). If we accept Putnam's interpretation that this lyric is one on lyric poetry, then we have here a direct line from Sappho through Catullus and finally to

¹⁶⁸ Putnam, *op. cit.* pp. 32, 33. "The man whose life is upright and who is guiltless of crime has no need, Fuscus, of Moorish darts nor bow nor a quiver weighted with poisoned arrows, whether he will make his way through the sweltering Syrtes or through the unwelcoming Caucasus or the places fabled Hydaspes laps. For while I sing of my Lalage and, carefree, wander unarmed beyond the bounds, a wolf takes flight from me in the Sabine woods, such a monster as neither martial Daunia fosters in its broad forests of oak nor the land of Juba begets, dry nurse of lions. Place me in torpid plains where no tree is refreshed by the summer breeze, a region of the earth oppressed by clouds and evil weather, place me beneath the chariot of a sun too near the earth, in a land denied to houses: I will love my Lalage as she sweetly laughs, sweetly speaks."

¹⁶⁹ Ancona, 2002, p. 167.

¹⁷⁰ By Putnam, *op. cit.*, pp. 36 - 37.

¹⁷¹ *Idem.*

Horace: three pre-Christian lyric poets who (ultimately through Horace alone) would go on to influence the lyric poets of the high Middle Ages in Europe.

I.iii.ii *Occitan*

I.iii.ii.i. *William IX*

Lo coms de Peitieu si fo uns dels majors cortes del mon, e dels majors trichadors de dompnas; e bons cavaliers d'armas, e lars de dompnejar. E saup ben trobar e cantar; et anet lonc temps per lo mon per enganar las domnas. Et ac un fill que ac per moiller la duquessa de Normandia, don ac una filla que fo moiller del rei Enric d'Englaterra, maire del rei jove, e d'en Richart, e del comte Jaufre de Bretaingna.¹⁷²

It has famously been said that William IX, Duke of Aquitaine (1071 - 1127) had no need of a poetic predecessor. Indeed, he is the first of all poets writing in Occitan whose lyrics have come down to us, as the extant poetry books, and subsequent *vidas* and *razos*, do not mention any poet that precedes him.¹⁷³ His poetry, however, was very refined and thus it has been argued that there must have been a lively literary scene in southern France (south of the Loire river) from before his time but those presumed lyrics have not reached us. We will briefly look at two of his poems before going on to another of the first Occitan poets, Jaufre Rudel, who, along with William, is at least a precedent to or contemporary of the lyrics of Marcabru.

Farai chansoneta nueva,
ans que vent ni gel ni plueva;
ma dona m'assai' e-m prueva,
quossi de qual guiza l'am;
e ja per plag que m'en mueva
no-m solvera de son liam;

Qu'ans mi rent a lieys e-m liure,
qu'en sa carta-m pot escriure;
e no m'en tengatz per yure

¹⁷² Alfred Jeanroy (ed.), *Les chansons de Guillaume IX duc d'Aquitaine : (1071-1127)*, Paris: H. Champion, 1927, p. 30. "The Count of Poitiers was one of the most courtly men in the world and one of the greatest deceivers of women. He was a fine knight at arms, liberal in his womanizing, and a fine composer and singer of songs. He traveled much through the world, seducing women. And he had a son whose wife was the duchess of Normandy, who had a daughter who was the wife of King Henry of England, mother of the young king, and of Richard, and of Geoffrey Duke of Brittany."

¹⁷³ Although, Ulrich Mölk argues that it is not possible to be certain that William was the first Occitan poet. See his *Troubadoryrik. Eine Einführung*, München: Artemis Verlag, 1982, especially chapter two. For the contrary opinion, see Karl Vossler, "Die Kunst des ältesten Troubadors", in *Miscellanea di studi in onore di Attilio Hortis*: Trieste, maggio 1909, vol. 1, Trieste: Tip. G. Caprin, 1910, pp. 419 - 440.

s'ieu ma bona dompna am,
quar senes lieys non puesc viure,
tant ai pres de s'amor gran fam.

Que plus ez blanca qu'evori,
per qu'ieu outra non azori:
si'm breu non ai ajutori,
cum ma bona dompna m'am,
morrai, pel cap sanh Gregori,
si no-m bayz' en cambr' o sotz ram.

Qual pro y auresz, dompna conja,
si vostr' amors mi deslonja?
par que·us vulhatz metre monja.
e sapchatz, quar tan vos am,
tem que la dolors me ponja,
si no-m faitz dreg dels tortz qu'ie·us clam.

Qual pro y auresz, s'ieu m'enclostre
e no-m retenetz per vostre?
totz lo joys del mon es nostre,
dompna, s'amduy nos amam,
lay al mieu amic Daurostre
dic e man que chan e no bram.

Per aquesta fri e tremble,
quar de tam bon' amor l'am;
qu'anc no cug que·n nasques semble
en semblan del gran linh n'Adam.¹⁷⁴

In this poem we see that William has retained many elements of his Latin predecessors, while also introducing the reader to octosyllabic verses with a regular rhyme scheme (aaabab, where b is invariable) and a strict meter that is unchanging throughout the poem, a fact which echoes the northern French epic poetry that we saw above¹⁷⁵. This can be attributed to the poem's original iteration as a song (it is labeled, in fact, as a *chanson*, or song). The poem also shows

¹⁷⁴ The original poem is found in Alfredo Cavaliere, *Cento liriche Provenzali*, Bologna: Zanichelli, 1938, pp. 3 - 4. The English translation is found in James H. Donaldson, *William IX, Duke of Aquitaine: Selected Poems*, Brindin Press, 2003. "Soon, wind and rain will come along, / and I must write another song / to show my girl / my love is strong: / my lady says it's just a test / but even if she does me wrong / my ties to her are unrepresed. / Instead, I give myself to her; / I'm in her book without a blur: / I'm not a fool for loving her / and if, with her, I am in love / I cannot live except with her: / I'm hungering only for her love. / Her skin is white as ivory; / no other's in my history: / an urgent show of love for me / is needed to remove all doubt. / I'll die now, by St.Gregory, / without a kiss, indoors or out. / What good, fair lady, will be done / if with your love you'd up and run? / perhaps you want to be a nun? / I tell you now, that I love you: / by sorrow I will be undone / unless my claim appeals to you. / What good if I become a friar, / instead of letting me aspire / to worldly joys, let us conspire, / my lady, don't abhor my vow. / So, send this to my friend, the Lyre, / to sing, but not to roar it now. / She makes me tremble, I aver: / because my love has been sublime / I think no lady quite like her / has ever come from Adam's line.

¹⁷⁵ In section I.ii.ii., p. 36 and *passim*.

the two main themes of Occitan poetry: love as a form of service to his lady, and a refined form of courtesy that is the ideal of *fin amor*, or perfect love. The poet/narrator first explains his amorous situation in the first stanza, wherein his beloved puts him to the test, while he promises to stay true to her. The second and third stanzas continue talking about his beloved and how perfect she is, by using typical lyrical conceits (she is whiter than ivory in verse 13, the poet will surely die without a kiss from her in verses 17 and 18). In the fourth stanza the narrator finally turns directly to his beloved and asks what she will gain by staying away from him. The tone in this stanza is both playful and serious, as he asks if she wants him to become a monk or for herself to become a nun. The poem ends with (once again) the narrator's undying love and desire for the woman and the fact that there is no better woman than her in all of humanity. These elements have been seen above in the poetry of Catullus and Horace, and will turn up again and again in the European poetry that follows throughout the Middle Ages.

The second song to look at from among William's 11 extant poems is quite different than the one we just saw and takes us back to the spring time motif that we saw earlier in our Latin poets.

Ab la dolchor del temps novel
foillo li bosc, e li aucel
chanton chascus en lor lati
segon lo vers del novel chan;
adonc esta ben c'om s'aisi
d'acho don hom a plus tal an.

De lai don plus m'es bon e bel
non vei mesager ni sagel,
per que mos cors non dorm ni ri,
ni no m'aus traire adenan,
tro qu'ieu sacha ben de fi
s'el' es aissi com eu deman.

La nostr' amor vai enaissi
com la branca de l'albespi
qu'esta sobre l'arbre tremblan,

la nuoit, a la ploja ez al gel,
tro l'endeman, que·l sols s'espan
per las fueillas verz e·l ramel.

Enquer me membra d'un mati
que nos fezem de guerra fi,
e que·m donet un don tan gran,
sa drudari' e son anel:
enquer me lais Dieus viure tan
c'aja mas manz soz so mantel!

Qu'ieu non ai soing d'estraing lati
que·m parta de mon Bon Vezi,
qu'ieu sai de paraulas com van
ab un breu sermon que s'espel,
que tal se van d'amor gaban,
nos n'avem la pessa e·l coutel.¹⁷⁶

We see here, on the other hand, that the poet opens with a description of the coming of Spring, a trope that will be dear to many Occitan poets. The new season is a time for men to enjoy life and all that they have to praise. The narrator, on the other hand, can find no joy in spring time because he has not had any news from whence he would like it (from his beloved). The poet tells, in the fourth stanza, of a quarrel that took place between himself and his lover that was resolved with a gift, which he presumes will be the same end to the present fight. The love that is described in this stanza is reminiscent of a feudal hierarchy: the Count has placed himself in a position of inferiority to his beloved. The *anel*, or ring, of verse 22 represents the relationship between a feudal lord and a vassal, with the beloved playing the part of the lord in this poem. Though the symbolism of the relationship is feudal in nature, the

¹⁷⁶ Cavaliere, *idem.*, pp. 5 - 6. The English translation is by James J. Willhelm (ed.), *Lyrics of the Middle Ages: An Anthology*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1971, pp. 53 - 54.. "In the sweetness of the budding spring / When the woods are leagin, winged things / Cast their songs in native speech / By the verse of their own spring chant; / Ah, then for men it's right that each / Should have the easing that he wants. // From where all's goodness, all is beauty, / Comes no seal, no runner on duty, / And so my heart can't laugh or rest; / And I dare not draw on for a task / Till I know if my entire behest / Will be fulfilled as I have asked. // Our love affair will be reborn / Like a branch upon a hawthorn / Which, trembling over the trunk, will sway / At nighttime in the hail and rain, / But come the dawn, the sun's bright rays / Make leaf and branch all green again. // O I still remember that day / When we signed a truce to our fray, / And she gave me that gift I adore: / Her loving, with ring in troth. / God, let me live some more / To put my hand beneath her cloak! // No strange Latin do I need / To part my Good Neighbor from me: / For I know how the gossiping spreads / In some quick talk that runs rife. / We don't need to brag how our love's bred: / No, we have the meat and the knife!"

poem ends with a clearly sexual image¹⁷⁷ (*la pessa e-l coutel*, or literally the meat and knife ; that is, poet and lover have everything that they need to make love while the others that he mentioned in the preceding verse have only empty words). This coming together of the feudal relationship and sexual connotation will be a popular trope in medieval lyric poetry, from William's direct poetic descendants through the Italian poets of the thirteenth century and all the way through to the poetry of England in the fourteenth century.

I.iii.ii.ii. *Jaufre Rudel*

Jaufre Rudeis de Blaia si fo molt gentils hom, princes de Blaia; et enamoret se de la comtessa de Tripol ses vezer, per lo ben q'el n'auzi dir als pelegrins que venguen d'Antiocha; e fez de lleis mains versa b nons sons, ab paubres motz. E per voluntat de llei vezer el se crozet e mes se en mar; e pres lo malautia en la nau e fo condug a Tripol en un alberc per mort. E fo fait a saber a la comtessa, et ella venc ad el, al sieu leit, e pres lo entre sos bratz; et el saup qu'ella era la comtesa, si recobret l'auzir e-l flairar ; e lauzet Dieu e-l grazi que l'avia la vida sostenguda tro qu'el l'agues vista. Et enaissi el mori entre sos braz, et ella lo fez a gran honor sepellir en la maion del Temple. E pois en qauel dia ella se rendet morga per la dolor qu'ella ac de la mort de lui.¹⁷⁸

Our second poet's legacy has been preserved in several manuscripts from the thirteenth century onward, but it contains only six poems and there are very few contemporary reference to any prince from Blaia¹⁷⁹. His is the poetry of "love from afar" which went on to become a popular theme for Occitan poets who followed in his footsteps.

The first poem to look at is his take on the writing of poetry, a sort of *ars poetica*, which thus looks back to Horace's discussion¹⁸⁰ on his passion for the lyric muse.

Non sap chanter qui so non di

¹⁷⁷ See Mölk, *op. cit.* pp. 23 - 28 for an analysis of this element of the poem.

¹⁷⁸ Alfred Jeanroy (ed.), *Les chansons de Jaufre Rudel*, Paris: Champion, 1965, p. 21. "Jaufre Rudel of Blaia was a very noble man, prince of Blaia; and he fell in love with the countess of Tripoli without having seen her, for the good things he had heard from the pilgrims who returned from Antioch; e he wrote many songs about her with good melodies and poor words. And, for his desire to see her, he went on the Crusades and took to sea; and on the ship he became ill, and was taken to Tripoli, in a hotel, as if he were dead. And the countess was informed, and she went to him, at his bed and took him in her arms; and he knez that she was the countess, and he recovered his sight and smell, and praised God and thanked Him for having kept him alive long enough to see her; and thus he died in her arms. And she had him buried with great honors in the house of the Temple; and that day she became a nun, for the pain that she felt at his death."

¹⁷⁹ Though Marcabru did address a *sirventes* to to one *Jaufré Rudel outre mar* in 1148.

¹⁸⁰ Once again, if we follow Putnam's interpretation of the character Lalage in Horace.

ni vers trobar qui motz no fa,
ni conois de rima co·s va
si razo non enten en si.
Mas lo mieus chans comens' aissi:
com plus l'auziretz, mais valra.

Nuils hom no·s meravill de mi
s'ieu am so que ja no·m veira,
que·l cor joi d'autr' amor non a
mas de cela qu'ieu anc no vi,
ni per nuill joi aitan no ri
e no sai quals bes m'en venra.

Colps de joi me fer, que m'ausi,
e ponha d'amor que·m sostra
la carn, don lo cors magrira;
et anc mais tan greu no·m feri
ni per nuill colp tan no languì,
quar no conve ni no s'esca.

Anc tan suau no m'adurmi
mos esperitz tost no fos la,
ni tan d'ira non ac de sa
mos cors ades no fos aqui ;
e quan mi reisit al mati
totz mos bos sabers mi desva.

Ben sai c'anc de lei no·m jauzi
ni ja de mi no·s jauzira,
ni per son amic no·m tenra
ni conven no·m fara de si.
Anc no·m dis ver ni no·m menti,
ni no sai si ja s'o fara.

Bos es lo vers, qu'anc no·i falhi
e tot so que·i es ben esta ;
e sel que de mi l'apenra
gart se no·l franha ni·l pessi.
Car si l'auzon en Caersi
en Bertrans e·l comes en Tolza,

bos es lo vers, e faran hi
calque re don hom chantara.¹⁸¹

¹⁸¹ The Occitan is found in Mariantonia Liborio and Andrea Giannetti (eds.), *Letteratura Provenzale Medievale*, Roma: Carocci, 2004, pp. 66 - 69. The English translation is from Barbara Smythe, *Trobador Poets : Selections from the Poems of Eight Trobadors*, Cambridge and Ontario: In Parentheses Publications, 2000. pp. 30, 31. "He cannot sing who sounds no air, / Nor without words a song compose; / of rime, indeed, he little knows / who has not learnt its rules with care. / Wherefore my song I thus prepare; / the more 'tis heard, its merit grows. / Let no man think it strange that I / Love one whom I shall ne'er behold, / no other love as dear I hold / save hers on whom ne'er looked my eye, / who's never told me truth or lie, / nor know I if 'twill e'er be told. / She strikes a blow of joy that kills, / a wound of love that steals my heart, / whence I shall pine beneath the smart / unless full soon sweet pity fills / her heart; no man with such sweet ills / e'er died, rejoicing, from love's dart. / I never fell asleep so fast / but that in spirit I was there, / nor had, awake, such grief or care / but that my heart to her had past. / But when at morn I wake at last / again of joy I'm unaware. / Never rejoiced I in her sight, / nor will she

The first stanza is full of technical words for the act of *trobar*: from the combination of *so* (singing), with *motz* (words), and *rime* (rhyme), combined with the *enten* (elaboration) of the motivation behind the composition of the piece (which is known as the *razo* or reason). The author also points out the necessity of repeated *auzieretz* (listening to) of the poem by an audience which will increase the poem's *valra* or value. Thus this first stanza explains what it takes to make a good *chanso* and then proceeds to do just that in the remainder of the poem.

Rudel discusses all parts of being in his discussion of how much in love he is: with *cor* (heart), *carn* (flesh) *cors* (body) and *esperitz* (soul or spirit). The fact that he has never seen his beloved (as seen in verses seven and eight) puts the narrator onto a more spiritual plane than some of his contemporaries and represents the perfection of *fin amors*, or love that is entirely courteous, unblemished by the act of sex. This theme will be prevalent in the vast majority of courtly lyrics, while at the same time is also turned upside down in more humorous poems by the same poets who engage in this type of poetry.¹⁸² While this poem was very popular during the Middle Ages as evidenced by the fact that it has come down to us in seven MSS, the next poem was even more so, as it survives in a total of 13. The poem in question begins, once again, with the coming of Spring and the usual discussion of the love of life that men should feel at that time, while the narrator cannot possibly feel joy due to the absence of his beloved.

Quan lo rossinhols el folhos
dona d'amor e-n quier e-n pren
e mou son chan jauzent joyos
e remira sa par soven
e-l riu son clar e-l prat son gen,

e'er in mine; 'tis clear / that she will never hold me dear / or vow or promise with me plight. / Ne'er laughed I so for sheer delight / yet what I'll gain does not appear. / Peironet, cross the Ili now / and I will cross to her, and she, if she so please, shall shelter me, / and sweet discourse we'll have, I vow. / Full ill my Fate did me endow / if lover for her my death will be. / The song is good if nothing wrong / I did, and all doth well accord. / Let him who learns it see no word / is spoilt or artlered in the song; / in Quercy 'twill be known ere long / by Bertran and Toulouse's lord."

¹⁸² William IX has several poems that are overtly sexual in nature, as will Marcabru. Guittone d'Arezzo will make a point in the following century to show just how trite this and other themes of courtly love are.

pel novel deport que renha,
mi ven al cor grans joys jazer.

D'un'amistat suy enveyos,
quar no sai joya plus valen,
c'or e dezir, que bona·m fos,
si·m fazia d'amor prezen,
que·l cors a gras, delgat e gen
e ses ren que·y descovenha,
e s'amors bon'ab bon saber.

D'acquest'amor suy cossiros
vellan e pueys sompnhan dormen,
quar lai ay joy meravelhos,
per qu'ieu la jau jauzits jauzen ;
mas sa beutats no·m val nien,
quar nulhs amicx no m'essenha
cum ieu n'aia bon saber.

D'aquest'amor suy tan cochos
que quant ieu vau ex lieys corren
vejaire m'es qu'a reüsos
m'en torn e qu'ela·s n'an fugen;
e mos cavals I vai tan len
greu er qu'oïmais i atenha,
s'Amors no la·m fa remaner.

Amors, alegre·m part de vos
per so quar vau mo miells querem,
e suy en tant aventuros
qu'enqueras n'ay mon cor jauzen,
la merce de mon Bon Guiren
que·m vol e m'apell'e·m denha
e m'a tornat en bon esper.

E qui sai rema deleytos
e Dieu non siec en Belleen
no sai cum ja mais sia pros
ni cum ja venh'a guerimen,
qu'ieu sai e crei, mon escien,
que selh qui Jhesus ensenha
segur'escola pot tener.¹⁸³

¹⁸³ Cavaliere, *op. cit.*, pp. 39 - 41; the English translation is from Smythe, *op. cit.*, p. 27. "When the nightingale amid the leaves gives its love, and seeks it and takes it and sings its glad joyous song, and often looks at its mate, and the streams are clear and the meadows are smiling, then great joy comes to my heart because of the new delight that reigns. I desire a certain friendship, for I know of no more precious joy; I pray and wish that she may be kind to me and may make me a gift of her love; for she is tall, slender, and fair, and her love and her understanding are good and without blemish. I yearn for this love awake and, in my dreams, asleep, for I have a marvellous joy therein, wherefore I rejoice in it rejoiced and rejoicing; but her beauty avails me nought, for no friend can teach me how I may ever have a good answer from her. I am so desirous of this lover that when I run towards it meseems that I go backwards and that it flies from me. And my horse runs there so slowly that scarcely shall I ever reach my goal, if Love does not hold her back for me. I am desirous of a lady to whom I dare not tell my wish, but when I look on her face I am altogether bewildered. And shall I ever have courage to dare to tell her she may take me as her servant, since I dare not beg for mercy from her? Ah, how lovable are her words and how sweet and pleasing her deeds, for never was there born among us any woman so charming,

This poem is quite different from the previous one that we looked at and shows a theme that will come up often in the works that we will study in the following chapters: carnal love for a woman that eventually leads to a higher love full of Christian values. The first four stanzas follow the normal pattern of love poetry that one can expect of a song on the coming of Spring: the first stanza depicts nature in full bloom and the narrator explains that this fills him with joy; stanza two opens the section wherein he explains that he would like the “friendship” or *amistat* from somebody that he knows, as he knows no greater joy, before going on to explain exactly some attributes of the woman that he is interested in (full bodied, delicate and gentle, whose love has a good taste); the third goes on to describe the love that he feels for her (everpresent, both while asleep and in dreams), and in fact verses 17 and 18 show that this love is exclusively in the narrator’s dreams as he has no friends who can tell him how to get either pleasure or knowledge of love out of his beloved¹⁸⁴; and finally the fourth stanza represents the impossibility of attaining what he seeks: in fact, the more he goes towards her the further away she is.

The final two stanzas change the poem completely; the narrator addresses himself directly to Love personified (as will Dante in the following century) and explains that he is leaving him because his “Good Protector” (a *senhal*¹⁸⁵ for Jesus) is calling him. This is the call to the crusades that God had recently put forth, as seen in the final stanza, that is a sure way for those who heed it to find salvation. The poet has effectively turned a somewhat

slender and fresh and gentle-hearted, and I do not believe there is a fairer one, or one who so rejoiced those who looked on her. Love, I depart from you rejoicing because I go seeking my good, and I am so far courageous that my heart will soon be rejoicing by the mercy of my good Protector, who wants me and calls to me, and deigns to help me, and has brought me back to good hope. And whoever remains in comfort here and does not follow God to Bethlehem, I know not how he may ever be accounted noble or how he will ever come to salvation. For I know and believe of a truth that he whom Jesus teaches learns in a true school.”

¹⁸⁴ The poem is replete with ambivalent terminology ; the noun in question is at the end of verse 21 : *bon saber*, which can be either pleasure or knowledge of love or both.

¹⁸⁵ A *senhal* is the name that the poet gives to his lover so as to hide her true identity: Lesbia is a *senhal* for the woman to whom Catullus wrote his poems. The use of this tactic was nearly universal in medieval Occitan poetry, but was also used quite frequently in other linguistic traditions as well.

typical love poem into a poem of the Crusades, a *genre* that will have immense popularity throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The turnabout is complete and will affect the poetic stylings of many poets throughout the Middle Ages and beyond: influential poets like Folquet de Marselh will do the same sort of turnabout as will Guittone d'Arezzo. But before getting into that specific poet, we must turn to the beginnings of lyric poetry in present day Italy which, together with the Latin and Occitan poetry that we have seen thus far, will influence poetry in radical ways that change it in Europe forever.

I.iii.iii Italian

Gianpaolo Dossena is not a literary scholar¹⁸⁶. Still, his *Storia Confidenziale della Letteratura Italiana* gives a good idea of the problems inherent in the study of early "Italian" literature. In his discussion of the beginning of this literature he reflects upon the so-called *indovinello Veronese* (riddle from Verona). This short poem is found in the margins of a manuscript from around the year 800¹⁸⁷. Alfredo Stussi demonstrates two of the principle problems in filological studies of texts that are so antique, written outside of the lined margins, and still so very important to the national literature:

The various proposed solutions go from short verses with alternating rhymes (a), to rhyming couplets (b), to a single rhyme (c), to rhythmic dactylic hexameters (d):

(a)
Boves se pareba
alba pratalia araba
e albo versorio teneba
et negro semen seminaba¹⁸⁸

(b)
Boves se pareba
et albo versorio teneba
alba pratalia araba
et negro semen seminaba

(c)
Boves se pareba
alba pratalia areba
et albo versorio teneba
et negro semen seminaba.¹⁸⁹

(d)
Se pareba boves, alba pratalia araba,
albo versorio teneba, et negro semen seminaba.

¹⁸⁶ While his work is instructive rather than scholarly, the works that are at the base of his research are the same that are used by scholars of early Italian lyrics, and are those that we have used for this research as well.

¹⁸⁷ Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS LXXXIX, on f.3r.

¹⁸⁸ "He kept the cattle ahead of him, he was plowing white fields, and he had a white plow, and he planted black seeds." This is a metaphor for the act of writing.

Given the nature of the physical evidence we cannot know the true intentions of the author, which will almost always be a problem for the philologist. But this poem gives particular problems to scholars of Italian linguistics and language: the verses shown above are followed by a verse in Latin, “gratiastibiagimusomnip(oten)ssempiterned(eu)s.”¹⁹⁰ Dossena tackles this problem immediately:

Now let's think for a moment about what language was used to write these three verses. The third verse is straightforward Latin. The first two are not. Are the first two written in Italian? A good question, the five million dollar question. [...] the first two lines written by the tired and bored religious person towards the year 800, no longer straightforward Latin like the third verse, start to be a neo-Latin from northern Italy.¹⁹¹

These are the main problems involved in the study of early Italian literature: there was no one Italian language used for one Italian literature for the first few centuries (at the very least) of the history of “Italian” literature, and we must work with the MSS that often do not agree on the texts contained therein.

While this can seem somewhat impeding on our work, one can still say that the earliest Italian poetry that has come down to us in a standardized form is found in three principle manuscripts: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Latino 3793 [V]; Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Rediano 9 [L]; and Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale, Banco Rari 217, già Palatino 418¹⁹² [R]. These three codices were made in the late thirteenth or very early fourteenth centuries and contain most of the extant poetry from Italy from before 1300. We will discuss these manuscripts in more detail in chapter 2 of the current work, but it is important to note that the poems that follow in this section are all found in V, a manuscript

¹⁸⁹ Alfredo Stussi, *Introduzione agli studi di filologia italiana*, Bologna: il Mulino, 1994, p. 255. “Le varie soluzioni proposte vanno dai versicoli a rime alternate (a), o a rime bacciate (b), o a rima unica (c), alla copia di esametri ritmici caudate (d):”

¹⁹⁰ “We give grace to you omnipotent, eternal Lord.”

¹⁹¹ Giampaolo Dossena, *Storia confidenziale della letteratura italiana : Dalle origini a Dante*, Milano: Rizzoli, 1987, pp. 17 - 18. “Adesso pensiamo un momento in che lingua sono scritte queste tre righe. La terza riga è in latino schietto. Le prime due invece no. Le prime due righe sono in italiano? Bella domanda, domanda da cinque milioni di dollari. [...] le prime due righe scritte dal religioso annoiato e stanco di Verona verso l'anno 800, non essendo più latino schietto come la terza riga, cominciano a essere in un neo-latino dell'Italia settentrionale.”

¹⁹² From this point on we will refer to these manuscripts as V, L and R, respectively.

that contains *circa* 1,000 poems. The manuscript is divided between sonnets and *canzoni* and follows a basically chronological ordering; all modern anthologies of early Italian poetry follow this same ordering of the various works that they choose to underline.

I.iii.iii.i Giacomo da Lentini

The Notary of Frederick II's court, Giacomo da Lentini, active at least during the period between 1233 and 1240, has been credited with the invention of the sonnet and of poetry in vernacular "Italian". MS V is basically centered around his production and, as that is the most complete of the three MSS of early Italian lyrics, it is fitting to begin with one of his sonnets. The following is a love lyric that fuses a decidedly Christian feeling to the narrator's expression of love for his lady. It is important to note, however, that the poem was written in a tuscan manuscript and has thus probably lost some of its Sicilian qualities.

Io m'ag[g]io posto in core a Dio servire,
com'io potesse gire in paradiso,
al santo loco ch'ag[g]io audito dire,
u' si mantien sollazzo, gioco e riso.

Sanza mia donna non vi voria gire,
quella c'ha blonda testa e claro viso,
ché sanza lei non petira gaudere,
estando da la mia donna diviso.

Ma no lo dico a tale intendimento,
perch'io pec[c]ato ci volesse fare;
se non veder lo suo bel portamento

e lo bel viso e 'l morbido sguardare:
ché lo mi teria in gran consolamento,
veg[g]endo la mia donna in ghiora stare.¹⁹³

¹⁹³ This, as well as the following poems from the Sicilian School, are found in PD I. This is on p. 80. I have not found any good translations of this poem into modern English, but Dante Gabriel Rossetti's nineteenth century translation gives a good idea as per meaning and rhyme scheme : "I have it in my heart to serve God so / that into Paradise I shall repair, - / the holy place through the which everywhere / I have heard say that joy and solace flow. / Without my lady I were loth to go, - / she who has the bright face and the bright hair ; / because if she were absent, I being there, / my pleasure would be less than nought, I know. / Look you, I say not this to such intent / as that I there would deal in sin : / I only would behold her gracious mien, / and beautiful soft eyes, and lovely face, / that so it should be my complete content / to see my lady joyful in her place." Rossetti, *Poems and Translations : 1850 - 1870*, London: Oxford University Press, 1968 [1913], p. 213.

Jaufré Rudel's idea of love from afar is taken one step further in this poem: while the narrator has heard that Heaven is a nice place to go and thus has decided to serve God so as to be admitted, the second stanza opens with the idea that he would rather not go were he to be forced to separate from his beloved. We see echoes again of the Occitan poetry in the description of the lady (with blond hair and a bright face), in how much joy he gets out of being with her, and in the word choice and grammatical structure of the sonnet. Indeed, the three elements of verse four (*solazzo, gioco e riso*) form a direct line of rhetoric straight out of the typical Occitan poetic structure. As if to stave off accusations of his poem being blasphemous, the narrator opens the sestet with the explanation that he does not want to sin with his beloved in Heaven, but that he would have a much better time if only he were able to look upon her face and eyes for all of eternity.

In order to give a good sample of the lyrics from the Sicilian school of poetry that will go on to influence Guittone d'Arezzo, the next three sonnets that we will see form a *tenzone*, or a series of poems that the authors wrote to one another using the same meter, subject and, often, the same rhymes so as to make sure that they stay together. The *tenzone* was often employed by Occitan poets and was a very popular device, even by one sole poet, to be able to discuss matters using the sonnet form but maintaining an argument for more than a mere 14 verses. The first in the series is by Jacopo Mostacci, the second by Pier de la Vigna, two other Sicilian poets active in the court of Frederick II, while for the third we go back to the Notary, Giacomo da Lentini.

The authors of these sonnets are engaged in a scientific discussion on the nature of love. Our comments for all three of the poems will be seen at the end of the series.

1.

Sollicitando un poco meo sapere
e con lui mi vogliendo dilettere,

un dubïo che mi misi ad avere,
a voi lo mando per determinare.

Ogn'omo dice ch'amor ha potere
e li coraggi dstringe ad amare,
ma eo no [li] lo voglio consentire,
però ch'amore no parse ni pare.

Ben trova l'om una amoroſitate
la quale par che nasca di piacere,
e zo vol dire om che ſia amore.

Eo no li ſaccio altra qualitate;
ma zo che è, da voi [lo] voglio audire:
però ven faccio ſentenz[i]atore.¹⁹⁴

2.

Però ch'amor no ſi pò vedere
e no ſi tratta corporalmente,
manti ne ſon di sì folle ſapere
che credono ch'amor ſia niēte.

Ma po' ch'amore ſi face ſentire
dentro dal cor ſignoreggiar la gente,
molto maggiore preſio de[ve] avere
che ſe 'l vedessen viſibilmente.

Per la vertute de la calamita
como lo ferro at[i]ra no ſi vede,
ma sì lo tira ſignorevolmente;

e queſta coſa a credere mi 'nvita
ch'amore ſia; e dāmi grande fede
che tuttor ſia creduto fra la gente.¹⁹⁵

3.

Amor è un[o] deſio che ven da core
per abondanza di gran piacerimento;

¹⁹⁴ The original versions of the following three poems are in PD I, pp. 88 - 90, while the translation into English of all three sonnets in the *tenzone* are from Paul Oppenheimer, *The Birth of the Modern Mind : Self, Consciousness, and the Invention of the Sonnet*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989. This first translation is found on page 59. "Searching for a bit of self-improvement / and wishing to delight myself as well, / I'm sending you a problem that's arisen / for you to solve, or not, as time will tell. / Everybody says that love's a force / and pushes hearts into the wildest love-careers, / but I find myself quite unable to say, "of course!" - / because love's neither visible nor appears. / Granted, man is amorously inclined, / a disposition born of purest pleasure, / and therefore wants to say that love exists. / I wouldn't grant it other gifts, of mind, / but want to hear what judgement you would render / so I can judge this question. It persists."

¹⁹⁵ *Idem.* p. 61. "Just because love cannot be seen at all / and doesn't appear as a corporeal thing, / a lot of people who don't know anything at all / believe love must be absolutely nothing. / But since love makes itself most powerful / from inside the heart, as everybody's king, / it ought to be a lot more valuable / than if it were a visible sort of thing. / You cannot see a magnet's powerful wave / when iron attracts it, yet you understand / its power is irresistibly unfurled. / And this fact simply invites me to believe / that love exists, and lets me comprehend / that - always - it's obeyed throughout the world."

e li occhi in prima genera[n] l'amore
e lo core li dà nutrimento.

Ben è alcuna fiata om amatore
senza vedere so 'namoramento,
ma quell'amore che stringe con furore
da la vista de li occhi ha nas[ci]mento:

ché li occhi rapresenta[n] a lo core
d'onni cosa che veden bono e rio,
com'è formata natural[e]mente;

e lo cor; che di zo è concepitore,
imagina, e [li] piace quel desio:
e questo amore regna fra la gente.¹⁹⁶

As we can see, the first poet, Jacopo Mostacci, claims that since love is invisible and has never been seen, he cannot be sure that it truly exists. Men, he claims in verses 9 - 11, would like for love to exist simply because they feel desire, which they then call love. Jacopo ends his sonnet with an exhortation to his friends to solve the problem for him. Pier de la Vigna, in the second poem of the series, not only begins to answer the question before him, but he does so using some of the same rhymes that Mostacci had used in the first (particularly the *-ire* verbs). His sestet then offers a novel solution to the problem of the existence of something that cannot be seen but can be felt: magnetism. While one cannot see magnetism directly, the influence that this force has over iron is enough for the poet to believe in its existence and therefore also in the existence of love. This scientific explanation is remarkable for its simplicity and directness, while also remaining true to the sonnet form and his interlocutor's rhyme scheme. Finally we come to the sonnet by Giacomo da Lentini. The notary once again picks up the rhyme scheme, not only of Pier de la Vigna, but also of Jacopo Mostacci, proving himself to be justifiably the head of the Sicilian school of poetry. His response is also scientific, such as science was understood in the twelfth century in Sicily, despite the fact that

¹⁹⁶ *Idem.*, p. 63. "Love's a desire that sweeps out of the heart / from immensities of the grandest pleasure, / and your eyes ignite its visible start / and your heart supplies nutrition beyond all measure. / It's very fine to play the lover's part / without a glimpse of any beloved creature, / but powerful love of the most passionate sort / holds vistas born of a purely optical nature: / for your yes create impressions on your heart / of all the fine things that your eyes can capture / exactly as their forms appear in nature, / and your heart, participating with its art, / reflects on this, and infuses it with rapture: / and this love runs the whole world's natural order."

Pier de la Vigna's response seems to be more scientifically sound to a modern audience. Finally, while Giacomo does respond to both his fellow Sicilians, his explanation of love that "comes from the eyes" which "show everything to the heart" seems to be a rebuttal also of the love that Jaufré Rudel claimed to feel, without ever having seen his beloved.¹⁹⁷

This short introduction to the Sicilian school of poetry shows the basis from which Guittone d'Arezzo, along with his followers (and detractors) began their poetic careers. These poets that we have seen learned and borrowed from the Occitan and Latin poetic traditions as they came to Italy and thus they created a new form of poetry on the Italian peninsula. Northern poets of the following generation would take these early Sicilian lyrics and adapt them to their linguistic, cultural and poetic needs, thus laying the basis for both the poetry of the *Dolce stil novo* and finally Francesco Petrarca, whence began the humanist movement in European literature.¹⁹⁸

I.iii.iv *Middle English*

The earliest history of the vernacular love lyric in Middle English before the twelfth century has been told many times by various scholars over the past century. The story is told originally by Gerald of Wales in his *Gemma Ecclesiastica*¹⁹⁹, in which he recounts the tale of a parish priest who, upon hearing vernacular songs being sung all night, sings the refrain of one of these during the church service as opposed to the 'Dominus vobiscum' that he ought to have chanted. These earliest songs that embarrassed the priest have not survived in writing and therefore one can only infer that there was a large body of popular English lyrics dating to

¹⁹⁷ See PD I, p. 90.

¹⁹⁸ We will see many of the ways in which Guittone was influenced by the Sicilian School during the discussion of his poetry in the remaining chapters of the present study.

¹⁹⁹ The edition consulted was Giraldi Cambrensis. *Gemma ecclesiastica*, edited by J.S. Brewer, Millwood: Kraus reprint, 1964 [1877].

the Norman period based on circumstantial evidence; that is to say that the extant poems which were preserved in manuscripts show a high level of poetic ability²⁰⁰.

Plausibly the first written secular lyric to have come down to us, according to Carleton Brown, is found in pencil on the upper margin of *f.25r* in London, BL, MS Royal 8.D.xiii. The lyric is faded and difficult to read, so much so that Thomas G. Duncan states that he “cannot make out anything before ‘I can’ in line 1, and cannot be sure of many other readings”.²⁰¹ Both linguistic and paleographic evidence in the poem places its date to roughly 1200, while the meter and rhyme scheme distinguish it from earlier folk poetry and from all Old English poetry. Brown’s transcription reads

[þe]h þet hi can wittes fule-wis
of worldles blisse nabbe ic nout
for a lafdi þet is pris
of alle þe in bure goð
seþen furst þe heo was his
iloken in castel wal of ston
ne sic hol ne bliþe iwis
ne þriminde mon
lifð mon non bildeð me
abiden & bliþe for to boe
ned efter mi deað me longeð
I mai siggen wel by me
herde þe two hongeð²⁰².

The themes of the inability to attain happiness without requited love, the fairest of all maids, jealousy, and the inevitable longing for death²⁰³ distinguish this poem from its immediate

²⁰⁰ Not to mention the fact that some verses of English poems, though very few in number, were preserved within the sermons and other religious writings that denounced the singing thereof. See Carleton Brown, *English Lyrics of the Thirteenth Century*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1932, p. xi, note 2.

²⁰¹ Thomas G. Duncan (ed.), *Medieval English Lyrics, 1200 - 140*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 2000, p. 185.

²⁰² Brown’s transcription is the only one that we have, though Duncan printed a “modernized” version of the lyric with explanatory notes based upon that which we have printed here in his *A Companion to the Middle English Lyric*, Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005 : “Though I am able in my mind most certainly / of world’s bliss I have none,/ Because of a lady that is the most excellent/ of all that dwell in bowers./ Since first that she was his,/ locked in a castle wall of stone/ I was not well nor happy indeed/ nor a prospering man. / No man lives who can persuade me / to be patient and to be happy- / of necessity I long for death / I may surely say for my part / that grief weighs bitterly.”

²⁰³ As seen in vv. 2, 4, and 11 respectively.

Anglo-Norman and Old English predecessors²⁰⁴ and will go on to be used in the majority of the extant Middle English love lyrics datable from before the time of Geoffrey Chaucer.

The second English poem to look at is found on *f.11* of London, BL, MS Douce 139 (21713), and is an early (mid thirteenth century?) version of a poem that is also found in our Harley manuscript.

Sumer is icumen in,
Lhude sing cuccu!
Groweþ sed and bloweþ med
And springþ þe wode nu,
Sing cuccu!

Awe bleteþ after lomb,
Lhouþ after calue cu.
Bulluc sterteþ, bucke uerteþ,
Murie sing cuccu!
Cuccu, cuccu, wel þu singes cuccu;
Ne swik þu nauer nu.

Sing cuccu nu. Sing cuccu.
Sing cuccu. Sing cuccu nu!²⁰⁵

This short poem, found within the lined section of the MS, mirrors both the Latin and Occitan continental lyric poetry that preceded it, and which we have already seen: a straightforward song welcoming the new season. Contrary to what we have seen in earlier lyric poetry in other languages, this song has no trace of either a moralizing quality nor of a lover's lament. It is simply a joyous song of rebirth that was set to music (which accompanies the lyric in the MS in which it is found) and therefore most likely sung by regular people.

There is another short poem (likewise accompanied by its musical annotation, in London, BL, MS Douce 139) that is quite similar to this last one in tone, language and directness:

²⁰⁴ See above on genres.

²⁰⁵ Both the original Middle English and the modern English translation are found in R.T. Davies (ed.), *Medieval English Lyrics, A Critical Anthology*, London: Faber and Faber, 1963, p. 52. "Sing! now, cuckoo. Spring has now come in - sing loud! cuckoo. The seed grows and the meadow flowers, and now the wood is in leaf. Sing! cuckoo. The ewe bleats for her lamb, the cow lows for her calf, the bullock leaps and the buck breaks wind. Sing, tunefully! cuckoo, cuckoo, you sing well - now don't ever stop!"

Fowles in þe frith,
 þe fisses in þe flod,
 And I mon waxe wod.
 Mulch sorw I walke with
 for beste of bon and blod.²⁰⁶

Peter Dronke suggests that this lyric implies that the author (or narrator) is in stark contrast to those beasts that find themselves at home. The “waxe wod” of verse three is due to the woman that is entirely unknown to the audience, other than that she is the best.²⁰⁷ This lyric is much more in line with those of the typical Spring songs that we have come to expect; all is good in the world save the unhappy state of the poet who goes mad due to his beloved. While the language and tone of the poem are entirely Middle English, a precedent had been set for this sort of poem long before.

The next poem to look at is likewise found in London, BL, MS Douce 139, and is a trilingual poem in a trilingual manuscript (much like we will see again in the Harley MS). This short lyric takes up once again the conversation of “what love is” that we have seen in several other authors heretofore examined.

Loue is a selkud wodenesse
 þat þe idel mon ledeth by wildernesse,
 þat þurstes of wilfulscipe and drinket sorwenesse
 and with lomful sorwes menget his blithnesse.

*Amor est quedam mentis insania
 que vagum hominem ducit per deuia
 sitit delicias & bibit tristia
 crebris doloribus commiscens gaudia*

*Amur est une pensee enragee
 ke le udif homme meyne par veie deueye
 ke a soyf de delices e ne beyt ke tristescas
 & od souuens dolurs medle sa tristesse.*²⁰⁸

²⁰⁶ Carleton Brown, *op. cit.* p. 14. “Birds in the wood / fish in the river / and I must go mad. I walk with much sorrow/ for the best of bone and blood.”

²⁰⁷ For Dronke’s analysis, see Maxwell Luria and Richard Hoffman, *Middle English Lyrics*, New York, London: W.W. Norton & Co., 1974, pp. 263 - 265.

²⁰⁸ *Idem*, pp. 14, 15. The italics are Brown’s. “Love is a miraculous insanity / that leads the idle man into the wilderness, / that thirsts for conviction and drinks sadness / and with constant sorrow disturbs his happiness.” The translation from Middle into Modern English is mine, while the following two stanzas are the Latin and Anglo-Norman translations of this same text.

We come now to our last introductory poem to examine, found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Digby 86, on *f.200r*. Once again the subject of “what love is” is taken up by an anonymous author, but this time it is in a decidedly more English way, as that is the only language of the poem and for the fact that the Old English use of alliteration is seen very strongly throughout the entirety of the poem.

Loue is soft, loue is swet, loue is goed sware.
 Loue is muche tene, loue is muchel kare.
 Loue is blissene mest, loue is bot zære.
 Loue is wondred and wo, wiþ for to fare.

Loue is hap, wo hit haueþ; loue is god hele.
 Loue is lecher and les, and lef for to tele.
 Loue is douti in þe world, wiþ for to dele.
 Loue makeþ in þe lond moni hounlele.

Loue is stalewarde and strong to striden on stede.
 Loue is loueliche a þing to wommone need.
 Loue is hardi and hot as glouinde glede.
 Loue makeþ moni mai wiþ teres to wede.

Loue had his stiuart bi sti and bi stete.
 Loue makeþ moni mai hire wonges to wete.
 Loue is hap, wo hit haueþ, hon for to hete.
 Loue is wis, loue is war and willful an sete.

Loue is þe softest þing in herte mai slepe.
 Loue is craft, loue is goed wiþ kares to kepe.
 Loue is les, loue is lef, loue is frowringe.
 Loue is sellich an þing, wose shal soþ singe.

Loue is wele, loue is wo, loue is gledde.
 Loue is lif, loue is deþ, loue mai hous fede.

Were loue also londdre as he is furst kene,
 Hit were þe wordlokste þing in werlde were, ich wene.
 Hit is I-said in an song, soþ is I-sene,
 Loue comseþ wiþ kare and hendseþ wiþ tene,
 Mid lauedi, mid wiue, mid, maide, mid queen.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁹ *Idem.*, pp. 107, 108. The translation is in Duncan, *op. cit.*, pp. 13 - 15: “Love is soft, love is sweet, love is a kind response; / Love is great suffering, love is great sorrow. / Love is the most joyous, love is a ready remedy; / Love is misery and woe, to live [or travel] with. / Love is good luck to he who has it, love is good fortune; / Love is lewdness and lying, and ready to deceive; / Love is honourable in the world to deal with; / Love makes many unfaithful in the land. / Love is sturdy and strong to mount a steed, / love is a wonderful thing, necessary for women; / Love is fierce and hot as glowing as coal; / Love makes many maids with tears to be distraught. / Love has his steward along paths and highways; / Love makes many maidens wetten their cheeks; / Love is good luck for he who is inflamed with it; / Love is wise, love is prudent, and a strong-willed adversary. / Love is the gentlest thin that may sleep in the heart; / Love is strong, love is good for engaging with sorrow; / Love is false, love is desirable, love is longing; / Love is foolish, love is steadfast, love is comfort; / Love is a marvelous thing

There are no authorial compilations of lyric poetry in England from this point in the Middle Ages²¹⁰ and therefore one must necessarily turn to the various manuscripts in which lyric love poetry is conserved in order to gain an understanding of the situation in this country as it was directly before the compilation of Harley 2253. As all of our lyric love poems have come down to us anonymously we must rely upon those few lyrics that were written down by happenstance. These were written in the margins of various manuscripts, as seen above, but also well within the ruled spaces of diverse compilations, giving us a mere glance into what must have been a much greater number of lyric poems than those that have survived to the present day. The earliest English lyrics are found in very few manuscripts from the thirteenth century. Those that most interest us here are Cambridge, Trinity College MS. 323 (c. 1250); Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Digby 86 (c. 1272 - 1282); whereas Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Rawlinson D 913 (c. 1325 - 1350)²¹¹ contains a series of vernacular love lyrics, though it was probably assembled significantly later than the others. All of these manuscripts contain poems in Middle English, but they are also important for our purposes for their other contents: each of these manuscripts contain pieces in Latin and in Anglo-Norman, structured in much the same way as Harley 2253, with the structure of Digby 86 closely resembling that of Harley 2253²¹².

whoever will sing of it. / Love is happiness, love is woe, love is gladness, / Love is life, love is death, may love feed us. / Were love as long-lasting as at first it is keen, / It would be the most precious thing in the world, I believe. / It is said in a song that the truth is evident, / Love begins with care and ends with suffering, / with lady, with woman, with maid and with queen.”

²¹⁰ While Charles of Orleans’ poetry was collected in a single manuscript, BL MS Harley 682, the first authorially based book of lyrics in English, some 200 years after the short lyric transcribed above.

²¹¹ These dates are all approximate and given most recently in Duncan. These approximations, moreover, and as Brown underlined (xii) do “not establish the date of the verses added on the margin.”

²¹² Though it has been noted that, while there are similarities between the two codices, the Harley scribe was not in possession of Digby 86, nor of a copy thereof. See Revard, Boffey and Scattergood.

To conclude

Thus we have very briefly seen the history of the lyric from its origins in ancient Greece through the period in Europe directly before our MSS were put together. There are common themes throughout the lyrics in the different countries under consideration, while each still held to its own particular linguistic and formal attributes. It is time now to see in greater detail those MSS that interest us: we will present them in a chronological order, beginning with the codex that houses the lyrics of Marcabru, followed by that of Guittone, to finish then with Harley 2253.

II. Corpus: Poets and MSS

II.i. *Marcabru and Modena, Biblioteca Estense ed Universitaria, MS a.R.4.4*

The poet that we know as Marcabru was active in southern France and northern Spain in the first half of the twelfth century and was one of the first troubadours about whom we have any knowledge. However, due to the nature of the information that we have on the earliest troubadours, we do not currently have precise data on this poet as he actually was: even his medieval *vidas* (brief biographies of Occitan poets that accompany the poetry in most MSS, though not in D^a) that are found in MSS A and K²¹³ are heavily dependent, and quite obviously so, upon two of his poems (Gaunt et al.'s numbers XX and XVIII respectively). In fact, in her discussion of the ways in which modern scholars see Occitan poets, Laura Kendrick underlines an important element in the relationship between medieval authors and the scribes who worked to transmit their poetry:

The compilers of poetry books, above all those who worked in Italy, aimed at the “authorization” of vernacular poetry. This development obliged them to innovate, to create and to elaborate the image of the troubadour as an author. Our current conception of the troubadours, as well as our habit of discussing them as Marcabru or as Bernart de Ventadorn and “their” poems as I am doing here, depends entirely on them [the compilers].²¹⁴

Indeed, and as Kendrick goes on to discuss, the image that has come down to the present day of the earliest Occitan poets are completely reliant on the work of compilers and scribes who worked in the thirteenth century to conserve their poetry. It is possible that many poems were left out of different MS traditions because they were seen as “unsuitable for the image of the

²¹³ Provençal MS A is Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Latin MS 5232 and the section dedicated to Marcabru is on ff. 27r - 34v; MS K is Paris, BNF, f.f., MS 12473, wherein the section dedicated to this poet is found on ff. 102r - 107r.

²¹⁴ Laura Kendrick, “L’image du Troubadour”, in Michel Zimmermann (éd.), *Auctor et Auctoritas : Invention et conformisme dans l’écriture médiévale. Actes du colloque de Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines* (14-16 juin 1999), Paris: École des Chartes, 2001, pp. 507 – 19; p. 508. “[...] les compilateurs de chansonniers, surtout ceux qui travaillaient en Italie, ont visé rien de moins que l’auteurisation de la poésie vernaculaire. Cette valorisation les a obligés à innover, à créer et à élaborer l’image du troubadour comme auteur. Notre conception actuelle des troubadours, et même notre habitude de parler d’un Macabru ou d’un Bernart de Ventadorn et de “leurs” poems comme je le fais ici, en dependent étroitement”.

troubadour as a wise man and honourable author”²¹⁵, rather than because the compiler did not have access to the poetry. The editorial choices of the compilers (who are often also the principle scribes of the various MSS) can give some insight into the ways that the poets were to be seen. By examining some of the more important Occitan MSS, we can at least gain an understanding of the ways in which Marcabru was seen by those who transmitted his poetry.

II.i.i *Background*

No autograph MSS exist from the twelfth century, when the first Occitan poets that we know of were active. In the late nineteenth century, at the very beginning of the systematic study of medieval Occitan poetry, philologist Gustav Gröber hypothesized that poets wrote down their poetry on scraps of paper that he named “*Liederblätter*” (literally, leaves of songs)²¹⁶. None of these have come down to us either. Despite this lack of early evidence the Occitan poetic culture flourished throughout southern France and northern Spain and then finally into northern Italy during the century. Only in the thirteenth century would the poems be collected into books that have survived to the present day, and therefore any authorial intention (as far as the order of the poems if there were one, but also the words actually used and the order of stanzas) is lost, replaced by that of the copyists of the MSS that were written at times a full century after the activity of the first Occitan poets came to a close.

On the other hand, and as Avalle has suggested²¹⁷ there is evidence that the troubadours themselves did tend to write down and order their poems chronologically. One example is found in Provençal MS C²¹⁸: on ff. 288 - 311 there is the so-called “libre” of Guiraut Riquier, wherein the poems (written between 1254 and 1292) are often dated directly in the MS. This section is preceded by the very telling rubric:

²¹⁵ *Idem*, p. 509. “peu convenables pour l’image du troubadour comme home sage et auteur honorable”.

²¹⁶ Gustav Gröber, “Die Liedersammlungen der Troubadours”, in *Romanische Studien*, 2 (1875 - 77): especially pages 337 - 44.

²¹⁷ D’arco Silvio Avalle, *Op. cit.*, 1961, p. 65.

²¹⁸ Paris, BNF, Fonds Français. 856.

Aissi comensan lo cans den Guiraut riquier de narbona en aissi cum es de cansos e de uerses e de pastorellas e de retroenchas e de descortz e dalbas e dautras diuersas obras en aissi ad ordenadamens cum er adordenat en lo sieu libre del qual libre escrig per la sua man fon aissi tot translatat e ditz en aissi cum de sus se conten.²¹⁹

The copyist at least claimed to have used the poet's original book of poetry (or *Liederbücher* to use Gröber's terminology), presumably containing only his own personal work. This is not the case for the MSS that have survived: what we have in all MSS of Occitan lyrics are miscellanea, or groups of poems by different authors put together in great codices in order to better be preserved (either for the copyist himself or for a patron).

Roughly fourty of these MSS put together from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century that transmit Occitan poetry have survived to the present day; of these, sixteen contain at least part of the Marcabru corpus. Over the past century and a half these MSS have been studied many times²²⁰ and therefore their further explanation and description here are unnecessary. That notwithstanding, even a precursory examination of some of these MSS will help in the understanding of that which the scribe of MS D^a had to work with and why he made the choices that he did.

The principle MSS that transmit the Marcabru corpus can be placed into two main categories: those created in southern France (or the Occitan tradition, MSS C, R, and E) and those created in Italy (MSS A, D, I, K, N, and a¹)²²¹. These extant MSS were, for the most part, created first in Italy: all of the MSS of the Italian group save N are dateable to the thirteenth century, while the three Occitan MSS are more likely from the fourteenth century.

²¹⁹ Printed in Avals, *op. cit.*, 1961, p. 63. "Here begin the poems of Guiraut Riquier of Narbona, which include songs, *vers*, pastorals, *retroenchas*, discords, albas and other different genres, in the same order in which they are found in his book; a book from which, written in his [Riquier's] own hand, all of these poems were copied with the above declaration".

²²⁰ For detailed information on these sixteen MSS in particular, as well as the full scope of tradition of the extant Occitan MSS, see BdT, pp. x - xlv; Martin de Riquer, *Los Trovadores: Historia Literaria y textos*, Vol. I, Barcelona: Editorial Vicens-Vives, 1975, pp. 12 - 14; Francois Zufferey, *Recherches Linguistiques sur les Chansonniers Provençaux*, Geneva: Droz, 1987 pp. 4 - 6; and Avals, 1961.

²²¹ The sigla, as put forth in BdT, stand for the following MSS: C: Paris, BNF, f.f. 856; R: Paris, BNF, f.f. 22543; E: Paris, BNF, f.f. 1749; A: Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Latin MS 5232; D: Modena, Biblioteca Estense ed Universitaria, MS α .R.4.4; I: Paris, BNF, f.f. 854; K: Paris, BNF, f.f. 12473; N: New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 819; a¹: Modena, Biblioteca Estense ed Universitaria, Campori γ .N.8.4.

Of the poems attributed to Marcabru by the majority of modern critics, twelve are transmitted only through the Italian “family” of MSS, ten solely through the Occitan family, and twenty are spread throughout both traditions. These final twenty poems represent, therefore, the “main Marcabru canon as widely disseminated in the Middle Ages”²²².

Apart from MS D^a, the principle MSS in the Italian tradition, based on the number of poems that they transmit, the relative historicity of said MSS, and the state of the poetry transmitted are MSS A (from the thirteenth century, containing the *vida* and 28 poems by Marcabru with another two poems [PC. 293.27 and PC. 293.12] attributed in the MSS to our poet but which are probably by others) and K (also made in the thirteenth century and containing another *vida* as well as 28 poems by Marcabru and one by someone else [once again, PC 293.12]). Avals has convincingly shown that both of these MSS belong to the same sub-family as MS D²²³; that is to say MSS A, B, P, I, and K.

MS A, made entirely of parchment, is ordered (like D) chronologically and aesthetically. This luxuriously illuminated MS begins with a table of contents (ff. 1r - 7v) before opening the first section of poetry, dedicated entirely to *chansons* (on f.9r through f.175r) and *vidas* and *razos*, starting with a song by Peire d’Auvergne (PC 230.5: *Belha m’es la flors d’aguilen*); this section is followed by one dedicated to *tensons* (ff. 177r - 188v) before finishing finally with a section of *sirventeses* and more *vidas* of the principle troubadours found therein (ff. 189r - 217r). In order to date this *codex*, one need only look to the fact that it contains a *sirventese* that mentions the Cremona agreement of 1270 in which the towns of Geneva and Venice decided not to hold an exchange of prisoners: a poem written by the troubadour Bartolomeo Zorzi²²⁴ (PC. 74.12 *On hom plus aut es pojatz*). Furthermore, the *vida*

²²² Gaunt *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

²²³ Of which MS D^a is a part. See Avals, *op. cit.* 1962, pp. 38 - 41. In Avals’s opinion, all of these MSS descend from an exemplar that is no longer available, which he has called ε; see pp. 75 - 103 in particular.

²²⁴ The poet Zorzi, who was from Venice himself, was actually a prisoner in Geneva at the time.

of Zorzi in MS A mentions the poet's death, which dates to the last years of the thirteenth century ; for these two reasons in particular Gröber dates the MS to no earlier than the end of the thirteenth, and possibly the beginning of the fourteenth century.²²⁵ To the poetry of Marcabru are dedicated ff.27r - 34v. Meanwhile, MS K (also formed entirely of parchment) is also ordered chronologically and aesthetically, and it too begins with an index of songs (ff. II - IX), followed by two cartae containing a bibliography and sermons by Peire Cardenal (the first of which is PC 335.27: *Jhesus Cristz, nostre salvaire*). Fol. twelve and thirteen are blank, but then on f.14r the MS begins its true layout, with the *vida* and a *chanson* by Peire d'Alvernhe (PC. 323.1: *Abans que-l blanc pueg sion uert*), whence Gröber's *Peire d'Alvernhe Sammlungen*²²⁶. This first section of *chansons* is followed by a short section dedicated to *tensons* (ff. 138 - 148) and finishes with the *sirventeses* (ff. 149 - 185). This beautifully illuminated MS is nearly identical in its contents to MS I, and also contains the same poem by Zorzi as MS A, thus this MS can not be from before the last quarter of the thirteenth century²²⁷. Marcabru's poetry in this MS is found on ff.102r - 107r.

These two MS (A and K) give a very good idea of that Occitan poetry which was most popular in northern Italy directly after the creation of MS D^a. While they are much more elaborate in both the scope of the poetry that they transmit and the beauty of their illuminations (whereas D^a is completely void of them) they can not be dated to before 1254 and as such neither are the principle MS that we are studying in depth for the poetry of

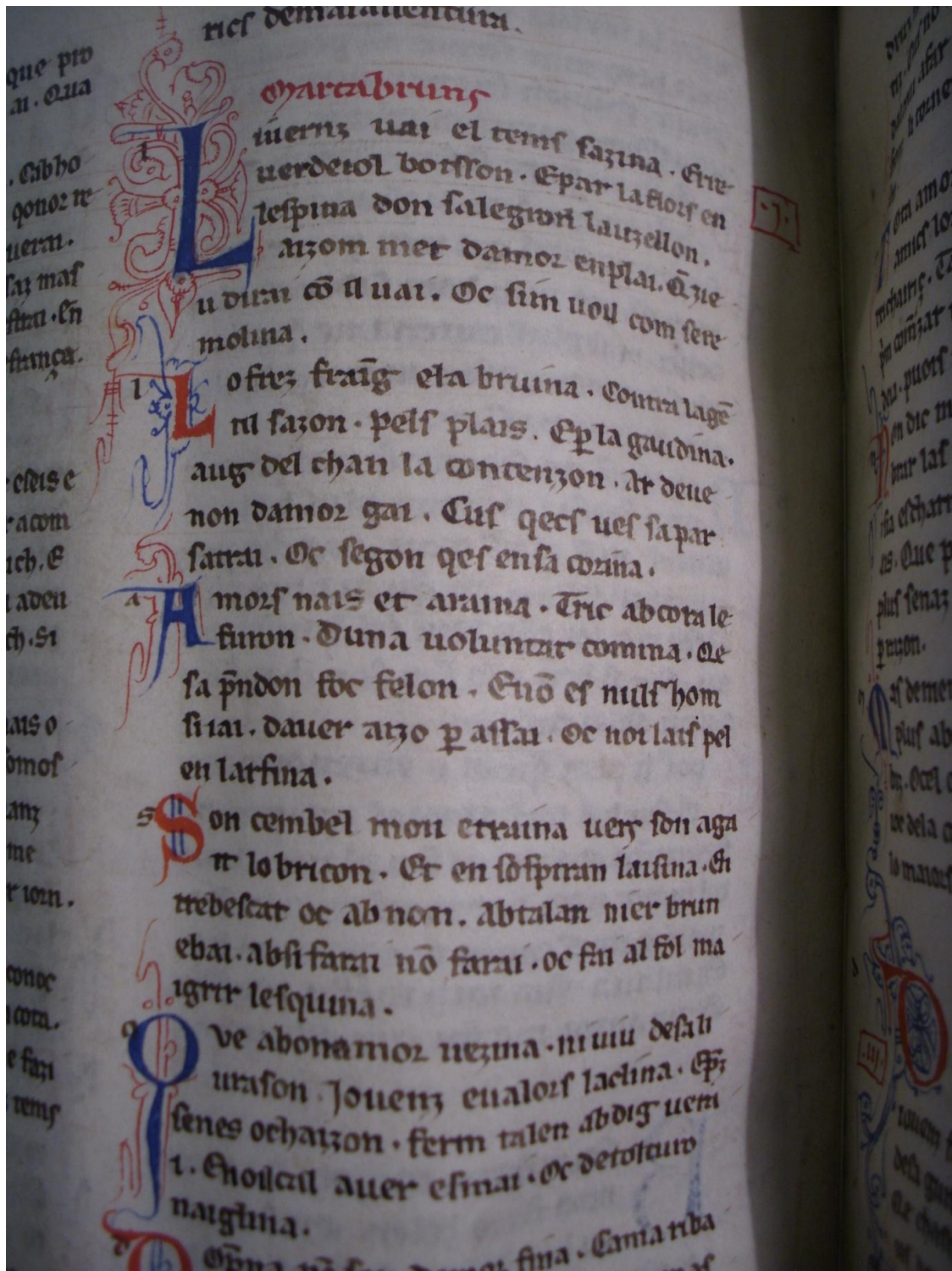
²²⁵ See Gröber, *op. cit.*, p. 462.

²²⁶ *Idem.*, p. 466.

²²⁷ These two twin MSS, I and K are incredibly important for the study of Occitan poetry, and while the index for the first of these two has been published in a modern edition (in *Bibliothèque Impériale. Département des manuscrits. Catalogue des manuscrits français. Anciens fonds*, vol. I, Paris, 1868, pp. 119 - 129), the latter MS is almost completely unstudied by modern critics. The catalogue of 1895 - 96 (*Bibliothèque Impériale. Département des manuscrits. Catalogue général des manuscrits français. Ancien supplément français* (6171 - 15369), vol. I, Paris, 1895 - 96, p. 538) does contain a one page description of MS K, but otherwise there is very little published. Fortunately the BNF has digitized MS K and the entirety is available to be seen at : <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b60007960/f1.image.r=po%C3%A8mes.langEN> (last visited January, 2014).

Marcabru. Just the same, in chapters 3 - 5 the poetry that they transmit will also be taken into consideration.

II.i.ii Modena, Biblioteca Estense ed Universitaria, MS a.R.4.4



Fol. 188v. This is the first poem in the section of the MS dedicated to Marcabru: *L'iverns vai e'l temps s'aizina.*

II.i.ii.i Physical Information²²⁸

Modena, Biblioteca Estense ed Universitaria, MS α.R.4.4 is a *codex* made of two distinct parts: the first (and oldest) section is written on parchment by three different copyists all writing in *littera textualis* (or Gothic Bookhand), while the second part, which was probably added in the sixteenth century, was written on paper and is known by the sigla “d”. As the section that most interests the current study is MS D^a, found on ff. 153r – 211r, the final section is of no concern here. On the other hand, the entirety of the part of the MS on parchment holds to the same general physical traits, notwithstanding the fact that there were three different copyists. Given this last fact, Avalle concludes that there may have been “the presence of a single organizing mind”²²⁹. Indeed, each *carta* measures roughly 240mm. X 340mm., the writing space is identical throughout the entirety of the *codex*, there are 42 lines on each *carta*, and the space between the two columns is always roughly 15 centimeters. Each of the three principle hands who worked on the first part of the MS were responsible for large sections: scribe A saw to the completion of the first eight *cartae*, which contain an index of authors and their poems and that are numbered in roman numerals from I to VIII (comprised of a bifolio, a duerno and a second bifolio); ff. 1r – 91v; and finally ff. 153r – 227v. Scribe B penned ff. 95r – 151v. The final principle scribe of this section was responsible for ff. 232r – 260v. While there are no miniatures in this particular MS, all of the initial letters of the poems are rubricated, as are the opening letters of each stanza (alternating between blue and red ink; see the photo above); furthermore, almost every poem (or sections of an author’s poems) are headed by the name of the poet in red ink before the first entry.

²²⁸ This MS has been studied often throughout the last 150 years and a wealth of knowledge is available. For background information see d’Arco Silvio Avalor, 1979, pp. 17 – 28, and especially the bibliographical informations on pp. 17 and 18.

²²⁹ *Idem*, p. 20, “La messa in opera di materiale del codice [...] sembra suggerire *la presenza di una sola mente ordinatrice*”. The italics are mine.

The *codex* can be further divided by quires, of which there are 34 in the oldest section and were originally (probably) of eight *cartae* each²³⁰, although throughout the centuries the MS has been rebound several times, and thus some leaves have obviously be lost (item n. 526 in Mussafia's table ends at the beginning of the fourth stanza, which is probable evidence of lost *folia*), and thus its current state does not show this meticulous design. The original collation²³¹ is as follows: I – VIII (bifolio + duerno + bifolio); 1⁸, 2⁸, 3⁸, 4⁸, 5⁸, 6⁸, 7⁸, 8⁸, 9⁸, 10⁸, 11⁸, 12⁸, 13⁸, 14⁸, 15⁸, 16⁸, 17⁸, 18⁸, 19⁸, 20², [21⁸, 22⁸, 23⁸, 24⁸, 25⁸, 26⁸, 27⁸, 28⁸, 29⁸, 30⁴⁺²]²³², [31⁸, 32⁸, 33⁸, 34⁴⁺²]²³³.

II.i.ii.ii Quiring Table

Fascicle ²³⁴	Folia	Item ²³⁵	Hand	Author	Incipit	Edition
XXI	153r	527	a	Peire delvigne	Dieus vera vida, verais	Fratta, p. 104
XXI	153rv	528	a	Peire Rogier	Per far esbaudir mos vesiz	Appel, p. 44
XXI	153v – 154r	529	a	Peire Rogier	Non said don chan e chantars plagram fort	Appel, p. 47
XXI	154r	530	a	Peire Rogier	Tant ai mon cor en joi assis	Appel, p. 50
XXI	154rv	531	a	çirald de Bruneill	Aco m'ave, Dieus m'ajut ²³⁶	Kolsen, p. 106.

²³⁰ According to Giosuè Lachin, “Partizioni e struttura di alcuni libri medievali di poesia provenzale”, in *Strategie del testo: preliminari, partizioni, pause: atti del 16 e 17 Convegno Interuniversitario*, Padova: Esedra, 1995, pp. 267 – 304; a more up to date analysis of the MS by the author is found in the introduction to Giosuè Lachin (ed.), *I Trovatori Nel Veneto e a Venezia*, Roma, Padova: Antenore, 2008, pp. xiii – cv.

²³¹ Again, according to Lachin.

²³² These ten fascicles constitute the so called *Liber Alberici*, the section that most interests us, and known as MS D^a.

²³³ These four fascicles are not found in the index of the first eight *cartae*.

²³⁴ The reproduction of the medieval division of the fascicles was undertaken by Giosuè Lachin, *op. cit.* 1995. The quiring table for the entirety of Provenzale MS D (of which we are only showing here the section from ff. 153r – 216v, or MS D^a) is on pp. 298, 99. For a very different opinion on the state of this MS, see Fabio Zinelli, “Il canzoniere Estense e la tradizione veneta della poesia trobadorica: prospettive vecchie e nuove”, in *Medioevo Romanzo*, 2010, vol. 1, pp. 82 – 130.

²³⁵ The numbers refer to Mussafia's system found on pages 357 – 78.

²³⁶ PC 242.43: *Mas (Las) com m'ave, Dieu m'aiut*.

XXI	154v	532	a	çirald de Bruneill	Ges de sobrevoler nom tuoill	Kolsen, p. 160
XXI	154v – 155r	533	a	çirald de Bruneill	Quant brancal brondels e rrama	Kolsen, p. 222
XXI	155r	534	a	çirald de Bruneill	Quar non ai joi que m'aon	Kolsen, p. 214
XXI	155rv	535	a	çirald de Bruneill	Ben conven pois ja baissals ram	Kolsen, p. 178
XXI	155v	536	a	çirald de Bruneill	Sil cor non lus aras dreich	Kolsen, p. 78
XXI	155v – 156r	537	a	çirald de Bruneill	Can lo glatz el fretz e la neus	Kolsen, p. 58
XXI	156rv	538	a	çirald de Bruneill	Qui chantar sol - ni sab de cui	Kolsen, p. 262
XXI	156v	539	a	çirald de Bruneill	Ben es dregs pois en aital port	Kolsen, p. 446
XXI	156v – 157r	540	a	çirald de Bruneill	Jois sia comensamenz	Kolsen, p. 392
XXI	157r	541	a	çirald de Bruneill	Al honor Dieu torn e mon chan	Kolsen, p. 384
XXI	157v	542	a	çirald de Bruneill	Ar ai gran joi qant remembri l'amor	Kolsen, p. 2
XXI	157v - 158r	543	a	çirald de Bruneill	Ben for' oimais dretz el temps gen	Kolsen, p. 314
XXI	158r	544	a	çirald de Bruneill	S'anc jorn agui joi ni solatz	Kolsen, p. 480
XXI	158rv	545	a	çirald de Bruneill	Ses valer de pascor	Kolsen, p. 202
XXI	158v	546	a	çirald de Bruneill	Era quant vei reverdezir	Kolsen, p. 440

XXI	158v - 159r	547	a	çirald de Bruneill	Tot soavet e del pas	Kolsen, p. 154
XXI	159r	548	a	çirald de Bruneill ²³⁷	Lanquant son passat li giure	Riquer, p. 84
XXI	159rv	549	a	Willems Adaimars	Pos ja vei florir l'espja	Almquist, p. 118
XXI	159v	550	a	Willems Adaimars	Comensamen comesarai	Almquist, p. 164
XXI	159v – 160r	551	a	Bernart del Ventador	Can l'erba fresq' el fueilla par	Apter, p. 234
XXI	160r	552	a	Bernart del Ventador	Tuit sil qui preion queu chant	Apter, p. 274
XXI	160rv	553	a	Bernart del Ventador	Ja mos chantars no m'er honors	Apter, p. 144
XXI	160v	554	a	Bernart del Ventador	Lancan vei per miei la landa	Apter, p. 172
XXI – XXII	160v – 161r	555	a	Bernart del Ventador	Bel m'es cant eu vei la broilla	Apter, p. 86
XXII	161r	556	a	Bernart del Ventador	Amors e queus es veiaire	Apter, p. 56
XXII	161rv	557	a	Bernart del Ventador	Bem cugei de cantar sofrir	Apter, p. 104
XXII	161v	558	a	Bernart del Ventador	Quant la verz fueilla s'espan	Apter, p. 232
XXII	161v – 162r	559	a	Bernart del Ventador	Chantars nom pot gaires valer	Apter, p. 110
XXII	162r	560	a	Bernart del Ventador	La douza voiz ai auzida	Apter, p. 123

²³⁷ Though attributed to Giraut de Bornelh in this and two other MSS (A and N²), scholars have long believed it to belong to Arnaut Daniel.

XXII	162r	561	a	Bernart del Ventador	Quant la fuoilla sobre l'albre s'espan ²³⁸	Mouzat, p. 568
XXII	162rv	562	a	Peire Vidal	Mout es bona ter' Espaihna	Avalle, p. 101
XXII	162v	563	a	Peire Vidal	Tart mi veiran mei amic en Tolzan	Avalle, p. 151
XXII	162v	564	a	Peire Vidal	Tant an ben dig del marques	Avalle, p. 107
XXII	162v – 163r	565	a	Peire Vidal	Ben m'agrada la covinenz sazoz	Avalle, p. 22
XXII	163r	566	a	Peire Vidal	Per pauc de cantar nom lais	Avalle, p. 68
XXII	163rv	567	a	Peire Vidal	Estat ai grant sason	Avalle, p. 94
XXII	163v	568	a	Peire Vidal	Amors, enqueraos preiera ²³⁹	Apter, p. 50
XXII	163v – 164r	569	a	Gauselm Faidiz	Canz e deportz, jois, dompneis e solatz	Mouzat, p. 445
XXII	164r	570	a	Gauselm Faidiz	Tant ai soffert lonjamen gran affan	Mouzat, p. 249
XXII	164rv	571	a	Gauselm Faidiz	Era nous sia guitz	Mouzat, p. 460
XXII	164v	572	a	Gauselm Faidiz	L'onratz jauzens sers	Mouzat, p. 294
XXII	164v – 165r	573	a	Folquet de Marsella	A pauc de cantar nom recre	Stronski p. 89
XXII	165r	574	a	Folquet de Marsella	Chantan volgra mon ferm cor descobrir	Stronski, p. 31
XXII	165rv	575	a	Folquet de	Meravil me com pod	Stronski, p. 92

²³⁸ Attributed to Gaucelm Faidet by modern scholars.

²³⁹ Attributed to Bernart de Ventadorn by modern scholars.

				Marsella	nulz hom chantar	
XXII	165v	576	a	Folquet de Marsella	Oimais noi conosc razo	Stronski, p. 83
XXII	165v – 166r	577	a	Lo Monge de Montaudon	L'autrer fui en paradis	Routledge, p. 205
XXII	166r	578	a	Lo Monge de Montaudon	L'autre jorn m'en pogeï al cel	Routledge, p. 124
XXII	166rv	579	a	Lo Monge de Montaudon	Quant tuit aquist clam foron faiz ²⁴⁰	Routledge, p. 133
XXII	166v – 167r	580	a	Lo Monge de Montaudon	Pos Per d'Alvergne a chantat	Routledge, p. 153
XXII	167r	581	a	Lo Monge de Montaudon	S'ieu vos voill tan geut lauzar ²⁴¹	Shepard, p. 38
XXII	167rv	582	a	Gui D'Uisel	L'autre jorn per aventura	Audiau, p. 60.
XXII	167v	583	a	Gui D'Uisel	L'autrier cavalcava	Audiau, p. 56.
XXII	167v – 168r	584	a	Gui D'Uisel	Ja no quidei trobar	Audiau, p. 44.
XXII	168r	585	a	N Aimeric de Belenoi	Aisi com hom pros afortitz	Poli, p. 270
XXII	168rv	586	a	N Aimeric de Belenoi	Tant es d'amor honratz sos seignoratges	Poli, p. 321
XXII	168v	587	a	Deode Pradas	Ben aja amors qar anc me fez chاوزir	Schutz, p. 12.
XXII - XXIII	168v – 169r	588	a	Deode Pradas	Non cugei mais ses comjat far chanzon	Schutz, p. 56.
XXIII	169r	589	a	Deode Pradas	Amors m'envida em	Shutz, p. 69.

²⁴⁰ This is often referred to as the continuation, or second part, of the previous poem.

²⁴¹ Attributed to Jausbert de Pucibot by modern scholars.

					somon	
XXIII	169r	590	a	Peirols	Ab gran joi mou mantas vez e comenza	Aston, p. 85.
XXIII	169rv	591	a	Peirols	Cora c'amors voilla	Aston, p. 60.
XXIII	169v	592	a	Peirols	Pos de mon joi vertadier	Aston, p. 77.
XXIII	169v – 170r	593	a	Peirols	La grant alegranza	Aston, p. 134
XXIII	170r	594	a	Peirols	Toz temps me plaz de solaz e de chan	
XXIII	170rv	595	a	Peirols	Pos q'entremis me sui de far chançons	Aston, p. 117.
XXIII	170v	596	a	Willems Ramnols	Quant aug chantar lo gal sus en l'erbos	Nappholz, p. 106.
XXIII	170v – 171r	597	a	Willems Ramnols	Auzir cugiei lo chant el crit el glat	Nappholz, p. 50.
XXIII	171r	598	a	N Aimeric de Piguillan	Pos descobrir ni retraire	Shepard and Chambers, p. 201.
XXIII	171rv	599	a	N Aimeric de Piguillan	Maintas vez son enqueriz	Shepard and Chambers, p. 175.
XXIII	171v	600	a	N Aimeric de Piguillan	De tot en tot es er de mi partitz	Shepard and Chambers, p. 129.
XXIII	171v – 172r	601	a	N Aimeric de Piguillan	D'aisso don hom a longamen	Shepard and Chambers, p. 109.
XXIII	172r	602	a	N Aimeric de Piguillan	Lanquant chanton li aucel en premier	Shepard and Chambers, p. 84.
XXIII	172rv	603	a	N Aimeric de	Ancmais ni de joi ni de	Shepard and

				Piguillan	chan	Chambers, p. 74.
XXIII	172v	604	a	Cadenet	Anz qem jauzis d'amor	Zemp, p. 196
XXIII	172v – 173r	605	a	Cadenet	Non sai cal conseil mi prenda	Zemp, p. 279.
XXIII	173r	606	a	Cadenet	L'autrer lonc un bosc foillos	Zemp, p. 260.
XXIII	173r	607	a	Peire Raimons de Tolosa	Pos vei parer la fueill' el glai	Cavaliere, p. 74.
XXIII	173v	608	a	Peire Raimons de Tolosa	Era pos l'invernz fraing los broz	Cavaliere, p. 12.
XXIII	173v – 174r	609	a	Peire Raimons de Tolosa	Tos temps aug dir c'us jois autres adutz	Cavaliere, p. 106.
XXIII	174r	610	a	Peire Raimons de Tolosa	Pos lo prims verchanz botona	Cavaliere, p. 68.
XXIII	174r	611	a	Peire Raimons de Tolosa	Pos vezem bosc e broils floritz	Cavaliere, p. 80.
XXIII	174rv	612	a	Peire Raimons de Tolosa	Enquerquè vai recavaire	Cavaliere, p. 37.
XXIII	174v	613	a	Peire Raimons de Tolosa	Lo dolz chant qu'au de la calandra	Cavaliere, p. 45.
XXIII	174v – 175r	614	a	Albertet	Atrestal vol faire de mi mon amia	Boutière, p. 104.
XXIII	175r	615	a	NUc de Saint Circ	Na maria es gentu e plasenteira	Jeanroy et Salverda, p. 81
XXIII	175r	616	a	NElias de Barjols	Amors, bem m'aves tengut	Stronski 1, p. 15
XXIII	175rv	617	a	NElias de Barjols	Car comprei vostras beutatz	Stronski 1, p. 19

XXIII	175v	618	a	NElias de Barjols	Una valenta	Stronski 1, p. 6
XXIII	175v	619	a	NElias de Barjols	Pos vei que nuil pro nom te	Stronski 1, p. 24
XXIII	176r	620	a	Berregiers de Parasol	S'ieu anc per fol' entendenza	Spampinato, p. 189.
XXIII	176r	621	a	Berregiers de Parasol	Ab la fresca clardat	Spampinato, p. 73.
XXIII	176rv	622	a	Berregiers de Parasol	Aissi com hom que seigner ocaizona	Spampinato, p. 169.
XXIII	176v	623	a	Elias Cairel	Freis ni neus nom pot destreingner	Jaeschke, p. 109.
XXIII	176v	624	a	Elias Cairel	Abril - ni mai - non aten - de far vers	Jaeschke, p. 85.
XXIII - XXIV	176v – 177r	625	a	Elias Cairel	Totz mos cors e mos cenz	Jaeschke, p. 194.
XXIV	177r	626	a	Elias Cairel	Pos chai la fuoilla del garic	Jaeschke, p. 149.
XXIV	177rv	627	a	Elias Cairel	Per mantener joi e chant e solatz	Jaeschke, p. 144.
XXIV	177v	628	a	Giraud de Salignac	Aissi cum cel q'a la lebre cazada	Strempel, p. 73.
XXIV	177v	629	a	Giraud de Salignac	Esparvers et austors	Strempel, p. 50.
XXIV	177v – 178r	630	a	Pistoleta	Anc mais nulz hom no fo apoderaz	Niestroy, p. 28.
XXIV	178r	631	a	Pistoleta	Ar agues eu mil mars de fin argen	Niestroy, p. 59.
XXIV	178rv	632	a	Gillems Figera	Pel joi del bel comenzamen	Levy, p. 46.
XXIV	178v	633	a	Gillems Figera	Toz hom que ben	Levy, p. 49.

					comenza e ben fenis	
XXIV	178v – 179r	634	a	Sordels	Plaingner voill en Blancatz en aquest leugier son	Boni, p. 159.
XXIV	179r	635	a	Willems de Bregedan	Ara mens que la neu el frei	Riquer et Forner, p. 40.
XXIV	179rv	636	a	Raimont de Salas	Domna, qar conoissenza e senz	Chambers, p. 37.
XXIV	179v	637	a	Raimont de Salas	Sim fos graziz mos chans eu m'esforcera	Chambers, p. 43.
XXIV	179v – 180r	638	a	Salil de Scola	Ges de chantar nom pren talanz ²⁴²	Apter, p. 140.
XXIV	180r	639	a	Salil de Scola	De be grant joi chantéra ²⁴³	Almquist, p. 136.
XXIV	180r	640	a	Ricauz de Berbezi	Atressi com Persavaus	Varvaro, p. 134.
XXIV	180rv	641	a	Ricauz de Berbezi	Ben volria saber d'amor	Varvaro, p. 157.
XXIV	180v	642	a	Ricauz de Berbezi	Atressi com l'orifanz	Varvaro, p. 106.
XXIV	180v – 181r	643	a	Rambald de Vaqueras	Nuls hom en ren nom faill	Gauchat e Kehrli, p. 471
XXIV	181r	644	a	Rambald de Vaqueras	No m'agrad' iverns ni pascors	Rostaing e Barbaro, p. 124.
XXIV	181rv	645	a	Rambald de Vaqueras	Ara pod hom conoisser e proar	Rostaing e Barbaro, p. 107.
XXIV	181v	646	a	Rambald de Vaqueras	D'un saluz me voill entremetre ²⁴⁴	Melli, p. 150.

²⁴² Attributed to Bernart de Ventadour by modern scholars.

²⁴³ Attributed to Guilhem Ademar by modern scholars.

XXIV	182r	647	a	Rambald de Vaqueras	Galop e trot e saut e cors ²⁴⁵	Rostaing e Barbaro, p. 45.
XXIV	182r	648	a	Rambaut d'Aurenga	Ar non sui ges mals et astrucs	Pattison, p. 187.
XXIV	182rv	649	a	Rambaut d'Aurenga	Pos tals sabers mi sors em creis	Pattison, p. 195.
XXIV	182v – 183r	650	a	Rambaut d'Aurenga	Assatz sai d'amor ben parlar	Pattison, p. 134.
XXIV	183r	651	a	Rambaut d'Aurenga	Entre gel e vent e fanc	Pattison, p. 115.
XXIV	183rv	652	a	Rambaut d'Aurenga	Aram platz, Giraut de Borneill	Pattison, p. 173.
XXIV	183v	653	a	Perdigons	Ben diçon sen mas chanzos	Chaytor, p.27.
XXIV	183v	654	a	Perdigons	Cil cui plazon tuit bon saber	Chaytor, p. 18.
XXIV	183v – 184r	655	a	NAimars lo Negres	Ja ogan pel temps florit	Gourc, p. 79.
XXIV	184r	656	a	NAimars lo Negres	De solaz e de chanzos	Gourc, p. 69.
XXIV	184rv	657	a	Ponz de Capdoill	En l'onor del pair' en cui es	Von Napolski, p. 89.
XXIV	184v	658	a	Ponz de Capdoill	Tuich dison qel temps de pascor	Von Napolski, p. 75.
XXIV - XXV	184v – 185r	659	a	Ponz de Capdoill	Ar nos sia capdels e garentia	Von Napolski, p. 49.
XXV	185r	660	a	Ponz de	Ben sai qe per	Von Napolski,

²⁴⁴ Attributed to Rambertino Buvallesi by modern scholars.

²⁴⁵ This poem, as conserved in *D^a*, begins with the second verse of the poem PC 392.17 in the BdT, which begins, "Ges, si tot ma don' et amors".

				Capdoill	sobrevoler	p. 74.
XXV	185r	661	a	Gillems de Saint Leider	Conpaignon, ab joi mou mon chan	Sakari, p. 90.
XXV	185rv	662	a	Bertram de Born	Can vei lo temps renovar	Riquer, p. 716.
XXV	185v	663	a	Ricas Novas ²⁴⁶	Ben es razos qu'eu retraia	Fontanals, p. 322.
XXV	185v – 186r	664	a	Ricas Novas	Un sonet novel fatz	Boutière ¹ , p. 2.
XXV	186r	665	a	Ricas Novas ²⁴⁷	Pos nostre temps comenza brunezir	Tortoreto, p. 162.
XXV	186r	666	a	Ricas Novas	Us covinenz gentils cors plazentiers	Boutière ¹ , p. 10
XXV	186v	667	a	Ricas Novas	Iratz chant e chantan m'irais	Boutière ¹ , p. 21.
XXV	186v	668	a	Willems de la Tor	Canson ab gais motz plazen	Blasi, p. 29.
XXV	187r	669	a	Willems de la Tor	Plus que la dompnas qu'eu aug dir	Blasi, p. 22.
XXV	187r	670	a	Willems de la Tor	Si mos fis cors fos de fer	Blasi, p. 13.
XXV	187rv	671	a	Willems de la Tor	Ges cil qes blasmon d'amor	Blasi, p. 5.
XXV	187v	672	a	Willems de la Tor	Qui sap sofrent esperar	Blasi, p. 17.
XXV	187v – 188r	673	a	Willems de la Tor	Quant hom regna vers celui falsament	Blasi, p. 9.
XXV	188r	674	a	Willems de la Tor ²⁴⁸	Bem cuidava d'amor	Varvaro, p. 129.

²⁴⁶ Attributed to Arnaut Catalan by modern scholars.

²⁴⁷ Attributed to Cercamon by modern scholars.

²⁴⁸ Attributed to Rigaut de Barbezieux by modern scholars.

XXV	188rv	675	a	Willems de la Tor	Bon' aventura mi veigna	Blasi, p. 3.
XXV	188v	676	a	Willems de la Tor	Una doas tres e quatre	Blasi, p. 23.
XXV	188v	677		Willems de la Tor	De saint Martin me clam a saint Andreu	Blasi, p. 43.
XXV	188v	678	a	Marcabrun	L'invernz vai el tems s'azina	Gaunt et al. p. 388.
XXV	188v – 189r	679	a	Marcabrun ²⁴⁹	Molt dezir l'aura dolzana	Mouzat, p. 707.
XXV	189r	680	a	Marcabrun	Dire vos voill senz doptanza	Gaunt et al. p. 237.
XXV	189rv	681	a	Marcabrun	Empeaire, per vostre prez	Gaunt et al. p. 319.
XXV	189v	682	a	Marcabrun	Per savi teing ses doptanza	Gaunt et al. p. 464.
XXV	189v – 190r	683	a	Peire de Valera ²⁵⁰	Lo joi comensa en un bel mes	Mouzat, p. 701.
XXV	190r	684	a	NElias Fonssalada	De bon lou movon mas chansos	Fumagalli e Mezzetti, p. 49.
XXV	190rv	685	a	NAlasais de Porcaragues	Ar em al frey temps vengut	Hershon, p. 190.
XXV	190v	686	a	Gauseran de Saint Leider	Pos fin' amors me torne alegrer	Sakari ² , p. 313.
XXV	190v	687	a	Lo Coms de	Pos de chantar m'es	Payen, p. 120.

²⁴⁹ Attributed to Arnaut Tintinac by modern scholars.

²⁵⁰ Attributed to Arnaut Tintinac by modern scholars.

				Piteus	pres talenz	
XXV	191r	688	a	Willems de Balaum	Lo vers mous mercejan vas vos	Boutière ² , p. 243.
XXV	191rv	689	a	Girauz de Calanson	Cella cui am de cor e de saber	Ernst, p. 320.
XXV	191v	690	a	Willems e NAimerics ²⁵¹	Can mi perpens ni m'arbire	Riquer, p. 748
XXV	191v – 192r	691	a	Willems Magrez	Aigua pueja contramon	Naudieth, p. 126
XXV	192r	692	a	Willems Magrez	En aissim pren cum fai al preschador	Naudieth, p. 109.
XXV	192r	693	a	Willems Magrez	Ma dompnam ten pres	Naudieth, p. 114.
XXV	192rv	694	a	Pere de Corbiac	Dompna dels angels reina	Jeanroy, p. 364.
XXV	192v	695	a	Peire del Pujo ²⁵²	Lo jorn queus vi, dompna, premierament	Riquer, p. 1077.
XXV - XXVI	192v – 193r	696	a	Peire Willems	Ai vergena en cui ai m'entendenza	Guarnerio, p. 37.
XXVI	193r	697	a	Peire Willems	Nom fai chantar amors ni drudaria	Guarnerio, p. 34.
XXVI	193rv	698	a	Peire Willems	En aquest gai sonet leugier	Guarnerio, p. 31.
XXVI	193v	699	a	Tomers eN Palaisins	Si col flacs mollins torneja	Frank, p. 72.
XXVI	193v - 194r	700	a	NEsperduz	Qui non dirials faïch dolenz	Kolsen, p. 119.
XXVI	194r	701	a	Lambertin de	Er quant florisson li	Melli, p. 161.

²⁵¹ Attributed to Aimeric de Belenoi by modern scholars.

²⁵² Attributed to Guilhelm de Capestany by most modern scholars; Bercescu, attributes it to Arnaut de Mareuil.

				Buvarel	verger	
XXVI	194rv	702	a	Lambertin de Buvarel	D'un saluz me voill entremetre	Melli, p. 150.
XXVI	194v	703	a	Lambertin de Buvarel	Ges de chantar nom voill gequir	Melli, p. 183.
XXVI	194v – 195r	704	a	Lambertin de Buvarel	Toz m'era de chantar geqiz	Melli, p. 193.
XXVI	195r	705	a	Lambertin de Buvarel	S'a mon restaur pogues plaçer	Melli, p. 173.
XXVI	195rv	706	a	Lambertin de Buvarel	Al cor m'estai l'amoros desirers	Melli, p. 223.
XXVI	195v	707	a	Lambertin de Buvarel ²⁵³	Pos vei parer la flor el glai	Gauchat e Kehrli, p. 393.
XXVI	196r	708	a	Lambertin de Buvarel ²⁵⁴	Uns novels pessamenz m'estai	Cavaliere, p. 120.
XXVI	196rv	709	a	Cercalmont	Quant l'aura dolzana s'amargis	Tortoreto, p. 68.
XXVI	196v	710	a	Cercalmont	Ges per lo fret tems no m'irais	Tortoreto, p. 221.
XXVI	196v – 197r	711	a	Cercalmont	Per fin' amor m'esjauzire	Tortoreto, p. 95.
XXVI	197r	712	a	Peire de la Mulla	Ja de razons nom cal metr' en pantais	Bertoni, 249.
XXVI	197r	713	a	Palais	Bem plai lo chantars el ris	Ricketts, p. 231.
XXVI	197r	714	a	Palais	A dreit fora se a midonz plagues	Ricketts, p. 228.
XXVI	197rv	715	a	Willems Peire	Eu chanterai de gauz e voluntos	

²⁵³ Attributed to Peire Raimon de Toulouse by modern scholars.

²⁵⁴ Attributed to Peire Raimon de Toulouse by modern scholars.

XXVI	197v	716	a	Los Vesques de Basaz	Cor poder saber e sen	Appel ² , p. 36.
XXVI	197v – 198r	717	a	NUc de la Bazalaria ²⁵⁵	Raison e mandamen	Mouzat, p. 92.
XXVI	198r	718	a	Peitavin	Ar voill que auzon li plusor	
XXVI	198r	719	a	Willems de Saint Grigori	Ben grans avolesa intra	Gouiran, p. 629.
XXVI	198rv	720	a	Tomers eM Palaisis	De chantar farai - una demessa	Hill, p. 194.
XXVI	198v – 199r	721	a	Peire d'Alvergne	Chantarei d'aquez trobadors	Riquer, p. 332.
XXVI	199r	722	a	Girauz de Borneill el Reis d'Arragon	Bem plairia seignen reis	Riquer, p. 571.
XXVI	199rv	723	a	Lo Monge de Montaudon	Fort m'enoia si l'auses dire	Routledge, p. 93.
XXVI	199v – 200r	724	a	Gui D'Uisel	NElias, de vos voill auzir	Audiau, p. 82.
XXVI	200r	725	a	Ricauz de Tarascon e N Guis de Cavaillon	Cabrit, al meu vezaire	Kolsen, p. 208.
XXVI	200rv	726	a	NAimerics de Piguillan eN Gauselm Faidiz	Gauselm de dos amics corals	Mouzat, p. 257.
XXVI	200v	727	a	NAlbertz eN Aimerics de Piguillan	NAlbert, chaussetz al vostre cen	Boutière ³ , 81.
XXVI -	200v –	728	a	NUgo de Saint	Un sirventes voill faire	Jeanroy e Salverda, p.

²⁵⁵ Attributed to Gaucelm Faidit by modern scholars.

XXVII	201r			Circ	en aques son d'en Gui	96.
XXVII	201r	729	a	NUc de Saint Circ	Vescoms, mais d'un mes ai estat	Jeanroy et Salvarda, p. 118.
XXVII	201r	730	a	Elias Cairel	Ara non vei poi ni comba	Gauchat e Kehrli, p. 453.
XXVII	201rv	731	a	Emblancaz	Seing'en Blacaz, pos per tot vois faill barata ²⁵⁶	Soltau, p. 237
XXVII	201v	732	a	Rambaut de Vaqueras	Seigner coines, jois e pretz et amors	Rostaign et Barbaro, p. 120.
XXVII	202r	733	a	Rambaut de Vaqueras	Angles, un noel descort	Rostaign et Barbaro, p. 95.
XXVII	202r	734	a	Pistoleta	Bona domna, un conseil vos deman	Nappholz, p. 63.
XXVII	202r	735	a	Torcafols	Membrariaus del jornal	Latella, p. 210.
XXVII	202v	736	a	Garis d'Apcher	L'autrier trobei lonc un fogier	Latella, p. 210
XXVII	202v	737	a	Garis d'Apcher	Aissi con hom trailestam	Latella, p. 232.
XXVII	202v	738	a	Garis d'Apcher	Mals albergiers dinarada defen	Latella, p. 242.
XXVII	202v - 203r	739	a	Bertrans de Lamano	Mout m'es greu d'en Sordel car l'es faillitz son cenz	Hill and Bergen, p. 224.
XXVII	203r	740	a	Raimons d'Avignon	Sirvenz soi avutz et arlotz	Riquer, p. 1317
XXVII	203rv	741	a	Girauz de Cabreira	Cabra juglar	Fontanals, p. 243.

²⁵⁶ Attributed to Guilhem de Saint-Grégoire by modern scholars.

XXVII	203v – 204v	742	a	Girauz de Calanson	Fadet juglar	De Bartholomeis, p. 3.
XXVII	204v	743	a	N'Aimars de Peiteus ²⁵⁷	Enn Azemar, chausz de tres baros	Rostaign et Barbaro, p. 51.
XXVII	204v	744	a	NEsperduz eN Ponz de Monlaur	Seign'en Ponz de Monlaur, per vos	Kolsen, p. 124.
XXVII	204v – 205r	745	a	Gui de Cavalhon	Seinnieiras ab cavals armatz	Cardona, p. 253.
XXVII	205r	746	a	Willems de Baus	En Gui, a tort mi messatz	Cardona, p, 254.
XXVII	205rv	747	a	Lo Prebost eN Savarics de Maleon	Savaric, ieus deman	Bonnarel, p, 98.
XXVII	205v	748	a	Peire de la Mula	Dels joglars servir mi laisse	Riquer, p. 804.
XXVII	205v – 206r	749	a	Lo Vesques de Clermont	Peire de Maensac, ges le reis no seria	Meneghetti, p. 207.
XXVII	206r	750	a	Peire de la Cavarana	D'un serventes faire	Riquer, p. 277.
XXVII	206rv	751	a	Pere de Gavaret	Peronet e Savertes	Kolsen, p. 73.
XXVII	206v	752	a	Palais ²⁵⁸	Un sirventes farai d'una trista persona	Riquer, p. 1174.
XXVII	206v	753	a	Palais	Molt m'enoia d'una gent pautonera	Ricketts, p. 224.
XXVII	206v – 207r	754	a	Gillems de Saint Grigori	Seigner Blacaz, de dompna pro	Bonnarel, p. 53.

²⁵⁷ Attributed to Raimbaut de Vaqueiras by modern scholars.

²⁵⁸ Attributed to Guilhelm de la Tor by modern scholars.

XXVII	207r	755	a	NUc de la Bazalaria	Seigner Bertram, une cavaliers presaz	Bonnarel, p. 97.
XXVII	207rv	756	a	Arnaut	Bernart de la Bartal, chausit	Bonnarel, p. 73.
XXVII	207v	757	a	NAsnarz d'Antravenas	Del sonet d'en Blancaz	Soltau, p. 242.
XXVII	207v – 208r	758	a	Blacaz	Ben fui mal conseilaz	Soltau, p. 244.
XXVII	208r	759	a	NIsnars	Trop respont en Blacaz	Soltau, p. 245.
XXVII	208r	760	a	Ugo Catola	Amics Marchabrun, car digam	Gaunt et al. p. 100.
XXVII	208rv	761	a	Ugo Catola	Tot a estrum - vei Marcabrun ²⁵⁹	Gaunt et al. p. 291
XXVII	208v	762	a	Ugo Catola	Nom pois mudar, bels amics, q'en chantanz	Mölk, p. 62.
XXVII	208v	763	a	En Guis el Comte	Seigner coms, saber volria	
XXVII - XXVIII	208v – 209r	764	a	Marches Lanz' e P. Vidal	Emperador avem de tal manera	Bertoni, p. 203.
XXVIII	209r	765	a	Marches Lanz' e P. Vidal ²⁶⁰	Guillems de Saint Disder, vostra semblanza	Bonnarel, p. 3.
XXVIII	209r	766	a	Lo Monge de Poisibot ²⁶¹	Jausbert, razon ai adrecha	Bonnarel p. 27.
XXVIII	209rv	767	a	Rambaut de Vaqueras	Bella, tant vos ai preiada	Nappholz, p. 54.
XXVIII	209v – 210r	768	a	Albertet ²⁶² e Gauselm	Gauselm Faidiz, eu vos deman	Mouzat, p. 502.

²⁵⁹ Attributed to Marcabru by modern scholars.

²⁶⁰ Attributed to Guilhelm de Saint-Dedier by modern scholars.

²⁶¹ Attributed to Bertran de Preissac by modern scholars.

²⁶² Albertet de Sisteron.

XXVIII	210r	769	a	NEbles d'Uisel e Gui d'Uisel	Gui, cus part mon essienz	Audiua, p. 87.
XXVIII	210r	770	a	NEbles d'Uisel e Gui d'Uisel	En Gui, digaz al vostre grat	Audiau, p. 76.
XXVIII	210r	771	a	En Blacaz e P. Vidal	En Pelicer, chausez de tres lairos	Soltau, p. 230
XXVIII	210r	772	a	NUc de Saint Circ	Antan fes coblas d'una bordeliara	Jeanroy et Salverda, p. 91
XXVIII	210rv	773	a	Gaucelm Faidit et Ellias d'Uisel	Ben auria ops pas e vis	Mouzat, p. 478
XXVIII	210v	773	a	Gaucelm Faidit et Ellias d'Uisel	Manenz foral francs pelegris	Mouzat, p. 478
XXVIII	210v	774	a	Rambald de Vaqueras	Tuich me pregon, Engles, qe vos don saut	Rostaign et Barbaro, p. 139
XXVIII	210v	775	a	NEble d'Uisel	En Gui, digaz la qal penriaz vos	Audiau, p. 76.
XXVIII	210v – 211r	776	a	Hugues de Bersie	Bernart, di me Folquet q'om tient a sage	Barbieri, p. 173.
XXVIII	211r	777	a	Elias de Bariols	Sil bellam tengues per sieu	Stronski ¹ , p. 8.

II.i.ii.iii *Assesment*

As can be seen in the quiring table, this copy of the *Liber Alberici*, generally agreed to have either belonged to or been dedicated to Alberico da Romano (political leader of Treviso, in northern Italy, from 1239 - 1260) is formed of eight regular quaternions with no blanks *folia*. Lachin has divided these 8 fascicles into three sections the confines of which he says are

“somewhat arbitrary”²⁶³; Maria Luisa Meneghetti, on the other hand, gives a very precise reason for the order of poems found in this section of the MS, which largely coincides with Lachin’s structural analysis but which motivates the choice of the scribe²⁶⁴. Both critics agree that there is a first section (item numbers 527 - 662) that form a block of *canzoni* written by 36 different poets; the second section includes, according to Lachin, items 663 - 721 and is formed by another large group of *canzoni* by nine different troubadours; the final section of D^a, numbers 722 - 777 for Lachin (Meneghetti conflates these two sections into one large body that she has suggested is the unaltered version of the original *Liber Alberici*), is dedicated to discursive poetry, or poems that are written (sung?) by more than one troubadour - this section contains *tenzoni*, *partimen*, *sirventesi*, *planh*, and groups of *coblas* written by alternating poets²⁶⁵.

Section one of D^a is formed mainly of *canzoni* that deal with love and follows the order of the first part of the entirety of the MS (including D) nearly verbatim. The poetry seen here in the first part of the quiring table represents practically every great troubador of the classical era, from between roughly 1160 and 1200. D^a opens just like D, with a *canzone* by Peire d’Alvergne (c. 1150 - 70), *Dieus vera vida, verais*. The poet Peire Rogier (circa 1160 - 1180) follows with three *canzoni*. There follow then 18 poems by Guiraut de Bruneil who was active in the south of France from roughly 1160 - 1200 while Guilhem Adamar was known at

²⁶³ Although he concedes that the sequence of poets does tend to follow the ordering found in the first part of the MS, or *Provençal MS D*. See Lachin, *op. cit.*, pp. LVII - LXXVII.

²⁶⁴ Maria Luisa Meneghetti, “Uc de Saint Circ tra filologia e divulgazione” in Maria Luisa Meneghetti e Francesco Zambon (eds.), *Il Medioevo nella Marca: trovatori, giullari, letterati a Treviso nei secoli XIII e XIV*, (*Atti del convegno, Treviso 28 - 29 settembre 1990*), Dosson: Zoppeli, 1991, pp. 115 - 128; especially pp. 120 - 124.

²⁶⁵ *Tenzone*: A contest between two or more poets in which the strophes of the final poem are written alternately by each participant.

Partimen: A variety of the *tenzone*, the *partimen* involves a (philosophical, political, humorous?) exchange between the poets in which each participant defends a particular side in the debate. The *partimen* was used more for poetic fun than for reaching real conclusions on a given subject.

Sirventese: A form of long poem dedicated to all manner of topic save love, the theme that is transmitted almost solely through the *canzoni* in Occitan poetry. The *sirventese* is usually written in a vindictive tone and deals with such topics as politics, religion, or war.

Planh: A lament, usually for the death of a loved one.

Coblas: Couplets.

least by 1195 and alludes in his poetry to events that took place between 1215 - 1217. The following chart shows the order of the remaining troubadors in question as found in the MS and their (approximate) years of poetic activity:

Poet²⁶⁶	Period of Activity	Number of poems in <i>D^a</i>
Bernart de Ventadorn	1150 - 1180	11
Peire Vidal	1180 - 1206	7
Gaucelm Faiditz	1180 - 1202	4
Folquet de Marseilla	1179 - 1195	4
Monge de Montaudon	1180 - 1213	5
Gui D'Uisel	1195	3
Aimeric de Belenoi	1210 - 1242	2
Deode Pradas	1214 - 1282	3
Peirol	1180 - 1225	6
Guilhem Ramnols	1st ½ thirteenth century	2
Aimeric de Piguillan	1195 - 1225	6
Cadenet	1st ½ thirteenth century	3
Peire Raimon de Tolouse	1180 - 1225	7
Albertet de Sestino	1210 - 1225	1

²⁶⁶ The names in this table have been modernized so as to ease the reader's search in the BdT.

Uc de Saint Circ	1217 - 1253	1
Elias Barjols	1200 - 1230	3
Berregiers de Parasol	1160 - 1175	3
Elias Cairel	1204 - 1222	5
Guilhem de Salignac	1st ¼ thirteenth century	2
Pistoleta	1195 - 1230	2
Guilhem Figuera	1215 - 1245	2
Sordel	1225 - 1269	1 ²⁶⁷
Guilhem de Bregedan	1180 - 1200	1
Raimon de Salas	1215 - 1230	2
Sail de Scola	Late twelfth century	2
Rigaut de Berbezi	2nd ½ twelfth century	3
Raimbaut de Vacqueras	1175 - 1207	5
Rambaut d'Orange	1150 - 1173	5

²⁶⁷ Meneghetti's argument for the ordering of the poetry in this section of the MS is entirely based on the fact the Sordello, who was very famous in northern Italy during this time and whose works were transmitted in several MSS from this period (including MSS A, I, and K) is represented here by only one poem. The scholar gives a socio-political motivation for this decision, but it seems a bit inadequate as a motivating factor for the creation of an entire MS. Her argument, briefly, is that since MS *D^a* is subtitled *Liber Alberici*, and was thus a book belonging to Alberico da Romano, a Lord of Treviso who ruled from 1239 - 1260, the book had to please him. Uc de Saint Circ, the presumed anthologizer of this book, knew the history of Sordello (the real man who lived in northern Italy in the thirteenth century) and his relationship with Cunizza, the sister of Alberico. For this embarrassing story, argues Meneghetti, Uc only included one poem of this very popular poet in his anthology. While I tend to find this line of argumentation somewhat weak, most modern scholars give Meneghetti the benefit of being the scholar who has understood the creation of this MS the best, and the reader is encouraged to read her article, *op. cit.* 1991, especially pp. 118 - 124.

Perdigon	1190 - 1212	2
Ademar lo Negre	Early thirteenth century	2
Pons de Capdoill	1190 - 1237	4
Guilhem de Saint Leider	1165 - 1200	1

The MS does not follow a strictly chronological order, but the most important members of the “Golden Age” of Occitan poetry are well represented in this first section. The actual poems, however, are not solely dedicated to love, or *fin’amor*. The very first item that the reader encounters (PC 323.16) is a sort of “manifesto of Christian faith”²⁶⁸: while praising God the author recounts various scenes of God’s power and justice as recounted in stories from both the Old and New Testaments. After having cited such figures as Jonas, Moses, Joseph and others, the poet sings of some of Jesus’ miracles before explaining the trinity from vv. 78 - 81; the poem ends by asking God for forgiveness of the poets’ sins before the final verse (95): “In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, amens.”²⁶⁹ In a book that has been singled out as beginning with love songs, this is an interesting poem with which to open²⁷⁰, but it does mirror the opening of the entirety of MS *D*. On *f*.1r the first poem encountered in the MS is also by Peire, *Ab fina ioia comensa* (PC 323.2). This earlier *chanson*, however, is a love song and as such would have been a good opening for this section of the MS; but as Lachin points out, almost none of the songs from MS *D* are copied in MS *D*^a.

There is one poem attributed in the MS to Bertran de Born (PC 81.1: *Can vei lo temps renovar*) which was actually written by his son²⁷¹ and which is already transmitted in the same MS and attributed just the same in the earlier part of the MS to Bertran de Born. In verse

²⁶⁸ Holmes, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

²⁶⁹ Aniello Fratta (ed.), *Peire d’Alvernhe, Poesie*, Roma: Vecchiarelli, 1996, p. 99 (XIII).

²⁷⁰ However, MS *K* also begins with *sermons* on the first two *ff.*, which may allude to the fact that a Christian coloring of MSS was the norm even in poetry books that focused mainly on vernacular love.

²⁷¹ Who had the same name as his father.

six the poet explicitly states what kind of poem this is: “farai un sirventes cozen”²⁷². This poem represents the only true *sirventes* of this part of the MS: the bridge between the two halves of the chansons, then, deals not with love for a woman but rather with the inability of a King to lead well.

The second half of the *chanson* section of the MS begins with a “*cansoneta gaia*” (PC 27.04a) attributed originally to Ricas Novas (Peire Bremon Ricas Novas) but that is attributed by modern scholars to Arnaut Catalan²⁷³. This and the poems that follow are all love poems, one of which is somewhat interesting. The third poem in this section, which is actually by Cercamon (PC 112.3a: *Puois nostre temps comens' a brunezir*) is a love song, but it is also a *sirventes*: while praising the idea of *fin'amor* the poet also lashes out at troubadours who mix the false with the truth and corrupt real love (vv. 19 - 24). He then goes on to explain, in stanzas 6 and 7, that these purveyors of deceit should either be burned or buried alive, or better still, they should go off to fight in a crusade so as to prove that they have a truth and goodness of heart. This mixing of love poetry with crusade poetry has already been seen in the MS, but the mixing of genres will only become more pronounced as the book continues²⁷⁴.

There follows then a series of ten *chansons* attributed to Guilhem de la Tor, a poet active in northern Italy during the first thirty years of the thirteenth century. The scholar Antonella Negri has an interesting and important observation regarding some of the poems found in this section of our MS:

Ultimately, love, expressed in its most paroxysmal form in *Si mos fis cors fos de fer*, in *Qui sap, sofrent, esperar* and yet again in *Plus qe las domnas, q'eu aug dir*, [or the second, third, and fifth chansons in this section] seems to function for the purpose of showing that the beloved can be unjust and unworthy of the man's favor. In fact, the extremely rare occurrences of this tendency are limited to the 'love in tension' motif, accompanied by the desire to persevere for personal betterment, which is expressed not

²⁷² “I will write a painful *sirventes*”. For an analysis of this poem see Adolf Kolsen, “Die Sirventes-Canzone des Bertran de Born lo filh “Un sirventes voil obrar” in *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* Bd, 37 (1936), pp. 284-289.

²⁷³ It is interesting to note that this poem is attributed to Ricas Novas in the main MSS of the Italian tradition that we have seen (*A, D^a, I, K*) while in the Occitan tradition (MSS *C, R, E*) it is (correctly) attributed to Arnaut.

²⁷⁴ In any case, it must be noted that the order of the poems attributed here to Ricas Novas is the exact same, and with the exact same wrong attribution, as in MSS *A, I* and *K*: or the Italian tradition. See, in particular, Lachin, *op. cit.*, pp. LX - LXI.

surprisingly in the song dedicated to Giovanna d'Este, *Canson ab gais motz plazens* (vv. 77-69) [the first *chanson* in this section]. We are quite removed from the spiritualization of love that is encountered in a speaker who was privileged by William, Sordello, and other troubadours of the thirteenth century.²⁷⁵

What we see here is a tendency to talk about love in a different way than most love poets tended to: the idea of a beloved having any faults (save perhaps that of being too perfect) simply does not fit into the idea of *fin' amor*. The three poems underlined in the passage above break the rules of courtly love, which seems to be a popular motif in this section of the MS. Negri also discusses the MS's penultimate piece by de la Tor, *Una doas tres e quatre*, calling it the height of an "anti-courtoisie" sentiment of his poetry. While in general these themes are extremely rare, this section of MS *D^a* is replete with love poetry that does not simply follow the status quo of *fin' amor*, as we will see again in the next poetry that is transmitted.

The final section in this autorial based section of *chansons* is dedicated to the poetry of Marcabru. MS *D^a* only purports to transmit five poems by this early poet, while in reality only four of these poems are his (the other one is by Arnaut Tintinac: PC 34.3). The first in the series (PC 293.31: *L'invernz vai el tems s'azina*) focuses on the differences between good love and bad love, with the poet going so far as to describe the woman who, in his words, does not understand 'amor fina'. The second *chanson*, which belongs to Tintinac, also discusses in no uncertain terms the problems with women who do not understand love and the differences between the false love found in courtly words and true love that comes from the heart. Poem number three (PC 293.18: *Dire vos voill ses doptanza*) is dedicated entirely to the repudiation of love and the fact that Marcabru wants nothing to do with it. The poem ends, in fact, with Marcabru stating that he "knows how love wreaks havoc, for he never loved any

²⁷⁵ Antonella Negri (ed), *Le liriche del trovatore Guilhem de la Tor*, Catanzaro: Rubettino Editore, 2006, p. 20. "In definitiva, l'amore, espresso nella sua forma più parossistica in *Si mos fis cors fos de fer*, in *Qui sap, sofrent, esperar* e ancora in *Plus qe la domnas, q'eu aug dir*, sembra funzionale a dimostrare che la dama può essere ingiusta e non meritare il favore dell'uomo. Infatti i rarissimi eccenni di tale tendenza si limitano di fatto al motivo della tensione ad amare, accompagnata dal desiderio di perseverare per migliorare, non a cso espresso però nella canzone dedicata a Giovanna d'Este, *Canson ab gais motz plazens* (vv. 77 - 70). Si è pertanto lontani dalla tendenza alla spiritualizzazione dell'amore che si riscontra in un interlocutore privilegiato di Guilhem, Sordello, e in altri trovatori del XIII secolo."

woman, nor was he loved by another” (*q’el sap d’amor cum degruna, / qez anc non amet neguna, / ni d’autra non fo amatz*). Marcabru’s penultimate piece, on the other hand, is a *sirventes* (PC 293.23: *Emperaire, per mi mezeis*) in which the poet does not discuss love in any way, but instead explains to the emperor why the poet does not feel welcome in the court. The fifth and final poem attributed to Marcabru in MS *D^a* (PC 293.37: *Per savi teing ses doptanza*) once again deals with the difference between true love (which is not for the foolish) and false love (which is the veritable kingdom of fools). Just like in all the other poems in this short section, there is no beloved to whom Marcabru dedicates the poetry; rather, this *chanson* ends with a dedication to “*una cecha anzuvina*”, or an Angevine whore. The poet is not happy with the woman, whomever she might have been²⁷⁶ and indeed hopes that the dedication makes her unhappy.

These five poems as transmitted in *D^a* were not very popular, as a whole, either in the Italian nor in the Occitan tradition of the Marcabru corpus: poem one is found in only eight MSS, the poem by Tintinac is transmitted by only three MSS (and with three different attributions), the third poem is in nine MSS, the fourth in a mere two MSS, while the final poem is found in a total of six different MSS, and is always attributed to Marcabru. Nowhere within this poetry is there one poem that is dedicated entirely to *fin’amor* as found in a plethora of other poetry within the extant Marcabru corpus as transmitted in the MSS traditions of both Italy and France. This seems to show that the compiler of this MS (or of the *Liber Alberici* in general) either: 1. had an agenda to show the poet in a particular light or 2. did not have access to the many other poems in his corpus. Finding these particular five poems in this particular place within the MSS, after those that we saw above that show love in a less than flattering light, seems to point to the first scenario more so than to the second.

²⁷⁶ Most likely Eleanore of Aquitaine before she became the queen of England.

The MS then continues with a series of *chansons* that are each written by different authors: only in three cases are the authors represented by more than one poem (Guilhem Magret and Peire Guilhem each have three poems in this section, while each of the other poets has but one). Lachin states that the “succession [of these poems] is difficult to rationalize”²⁷⁷. Indeed, the poets are no longer presented even vaguely chronologically, as the MS shifts between poets from the “golden age” of troubadour poetry (like Elias Fonsalada, active in the first part of the thirteenth century) to Guilhelm IX, the first troubadour chronologically of whom we have any evidence. This section of *chansons* is followed (on f.199r) by the final section of the MS, or what Lachin and Meneghetti have called the “dialogical” section. In this section we find 45 different authors, among whom there is Marcabru once again (on f.208rv), writing with Ugo Catola. The poetry that follows that of these last two troubadours range from classic love poetry to comic poetry and include even some outright obscene poetry²⁷⁸.

In the end, this MS (like most medieval MSS) is divided by literary genres instead of chronological ordering. Although MS *D^a* does not contain any *vida* or *razos*, the authors and the lyric forms that they actually used are the most important factor in the compilation of the MSS that transmit Occitan poetry, both here and in the other MSS that we have seen. However, and importantly, the poetry that is transmitted therein is also heavily influenced by the subjects that the poets discuss and the image that the compiler wanted to underline of any given troubadour. In chapters three through five we will see those poems by Marcabru that are common to both later MSS (*A* and *K*) and that are not transmitted by *D^a*: by examining these poems as well as those that are transmitted in the MS from Modena, we will be able to better see the reasoning of the compiler of this earliest transmitter of Occitan poetry, as well as trends in Marcabru’s corpus.

²⁷⁷ Lachin, *op. cit.*, p. LXII, “la cui successione è difficile razionalizzare”.

²⁷⁸ For example, the *sirventes* between Peire de Gaveret and Peire de Durban on f.206rv.

II.ii Guittone d'Arezzo and Firenze, Biblioteca Laurenziana, MS Redi 9

Before delving into the MS tradition of this incredibly influential early Italian poet, it is important, first of all, to note that

Italian vernacular literature was modeled, in the beginning, on the lyric of the troubadours, a vocal tradition that flourished in symbiosis with music and depended largely on performance for its transmission²⁷⁹.

Moving then away from Marcabru and the courts of southern France, forward in time to the period during which MS *D^a* was commissioned in northern Italy. For our second poet was active in Italy from the middle of the thirteenth century through his death in 1294, Guittone d'Arezzo²⁸⁰, and his corpus as it has come down to the present day relied entirely on the written word, and no longer on performance: indeed, the vocal performance of the troubadours had, by the middle of the thirteenth century, given way to the much more concrete form of transmission that is the copying of poetry into *codices*. Though this Aretine was the most copied poet of the thirteenth century in Italy, Dante Alighieri criticized him both for not adequately imitating the Latin classics and for being “stupid”. Dante’s criticism has made of Guittone one of the least studied most important medieval authors²⁸¹ and still, despite what Dante has said about him in his many works,²⁸² Guittone was fundamental in the poetic education of not just the Florentine poet in exile but also of his contemporaries. Though Dante showed little to no direct respect for the works of Guittone in his literary works, it must be

²⁷⁹ Olivia Holmes, “‘S'eo varro' quanto valer già soglio”: The Construction of Authenticity in the “Canzoniere” of Frate Guittone and Guittone d'Arezzo (MS Laurenziano-Rediano 9)”, in *Modern Philology*, Vol. 95, No. 2 (Nov. 1997), pp. 170 - 199; p. 170.

²⁸⁰ Still the best work on Guittone’s life and works, though it is to be taken with more recent scholarly articles, is Claude Margueron, *Recherches sur Guittone d'Arezzo: Sa vie, son époque, sa culture*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1966.

²⁸¹ As has been noted by nearly all modern scholars dealing with Guittone’s corpus. But see particularly Contini’s introduction to the works of Guittone in PD I, pp. 189 - 191, especially at page 291: “E in realtà Guittone è determinante per più di mezzo secolo di cultura italiana, compreso il Dante delle canzoni morali e del Convivio e, in singoli punti, della stessa Commedia. [...] ma l’assidua denigrazione compiuta da Dante, con quell’accanimento che si può nutrire solo verso i dittatori letterari, era ancora un omaggio reso alla sua attualità.” “And actually Guittone is responsible for more than half a century of Italian culture, including the Dante of the moral canzoni and of the Convivio, and, in specific places, of the Comedy itself. (...) But the consistent denigration on Dante’s part, with that tenacity that can be used only against literary dictators, was even so an homage given to (Guittone’s) importance.”

²⁸² Especially in *Purgatorio* 24 and 26, and *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, 1.13 and 2.6.8.

pointed out that before the popularity of Florentine poet exploded at the beginning of the fourteenth century, this latter Italian poet imitated Guittone in both his early *Rime Petrose* and in the *Commedia*²⁸³. Indeed, the three most important manuscripts of early Italian lyrics dedicate large sections to the poetry both of Guittone d'Arezzo and to *Fra* Guittone d'Arezzo. Near the year 1265 or so Guittone became a member of the Frati Gaudenti: a religious order charged with helping to keep the peace in the divided Italy of the Guelphs and the Ghibellines. Guittone was a prolific author both before and after his conversion, but as can be expected, his poetry after the conversion was directed towards God and teaching for the most part, while his earlier works were in the vein of the troubadour poets who he so admired and thus were centered on courtly love. As there is still no critical edition of Guittone's entire corpus²⁸⁴ one must look to the MS tradition in order to understand both his place in the Italian poetic tradition and the various ways that the Bible was used in the author's works.

²⁸³ For an introduction to the problem of Guittone and Dante and the reticence of modern critics to discuss the polemical invention of the Florentine poet, see Teodolinda Barolini, *Dante's Poets*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984, pp. 100-108; Claire E. Honess, "Dante and Political Poetry in the Vernacular", in *Dante and his Literary Precursors: Twelve Essays*, ed. by John C. Barnes and Jennifer Petrie, Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007, pp. 117 - 151, esp. pp. 125 - 135; Francesco Mazzoni, "Tematiche Politiche fra Guittone e Dante" in *Guittone d'Arezzo nel settimo centenario della morte: Atti del Convegno internazionale di Arezzo (22 - 24 aprile, 1994)*, ed. by Michelangelo Picone, Firenze: Cesati, 1995, pp. 165 - 176; For a specific study on Guittone's "Canzoniere" and Dante's use thereof, see Tristan Kay, "Redefining the 'materia amorosa': Dante's Vita nova and Guittone's (anti-) courtly 'canzoniere'", in *The Italianist*, vol. 29 (2009), pp. 369 - 399.

²⁸⁴ Although, Lino Leonardi has published the sonnets as laid out in MS L in his *Guittone d'Arezzo, Canzoniere: i sonetti d'amore del codice Laurenziano*, Torino: Einaudi, 1994. Leonardi's title is somewhat misleading, as according to the scholar, the *canzoniere* of Guittone would merely be the 86 love sonnets that are transmitted by MS L; I tend to follow Michelangelo Picone (the foremost scholar on Guittone who had promised a critical edition of Guittone's works before his untimely death) in that "Riservo quindi il termine 'canzoniere' al libro di poesie di Guittone nella sua integrità documentaria (nella fattispecie quella attestata da L), e non lo applico ad una delle sue parti (ad esempio ad uno dei cicli di sonetti più o meno completi di cui il libro stesso si compone)." Michelangelo Picone, "Guittone e i due tempi del 'canzoniere'", in Picone (ed.), *Guittone d'Arezzo*, pp. 73 - 88, p.74. "I therefore reserve the term *canzoniere* for Guittone's integral book of poetry as in documented (and seen in L), and I do not apply it [the term *canzoniere*] to one of its parts (for example to one of the cycles of sonnets that is more or less complete and that the book itself transmits)."

Claude Margueron has published Guittone's Letters, in *Guittone d'Arezzo : Lettere*, Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1990.

II.ii.i *Background*

The earliest poetry of the Italian tradition has been preserved in three principle MSS²⁸⁵ that all date to the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century. These poetry books contain pieces from the members of King Frederick II of Sicily's court through some of the most important poets of the *Dolce stil novo* (with the notable exception of Dante Alighieri). In each of the MSS Guittone d'Arezzo holds an important place: two of the three (Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Banco Rari 217 [*P* from here on out] and Firenze, Biblioteca Laurenziana, MS Redi 9 [*L*]) are designed completely around the life's work of Guittone. The third, and by far the largest MS in the tradition of early Italian lyrics²⁸⁶, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Latin 3793 [*V*], is ordered chronologically and, though it does contain a vast amount of Guittone's production, is not centered entirely on the Aretine poet's works. We will give a brief synopsis of the MSS *V* and *P* before analyzing in depth the third and most important MS as regards the entirety of Guittone d'Arezzo's oeuvre, MS *L*.

In his 1989 article²⁸⁷ Nievo del Sal points out that "It is a common conviction that Dante read the pre-Stilnovist poets in a 'twin' manuscript of *Vatican Latino 3793*"²⁸⁸ whose historical/chronological ordering is still used today in books on medieval Italian poetry (Contini's *PD*, for example). Written between the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century, this florentine miscellany of 188 *cartae* (24 fascicles, all of which are quaternions, for a total of 16 'pages' each) is a collection of roughly 1000 poems divided into

²⁸⁵ These MSS have been reproduced photographically in Lino Leonardi (ed). *I canzonieri della lirica italiana delle origini*, 4 vol., Firenze: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galuzzo, 2000: Volume 1 is dedicated to MS *V*, volume 2 to MS *L*, and volume 3 to MS *P*. Volume 4, then, contains a series of specific studies on various aspects of the individual MSS. These have also been reproduced diplomatically in D'Arco Silvio Avalle, *CLPIO. Concordanze della Lingua Poetica Italiana delle Origini*, Firenze: Accademia della Crusca, 1992.

²⁸⁶ Without which we would have absolutely no record of roughly half of the thirteenth century poets that we know of today.

²⁸⁷ Nievo Del Sal, "Guittone (e i guittoniani) nella Commedia", in *Studi Danteschi*, 69, (1989), pp. 109-152

²⁸⁸ *Idem*, p. 151 "è convinzione comune che Dante leggesse i rimatori prestilnovisti in un manoscritto 'gemello' del Vaticano Latino 3793".

two sections (the first part [items 1 - 317] dedicated only to *canzoni* and the second [326 - 999] devoted to sonnets) that span from the Sicilian school to Dante's contemporaries.²⁸⁹ The MS opens with the *canzone* by Giacomo da Lentini, *Madonna dir vo' voglio*, which is a "direct translation of Folquet, perhaps the most cited and important troubador, a true auctor for the Italian poets of the thirteenth century."²⁹⁰ V continues from there with other poets of Frederick's court for the first five fascicles and then begins the poetry from the north of Italy from fascicle 6 through 15, with the seventh and eighth both dedicated to the *canzoni* of Guittone (divided between the early works of Guittone and five later *canzoni* by *Frate* Guittone). Fascicles 16 and 17 are missing while 18 opens the part of the manuscript dedicated to sonnets. This section, just as the first, opens with a series of *sirventes* by Giacomo da Lentini and others of the Sicilian school. Fascicle 20 is entirely filled with the sonnets of Guittone and is divided into two sections itself: the first section contains nearly 80 love sonnets that date to the first part of Guittone's literary career while the second is devoted, in the same way as the section dedicated to the *canzoni*, to the moral sonnets that the Aretine wrote after his conversion of 1265. Finally the remaining 4 fascicles (21 – 24) are dedicated to sonnets of various Florentine poets, in the same way that the *canzoni* were ordered.

Looking back on this list we note that only 3 of 24 fascicles are dedicated to the poetry of Guittone d'Arezzo, but the placement of Guittone's poetry in these specific places leads to the conclusion that "Guittone is the junction that leads the way to the apotheosis of the Florentines."²⁹¹ It is also noteworthy that the copyists of this MS prefer the earlier poetry of Guittone: it contains (in the order in which they are presented) 23 *canzoni* by Guittone pre-conversion followed by 5 moral or ascetic *canzoni* by the post-conversion *Fra* Guittone; the

²⁸⁹ For a complete breakdown of the contents of V, fascicle by fascicle, see *Letteratura Italiana, Le Opere, I. Dalle origini al cinquecento*, Torino: Einaudi, 1992, pp. 27 – 41.

²⁹⁰ *Idem.*, p. 30. "traduzione diretta di Folchetto, il trovatore forse più citato e importante, un vero e proprio auctor, per i poeti italiani del Duecento."

²⁹¹ *Idem.*, p. 32. "Guittone è lo snodo nel VL3793 che porta all'apoteosi dei fiorentini."

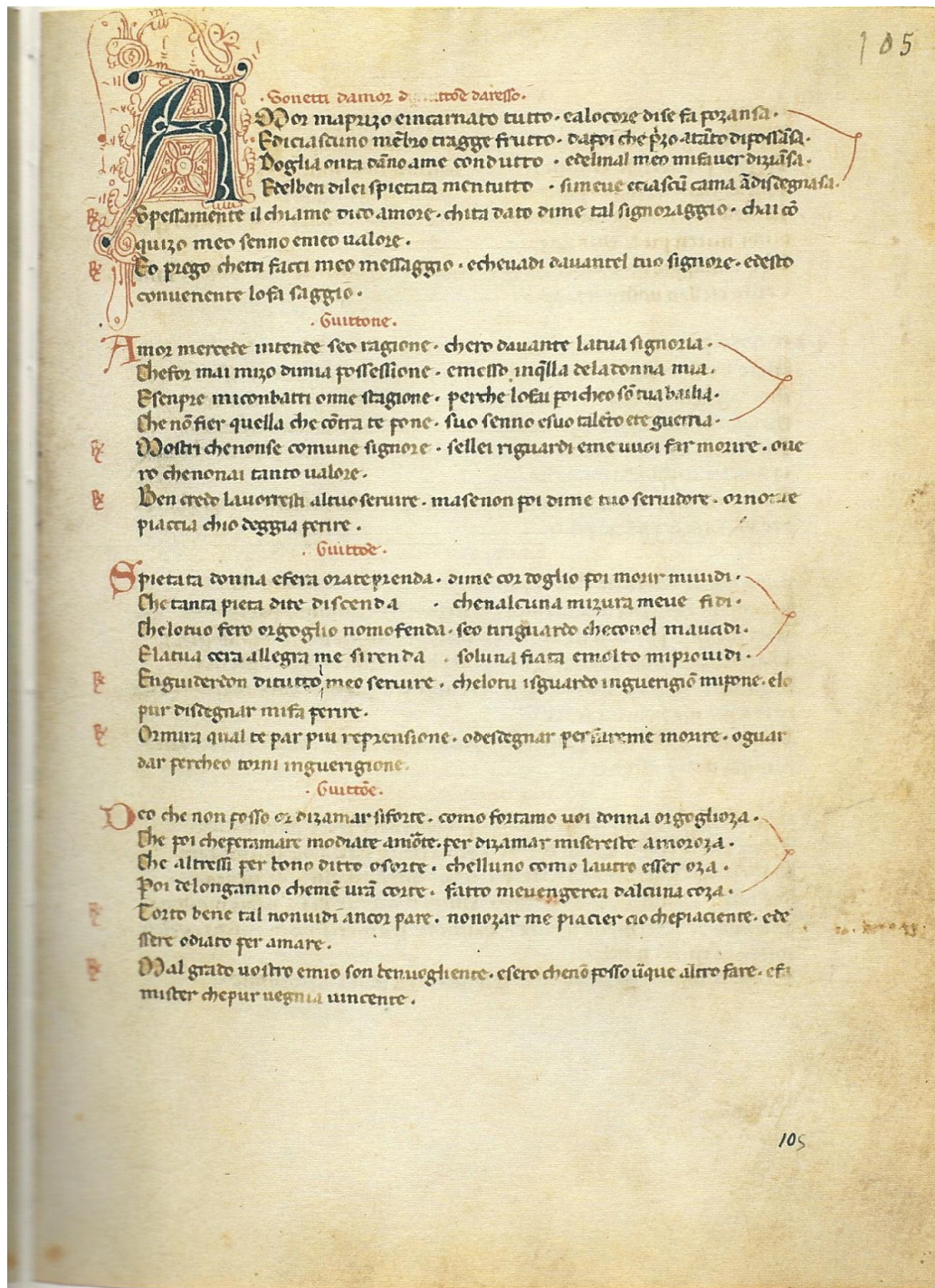
second section of his poetry holds 63 love sonnets followed by a mere 10 religious sonnets.²⁹² While *V* is not the most important manuscript regarding the poetry of Guittone²⁹³ it is the basis of Dante's analysis of Italian poetry as well as the foundation on which modern scholars base the vast majority of their criticism.

Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Banco Rari 217, (a probably Florentine MS), is datable as well to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century and is dedicated in large part to the poetic works of Guittone d'Arezzo. That is not to say that Guittone's poetry is the most numerous in the MS (his are 23 poems out of 180 in total) but thanks the layout of the MS this particular author stands out, in a sign of "the authority of Guittone"²⁹⁴. Of the ten quaternions that compose the MS, three contain works attributed to the Aretime poet: the MS opens with 8 of his *canzoni* before launching into a series of *canzoni* by other authors ordered alphabetically (based on the opening lines of the poems), while the seventh and eighth quaternions (beginning on *f.* 49r) are almost entirely occupied by Guittone's works as a sort of bookend for the first section of the MS that presents nothing but *canzoni*. While this MS is not directly under examination within this study, the fact that the first three most important MSS in Italy are in large part centered upon the work of this poet.

²⁹² A further 7 sonnets are found later in the MS, in sections that are not dedicated solely to Guittone.

²⁹³ That distinction lies with the ms. Rediano 9 (Laurentian Library, Florence), while Banco Rari 217 (già Palatino 418) rounds out the list of the most important manuscripts for the works of Guittone.

²⁹⁴ Lino Leonardi, *I canzonieri della lirica Italiana delle origini : III, Il Canzoniere Palatino*, Firenze: SISMEL – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2000, p. ix.



Fol. 105r. Here begin the love sonnets of Guittone d'Arezzo, beginning with "Amor mi ha priso". The layout of the MS continues in this same way through to the end.

II.ii.ii.i. Physical Information

MS *L* is made up of 18 quaternions, each of 8 fol. for a total of 144 *ff.* It can be divided into three distinct sections: the first five quaternions form a 'prose' section, in which we find 34 letters by Guittone (7 of which are written in verse), a sonnet in response to one of his received letters, four letters and four sonnets by Meo Abbracciavacca, and finally a letter and sonnet by Dotto Reali. The second section goes from the sixth through the thirteenth quaternion, in which 48 *canzoni* by Guittone are transmitted, followed by 76 *canzoni* by his followers. The final section of the MS, quaternions 14 - 18, contain a total of 308 sonnets: 190 of these are by Guittone (with two of them appearing twice), 7 sonnets addressed to our author, and finally 111 sonnets by other poets. Indeed, the MS is very precisely structured: the letters of Fra Guittone begin this book, followed by the *canzoni*, which are themselves divided into the first 24 by *Fra* Guittone, followed by 24 by Guittone, thus they are to be seen as having been written before his conversion of 1265. The sonnets of Guittone follow, with 85 love sonnets by a pre-conversion poet, finishing his corpus then with 90 sonnets by Fra Guittone.

This MS, made in either Pisa or Lucca²⁹⁵, has four main hands that took place in the copying of the poetry, but there seems to have been one hand that gave structure to the entire codex. The two hands from Pisa have come to be called *La*¹ and *La*² while the other two, Florentine, are known as *Lb*¹ and *Lb*². *La*¹ was responsible for the majority of the first four quires, except for the end of the fourth, which *La*² takes over at *f.*30r. Quires 6 - 9 are once again in the first hand, with the exception of five letters: numbers 23 and 24 in quire VII and numbers 46 - 48 in quire IX, all of which *La*² copied. The second copyist, apart from finishing the quires that the first hand left him, finished copying most of the poems in quires X through

²⁹⁵ For a detailed analysis on the language of the principle scribes (*La* and *Lb*) see CLPIO, p. 4

XIII (with very few exceptions that are by later, and less important, hands). This second hand is responsible as well for quires XIV - XVII, just through *f.135r*. The Florentine hands are responsible for fewer sections of the MS than the other two, with the first of these responsible for the second half of quire XIII that *La*² did not finish: beginning on *f.99r* the Florentine hand takes over, following an entirely blank carta at *f.98v*. Finally, *Lb*² is responsible for the majority of the final quire, number XVIII; the three exceptions are the poems at the very beginning (on *ff.135v - 136r*). During the assessment of the contents of this MS the preceding information will become evidently important. In the meantime, the collation is as follows: 1⁸, 2⁸, 3⁸, 4⁸, 5⁸, 6⁸, 7⁸, 8⁸, 9⁸, 10⁸, 11⁸, 12⁸, 13⁸, 14⁸, 15⁸, 16⁸, 17⁸, 18⁸.

II.ii.ii.ii Quire Table

Fascicle	Folia	Item ²⁹⁶	Hand	Author	Incipit	Edition
I	1r–4r	i	La*	[fra]te Guittone d'Aresso	Deletto e charo mio	Margueron, 1990, pp. 3 – 30
I	4r	ii	La*	Frate Guittone	Richo molto e avaro	Margueron, 1990, pp. 31 – 35
I - II	4r–9r	iii	La*	Frate Guittone	Bono e diletto amico Monte Andrea	Margueron, 1990, pp. 36– 77
II	9r–v	iv	La ¹	F[rate] G[uittone]	Famoso religioso in bonitate	Margueron, 1990, pp. 78 – 84
II	9v– 10r	v	La ¹	F[rate] G[uittone]	Soprapiacente donna	Margueron, 1990, pp. 85 – 91
II	10r	vi	La ¹	F[rate] G[uittone]	Vostro dannagio, amico, e vostra	Margueron, 1990, pp. 92 –

²⁹⁶ Following Leonardi 2000 and Avals's CLPIO, I have labeled the letters in the first five quires with roman numerals, instead of Arabic numbers, though unlike Leonardi I have chosen lowercase roman numerals for the letters, so as to avoid confusion between the quires and the items. In this way the reader can more easily cross reference the item numbers found in this quiring chart (especially as concerns the poems in the later quires) and the systems employed by Leonardi and Avals.

					noia	96
II	10r-v	vii	La ¹	F[rate] G[uittone]	Messer Corso Donati	Margueron, 1990, pp. 97 – 101
II	10v	viii	La ¹	F[rate] G[uittone]	Allamanno frate	Margueron, 1990, pp. 102 – 109
II	10v-11v	ix	La ¹	F[rate] G[uittone]	Diletto in Christo Iesù	Margueron, 1990, pp. 110 – 115
II	11v-13r	x	La ¹	F[rate] G[uittone]	Abadesse e donne religiose	Margueron, 1990, pp. 116 – 127
II	13r-v	xi	La ¹	F[rate] G[uittone]	Conte da Romena, non-pogho	Margueron, 1990, pp. 128 – 134
II	13v-14r	xii	La ¹	F[rate] G[uittone]	Giennereale in Toscana vicaro	Margueron, 1990, pp. 135 – 139
II	14r-16r	xiii	La ¹	F[rate] G[uittone]	Novisii e honesti molto religiosi	Margueron, 1990, pp. 140 – 154
II – III	16r-18v	xiv	La ¹	F[rate] G[uittone]	Infatuati mizeri Fiorentini	Margueron, 1990, pp. 155 - 179
III	18v-19r	xv	La ¹	F[rate] G[uittone]	Non te posso, Simon	Margueron, 1990, pp. 180 - 184
III	19r	xvi	La ¹	F[rate] G[uittone]	Manente frate intra I Predicatori	Margueron, 1990, pp. 185 - 189
III	19r-v	xvii	La ¹	F[rate] G[uittone]	No è da dir Gioane a tal che nocie	Margueron, 1990, pp. 190 - 198
III	19v-20r	xviii	La ¹	F[rate] G[uittone]	Nobele molto e magnio secular	Margueron, 1990, pp. 199 - 204

III	20r-21r	xix	La ¹	F[rate] G[uittone]	Manente frate, frate Guittone	Margueron, 1990, pp. 205 - 213
III	21r-22v	xx	La ¹	F[rate] G[uittone]	Sapienti e boni	Margueron, 1990, pp. 214 - 224
III	22v-24v	xxi	La ¹	F[rate] G[uittone]	Creditor di pregio e d'amor molto	Margueron, 1990, pp. 225 - 240
III – IV	24v-25r	xxii	La ¹	F[rate] G[uittone]	Desiderio, deletto mio figliolo	Margueron, 1990, pp. 241 - 246
IV	25r	xxiii	La ¹	Frate Guittone	Sapiente e honesto	Margueron, 1990, pp. 247 - 250
IV	25r-v	xxiv	La ¹	Frate Guittone	Carissimo frate e padre mio	Margueron, 1990, pp. 251 - 254
IV	25v-28v	xxv	La ¹	F[rate] G[uittone]	Charo e suo senpre amico	Margueron, 1990, pp. 255 - 274
IV	28v-29r	xxvi	La ¹	F[rate] G[uittone]	Spesialissimo signo suo	Margueron, 1990, pp. 275 - 279
IV	29r-30r	xxvii	La ¹	F[rate] G[uittone]	In Iesù Cristo diletto e caro	Margueron, 1990, pp. 280 - 287
IV	30r	xxviii	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Dignissimo e soficiente	Margueron, 1990, pp. 288 - 291
IV	30r-v	xxix	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Amico d'onni tempo	Margueron, 1990, pp. 292 - 297
IV	30v-31r	xxx	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Messer Marzuccho Scornigian, sovente	Margueron, 1990, pp. 298 - 304
IV	31r	xxxi	La ²	Meo Abracciavaccha	Honesto e savio religioso f[rate]	Margueron, 1990, pp. 305 -

					G[uittone]	311 ²⁹⁷
IV	31r	xxxi ^a	La ²	Meo	Poi sento c'ogni tutto da Dio tegno	Margueron, 1990, pp. 305 - 311
IV	31r	xxxi ^b	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]. Risposta a Meo	Tanto è Dio di servitor esser degno	Margueron, 1990, pp. 305 - 311
IV	31v	xxxii	La ²	Meo a Frate G [uittone]	Honesto e savio religioso, f[rate] G[uittone]	Margueron, 1990, pp. 312-316
IV	31v	xxxii ^a	La ²	Meo	Pensando c'ogni cosa aggio da Dio	Margueron, 1990, pp. 312 - 316
IV	31v-32r	xxxiii	La ²	Meo Abracciavaccha	Amico Bindo, Meo Abracciavaccha	Segre-Marti
IV	32r	xxxiii ^a	La ²	Meo	Non volontà, ma hom fa ragione	Segre-Marti
IV	32r	xxxiv	La ²	Messer Dotto Reali da Luccha	A te, Meo Abracciavaccha	Segre-Marti
IV	32r	xxxiv ^a	La ²	Messer Dotto	Similmente chanoscensa move	Segre-Marti
IV	32r-v	xxxv	La ²	Meo. Risposta al soprascritto	Messer Dotto frate	Segre-Marti
IV	32v	xxxv ^a	La ²	Meo	Parlare scuro, dimandando, dove	Segre-Marti
IV – V	32v-34-r	xxxvi	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Amantissimo amico	Margueron, 1990, pp. 317 - 331
V	34r-v	xxxvii	5	Lectere che ffe' Guiton d'Aresso	[A]mico B., G[uittone]	Margueron, 1990, pp. 332 - 337
V	34v-35r	xxxviii	5	Lectera di Guitone d'Aresso	[S]er Iacopo suo, G[uittone]	Margueron, 1990, pp. 338 -

²⁹⁷ Margueron discusses this item and the two that follow in one sole chapter, as they are very closely linked in both the MS tradition and in their content.

						342
V	35r- 36v	xxxix	5		[F]ellaio Teperto menimo ad ogni bene	Meriano, pp. 433 - 438
V	36v- 37v	xl	6	Frate Guittone d'Aresso	[N]obile e savio homo	Margueron, 1990, pp. 343 - 355
V	37v- 38r	xli	6		[M]esser Ranuccio amico	Margueron, 1990, pp. 343 - 355
Fol.38r contains only two and one half lines of writing; the rest of the folio, as well as <i>ff.</i> 39 and 40 are ruled but left blank.						
VI	41r-v	1	La ¹	Frate Guittone d'Aresso	Ora parrà s'eo saverò cantare	PD1, pp. 214 – 217
VI	41v- 42r	2	La ¹	F[rate] Guittone	Vergogna ò, lasso! ed ò me stesso ad ira	Egidi, XXVI
VI	42r- 43r	3	La ¹	F[rate] G[uittone]	Ai! quant'ò che vergogna e che dogli' aggio	Egidi, XXVII
VI	43r-v	4	La ¹	F[rate] G[uittone]	O [tu], de nome Amore, guerra de fa[tt]o	PD1, pp. 218 – 221
VI	43v- 45r	5	La ¹	F[rate] G[uittone]	O vera vertù, vero Amore	Egidi XXIX
VI	45r-v	6	La ¹	F[rate] G[uittone]	Degno è che, che dice, homo el defenda	Egidi XXX
VI	45v- 46r	7	La ¹	F[rate] G[uittone]	Poi male tutto è nulla inver' peccato	Egidi XXXI
VI	46r- 47v	8	La ¹	F[rate] G[uittone]	O cari frati mei, con' malamente	Egidi XXXII
VI	47v- 48r	9	La ¹	F[rate] G[uittone]	O dolce terra aretina	PD1, pp. 222 – 226

VI	48r-v	10	La ¹	F[rate] G[uittone]	Tanto sovente ditt' aggio altra fiata	Egidi XXXIV
VII	49r-v	11	La ¹	Frate Guittone	O ben Giezù, ov'è core	Egidi XXXV
VII	49v- 50r	12	La ¹	Frate Guittone	Grasiosa e pia	Egidi XXXVI
VII	50r	13	La ¹	Frate Guittone	Meraviglioso beato	PD1, pp. 227 – 229
VII	50r- 51r	14	La ¹	Frate Guittone	Beato Francesco, in te laudare	Egidi XXXVIII
VII	51r-v	15	La ¹	Frate G[uittone]	Vegna, vegan, chi vol<e> giocundare	PD1, pp. 230 – 231
VII	51v- 52r	16	La ¹	F[rate] Guittone	Padre dei padre miei e mio messere	Egidi XL
VII	52r	17	La ¹	F[rate] G[uittone]	Guidoconte Novello, se hom, da pare	Egidi XLI
VII	52r-v	18	La ¹	F[rate] G[uittone]	Messer Petro da Massa leghato	Egidi, XLII
VII	52v- 53r	19	La ¹	F[rate] G[uittone] d'Aresso	Sovente veo saggio	Egidi XLIII
VII	53r-v	20	La ¹	F[rate] G[uittone]	Chi pote departire	Egidi XLIV
VII	53v	21	La ¹	F[rate] G[uittone]	Homo sapiente e vero	Egidi XLV
VII	53v- 54r	22	La ¹	F[rate] G[uittone]	Chomune perta fa comun dolore	PD1, pp. 232 – 234
VII	54r- 55r	23	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Magni baroni certo e regi quazi	PD1, pp. 235 – 240
VII	55r- 56r	24	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Onne vogloza d'omo infermitate	Egidi XLVIII
More than half of the right column on f.56r is blank, as are ff.56v-60v. The sole exception is the beginning of an Old Testament genealogy written in a later hand. The blank space is all lined.						
VIII	61r-v	25	La ¹	Guittone	Se <d>de voi, donna gente	Picone, 1972

VIII	61v	26	La ¹	G[uittone] d'Aresso	Amor, non ò podere	Egidi, II
VIII	61v- 62r	27	La ¹	G[uittone] d'Aresso	Chero con dirittura	Egidi, III
VIII	62r-v	28	La ¹	G[uittone] d'Aresso	Ai bona donna, che è devenuto	Egidi, IV
VIII	62v	29	La ¹	G[uittone] d'Aresso	Gioia e allegransa	Egidi, V
VIII	62v- 63r	30	La ¹	G[uittone] d'Aresso	Tutto mi strugge in pensiero e 'n pianto	Egidi, VI
VIII	63r-v	31	La ¹	G[uittone] d'Aresso	Ai Deo, che dolorosa	PD1, pp. 192 – 196
VIII	63v- 64r	32	La ¹	G[uittone] d'Aresso	A renformare amore e fede e spera	Egidi, VIII
VIII	64r-v	33	La ¹	G[uittone] d'Aresso	Lasso!, pensando quanto	Egidi, IX
VIII	64v	34	La ¹	G[uittone] d'Aresso	Manta stagione veggio	Egidi, X
VIII-IX	64v- 65r	35	La ¹	G[uittone] d'Aresso	Tuctor, s'eo véglia o dormo	PD1, pp. 197 – 199
IX	65r-v	36	La ¹	G[uittone] d'Aresso	Voglia de dir giusta ragion m'à porta	Egidi, XII
IX	65v	37	La ¹	G[uittone] d'Aresso	La Gioia mia, che de tutt'altre'è sovera	Egidi, XIII
IX	65v- 66v	38	La ¹	G[uittone] d'Aresso	Tutto 'l dolor, ch'eo mai portai, fu gioia	Picone, 1972
IX	66v- 67r	39	La ¹	G[uittone] d'Aresso	Giente noioza e villana	PD1, pp. 200 – 205
IX	67r-v	40	La ¹	G[uittone] d'Aresso	Gentil mia donna, Gioi senpre gioioza	Egidi, XVI

IX	67v-68r	41	La ¹	G[uittone] d'Aresso	Altra gioi non m'è gente	Egidi, XVII
IX	68r	42	La ¹	G[uittone] d'Aresso	Oraché la freddore	Picone, 1983
IX	68r-69r	43	La ¹	G[uittone] d'Aresso	Ai lasso!, or è stagion de doler tanto	PD1, pp. 206 – 209
IX	69r-v	44	La ¹	G[uittone] d'Aresso	Ai lasso!, ché li boni e li mal[vagi]	PD1, pp. 210 - 213
IX	69v-71r	45	La ¹	G[uittone] d'Aresso	Altra fiato aggio, donne, parlato	Egidi, XLIX
IX	71r-v	46	La ²	G[uittone] d'Aresso	Amor tant'altamente	Minetti 1974, pp. 48 - 51
IX	71v	47	La ²	G[uittone] d'Aresso	Gioia gioioza plagente	Egidi, XXII
IX	71v-72r	48	La ²	G[uittone] d'Aresso	Tuttoch'eo poco vaglia	Egidi, XXIV
The bottom half of the left column on <i>f.</i> 72r as well as the rest of the folio are blank, though lined.						
X	73r-v	49	La ²	Messer Guido Guinisselli da Bologna	Madonna, il fine amor ched eo vo porto	PD2, pp. 453 – 456
X	73v	50	La ²	Messer Guido Guinisselli	Donna, l'amor mi sforsa	PD2, pp. 457 – 459
X	73v-74r	51	La ²	Messer G[uido] Guinisselli	Al cor gientil repara senpre amore	PD2, pp. 460 – 464
X	74r-v	52	La ²	Messer Guido Guinisselli	Lo fin pregi' avansato	PD2, pp. 465 – 467
X	74v	53	La ²	Galletto Pisano	Credeam' essere, lasso!	PD1, pp. 286 – 288
X	74v-75r	54	La ²	Lunardo del Gualacha	Sì come 'l pescio al lasso	PD1, pp. 289 – 292
X	75r-v	55	La ²	Notar Iacomo da lLentino	Madonna, dir vo voglo	PD1, pp. 51 – 54

X	75v	56	La ²	N[otar] Iacomo	Ben m'è venuto, prima, al cor doglensa	PD1, pp. 61 – 63
X	75v- 76r	57	La ²	N[otar] Iacomo	Madonna mia, a voi mando	Antonelli XII
X	76r-v	58	La ²	N[otar] Iacomo	Meraviglozamente	PD1, pp. 55 – 57
X	76v	59	La ²	Galletto	Inn- alta donna ò mizo mia 'ntendansa	PD1, pp. 284 – 285
X	76v- 77r	60	La ²	Messer Rugeri d'Amici	Già lungiamente, Amore	Panvini, pp. 439 – 441
X	77r	61	La ²	N[otar] Iacomo	Vostr' orgoglosa c[i]era	Panvini, pp. 409 – 412
X	77r-v	62	La ²	Matheo de rRicco da Messina	Amore, avendo interamente voglia	Panvini, pp. 430 – 432
X	77v- 78r	63	La ²	[Notar Iacomo]	Menbrando ciò c'Amore	Panvini, pp. 446 – 448
X	78r	64	La ²	Rex Enso	Amor mi fa sovente	Contini 1970, pp. 54 – 56
X	78v	65	La ²	Re Enso	S'eo trovasse Pietansa	PD1, pp. 157 – 159
X	78v- 79r	66	La ²	Giudice Guido dele Colonne	Ancorché ll'aigua per lo foco lasse	PD1, pp. 107 – 110
X	79r-v	67	La ²	Istefano di Messina	Assai mi plagerea	PD1, pp. 137 – 139
X	79v	68	La ²	Bonagiunta Orbiccciani	Avegnaché partensa	PD1, pp/ 260 – 262
X	79v- 80r	69	La ²	Bonagiunta	Fina consideransa	PD1, pp. 263 – 264
X	80r-v	70	La ²	IBonagiunta Orbiccciani de Luccha	Similemente onore	Menichetti 1978, pp. 3 - 5
X	80v	71	La ²	Betto Mettefuoco	Amore, perché m'ài	PD1, pp. 293 – 296
X-XI	80v-	72	La ²	[Domino Rainaldo]	Blasmomi	Panvini, pp.

	81r			d'Aquino]	del'Amore	436 – 439
XI	81r-v	73	La ²	Paganino da Seranza	Contra lo meo volere	PD1, pp. 115 – 118
XI	81v- 82r	74	La ²	[Cansone]	Gravoza dimoransa	Panvini, pp. 283 – 285
XI	82r	75	La ²	Messer Dotto Reali de Luccha	Di ciò che 'l meo cor sente	Zacc.-Pard., pp. 101 – 103
XI	82r-v	76	La ²	Meo Abracciavaccha [da Pistoia]	Sovente aggio pensato di tacere	PD1, pp. 338 – 341
XI	82v- 83r	77	La ²	Meo Abracciavaccha	Madonna, vostr' altera canoscensa	Zacc.-Pard., pp. 5 - 7
XI	83r-v	78	La ²	Meo Abracciavaccha	Considerando l'altera valensa	Ageno VIb
XI	83v	79	3	[Cansone quivocha]	Amor, tegnomi matto	Ciccuto, pp. 5 – 10
XI	84r-v	80	La ²	Monte Andrea da Fiorenza	Ai!, Deo mersé, che ffi' di me, Amore?	Minetti I
XI	84v- 85r	81	La ²	Monte Andrea	Ai mizero taupino!, ora scoperchio	PD1, pp. 456 – 459
XI	85r-v	82	La ²	Monte Andrea	Ai lasso dolorozo!, più non posso	PD1, pp. 449 – 453
XI	85v- 86r	83	La ²	Messer Tomazo da Faensa	Amorozo voler m'ave conmosso	PD1, pp. 453 – 456
XI	86r- 87r	84	La ²	Monte Andrea	Tanto m'abbonda materia: di soverchio!	Minetti VII
XI	87r-v	85	La ²	Chiaro Davansati da Fiorenza	A San Giovanni, a Monte, mia cansone	Minetti VIa
XI	87v- 88r	86	La ²	Mino del Pavezaio d'Aresso	Stato son lungiamente	Valeriani 2, pp. 382 – 384
XI	88r	87	La ²	Lemmo di Iohanni d'Orlandi	Gravoso affanno e pena	Zacc.-Pard., pp. 21 - 22

XI	88v	88	La ²	Lemmo soprascritto	Fera cagione e dura	Zacc.-Pard., pp. 23 – 25
XI-XII	88v-89r	89	La ²	Panuccio dal Bagno	Madonna, vostr' altero plagimento	Ageno V
XII	89r-v	90	La ²	Panuccio dal Bagno	Di sì alta valens'a signoria	Ageno VIa
XII	89v-90r	91	La ²	Panuccio	Sì dilettoza gioia	Ageno VII
XII	90r-v	92	La ²	Panuccio	Poic'ò 'ntravogla, dir pena convene	PD1, pp. 300 – 303
XII	90v-91r	93	La ²	Panuccio	La dolorosa e mia grave doglensa	Ageno IX
XII	91r-v	94	La ²	Panuccio	Considerando la vera partensa	Ageno X
XII	91v-92v	95	La ²	Panuccio	La dolorosa noia	PD1, pp. 304 – 308
XII	92v-93r	96	La ²	Panuccio	Doloroza doglensa in dir m'adduce	Ageno XII
XII	93r-v	97	La ²	Lotto di ser D[ato] a Panuccio	Dela fera infertà e angoscioza	Agena XIIIa
XII	93v-94r	98	La ²	Panuccio	Magna medela a grave e periglioza	PD1, pp. 309 – 312
XII	94r	99	La ²	Panuccio	Di dir già più no·m celo	Ageno XIV
XII	94r-v	100	La ²	Panuccio	Poiché mia vogla varcha	Ageno XV
XII	94v-95v	101	La ²	[Bacciarone di messer Baccone da Pisa]	Nova m'è volontà nel cor creata	Zacc.-Pard., pp. 195 – 199
XII	95v-96r	102	La ²	[Bacciarone soprascritto]	Sì forte m'à costretto	Zacc.-Pard., pp. 199 – 202
XII	96r-v	103	La ²	[Bacciarone soprascritto]	S'è dolorozo, a voler movo dire	Zacc.-Pard., pp. 202 – 203
XII	96v	104	La ²	[Cansone]	Chiar à in sé valore	Valeriani I, pp. 378 – 380

XIII	97r-v	105	La ²	[Cansone]	Lasso taupino!, en che punto crudele	Valeriani I, pp. 374 - 377
XIII	97v- 98r	106	La ²	[Cansone]	La gran sovrabbondansa	Panvini, pp. 570 – 572
XIII	98r	107	La ²	[Lotto di ser Dato pisano]	Fior di beltà e d’ogni coza bona	PD1, pp. 315 – 317
Fol. 98v is blank.						
XIII	99r	108	3	[Noccho di Cenni di Frediano da Pisa]	[G]reve di gioia pò l’om malenansa	PD1, pp. 319 – 322
XIII	99r-v	109	Lb ¹	Cansone di Notar Giacomo	[A]mor non vuole ch’io clami	Antonelli IV
XIII	99v- 100r	110	Lb ¹	Discordio di Notar Giacomo	[D]al core mi vene	PD1, pp. 68 – 75
XIII	100r-v	111	Lb ¹	Notaro Giacomo	[L]a ‘namoranza disiosa	Antonelli V
XIII	100v	112	Lb ¹	Notar Giacomo	[T]roppo sono dimorato	Antonelli VIII
XIII	101r	112bis ²⁹⁸	Lb ¹		[S’]io dollio non è meravillia	Antonelli XIII
XIII	101r	113	Lb ¹	Notar Giacomo	[P]oi non mi val merzé né ben servire	PD1, pp. 64 – 65
XIII	101v	114	Lb ¹	Tomaso di Sasso di Messina	[L’] amoroso vedere	Panvini, pp. 67 – 69
XIII	101v- 102r	115	Lb ¹	Tomaso di sSasso di Messina	[D’]amoroso paese	PD1, pp. 91 – 93
XIII	102r-v	116	Lb ¹	Giudici Guido dele Colonne	[G]ioiosamente canto	PD1, pp. 99 – 101
XIII	102v	117	Lb ¹	<i>Rex Federigo</i>	[O]i lasso!, non pensai	Panvini, pp. 425 – 426
XIII	102v- 103r	118	Lb ¹	Messer Rainaldo de ‘Quino	[P]oi li piacie c’avanzi suo	Panvini, pp. 99 – 100

²⁹⁸ This *canzone* does not have a rubric. For more information see Leonardi, 2000, p. xxii.

					valore	
XIII	102v	118bis ²⁹⁹	Lb ¹		[M]ellio val dire ciò c'omo à 'n talento	Panvini, pp. 117 - 118
XIII	103r	119	Lb ¹	Messer Rainaldo d'Aquino	[A]morose donna fina	Panvini, pp. 111 - 113
XIII	103r-v	120	Lb ¹	Messer Piero dele Vingne	[A]more, in cui disio ed ò speranza	PD1, pp. 121 - 122
XIII	103v- 104r	121	Lb ¹	Messer Piero dele Vigne	[A]ssai credetti celare	PD1, pp. 134 - 136
XIII	104r-v	122	Lb ¹	Notaro Stefano di Pronto di Messina	[A]more, da cui move tuctora e ven	Panvini, pp. 417 - 419
XIII	104v	123	Lb ¹	Giacomo d'Aquino	[A]llegamente canto	Panvini, pp. 419 - 420
XIII	104v	124	Lb ¹	Giacomo Pulliese	[T]utura la dolce speranza	Panvini, pp. 181 - 183
XIV	105r	125	La ²	Sonetti d'amore di Guittone d'Aresso	Amor m'à prizo e incarnato tutto	Leonardi 1
XIV	105r	126	La ²	Guittone	Amor, mercede, intende s'eo ragione	Leonardi 2
XIV	105r	127	La ²	Guittone	Spietate donna e fera, ora te prenda	Leonardi 3
XIV	105r	128	La ²	Guittone	Deo!, che non posso or dizamar sì forte	Leonardi 4
XIV	105v	129	La ²	Guittone	Ai!, con' mi dol vedere homo valente	Leonardi 5
XIV	105v	130	La ²	Guittone	Deo!, como pote adimorar piacere	Leonardi 6
XIV	105v	131	La ²	Guittone	Ai bona donna, or, se, tuctoch'eo sia	Leonardi 7

²⁹⁹ This item is a sonnet that has been preserved between the second and third stanzas of the *canzone* by Rinaldo d'Aquino that come before and after it in the MS. See Leonardi, *op. cit.*, p. xxiii.

XIV	105v	132	La ²	Guittone	Pietà, per Deo, de me vi prenda, Amore	Leonardi 8
XIV	106r	133	La ²	Guittone	Se Deo m'aiuti, amor, peccato fate	Leonardi 9
XIV	106r	134	La ²	Guittone	Amor, per Deo, mercé, mercé, mercede	Leonardi 10
XIV	106r	135	La ²	Guittone	Deo!, com'è bel poder quel di Mercede	Leonardi 11
XIV	106r	136	La ²	Guittone	Fero dolore e crudel pena [et] dura	Leonardi 12
XIV	106v	137	La ²	Guittone	E' dala donna mia comandamento	Leonardi 13
XIV	106v	138	La ²	Guittone	Deo!, che ben aggia il meo, che sì bello	Leonardi 14
XIV	106v	139	La ²	Guittone	Poi pur di servo star ferm' ò 'l volere	Leonardi 15
XIV	106v	140	La ²	Guittone	Miri che dico onni-hom, che servidore	Leonardi 16
XIV	107r	141	La ²	Guittone	Qualunque bona donna àv' amadore	Leonardi 17
XIV	107r	142	La ²	Guittone	Ben l'à en podere e la ten canoscensa	Leonardi 18
XIV	107r	143	La ²	Guittone	Sì como ciascun, quazi enfingitore	Leonardi 19
XIV	107r	144	La ²	Guittone	E poi lo meo penser fu sì fermato	Leonardi 20
XIV	107v	145	La ²	Guittone	En tale guiza son rimaso amante	Leonardi 21

XIV	107v	146	La ²	Guittone	Amor, se coza <s> è che 'n signoria	Leonardi 22
XIV	107v	147	La ²	Guittone	Eo non son quell che cercha esser amato	Leonardi 23
XIV	107v	148	La ²	Guittone	Ai Deo, chi vidde mai talmalatia	Leonardi 24
XIV	108r	149	La ²	Guittone	Ben saccio de vertà che 'l meo trovare	Leonardi 25
XIV	108r	150	La ²	Guittone	Amor, mercé, c'or m'è mister che stia	Leonardi 26
XIV	108r	151	La ²	Guittone	Amore, certo assai meravigliare	Leonardi 27
XIV	108r	152	La ²	Guittone a mastro Bandino	Mastro Bandino amico, el meo preghero	Leonardi 28
XIV	108v	153	La ²	Mastro Bandin Risposta	Leal Guittone, nome non verteri	Leonardi 29
XIV	108v	154	La ²	G[<i>uittone</i>] a maestro Bandino	Mastro Bandin, vostr'e d'Amor mercede	Leonardi 30
XIV	108v	155	La ²	G[<i>uittone</i>]	Tuttorch'eo dirò 'Gioi, gioiva cosa	Leonardi 31
XIV	108v	156	La ²	G[<i>uittone</i>]	Oimè lasso!, com'eo moro pensando	Leonardi 32
XIV	109r	157	La ²	G[<i>uittone</i>]	Gioi amoroza, amor, grasi' e mercede	Leonardi 33
XIV	109r	158	La ²	G[<i>uittone</i>]	Piagente donna, voi ch'eo Gioi apello	Leonardi 34
XIV	109r	159	La ²	G[<i>uittone</i>]	Gioioza Gioi, sovr'onni gioi gioiva	Leonardi 35

XIV	109r	160	La ²	G[uittone]	Ai dolce Gioia, amara ad opo meo	Leonardi 36
XIV	109v	161	La ²	G[uittone]	Dett'ò de dir; dirò, Gioia gioioza	Leonardi 37
XIV	109v	162	La ²	<G> La donna	Eo t'aggio inteso, e te responderaggio	Leonardi 38
XIV	109v	163	La ²	G[uittone]	Grasi' e mercé voi, gentil donna orrata	Leonardi 39
XIV	109v	164	La ²	La donna	Eo non tegno già quell per bon fedele	Leonardi 40
XIV	110r	165	La ²	G[uittone]	Lo dolor e la gioi del meo coraggio	Leonardi 41
XIV	110r	166	La ²	La donna	Deo!, con' dimandi ciò che tt'ò donato	Leonardi 42
XIV	110r	167	La ²	G[uittone]	Oimè!, che dite, amor? Mercé, per Deo	Leonardi 43
XIV	110r	168	La ²	La donna	Consiglioti che parti; e, se 'l podere	Leonardi 44
XIV	110v	169	La ²	G[uittone]	Lasso!, non sète là dov'eo tormento	Leonardi 45
XIV	110v	170	La ²	La donna	Per fermo se' ben hom che gravemente	Leonardi 46
XIV	110v	171	La ²	G[uittone]	Ai!, come <in>m'è crudel, forte e noioza	Leonardi 47
XIV	110v	172	La ²	La donna	Me pesa assai, se sì grav'è 'l tuo stato	Leonardi 48
XIV	111r	173	La ²	G[uittone]	Donque mi parto, lasso!, almen de dire	Leonardi 49

XIV	111r	174	La ²	G[uittone]	Gioia gioioza, a me nòi e dolore	Leonardi 50
XIV	111r	175	La ²	G[uittone]	Vizo non m'è ch'eo mai potesse Gioia	Leonardi 51
XIV	111r	176	La ²	G[uittone]	Legiadra Noia e apruficha altera	Leonardi 52
XIV	111v	177	La ²	G[uittone]	Ai mala Noia, mal vo doni Deo	Leonardi 53
XIV	111v	178	La ²	G[uittone]	Deo!, che mal aggia mia fed'è mi' amore	Leonardi 54
XIV	111v	179	La ²	G[uittone]	Certo, Noia, non sò ch'eo faccia o dicha	Leonardi 55
XIV	111v	180	La ²	G[uittone]	Lasso!, en che mal punto ed en che fella	Leonardi 56
XIV	112r	181	La ²	G[uittone]	Ai lasso!, como mai trovar poria	Leonardi 57
XIV	112r	182	La ²	G[uittone]	Altro che morte ormai non veggio sia	Leonardi 58
XIV	112r	183	La ²	La donna	Certo, Guitton, delo mal tuo mi peza	Leonardi 59
XIV	112r	184	La ²	G[uittone]	Gioia, d'onne [...] gioi e movimento	Leonardi 60
XIV	112v	185	La ²	Guittone	Gioia, gioioza più che non pò dire	Leonardi 61
XIV	112v	186	La ²	Guittone	Ben aggia ormai la fede e l'amor meo	Leonardi 62
XIV	112v	187	La ²	Guittone	Voi che penate di saver lo chore	Leonardi 63
XIV	112v	188	La ²	Guittone	Amore e gioia, bella Gioia, sento	Leonardi 64

XV	113r	189	La ²	Guittone	Ai!, como ben del meo stato mi pare	Leonardi 65
XV	113r	190	La ²	Guittone	Non sia dottozo alcun-hom, perch'eo guardi	Leonardi 66
XV	113r	191	La ²	Guittone	Com' eo più dico, più talento dire	Leonardi 67
XV	113r	192	La ²	Guittone	De tutte cose e cagione e momento	Leonardi 68
XV	113v	193	La ²	Guittone	Ben meraviglio como hom cognoscente	Leonardi 69
XV	113v	194	La ²	Guittone	Gioi amoroza, amor, vostro lignaggio	Leonardi 70
XV	113v	195	La ²	Guittone	In fede mia, che 'n amor grande aiuto	Leonardi 71
XV	113v	196	La ²	Guittone	Con' più m'allungo, iù m'è prossimana	Leonardi 72
XV	114r	197	La ²	Guittone	Gioiamoroza, amor; senpre lontano	Leonardi 73
XV	114r	198	La ²	Guittone	Ai doles cosa, perfetta Speransa	Leonardi 74
XV	114r	199	La ²	Guittone	Lontan[o] son de Gioi e Gioi de mene	Leonardi 75
XV	114r	200	La ²	Guittone	Gioi amoroza, amor, pensando quanto	Leonardi 76
XV	114v	201	La ²	Guittone	Deporto e gioia nel meo core à pporta	Leonardi 77
XV	114v	202	La ²	Guittone	De coralmente amar mai non dimagra	Leonardi 78

XV	114v	203	La ²	Guittone	Già lungiamente sono stato punto	Leonardi 79
XV	114v	204	La ²	Guittone	Del valorozo valor coronate	Leonardi 80
XV	115r	205	La ²	Guittone	Villana donna, non mi ti disdire	Leonardi 81
XV	115r	206	La ²	La donna	Non mi disdico, villan parlamore	Leonardi 82
XV	115r	207	La ²	Guittone	Certo, mala donna, malo accatto	Leonardi 83
XV	115r	208	La ²	La donna	Così ti doni Dio mala ventura	Leonardi 84
XV	115v	209	La ²	Guittone	Ai!, Deo, chi vidde donna disiata	Leonardi 85
XV	115v	210	La ²	La donna	Or son maestro di villan parlare	Leonardi 86
The bottom half of <i>f.</i> 115v and all of <i>f.</i> 116 are blank.						
XV	117r	211	La ²	Sonetti di frate Guittone d'Aresso	Ai!, che villano e che folle follere	Egidi 163
XV	117r	212	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Ai!, como matto è ben senza questione	Egidi 164
XV	117r	213	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	O tu, lass'-om, che tti dàì per amore	Egidi 165
XV	117r	214	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Pare che voglia dicere l'Autore	Egidi 166
XV	117v	215	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Gioncell'a fonte, parpaglione e ffocho	Egidi 167
XV	117v	216	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Lo gran deçio face alleggerare	Egidi 168
XV	117v	217	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Non me posso fidare en mia defena	Egidi 169

XV	117v	218	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	O voi ditti signori; ditemi dove	Egidi 161
XV	118r	219	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	O grandi secular', voi che pugnate	Egidi 160
XV	118r	220	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Miri, miri catuno, a ccui bizogna	Egidi 162
XV	118r	221	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Franchessa, signoria, senn' e riccore	Egidi 170
XV	118r	222	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	O!, quanto fiedi me forte sanando	Egidi 171
XV	118v	223	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	O grave, o fellonesco, o periglioso	Egidi 173
XV	118v	224	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	O tracoitata e forsennata gente	Egidi 174
XV	118v	225	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Nesciensia, e ppiù sciensia carnale	Egidi 175
XV	118v	226	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Superbia, tu sse' capo di peccato	Egidi 176
XV	119r	227	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Avarisia, tu meriti affanno	Egidi 177
XV	119r	228	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Lussuria, tu di saggi'-om matto fai	Egidi 178
XV	119r	229	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Invidia, tu nemich<o> [a] a catun se'-e	Egidi 179
XV	119r	230	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Visio di gola, tu brutto e ontozo	Egidi 180
XV	119v	231	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Tu visio, accidia, a ccui ben fastidioso	Egidi 181
XV	119v	232	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Ira, pessimo visio, acciecha mente	Egidi 182
XV	119v	233	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Gloria vana, tu furtivamente	Egidi 183

XV	119v	234	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	D'animo fievilesca e codardia	Egidi 184
XV	120r	235	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Non-giustisia, ciò è falsessa e torto	Egidi 185
XV	120r	236	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	O d'onne bono bon, bona vertu<te>	Egidi 186
XV	120r	237	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	De virtù de sciensia, il cui podere	Egidi 187
XV	120r	238	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Tu, costante e ssigur fondamento	Egidi 188
XV	120v	239	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Larghessa, tu virtù, dand' e tenendo	Egidi 189
XV	120v	240	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Chastitate, tu luce e ttu <spr>[bell]ore	Egidi 190
XV	120v	241	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Amistade de 'nvidia è medicina	Egidi 191
XV	120v	242	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Temperansa di corpo è ssanidade	Egidi 192
XVI	121r	243	La ²	Frate Guittone	Pensand' om che val bon dizio fa 'desso	Egidi 193
XVI	121r	244	La ²	Frate Guittone	Dolse virtù, mansuetudo, e ddegna	Egidi 194
XVI	121r	245	La ²	Frate Guittone	O tu, devino amor bon, charitate	Egidi 195
XVI	121r	246	La ²	Frate Guittone	Gloria vera e onor tutto orrato	Egidi 196
XVI	121v	247	La ²	Frate Guittone	D'animo tu bona virtù, fortessa	Egidi 197
XVI	121v	248	La ²	Frate Guittone	O tu, giustisia, d'onestà sprendore	Egidi 198

XVI	121v	249	La ²	Frate Guittone	Charissimi, pió fiate e or appare	Egidi 199
XVI	121v	250	La ²	Frate G[<i>uittone</i>]	Tanto in virtù, frati, de dignitate	Egidi 200
XVI	122r	251	La ²	Frate G[<i>uittone</i>]	De visî tutti, frati, e virtù dire	Egidi 201
XVI	122r	252	La ²	Frate G[<i>uittone</i>]	[O] charissimi miei, qual è cagione	Egidi 202
XVI	122r	253	La ²	Frate G[<i>uittone</i>] [repeated sonnet]	O sonmo bono e ddei bon' solo autore	Egidi 139
XVI	122r	254	La ²	Frate G[<i>uittone</i>]	Solament'è virtù che debitore	Egidi 140
XVI	122v	255	La ²	Frate G[<i>uittone</i>]	O benigna, o dolce, o presioza	Egidi 141
XVI	122v	256	La ²	Frate G[<i>uittone</i>]	Ai!, como è bben dizorrato nescente	Egidi 142
XVI	122v	257	La ²	Frate G[<i>uittone</i>]	O fellonesc[h]i, o tràiti, o forsennati	Egidi 143
XVI	122v	258	La ²	Frate G[<i>uittone</i>]	Sì como già diss[i] anche, alcuna cosa	Egidi 144
XVI	123r	259	La ²	Frate G[<i>uittone</i>]	Sì ccomo no a corpo è malatia	Egidi 145
XVI	123r	260	La ²	Frate G[<i>uittone</i>]	O frati miei, voi che diserate	Egidi 146
XVI	123r	261	La ²	Frate G[<i>uittone</i>]	Auda che <d>dico chi vol arricchire	Egidi 147
XVI	123r	262	La ²	Frate G[<i>uittone</i>]	Tre cose sono, per che move catono	Egidi 148
XVI	123v	263	La ²	Frate G[<i>uittone</i>]	Auda chi vole adessa il mio parere	Egidi 149
XVI	123v	264	La ²	Frate G[<i>uittone</i>]	Ai!, che grave dannaggio e che noioso	Egidi 150

XVI	123v	265	La ²	Frate Guittone	O donne mie, leale e buono amore	Egidi 151
XVI	123v	266	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	O voi, fiovane donne, o mizagate	Egidi 152
XVI	124r	267	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	O motto vile e di vil cor messaggio	Egidi 153
XVI	124r	268	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Messer Bottaccio amico, ogn'animale	Egidi 154
XVI	124r	269	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Se vole, amico, Amor gioi a te dare	Egidi 155
XVI	124r	270	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Messer Giovanni amico, 'n vostro amore	Egidi 156
XVI	124v	271	La ²	Frate Guittone	Alberigol de Lando, appena cosa	Egidi 157
XVI	124v	272	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Diletto e ccaro mio, mova va[lo]re	Egidi 158
XVI	124v	273	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Messer Berto Frescubaldi, Iddio	Egidi 159
XVI	124v	274	La ²		Ragione mosse ed amor lo Fattore	Egidi 238
XVI	125r	275	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone] Risposta	Che b<e>n[o]n Dio sonmo sia creatore	Egidi 239
XVI	125r	276	La ²	Meo Abbracciavaccha a frate G[uittone]	Se 'l filozofo dice: "E" necessario	PD1, p. 342
XVI	125r	277	La ²	Risposta F[rate] G[uittone] a Meo	Necessaro mangiar e bere è chiaro	PD1, p. 343
XVI	125r	278	La ²	Messer Guido Guiniselli a frate G[uittone]	Charo padre meo, de vostra laude	PD2, p. 484
XVI	125v	279	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone] Risposta al	Figlio mio dilettozo, in faccia	PD2, p. 485

				soprascritto	laude	
XVI	125v	280	La ²		Alquanto scuza l'omo dicer fermo	Egidi 206
XVI	125v	281	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone] Risposta al soprascritto	Giudicare e veder del tutto fermo	Egidi 207
XVI	125v	282	La ²	Iudice Ubertino	Se 'l nome deve seguitar lo fatto	Egidi 208
XVI	126r	283	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone] Risposta al soprascritto	Giudice Ubertin, in catun fatto	Egidi 209
XVI	126r	284	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Ai!, che bon m'è vedere ben<e> p[ati]ente	Egidi 172
XVI	126r	285	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Deo!, con' fu dolcie e ben aventurozo	Egidi 210
XVI	126r	286	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Alcun conto di te, conte Gualtieri	Egidi 211
XVI	126v	287	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Guidaloste, assai se' lungiamente	Egidi 212
XVI	126v	288	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	O tu, om de Bologna, sguarda e sente	Egidi 213
XVI	126v	289	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Giudice de Ghallura, en vostro amore	Egidi 214
XVI	126v	290	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Guelfo conte e Pucciandon, la voce	Egidi 215
XVI	127r	291	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	De pruzor' parte, prior de Fiorenza	Egidi 216
XVI	127r	292	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Finfo amico, dire io, voi prezente	Egidi 217
XVI	127r	293	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Primo e maggio bono, al meo	Egidi 218

					parere	
XVI	127r	294	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Messer Gentil, la ricca e nova pianta	Egidi 219
XVI	127v	295	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Mastro Bandin, s'è mal dett'ò d'Amore	Egidi 221
XVI	127v	296	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Tutt' el maggiore bono amistà sia	Egidi 222
XVI	127v	297	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Giudice Gherardo, anmè!, che stroppo	Egidi 223
XVI	127v	298	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Bene vegg'-io, D[...], che, chi<e> te rabuffa	Egidi 224
XVI	128r	299	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	S'e' non creddesse dispiacere a dDio	Egidi 225
XVI	128r	300	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Picciul e vile, om grande e car tenere	Egidi 226
XVI	128r	301	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Vero mio de vendenmia compare	Egidi 227
XVI	128r	302	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Lo dire e 'l fatto tutto, certo, e 'l sòno	Egidi 228
XVI	128v	303	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Vogl' e ragion mi convit' e rechere	Minetti 1974, p. 40
XVI	128v	304	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Lo nom' al vero fatt'à parentado	PD1, pp. 344 – 345
XVI	128v	305	La ²	Meo Risposta a frate G[uittone]	Vacche né <t>tora pió neent' e' bado	PD1, pp. 345 - 346
XVI	128v	306	La ²	F[rate] G[uittone]	Dispregio Pregio, u' Non-pregi' à pregiansa	Egidi 231
XVII	129r	307	La ²	Messer Guido Guinisselli da Bologna	Pur a pensar mi par gran meraviglia	PD2, p. 477

XVII	129r	308	La ²	Messer Guido	Sì ssono angosciozo e pien di dogla	PD2, p. 476
XVII	129r	309	La ²	Messer Guido	Fra l'autre pene maggio credo sia	PD2, p. 478
XVII	129r	310	La ²	Guido Cavalcanti	Beltà di donna di piagente core	PD2, p. 494
XVII	129v	311	La ²	Meo Abracciavaccha da Pistoia	A scuro loco conven lume clero	PD1, p. 347
XVII	129v	312	La ²	Messer Dotto Reali Risposta al soprascritto	A ppió voler mostrar che porti vero	PD1, p. 348
XVII	129v	313	La ²	Monte Andrea a Meo	Languisce 'l meo spirit ser' e mane	PD1, pp. 340 – 350
XVII	129v	314	La ²	Meo Risposta al soprascritto	Vita noioza, pena soffrir lâne	PD1, p. 350
XVII	130r	315	La ²	Panuccio dal Bagnio	Lasso!, sovente sent' –e' che Natura	Ageno XVI
XVII	130r	316	La ²	Panuccio	Se quei che regna e 'n signoria enpera	Ageno XVII
XVII	130r	317	La ²	Panuccio	Dolendo, amico, di gravosa pena	Ageno XVII
XVII	130r	318	La ²	Panuccio	Raprezentando a chanoscensa vostra	Ageno XIXa
XVII	130v	319	La ²	Panuccio	Preghe' a chi dorme c'oramai si svegli	Ageno XX
XVII	130v	320	La ²	Panuccio	Piggior stimo che morso di capra	Ageno XXI
XVII	130v	321	La ²	Panuccio [sonetto doppio]	Lasso di far più verso	PD1, p. 313
XVII	130v	322	La ²	Federigho dal'Anbra	Amor, che tutte cose signoreggia	Valeriani 2, p. 391
XVII	131r	323	La ²	Bonagiunta da Lucha a messer Guido	Voi, c'avete mutata la mainera	PD2, p. 481

				Guinisselli		
XVII	131r	324	La ²	Messer Guido Risposta al soprascritto	Homo ch'è saggio non corre leggero	PD2, pp. 482 - 483
XVII	131r	325	La ²		Q[uan]t'aggio ingegno e forse in veritade	Valeriani 1, p. 381
XVII	131r	326	La ²		Quando valore e senno d'om si mostra?	Ageno XIXb
XVII	131v	327	La ²	[Natuccio Cinquino pisano a Bacciarone di messer Baccone]	Alden<den>do dire l'altero valore	PD1, p. 324
XVII	131v	328	La ²	[Bacciarone Risposta al soprascritto]	Tua scritta, intesi bene lo tinore	PD1, p. 325
XVII	131v	329	La ²	[Gieri Giannini pisano]	Meo fero stato nato è ssì forte	Zacc.-Pard. p. 205
XVII	131v- 132r	330	La ²	[Risposta al soprascritto per Nantuccio]	Poi sono stato convitato a ccorte	Zacc.-Pard. p. 206
XVII	132r	331	La ²		A cquei ch'è sonmo dicitore altero	Panvini, pp. 613 – 614
XVII	132r	332	La ²		Verac' è 'l ditto che chi amizura	Valeriani 1, p. 421
XVII	132r	333	La ²	[Natuccio Cinquino Dimando a Bacciarone di messer Baccone]	A ccui prudensa porge alta lumera	Zacc.-Pard. p. 209
XVII	132r-v	334	La ²	[Bacciaron Risposta al soprascritto]	Chi nel dolore à bona sofferensa	Zacc.-Pard. p. 210
XVII	132v	335	La ²	[Terramagnino pisano sonetto doppio]	Poi dal maestro Guitton latte tenete	PD1, pp. 328 – 329
XVII	132v	336	La ²	[Risposta al soprascritto]	Gieronimo, con' credo voi sapete	PD1, pp. 329 – 330

XVII	132v	337	La ²		“Madonn’, eo dotto”. “Di che ài dottansa?”	Panvini p. 614
XVII	132v-133r	338	La ²		Sì come ‘l mare face per tenpesta	Valeriani 2, p. 62
XVII	133r	339	La ²	[Risposta al sonetto ditto per] [...]	Del mar si ronpe l’onda e ffa tenpesta	Valeriani 2, p. 63
XVII	133r	340	La ²		Lo gran valore e la gentil plagensa	Panvini p. 615
XVII	133r-v	341	La ²		Pozo ‘l corpo ‘n un loco meopigliando	Panvini pp. 615 – 615
XVII	133v	342	La ²		Chi ricieve’ giammai sì fero inganno	Panvini, p. 616
XVII	133v	343	La ²		Nobile donna, di corona degna	Panvini, p. 617
XVII	133v	344	La ²		Chi sua voglensa ben avesse intera	Valeriani 2, p. 99
XVII	133v-134r	345	La ²	[Gieri Giannini pisano]	Magna ferendo me tuba ‘n oregli	PD1, p. 132
XVII	134r	346	La ²	[Si. Giu. da Pistoia risposta al soprascritto]	Tanto saggio e bon poi [me] somegli	PD1, p. 133
XVII	134r	347	La ²		Poi dell’al[tre] [opre] tutte compimento	Valeriani 2, p. 61
XVII	134r	348	La ²	Pucciandone martello p[isano]	Signo senza pietansa, udit’ ò dire	PD1, p. 336
XVII	134r-v	349	La ²	Pucciandone [soprascritto]	Similmente, gente criatura	Panvini, p. 356
XVII	134v	350	La ²	Mino del Pavezaio d’Aresso	Quanto ti piace, Amore, m’affann’ e tira	Santangelo, p. 292
XVII	134v	351	La ²	Notar Iacomo	Lo badalisco alo specchio lucente	Antonelli D. 2

XVII	134v	352	La ²	Monte Andrea [da Firenze]	Sì <c>come ciascun-om può sa figura	Menichetti, 115a
XVII	135r	353	La ²	Chiario Davansati Risposta al soprascritto	Come 'l fantin, che nelo spe[glo] smira	Menichetti, 115
XVII	135r	354	La ²	Meo Abracc<a>[i]avaccha [da Pistoia]	Amore amaro, a morte m'ài feruto	Zacc.-Pard. p. 17
XVII	135r	355	La ²	Messer Guido Guinisselli	Ch'eo cor avesso, mi porea laudare	PD2, p. 471
XVII	135r	356	3,4,1		Doglio, languendo di greve pezansa	Zaccagnini 1907, p. 46
XVII	135v	357	3,4,1		Chogli occhi, amor, dolce saette m'archi	Panvini, pp. 617 - 618
XVII	135v	358	3,4,1		Per lunga dimoransa	Valeriani 2, p. 18
XVIII	135v	359	3,4,1	[Federigo dal' Ambra]	S' Amor, da cui procede ben e male	Panvini, p. 631
XVIII	135v	360	3,4,1	[Federigo soprascritto]	A due signor' non pò durar un rengno	Valeriani 2, p. 393
XVIII	136r	361	3,4,1	[Si. Giu. da Pistoia]	Del dolor tant' è 'l soverchio fero	Zacc.-Pard. p. 20
XVIII	136r	362	Lb ²	Guittone	[M]e piace dire como sentto d'amore	Avalle, p. 163
XVIII	136r	363	Lb ²	Guittone	[E]sto amore non è tutti comunale	Avalle, p. 164
XVIII	136r	364	Lb ²	Guittone	[E'] soa natura e su' poder d'amore	Avalle, p. 165
XVIII	136v	365	Lb ²	Guittone	[L]o modo del'amante eser dia	Avalle, p. 166
XVIII	136v	366	Lb ²	Guittone	[P]erché diverssi chasi sono,	Avalle, p. 167

					convene	
XVIII	136v	367	Lb ²	Guittone	[E]o non me dredera già [a]lquono amante	Avalle, p. 168
XVIII	136v	368	Lb ²	Guittone	[O]ra dirà l'omo gà che lo podere	Avalle, p. 169
XVIII	137r	369	Lb ²	Guittone	Ritorno a dire che l'amante àve a fare	Avalle, pp. 170-171
XVIII	137r	370	Lb ²	Guittone	[O]r chi dirà, over chi farà dire	Avalle, p. 172
XVIII	137r	371	Lb ²	Guittone	[E] bene casquana vale sì, com' e' sagio	Avalle, p. 173
XVIII	137r	372	Lb ²	Messer Lappo Saltarello	[C]onsiderando ingengo e presio fino	Valeriani 2, p. 434
XVIII	137v	373	Lb ²	Messer Giovanni d'Areço	[L']usciel fenicie, quando ven al morire	Santangelo, pp. 213 – 214
XVIII	137v	374	Lb ²	Notar Giacomo	[L]o visso mi fa andare alegramente	Antonelli XXVIII
XVIII	137v	375	Lb ²	Notar Giacomo	[E]o visso e son diviso dalo viso	Antonelli, XXIX
XVIII	137v	376	Lb ²	Guittone	[N]on par òmi pervenire ad amore	Menichetti, 118
XVIII	138r	377	Lb ²	Guittone	[I]nparo senpre condiçio[n] d'amore	Menichetti, 118a
XVIII	138r	378	Lb ²	Messer Giovane d'Areço	[P]elao con sua lancia atoschichata	Santangelo, p. 257
XVIII	138r	379	Lb ²	Bonagiunta da Luca	[D]ev' omo ala fotun' a bon coragio	Orlando 1981, p. 65
XVIII	138r	380	Lb ²	Notar Giacomo	[A]l'are craro ò vista pioga dare	PD1, p. 78

XVIII	138v	381	Lb ²	Notar Giacomo	[S]ì alta amança apres' à lo me' core	Antonelli XXX
XVIII	138v	382	Lb ²	Notar Giacomo	[P]er soferença si vince gran vetoria	Antonelli XXXI
XVIII	138v	383	Lb ²	Notar Giacomo	[C]ierto me pare che far déa bon signore	Antonelli XXXII
XVIII	138v	384	Lb ²	Giovanni Marotolo	[Q]uando de cosa l'omo à distança	Valeriani 2, p. 90
XVIII	139r	385	Lb ²	Giovanni Marotolo	[D]apoich'i' v'amo, donna mia valente	Valeriani 2, p. 91
XVIII	139r	386	Lb ²	Messer Lapo Saltarello	[C]ontr' agio di grand' ira benvolle[n]ça	Valeriani 2, p. 435
XVIII	139r	387	Lb ²	sSer Polo Çopo	[S]ì como 'l balenato è foco aciso	Zaccagnini 1933, p. 136
XVIII	139r	388	Lb ²	sSer Polo Çopo	[L]adro mi se[n]bra Amore, poi che fesse	Monaci-Arese, p. 247
XVIII	139v	389	Lb ²	sSer Polo Çopo	[S]ì como quel che porta la lumera	Zaccagnini 1933, pp. 136 – 137
XVIII	139v	390	Lb ²	Messer Tomaso da Faença	[I]nvidiosa gent' e malparlera	Zaccagnini 1935, p. 105
XVIII	139v	391	Lb ²	Messer Tomaso	[C]omo, le stelle sopra, la diana	Zaccagnini 1935, pp. 105 – 106
XVIII	139v	392	Lb ²	Messer Tomaso	[I]n voi, Amore, lo nom' à faluto	Zaccagnini 1935, p. 106
XVIII	140r	393	Lb ²	Masarello da Todi	[O]gn'-omo deve asai chare tenere	Valeriani 2, p. 87
XVIII	140r	394	Lb ²	sSerPolo da Bologna	[N]on si change la fina benvolliença	Zaccagnini 1933, 135

XVIII	140r	395	Lb ²	Notar Giacomo	[S]ì como 'l parpaglione, ch' à tal natura	Antonelli XXXIII
XVIII	140r	396	Lb ²	Notar Giacomo	[C]hi non avesse mai veduto fuoco	PD1, p. 79
XVIII	140v	397	Lb ²	Craçolo da Firençe	[G]lli ochi sono mesagi delo chore	Valeriani II 381
XVIII	140v	398	Lb ²	Messer Masseo da Mesina	[C]hi conoscesse sì la sua falança	Panvini 212
XVIII	140v	399	Lb ²	Messer Onesto	[D]avante a voi, Madonna, son venuto	Orlando XIX
XVIII	140v	400	Lb ²	Messer Polo di Castello	[V]oi, che tanto inver' me umiliate	Zaccagnini 1993, 137
XVIII	141r	401	Lb ²	Bonagiunta da Luccha	[F]eruto sono, et chi di m'è ferente	Santangelo, 255
XVIII	141r	402	Lb ²	Bonagiunta da Lucca	[Q]ual omo è sula rota per ventura	Zacc.-Pard. 81
XVIII	141r	403	Lb ²	Bonagiunta	[O]mo ch'è sagio nelo cominciare	Zacc.-Pard. 81
XVIII	141r	404	Lb ²		[N]el tempo avero omo dé prender conforto	Panvini 618
XVIII	141v	405	Lb ²	Fabrucio de' Lanbertaci	[O]mo non prese ancor sì sagiamente	Orlando 1981, 17
XVIII	141v	406	Lb ²	Messer Lapo Saltarello	[C]hi se medesmo inghanna per negrigença	Pollidori 195 – 197
XVIII	141v	407	Lb ²	Messer Guido Guiniçello	[G]entil donçella, di pregio nomata	PD2, p. 474
XVIII	141v	408	Lb ²	Notar Giacomo	[D]iamante, né smeraldo, né çafino	Antonelli XXXV
XVIII	142r	409	Lb ²	Notar Giacomo	[G]uardando basalisco velenoso	Antonelli D. 3

XVIII	142r	410	Lb ²	Notar Giacomo	[O]gn'-omo ch'ama dé amar s'onore	Antonelli XXV
XVIII	142r	411	Lb ²	Notar Giacomo	[M]adonna à 'n sé vertute con valore	PD1, p. 81
XVIII	142r	412	Lb ²	Messer Filippo da Messina	[A]i sis Deo, <i>con'</i> forte fu lo punto	Panvini 235
XVIII	142v	413	Lb ²	Bonagiunta da Lucca	[V]oi, ch'avete mutate la maniera	PD2, p. 481
XVIII	142v	414	Lb ²	Risposta di messer Guinçello	[O]mo ch'è sagio non corre legiero	PD2, pp. 482 – 483
XVIII	142v	415	Lb ²	Ubaldo di Marco	[N]ovello sonetto mando per mesagio	Valeriani II, 56
XVIII	142v	416	Lb ²	Guittone d'Areço	[I]n ogni cosa vuol senno e misura	Menichetti, p. 61
XVIII	143r	417	Lb ²	Notar Giacomo	[C]omo l'argento vivo fug' èl foco	Panvini 454
XVIII	143r	418	Lb ²	Masarello da Todi	[D]e gran guise mi fa meravigliare	Valeriani II 88
XVIII	143r	419	Lb ²	Lo Bianco di Bucarello	[S]ì com' ogn' altra fera lo leone	Santangelo 351
XVIII	143r	420	Lb ²	Bonagiunta	[A] me adovene com' alo çitello	PD1, p. 270
XVIII	143v	421	Lb ²	Giovanni Marotolo	[C]hi nele pietre semina samente	Valeriani II 92
XVIII	143v	422	Lb ²	Bonagiunta	[T]utto lo mondo si mantien per fiore	PD1, p. 271
XVIII	143v	423	Lb ²	Lo conte da Sancta Fiore	[I]n ogni membro un ispirito m'è nato	Panvini 369
XVIII	143v	424	Lb ²	Giovanni Marotolo	[Q]uanti più sono li doni d'amore	Valeriani II 93

XVIII	144r	425	Lb ²	Giovanni Marotolo	[V]ostro fin pregio e fina canosciença	Valeriani II 94
XVIII	144r	426	Lb ²	Messer Guido Guinçello	[L]amentomi di mia disaventura	PD2, p. 473
XVIII	144r	427	Lb ²	Guitone d'Areço	[V]oi che penate di biasmar lo core	Leonardi 63
XVIII	144r	428	Lb ²	Doço Nori	[N]o vi dispiacia, donna mia, d'aldire	Valeriani II, pp. 95
XVIII	144v	429	Lb ²	Notar Giacomo	[A]ngelicha figura e <i>con</i> probata	Antonelli XXXVII
XVIII	144v	430	Lb ²	Bonagiunta	[D]entro dala nieve escie lo foco	PD1, pp. 272 - 273
XVIII	144v	431	Lb ²	Notar Giacomo	[Q]uand' om à un bon amico leiale	Antonelli XXXVIII
XVIII	144v	432	Lb ²	Guitone d'Areço	[O] tu, lass'-omo, c'ame per amore	Egidi 165

II.ii.ii.iii Assesment

According to Picone³⁰⁰ the central defining element of any *canzoniere* is the order in which the poems are transmitted in the *codex*. In fact, the scholar sees in MS *L* an “Aristotelian way of thinking” and evidence of the “new encyclopedic mentality” that was so prominent in the high Middle Ages. In that vein, before analyzing the overall poetic structure that has already been hinted at in the introduction to this section, we will first briefly analyze the opening section of the MS, or rather, the first letter that the reader of this MS encounters in the reading of this book.

The first letter that one comes across in MS *L* is from Fra Guittone to his friend Gianni Bentivegna: “Deletto e caro mio, da tacere ora quanto, Gianni Bentivegna, Guittone Frate alla

³⁰⁰ *Op. Cit.*, p. 78.

Cavaleria de la Donna Nostra, arca voita e animo pieno sempre”. Margueron has interpreted this opening as follows:

“To my dear and much beloved Gianni Bentivegna - so much loved in fact that I will leave it as it is - I, Guittone, brother of the Knights of Our Lady, wish you an empty desk (temporal poverty), and a full soul (spiritual richness) forever”.³⁰¹

This oxymoronic binomial of an empty desk and a full soul, always according to Margueron, has a precedent in the patristic writings that were widely available to the author³⁰². Indeed, the entirety of this letter is replete with references to patristic writings, biblical characters and stories, and also to popular vernacular works. In §6 the author goes so far as to give a short classification of literature before suggesting (in §7) that any written work can be salvific for the reader as long as he always keeps in mind right from wrong and truth from lies:

Intenzione e fine, amico, sì como eo credo, di tutta vecchia e nova Scrittura Santa e d’onni scienza naturale e morale no è già altro che dipartire da male e venire a bene; unde sopra di ciò metto la mia paraula, ché a voi né a ‘lcuno no intendo più faccia mistier. §7 In partire da male vole om due piedi avere: canoscenza d’esso in piede destro e odio in sinistro. [...] ³⁰³

So for the reader of MS *L* Guittone immediately says that anything can be read and understood with an eye towards personal salvation, be the works “sacred” or vernacular. This is not merely an author who once wrote love poetry (as Guittone calls himself a “knight of Our Lady” this letter was clearly written after his conversion of 1265, the point at which the poet decided not to write of worldly love anymore), although that is an important aspect of this letter, especially given its preeminent position in the MS tradition. This affirmation is also the result of a medieval author who, in this letter and many of the others (especially letter 3) will place biblical characters, the Church fathers and vernacular poets all on the same plane,

³⁰¹ Margueron, *op. cit.*, 1990, pp. 4 (in Italian) and 13 (his translation). “Al mio caro ed amatissimo Gianni Bentivegna - a qual punto [caro ed amato] è da tacersi per il momento - [Io] Guittone, frate della Cavalleria di Nostra Signora, [auguro] uno scrigno vuoto (= la povertà temporal] ed un’anima piena [= la ricchezza spirituale] per sempre.”

³⁰² See his note 1 on p. 14.

³⁰³ *Idem*, p. 4. “The intention and end, my friend, as I believe it, of the entire Old and New Testaments and of every natural and moral science is nothing more than to leave the bad and go towards the good; on this foundation I place my reasoning, because I do not believe that either you nor anybody else has need of anything more than this. §7 To leave the bad, a man needs two feet: knowledge of it in his right foot and hatred of it in his left”.

often with little to no distinction among his sources (in the exact same way that we saw earlier with Bishop Rather of Verona and Isidore of Seville in their sermons and letters). In fact, going forward in this letter the reader comes across references to Aristotle, Cicero and Augustine (at §12), Isidore himself (§15), Saint Augustine again at §16, Pope Innocent III and Juvenal at §17, and so on³⁰⁴. While the object of this study is the use of the Bible in love poetry, the various authors that Guittone cites (or quotes without citing) will be informative of the relationship between his poetry ‘pre’ and post-conversion³⁰⁵.

The fifth quire of MS *L* ends with two blank *folia* (39 and 40) and the sixth quire then begins the section dedicated to *canzoni*, beginning with those written by Frate Guittone : thus the poet’s post conversion works begin the poetic section of the book. However, and tellingly, the first *canzone* encountered in the MS is number XXV, which begins *Ora parrà s’eo saverò cantare*³⁰⁶. This is the poet’s song of change, in which he announces his new style of writing. Already in verse three the poet states that he “flees from and repudiates Love” (poiché del tutto Amor fuggo e disvoglio)³⁰⁷, because he finds it worse than any other things that exists (vv. 4 - 5). He then references Bernart da Ventadorn’s poem *Chantars no pot gaire valer* (PC. 70,15), in which the troubadour stated that nobody could write poetry if he was not in love.³⁰⁸ Guittone, however, repudiates this claim on the basis that in those places where love reigns, there must also be madness (*follore*). The *canzone* continues with a discussion on the difference between a good man (one whose life’s

³⁰⁴ As there is no space here to study all of the letters present in the first five fascicles of MS *L*, and for the fact that they are so telling of what Guittone read and knew intimately, the following list comprises the authors that Guittone names in his third letter (to Monte Andrea, another important Italian poet of Guittonian influence), found in this MS on ff.4r-9r : Saint Augustine, Saint Ambrose, Aristotle, Saint Bernard, Boethius, King David, the prophet Ezekiel, Saint Jerome, the prophet Jeremiah, John the Baptist, Saint Gregory, James the apostle of Jesus, Job, Isaiah, Macrobius, Moses, Paul, Solomon, Seneca, and Socrates.

³⁰⁵ See, for example, Teodolinda Barolini, “Anatomy of desire”, and “Gender”, in *Dante’s Poets*, pp. 85-123; Antonello Borra, *Guittone d’Arezzo e le maschere del poeta: La lirica cortese tra ironia e palinodia*, Ravenna: Longo, 2000; Claudio Giunta, *La poesia italiana nell’età di Dante: La linea Bonagiunta-Guinizzelli*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 1998; Lino Leonardi, “Guittone cortese?”, in *Medioevo romanzo*, 13 (1988), 421-55; Vincent Moleta, *The Early Poetry of Guittone d’Arezzo*, London: The Modern Humanities Research Association, 1976. A selection of important essays can be found in Picone (ed.), *Guittone d’Arezzo*, 1994.

³⁰⁶ Now we will see if I know how to sing [write poetry].

³⁰⁷ All of the citations of Guittone’s *canzoni* will come from Egidi, *op. cit.*, 1940.

³⁰⁸ In vv. 1 - 4 : “Chantars no pot gaire valer, / si d’ins dal cor no mou lo chans; / ni chans no pot dal cor mover, / si no i es fin’amors coraus.” “The song can hardly be worthwhile / unless it rises in the heart, / and songs won’t rise within the heart / unless true love is also there.”

work is dedicated to God and to a general ‘good’) and the foolish man who wants only riches and things of this world. The poem ends with the sentiment that it only seems more difficult to do good than to do bad, but in truth God wants us to do good in all things, and Guittone leads the reader to understand that he will, from the moment of the writing of this poem forward, only work for good. Antonella Borra has pointed out how the placement of this poem in MS *L*, together with its message, is fundamental in the understanding of the entirety of the *guittonian* corpus:

The privileged position that *canzone* XXV, with its programmatic content, occupies within the *guittonian* corpus according to the order transmitted by MS *L* seems to reflect a precise historiographic intent. This [*canzone*] is proposed as the text that prospectively (but also retrospectively) orients the lecture of the entirety of Guittone’s production, as a division between two phases that need to be strictly separated: the new, religious phase and the old, love phase that has been refused and now belongs to the past.³⁰⁹

The opening word “now” (*ora*) shows that Guittone is in a new phase of his career, but this *canzone* deals mainly with the poet’s past in vague terms, while it is quite general in scope otherwise; that is to say that it deals with general themes for all men and does not necessarily apply solely to the poet himself. The next two poems, on the other hand, are highly personal.

The second and third poems (*Vergogna ò, lasso! ed ò me stesso ad ira* [XXVI], and *Ai! quant’ò che vergogna e che dogli’ aggio* [XXVII])³¹⁰ are quite specifically (and clearly) repudiations of the poet’s prior literary career. The first three verses of number XXVI spell out exactly how personal this poem really is:

Vergogna ho, lasso, ed ho me stesso ad ira;
e doveria via piú, riconoscendo

³⁰⁹ Antonello Borra, *op. cit.*, p. 29. “La posizione privilegiata che la canzone XXV, con il suo contenuto programmatico, occupa all’interno del corpus guittoniano secondo l’ordinamento trasmesso dal Laurenziano sembra palesemente riflettere un preciso intento storiografico. Essa si propone come il testo che orienta prospettivamente (ma anche retrospettivamente) la lettura di tutta quanta la produzione guittoniana, come lo spartiacque tra due fasi che si vorrebbero tenere rigidamente separate, quella nuova, religiosa e quella amorosa, rifiutata e che ormai appartiene al passato.” Furthermore, chapter one of his book deals extensively with the divisions in the phases of Guittone’s career and the MSS that transmit his work that we are also dealing with here.

³¹⁰ “I am ashamed, and I hate myself” and “Alas, how much I have to be ashamed of and to mourn”.

co male usai la fior del tempo mio.³¹¹

The way in which he used the prime of his life badly was in writing love poems that had nothing to do with “real” love: the Love of God for man. In fact, at this late point the poet realizes that nothing that he can do on his own will make up for the wrong committed in his youth, and that he must place his trust in the benevolence of God. Towards the end of the song, Guittone has apparently been forgiven by God and the poet writes that it is not through his own actions, but only through the grace of God that he has been saved:

neiente feci me, tu me recrii;
desviai, tu me renvii;
ed orbai me, tu m’hai lume renduto!
Ciò non m’ha conceduto
mio merto, ma la tua gran bonitate³¹².

When read in opposition with *canzone* XXV, this poem appears much more personal and immediate: the poet is now discussing the present, while not looking quite as much at his own past. Likewise, *canzone* XXVII repudiates the poet’s personal past experience while at the same time explaining that he is quite content in his personal life that he enjoyed after having given up the madness of false love. The second stanza of this *canzone* is critical in any discussion on the transmission of Guittone’s corpus: the Aretine uses incredibly harsh language for the sins that he had committed during his youth, and in the end he denounces all of his early poetry:

Quanto Deo, sua merzé, dato m’avea
di senno, di coraggio e di podere,
solo a sua lauda ed a salute mea
ed al prossimo meo prode tenere,
ad oltraggio di Lui ed a mia morte
ed a periglio altrui l’operai, lasso!
Fra gli altri miei follor fo, ch’eo trovai
de disamor, ch’amai:

³¹¹ “I am ashamed, alas, and angry with myself, and I should be all the more, realizing how badly I used the prime of my life.” This translation, and a discussion of this poem, is found in Vincent Moleta, *op. cit.*, p.18 and *passim*.

³¹² Verses 94 - 98. “I have created nothing, you re-made me; / I went astray, you came after me; / I was blind, and you gave me back the light! / This was not given to me because of / my actions, but because of your great benevolence.”

pregiati onta, e cantai dolze di pianto;
 ed ingegnaime manto
 in fare me ed altrui saccente e forte
 'n perder perdendo nostro Dio e amico.
 Guai a me, lasso, dico,
 e guai a chi nemico
 ed omo matto crede, e segue legge
 d'omo ch'è senza legge!
 Però fugga lo meo folle dir como
 suo gran nemico ogn'omo,
 ch'eo 'l vieto o tutti e per malvagio il casso³¹³.

While God, says the poet, gave him so many good gifts to use wisely, the narrator instead decided to use them against God, even taking his readers with him out of grace. For this reason the poet publicly repudiates his early poetry and tells people not to read them; rather, he forbids them to be read. It is interesting that this repudiation of Guittone's love poetry by the poet himself should be transmitted towards the beginning of a poetry book that will eventually go on to be the most important book for the repudiated poetry (and which has been called a *canzoniere* of its own accord).

This first poet section of the MS finds its finale at the end of quire VII, where the post-conversion *canzoni* come to an end (on *f.* 56r, the last two of which were copied by *La*²). The following two cartae are blank, while scribe *La*¹ picks back up again on *f.* 61r with the first of the *canzoni* transmitted in the MS that was presumably written before Guittone's conversion of 1265, *Se di voi, donna gente*. This is the beginning of the central section of the MS that is dedicated entirely to love poems, which will be assessed throughout chapters 3 - 5. Still, the chiasmatic structure of the MS is very plain to see when looking at these different sections: while the first poetic section of the MS is devoted to poetry written by a Christian, the second

³¹³ Verses 20 - 38. "All that God in his goodness had given me of intelligence, vitality and strength, to keep solely for his praise and for my salvation and to help my neighbour, I used, alas, to insult Him, to bring about my death and to harm others. Among my other follies I wrote about unlove, which I loved: I prized shame and sang blithely about tears, and I contrived to the utmost to make myself and others knowing and single-minded for failure by losing our God and friend. Alas, a curse on me, I say, and a curse on those who trust an enemy and a madman, and follow the law of someone who is lawless! Therefore let everyone avoid my made writing as he does his worst enemy, for I publicly disown it and condemn it as damned." The translation is by Moleta, *idem*, p. 29.

and third (*canzoni* and sonnets) are dedicated entirely to love³¹⁴, while the fourth and final contentistic and rhythmic section of Guittone's works are once again sonnets, as per usual, but they all deal with Christian topics and were, once again, written during the second half of Guittone's life. It seems as though the person who gave the contentistic structure to this MS wanted to start with a good Christian message, before delving into the past works of the Aretime poet in order to show just what it was that was being denounced (as seen in the § above) before closing the "book" with new poetry written during the Christian phase of Guittone's career. Still, upon close inspection of the MS, we see that this perfect chiasmic structure is not perfectly executed.

As we briefly saw before the quiring table, quire XVIII was copied almost entirely by the Florentine scribe *Lb*², with the exceptions of the first three items which are attributed in the MS to *Federigo dal'Ambra* (the first two) and to *Sir Giu da Pistoia*. There then follows immediately (on the very next carta, *f.* 136r) a series of ten sonnets by the younger version of Guittone d'Arezzo. On *ff.* 136r - 137r we find a series of ten love poems by the poet: these make up the beginning of a series of 25 poems³¹⁵ that Guittone wrote and that have since been called the *Trattato d'Amore*, in which the poet teaches his readers on how to be a good lover. This sequence of love poetry ruins the chiasmus structure of the MS, but it must be noted that it was carried out by the fourth most important scribe in a quaderno (the final one) that he alone worked on. It seems to follow that the final principle scribe either did not know about the structure of the MS or felt that these love poems by the author in question should be represented in a book that is for the most part dedicated to him. Since these ten poems do, in fact, have a place in Guittone's poetry book, they will be part of the analysis in chapters 3 -

³¹⁴ The third of which Leonardi has called the entirety of Guittone's *Canzoniere*.

³¹⁵ The series is transmitted in its entirety only by MS V.

5.³¹⁶ Just the same, after a series of love sonnets by Sicilian and central Italian poets, the scribe ended his work with yet another sonnet by Fra Guittone (although the poem is attributed in the MS to “Guittone d’Areço, rather than the necessary “Fra”): [*O*] *tu, lass’-omo, c’ame per amore*, in which the poet expounds on the dangers of writing love poetry. While this is a sonnet, which fits the overall rhythmic structure of the MS, it follows a group of ten love sonnets by pre-conversion Guittone, which do not fit into the overall structure.

II.iii British Library MS Harley 2253

Possibly the most important source of early Middle English verse, the Harley MS has been studied countless times and there is now a vast amount of information regarding its history, function and contents.³¹⁷ Although there remain many uncertainties regarding the MS, scholars have performed a number of paleographic, historical and textual studies thereupon, all of which have brought the current level of knowledge up to a point that may not be overcome without the advent of further discoveries of unknown original sources (for instance, the discovery of earlier MSS containing poems also found in Harley 2253 or similar). That which follows then is a summation of the necessary information for the study of the poems copied in the Harley MS that interest most in our study: the use of the Bible in lyric love poetry.

³¹⁶ The fact that they find no place in Leonardi’s *Canzoniere*, which is based entirely on the love sonnets in MS L, is an editorial choice, which has its pros and cons, but with which I do not agree.

³¹⁷ The first most important study of this MS remains Neil R. Ker (ed.), *Facsimile of British Museum MS Harley 2253*, Early English Text Society, 255, London: British Museum, 1965; while there is also useful information in the very early *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 4 vols, London: Eyre and Strahan, 1808-12, II (1808), no. 2253. More recently, Carter Revard has dedicated the last few decades of his research to Harley 2253, in such studies as “Richard Hurd and MS Harley 2253” in *Notes and Queries*, 224 (1970), pp. 199-202; “From French ‘Fabliau Manuscripts’ and MS Harley 2253 to the Decameron and the Canterbury Tales” in *Medium Aevum*, 69 (2000), pp. 261-78; and “Oppositional Thematics and Metanarrative in MS Harley 2253, Quires 1-6” in *Essays in Manuscript Geography: Vernacular Manuscripts of the English West Midlands from the Conquest to the Sixteenth Century*, ed. by Wendy Scase, Turnhout: Brepols, 2007, pp. 95-112. The best collection of studies on this MS remains Susanna Fein (ed.) *Studies in the Harley Manuscript: The Scribes, Contents and Social Contexts of British Library MS Harley 2253*, Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2000.

II.iii.i: *Background*³¹⁸

There are no authorial compilations of lyric poetry in England from this point in the Middle Ages and therefore one must necessarily turn to the various MSS in which lyric love poetry is conserved in order to gain an understanding of the situation in this country as it was directly before the compilation of Harley 2253. As all of our lyric love poems have come down to us anonymously we must rely upon those few lyrics that were written down by happenstance; for as Julia Boffey points out, “these poems were recorded unsystematically and often simply accidentally, in contexts which offer to posterity little help in interpreting their contemporary functions or appeal.”³¹⁹ The lyrics in question were written in the margins of various manuscripts, as seen above,³²⁰ but also well within the ruled spaces of diverse compilations, giving a mere glance into what must have been a much greater number of lyric poems than those that have survived to the present day. The earliest English lyrics are found in very few MSS from the thirteenth century. Those that most interest here are Cambridge, Trinity College MS. 323 (c. 1250); Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Digby 86 (c. 1272 - 1282); whereas Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Rawlinson D 913 (c. 1325 – 1350)³²¹ contains a series of vernacular love lyrics, though it was probably assembled significantly later than the others. All of these manuscripts contain poems in Middle English, but they are also important for our purposes for their other contents: the first two of these manuscripts contain pieces in Latin and in Anglo-Norman, structured in much the same way as Harley 2253, with the structure of

³¹⁸ If all of the works that came before Petrarch’s *Canzoniere* are pre-history, as Santagata claims in his *Dal sonetto al Canzoniere: Ricerche sulla preistoria e la costituzione di un genere*, Padova: Liviana, 1979, then those lyrics that we find dispersed in various manuscripts from the thirteenth century can act as the pre-history for the lyrics of Harley 2253. But see also Olivia Holmes, *Assembling the Lyric Self: Authorship from Troubadour Song to Italian Poetry Book*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000, pp. 23 and 192.

³¹⁹ Julia Boffey, “Middle English Lyrics and Manuscripts” in Thomas G. Duncan (ed.), *A Companion to the Middle English Lyric*, Cambridge, Rochester, NY: D.S. Brewer, 2005, p. 1.

³²⁰ Chapter 1, p. 79.

³²¹ These dates are all approximate and given most recently in Duncan, *op. cit.* These approximations, moreover, and as Brown underlined (on p. xii) do “not establish the date of the verses added on the margin”.

Digby 86 most closely resembling that of Harley 2253³²², while the last MS shows that there were poems deemed worthy of being preserved for posterity despite their lack of Christian appeal.

II.iii.i.i *Cambridge, Trinity College MS 323*

The first MS to look at is made from vellum and contains, according to Montague Rhodes James³²³, two different manuscripts that have been sewn together, which in his catalogue he has labeled as 323 and 324. The second manuscript was assembled somewhat later, *circa* 1420³²⁴, and contains very little English, for which it is not under examination here. The ruled space is 181mm X 137mm and the main hand is Norman while the others (up to three for the Middle English lyrics according to Brown³²⁵, while there are at least 18 different hands in the entire manuscript) are not as clearly definable.

To Scribe D are ascribed 6 lyrics, the *Life of Saint Margaret* and a *Sermon on the Anniversary of Saint Nicholas*. Scribe I is responsible for 7 lyrics with great assurance and perhaps another 4 lyrics as well as the last 30 lines of *Body and Soul*, not to mention the Old Testament History found on *f.27r*. Scribe B wrote 4 items in the MS while a final hand, scribe J, is responsible for 1 lyric and, perhaps, a part of the *Debate of the Body and Soul*.³²⁶

The first half of the MS, that which interests us here, contains 46 articles among which there are prose and poetical pieces in Latin, Anglo-Norman and Middle English. The MS was created *circa* the first half of the thirteenth century, but Brown has pointed out that as it contains an epitaph in Latin for Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, on *f.83*, the latter leaves cannot have been written before October, 1253.³²⁷ As several hands worked on the MS

³²² Though it has been noted that, while there are similarities between the two codices, the Harley scribe was not in possession of Digby 86, nor of a copy thereof. See Carter Revard, *op. cit.*

³²³ Montague Rhodes James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge: A Descriptive Catalogue, vol. 1*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900, pp. 438 – 449.

³²⁴ See James, *op. cit.* p. 447.

³²⁵ Brown, *op. cit.*, p. xxii.

³²⁶ See Brown, *op. cit.*, xx – xxviii.

³²⁷ *Idem.* p. xx.

Brown has come to the conclusion that it was probably compiled in a religious house “whose members entered in it from time to time material which they wished to preserve for their common use”.³²⁸ Though there are not many love lyrics in this manuscript there do exist some important pieces for our consideration in the greater context of the “pre-history” of Harley 2253. The literary traditions of this MS cross the boundaries between Old English tendencies and those found more often in Middle English; there are three pieces of interest for us here that show these trends. The first item to consider is reminiscent of that which we saw in the Old English Chronicles³²⁹, the second shows the nature of this transitory linguistic period in England, while the third is a short lyric in Middle English that shows the *modus operandi* of the scribes who decided to place non-religious lyrics within largely religious manuscripts.

On f.19 there is a brief poem (Item 3) preceded by a short Latin epigram. The end of the lyric uses a biblical figure in order to warn the person to whom the poem is addressed, a certain Sir Eode. The 12 lines in Middle English (aaa bbb aab ccb) are interspersed with two lines in Latin that were inspired by the Bible (Daniel 5,25). The Trinity MS supplies the only extant version of this poem:

Vid word & wrid ic warne þe, sir eode,
 Dele al þi goid, pouere þat habbit neode;
 Quite dettes & scriþe of sinful deode.
 Þu salt be idemet in þisse þridde nicste;
 Þi groid, þin evel, idemit sub en riste.
 Do nu so wel þat þu þenne come to liste.
Mane techel phares, vigili cum morte uorares.
*Repta resignabis & meliora dabis*³³⁰.
 Te-maruen þu deyis, ezechiel,
 Biþenc þe nu suiþe wel.
 Scrif þe wat itide,
 yeil agein þat þu hauis mis-nomen;
 god þe hat þat is us bouen,
 þe bere maist þu y-glide.³³¹

³²⁸ *Idem.*

³²⁹ Chapter 1, pp. 26 - 32.

³³⁰ The italics are Brown's.

³³¹ The transcription of this poem and those that follow are from Brown, this one on p. 20. “With word and writ I warn thee, Sir Eode, / divide all your gold [among] the poor who have nothing / forgive your debts and confess your evil deeds. / You will be judged this third night / Your greed, your evil, will be judged rightly. / Do now so well that you then come to please Him. / *Mane, Tekel, Parsin, be vigilant as death devours / resign on your knees and give better.* / Count yourself, you die, Ezekial, / You think very highly of yourself now. / Listen to

This is the first of two mentions of Sir Eode in this manuscript³³² and demonstrates that the Old English usage of biblical characters for the purposes of warning was still very much in use in Middle English through at least the middle of the thirteenth century³³³. This poem is the second of the manuscript, after *De Ordine Creaturum* on ff.1 – 19, and the first in English. The hand, according to James³³⁴, is only slightly later than those of the pieces before and after this lyric. It is however within the lined space, though Brown assigns this piece to scribe C who, he says, “added his contributions to the book after the pages had been nearly filled, for the pieces in his hand are added where he could find space for them”.³³⁵ The hand did not, however, belong to a person who was well versed in the Bible.

The Latin verses (seven and eight) do refer to the story that is recounted in Daniel 5, 25. In this story Daniel is interpreting a vision of Nebuchadnezzar, who saw a disembodied hand write three words on the wall of his palace, “mane, thecel, fares”. *Mane* is the Latin translation of the Hebrew word *mina*, which is “a large weight and is related to the word ‘count’”.³³⁶ The Latin word *thecel* is the *Vulgate*’s translation of the Hebrew word *shekel*, which is 1/6 of a *mina*; while *fares* is Latin for the Hebrew *parsin*, which “are two spheres, with one sphere (or *Peres*) equaling a half shekel; it is interpreted as meaning ‘divide’”.³³⁷ The biblical story is similar to that of sir Eode, who is being warned to change his ways, just as was Nebuchadnezzar, but the poet did not clearly understand the Latin of the *Vulgate*. Brown gives some indication of the problems in his notes to this poem:

9. Te-Maruuēn. A translation of ‘*Mane*’ above, which the author seems to have regarded as a Latin word. ‘Pu deyis’ apparently a translation of ‘*phares*’ (confused with *peris*).

what I say / Think again on your misdeeds / God who is above us has you / may He bare you and take you there [to Heaven].” The translation is mine.

³³² The second is on f.25r.

³³³ Browns gives a short account of the story of Odo (or Udo) in his notes to the poem on pp. 175 - 77.

³³⁴ James, *op. cit.*, p. 439

³³⁵ Brown, *op. cit.*, p. xxii.

³³⁶ Michael D. Coogan (ed.), *The New Oxford Annotated Bible : Augmented Third Edition*, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007, p. 1265.

³³⁷ *Idem*.

But to derive ‘ezechiel’ from ‘*techel*’ would be impossible – except through gross ignorance.³³⁸

Indeed, verse nine does not make any sense either as a single sentence or within the structure of the poem. While the author, or scribe C of the MS, attempted to use biblical imagery in his poem, he clearly had an incomplete understanding of the original text. It is interesting that such a poem was included in a *codex* that is replete with correct biblical citations. The fact that this scribe’s poems were placed within the lined spaces that were available leads one to believe that he wrote them after the MS was completed. His choices were therefore probably not vetted by the original copyist. It is equally interesting that a person with such a poor understanding of a particular biblical passage (and therefore probably not a cleric) would choose to use such language and imagery. We have before us, then, an unlearned scribe (or poet) who attempts to use a work that he does not understand in order to write a poem that is, in any case, quite similar to those others that are found in the same MS (given the poem’s bilingual nature and attempted biblical allusion) and that reflect the trends in Middle English poetry from the second half of the thirteenth century.

The second lyric does not necessarily require a full description or analysis here, but it does deserve mention in any discourse on the literary tendencies of medieval English scribes. Scribe A (who was not the one who wrote either *De Ordine* or *Vid vord & vrid*) wrote two bilingual poems on f.24. The first in both Anglo-Norman and Middle English, while the second is in Middle English and Latin, with the Latin words having been written in red ink. We will show here but the first two stanzas of the first poem and only the first stanza in the second in order to show the bilingual nature of many of the lyrics that have come down to us from the Anglo-Norman period, and which will figure dominantly among the Harley lyrics.

*Ihesu crist le fiz marie
cil ke tut le monde fist
de nus eit pite e merci*

³³⁸ Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

si li pleit
ke nos almes ne seint dampnes
pur nul maufet
 Louerd crist, Pou hauest us boust,
 Pou madest al Bis world of noust;
 we bidet Be wid word ant Poust
 conseil ant red
 Pat oure soule ne be
 fur-lore for no qued.³³⁹

The poem continues with six more stanzas in alternating French and English verses. These are not mere translations into English of the French verses, though the sentiment is similar in both cases, but rather the entirety is a singular poem in both languages. A similar mode of employing two different languages within one poem is shown further in the next piece of the manuscript, number 16 in Brown.³⁴⁰

Sainte mari, moder milde,
mater salutaris
 feirest flour of eni felde,
uere nuncuParis
 Porou ihesu crist Pou were wid childe;
 Pou bring me of my Poustes wilde
potente
 Pat maket me
 to deBe tee
*repente.*³⁴¹

Once again the poem continues in the same way for five more stanzas in the same format : one verse in English followed by a verse in Latin that completes the metrical line, followed by two more verses of the same type, finishing finally with two instances of two verses of Middle English followed by three syllables in Latin (in either one or two words). The Latin verses complete the English ones in a way that the French verses seen above do not. This is but one instance of the perfect mixing of two languages in one lyric, which, again, will be seen in some of the Harley lyrics as well.

³³⁹ Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 21. "Jesus Christ, son of Mary / Who made the entire world / have pity and mercy on us / please / so that our souls are not damned / for our sins./ Lord Christ, You have bought us / You made all this world of nothing / we bid You with word and thought / council and advise us / so that our souls are not / lost for any evil."

³⁴⁰ *Idem*, p. 22.

³⁴¹ All italics are Brown's. "Saint Mary, mild Mother, / *mother of our saviour* / fairest flour of any field / *truly you are called* / through Jesus Christ you were with child; You bring me from my thoughts wild / *powerful* / that make me / to death go / *repent*."

Finally we come to the last lyric of this manuscript that concerns us presently, which is also the shortest of those that we have seen while being the only one in the manuscript not of a religious nature. This lyric is found on f.28, between two distinctly religious pieces : *Shroud and Grave* on f.27 and *Gaude Virgo Mater Christi* on f.28 after our poem. Brown suggests that the copyist of this last piece is the same for our poem as well, not to mention his being the copyist of the seven religious poems that follow these in the manuscript.

Say me, viit in Pe brom,
 Teche me wou I sule don
 Pat min hosebonde
 me louien wolde.
 'Hold Pine tunke stille
 & hawe al Pine wille.³⁴²

These six short verses seem to be the entire poem and not just a fragment added afterwards, as it is well within the lined area of the manuscript and a very similar poem is found in London, British Library Additional MS 11579.³⁴³ This short poem has a long history, recounted by Brown in his notes, but it is simply a bit of advice to any unhappy wife. While not a love lyric in the same sense as we have seen in our other poems and that we will see again below in the Harley lyrics, the inclusion of this short piece in two different manuscripts that are overwhelmingly religious in nature and in their contents shows that even the scribes of primarily religious works (if we are to accept Brown's estimation of the different scribes of this manuscript) saw fit to include poems of a more secular nature alongside the penitential, moral, and devotional lyrics.

³⁴² Brown, *op. cit.* p. 32. "Tell me, creature in the broom, / teach me how I should act / so that my husband / might love me. / 'Hold your tongue still / and have all your desires."

³⁴³ See Brown, p. 32 and 180.

Marilyn Corrie discussed at length the similarities between Digby 86 and Harley 2253³⁴⁵ though she contends that the Harley scribe did not have access to Digby 86. This MS contains, like Cambridge, Trinity College MS 323 and Harley 2253, mainly poems in Latin and in Anglo-Norman, but also several pieces in Middle English (18 in total, with 12 of these being unique to this manuscript, while one poem in the MS is a mixture of these two languages), which are, as Brown underlines, “the most important collection of lyrics in the last quarter of the [thirteenth] century”.³⁴⁶ According to Tschann and Parkes there were only two scribes that worked on Digby 86 : scribe A, or as they call him the “Owner-Scribe”, was responsible for the layout of the manuscript in its entirety, the various marginal designs, and the actual writing of all but quires xi and xii (ff. 81 – 96). Both scribes wrote in an Anglicana script of the late thirteenth century, though scribe A underwent an evolution in his writing style during the various stages of his copying. This principle scribe ruled his sections of the MS in different ways depending on his needs in different parts: the ruled space fluctuates between 165 and 175 mm X 110 and 130 mm depending on the size of the parchment that he used for different sections of his work. The ruled lines are also different depending upon the exigencies of the items to be copied: ff.1 – 74r are lined with 32 long lines per carta; ff.74v – 80v and ff.97r – 168v are ruled for double columns of 33 lines each; and finally ff.169r – 205v are ruled for 33 long lines per carta. Scribe B, on the other hand, ruled only for double columns of 33 lines each (on his cartae 81r – 96v). This mode of ruling the MS so precisely suggests that scribe A knew well in advance that the longer prose works would form the basis of the first part of the manuscript (that which is ruled in longer lines), while the second half of

³⁴⁴ There is now a Facsimile of this MS with an introduction by Judith Tschann and M.B. Parkes which has been a valuable instrument in our research.

³⁴⁵ Marilyn Corrie, “Harley 2253, Digby 86, and the circulation of Literature” in Fein (*op. cit.*), pp. 427 - 443.

³⁴⁶ Brown, *op. cit.*, p.xxviii.

the manuscript was to be dedicated more to the shorter poems that don't require the long lines of the first half.

Apart from the different ways of ruling the various sections of the manuscript, there are also several different ways that the modern scholar can look at the organization of Digby 86, the first of which being based on content. Tschann and Parkes speculate that the first seven quires (ff.1 – 58)³⁴⁷ were bound together and may have existed independently as a book in their own right. They reach this conclusion based on the fact that this first part of the manuscript consists of “prose texts with practical applications” whereas quires xv – xxvi contain “secular verse texts for edification or entertainment including some devotional texts”.³⁴⁸ The following extracts of the MS's quiring table show the difference between the two sections in question:

Fascicle	Folia	Item	Hand	Language	Incipit	Edition
I	1r – 4v	1	A	Anglo-Norman	'Set morteus pecches sount	Vising 1923, 166; Bloomfield 1952, p. 143.
I	4v -5r	2	A	Anglo-Norman	'Pus deyt demaunder si il onques destourbast nul sacrement afere par fest ou par counsail'	Vising 1923, 168; Bloomfield 1952, p. 170, 387-8, n. 107.
I	5r – 6r	3	A	Anglo-Norman	'Dis comaundementz sount'	Vising 1923, p. 166.
I	6r-v	4	A	Anglo-Norman	'En apres deuez sauer'	Vising 1923, p. 166.
I	6v – 7r	5	A	Anglo-Norman	'Set sacramens sount'	Vising 1923, p. 166.

³⁴⁷ If this is the case then such a booklet must have been in circulation before the addition of item 85, as with the additional French that was inserted later the quires do not line up appropriately.

³⁴⁸ Tschann and Parkes, *op. cit.*, p. xliii.

We see here that the MS begins with an explanation of the seven deadly sins, followed by the Ten Commandments, and the seven sacraments. This first section is clearly meant to be informative: it gives information that is useful for Christian salvation.

Fascicle	Folia	Item	Hand	Language	Incipit	Edition
XIV	111r – 112v	34	A	Anglo-Norman	'Estraungement par est mun quer dolent'.	Långfors 1917, p. 140; Vising 1923, 266; Printed in Meier-Ewert 1971.
Quire missing						
XV	113r – 113v	35.1	A	Anglo-Norman	'Toust auez huy iournee feste Tes ta sere ne te deshete'	Stengel 1871, 28 ; Långfors 1917, p. 435; Levy 1978.
XV	113v – 114r	35.2	A	Anglo-Norman	'Ne est mie saie qui femme creyt Morte ou viue quele qui seyt'.	
XV	114r	35.3	A	Anglo-Norman	'Femme est de mal atret et de male nature Morte ou viue quele qui seyt'	Stengel 1871, pp. 38-9; Långfors 1917, pp. 325-6; Vising 1923, 60.

The first item seen here is the last in the series that Tschann and Parkes have labeled “informative”, while the three items in quire XV are entertaining poems that, while sometimes religious in nature, are not so clearly instructive as those items from the first 14 quires.

The second way one may organize the contents of the manuscript is based on language; as mentioned above there are three used throughout the MS: Latin, Anglo-Norman and Middle English. Of the 110 different items, only 18 are in English, with the vast majority of the remaining items being written in Anglo-Norman, followed finally by 32 pieces in Latin. All of the entries in Latin and in Anglo-Norman have headings in Anglo-Norman, while most of the Middle English pieces are also headed in this language. Three of the Middle English texts, on the other hand, have headings in the language of the pieces themselves (numbers 44, 49 and 50), two have headings in Latin (42 and 46), while one final piece (number 38, the first

time in the manuscript that Middle English appears anywhere) has no heading at all, though the first two verses are written in red ink. The most recent editors of the MS suggest that there are “language clusters” which act as organizing agents for Digby 86. A few examples of this practice are seen in items 71 – 79 (ff. 169r – 195v) which are all in Anglo-Norman, though number 64 is a translation from a Latin original; items 88 – 95 (ff. 201r – 201v) form one of the Latin “clusters”, whereas the largest of these “language clusters”, and by far the most important for our purposes, is “that containing 12 of the 18 [English] texts preserved in the manuscript (articles 47 – 60 on fols [sic] 119r – 140r)”.³⁴⁹ We will briefly examine the placement of these pieces within this language cluster in English to show the tendencies in scribal practices that will again be seen in Harley 2253.

The poems in Digby 86 that Tschann and Parkes have labeled numbers 38 – 50 (our Item Numbers 47 – 60) are important not only for the fact that they form a short booklet³⁵⁰ of lyric poetry in English but also for the contents and the order of the poems that are found therein. In examining this section of the MS the scholar sees immediately that the Middle English lyrics here are clearly divided into two groups : the first ten of these fourteen poems are all in Middle English and are overtly religious whereas the items 57 - 59 are, while also in Middle English, of a more lay nature, before finishing the section with another religious poem (item 60).

Fascicle	Folia	Item	Hand	Language	Incipit	Edition
XVII	134v – 136v	47	A	Middle English	'Herkneþ to mi ron As hic ou tellen con'	Printed in Brown 1932, pp. 92-101.

³⁴⁹ Tschann and Parkes, *op. cit.*, p. xliv.

³⁵⁰ See Pamela R. Robinson, “The Booklet”: a self contained unit in composite manuscripts” in *Codicologica* 3, A. Gruys and J.P. Gumbert, (eds.), Leiden, 1980, pp. 46 – 69 for more information on the current status of scholarship on booklets.

XVII	136v – 138r	48	A	Middle English	'Somer is comen wip loue to toune Wip blostme and wip brides rounne'	Holthausen 1919, pp. 52-60; Brown 1932, pp. 101-7; Utley 1944, no. 273; Conlee 1991, pp. 237-248.
XVII	138r – 140r	49	A	Middle English	'A vox gon out of þe wode go Afingret so þat him wes wo'	Bennett and Smithers 1968, pp. 65-76.
XVII	140v – 143r	50	A	Middle English	'Tesu crist al þis worldes red þat for oure sunnes wolde be ded'.	Schleich 1927, pp. 220-77, and 1928, pp. 350-61; Arngart 1981, p. 289.
XVII	143r – 149v	51	A	Anglo-Norman	'Tci ad del vilain Meint prouerbe certain'	Stengel 1871, p. 45; Tobler 1895; Långfors 1917, pp. 161, 145.
XVIII, XIX, XX	150r – 161r	52	A	Anglo-Norman	'A ceus ki nount lettres aprises Ne lor ententes ni ount mises'	Stengel 1871, 46; Långfors 1917, p. 3; Ronsjo 1942.
XX	161r	53	A	Latin	'Salve virgo uirginum'	Chevalier 1892, no. 2270
XX	161v	53.2	A	Latin	'Gaude mundi gaudium Maria laus uirginum'	Wordsworth 1920, p. 64.
XX	162r	53.3	A	Latin	'Regina clemencie maria vocata'.	Chevalier 1892, no. 17165; Walther 1969, no. 16515
XX	162r – 163v	54	A	Anglo-Norman	'Deu vous dorra grant honour E graunt ioie et grant uigour'	Wright 1844, p. 76; Långfors, 1920; Vising 1923, pp. 59,

						150, 151.
XX	163v – 164r	55	A	Middle English	'Uuorlde blisse ne last non þrowe Hit wint and went aweī anon'	Brown 1932, pp. 78-82. Duncan 1995, p. 38.
XX	164v	56	A	Latin	'Fides hodie spitur uigilatque prauitas'	Walther 1969, no. 6492.
XXI	165r – 168r	57	A	Middle English	'As I com bi an waie Hof on ich herde saie'	Printed in Bennett and Smithers 1968, pp. 77-95.
XXI	168r – v	58	A	Middle English	'Þe mon þat þe hare imet Ne shal him neuere be þe bet'	Ross 1932-5, pp. 347-77.
XXII, XXIII	169r – 177r	59	A	Anglo-Norman	'Seingnours ore escoutez ke deus vous beneie Sur sa mort dolerouse ki nous dona la uie	Stengel 1871, p. 54; Bonnard 1884, pp. 11-4; Långfors 1917, p. 377.
XXIII	177r – 182v	60	A	Anglo-Norman	'Si il estoit vns frauncs houme ki me vousit entendre Cheualers clers et lais ben i purreit aprendre'.	Stengel 1871, pp. 69-72; Långfors 1917, pp. 394, 377-8.

The poem that separates these two mini-sections is in both Anglo-Norman and Middle English and is known as *The Vision of Saint Paul*. The themes of the first group range from the Harrowing of Hell (47), to the sayings of Saint Bernard (50, 51) to a piece on the Virgin Mary (54). The lay poetry, on the other hand, begins with *Le regret de Maximian*, a poem of 273 verses that ends in a suicide due to the poet's missing of the woman who should be his wife (57). This is followed by the much celebrated *The Thrush and the Nightingale*, also known by its first verse : "*Somer is comen wiþ loue to toun*", another longer poem, this one of 192 verses. Following these, there comes in the MS the only extant copy of a Bestiary in

Middle English, *Of þe Fox and of þe Wolf*. The series is finalized with the long poem *Hending þe hende*, also known as the *Proverbs of Hending*.

The preceding three pieces of information (1. that there were only two scribes, 2. the laborious layout of the MS; and 3. the linguistic and contentistic ordering of the items) show that each piece has been placed with extreme precision. Unlike Cambridge, Trinity College MS 323, in Digby 86 we do not find haphazard copying of poetry into unused ruled lines. The Digby MS represents the beginning of the systematic writing down of poetry, both religious and vernacular, in a premediated form. This way of organizing a poetry book, or *canzoniere*, is nearly identical to what we will finally see in the Harley MS, but which will only become commonplace in England much later. For their extreme antiquity, as far as the English tradition is concerned, these two MSS form the basis in England that we have already seen in southern France and Italy.

II.iii.i.iii: Bodleian Library MS. Rawlinson D 913

It would be unwise not to briefly examine Bodleian Library, MS. Rawlinson D. 913, though it was probably unknown to the scribe of the Harley Manuscript. The only part of this MS that interests us is f.1r – v, which contains 12 short lyrics written in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. The MS in its present form was bound together in 1861 and numbered Rawlinson Miscellaneous 1370. Wilhelm Heuser has published all of the poems³⁵¹ and explained that they were not written by the copyist, who used several English dialects in the writing down of the poems. More recently, Richard L. Greene has argued that these pieces are

³⁵¹ Wilhelm Heuser, "Fragmente von unbekannten Spielmannsliedern des 14. Jahrhunderts: aus MS. Rawl. D. 913" in *Anglia* XXX (1907), pp. 173 – 179. Heuser lists them as 11 poems instead of 12.

definitely and explicitly regarded as secular and indeed profane. The authority is that of Bishop Richard de Ledrede, Franciscan friar and scourge of heresy and witchcraft who held the important see of Ossory in Ireland from 1317 to 1360.³⁵²

According to Greene the poems were censured and relegated to oblivion due to their profanity. The Bishop, in fact, rewrote many of the lyrics so as to give them a more Christian message. This MS contains songs of drinking, of copulation, and of dancing as they were before the christianization thereof on the part of the Bishop. The pieces all seem to be popular in character and quite straight-forward. Critics have made a great deal of one these poems, *Maiden in the moor lay*, which we will briefly discuss. Heuser's transcription reads:

Maiden in the mor lay
in the mor lay
seuenyst fulle seuenis[t] fulle
in the mor lay
seuenyst fulle ant a day
Welle wat hire mete
wat was hire mete
þe primerole ant the
þe primerole ant the
Welle was hire mete
Wat was hire mete
the primerole ant the violet
Welle wat was hire dryng
þe chelde water of [þe] welle spring
Welle was hire bour
Wat was hire bour
þe rede rose ante lilie flour.³⁵³

The repetitions of verses immediately lead to the conclusion that this was a popular song which a scribe decided to write down for posterity. Critics have sought to understand *who* the maiden in the moor was, with varying conclusions. Some think that she represents the Virgin Mary, as the violet that the maiden eats is a scriptural sign of humility, while the well that she

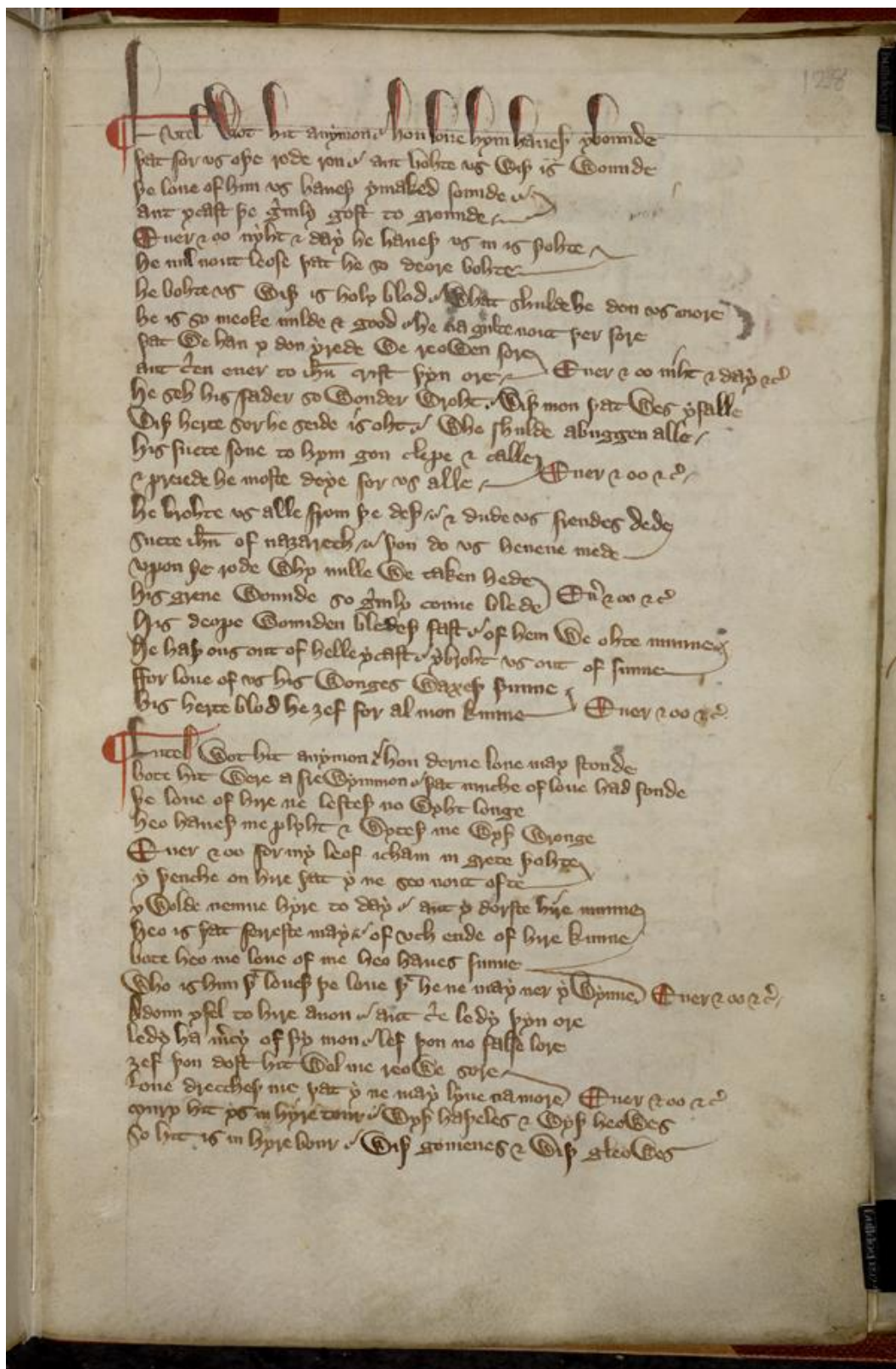
³⁵² Richard L. Greene, "The Maid of the Moor in *The Red Book of Ossory*" in *Speculum*, 27 (1952) pp. 504 – 506, p. 504.

³⁵³ Heuser, *op. cit.*, p. 175. "Maiden in the moor lay / in the moor lay / seven full seven full / Maiden in the moor lay / in the moor lay / seven full and a day / Well what was here meat / the primrose and the / the primrose and the / Good was her mete / What was her meat? / the primrose and the violet / Well what was her drink? / the cold water of the well spring / Well was her bour/ what was her bour? / the red rose and the lilie flour."

drinks from represents God's grace.³⁵⁴ The opposing interpretation, which seems to have more credence based on the actions of the Bishop of Ledrede, is that the maiden is a water sprite, or fairy, who was worshiped in medieval England before the arrival of Christianity (and to a certain point after its arrival as well).³⁵⁵ If the maiden does, in fact, represent the Virgin Mary, it is unusual, to say the least, that the song should be censured by the Church. Whichever the case may be, this MS shows that popular songs of drinking and revelry were deemed worthy of posterity at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Here we have, then, evidence that the Church was not entirely in control of that which was written down: it may have only been "happenstance" that has saved this MS for posterity, but the days of Church dominion over all aspects of written words in England was no longer the case at the time of the creation of this MS. The Harley scribe, in much the same way, decided on his own what to include in his MS.

³⁵⁴ This interpretation is found most prevalently in D. W. Robertson Jr., "On 'Maiden in the Moor lay'" in A.S. Dower, (ed). *English Institute Essays: 1950*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1951, pp. 3 - 31.

³⁵⁵ In this camp are such scholars as Peter Dronke, *The Medieval Lyric*, New York: Harper and Rowe, 1966, pp. 195 - 196; and John Speirs, *Medieval English Poetry: The Non-Chaucerian Tradition*, London: Faber & Faber, 1957, pp. 63 - 64.



Fol. 128r, here we see items 96 and 97; both poems begin with 'Lutel wot hit any mon', with the first being a religious piece on the love of Jesus for mankind and the second being a poem on the love of a woman.

II.iii.ii.i *Physical Information*

London, BL MS Harley 2253 is a *codex* made of parchment with 142 *folia* measuring 280-290 x 190 mm. in an Anglicana and Anglicana Formata hand, whereas the writing space for *ff.* 1-48 is c. 215 x 130 mm. and then varies for the remainder of the leaves. In total, three different scribes contributed to the current state of the Harley MS: the first is responsible for the first four quires (*ff.* 1 – 48), the main scribe is responsible for most of what is written in the remainder of the MS (*ff.* 49 – 140), while the last scribe added various *addenda* in the fourteenth century in spaces that were as then unoccupied (scribe C in the quiring table). Each carta is divided into either single, double, or triple columns with 47-51 lines (Scribe 1); 36-33 lines (Scribe 2); or 60 lines (Scribe 3). The collation is as follows: 1¹², 2¹⁰, 3¹², 4¹² + 2, 5⁴, *ff.* 49r-52v; 6¹⁰, *ff.* 53r-62v; 7⁸, *ff.* 63r-69v; 8⁸, *ff.* 70r-77v; 9¹², *ff.* 78r-89v; 10¹⁰, *ff.* 90r-99v; 11⁶, *ff.* 100r-105v; 12⁸, *ff.* 106r-113v; 13⁸, *ff.* 114r-121v; 14¹², *ff.* 122r-133v; 15, seven singletons, *ff.* 134r-140v.³⁵⁶

This miscellany³⁵⁷ is the sole source of most of the extant Middle English poetry from before the time of Chaucer. Produced between 1330 and 1340³⁵⁸, the MS throws light on popular and religious poetry in England at the beginning of the fourteenth century. When considered with the MSS that we have seen above, Harley 2253 acts as a point of arrival for the composition of poetry books in medieval England, given: 1) the fact that it contains elements that show signs of containing ‘booklets’, 2) the trilingual nature of the contents, and 3) the linguistic and contentistic ordering of the very detailed layout and similarity of the poetry and prose that it contains to that found in the other earliest medieval English MSS.

³⁵⁶ See Ker, *op. cit.*, p. xvi.

³⁵⁷ Following in the steps of Susanna Fein, I have opted to use the term “miscellany” in its most general sense, that is, there are miscellaneous criteria for the different items found in the MS. Still, I generally agree with the argument put forth by Theo Stemmler in his article “Miscellany or Anthology? The Structure of Medieval Manuscripts: MS Harley 2253, for Example”, now in Fein, *op. cit.*, pp. 111 - 120. Stemmler does not, however, take into consideration the first four quires (all of which are written in Anglo-Norman) and thus his assertion that Carter Revard is wrong in his assessment that the MS was formed by a “deliberate placement of its pieces in mutually illuminating relationships” (*idem.* p. 113) is not wholly correct, in my assertion. But see below.

³⁵⁸ See Carter Revard’s article “Scribe and Provenance” in Susanna Fein, *op. cit.*, pp. 21 – 109.

Though the poems found therein were penned by anonymous authors (for the most part), the fact that the so-called ‘Harley Scribe’ chose these poems in the order that he did gives this MS an authorial bent, in much the same way as the scribes who created the other two principle MSS that we looked at³⁵⁹ created poetry books in southern France and northern Italy.

II.iii.ii.ii Quiring

Fascicle	Folia	Hand	Language	Item	Incipit	Edition ³⁶⁰
I, II	1r – 22v	A	Anglo-Norman	1	En lonur de damne de le omnipotent.	Fein, Vol. 1, p.
III	23r – 33r	A	Anglo-Norman	2	Mult fud grant icele election.	Fein, Vol. 1, p.
III, IV	33v – 41r	A	Anglo-Norman	3	[C]oe auint al quinzime an que tyberie cesar.	Fein, Vol. 1, p.
IV	41v – 43v	A	Anglo-Norman	4	[L]e secunt trauails as cristiens apres nerun.	Fein, Vol. 1, p.
IV	43v – 45v	A	Anglo-Norman	5	[A]l tens herode rei de iudee.	Fein, Vol. 1, p.
IV	45v – 47v	A	Anglo-Norman	6	[C]oe cuntent cels qui seuent deuiser les parties del monde.	Fein, Vol. 1, p.
IV	47v – 48v	A	Anglo-Norman	7	[A]pres neron cesar esteint a rome.	Fein, Vol. 1, p.
V	49r – 50v	B	Anglo-Norman	8	Quy a la dame de parays	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 18
V	51r – 52v	B	Anglo-Norman	9	Un grant estrif oy lautrer	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 34

³⁵⁹ Above, chapters II.i and II.ii.

³⁶⁰ As Fein’s edition of the entire Harley MS that is coming out will soon be available, (perhaps as early as the summer of 2014) I have used her index in this quiring table for all of the items in this MS ; unfortunately I will be unable to make use of this publication for my research, but Professor Fein has graciously sent me the indices of the first two volumes which contain the majority of the items in Harley 2253, for which I am incredibly grateful. These volumes (which boast translations into modern English of all the items, as well as critical discussion on them) fill a lacuna that was very difficult in overcoming during my research; before this Volume there were a very large amount of completely unedited items in the MS, both in Latin and in Anglo-Norman. I have often made use of the MS directly in order to discuss different items, but see also the general bibliography for the editions of the various poems that are included in this study.

V	52v	C ³⁶¹	ME	10	Vor te make cynople	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 46
V	52v	C	ME	11	Vor te tempren asure	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 46
V	52v	C	ME	12	Vor te make grasgrene	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 48
V	52v	C	ME	13	Vor te maken another maner grene	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 48
V	52v	C	ME	14	zet for gaudegrene	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 48
V	52v	C	ME	15	Vor te couche seluerfoyle	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 48
V	52v	C	ME	16	Vor te maken iren as hart as stel	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 50
V	52v	C	ME	17	Vor te maken blankplum	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 50
VI	53r – 54v	B	Latin	18	'Gloriosus ac summo regi acceptus rex ethelbertus	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 50
VI	54v	B	Latin	19	Anima cristi sanctifica me	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 58
VI	55r	B	Anglo- Norman	20	Quant voy la reuenue dyuer	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 58
VI	55v – 56v	B	ME	21	Alle herknep to me nou.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 66
VI	57r – 58v	B	ME	22	In a þestri stude y stod.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 78
VI	58v – 59r	B	ME	23	Sitteþ alle stille and herknep to me.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 86
VI	59r - v	B	Anglo- Norman	24	Chanter mestoit.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 88
VI	59v	B	Anglo- Norman	25	Charnel amour est folie.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 96
VI	59v	B	ME	26	Erþe toc of erþ erþe wyþ who.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 96
VI	59v –	B	ME	27	Lystnep lordynges a newe song ichulle	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 98

³⁶¹ Items 10 - 17, all of which are recipes, were added later in the fourteenth century by scribe C. In the place of the incipit we have substituted the heading of the rubric.

	61v				bigynne.	
VI	61v	B	ME	28	Lord þat lenest vs lyf.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 108
VI	61v – 62v	B	Anglo- Norman	29	Cyl qe vodra oyr mes chauns.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 112
VI	62v	B	ME	30	Middelerd for mon we mad.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 116
VII	63r - v	B	ME	31	Ichot a burde in a bour ase beryl so bryht.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 120
VII	63v	B	ME	32	Bytuene mersh an aueril.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 122
VII	63v	B	ME	33	Wip longyng y am lad.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 126
VII	64r	B	ME	34	Ich herde men vpo mold make muche mon.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 128
VII	64r – 65v	B	ME	35	Herkeþ hideward ant beoþ stille.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 130
VII	66r	B	ME	36	Weping haueþ myn wonges wet.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 140
VII	66v	B	ME	37	Mosti ryden by rybbesdale.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 144
VII	66v – 67r	B	ME	38	In a fryht as y con fare fremede.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 148
VII	67r	B	ME	39	A wayle whyt ase whalles bon.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 150
VII	67v – 68v	B	Anglo- Norman	40	En may par vne matyne sen ala iuer.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 156
VII, VIII	68v – 70r	B	Anglo- Norman	41	Ces sunt les pelrinages communes que crestiens fount en la seinte terre.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 172
VIII	70r - v	B	Anglo- Norman	42	Ces sunt les pardouns de acres.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 184
VIII	70v	B	ME	43	Ne mai no lewed lued libben in londe.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 188
VII,	70v –	B	ME	44	Of a mon Matheu	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 192

VIII	71r				pohte.	
		B		45		
VIII	71v	B	ME	46	Lenten ys come wip loue to toune.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 194
VIII	71v – 72r	B	ME	47	In may hit murgeþ when hit dawes.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 196
VIII	72r - v	B	ME	48	Heze louerd þou here my bone.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 198
VIII	72v – 73r	B	ME	49	Blow northerne wynd.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 204
VIII	73r - v	B	ME	50	Alle þat beoþ of huerte trewe.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 210
VIII	73v – 74v	B	ME	51	Lustneþ lordinges boþe zonge ant olde.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 214
VIII	75r – 77r	B	Anglo- Norman	52	Marie pur toun enfaunt.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 222
VIII	75r - v	B	ME	53	Suete iesu king of blysse.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 224
VIII	75v	B	ME	54	Iesu crist heouene kyng.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 228
VIII	75v	B	ME	55	Wynter wakenþ al my care.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 228
VIII	76r	B	ME	56	When y se blosmes springe.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 230
VIII	76r	B	Anglo- Norman	57	Ferroy chaunsoun que bien deit estre oye.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 232
VIII	76r	B	Latin, Anglo- Norman, ME	58	Dum ludis floribus velud lacinia	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 234
VIII	76v - 77r	B	Anglo- Norman	59	Quant fu en ma iuuente.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 236
VIII	77v	B	Anglo- Norman	60	Marie mere al salueour.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 244

VIII, IX	77v – 78v	B	ME	61	Iesu suete is þe loue of þe.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 246
IX	78v – 79r	B	Anglo-Norman	62	Vne petite parole seigneurs escotez.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 258
IX	79r - v	B	ME	63	Stond wel moder vnder rode.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 264
IX	79v	B	ME	64	Iesu for þi muchele miht.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 266
IX	80r	B	ME	65	I syke when y singe.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 270
IX	80r	B	ME	66	Nou skrinkeþ rose and lylie flour.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 272
IX	80v	B	ME	67	My deþ y loue my lyf ich hate for a leuedy shene.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 276
IX	80v – 81r	B	ME	68	When þe nyhtegale sings.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 278
IX	81r - v	B	ME	69	Blessed be þou leuedy ful of heouene blisse.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 278
IX	81v	B	ME	70	Ase y me rod this ender day.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 280
IX	82r - v	B	ME	71	Herkne to my ron.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 284
IX	83r	B	Anglo-Norman, ME	72	Mayden moder milde.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 296
IX, X	83r – 92v	B	ME	73	Her bygynneþ þe geste of kyng horn.	Fein, Vol. 2, p. 300
X, XI	92v – 105r	B	Anglo-Norman	74	Seigneurs vus oy auetz molt souent.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 18
XI	105v	B	Latin	75	Nomina librorum bibliotece.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 78
XII	106r	B	ME	76	God þat al þis myhtes may.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 82
XII	106r – 107r	B	ME	77	Lustneþ ale lutel þrowe.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 84
XII	107v –	B	Anglo-	78	Seygnours escotez vn	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 92

	109v		Norman		petit.	
XII	110r - v	B	Anglo-Norman	79	Puis que de fabler ay comence.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 110
XII	110v – 111r	B	Anglo-Norman	80	Seignours e dames ore escotez.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 114
XII	111r - v	B	Anglo-Norman	81	Quy femme prent a compaignie.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 120
XII	112r	B	Anglo-Norman	82	Femme a la pye.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 124
XII	112r – 113v	B	Anglo-Norman	83	Vn sage homme de grant valour.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 128
XII, XIII	113v – 114v	B	Anglo-Norman	84	Talent me prent de rymer et de geste fere.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 144
XIII	114v – 115r	B	ME	85	Mon in þe mone stond and strit.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 148
XIII	115v – 117r	B	Anglo-Norman	86	Pur ce que plusours ount meruaille.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 150
XIII	117r – 118r	B	Latin, Anglo-Norman	87	Bene soit dieu omnipotent.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 162
XIII	118r - v	B	Anglo-Norman	88	Vne fable vueil comencer.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 170
XIII	119r – 121r	B	ME	89	Her comensez a bok of swuenyng.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 174
XIII, XIV	121r – 122v	B	Anglo-Norman	90	Qui vodra a moi entendre.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 194
XIV	122v – 124v	B	Anglo-Norman	91	Auentures e enseignement.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 204
XIV	124v – 125r	B	ME	92	Of rybaud3 y ryme ant rede o my rolle.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 218
XIV	125r – 127r	B	ME	93	Mon þat wol of wisdam heren.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 220
XIV	127r - v	B	Anglo-Norman, ME	94	When man as mad a kyng of a capped man.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 236

XIV	127v	B	Anglo-Norman	95	Cest la distinccioun de la estature iesu crist nostre seigneur.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 238
XIV	128r	B	ME	96	Lutel wot hit any mon.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 240
XIV	128r - v	B	ME	97	Lutel wot hit any mon.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 240
XIV	128v – 129v	B	Anglo-Norman	98	Ce est le aprise que le roy lewis de france aprist a philip soun fils.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 244
XIV	129v – 130v	B	Anglo-Norman	99	Cest lenqueste que le patriarch de ierusalem fist de la terre a sarazyng.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 248
XIV	131r	B	Anglo-Norman	100	Cest la conisaunce de les Armes des Roys.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 254
XIV	131v – 132r	B	Latin	101	Scriptum quod peregrini deferunt ab ecclesia sancti saluatoris in asturiis.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 258
XIV	132r – 133r	B	Latin	102	Incipit legenda de sancto etfrido presbitero de leominstria.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 260
XIV	133v	B	Latin, Anglo-Norman	103	Quy chescun iour de non cuer.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 266
XV	134r	B	Anglo-Norman	104	Quant vus leuez le matyn pensez de seint Michael.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 268
XV	134r	B	Anglo-Norman	105	Quy velt que dieu souyegne de ly die troifoiz cest salme.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 270
XV	134v	B	Anglo-Norman	106	Ioyous honour la sus en haut seit a dampne de.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 272
XV	134v	B	Latin	107	Confiteor tibi deus omnia peccata mea quia tu deus es sine	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 272

					peccato.	
XV	134v – 135r	B	Anglo-Norman	108	Glorieuse dame que le fitz dieu portastes.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 274
XV	135r	B	Latin	109	Rex seculorum et domine dominator[um] qui me creasti.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 274
XV	135r	B	Anglo-Norman	110	Vm doit plus volentiers iuner le vendredy.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 274
XV	135r	B	Anglo-Norman	111	Quy est en tristour prisone pouerte.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 276
XV	135v	B	Anglo-Norman	112	Ce ly que fra ces messes chaunter.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 278
XV	135v – 136r	B	Anglo-Norman	113	Ie vus requer iaspar melchior e baltazar.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 278
XV	135v	B	Latin	114	Mundus iste totus quoddam scaccarium est.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 278
XV	136r	B	Anglo-Norman	115	Quy chescun iour denz seissaunte iours.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 282
XV	136v	B	Latin	116	Contra inimicos si quos habes lege hunc psalmum.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 282
XV	136v – 137r	B	Anglo-Norman	117	Seint hillere archeuesque de peyters ordina ces salmes pur prier a dieu.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 284
XV	137r	B	Latin	118	Est autem herba que vocatur apud caldeos yryos.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 288
XV	137r – v	B	Latin	119	Sic debet frater vel soror proximus vel proxima morti interrogari.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 288
XV	137v – 138v	B	Latin, Anglo-Norman	120	Dieu roy de mageste.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 290

XV	138v – 140r	B	Anglo- Norman	121	Quant vus dites comply.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 298
XV	140v	B	Latin	122	De Martirio sancti Wistani.	Fein, Vol. 3, p. 306

II.iii.ii.iii Assessment

Harley 2253 had, up until 2014, not sufficiently been examined in its entirety as a single book; rather, the pieces were generally categorized and taken out of their original context. Apart from the facsimile with Ker's introduction (which excludes the first four quires), there is no modern edition of the MS in which the lyrics appear in their original MS ordering. This is due to the fact that modern readers (and critics) are not usually proficient in the three languages in which the works are written, and nobody has as yet taken on the arduous task of translating all of the Anglo-Norman and Latin (not to mention Middle English) items into modern English. Fein contends, however, that "A collaborative edition in the Middle English Texts Series will include texts of all the contents of Harley 2253, with translations given for non-English works".³⁶²

Upon analyzing the MS, the first piece of information to jump out is the linguistic groupings of the items entered therein: the first four and one half quires are dedicated to entries that are not based on either a thematic or genre structure, but rather by language, as all of the pieces are in Anglo-Norman. Quire V is completed with Middle English recipes (items 10 - 17) before the principle scribe took over completely to copy quires VI - XV. Throughout the MS there are still places in which one can see a smaller scale linguistic structure of the *codex* (items 30 - 39 in quires VI and VII; 43 - 56 are all also in Middle English save one, which is an Anglo-Norman poem in praise of the Virgin Mary, etc.). But despite this fact,

³⁶² Susanna Fein, *op. cit.*, p. 10. As of the time of writing (January 2014) the work to which Fein alludes (in 2000) is still as yet unavailable. However, in March of 2014 Professor Fein has informed me that the book that was promised all those years ago will finally be available, in three volumes that are due to be come out perhaps as early as the summer of 2014 (for Voll. 1 and 2) and either late in 2014 or early in 2015 for volume 1.

there doesn't, at first glance, seem to be an overall unifying structure to the entirety of the MS. Still, looking at the content of the poems themselves, a pattern can be seen within the context of the poems.

Scribe B gathered some of the most recent popular poetry in Middle English, Anglo-Normann and Latin, which were known both in continental Europe as well as on the British Isles. The MS thus becomes an anthology of an extraordinarily wide range of genres, poetic (and prose) forms, and themes. The vehicles for these different items are lyrics (which we will be looking at in chapters 3 - 5), debate poems, political protests, fabliaux, Saints' lives and many more. The MS is structured in such a way that the scribe has achieved a sort of clash of themes and points of view: this constant back and forth between styles, genres and topics allows for a metanarrative reading of the entire MS as having been structured with a sort of "oppositional thematics"³⁶³.

These oppositions can best be seen in instances where a song that celebrates the Spring is followed immediately by one that deals with winter; when a song of young people who are desperately in love precede a love song that is dedicated to either the Virgin Mary or to Jesus; and even when a poem about the love suffering of a young man is juxtaposed physically within the codex to a poem dealing with the repentance of an old man. One of these such juxtapositions is found on *f.128rv* (the photo, above) which juxtaposes two lyrics that contain the same refrain and even the same words throughout, though one is dedicated to Christ's love while the second is dedicated to love for a woman. But perhaps the apotheosis of this song book is found where the Harrowing of Hell (the theme of which is the salvation of worthy souls) is followed immediately by the Debate between Body and Soul (wherein the Body complains that it repented only too late). The compiler's point, it seems, was to try to help the

³⁶³ Helen Cooper, "Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*: Reviewing the Work," in *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 19 (1997): 183–210, esp. 204 - 9.

reader overcome the tragedy of worldly pleasure and dealings by giving him all of the necessary information for his eternal salvation. Thus, the poetry found in Harley 2253 is intended as a means rather than an end. The intrinsic value of the reflective lyrics, as juxtaposed to the love and political lyrics, is that it "directs the reader's mind to the memoria of an event in the divine scheme, to the understanding of it, and urges his will to action"³⁶⁴. The whole of this MS is therefore helpful as a guide to its readers for the understanding of God's will and the way to heaven, even though when many of these poems are read out of context they seem to be quite far from any religious structure or idea.

³⁶⁴ Douglas Gray (ed.), *Themes and Images in the Medieval English Religious Lyric*, London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972, p. 60.

III. Biblical Characters

The use of characters from the biblical narrative in European literature enjoyed a long and fruitful history already in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages, and it is easy to understand why, based on the nature of the New Testament itself. To underline but one of the many NT uses of biblical characters within this later literature, one can look at the Apostle Paul's letter to the Romans. In chapter 5, vv. 12 and 14 - 19, the author compares Adam to Jesus:

12 Propterea sicut per unum hominem in hunc mundum peccatum intravit et per peccatum mors et ita in omnes homines mors pertransiit in quo omnes peccaverunt. 14 Sed regnavit mors ab Adam usque ad Mosen etiam in eos qui non peccaverunt in similitudinem praevaricationis Adae qui est forma future. 15 Sed non sicut delictum ita et donum si enim unius delicto multi mortui sunt multo magis gratia Dei et donum in gratiam unius hominis Iesu Christi in plures abundavit. 16 Et non sicut per unum peccantem ita et donum nam iudicium ex uno in condemnationem gratia autem ex multis delictis in iustificationem. 17 Si enim in unius delicto mors regnavit per unum multo magis abundantiam gratiae et donationis et iustitiae accipientes in vita regnabunt per unum Iesum Christum. 18 Igitur sicut per unius delictum in omnes homines in condemnationem sic et per unius iustitiam in omnes homines in iustificationem vitae. 19 Sicut enim per inoboedientiam unius hominis peccatores constituti sunt multi ita et per unius oboedientem iusti constituentur multi.³⁶⁵

The Apostle repeats seven times that Adam brought sin and death into the world, while Jesus, through his crucifixion, brought salvation to all of mankind by his singular gesture of love. For the medieval writer who constantly heard biblical stories recounted in the public squares and in the churches, it made sense to imitate this most authoritative text. However, it is not necessary to go directly to the Bible for the use of these characters in literature: exegetes constantly incorporated some of the most famous characters in order to teach a lesson to the

³⁶⁵ 12 "Wherefore, as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned"; 14 "Nevertheless death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression, who is the figure of him that was to come. 15 But not as the offence, so also is the free gift. For if through the offence of one many be dead, much more the grace of God, and the gift by grace, which is by one man, Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto many. 16 And not as it was by one that sinned, so is the gift: for the judgment was by one to condemnation, but the free gift is of many offences unto justification. 17 For if by one man's offence death reigned by one; much more they which receive abundance of grace and of the gift of righteousness shall reign in life by one, Jesus Christ.) 18 Therefore as by the offence of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life. 19 For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous."

faithful. The critic Bruno Bureau has demonstrated³⁶⁶ that Saint Ambrose, in writing his *De Officiis*, [CPL, 144] had a literary interest in using biblical characters as opposed to the more popular (at the time) greco-roman literary characters. St. Ambrose ends his short treatise by explaining that, although he might not be a good author personally, within the three books that he has written the reader can gain a plethora of information that comes from the Bible:

Haec apud uos deposui, filii, quae custodiat in animis uestris: quae utrum aliquid profectus habeant, uos probabit. Interim copiam multam exemplorum adferent; nam prope omnia maiorum exempla, plurima quoque dicta his tribus inclusa libris tenentur ut si sermo nihil deferat gratiae, series tamen uetustatis quodam compendio expressa plurimum instructionis conferat.³⁶⁷

Though this early Church father was inspired by Cicero's treatise of the same name, he used biblical characters for all of his examples on how a good Christian should live. So already in the fourth century authors were using the biblical characters and their stories in educational literature. This form of exegesis, however, was not confined solely to prose texts written by members of the clergy; it is also evident in the Latin poetry of the era.

Greti Dinkova-Bruun has underlined the fact that Latin poets of the Middle Ages "use the different biblical personages as moral examples very much in the tradition of Venantius Fortunatus and Prudentius"³⁶⁸. To understand the use of biblical character in the Middle Ages, one need only briefly look at a later work of the late-classical author Aurelius Prudentius Clemens (348 - after 405). He wrote an extended allegory in Latin entitled *Psychomachia*³⁶⁹,

³⁶⁶ Bruno Bureau, "Maiores autem nostri ut Iesus Naue, Ierobaal, Samson, Daud (off. 1, 175): la filiazione esemplare tra Ebrei e Cristiani nel *De officiis* di Ambrogio da Milano" in Squillanti, Maria and Stefano Manferlotti (eds.), *Ebraismo e letteratura*, Napoli: Liguori, 2008, pp. 1 - 20; p. 6.

³⁶⁷ Book 3, chapter 139, the Latin text is from CCSL, 15, while the English translation is from Ivor J. Davidson, *Ambrose: De Officiis: Edited with an Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 1010, "These things I have left with you, my children, that you may guard them in your minds--you yourselves will prove whether they will be of any advantage. Meanwhile they offer you a large number of examples, for almost all the examples drawn from our forefathers, and also many a word of theirs, are included within these three books; so that, although the language may not be graceful, yet a succession of old-time examples set down in such small compass may offer much instruction."

³⁶⁸ Greti Dinkova-Bruun, "Biblical Versifications from Late Antiquity to the Middle of the Thirteenth Century: History or Allegory", in Willemien Otten and Karla Pollmann (eds.) *Poetry and Exegesis in Premodern Latin Christianity*, Brill: Leiden, 2007, pp. 315 - 342; p. 322.

³⁶⁹ The edition consulted was Aurelio Prudentio Clemente, *Psychomachia: la lotta dei vizi e delle virtù*, [Aurelius Prudentius Clemens, edited by Bruno Basile], Roma: Carocci, 2007.

in which the Christian Faith (personified) goes to battle against pagan idolatry, with the help of the virtues (again, personified) who aid in the fight against vices³⁷⁰. The poem (made of 994 unrhymed verses) opens with a brief retelling of parts of Genesis before offering a prayer to Jesus in the prologue. At verse 89 Faith takes the field to fight the “*Fidem Veterum Cultura Deorum*”³⁷¹ whom she quickly defeats without the help of any biblical characters, but rather for the glory of the martyrs. But with the second combatant, Chastity (who fights Lust) reminds her adversary about the Old Testament biblical character Judith (whose book is directly before that of Esther). Prudentius uses this widow to show God works in many ways and that, thanks to Jesus and to Mary, humanity has changed in that salvation is now possible:

tene, o uexatrix hominum, potuisse resumtis
uiribus extincti capitis recalescere flatu,
Assyrium postquam thalamum ceruix Olofernis
caesa cupidineo madefactum sanguine lauit,
gemmantemque torum moechi ducis aspera Iudith
spreuit et incestos conpescuit ense furores,
famosum mulier referens ex hoste tropaeum
non trepidante manu uindex mea caelitus audax?³⁷²

What the audience sees here, for the first time in the work, is a poetic retelling of the story of Judith (as recounted in Judith, chapters 10 - 13, 8) followed by a Christian explanation of this Old Testament story. The poet goes on to use Job (as the “escort” of Patience), David (as a boy who slew Goliath, and who was accompanied by “humility”), Samuel (who is praised for his [and by the personification of] sobriety), as well as many others. This particular poem was much beloved in the Middle Ages, and went on to influence literature for centuries³⁷³, as

³⁷⁰ It should be noted, however, that the vices are not the seven deadly sins, and the virtues described in the poem are not the three theological virtues plus the four cardinal virtues as understood by the medieval audience.

³⁷¹ The culture of faith of the Old Gods.

³⁷² vv. 126 - 133; “Do you think, molester of men, that you can get your strength and be warmed again by the breath of life? Remember the head of Holofernes: it soaked the cushions of his couch with the blood of passion; Judith, an honest woman, refused his jeweled bed and stopped his fervor with one thrust of her dagger. Weak woman though she was, her hand never trembled as she fought for my cause with heavenly boldness.”

³⁷³ In fact, the word “psychomachia” has entered into the English language, meaning “conflict of the soul”. The English allegory *Everyman* was obviously influenced by this poem, but so were such works as *Roman de la Rose* and *The Canterbury Tales*, in which various characters struggle with the seven deadly sins.

evidenced by the fact that it was copied in many MSS from various European countries³⁷⁴.

These MSS very often contain a series of 89 drawings that show the scenes from the poem, which were originally designed in the fifth century³⁷⁵. The following image shows the vice

Luxuria as she tempts the forces of the faithful, as found in a tenth century MS:



London, British Library,
MS Additional. 24199,
f.18r; the MS was
probably made in
southern England.

³⁷⁴ For an introduction to the “best-seller” status of this poem, see Sinéad O’Sullivan, *Early Medieval Glosses on Prudentius' "Psychomachia": The Weitz Tradition*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004.

³⁷⁵ For an art history approach to this subject, see Backhouse, Janet, D. H. Turner, and Leslie Webster (eds.), *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art, 966-1066*, Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1984). The image on this page is found in at page 68.

Vernacular poets and scribes of the High Middle Ages very likely had access to this sort of poetic exegesis and the iconography that was used in MSS³⁷⁶, churches and other buildings, which at times may have even acted as sources for their own poetic uses of biblical characters.

Within the various genres and literary examples we have examined thus far, we have already seen that Solomon's name and fame were used to give authority to whomever quoted him (or attempted to do so), and that the writers of Old English charters used biblical characters to give more force to their warnings of changing anything therein³⁷⁷. But many other authors of poetry used the characters' stories as recounted in the Bible to frame their narratives and, often, to give more authority to the poetic voice, as in the examples that we will see here; for the copyists of the three MSS we are examining were no different, nor were the authors of the poetry found therein. While there are several ways in which to use famous biblical characters in literature, we will examine three of them that stand out in the poetry in question in this study:

- the use of members of the first family (with particular attention for Eve and Cain, the two *bad* members of the first family);
- political leaders who were brought down by love for a woman, but who were ultimately saved through their love and faith to God (King David, his son Solomon, and Sampson);
- and finally we will look at the words and miracles of Christ and the use of his disciples' letters and teachings in the love poetry of the European thirteenth century.

Before delving into the three of the ways in which biblical characters are employed in the poetry transmitted in the three MSS, what seems to be a glaring lacuna must be confronted; that is to say: why is there no section here specifically on the Virgin Mary? There is certainly no lack of material, even within the corpus that we have put forth, regarding Mary. Indeed, throughout the Middle Ages Marian poetry (and love poetry dedicated to the Virgin)

³⁷⁶ See the *avant propos* of this study; we will again discuss the availability of MSS to authors of poetry during the Middle Ages in the general conclusions.

³⁷⁷ As seen in chapter one.

holds a special place within all three of the linguistic groupings under examination. It can (and has³⁷⁸) even been argued that Marian poetry is the direct ancestor of lyric love poetry. If one looks simply at the first poetry transmitted in the languages this certainly seems to be the case. As a short case study, one can look to the only poem by Francesco d'Assisi in which the Virgin is explicitly prayed to that has survived to the present day: the prayer/poem *Ti saluto, Signora Santa, regina santissima*³⁷⁹. This early and influential piece has been studied by many modern scholars³⁸⁰ as an early Italian *Lauda*, or vernacular spiritual song which would have a pluri-secular dominance in European poetry. This poetic form in itself derives directly from the troubadour poetry that we have seen thus far, and which made its way into northern Italy in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century after the Albigensian Crusade³⁸¹. Meanwhile in England, Mary's gaze on her son's body provides meditational focus in several of the so-called passion lyrics; "visual empathy" connects the reader to Mary's experience and, through her, to Christ's³⁸². There is already a vast amount of research dedicated to the figure of Mary in medieval poetry³⁸³, and respectively little dedicated to the biblical characters we have chosen to focus on here. While we will see the differences and similarities in our poets use of Mary in their love poetry, especially in chapter 5, time and space prevent the full study of the Marian influence on medieval poetry.

³⁷⁸ See at least Stephen Cushman, Clare Cavanagh, Jahan Ramazani and Paul Rouzer (eds.), *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, Fourth Edition, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012; p. 374, the entry for *Dolce Stil Nuovo*.

³⁷⁹ For the full text of this poem, see Giovanni Battista Proja, *I poeti Italiani a Maria*, Roma: Basilica Lateranense, 1994, p. 20.

³⁸⁰ Most recently in Enrico Dal Covolo and Aristide Serra (eds.), *Storia della mariologia, vol. 1, dal modello biblico al modello letterario*, Torino: Città Nuova, 2009, especially pp. 78 - 102.

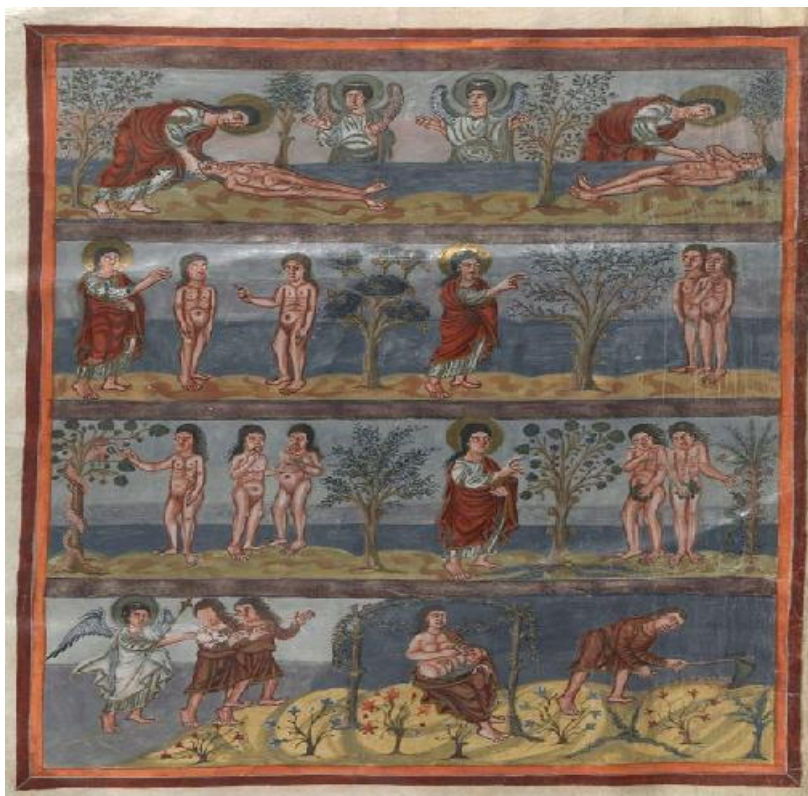
³⁸¹ As the commonalities between Occitan lyrics and the laude are most evident in the music that accompanied them, one of the best recent studies on the dependence of the Italian *lauda* on Occitan lyrics can be seen in Elizabeth Aubrey (ed.) *Poets and Singers: On Latin and Vernacular Monophonic Song. Music in Medieval Europe*. Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2009.

³⁸² See Sarah Stanbury, "The Virgin's Gaze: Spectacle and Transgression in Middle English Lyrics of the Passion", in *PMLA* 106 (1991), pp. 1083-93.

³⁸³ For a mere introduction to the problem, please see Franco Suitner, "La poesia medievale dedicata alla Madonna: qualche aspetto tematico", in *Rivista di letteratura italiana*, XXV, 2 (2007), pp. 1 - 16; Proja, *op. cit.*; Gustave Cohen, "La Sainte Vierge dans la littérature française du Moyen Âge" in *Maria, études sur la Sainte Vierge*, Hubert Du Manoir (ed.), t. II, Paris: Éditions Beauchesne, 1952, pp. 19-46

III.i. *The first family: Adam and Abel, Eve and Cain*

Adam and Eve were beloved characters of medieval poets and artists, but for very different reasons: the first is the patriarch of the entire human race and poets praised him as the father of man. Eve, on the other hand, represents the fall of man and is constantly juxtaposed to the Virgin Mary, who finally righted the wrongs that the first woman had doomed mankind to. This couple was often shown in MS illuminations and mosaics, which goes along with the many literary works written throughout the Middle Ages dedicated to their lives, focusing on both the creation story and on their fall from grace.³⁸⁴ An early example (one of the very many), is found in the frontispiece to Genesis in London, British Library MS Additonal 10546, (c. 830 – c. 840) on f.5v. which depicts the Creation of Adam and Eve, their temptation and expulsion from Eden to labor on thorny soil, from the Moutier-Grandval Bible, France (Tours).



These images, all on one folio of the MS show the creation of Eve (Genesis 2, 21 - 22), the forbidding of the fruit of the tree of knowledge (Genesis 2, 17), the temptation of Eve and the successive conversation with God (Genesis 3m 1 - 16) and finally the expulsion from Eden (Genesis 3, 17 - 24).

³⁸⁴ In literature, the couple is most often shown for the link that exists between their fall and the salvation through Christ motif. One of the most important of the works that focus on this aspect of the first couple are the *Vitae Adami et Evae*, which is found in several MSS from the ninth, tenth, and twelfth centuries. For a discussion of the reception of this text in the Middle Ages, see Brian O. Murdoch, *The Apocryphal Adam and Eve in Medieval Europe: Vernacular Translations and Adaptations of the Vita Adae et Evae*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

A few centuries later, in England, the same story is depicted in London, British Library, MS Claudius B.iv, (2nd quarter of the 11th century-2nd half of the 12th century) which transmits the Hexateuch (or first six books of the Old Testament) translated into Old English. This early translation is accompanied by nearly 400 images that show the reader exactly what is going on in the biblical narrative; in fact, Neil Ker points out that “Sometimes the drawings appear to have been executed before the text was written [...] where the writing has been spaced abnormally to avoid projecting spears, swords, or wands”³⁸⁵, which led modern scholars³⁸⁶ to assume that this Bible was intended for instructional use for the laity. The following two images of Adam and Eve are found on ff.6v and 7v, showing respectively the creation of Eve and the warning not to eat from the tree of knowledge, and the expulsion of the couple from the Garden of Eden:



³⁸⁵ Neil Ripley Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957, p. 22.

³⁸⁶ See especially Benjamin C. Withers, *The Illustrated Old English Hexateuch, Cotton Claudius B.iv.: the frontier of seeing and reading in Anglo-Saxon England*. Studies in Book and Print Culture. London: British Library, 2007

While illuminations in MSS are obviously more directly pertinent to those who had access to these books, the biblical images are also to be found in various churches throughout Europe, and these are probably more likely the kinds of direct sources that helped diffuse the stories among the laity who had no such access. Two examples of this phenomenon are found in



famous churches in northern Italy; the earlier example is found in Verona, on the portals of the church of San Zeno and dates to the twelfth century³⁸⁷. The bronze bas-reliefs depict many different biblical scenes, including the expulsion of the first couple from the garden, on the left wing of the portal. Churches in northern Italy would have seen this image

every time that they went to mass and as such would have had the story well placed in their minds. The second image also comes from a church in northern Italy, Saint Mark's Cathedral in Venice. The artwork in this cathedral is world famous and the mosaics therein show a series of biblical stories. One of these is the temptation of Eve and the eating of the forbidden fruit:



Once again, this mosaic was completed in *circa* 1230 and both the laity and vernacular poets would have been quite familiar with the story and its iconography throughout the Middle Ages³⁸⁸.

³⁸⁷ The image to the left of the expulsion from Eden is taken from <http://www.mvchurchgoods.com/Detail.lasso?id=123EXP&label=art>

³⁸⁸ The image is taken from <http://www.photographersdirect.com/buyers/stockphoto.asp?imageid=3000141>

Still, there is more to the story of Adam and Eve than just the temptation of Eve by the serpent: for at times the couple is also used to show the glory and forgiveness of God: for Christians, He made man in his own image and one of the best ways to show that is through the use of the first couple, although iconographically this image of the first couple seems less pervasive in medieval art. Although the story of the Fall of Man was popular for medieval artists, Adam and Eve were also created directly by God, and this was the image chosen by Guittone' d'Arezzo in order to praise his beloved, a choice that is interesting given the entirety of this couple's story:

Fero dolore e crudel pena e dura,
ched eo sofferesi en coralmente amare,
menòmi assai sovente in dismisura
e mi fece de voi, donna, parlare.
Or che meo senno regna 'n sua natura,
sì che dal ver so la menzogna 'strare,
conosco che non ment'om ni pergiura
più ch'eo feci onni fiata 'n biasmare.
Ché non vive alcun *om* che tanto vaglia,
dicesse che 'n voi manchi alcuna cosa,
ch'eo vincer no 'nde 'l credesse in battaglia.
Non fo natura in voi *far* poderisa,
ma Deo penatamente, u' non è faglia,
vi fe', com' fece Adamo e sùia sposa.
[GdC, p. 36]³⁸⁹

The "cruel pain" and "harsh distress" of the first verse mirror the punishment that the couple's actions merited, as seen in Genesis chapter 3, vv. 16 - 19:

mulieri quoque dixit multiplicabo aerumnas tuas et conceptus tuos in dolore paries filios et sub viri potestate eris et ipse dominabitur tui. 17 Ad Adam vero dixit quia audisti vocem uxoris tuae et comedisti de ligno ex quo praeceperam tibi ne comederes maledicta terra in opere tuo in laboribus comedes eam cunctis diebus vitae tuae. 18 Spinās et tribulos germinabit tibi et comedes herbas terrae. 19 In sudore vultus tui vesceris pane donec revertaris in terram de qua sumptus es quia pulvis es et in pulverem reverteris³⁹⁰.

³⁸⁹ Fierce pain and cruel, harsh distress / that I must suffer in loving so deeply, / has too often hit me in excess, / and made me speak badly of you, Miss. / Now that my faculty has returned to normal, / such that I can tell the truth from lies, / I see that no man has lied nor perjured / himself more than I every time I blasphemed your name. / For there is no man so talented / who, if he said anything bad about you, / I don't believe I could beat in a fight. / It was not nature who made you so great, / but God, who has no fault, thoughtfully / made you, just as he made Adam and his bride.

³⁹⁰ "Unto the woman he said, I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children; and thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee. 17 And unto Adam he said, Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree, of which I commanded thee, saying, Thou shalt not eat of it: cursed is the ground for thy sake; in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy

While I have translated ‘pena’ of verse 1 in Guittone’s poem with the English word ‘distress’, it can also mean punishment (as seen in Dante’s *Inferno*, canto V, verse 45 when discussing the punishment of those whose sins of passion led them to Hell: “nulla speranza li conforta mai / non che di posa, ma di minor pena³⁹¹). Adam’s punishment from God after having eaten the forbidden fruit was to only eat food that he had procured for himself “from the sweat of his face” or brow. This was a cruel punishment, as up until that time the first man had only eaten fruits from trees that were supplied already by God. The narrator of Guittone’s poem likens his own punishment to that of Adam, through the use of the words “*dolore*” and “*pena*” in verse 1 before coming to the final verse, in which the poet likens the creation to the woman in question to that of Adam and Eve. This begs the question: what might Guittone have thought about the creation of the first couple, and what would this mean for this sonnet in particular, and for the series of 86 love sonnets as found in MS *L*?

We know from the poet’s letters that he was very familiar with the works of St. Augustine³⁹², as Guittone quoted this early Church father on four different occasions³⁹³. One of Augustine’s later works, *Genesi Ad Litteram* (The Literal Meaning of Genesis, finished in 415) [CPL 266], might be the key to understanding this poetic use of the first couple. At the end of book three, Augustine asks himself why God did not say that his creation of man was good as he did after all of his other creations. Augustine’s line of reasoning is found in §24:

Quod autem non singulatim, ut in caeteris, etiam de humana creatura dixit: Et vidit Deus quia bonum est: sed post hominem factum, datamque illi potestatem vel dominandi vel edendi, subintulit de omnibus: Et vidit Deus omnia quae fecit, et ecce bona valde, merito quaeri potest. Potuit enim primo reddi homini singillatim, quod singillatim caeteris quae antea facta sunt redditum est; tum demum de omnibus dici quae fecit Deus: Ecce bona

life; 18 Thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field; 19 In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground; for out of it wast thou taken: for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return.”

³⁹¹ Dante Alighieri, *La Divina Commedia: Inferno*, (Anna Maria Chiavacci Leonardi [commentary to the Petrocchi edition of the Comedy]), Milano: Mondadori, 1991: “No hope ever comforts them / neither a pause (in their suffering) nor in a lessening of their pain”.

³⁹² Or at least with citations taken from Augustine; the use of this author will be discussed more fully in chapter 4.

³⁹³ In letters III (which we discussed above), XXI, XXVII, and XXXIII.

valde. An forte quia sexto die perficiuntur omnia, propterea de omnibus dicendum fuit: Vidit Deus omnia quae fecit, et ecce bona valde³⁹⁴.

Augustine's response to this interesting question comes shortly thereafter: "Quid ergo dicemus? An quia praesciebat Deus hominem peccaturum, nec in suae imaginis perfectione mansurum [...]?"³⁹⁵. Augustine suggests that God did not say that man was specifically good as a way of foreshadowing the sin that God already knew man would commit, thus not remaining true to his (currently) perfect state. If Guittone had this interpretation of the Genesis story in mind as he wrote the last verse of this sonnet, it would mean then that he is foreshadowing already in this early entry in the series (this is the twelfth sonnet of a series of 86) that the relationship between the narrator and the beloved would not end well. Indeed, this poem must be read as part of a larger story; in verse four the narrator alludes to having spoken badly about the woman in sonnet number nine of the sequence, in which he says that the woman shows no mercy ("com'eo - più cher' mercé, più mi sdegnate" [DdC, p. 27; v. 3])³⁹⁶. There are also linguistic connectors between the two sonnets: the endings in *-are* and *-osa* (*amare, parlare, 'strare, biasmare; cosa, ponderosa, sposa*) match those in the previous sonnet as well. This interpretation of the use of Adam and Eve in Guittone's poem is possible given his complex style, the poet's encyclopedic knowledge of Christian writings, and his later entry into the order of the *Frati Gaudenti*. However, the mention of Adam and Eve also works here on a literal level: Leonardi points out that in verses twelve through fourteen the poet juxtaposes "nature" to "God"³⁹⁷. This *topos*³⁹⁸ was dear to the Occitan and Sicilian poets that Guittone imitated in his youthful poetry, and without the use of Augustine (or the other

³⁹⁴ PL 34; "One could ask here, with good reason, for what reason, when it comes to the creation of man, does the Scripture not say in particular, like it does for all of the other animals: "And God saw that it was good", but, after having narrated the creation of man and the power given to him both to dominate over them and to nourish himself with them, on the creation of all creatures it adds, "And God saw all the things that he had created and saw that they were very good".

³⁹⁵ "What shall we say then? Is it because God knew that man sin, and would not have remained in His perfect image [...]?"

³⁹⁶ "As the more I ask for [your] mercy, the more you disdain me".

³⁹⁷ GdC, p. 37.

³⁹⁸ Described by Curtius, *op. cit.*, pp. 203 - 205.

medieval scholars who followed in his interpretation of Genesis, such as the Venerable Bede) the final verses of this poem can be read as simply meaning that God, who is perfect, created the woman to whom the poem is addressed as a perfect human being, just as he made the first couple.

Cain, on the other hand, was known in the Middle Ages generally as the first *homo fello*, or the first of those who failed to honor God (for which we will see Marcabru's poem XXXV [PC293.35]) and as the arch betrayer³⁹⁹, who was even worse than Judas since the latter's betrayal was at least done for economic gain, whereas Cain earned nothing and was simply an evil man. Medieval iconography focuses principally on the moment in which Cain slays his younger brother, due to his jealousy for God's reaction to their two burnt offerings (as recounted in Genesis, 4, verses 5 - 9). The Old English Hextateuch once again contains one of the earlier illuminations of this story: on f.8v we see God's judgement of the two burnt offerings followed by the murder of Abel at Cain's hands:



This image is representative of the whole of the iconographic tradition of these Bible verses, but while Abel is largely left out of medieval art (aside from this sort of image) his older brother's story continues and formed an important story for medieval poetry. From Genesis 4,

³⁹⁹ On this point, see Montanhagol, IV, vv. 29 - 30; Arnaut Daniel, II, v. 50; Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, XXXII, v. 33.

verse 16 through the end, the reader follows the story of Cain and his family, after he had left God and settled in the land of Nod. There he had a son named Enoch, who was eventually responsible for the birth of Lamech (there were five generations from Cain to Lamech). This character, who had two wives, told them (in vv. 23, 24) that he had killed two men, but that if his ancestor Cain was not to be killed lest the murderer be cursed by God, then surely the punishment for any man who killed him would be cursed 77 times⁴⁰⁰. Indeed, Cain's line stands in sharp contrast to the third named son of Adam and Eve: Seth. When Seth had a son named Enos, "then began men to call upon the name of the Lord", and thus ends Chapter four of Genesis. This section of the life of Cain was also very popular among medieval artists, as can be seen by the plethora its artistic interpretations. A very early miniated Bible, the *Biblia Sancti Petri Rodensis* (now Paris, BnF, MS Latin 6) completed around the year 1,000, contains on f.6r the entirety of this story. According to Martin Bocian the way that the story is shown in this Bible will eventually "become the model for plastic sculptures of the Romanic cathedrals"⁴⁰¹.



⁴⁰⁰ While Genesis does not specify who Lamech had killed, the Jewish *Haggadà* explains that the man who had been killed was none other than Cain, whose horns (the mark of Cain in this version of the story) were taken by Lamech (who was nearly blind) for those of an animal; he thus shot and killed his ancestor.

⁴⁰¹ Martin Bocian (ed.), *Dizionario dei Personaggi Biblici*, translated by Enzo Gatti (Original Title: *Lexikon der biblischen Personen. Mit ihrem Fortleben in Judentum, Christentum, Islam, Dichtung, Musik und Kunst*, Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner, 1989; p. 305, "diventa modello per la scultura plastica delle cattedrali romaniche".

We see in this detail from the MS⁴⁰² all of the principle actions of the story: the burnt offerings, the curse on Cain, and finally Cain's death at the hands of Lamech. The entirety of this story is also recounted in illuminations in the same eleventh century English MS that we saw above:



London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius, B.iv, f.9r.

The top image shows God asking Cain about his brother's whereabouts, while the center illumination shows Cain building the city of Enoch, which he named after his son, and the bottom three panels show Lamech with his two wives, which makes him the first bigamist, a fact which the Bible does not deal with but that the Jewish tales dealing with the Genesis story go into in some depth⁴⁰³. According, then, to the biblical narrative, not only was Cain

cursed by God, but his entire family tree was full of evil people. The entirety of this last section of Genesis 4 is told in carvings on the *Duomo* in Modena, construction of which was begun in 1099 and completed between 1130 and 1140, to then be consecrated in 1184⁴⁰⁴.

⁴⁰² Taken from Gallica: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b85388026>

⁴⁰³ Summaries of these stories are in Louis Ginzburg, *Legends of the Jews*, translated by Henrietta Szold, Philadelphia: Jewish Publications Society of America, 1909 - 1938, 5 Vols. (in vol. I, pp. 115 - 118 and vol. V, pp. 146 - 48); Robert Graves and Raphael Patai (eds.), *Hebrew Myths. The Book of Genesis*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966, pp. 108 - 19; Ruth Mellinkoff, *The Mark of Cain*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981; Brian Murdoch, *The Medieval Popular Bible: Expansions of Genesis in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2003.

⁴⁰⁴ For the history of this cathedral, see Chiara Frugoni, *Wiligelmo: Le sculture del Duomo di Modena*, Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini Editore, 1996.



The first image (clockwise from the top left) shows the two burnt offerings; the second shows Cain slaying Abel; the third shows Lamech shooting Cain with his bow; and the last image is of God cursing Cain. At least in this version of the story, the three figures are not shown in the death of Cain: Lamech's son Tubalkain should also be in the third image, which seems to point to the fact that the *Biblia Sancti Petri Rodensis* was not the direct source for the art in this cathedral in Modena.

This story, then, was largely known among the laity in the Middle Ages, including the minor section of the death of Cain at the hands of his descendant. While these particular biblical characters are not transmitted in MS *D^a*, Marcabru uses the figure of Cain in a poem that is found in nine different MSS, including the two that we have seen in Chapter II. The poetic use of Cain in Marcabru shows just how bad the people in his current generation are: in his Crusade Song *Pax in nomine Domini*, (PC 293.35) vv. 37 - 40 have “Probet del lignatge Caï,/ del primeiran home fello, / a tans aici / c’us a Dieu non porta honor”⁴⁰⁵. This song is an exhortation to Crusade, but not in the Holy Land; this fight is to be taken to Spain, as seen in vv. 7 - 10: “c’anc for outramar no·n fon taus / en de lai enves Josaphat; / e d’aquest de sai vos conort”⁴⁰⁶. God will grant the crusaders a place to wash themselves, but only on the condition that they avenge the wrongs done to Him both in Spain and in Damascus (as seen in vv. 33 - 36). This exhortation then leads into the aforementioned use of the line of Cain: the poet is talking here either about the Saracens or about fellow crusaders who do not live up to God’s calling, since the *aici* of v. 39 has already been seen to be Spain, where there are both Crusaders and Saracens. Based on just the verses that we brought above either identification would work, but if we look at the opening lines of the stanzas that follow, we will see that the answer should be definitive. At vv. 46 - 49 the poet gives a long list of sinners who will not go into war for God’s sake, meaning that the object of his ire in this, stanza six, are potential crusaders and not the enemy. In verses 55 and 56 the poet rebukes “the Marquis and those of Solomon’s temple” (the Jews) who suffer under the weight of pagan pride: again, these are not the Saracens but those who live in Spain but will not help in the cause of the Crusades and thus “love neither joy nor delight” (v. 64). The final stanza opens with a condemnation of all

⁴⁰⁵ “Akin to the line of Cain, the first evil man, there is a great number here of whom not one shows honor to God.”

⁴⁰⁶ “Apart from over there near the valley of Josephat in Outremer, but it is about the one over here that I exhort you.”

of the French, if “del afar Dieu dizo no”⁴⁰⁷. Each of these stanzas opens with a rebuke of people who *could* help in the cause of regaining Spain from the Muslims, but not with direct criticism of the Muslims themselves. This leads us to understand that those who are of the line of Cain, as seen above, are also either Christians or Jews, lechers or cowardly Frenchmen. In a song that opens with a cry for Peace in the name of God, and which will only come about through warfare with the Muslims living in Spain, Marcabru uses the figure of Cain to shame all of those who are not willing to help in this most noble of causes: the second Crusade.

Meanwhile, in another poem by Marcabru, but one which uncharacteristically praises love, we see yet another reference to this first son of Adam and Eve: PC 293.13, which is transmitted by 6 MSS, ends with a warning about false love and whence it comes. After references to the famous “Faith hope and charity” of 1st Corinthians, 13,13 (which we will discuss in section three of this chapter) the poet uses Matthew to eventually talk about Cain:

Greu er ja qe fols desnatur
 et a foleiar non reling,
 e fola que no·s desmezur;
 e mals arbres de mal noirim
 de mala branch’a mala flor;
 e frug de mala poissanza
 reverta·l mals otra·l peior,
 lai on jois non ha sobranza

 de l’amistat d’estraing atur,
 falsa, del lignatge Caÿm,
 qe met los sieus a malatür
 car non tem anta ni blastim
 [MCE, pp. 180 - 182; vv. 32 - 44]⁴⁰⁸.

According to Richard Paterson⁴⁰⁹ there are represented in this section of the poem five generations from the "evil branch" to the "evil fruit", which, according to Genesis, 4, 17 - 24,

⁴⁰⁷ “If in the affair of God they say no”.

⁴⁰⁸ “It will hardly ever happen that a sinful man will act against his nature and not revert to type in sinning, or that a sinful woman will not fail to restrain herself; and an evil tree from an evil shoot from an evil branch has an evil flower; and the evil reverts to fruit of evil power beyond the worst imaginable when joy holds no sway / over the false friendship of the line of Cain, bent on cruelty and perversion, and which gives its own up to a miserable fate, being fearless in the face of shame or opprobrium.”

⁴⁰⁹ Richard Paterson, *Lignage*, pp. 248 - 53.

mean that the evil fruit is in fact Lamech. This genealogy is in direct opposition to the happiness that the narrator feels in the spring time when he is in love. The use of Cain, and of Lamech, if we take Paterson's interpretation as correct, is an unexpected turn in this light and airy poem up through verse 31. In the Middle Ages, this character of Lamech was seen as the figure for all the sins of the world which would eventually be washed away in the blood of Christ after 77 generations. He was interpreted as a murderer (to which he admitted to his two wives, in *Genesis*, 4, 19 - 24), and as a traitor who defied God's laws (any man who killed Cain would be cursed by God). He was also a bigamous adulterer (the first man to take two wives), but would be far from the last biblical character to do so. Cain's line does indeed stand in stark contrast to that of Seth, Adam and Eve's third son, who would eventually be responsible for the birth of Jesus.

There are many ways to use these biblical characters, but our poets chose interpretations that could be read (or heard) in various different ways. Given the poets' vast knowledge of both scripture and hermeneutics, and the knowledge of the laity of biblical iconography encompassing their every movement in medieval daily life, it is no surprise that the biblical characters should be used in literature in ways that may be appreciated on varying levels. These particular characters that we have examined thus far carry an enormous amount of weight for medieval Christians, but the next group of characters may have been even more influential on the lives of everyone in the high Middle Ages, from scholars to clerks, from students to those who could not read Latin: these men (and their reception in the Middle Ages) changed the way that people in medieval Europe lived their very lives.

III.ii. *Men Ruined by Love (and Saved by God)*

Near the end of the *Parson's Tale*, Geoffrey Chaucer, through this titular character, wrote that "Ful ofte tyme I rede that no man truste in his owene perfeccioun, but he be stronger than Samson, and hoolier than David, and wiser than Salomon".⁴¹⁰ While Chaucer and his works fall outside of the temporal arc of the present study, his sources do not. Although this quote is taken from a fourteenth century work of prose, the use of these three biblical characters, in particular for the story of their fall from grace and their eventual redemption⁴¹¹, was often found in literature throughout the Middle Ages. One of Chaucer's main influences for many of his works, Giovanni Boccaccio, likewise employed these characters in his Latin treatise, *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*⁴¹², in which the fourteenth century Italian author illustrates the fates of great men who were brought down for varying reasons. In book three, chapter IV (*In luxuriosos Principes - Against Lustful Princes*), Boccaccio uses all three of these characters to show how stupid even holy men can be: "ut – puta – David adulterium in Bersabee, Sansonis in meretriculam, Salomonis ob mulierem ydolatram, et huiusmodi plura"⁴¹³. Still, though these three men did sin because of women, Boccaccio notes that each of them came back to God:

sed scelere commisso flevit David, nec ante a lacrimis destitit quam Dei iram mitigatam noverit. Sanson, si peccavit in Dalilam, cecitate et longa captivitate multatus, deberet illis terrorem inicere. Sic et Salomon, divino privates spiritu, peccatum suum cognovits et destitit⁴¹⁴.

⁴¹⁰ Verses 993 - 995. The edition of the *Canterbury Tales* consulted was *The Riverside Chaucer*, Larry D. Benson, General Editor, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987 [3rd edition, 2009], p. 322.

⁴¹¹ Or "*de casibus tragedies*", as Robert Worth Frank Jr. puts it, in his article "The Canterbury Tales III: pathos", in Boitani, Piero and Jill Mann (eds.) *The Cambridge Companion to Chaucer*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 178 - 194; p. 183.

⁴¹² *On the Fall of Famous Men*. Book I, Chapter XVII (*De Sansone*) is dedicated entirely to Samson, while Solomon is mentioned in a list of men who were tempted by women from other countries in Book I, chapter XVIII (*In mulieres*) (while he is mentioned several times, this is the first section of the book in which Solomon is considered for his fall, as it were), while David's youth is recounted in Book II, chapter I (*De Saule rege Israel*).

⁴¹³ Ricci, Pier Giorgio e Vittorio Zaccario (eds.), *Tutte le opere di Giovanni Boccaccio*, Milano: Mondadori, 1983, p. 210; "That, for instance, of David's adultery with Bathsheba, of Samson with the prostitute, of Solomon for his idolterous wife, and many others like these."

⁴¹⁴ *Idem*: "But, having committed his sin, David cried, and he did not stop crying until he was certain that the wrath of God had ebbed. Samson, if he committed a sin with Delilah, punished by blindness and a long

This sentiment, in turn, was probably influenced by a thirteenth century exegetical work: the *Summa de Vitiis* (1236) by a Dominican friar named William Peraldus⁴¹⁵ [at 2.3.1 and 3.4.1 - 2]. The story of King David and Bathsheba, as recounted in *Second Kings*, chapter 11, vv. 1 - 5:

factum est ergo vertente anno eo tempore quo solent reges ad bella procedere misit David Ioab et servos suos cum eo et universum Israhel et vastaverunt filios Ammon et obsederunt Rabba David autem remansit in Hierusalem 2 dum haec agerentur accidit ut surgeret David de stratu suo post meridiem et deambulet in solario domus regiae viditque mulierem se lavantem ex adverso super solarium suum erat autem mulier pulchra valde 3 misit ergo rex et requisivit quae esset mulier nuntiatumque ei est quod ipsa esset Bethsabée filia Heliam uxor Uriae Hetthei 4 missis itaque David nuntiis tulit eam quae cum ingressa esset ad illum dormivit cum ea statimque sanctificata est ab immunditia sua 5 et reversa est domum suam concepto fetu mittensque nuntiavit David et ait concepi⁴¹⁶.

serves the poets to explain that God is forgiving when the sinner repents. While David's life was used extensively in MS miniatures, especially in prayer and while playing the harp, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the story of Bathsheba became more common in decorations:



This miniature to the left, found on f.56v of London, British Library, MS Royal 2 B.VII (France, first quarter of fourteenth century) shows David seeing Bathsheba for the first time, with an explanation of the scene in Anglo Norman underneath.

imprisonment, should strike fear in them [into sinners who use these examples as a reason to sin in lust, NDT], And even Salomon, deprived of the divine spirit, recognized his sin and abstained from it".

⁴¹⁵ For information on this author as a source for Chaucer, see *Riverside Chaucer* Third Edition, 1988, Oxford: Oxford University Press; "Explanatory Notes", p. 956.

⁴¹⁶ And it came to pass, after the year was expired, at the time when kings go forth to battle, that David sent Joab, and his servants with him, and all Israel; and they destroyed the children of Ammon, and besieged Rabbah. But David tarried still at Jerusalem. 2 And it came to pass in an eveningtide, that David arose from off his bed, and walked upon the roof of the king's house: and from the roof he saw a woman washing herself; and the woman was very beautiful to look upon. 3 And David sent and enquired after the woman. And one said, Is not this Bathsheba, the daughter of Eliam, the wife of Uriah the Hittite? 4 And David sent messengers, and took her; and she came in unto him, and he lay with her; for she was purified from her uncleanness: and she returned unto her house. 5 And the woman conceived, and sent and told David, and said, I am with child.

But this cycle in the David story was also frequently used in decorations for medieval cathedrals. The south portal of the west façade of the cathedral in Auxerre (the sculptures on which were completed between 1250 - 1280) shows the major elements of this story:



On the far left of the frame, King David spies on Bathsheba as she bathes, in the middle. The right side shows Bathsheba's warrior husband Uriah as he heads off for war at David's behest⁴¹⁷.

From this sexual deviance on the part of the king was born a first son who died (as recounted in 2 Samuel, chapter 12, vv. 14 - 18), followed by the couple's second son, King Solomon, who in the Middle Ages is made out to be an incredible human being: the wise king who is blessed by God. The many legends about him fall under three headings: Solomon the magician, Solomon the wise man and Solomon the builder of the temple. Though Solomon the magician and the builder are not the focus of medieval love poetry, Solomon the wise is ever present in the medieval mind. In the Christian centuries the idea of Solomon's wisdom seems to have gradually separated itself from that of his magic, and stress is increasingly laid on the idea of him as the receptor of Divine Wisdom⁴¹⁸. The medieval notion of the Old and New Testament as complementary parts of one whole, the Old a pre-figuration of the New, derives in its later form mainly from the *Allegoriae quaedam Scripturae* of Isidore of Seville [CPL, 1190]⁴¹⁹, though it is not original to him. It was not worked out in detail for some

⁴¹⁷ For an analysis on this façade from an art-history point of view, see Wayne Craven, "The Iconography of the David and Bathsheba Cycle at the Cathedral of Auxerre" in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (1975), pp. 226-237.

⁴¹⁸ As was seen in the use of his name in the overview of epic poetry in chapter 1 of this study.

⁴¹⁹ For a study on this work, see Crouch, Jace, *A Guide to Typology: Isidore of Seville's Allegoriae Quaedam Sacrae Scripturae*, Mount Pleasant (Michigan): Central Michigan University, 1984.

hundreds of years after Isidore, but when it was, we find Solomon as the symbol of Divine Wisdom, and as such the direct pre-figuration of Jesus Christ. This appears most clearly in the thirteenth century MSS of the *Bible Moralisée*, where miniatures of the various events in the history of Solomon are accompanied by both the Old Testament text and a statement of the precise event in the life and ministry of Christ which is prefigured. Chapter four of this study will focus more on these aspects of the life and actions of Salomon, but as regards the study of the fall of great men *topos* in medieval literature, we must first see what exactly this King's sin was. In the book of *1 Kings*, chapter eleven begins with the story of how King Solomon disobeyed the Lord in his old age: verses 1 - 8 recount that

rex autem Salomon amavit mulieres alienigenas multas filiam quoque Pharaonis et Moabitidas et Ammanitidas Idumeas et Sidonias et Chettheas 2 de gentibus super quibus dixit Dominus filiis Israhel non ingrediemini ad eas neque de illis ingredientur ad vestras certissimo enim avertent corda vestra ut sequamini deos earum his itaque copulatus est Salomon ardentissimo amore 3 fueruntque ei uxores quasi reginae septingentae et concubinae trecentae et averterunt mulieres cor eius 4 cumque iam esset senex depravatum est per mulieres cor eius ut sequeretur deos alienos nec erat cor eius perfectum cum Domino Deo suo sicut cor David patris eius 5 sed colebat Salomon Astharthen deam Sidoniorum et Moloch idolum Ammanitarum 6 fecitque Salomon quod non placuerat coram Domino et non adimplevit ut sequeretur Dominum sicut pater eius 7 tunc aedificavit Salomon fanum Chamos idolo Moab in monte qui est contra Hierusalem et Moloch idolo filiorum Ammon 8 atque in hunc modum fecit universis uxoribus suis alienigenis quae adolebant tura et immolabant diis suis⁴²⁰.

Salomon's God was very angry for this effrontery and decided to take the kingdom away from David's son, though He would wait to do so until after the King's death. This scene is shown usually through the depiction of Solomon and his wives either praying or sacrificing to the idols mentioned in verse 8:

⁴²⁰ "But king Solomon loved many strange women, together with the daughter of Pharaoh, women of the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Zidonians, and Hittites; 2 of the nations concerning which the Lord said unto the children of Israel, Ye shall not go in to them, neither shall they come in unto you: for surely they will turn away your heart after their gods: Solomon clave unto these in love. 3 And he had seven hundred wives, princesses, and three hundred concubines: and his wives turned away his heart. 4 For it came to pass, when Solomon was old, that his wives turned away his heart after other gods: and his heart was not perfect with the Lord his God, as was the heart of David his father. 5 For Solomon went after Ashtoreth the goddess of the Zidonians, and after Milcom the abomination of the Ammonites. 6 And Solomon did evil in the sight of the Lord, and went not fully after the Lord, as did David his father. 7 Then did Solomon build an high place for Chemosh, the abomination of Moab, in the hill that is before Jerusalem, and for Molech, the abomination of the children of Ammon. 8 And likewise did he for all his strange wives, which burnt incense and sacrificed unto their gods."



This scene shows King Solomon (right-most figure) praying before his wives' idols, above the description in Anglo-Norman of the sin being committed. London, British Library, MS Royal 2 B.VII, f. 66r. The idols are the small figures in the upper right hand corner of the image.

The life of Samson is told in Judges 13–16. This short and straightforward story was read and understood differently during the Middle Ages: as a historical account, as a Christological allegory, and finally as a cautionary tale for moral behavior⁴²¹. In each of these interpretative modes the Bible had a different meaning and encouraged a multilayered intellectual involvement with its text. To the medieval reader, the story of Samson was understood mainly on two levels: at the literal level, Samson is a mighty defender of his people and a tragic victim of treachery and deceit; allegorically, he is Christ⁴²². But for the purposes of love poetry, the story of Samson is important mainly because of the second main character: Delilah. These two were frequently shown together in all forms of medieval iconography. One example that juxtaposes Samson killing a lion with his bare hands with the cutting off of his hair is found on the lower basin of the main fountain in Perugia (completed between 1277 - 1278⁴²³). The scene is one of 25 diptychs that surround the fountain, showing the biblical narrative, the labors of the months, the zodiac, and scenes from the labors of learning. The biblical narrative is shown in chronological order, from the fall of man through the story of

⁴²¹ For an explanation of these different ways of understanding the story of Samson, see Greti Dinkova-Bruun's article mentioned earlier in this chapter.

⁴²² Willemien Otten and Karla Pollmann (eds.) *Poetry and Exegesis in Premodern Latin Christianity*, Brill : Leiden, 2007, pp. 254 - 258.

⁴²³ For an in depth analysis of this fountain, see Cavallucci, Francesco, *La Fontana Maggiore di Perugia. Voci e suggestioni di una comunità medievale*, Perugia: Quattroemme, 1993.

David and Goliath; Samson is shown killing the lion on the left and having his hair cut on the right as follows:



The MS tradition of this story is also found in various countries throughout the Middle Ages: the same MS in the British Library that we have seen above also shows the scene of Samson having his hair cut by Delilah as he sleeps on her lap, on *f.46r*:



In medieval literature the prostitute Delilah was often presented as a typical symbol of womanly evils, carnal desire, and treachery. But at other times she is a personification of the human soul, with its contradictory impulses and conflicting desires. According to a study by

Greti Dinkova-Bruun⁴²⁴, Delilah is simultaneously good and evil, Virgin Mary and Eve. She is Eve when she is lured by the Philistines (or the evil spirits) to betray Samson (as seen in Judges 16,5: “dixitque ad eum Dalila quomodo dicis quod ames me cum animus tuus non sit mecum per tres vices mentitus es mihi et noluisti dicere in quo sit tua maxima fortitudo”⁴²⁵). Thus, the cunning Philistine in the valley of Sorek, whence Delilah comes, signifies the deceiving serpent in paradise; both the Philistine and the snake are in fact the devil. In contrast, Delilah is Mary, the blessed Mother of God, when she begs Samson for the fourth time to tell her his secret and he finally does so (Judges 16:16–17):

cumque molesta ei esset et per multos dies iugiter adhereret spatium ad quietem non tribuens defecit anima eius et ad mortem usque lassata est 17 tunc aperiens veritatem rei dixit ad eam ferrum numquam ascendit super caput meum quia nazareus id est consecratus Deo sum de utero matris meae si rasum fuerit caput meum recedet a me fortitudo mea et deficiam eroque ut ceteri homines.⁴²⁶

The more she pleads with him, the more he envelops her in the scent of his affection. All of this leads to the conclusion that Delilah must be seen as the bride of Christ and a symbol of the Catholic Church, which from the very beginning seeks to understand where his (Jesus’) unsurpassed strength is hidden.

The first of the three MSS that we are looking (*D^a*) at uses the story of Samson and Delilah in one of its discourses on love: in the first piece to examine, Marcabru uses the figure of Samson to show that love (as is to be expected from this poet) can lead to a fall from grace, which is also juxtaposed by this Occitan poet to the wisdom of David and Solomon. This is a poem written by Marcabru and Catola, in whose section of the MS it is found, on *f.208r*, the first of three songs attributed to this poet: The poem is a collaboration between Marcabru and

⁴²⁴Dinkova-Brun, Greti, “Biblical Thematics: The Story of Samson in Medieval Literary Discourse” in Hexter, Ralph and David Townsend (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Latin Literature*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012, pp. 356 - 375, especially pp. 358 - 370.

⁴²⁵ And she said unto him, How canst thou say, I love thee, when thine heart is not with me? thou hast mocked me these three times, and hast not told me wherein thy great strength lieth.

⁴²⁶ “And it came to pass, when she pressed him daily with her words, and urged him, so that his soul was vexed unto death; 17 that he told her all his heart, and said unto her, There hath not come a razor upon mine head; for I have been a Nazarite unto God from my mother’s womb: if I be shaven, then my strength will go from me, and I shall become weak, and be like any other man.”

Ugo Catola and appears to be, perhaps, the earliest *tenso*, or debate poem, existent⁴²⁷. In short the poem is a debate between two men as to whether or not ‘love’ is a good thing. Marcabru, as is to be expected, is of the opinion that love is *not* a good thing while his fellow poet, who claims to have been “born and nurtured by love”, praises it. Marcabru writes the even numbered quatrains and the first four of his seven, as the poem is of fourteen quatrains, contain explicit references to figures from the Old Testament. After Ugo opens the poem asking Marcabru to sing a love song together, the latter agrees to do so but with a particular caveat:

Ugo Catola, er fazam,
mas de faus’ amistat me clam,
q’anc pos la serps baissa lo ram
no foron tant enganairiz.
[MCE, p. 100; vv. 5 - 8]⁴²⁸

Not since the serpent lowered the branch for Eve to eat the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, as recounted in Genesis 3: 1 – 6, have there been so many treacherous women. In the third stanza Catola complains about the fact that Marcabru speaks badly of love, to which our poet replies:

Catola, non entenz razon:
non saps d’amors cum trais Samson?
Vos cuidaz e-ill autre bricon
qe tot sia ver qant vos diz
[*Idem*; vv. 13 - 16]⁴²⁹

Upon the reference to Samson and Delilah, the poets begin a sort of poetic exegesis of this story which will last through verse 32.

Marcabrun, nos trobam auctor
de Sanso·l fort e de sa uxor,
q’ela n’avia ostat s’amor
a l’ora q’el *en* fo deliz.

Catola, qar a sordeior

⁴²⁷ For which, see MCE, pp. 98 - 99.

⁴²⁸ “Ugo Catola, yes let’s [do it], but I complain about false friendship, for never since the serpent owered the branche have there been so many treacherous women”.

⁴²⁹ “Catola, you do not understand reason: don’t you know how love betrayed Samson? You and all the other fools believe that everything it tells you is true”.

la det e la tolc al meillor:
lo dia perdet sa valor
qu' l seus fo per l'estraing traïz.

Marcabrun, si cum declinaz
qu'amors si' ab engan mesclaz
dunc s lo almosna pechaz,
la cima divers la raïz.

Catola, l'amors don't parlaz
camja cubertament los daz:
aprop lo bon lanz vos gardaz,
ço dis Salomons e Daviz.
[*Idem*; vv. 17 - 32]⁴³⁰.

Not only does Marcabru use biblical imagery to judge the women of his time, he goes one step further in the form of biblical exegesis, together with Catola, naturally. If love is not pure then doing the work of God is also a sin and therefore nothing makes sense in their society. Marcabru points to two revered figures of the Old Testament in order to teach a lesson, using the Bible one final time in this poem. The Bible, it seems, was known well enough by the audience that several different biblical characters were able to be used not only as references, but also to make a logical rebuttal in a *tenso*. What we see here is a refined use of biblical images in order to make the point that Love, according to Marcabru, is not the wonderful thing that many, including Catola, seem to think.

Within the corpus of 86 sonnets that make up the story between Guittone and Joy, there is not one mention of King David, Salomon, nor Samson by name. Nor do these characters appear in Guittone's love songs found in the beginning of the MS, nor even in the ten sonnets found at the end of MS *L* which form the opening section of the poet's *ars amandi*. While Guittone's love sonnets are the principle focus of this study, it is worthwhile to at least mention the fact that Guittone did use the *fallen man* topos in his religious poetry; in

⁴³⁰"Marcabru, we find authorities [who say] concerning Samson and his wife that she had taken her love from him by the time he was ruined by her. // Catola [only] because she had given it to a worse man and taken it from a better one: the day her own man was betrayed for the stranger she lost her worth. // Marcabru, in the same way as you declare love is adulterated with cheating, then alms-giving is a sin and everthing topsy-turvey. // Catola, the love of which you speak switches the dice surreptitiously: watch out after a good throw, thus said Solomon and David".

particular in his *canzone* ‘*O tu, de nome Amor, guerra di fatto*’ which is found in our MS on f.43rv, the fourth of his religious and moral songs to be transmitted in this poetry book. As seen above in chapter II.ii, this song focuses on the bad parts of *carnal* love, or that between a man and a woman. As mentioned already (in chapter II.ii), the author makes a distinction in this song between reason and madness, which is what love truly is. Fra Guittone pronounces an invective against worldly love in general and scientific terms for the most part of the *canzone*, but he does find time to bring in two of the three biblical examples that we have shown here so far: in vv. 61 - 67 we see the examples of both Salomon and Samson:

O ver destruggitor, guerra mortale,
 nato di quello, onde mal tutto vene,
 como s'apprende il tuo laccio e si tene!
 Che grave forzo e saver contra vale?
 Ché Sanson decedesti e Salamone;
 Ma lor non defensione
 ahi, che grande onor porge a chi defende!
 [PDI, p. 220]⁴³¹

While we saw that Marcabru suggested that Love was the problem, in that what it did to Samson was inevitable as Love is bad, here in Fra Guittone we see that Love is only the symptom of the real problem, which is Satan. This character had even the power to trick the one of the wisest and most beloved of all Old Testament personages, which allows the poet to heap praise upon any who are able to stand up against the danger that is Love, the instrument of the Devil. The same sentiment is found in the *canzone* that directly follows in MS L, ‘*O vera virtù, vero Amore*’ in which the poet makes the case for true love, the kind of Love that is directed toward God. In vv. 196 - 200 we see but one example of a biblical character (apart from briefly citing Adam and Eve as having seen God face to face, in verse 136):

[...] Già Salamone
 non per offensione
 lassò vizio biasmare:

⁴³¹ “Oh true destroyer, mortal war / born of he from whom all evil comes [satan, who will continue to be the subject of the next three verses.] / oh how he grabs your snare and keeps it! / What strong force and reasoning can stand up to him? / You tricked both Samson and Salomon / but their lack of resistance [to Love], / ah, what great honor it brings to those who defend themselves!”

non è già bon peccare,
ma bon vizio spegnare e folle e saggio
[Egidi, p. 236]⁴³².

This is the second and last time that Guittone uses any of these three biblical characters we have been discussing within MS *L*. After reading the entirety of MS *L*, the audience is left with the idea of Salomon who is a good example of both the perils of love and of good advice on Love⁴³³. There is, however, another series of sonnets that Guittone wrote and which is transmitted by only one MS, the early thirteenth century MS found in Madrid, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, MS latino e.III.23. This treatise on love⁴³⁴ comes from a distinctly Christian point of view and as such was probably written after 1265. One might expect a series of Christian poems on the ideas of carnal love to make frequent recourse to either the various biblical stories that have to do with love or any number of saying of the Church fathers on the same topic. What we find instead is a rhetorical argument on the symbolism inherent in the most common way of showing love artistically: that is, with a cherub who holds a bow, with which he strikes the hearts of men making them fall in love with the first person that they see⁴³⁵.

The sonnet that most interests this study is number seven in the series, on *f.74r*.⁴³⁶ This poem is structurally and contentistically reliant on that which directly precedes it, as the themes in sonnet six of the series are the nudity of this idea of love, while in the present sonnet the focus is on love's blindness, as even the title bears out.

⁴³² "Even Salomon, not to offend did he condemn vices : it's is not good to sin, but it is a good vice to hock both madness and wisdom."

⁴³³ Without taking into consideration the several times that Guittone quoted Salomon in his letters : his third letter (on *ff.* 4r - 9r) quotes the ancient Hebrew King six times, while his letters numbered 22, 33, and 36 (on *ff.* 22v - 24v [in which the Aretine also quotes Saint Bernard, which will be discussed in our conclusions], 32v - 34r, and 36v - 37v respectively.

⁴³⁴ Or on "carnal love" as Roberta Capelli argues in her examination of this series of sonnets, which she has published in full: *Del carnale amore: La corona di sonetti del codice Escorialense*, Roma: Carocci editore, 2007.

⁴³⁵ It seems that in the original idea for the MS there was supposed to have been this figure of Cupid; probably for reasons of space it was not included, despite the fact that the poems reference the image in specific ways throughout the cycle. Indeed, the first sonnet of the sequence begins "Caro amico, guarda la figura / 'n esta pintura del carnale amore," (*Idem*, p. 72); "My dear friend, observe the image of cupid that is portrayed here."

⁴³⁶ On which (recto and verso) all of the sonnets in the cycle are transmitted.

*Del cieco esser de l'amore*⁴³⁷

[E]sso meraviglioso guai' ch'e' dico
se mostra cieco: è cieco lo su' stato,
sì cum' uom che non vede et è orbato
e non conosce da[l] loglio lo spico,

cum' per novel si vede e per antico
en catun mortal ditto ennamorato,
che ben è poco peço che a morte piagato,
in esser di provedença nemico.

E cieco è ben, certo, ciascun amante
di canoxença e d'ogni discrezione,
e sia quanto vòl savio e constant

ch'ei vegia che convegna per raxione
né più che su' dixir porti avante.
E chi nol crede, gardi a Salamone⁴³⁸.

Once again in the last verses we see that the poet has shown that Love (in this case the figure of a cherub) can even make the wisest of all men do foolish things. In this sonnet the poet is not quite as explicit about the idea that carnal love is an instrument of the devil, but that it does in fact blind a person to his true purposes. We recall that Salomon was so in love with his many foreign wives that he gave himself over to their practice of worshipping false Gods: if even a man who is so beloved of and blessed by God, who was also reputed to be the wisest man living in his time, can turn his back on his Lord because of the blindness that Love has stricken him with, then any lesser man can also fall into the same trap.

None of the Middle English love poems found in Harley 2253 contains explicit references to the Kings David and Salomon, to Samson, nor to the women who led these three men away from God. This is not to say that the Harley scribe was unfamiliar with either their Biblical stories (as seen in this chapter) nor does it mean that he was unfamiliar with the

⁴³⁷ This title appears in the MS above the sonnet, just like all of the poems in this sequence.

⁴³⁸ Printed in Capelli, *op. cit.*, p. 99. "*The blindness of love*; This extraordinary torment that I am discussing is represented as blind: his [cupid's] condition is blind, just like that of the man who does not see and is blind and doesn't distinguish grain from chaff; and this is seen everywhere, in the new just as in the old, in every man who is in love, who, when he becomes the enemy of foresight, ends up worse off than if he were dead. Comprehension and discretion are completely blind to men in love, no matter how capable of being a wise and trustworthy person, able to understand that which is best to do based on the laws of reason and that he should not put his desire before everything else. And whoever doesn't believe this, look at the case of Salomon".

works that were attributed to David and Salomon (as we will see in chapter four of this study). But it is curious that the scribe would choose not to include any instances of the fall of men in his poetry book; this seems to suggest one of two options: either the scribe did not have any poems at his disposal, or he had the available works but for some reason chose not to include them in his book. We will briefly see if there were any optional poems for him to use, as well as some of the images that he did include in order to try to understand his line of reasoning.

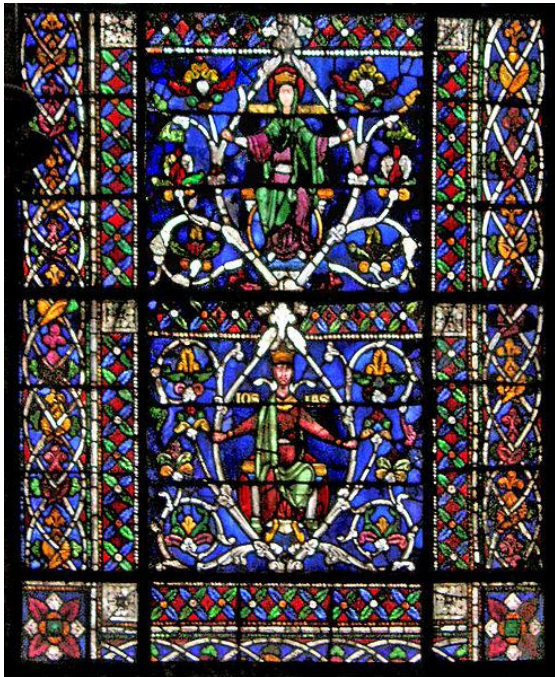
The first poem that the Harley scribe was responsible in this MS is an Anglo-Norman piece (*Quy a la dame de parays* - Whomever owes faith to the lady of Paradise, ff.49r - 50v, the first poem of quire 5), with stanzas that are set out in alphabetical order, on the reasons and ways to properly love a woman; In this poem Adam, Eve, Jesus, and Mary are all mentioned, but there is no mention at all of the three characters in question here. The scribe continues with another Anglo-Norman piece, *Un grant estrif oy laurer*, which seems to be a debate on which is better between Summer and Winter. As this poem has never been edited the only recourse has been to look directly at the MS, and nowhere is there any mention of the characters that interest us. The next poem that the scribe chose to transmit in a vernacular language (thus skipping the two Latin entries) is the Anglo-Norman *Quant voy la reuenue dyuer*⁴³⁹ which once again has no mention of our authors. This poem is followed by the harrowing of Hell, or item 21 in the MS which begins “Alle herkenep to me nou”. This poem in Middle English does contain the first of our characters, King David, who speaks with Jesus as he is about to be brought out of Hell, along with some of the other Biblical characters of the Old Testament, at vv. 193 - 198:

Louerd, icham dauid, þe kyng,
 þat bore was of þyn of spring;
 do me ase þou behete
 þourh þe lawe of þe prophete;

⁴³⁹ Which Carter Revard has recently published, with a translation into modern English, in his “A Goliard’s Feast and the Metanarrative of Harley 2253” in *Revue Belge de philologie et d’histoire*, Vol. 83 (2005) pp. 841 - 867.

nou þou art come to ous,
bring vs from þis dredful hous.⁴⁴⁰

The reference to having been born of the same spring as Jesus is a reference to the fact that Jesus descended from the line of David, as seen in the Gospels and, moreover, on medieval Trees of Jesse, or iconographic representations of the line of Christ's descent. One impressive such tree is found in Canterbury Cathedral⁴⁴¹:



There is no reference in this poem, however, to the sins that David committed with Bathsheba, nor is there any mention of either Salomon or Samson. The MS continues in much the same way for its remainder: there are various pieces in the three languages that we have already discussed and there are even references to the Psalms and Proverbs which we will examine in chapter four, but not once is there another direct reference to any of these characters.

⁴⁴⁰ Printed in Karl Boeddeker, *op. cit.*, pp. 281 - 282 "Lord, I am David, the King, / that was born of your own spring; / do with me as you please / through the law of the prophet ; / now You have come to us, / take us from this dreadful house."

⁴⁴¹ Unfortunately the majority of this stained glass window was destroyed during the twentieth century : these two panels are all that remain of what once must have been a much grander tree. For an introduction to the entirety of the stained glass at Canterbury Cathedral, see Michael Michael, *The Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral*, London: Scala, 2004.

According to Carter Revard⁴⁴² the Harley Scribe was also responsible for the London, British Library, MS Harley 273, which he worked on before starting Harley 2253⁴⁴³. This book, written predominantly in Anglo-Norman and in Latin, contains a few interesting items that are relevant to the discussion on what the scribe knew and what may have been outside of his knowledge. The MS is described⁴⁴⁴ by the curators of the British Library thus:

The first unit of the manuscript includes: 1. Calendar, with a dedication (f. 1v) of the parish church of St. Laurence at Ludlow ('lodelowe') (ff. 1r-6v); 2. Indulgences by Popes Innocent Urbanus IV and John XXII, added to a blank page by the Ludlow scribe (f. 7r) 3. Psalter, incipit: 'Benoyt le home'. A copy of the so-called Oxford Psalter. For the text see F. Michel, *Libri Psalmorum versio antiqua gallica* (Oxford, 1860) and Dean and Boulton 1999. 4. Canticles and other liturgical pieces; incipit: 'Jeu regeierai a toi sire car corou/cie estes a moi'. For the texts see B. Woledge and H. P. Clive, *Répertoire des plus anciens textes en prose française, depuis 842 jusqu'aux premières années du XIIIe siècle* (Geneva, 1964), nos. 1-11, 13 (in verse), 15; and Dean and Boulton 1999, nos. 457 and 840 for a translation of the Pater Noster, apparently unique to the manuscript (ff. 53v-59r) [...]

So the scribe was very familiar with the Psalter, in which both kings David and Salomon are mentioned by name in the Vulgate. Moving back to Harley 2253, the scribe copied into this book a translation of the *Saying of Saint Bernard*, on ff. 106r - 107r, into Middle English which begins “Lustneþ ale lutel þrowe”. Based on the works that the scribe translated in this and in Harley 273, it is unimaginable that he was unaware of the stories of these three biblical characters falling out of the grace of God due to their love of women. Perhaps, given that the entirety of the MS is set up in such a way as to produce a “metanarrative”, as Revard suggests⁴⁴⁵, the use of biblical examples was not necessary for this scribe to get his point across: no man is as holy as David, as wise as Solomon, or as strong as Samson, but there is no need to be. Through the lessons that one can gain from reading Harley 2253 in its entirety, which Revard claims that the scribe’s audience was capable of, the reader can know all that he must in order to live a good life, be good to women, and eventually go to Heaven.

⁴⁴² Scribe and Provenance, *op. cit.*

⁴⁴³ See *ibid.*, p. 58.

⁴⁴⁴ At http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_273&index=32 Last consulted in February, 2014.

⁴⁴⁵ Revard, “A Goliard’s Feast”, *op. cit.*

III.iii. *Jesus and His Disciples: A New Way to Salvation*

While the male characters discussed in the preceding two sections were often viewed as “pre-figurations” of Christ, these were no substitute in the medieval mind for Christ himself. Iconographically the figure of Christ was (and still is) found in and on churches throughout Europe, and in illuminated MSS. In writing, the Gospels and letters of Paul made a point to show that Jesus was similar to Adam, and then within the arguments by the Fathers of the Church, since at least the time of Saint Augustine, Jesus was compared to Adam: the first man was created by God, put to sleep, had a rib extracted and was given a wife by God; the second was put to sleep (crucified), had his side split by a Roman soldier, and the blood which flowed from the wound gave birth, according to the earliest of Church fathers, to the bride of Christ, or the Catholic Church⁴⁴⁶. This idea of the juxtaposition of Jesus with Adam was so firmly in place that it was used seemingly everywhere (and which we already saw in section one of this chapter). The iconography of this comparison was quite clear in the meaning behind Christ’s wounds and thus helped cement the idea that the OT was all a precursor to the NT:



This image is found of f.6r of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 270b (which dates to the first half of the thirteenth century, circa 1235 - 45; Paris). In the column that separates these images (which are found in the right hand column of the folio, there is an explanation in Latin describing the idea that from Christ’s wounds was born his “wife”, the Catholic Church, in the same way that from Adam’s side was born his wife, Eve.

But the medieval iconography of Jesus and his deeds as recounted in the Gospels and letters of the NT were many and varied, not

⁴⁴⁶ The NT, especially the Gospels and Letters, transmit many instances of Jesus being compared to Adam; as a representative of the whole, see 1st Corinthians, chapter 15, vv. 45 - 48: “Factus est primus homo Adam in animam viventem novissimus Adam in spiritum vivificantem”⁴⁶ sed non prius quod spiritale est sed quod animale est deinde quod spiritale⁴⁷ primus homo de terra terrenus secundus homo de caelo caelestis⁴⁸ qualis terrenus tales et terreni et qualis caelestis tales et caelestes.” “And so it is written, The first man Adam was made a living soul; the last Adam was made a quickening spirit. 46 Howbeit that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; and afterward that which is spiritual. 47 The first man is of the earth, earthy; the second man is the Lord from heaven. 48 As is the earthy, such are they also that are earthy: and as is the heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly.”

bound to one narrative, nor to any single art form. As showing the many and varied figures of Jesus in medieval art can only hope to be banal at best, we will instead dive directly into the poetry in question to see how this figure, as well as his disciples, were used by the authors in order to see the reason and possible meanings behind their decisions.

While MS *D^a* does not contain any references to the new testament in the Marcabru sections, the poetry found in MSS *A* and *K* are replete with, often, direct translations, or at least references to the messages found in the words of Jesus and his disciples. The second poem in this tradition, (PC 293,17) shows the poet using the very words of Jesus as Marcabru laments the social situation of his present time. In vv. 3 - 6 we see the poet complain that "non cuig qe.l segles dur gaire, / segon q'escriptura di, / q'era fail lo fils al paire, e.l pair' al fil autressi."⁴⁴⁷ This is a very close translation of what Jesus says to his disciples as he sends them out into the world, wherein he warns them of the difficulties that they may find in towns because of their preaching of his word, as seen in Matthew 10, verse 21: "Tradet autem frater fratrem in mortem, et pater filium: et insurgent filii in parentes"⁴⁴⁸. To understand why Marcabru would use this citation of Jesus, one must also look at the other use of the Bible in this particular poem, which begins with a direct translation of the Apocalypse of John: in vv. 1 - 2 we read "Dirai vos e mon latin / d'aizo qu'eu vei e q'eu vi: /" which echoes apocalypse 1.19 "Scribe ergo quae vidisti, et quae sunt"⁴⁴⁹. As is well known, John of Patmos wrote down, following this opening verse, that which he prophesized would happen at the end of the world. The narrator of the troubadour's poem, therefore, is likening himself to John the Revelator at the outset, before using the words of Jesus as an indicator of the end times. Marcabru's use of the Bible in this poem, therefore, can be described as meaning: The end times are near, based on what Jesus said, and I will tell you what they will bring. The poet

⁴⁴⁷ "I don't think the world will last much longer, according to what Scripture says, for now the son sins against the father, and the father likewise against the son."

⁴⁴⁸ "And the brother shall deliver up the brother to death, and the father the child: and the children shall rise up against their parents".

⁴⁴⁹ "Write the things which you have seen, and the things which are".

continues then to show that: youth is in decline morally (in stanza 2), even adults in general are all of bad lineage (stanza 3), Joy and Youth are not what they seem and actively hide wickedness (stanza 4), people are foolish in their sexual escapades (stanza 5⁴⁵⁰) and the stupidity of married men (stanza 6). The seventh and final stanza is one of resignation; the poet declares that it is useless to try to change the way people behave and thus he will let them go about their business (which he says in an incredibly vulgar way). The motif of Marcabru as the only good and sane man in a time when things are going horribly wrong has already been seen (in the first section of this chapter) but it is used again in the very next poem of the northern Italian MS tradition.

Marcabru's poem XXXII (*Lo vers comenssa*) has the troubadour comparing himself to John the Baptist, as seen in the Gospel of John, 1, 23: at the end of the poem, verses 91 - 93 have the narrator (who in this case is clearly the poet) saying "D'aquest flagel / Marcabru si coreilla / ses compaigno"⁴⁵¹. Meanwhile, the Gospel of John records the Baptist as having said "Ego vox clamantis in deserto dirigite viam Domini sicut dixit Esaias propheta"⁴⁵². So Marcabru has taken a citation from John the Baptist in which he quotes the prophet Elisha: the poet, thus, is comparing himself to the wise man crying alone in the wilderness, while at the same time putting the words of two different prophets into his own mouth. This verse of the fourth Gospel follows a conversation between the protagonist and questioners who were sent by the Pharisees to know who this person was and by what right he was baptizing his Jewish neighbors. Marcabru uses the image to show, once more, that his is the only voice that speaks out against all that he had put down in the poem through verse 90: hard heartedness, people not acting as their place in society dictates, wickedness in general, and the power of

⁴⁵⁰ This is the reading according to Harvey, *op. cit.* p. 233 and R. N. B. Goddard, "Marcabru, li proverb au villain and the tradition of rustic proverbs" in *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 88 (1987), 3 - 23.

⁴⁵¹ "Marcabru is alone to complain about this plague." See Guido Errante, *Marcabru e le fonti sacre dell'antica lirica romanza*, Firenze : Sansoni, 1948, p. 190.

⁴⁵² He said, I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Make straight the way of the Lord, as said the prophet Esaias.

wickedness to ruin true joy. As this poem follows, in the northern Italian MS tradition, the previous one that we saw, it would appear that Marcabru has used the biblical citations in order to let his audience know that his voice is like that of the prophets and as such should be listened to.

Turning once again to *Pax in nomine Domini*⁴⁵³, we see that the poet used the New Testament in this poem as well: in this crusader song. vv. 28 - 29, “Que·l seigner que sap tot cant es / e sap tot quant er e c’anc fo,”⁴⁵⁴ echo the book of Revelation, 1. 8: “Ego sum Alpha et Omega, principium et finis, dicit Dominus Deus, qui est, et qui erat, et qui venturus est, Omnipotens”⁴⁵⁵. Just two verses later, the poet uses the book of James to discuss the prize that will be rewarded to the conquering Christians: at verse 31 Marcabru informs the crusaders that they will have a “coron’ e nom d’enperador”⁴⁵⁶. This reflects the promise of the Lord as found in the book of James, 1, 12 (among others⁴⁵⁷): “Beatus vir, qui suffert tentationem: quoniam com probatus fuerit, accipiet coronam vitae, quam repromisit Deus diligentibus se”⁴⁵⁸.

Just two poems later in the northern Italian tradition of the Marcabru corpus, we find PC 293.40: modern scholars have drawn attention to the Biblical or patristic sources for the images in this poem. Notably, Guido Errante and Aurelio Roncaglia highlight parallels between and the list of sinners in lines 15 - 28 and those found in 1st Cor. 6.9-10:

So son fals jutge raubador,
fals moillerat e jurador,
fals hom esciu e lauzengier,
lenga-loguat, creba-mostier,
e aiclas putas ardens

⁴⁵³ Already seen above in III.i for the use of Cain therein.

⁴⁵⁴ “For the Lord knows all that is, and knows all there will be and ever was.”

⁴⁵⁵ “I am the alpha and omega, beginning and the end, sayeth the Lord, which is, which was, and which is to come, the Almighty.”

⁴⁵⁶ “a crown and the title of emperor”

⁴⁵⁷ Isaiah, 62,3; 1st Peter, 5,4; Rev. 2.10 and 5.10;

⁴⁵⁸ “Blessed is the man that endureth temptation; for when he is tried, he shall receive the crown of life, which the Lord hath promised to them that love him.”

que son d'autruis maritz sufrens:
sist auran guazanh enfernu.

Homisdas e traïdor,
simoniax, encantador,
luxorios e renovier -
que vivon d'enuios mestier -
e sels que fan fatillamens
e las fatilleiras pudens
seraun el fuec escur egau.
[MCE, p. 506]⁴⁵⁹

The list of those same sinners in the first letter to the Corinthians, is found as follows:

an nescitis quia iniqui regnum Dei non possidebunt nolite errare neque fornicarii neque
idolis servientes neque adulteri 10 neque molles neque masculorum concubitores neque
fures neque avari neque ebriosi neque maledici neque rapaces regnum Dei possidebunt.⁴⁶⁰

While there are a few differences between Marcabru's list of sinners and those that Saint Paul warned against⁴⁶¹, the two authors do warn against many of the same types of sinners, but as the two lists are not identical, Gaunt states that "such lists would no doubt have been familiar to Marcabru's audience from sermons, and also possibly the law courts, indicating that the Biblical or patristic intertext here is general rather than specific"⁴⁶². Despite the slight differences between the two lists of sinners, the parallels that they share support the contention that Marcabru's concept of *fin'amor* is a religious ideal and represents the love of God⁴⁶³.

Passing over poem PC 293,9 (the fourteenth poem in the Italian tradition), which contains no references to the Bible specifically, preferring instead, towards the end of a

⁴⁵⁹ "Such men are false robber judges, false husbands and perjurers, mean false men and slanderers, hired-tongues, church-wreckers, and those burning whores who consort with other women's husbands: all these will have an infernal reward. // Murderers and traitors, simoniacs and workers of charms, lechers and usurers - who live by a vile trade - and men who cast vile spells, and stinking sorceresses will all be equal in dark fire."

⁴⁶⁰ Know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God? Be not deceived: neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, 10 nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God.

⁴⁶¹ Paul, for example, does not talk about Simoniacs (as they did not exist in his day) nor sorceresses, and only mentions female prostitutes a few verses later (at vv. 15 - 19, which is all about prostitution and fornication), nor does he mention usurers, medieval shorthand for Jews, for obvious reasons.

⁴⁶² Gaunt *et. al.*, *op. cit.* p. 505.

⁴⁶³ See Guido Errante, *op. cit.*, pp. 204 - 207; Aurelio Roncaglia, "Rifelssi di posizioni cistercensi nella poesia del XII secolo: discussion sui fondamenti religiosi del 'trobar naturau' di Marcabru" in *I cirstencensi e il Lazio: atti delle giornate di studio dell'Istituto di storia dell'arte dell'Università di Roma, 17-21 maggio 1977*, Roma: Multigrafica, 1978, pp. 11 - 22.

political discourse, to use the *Sanct'Esriptura* in an exclamation⁴⁶⁴. The poem that follows in this tradition, (PC293.42) on the other hand, uses the NT in a very specific way. The reader is once again faced with a marcabrunian song on the differences between true and false love and on the problems with wickedness. In particular, verses 17 - 21 mirror Matthew 5, 32, although in a much more vulgar manner than the Bible allows for: "car qui l'autrui con capusa, / lo sieu tramet al mazel: e qui l'estaing vol sentir / lo sieu fai enleconir / e.m met en la comunaila"⁴⁶⁵. Compare this to Matthew's : Quia omnis qui dimiserit uxorem suam, excepta fornicationis causa, facit eam moechari: et qui dimissam duxerit, adulterat"⁴⁶⁶. What we see is yet another biblical reference to the problem of the 'cuckolded husband'. This MS tradition continues in keeping with references to the Gospel of Matthew: Marcabru's poem 36, at vv 19 - 24, uses yet again another image from this disciple of Jesus : "Entre domnas es fugida / vergoigna, et non sa cor: / las plus ant coa forbida / e mes lo setgle en error, / mas lor semensa frairina / geta malvaz fruich qan grana"⁴⁶⁷. The parallel here with Matthew 7. 16 - 20 is undeniable:

a fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos numquid colligunt de spinis uvas aut de tribulis ficus sic omnis arbor bona fructus bonos facit mala autem arbor fructus malos facit non potest arbor bona fructus malos facere neque arbor mala fructus bonos facere omnis arbor quae non facit fructum bonum exciditur et in ignem mittitur igitur ex fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos"⁴⁶⁸.

In what is yet another song about how his present time is a mess due to the easy going nature of love by people: men act badly and so do women. Guido Errante sees in the "avol doctrina" of vv. 35,6 as a reference to the heretical teachings of Henry of Lausanne, whose activities

⁴⁶⁴ "De malvestat los gart Sanct'Esriptura / que no lur fass cuf, floquet ni peinture. / Sel qu'es fo regom rex e salvaire, / lo sospeiso del rei n'Anfos m'esclaire." "May the Holy Scripture protect them from evil, that it may not lead them to affect quiffs, fancy curls and artful combing. May He who is and was King of kings and savior, clear up for me the suspicion which King Alfonso has of me."

⁴⁶⁵ "For he who takes a slice of another man's cunt sends his own to be butchered: and the man who wants to taste the wine-pool makes his own lusted after and makes it common property".

⁴⁶⁶ "Whoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery".

⁴⁶⁷ "Among ladies, modesty has fled, and it certainly does not run here: the majority of women have tarted up a tail and led the world astray, but their base seed brings forth bad fruit when it ripens."

⁴⁶⁸ Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit. Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire. Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them."

prompted St. Bernard to travel to southern France from Rome and intervene⁴⁶⁹. The “*paz segurana*” of line 37 would then be an allusion to the religious peace in his country that had to be maintained by Alfonso Jordan of Toulouse (1103 - 1148). While this is all conjecture, given the popularity of Saint Bernard in southern France, northern Spain and in the works of Marcabru in general⁴⁷⁰, it is possible.

Finally, and as alluded to in the first section of this chapter, Marcabru’s thirteenth poem not only references Cain, but also an image taken from Matthew directly before discussing the first man to commit murder. Verse 12 of this poem reads “*c’atrestan val con fetz al prim*”⁴⁷¹ which is almost a direct translation of 1st Corinthians, chapter 13, verse 8: “*charitas nunquam excidit*”⁴⁷². The next set of verses continue with the poet’s discourse on love, as found a bit later in the first letter to the Corinthians: in verses 15 - 16 we read that “*nuls om non sap de sa volar / la fin ni la comensanza*”⁴⁷³, an idea that come directly from 1st Corinthians, 39,9: “*Ex parte enim cognoscimus*”. The poem continues in verses. 33 - 40 with the appropriation of an image found in Matthew 12,33 “*Aut facite arborem bonam, et fructum ejus bonum: aut facite malam, et fructum ejus malum; siquidem ex fructu arbor agnoscitur*”⁴⁷⁴. We have already seen what Marcabru has done with these verses in stanza 5⁴⁷⁵, but within this new context it is worthwhile to repeat:

Greu er ja qe fols desnatur
et a foleiar non reling,
e fola que no·s desmezur;
e mals arbres de mal noirim
de mala branch’a mala flor;
e frug de mala poissanza
reverta·l mals otra·l peior,

⁴⁶⁹ See Errante, *op. cit.* pp. 183 - 184 for a discussion of this passage.

⁴⁷⁰ For which, see Roncaglia, *op. cit.*

⁴⁷¹ “[love] is worth as much now as it was in the beginning”

⁴⁷² “Charity never faileth”; for discussion on this Biblical reference within the poem see Durant Waite Robertson Jr., “Five Poems by Marcabru” in *Studies in Philology*, 51 (1954), pp. 539 - 560.

⁴⁷³ “No man knows the end or beginning of its [love’s] worth”

⁴⁷⁴ “Either make the tree good, and his fruit good; or else make the tree corrupt, and his fruit corrupt: for the tree is known by the fruit.”

⁴⁷⁵ Above, in chapter III.i.

lai on jois non ha sobranza
[MCE, pp. 181 - 182; vv. 33 - 40]⁴⁷⁶.

The Guascon poet was clearly well informed of the New Testament authors and their messages, as well as some of the more important biblical exegetes from his time and earlier. The northern Italian tradition of Marcabru's poetry was clearly more in favor of this poetry which focused the poet's messages of the end times and biblical prophecies of love (or the misunderstanding thereof) than was MS *D^a*, which we will discuss further in the final conclusions of the current study.

While the northern Italian tradition of Marcabu's poetry was clearly fond of the New Testament, given the variety of examples we have seen, only a few times in the cycle of 86 love sonnets found in MS *L* does Guittone use images that come from the New Testament, but their placement, as well as parallel uses of these two examples in Guittone's other poetry (that which is not transmitted by MS *L*) are quite telling of what the poet thought of the use of these figures in his love poetry. The first sonnet to examine is the 17th in this cycle, in which the narrator explains to his beloved that, if she is a good woman, she must love a good and humble servant (such as the narrator) if he does his duty to her while asking nothing in return. If the servant is unworthy, however, the woman has no choice but never to love him.

(L141)

Qualunque bona donna àv' amadore
che metta opera e fede in lei servire
lealmente, a tutto el suo valore,
e non demanda ciò che vole av<e>[i]re,
e i· face como bono servidore
(ché, servo, no à già bailia 'n cher<e>[i]re,
ma' de servir ed estar speradore
che li· proveggia che dia proved<e>[i]re),
sì fa reo fallo, se lo· fa sperare
in atender ciò che lli· è in desire.
Etale servo, déa la donna amare !
Ma, quello ch' é povero di servire

⁴⁷⁶ "It will hardly ever happen that a sinful man will act against his nature and not revert to type in sinning, or that a sinful woman will not fail to restrain herself; and an evil tree from an evil shoot from an evil branch has an evil flower; and the evil reverts to fruit of evil power beyond the worst imaginable when joy holds no sway [...]."

e poderozo di mercé chiamare,
a nulla bona donna dia gradire.
[GdC, p. 51]⁴⁷⁷

This sonnet answers the same questions as the one that is directly before it in the MS⁴⁷⁸ but it also has traits in common with several others of Guittone's works. The biblical image used here is seen in verse 2: *opera e fede*. While this combination of three words may seem inconsequential, they form a key part of the New Testament letters: the binomial is found, in fact, in three different books of the NT: James, Romans, and Galatians. The most important of these is perhaps the letter of James, which in chapter 2, vv. 14 - 26 explains that both faith and works are of utmost importance in the life of a good Christian: without one the other is entirely useless:

quid proderit fratres mei si fidem quis dicat se habere opera autem non habeat numquid poterit fides salvare eum 15 si autem frater aut soror nudi sunt et indigent victu cotidiano 16 dicat autem aliquis de vobis illis ite in pace calefacimini et saturamini non dederitis autem eis quae necessaria sunt corporis quid proderit 17 sic et fides si non habeat opera mortua est in semet ipsam 18 sed dicet quis tu fidem habes et ego opera habeo ostende mihi fidem tuam sine operibus et ego ostendam tibi ex operibus fidem meam 19 tu credis quoniam unus est Deus bene facis et daemones credunt et contremescunt 20 vis autem scire o homo inanis quoniam fides sine operibus otiosa est 21 Abraham pater noster nonne ex operibus iustificatus est offerens Isaac filium suum super altare 22 vides quoniam fides cooperabatur operibus illius et ex operibus fides consummata est 23 et suppleta est scriptura dicens credidit Abraham Deo et reputatum est illi ad iustitiam et amicus Dei appellatus est 24 videtis quoniam ex operibus iustificatur homo et non ex fide tantum 25 similiter autem et Raab meretrix nonne ex operibus iustificata est suscipiens nuntios et alia via eiciens 26 sicut enim corpus sine spiritu emortuum est ita et fides sine operibus mortua est⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷⁷ "A good woman with an admirer / who puts his work and faith in serving her / faithfully, with all of his abilities, / and never asks for what he wants, / and acts as a true servant / (since a servant has no right to ask / but must serve and simply hope / that who must provide will provide) / is a foul offender, if she makes him hope / to expect that which he most desires: / and the woman must love such a servant! / But a poor servant who is / capable of asking her for mercy / must be loved by no good woman".

⁴⁷⁸ For which, see Leonardi's introduction to and commentary on both poems, at pp. 47 - 52.

⁴⁷⁹ "What doth it profit, my brethren, though a man say he hath faith, and have not works? can faith save him? 15 If a brother or sister be naked, and destitute of daily food, 16 and one of you say unto them, Depart in peace, be ye warmed and filled; notwithstanding ye give them not those things which are needful to the body; what doth it profit? 17 Even so faith, if it hath not works, is dead, being alone. 18 Yea, a man may say, Thou hast faith, and I have works: shew me thy faith without thy works, and I will shew thee my faith by my works. 19 Thou believest that there is one God; thou doest well: the devils also believe, and tremble. 20 But wilt thou know, O vain man, that faith without works is dead? 21 Was not Abraham our father justified by works, when he had offered Isaac his son upon the altar? 22 Seest thou how faith wrought with his works, and by works was faith made perfect? 23 And the scripture was fulfilled which saith, Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness: and he was called the Friend of God. 24 Ye see then how that by works a man is justified, and not by faith only. 25 Likewise also was not Rahab the harlot justified by works, when she had received the messengers, and had sent them out another way? 26 For as the body without the spirit is dead, so faith without works is dead also".

For the medieval reader, this binomial is the foundation upon which all of human existence depends, both in intellectual and in practical matters⁴⁸⁰. It was also used many times throughout the Aretine's works: within this MS the binomial is found in *canzone* XX⁴⁸¹ (at verse 10: "e le donne bone in opera e in fede"⁴⁸²), at v. 4 of sonnet 51 of this cycle (*Vizo non m'è ch'eo mai potesse Gioia*, found on f.111r): "ché noisoso è 'l vostro dire e 'l fare"⁴⁸³; in vv. 3 - 6 of sonnet 70 in the cycle, on f.113v: (*Gioi amoroza, amor, vostro lignaggio*): "e so che de valor né de corraggio / né de piacer né d'ornata bellezza / né de far né de dir cortese e saggio / altra no è de tant'alta grandezza"⁴⁸⁴; and finally in the second to last love sonnet as transmitted in three minor MSS⁴⁸⁵ which we will briefly discuss in the conclusions. What these several instances of Guittone's use of this binomial have in common is that they are all love poems; never in his religious poetry does the aretine use the idea *opera e fede* together in this way. The poet was well aware of Saint Benedict's rules, which can be seen in the poem that he dedicated to the Saint⁴⁸⁶, found on f.50r in MS *L*. The fact that the ideas here are found solely within love poetry, perhaps, helps to show that Guittone was truly moral and ascetic even before his conversion of 1265, a point which has been made time and again by modern scholars.⁴⁸⁷

The second poem in Guittone's cycle comes in a section of the story in which the narrator has finally won over his beloved, and hence her new *senhal* is *Gioia* (or Joy). The

⁴⁸⁰ See Leonardi, *Canzoniere*, p. 51, and the fourth rule of Benedict, *Quae sunt instrumenta bonorum operum*, in which the monk lays out how to live the correct monastic life; see *PL* 66.

⁴⁸¹ Song number 44 in our table in chapter 2, which follows the order found in the MS ; on ff. 69r-v. Also reprinted in PDI, pp. 210 - 213.

⁴⁸² "And the women who are good in both faith and works".

⁴⁸³ "Your words and actions are bothersome".

⁴⁸⁴ "And I know that no other woman is so great as you in valor, courage, in being pleasing, nor in such ornate beauty, nor in acting and in saying courteous and wise things".

⁴⁸⁵ Which Egidi has labeled *F* (Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Latino 3214) *K* (Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 2846), and *R* (Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 2448).

⁴⁸⁶ Contini has some interesting notes on this *balata*, which he suggests Guittone may have even invented. See PD I, pp. 227 - 229. The fact that Guittone quotes Matthew 5, 14 is not directly pertinent to this study, as the poem is religious in nature, rather than a love poem.

⁴⁸⁷ Michelangelo Picone, Antonello Borra, and Vincent Moleta in particular, which we've already seen in chapter II.ii briefly.

sonnet follows the story of how Joy has finally agreed to meet with the poet, which is a cause for a celebration of her perfection and the narrator's glee. According to Leonardi's introduction to the poem, the scheme of this sonnet follows that which Guittone laid out in his *Ars Amandi* as found (partly) in the Aretine's final ten sonnets that the critic does not include in his *Canzoniere*, despite the fact that all of them are found in MS L (on ff. 136r - 137r)⁴⁸⁸.

Gioi amoroza, amor, grasi' e mercede
 così com' a mia donna e a mio signore ;
 c' ora venite assai là do' ve· vede
 lo vizo meo, ver' me de bel colore ;
 per che 'n voi l' alma mia salvar si· crede
 e 'l corpo viver maisenpre a onore,
 c' omo no è già sì fermo 'n sua fede,
 non fallisse ant' eo ver' vostro amore.
 E' son ·ne pago sì, mai più non bramo,
 che dire ·vi com' eo coralemente
 star ·vi senpre fedel dezio e amo.
 Or piaccia ·vi, per Deo donna pligente,
 de dare ·mi, poi più non cher ni chiamo,
 loch' e stagion de dir tal conveniente.
 [GdC, p. 99]⁴⁸⁹

The principle element to point out in this poem is in verse five, wherein the poet believes that his soul can be saved through his beloved. The NT is very clear on how the soul can actually be saved: John 14, verse six shows Jesus telling his apostles the only way for a person's soul to be saved. "dicit ei Iesus ego sum via et veritas et vita nemo venit ad Patrem nisi per me".⁴⁹⁰ As this is the most basic tenet of Christianity, the idea of salvation of the soul through Jesus was surely known and understood by Guittone's audience; the idea of salvation, then, through a woman's love is a sentiment that gives pause. Guittone was not the first poet to use this

⁴⁸⁸ Although Leonardi does briefly discuss the sonnets in the introduction, and why he does not think they belong in the *canzoniere*, at pp. xxiii - xxiv.

⁴⁸⁹ Loving Joy, my: love, grace and mercy to you / just as to my Lady and my Lord; / since now you come so close to where my eyes / can see you, near me with a pure pose; / Because my soul believe in salvation through you / and my body will never live eternally honored, / there is no man so faithful before me / he wouldn't fall in love with you, just like me. / And I am so satisfied thus, but I still long to yell, / to tell you how I will always remain / faithful in wanting and loving you. / Now let it please you, by God you wonderful woman, / to tell me, and I will ask for nothing more, / where and when I can say this to your face.

⁴⁹⁰ "Jesus saith unto him, I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father, but by me".

image in praising a woman⁴⁹¹, but Leonardi points out that the image is most often used in similes: *like* a person who believe that they can be saved through you.⁴⁹² There are two possible ways to read this idea of salvation in Guittone's poem within the context of MS L. The first is that Guittone, as a medieval author who was well aware of the Bible and the Christian message, borrowed this image in his youth, for which he would later repent and try to convince people not to read his early poetry⁴⁹³. The second possibility, and that which Leonardi suggests in his introduction to the sonnet, is that Guittone here is mocking the false love of courtly love lyrics, using the troubadours own words and motifs in order to demonstrate the base falsity of the love that they claim to feel for women. This is the crux of Leonardi's reading of Guittone's cycle of sonnets: as the so-called *Ars Amandi* by Guittone was written in order to show the falsity of *fin'amor*, and since this section of the cycle of sonnets follows Guittone's rules for the lover to conquer his beloved, the use of extreme language (salvation of the soul through a woman's love) "reinforces doubts in the reader on the truth of this entire process of falling in love shown in sonnets 19 - 30"⁴⁹⁴.

⁴⁹¹ The same idea is found in Pier della Vigna's poem (printed in Bruno Panvini (ed.) *Le rime della scuola siciliana*, Firenze: Olschki, 1962) *Amando con fin core*: at v. 18 he wrote "per cui servire mi credea salvare" (by serving you [a woman] I thought to save myself); as well as in Chiaro Davanzati: in poem XLI (found in *Chiaro Davanzati Rime*, Aldo Menichetti (ed.), Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua vol.126, 1965) which begins *La mia fedel voglienza*, at vv. 54 - 55 the poet wrote "e credomi di salvare / per questa deitade" (and I believe that I can save myself / through this God).

⁴⁹² Leonardi, *op. cit.*, p. 99, n. 5.

⁴⁹³ As we saw in chapter II.ii.

⁴⁹⁴ Leonardi, *op. cit.*, p. 98. "rinforza nel lettore i dubbi sulla veridictà di tutto il processo di innamoramento dei sonetti 19 - 30".

In Harley 2253, we see a poem in which the author describes a stone that a particularly beautiful woman wears, which has miraculous powers, which in the Bible are ascribed to Jesus. In the Gospel of John, chapter 2, verses 1 - 11, the apostle tells of Jesus' first miracle,



which took place in front of a large group of people, including the Virgin Mary. This story is shown in medieval English iconography in many places, but two versions of the story from the thirteenth century may have had a direct influence on the audience for this English poem, as well as on its anonymous author: this stained glass window to the left is found in the Canterbury Cathedral, and dates to the

between 1178 and 1180⁴⁹⁵. This image shows Jesus (the second figure from the left) with his hand raised up as the boy of the story hands the wine to one of those present at the feast while the Virgin Mary looks on (second figure from the right). The second image to consider comes, once again, from the *Bible Moralisée*; the section found today in London, BL, Harley MS, 1527 contains the New Testament in Latin along with 224 miniatures that show the reader what the text (placed to the left of each illumination) is depicting. The story of Jesus' miracle at Cana is found on ff. 23r and 24v:



Fol. 23r, detail: the Latin to the left is an abbreviation of John, 2, vv. 1 - 3.



Fol. 24v, detail: The Latin to the left is an abbreviation of John, 2, vv. 9 - 10.

The poem found in Harley 2253 on f.66v, which begins with the verse “Mosti ryden by rybbesdale”, and which modern editors have titled “The Fair Maid of Ribblesdale”, gives a

⁴⁹⁵ See Michael Michael, *op. cit.*

highly detailed description of a woman that the narrator would like to spend the night with⁴⁹⁶. This woman is the most beautiful in the town, comes from a good family and can even use her beautiful lips “to read romances” (v. 39): the woman is so perfect that the narrator would prefer to merely wait for her than to “beon pope ant ryde in Rome, / stybest vpon stede”⁴⁹⁷. After this assertion, the poet returns to a physical description of the object of his desire: “Hyre tyttes aren anvnder bis / as apples tuo of Parays, / ouself 3 e mowen seo.”⁴⁹⁸ The poet follows this image with a brief description of the woman’s clothes. Of particular interest in this sixth stanza is the description of a small stone that is in the middle of the belt that she wears:

þe bocle is al of whalles bon;
 þer wiþinne stont a ston
 þat warneþ men from wo;
 þe water þat hit wetes yn
 ywis hit worþeþ al to wyn;
 þat seþen, seyden so
 [THL, p. 38; vv. 67 - 72]⁴⁹⁹.

The attribution of this miraculous power to a stone in a belt that the lady in question wears very nearly verges on a blasphemous image; while Geoffrey of Vinsauf suggested that the poet gloss over the middle parts of the woman to be described, as the poet should:

Pectus, imago niçis, quasi quasdam collateras
 Gemmas virgineas producat utrimque papillas.
 Sit locus astrictus zonae, breuitate pugilli
 Circumscripibilis. Taceo de partibus infra :
 Aptius hic loquitur animus quam lingua⁵⁰⁰.

⁴⁹⁶ As Robert P. Miller has pointed out, (in his *Chaucer, Sources and Backgrounds*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977, esp. at pages 65 - 70) the description of the beloved in this poem is remarkably similar to the ideal description of a woman found in Geoffrey of Vinsauf’s *Poetria Nova*, in vv. 563 - 622. In comparing the two descriptions, it appears that the anonymous English poet simply used extracts of Geoffrey’s Latin hexameters, translated them into Middle English, and exaggerated some of the features that the Latin example did not mention (like her very long neck, in verse 44 and her large arms, in verse 52. For a translation into modern English of the *Poetria Nova*, apart from the extract found in Miller, pp. 66 - 69, see Geoffrey of Vinsauf: *The Poetria Nova of Geoffrey of Vinsauf*, trans. Margaret F. Nims, Toronto: PIMS, 1967; the relevant passages are found on pp. 36 - 38.

⁴⁹⁷ vv. 47 - 48: “Be Pope and ride in Rome / strongest [man] on a horse”.

⁴⁹⁸ vv. 58 - 60: “Her breasts are under fine linen / like two apples from the Garden of Eden, / as you yourselves may see”.

⁴⁹⁹ “The buckle is all of whale’s bone; / there within stands a stone / that protects men from danger; / The water in which it is dipped / is indeed turned into wine; / those who saw it have said so”.

⁵⁰⁰ Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *Poetria Nova, Les arts poetiques du 12 et du 13 siecle: recherches et documents sur la technique litteraire du Moyen age*, Edmond Faral (ed.), Paris: Champion, 1924, pp. 197 - 262; p. 215, vv. 591 - 595: “Let her breast, the image of snow, show side by side its twin virginal gems. Let her waist be close girt, and

While our anonymous poet did follow Geoffrey's rules for the most part, instead of passing over her middle section, he gave it the powers of healing and of turning water into wine. The miraculous nature of the stone found in the woman's belt is a foreshadowing, perhaps, of the last three verses of this poem: for if the miraculous powers of the stone could be seen as bordering on blasphemy, these last verses are probably over that line. "He myhte sayen þat Crist hym seze / þat myhte nyhtes neh hyre leze, / heuene he heuede here"⁵⁰¹. So not only are Christ's miracles used to show what amazing powers the woman possesses, but Jesus also apparently would be doing a favor to any man who was lucky enough to sleep with her.

This use of Jesus' miracles and his name is somewhat unexpected in a MS that contains so much Christian imagery and assorted Christian messages. Indeed, and oddly enough, the poem that comes directly before this last one that we have seen, on *f.66r*, is a song of conversion (which we will see again in chapter V of the current study). In this earlier poem, which begins "Weping haueþ myn wonges wet", the poet complains that "ofte in song y haue hem set, / þat is vnsemlý þer hit syt"⁵⁰², for which mistake he is very sad and has seen the error of his ways. The remainder of the song is a treatise against Eve, in praise of the goodness of Mary, and on the general need to devote one's work to Christian themes. With this in mind, *The Fair Maid of Ribblesdale* jars the reader of this book for its entirely opposite message. The poem that follows these two, on *f.66v*, is one that we will look into more specifically in chapter IV of this study; but briefly, the poem which begins "In a fryht as y con fare fremede" a young woman refuses the advances of the narrator by using images taken from the *Psalms* and from *Ecclesiastes*. The poem which follows yet again and which represents the final poem in this section of Middle English lyrics in the MS, on *ff. 67v - 68r*,

so slim that a hand may encircle it. For the other parts I am silent - here the mind's speech is more apt than the tongue's." Translation in Nims, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

⁵⁰¹ vv. 82 - 84. "He might say that Christ looks on him with favor / the man who gets to lie near her at night: / He would have Heaven here on Earth."

⁵⁰² vv. 7,8 : "Often in song I have set them (ladies) / in a way that is not proper to do".

(A wayle whyt ase whalles bon) is very similar to a bit of advice given in Proverbs (which, again, we will look at further in chapter IV).

Carter Revard has suggested that the Harley scribe very frequently juxtaposed these sorts of images: Christian hymns of praise are placed at times before and sometimes after poetry that is either not particularly Christian or that show characters who actively disobey the rules of the Church. One of the examples that Revard has underlined is the combination of entries found on *ff.* 54v - 55r:

having finished copying this sacred narrative, in which a saint's corpse and spirit shine forth into the darkness the brilliant light of holiness, and a blind man receives his sight, the scribe turns to the facing page and copies the monologue of a glutton in darkness, thinking of a smokeless wood-fire for his hearth: a sensualist for whom the sacred feasts of the Church, and the festivals of its saints, are merely occasions for gluttony [...] Yet the scribe then turns the leaf and copies *The Harrowing of Hell*: the story of how Christ, having suffered shame and dreadfully painful death for sinners like the Goliard, went down to Hell and took from the clutches of Satan the souls of all the righteous dead.⁵⁰³

The critic has named this tendency of the Harley scribe to juxtapose examples of vices with examples of virtues in the poetry that he had at his disposition as a dialectic metanarrative of “oppositional thematics”⁵⁰⁴. Read in this light, the miraculous powers of the stone of the Fair Maid seen above may be a thematic juxtaposition of the sort of poem that the Harley Scribe was denouncing in the poem which preceded it. If Carter is correct in his assertion⁵⁰⁵ that Harley 2253 was probably used both to entertain and teach in a wealthy household, then this series of poems would have been used to show what a poet should write about and what should absolutely not be done in love poetry, using an example from Jesus and the most recent manual on poetry of the day. But as the scribe was not the author of these poems, the juxtaposition shows a very keen awareness of the power of editorial design, a fact which strongly suggests that Harley 2253 must be read as a book and not as a series of unrelated ‘miscellaneous’ poems.

⁵⁰³ Carter Revard, “A Goliard's Feast”, *op. cit.*, pp. 846 - 847. As this study is only directly concerned with love lyrics, the items that Carter has pointed out are not to be directly studied in their entirety, but more for their place in the MS and what the copyist has done with his arrangement of the poetry and prose at his disposal.

⁵⁰⁴ For which see his note 2, p. 842 in the previously cited article.

⁵⁰⁵ In his article “Scribe and Provenance”, in Fein, *op. cit.*, pp. 21 - 100.

Conclusions

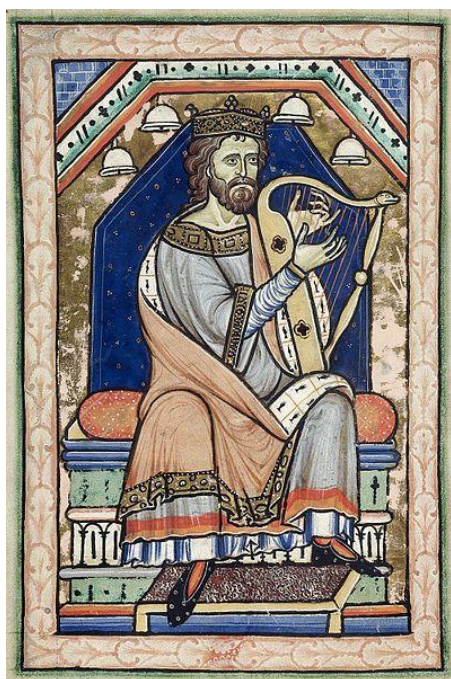
We have seen three distinct ways in which Biblical characters have been used thus far: the various iterations of the first family (for good and for bad); wise men who were led astray through the wiles of women; and finally the words and images evoked by Jesus and his followers. Our poets were all quite well informed of these different characters and stories, and at times we have even been able to see the most probable sources of their information. The characters from the biblical narrative were, during the Middle Ages, fountains of knowledge for poets, the clergy, and eventually the lay audiences. Using well known characters and biblical stories allows our poets to describe something more than that which they wrote: each of the characters that we have seen carries with them a certain background and meaning for the readers, depending on their level of biblical and exegetical knowledge. While the vast majority of medieval lay people knew that Adam and Eve brought sin into the world by eating the fruit of the tree of knowledge, thanks also in large part to various forms of iconography, members of the audience who were better informed of both the biblical narrative (either through direct reading of the Bible in Latin or through any of a number of exegetes), could appreciate the poetry on an entirely different level. The exegetical idea of reading Scripture on four different levels⁵⁰⁶ is carried over to the reading and understanding of vernacular love poetry on different levels. While the authors of the poetry seen thus far were not responsible for the way in which their verses were laid out in the MSS⁵⁰⁷, the copyists of all of the MSS clearly had an editorial idea of what to transmit in order to tell a specific narrative.

⁵⁰⁶ As seen the *avant propos* to the current study.

⁵⁰⁷ With the possible exception of Guittone, which we will discuss further in chapter V and our general conclusions.

IV. Wisdom Books for Advice and Praise

Both religious and vernacular writings in the Middle Ages are replete with references to, quotations from and retellings of what medieval (as well as both earlier and later) readers of the Old Testament believed to be the writings of Kings David and Solomon, whose iconographic images we already saw in chapter three. The tradition of the Wisdom books⁵⁰⁸, or Salomonic and Davidic writings, was one of the richest in medieval Europe and these two kings were treated as some of the most noteworthy and important ‘authors’ of the Old Testament⁵⁰⁹. These ancient Hebrew kings were inspirational for having written the books of *Psalms*, *Proverbs*, and *Song of Songs*⁵¹⁰. Indeed, many of the Psalms contain explicit



references to the authorship of David, for which the entirety of the 150 chapters have often been attributed to this author alone. In many illuminated medieval MSS the Psalms are preceded with an image of David, often playing the harp or some other instrument, or else actually writing the Psalms themselves. The Psalter in London, BL, MS Royal, 2.A, 22⁵¹¹ (from the first quarter of the thirteenth century, possibly made in London or St. Albans) contains a series of illuminations on the life of

⁵⁰⁸ *The New Oxford Annotated Bible* calls them “Poetical and Wisdom Books”, and includes within this group of diverse books, aside from *Psalms*, *Proverbs*, and the *Song of Songs* that will be the main focus of this chapter, the books of *Job* (which is found directly before the book of *Psalms*), and *Ecclesiastes* (placed between the *Proverbs* and the *Song of Songs*). See the introduction to this section of the Old Testament in *op. cit.*, pp. 721 - 725.

⁵⁰⁹ For a very good introduction to the problem as well as a rich bibliography, see Bose, Mishtooni, “From Exegesis to Appropriation: The Medieval Solomon,” in *Medium Aevum* 65 (1996), pp. 187 - 210.

⁵¹⁰ However, while the book of *Psalms* was commented upon by exegetes from the Church fathers through the entirety of the Middle Ages, “*Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, and *The Song of Songs* were considered as a group to form a symposium of Solomonic authorship on the various fields of human learning. But the book as a whole was infrequently commented on.” Charles Kannengiesser, *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis: The Bible in Ancient Christianity*, Vol. 2, Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2004, p. 303.

⁵¹¹ Known as the Westminster Psalter, for its use in that town’s abbey. For information on this MS, see Schapiro, Meyer, “An Illuminated English Psalter of the Early Thirteenth Century”, in *Late Antique, Early Christian and Mediaeval Art: Selected Papers*, New York: George Braziller, 1979, 329-54.

King David within many of the opening letters of the *Psalms*, but before this there is a full page illustration of David playing the harp: the image shown above is found on *f.14v*, directly before the first of the *Psalms*, found on *f.15r*. One very good example of King David writing the *Psalms* in an illuminated MS is found in the eleventh century Folchart Psalter⁵¹², on the top of *f.9r*, as a group of men looks on:



David's son Solomon was also a common figure in MS illuminations throughout the entirety of the Middle Ages. He is often seen holding the Temple, which was thought to have been built during his reign as seen in *I Kings*, chapter 6. But he was also renowned for his incredible knowledge, for having written many of the *Proverbs*, and as being a lyricist like his father before him, as the *Song of Songs* was attributed to him. His knowledge is seen most clearly in the judgement recounted in *I Kings*, 3,16 - 28:

tunc venerunt duae mulieres meretrices ad regem steteruntque coram eo 17 quarum una ait obsecro mi domine ego et mulier haec habitabamus in domo una et peperit apud eam in cubiculo 18 tertia vero die postquam ego peperit peperit et haec et eram simul nullusque alius in domo nobiscum exceptis nobis duabus 19 mortuus est autem filius mulieris huius nocte dormiens quippe oppressit eum 20 et consurgens intempesta nocte silentio tulit filium meum de latere meo ancillae tuae dormientis et conlocavit in sinu suo suum autem filium qui erat mortuus posuit in sinu meo 21 cumque surrexissem mane ut darem lac filio meo apparuit mortuus quem diligentius intuens clara luce deprehendi non esse meum quem genueram 22 responditque altera mulier non est ita sed filius tuus mortuus est meus autem vivit e contrario illa dicebat mentiris filius quippe meus vivit et filius tuus mortuus est atque in hunc modum contendebant coram rege 23 tunc rex ait haec dicit filius meus vivit et filius tuus mortuus est et ista respondit non sed filius tuus mortuus est et filius meus vivit 24 dixit ergo rex adferte mihi gladium cumque adtulissent gladium coram rege 25 dividite inquit infantem vivum in duas partes et date dimidiam partem uni et dimidiam partem alteri 26 dixit autem mulier cuius filius erat vivus ad regem commota sunt quippe viscera eius super filio suo obsecro domine date illi infantem vivum et nolite interficere

⁵¹² St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 23; the image was taken from <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0023/9/medium>

eum contra illa dicebat nec mihi nec tibi sit dividatur 27 respondens rex ait date huic infantem vivum et non occidatur haec est mater eius 28 audivit itaque omnis Israhel iudicium quod iudicasset rex et timuerunt regem videntes sapientiam Dei esse in eo ad faciendum iudicium.⁵¹³

This biblical scene is represented iconographically in various forms throughout the Middle



Ages in western Europe: one good example is found in the Cathedral of Strasbourg (shown here to the left) in which the two harlots of the story are seen fighting over the child who is still alive while King Solomon looks on with a servant at the ready with a sword in hand⁵¹⁴. Solomon is also frequently



shown teaching young children in MS illuminations like the one shown here before the opening of the book of *Ecclesiastes*, and which is found on f. 56r of an eleventh century MS, the renowned Bible of Etienne Harding (completed in Cîteaux in the first quarter of the twelfth century): Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MSS 12 - 15 (in MS 14)⁵¹⁵. This full page illumination shows King Solomon in the act of teaching a group

⁵¹³ “Then came there two women, that were harlots, unto the king, and stood before him. 17 And the one woman said, O my lord, I and this woman dwell in one house; and I was delivered of a child with her in the house. 18 And it came to pass the third day after that I was delivered, that this woman was delivered also: and we were together; there was no stranger with us in the house, save we two in the house. 19 And this woman’s child died in the night; because she overlaid it. 20 And she arose at midnight, and took my son from beside me, while thine handmaid slept, and laid it in her bosom, and laid her dead child in my bosom. 21 And when I rose in the morning to give my child suck, behold, it was dead: but when I had considered it in the morning, behold, it was not my son, which I did bear. 22 And the other woman said, Nay; but the living is my son, and the dead is thy son. And this said, No; but the dead is thy son, and the living is my son. Thus they spake before the king. 23 Then said the king, The one saith, This is my son that liveth, and thy son is the dead: and the other saith, Nay; but thy son is the dead, and my son is the living. 24 And the king said, Bring me a sword. And they brought a sword before the king. 25 And the king said, Divide the living child in two, and give half to the one, and half to the other. 26 Then spake the woman whose the living child was unto the king, for her bowels yearned upon her son, and she said, O my lord, give her the living child, and in no wise slay it. But the other said, Let it be neither mine nor thine, but divide it. 27 Then the king answered and said, Give her the living child, and in no wise slay it: she is the mother thereof. 28 And all Israel heard of the judgment which the king had judged; and they feared the king: for they saw that the wisdom of God was in him, to do judgment.”

⁵¹⁴ For a history of this Cathedral and its place in both religious and art history, see Lee Palmer Wandel, *Voracious Idols & Violent Hands: Iconoclasm in Reformation Zurich, Strasbourg, and Basel*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, especially pp. 26 - 52 and 103 - 148.

⁵¹⁵ For which, see Charles Orsel, *La miniature du XII^e siècle à l'Abbaye de Cîteaux d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Dijon*, Dijon: L. Venot, 1926, p. 7, 15-29, 65-70.

of children who are standing to his right, while the king himself holds a roll of parchment. The book of *Ecclesiastes* is full of lessons on the futility of life and on how to live the best that one can, and as such the placement of this illumination is well thought out in order to agree with the texts found in the MS.

Besides the iconography that we have seen (and the plethora that exists elsewhere but which is too numerous to fully discuss here) the names of these two Kings can be found everywhere throughout medieval literature in order to give authority to other, strictly literary, characters (as seen in chapter one, above) but we also see their words used by poets in the three MSS that concern this study, usually without any acknowledgement on the part of the author to the books from which the words are taken.

In the first section of this chapter we will see examples of the book of *Proverbs* as it was used by the poets and copyists of the principle MSS: more often than not this will be in the form of translations of actual words while at times it is in the structure of the *Proverbs* themselves that was incorporated into the medieval poetry under examination. In the second section of this chapter we will see the way in which the book of *Psalms* influenced our poets, while finishing this discussion with the influence of the *Song of Songs* on medieval love poetry. As seen in chapter three, the interpretations of these three biblical books by the exegetes of the centuries that concern this study were known to our poets and possibly even to their audiences: we will see that there are many ways to interpret all three of these biblical books as well as their use in the poetry at hand.

IV.i. *Proverbs in Love Poetry*

The book of *Proverbs* begins with an explanation of exactly what its true purpose is: in chapter 1, verses 1 - 6 we read that the book is

Parabolae Salomonis filii David regis Israhel 2 ad sciendam sapientiam et disciplinam 3 ad intellegenda verba prudentiae et suscipiendam eruditionem doctrinae iustitiam et iudicium et aequitatem 4 ut detur parvulis astutia adulescenti scientia et intellectus 5 audiens sapiens sapientior erit et intellegens gubernacula possidebit 6 animadvertet parabolam et interpretationem verba sapientium et enigmata eorum⁵¹⁶.

So the *Proverbs* were written by Solomon and meant to instruct mainly young men, as seen from the constant advice in the quest for a good wife, as in chapter 12, verse 4⁵¹⁷ for example. In the Middle Ages the *Proverbs* were transmitted both in their entirety and through exegetical works⁵¹⁸. Since Jerome's translation of the works of Solomon⁵¹⁹ exegetes from Augustine to Bede, from Bernard of Clairvaux and Alain de Lille to Thomas Aquinas all commented on various aspects of this book, while at the same time there is an extensive sequential commentary written by the Venerable Bede⁵²⁰, as well as portions of verse-by-verse or running commentaries written by Basil the Great⁵²¹, and by John Chrysostom⁵²² in Byzantine Greek. Within the commentary that follows on the poetry that makes use of the

⁵¹⁶ "The proverbs of Solomon the son of David, king of Israel; 2 to know wisdom and instruction; to perceive the words of understanding; 3 to receive the instruction of wisdom, justice, and judgment, and equity; 4 to give subtilty to the simple, to the young man knowledge and discretion. 5 A wise man will hear, and will increase learning; and a man of understanding shall attain unto wise counsels: 6 to understand a proverb, and the interpretation; the words of the wise, and their dark sayings."

⁵¹⁷ Which we will look at during our discussion on the poetry of Marcabru.

⁵¹⁸ See, for example, Cyrille Vogel, *Introduction aux sources de l'histoire du culte chrétien au Moyen Âge*, Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1966.

⁵¹⁹ Which he reported to have accomplished over a period of three days, in his letter to Chromatius and Heliodorus. See his prologue to the book of *Proverbs* in Bonifatius Fischer et. al., *op. cit.*

⁵²⁰ *In Proverbia Salomonis libros III*; printed in Hurst, David (ed.), *Bedae venerabilis Opera*, Vol. 2B, *In Tobiam; In Proverbia; In Cantica canticorum*, Turnholt: Typographi Brepols editores pontificii, 1983.

⁵²¹ In his twelfth Homily, *In principium Proverbiorum*; printed in Giuseppe De Gregorio, "Manoscritti greci patristici fra ultima età bizantina e umanesimo italiano : con un'appendice sulla traduzione latina di Atanasio Calceopulo dell'Omelia *In principium Proverbiorum* di Basilio Magno" in Maria Rosa Cortesi and Claudio Leonardi (eds.), *Tradizioni patristiche nell'umanesimo : atti del Convegno, Istituto nazionale di studi sul Rinascimento, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Firenze, 6-8 febbraio 1997*, Tavernuzze: SISMEL, 2000, pp. 317 - 396.

⁵²² His Commentary on Proverbs is now printed in Robert Charles Hill (ed.), *Commentaries on the sages*, Vol. 2, Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2006.

Proverbs we will try to see if the authors had any access to these various sources, other than the *Vulgate* of Jerome itself.

The first MS in the Marcabru tradition includes a poem (PC 293.18) which may contain several references to *Proverbs*. This third poem in the Marcabru's section of the MS⁵²³ is yet another poem in which Love and Youth are the two primary objects of the poet's ire. After a first verse in which Marcabru pleads with audience to listen to the truth that he will impart to them, the second starts off immediately with the all too common denigration of two of his favorite enemies: "Jovens faill e fraing e brisa / et amors es d'aital guisa"⁵²⁴. This sentiment has already been seen several times in the poetry of Marcabru transmitted by other MSS, but in this poem the author follows up with Proverbial wisdom: from the very next stanza we see at the very least an echo of *Proverbs*, 6,27, in a warning given about the fires of adultery:

Amors fai cum la belluja
que si mescal ab la suja
c'art lo fust la festuja.
-Escoutaz!-
Cel mon sap vas cal part fuja
pois que del fuoc es gastatz.
[MCE, p. 240; vv. 13 - 18]⁵²⁵

The section of *Proverbs* from chapter 6, verses 26 - 28 form a warning against adultery in general and in particular on sleeping with the wife of another man:

pretium enim scorti vix unius est panis mulier autem viri pretiosam animam capit 27
numquid abscondere potest homo ignem in sinu suo ut vestimenta illius non ardeant 28
aut ambulare super prunas et non conburentur plantae eius.⁵²⁶

⁵²³ Which is also included in eight other MSS, including both of those that we have seen from the northern Italian tradition. Here it is found on f.189v. See Chapter II.i.

⁵²⁴ Verses 7 - 12 : "Youth fails and breaks and shatters and love is in a similar state".

⁵²⁵ "Love acts like the spark which is mixed with soot, for it burns the wood and the straw. -Listen!- The man consumed by flames does not know where he can flee to".

⁵²⁶ "For by means of a whorish woman a man is brought to a piece of bread; and the adulteress will hunt for the precious life. 27 Can a man take fire in his bosom, and his clothes not be burned? 28 Can one go upon hot coals, and his feet not be burned?"

While the Occitan verse is not exactly that found in the proverb, both the idea and the image are so close to one another that it is at least likely that Marcabru, consciously or not, incorporated this biblical passage into his poem. Given the parallel discourses, as well as the next verse of this poem, it seems more likely that Marcabru made a conscious decision to include this text with a clear reference to the words of Solomon. The poem continues with the personification of Love who flirts with many different people and creates discord where once, presumably, there was peace: “Dirai vos d’amor cum migna: / a vos chanta, a cellui gigna; / ab vos parla, ab autre cigna”⁵²⁷. In this exact same way, the author of Proverbs chapter 6, at verses 12 - 14, warns, with the same language, against a “scoundrel and a villain”: “homo apostata vir inutilis graditur ore perverso 13 annuit oculis terit pede digito loquitur 14 pravo corde machinatur malum et in omni tempore iurgia seminat”⁵²⁸. While in Marcabru’s poem the object of disdain is the personification of Love, in the biblical narrative the advice is against a scoundrel or villain; that having been said, both narratives talk badly about those who sow discord while using the same verbs (winking, sowing discord). *Proverbs* continues directly after this with a list of seven abominations to the Lord, while Marcabru’s poem is a list of things that he sees as being wrong in the world, or perhaps abominations to himself. In any case, the poem continues in verses 31 - 32 with another probable reference to *Proverbs*: “Anc puous amors non fo vera / pos triet del mel la cera”⁵²⁹. The combination of honey and wax in relation to false love sees a precedent in *Proverbs* 5, verse 3: “Favus enim stillans labia meretricis et nitidius oleo guttur eius”⁵³⁰. Up to this point in the poem the parallels with these particular *Proverbs* may just be happenstance or merely remembered verses that the poet unconsciously used after having heard them spoken aloud. Given the way that the poem

⁵²⁷ Verses 19 - 21: “I will tell you about love’s affected behavior: she sings to you but makes eyes at that man; she talks to you but gestures to another”.

⁵²⁸ “A scoundrel and a villain walketh with a froward mouth. 13 He winketh with his eyes, he speaketh with his feet, he teacheth with his fingers; 14 frowardness is in his heart, he deviseth mischief continually; he soweth discord.”

⁵²⁹ “Love has never been true since she separated the honey from the wax.”

⁵³⁰ “For the lips of a strange woman drip like honey, and her mouth is smoother than oil”.

ends, however, that is surely not the case. In verses 45 - 48 Marcabru makes a sweeping generalization of God and Love that should immediately trigger memories of chapter 3.2 of this study: “Dieus non fetz tant fort gramavi: -Escoutatz!- fol no·n fassa lo plus savi / si tan fai qu·l tenga al latz”⁵³¹. Having seen so many references already in this poem to one of Solomon’s most famous works, this seems to be a clear reference to the fact that even that ancient King was not above the dangerous consequences that Love can sometimes lead to. The penultimate stanza, then, once again reinforces this same idea that Love, and even false Love, is stronger than the strongest man or even the wisest man, who for medieval writers and audiences, was Solomon:

Qui ab geing de femna reigna,
dreitz es que mals l’en aveigna,
si cum la letra esseinga.
-Escoutatz!-
Malaventura·us en veigna
si tuich no vos en gardatz
[*Idem*, p. 242; vv. 67 - 72]⁵³².

As has already been seen, Solomon did fall due to the love that he felt for some of his foreign wives, for whom he worshipped false Gods. Given the example of the most righteous King falling for false Love, whose very kingdom was split in half by God, it is no wonder that Marcabru should warn against such a sin to those members of his audience who were decidedly not on the same level as Solomon. We already saw in chapter 3.2 that Solomon was used (with David and Samson) to underscore the dangers of Love, even for the best of men, but a contemporary of Marcabru, Hugh of St. Victor (1096 - 1141), wrote in one of his many treatises⁵³³, *De Nuptiis*⁵³⁴, on this same idea of David, Solomon and Samson falling due to

⁵³¹ “God never made so learned a man, -Listen!- that is could not drive the wisest of them mad if it so much as takes him in its net”.

⁵³² “It is right that evil should befall the man who rules with a woman’s trickery, as the Scripture teaches. - Listen!- May ill-fortune then come to you if you do not all guard against this”.

⁵³³ Published by Migne, in PL 175 - 177.

⁵³⁴ PL 176, columns 1206 - 1209.

women, directly before discussing the biblical passage seen above. In chapter two of this treatise, Hugh says of these three men:

Nonne David virum sanctum, qui leoni et urso non cessit, qui Philistaei frontem lapide comminuit, mulieris aspectus traxit ad culpam. Quid tam ingens Samsoni virtus, vel quod Salomoni tam laudata profuit sapientia? Vicit enim utrumque mulier⁵³⁵.

It is telling that this medieval exegete should discuss the fall of men due to women in this particular place in his works, as directly thereafter he discusses the meaning behind Proverbs chapter 5, verse 3:

Et in eodem scriptum est: Favus distillans labia meretricis, et nitidius guttur ejus oleo. [...] In favo mellis duo sunt, id est, mel et cera. In facie meretricis similiter duo, scilicet décor et gratia, hoc est pulchritudo oris, et dulcendo sermonis. Cera succendit ignem, mel praebet dulcedinem. Sic pulchritudo meretricis igne libidinis inflamat carnem, blandimento vero lenocinantis sermonis subvertit mentem. Stillat mel ex cera, dum meretrix verba sua mollit et facit dulcia. Hanc autem dulcedinem aeternae mortis amaritudo comitatur.⁵³⁶

If Marcabru is following the logic that Hugh has set out here, then the wax stands for the beauty of women which inflames men's desire, while with her honey-like sweet speech the woman brings man to his doom. It is doubtful that Marcabru had read the words of Hugh of St. Victor, but it is entirely possible that he heard them preached directly⁵³⁷.

While there are no more direct references to *Proverbs* within MS *D*^a, the final poem in the Italian tradition of Marcabru's MS corpus, PC 293.44, is full of direct quotations from the Proverbs as well as the use of their supposed author, Solomon, in general. After an invocation to his audience, the author begins his poem right away with a very clear echo of (or even

⁵³⁵ *Idem*, column 1206. "Even David the holy man, who was unharmed by either lions or a bear, who smashed the Philistine's head with a stone, by the sight of a woman was drawn to fault. Was not even Samson's great strength was praised as highly as Solomon's much praised wisdom? Both of them were conquered by a woman." Migne's Latin reads "quid" as the first word of the second sentence, but I have translated as if it were "quod", as "quid" makes no sense and is an easy mistake to make in transcribing from a MS.

⁵³⁶ *Idem*, column 1207. "And in the same [chapter] it is written: The lips of a strange woman are a dripping honeycomb, and her mouth is smoother than oil. [...] Two things are in the honeycomb, that is, honey and wax. In the face of a whore are also two things, namely elegance and grace, that is a beautiful mouth and sweet speech. The wax kindles the fire and the honey sweetens it. And so the beauty of the whore inflames the flesh with lusty fires, with flattery and specifically lewd speeches she changes a man's mind. Honey drips from the wax, just as the whore softens her words and makes them sweet. But the bitterness of eternal death accompanies this sweetness."

⁵³⁷ However, see Hughes Oliphant Old, *The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures in the Worship of the Christian Schools, Vol. 3, The Medieval Church*, Grand Rapids; Cambridge: W. B. Eerdmans, 1999; chapter six in particular.

reference to) one of the *Proverbs*: "entendetz los mals argumens / de las falsas putas areds!"⁵³⁸

Compare this warning to the following, which is found in *Proverbs* chapter 7, verses 21-23:

Irretivit eum multis sermonibus, et blanditiis labioreum protraxit illum. 22 Statim eam sequitur quasi bos ductus ad victimam, et quasi agnus lasciviens; et ignorans quod ad vincula stultus trahatur: 23 donec transfigat sagitta jecur eius; velut si avis festinet ad laqueum, et nescit quod de periculo animae illius agitur⁵³⁹.

Marcabru may, however also have had in mind a similar verse: *Proverbs*, 7,5, which reads "ut custodiat te a muliere extranea, et ab aliena quae verba dulcia facit"⁵⁴⁰. The *Proverbs* are littered with warning against prostitutes, whores, and bad women in general. Given the supposed author (who was reputed to have had some 600 concubines) and his father, it should come as no surprise that advice from the author should also have something to do with this particular subject. Marcabru, in his vast corpus, likewise warned of the same kinds of women with much the same language: so much so, that it can be argued that the poet read and understood the *Proverbs* and used them in his poetry to the same effect as the two ancient Hebrew authors in question (both of whom were also poets). This poem continues in vv. 9 - 12 in no uncertain terms as to where his ideas come from, thus giving him even more authority: "Salamos ditz et es guirens / c'al prim es dousa com pimens, / mas al partir es plus cozens, / amara, cruels, cum serpens"⁵⁴¹. The argument against evil women continues here with the language of another book of *Proverbs* 23, verses 27,8 and 31,2:

27,8: Fovea enim profunda est meretrix, et puteus angustus aliena. Insidiatur in via quasi latro, et quos incautos viderit interficiet [...]
31,2: Ne intuaris vinum quando flavescit, cum splenduerit in vitro color eius. Ingreditur blande; sed in novissimo mordebit ut coluber⁵⁴².

⁵³⁸ "Be well aware of the wicked arguments of the false, burning whores!"

⁵³⁹ "She ensnared him with many speeches, and she pressed him with seductive words. At once the fool follows her, like an ox for sacrifice, and like a frolicksome lamb, not knowing that he is being drawn towards prison chans: like a bird hurrying into the trap he does not know that he is risking his life until the arrow pierces his vitals."

⁵⁴⁰ "That it may keep you from the strange woman, from the stranger with her seductive words." For another use of this same image, see also Marcabru XXV, v. 24.

⁵⁴¹ "Solomon says and testifies that at first she is as sweet as spiced wine, but when it comes to the moment of parting she is more caustic, bitter and savage, like a serpent."

⁵⁴² "A prostitute is a deep pit, a loose woman a narrow well; she lies in wait like a robber and any unwary men she sees she murders [...] Do not gulp down the wine, the strong red wine, when the droplets from on the side of the cup; in the end it will bite like a snake and sting like a serpent"

As can be seen here, the images come directly from this proverb, which should come as little surprise, as the wisdom and authority of Solomon are also recalled in Marabru's poem VI, at verse 32 ("ço dis Salomons e Daviz"⁵⁴³) and XXIX, 25 ("E segon que ditz Salamos"⁵⁴⁴). Back in the poem currently under examination, verses 29 - 32 continue the use of Proverbs: "Quar soven per putia / put la mendritz, / com fai per bocaria / carnils poiritz"⁵⁴⁵. Compare this final piece of advice and warning to that found in Proverbs 12,4: "Mulier diligens corona est viro suo; et putredo in ossibus ejus, quae confusione res dignas gerit"⁵⁴⁶. The image of the unfaithful wife as a rotten part of her husband's life was well received in the Middle Ages⁵⁴⁷, and as Ruth Harvey has noted, there is a "commonplace ecclesiastical link between lust, stench and filth"⁵⁴⁸. One final note to add on this poem is that it has been amply studied by Silvia Conte⁵⁴⁹ in which the scholar postulates that the description of the whore (meretrice, the biblical "strange woman") found in vv. 17 - 24 ("De [g]uimerra porta semblan etc.") is of both biblical and iconographic origins. Her studies are both well laid out and well reasoned and offer an ample bibliography on this very specific aspect of the poem at hand. To finish, in these two poems by Marcabru we have seen that the *Proverbs* of Solomon were well known by the author and they must have also been familiar to the audiences who received the poems,

⁵⁴³ "Thus said Solomon and David".

⁵⁴⁴ "And according to what Solomon said".

⁵⁴⁵ "For the harlot often stinks in her whoring, like a rotting carcass in a slaughterhouse"

⁵⁴⁶ "A capable wife is her husband's crown: one who disgraces him is rot in his bones."

⁵⁴⁷ As Leah Otis-Cour points out succinctly in the beginning of her article, "*De jure novo*: Dealing with Adultery in the Fifteenth-Century Toulousain" in *Speculum*, 84/2 (2009), pp. 347 - 392, p. 347: "The best-known figures of medieval literature - which more than one historian has qualified as essentially or exclusively adulterous - are Lancelot and Guenevere, Tristan and Isolde, and the comic triangle of the cuckolded husband, lusty wife, and seducing lover in the fabliaux. [...] The popularity of adultery as a medieval literary topos is often contrasted with the "reality" of draconian punishments meted out to adulterers at the time."

⁵⁴⁸ See Ruth Harvey, *The Troubadour Marcabru and Love*, London: Westfield College University of London, 1989, p. 114.

⁵⁴⁹ In her two articles: "Soudadier, per cui es jovens (BdT 293, 44). Richiami esegetico-biblici nella rappresentazione della chimera" in *Critica del Testo*, V/2 (2002), pp. 408 - 444; and "Ancora sull'interpretazione di Marcabru, Soudadier, per cui es jovens (BdT 293, 44), v. 21: l'ipotesi della sirena pisciforme" in *Critica del testo*, VI / 3 (2003), pp. 915 - 931.

as otherwise there would not have been such a large number of MSS that transmit the poems over such a long temporal arc⁵⁵⁰.

In examining Guittone's love sonnets transmitted by MS *L*, we find that there are no direct references to the book of *Proverbs*. Moreover, there are no direct references to the *Proverbs* in his love songs either, as copied in this pisan MS. Still, Guittone d'Arezzo was very well aware of what the *Proverbs* of Solomon contained, both the recent medieval (for the author) and early Christian exegetical explanations thereof, and he even translated several passages into his version of the Italian language, at times. It is within the letters of the Aretine that the *Proverbs* were used ubiquitously: for as much of a lacuna as it seems to be that there are no references to them in any of his love poetry, it is, perhaps, surprising the sheer quantity of *Proverbs* and proverbial expressions the poet used in his correspondence. While the corpus is too large to mention every time Guittone used this book of the Bible in his letters in this study, it is important to look at a few instances in order to have an idea of the influence of this book on his literature in general and on the corpus that Guittone wanted to leave for posterity⁵⁵¹.

The references to *Proverbs* in Guittone's letters fall mainly into two categories: those explicitly cited as having come from the *Proverbs* of Solomon (with the name of the King used within the letters themselves) and those that are not cited directly. We will briefly look at both ways that Guittone used this scripture, mentioning only some of the very many instances. Solomon is cited by name in the letters of Guittone on twelve occasions: at times this is in the use of *Proverbs*, at others to quote *Ecclesiastes* or *Ecclesiasticus*. The first letter to look at is

⁵⁵⁰ While the dating of the particular poems we have looked at is not in any way exact, they all must have been composed (or written) in the first half of the twelfth century, while the MSS that transmit them all date, at the earliest, to the second half of the thirteenth century, a gap of one hundred years that can only be explained by somebody wanting to hear what Marcabru had to say; in this case, the biblical message of the *Proverbs* in Occitan verse for a medieval audience.

⁵⁵¹ As always, and perhaps incorrectly, following the suggestion of Leonardi.

the third that the reader encounters in MS *L*⁵⁵², to Monte Andrea, another Italian poet who had at least a literary relationship with Guittone⁵⁵³. Within this letter⁵⁵⁴, as we have already seen in chapter 2.2 of this study, Guittone cites extensively from both Christian and Pagan authors in order to explain to Monte that losing his money was to be interpreted as a good thing. Within the cavalcade of authors cited, Solomon comes up several times, both explicitly (by name) and implicitly (Guittone calls him the Prophet or just says “in the *Psalms*”⁵⁵⁵). The first reference to the *Proverbs* in this letter comes at §31, but the author sets up his reasoning in §30, which follows here:

E quale è, dunque esto bono che sempre omo seco porta e che non perdere può alcuno già, se non vole? Decemo ch’è scienza e virtù. E dice nel *Libro di Sapienza*: “Come rena auro è vile inverso d’essa, e como loto da stimare argento in suo cospetto”. §31. E appresso: “Ove non è scienza d’anima, no è bono”. Non dice de sapienza d’esto mondo, la quale beato Paulo stoltezza dice appo Dio, nè di prudenza di carne, ch’el dice morte, ma dice de sapienza d’anima de divina.⁵⁵⁶

While the first quote from Solomon, not attributed to him by Guittone, does indeed come from the Book of Wisdom, chapter 7, verse 9: “nec comparavi illi lapidem pretiosum quoniam omne aurum in comparatione illius harena est exigua et tamquam lutum aestimabitur argentum in conspectu illius”⁵⁵⁷, Guittone says, then, that the biblical author’s second quote (not mentioned by name, but as the book is titled *The Wisdom of Solomon*, the audience would have known to whom the Aretine was referring) comes from “nearby”, or “and then”

⁵⁵² Which begins on f.4r.

⁵⁵³ The two poets had an exchange of sonnets (Guittone’s number 237 according to Egidi “*A te, Montuccio, ed agli altri*”, *op. cit.*, p. 266 and Monte Andrea’s number 69, printed in [Francesco Filippo Minetti (ed.)], Monte Andrea: *Le Rime*, Firenze: Accademia della Crusca, 1979, pp. 209 - 210. Guittone’s use of the diminutive ‘Montuccio’ leads scholars to assume that the two had an amicable relationship.

⁵⁵⁴ Which Minetti has dated to between 1269 and 1271, while Margueron, *Lettere*, is more cautious, and dates to between 1266 - 1276; cfr. Margueron, *op. cit.* 1990, p. 38.

⁵⁵⁵ A mistake on the part of the poet that we will discuss shortly.

⁵⁵⁶ *Idem.*, pp. 42, 43. “And so what is this good thing that man always takes with him and cannot lose for any reason, if he does not want to? We will say that it is wisdom and virtue. And it says in *The Book of Wisdom* [included in the deuterocanonical books by the Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches, considered Apocryphal by protestants, NdT] ‘gold is like worthless sand compared to her, and silver is like clay in comparison to her’. §31 And then, ‘Where there is no wisdom of the soul, there is no goodness’. He is not talking about wisdom of this world, about which the Blessed Paul calls stupidity compared to God, nor about corporal caution, which he calls death, but rather about wisdom of the soul and the divine”. The italics are mine.

⁵⁵⁷ “Neither did I liken to her any priceless gem, because all gold is but a little sand in her sight, and silver will be accounted as clay before her.” As this book is not found in the Bible that we have chosen for references in English, the translation here is from *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, p. 79 of the *Apocrypha*.

(*appresso*), although the next quotation comes from Proverbs, chapter 19, verse 2: “ubi non est scientia animae non est bonum et qui festinus est pedibus offendit”⁵⁵⁸. This confusion on the part of Guittone cannot come from a misunderstanding of the Bible, as the *Book of Wisdom*, in the Catholic tradition, comes after the *Song of Songs*. Guittone, then, was not using the Bible for his quotations, but rather, he probably used *florilegia*⁵⁵⁹, concordances, and excerpts that circulated throughout Europe during the Middle Ages; as Francesco Di Capua pointed out, in reference to the ways in which medieval authors quoted both Scripture and pagan authors:

Certain letters, sermons, booklets and treatises of Christian Antiquity and the Middle Ages, peppered with sayings and authoritative writings, seem to have been composed thus: the author, have chosen his theme, collected to this a great number of maxims and citations from sacred and profane authors, helping himself also with *florilegia*, concordances, excerpts, etc.; then he reordered them, arranging them under various divisions and subdivisions so as to dissect the theme, and finally he linked the dry bones of this skeleton together and decorated them with words and concepts that are more or less appropriate⁵⁶⁰.

Margueron has shown on various occasions⁵⁶¹ that Guittone had the use of the *Summa Virtutem et Vitiorum* of William Peraldus⁵⁶² (1190 - 1255). If this is the source of the majority of Guittone’s quotations from the Bible and from pagan authors, for which Margueron makes a very good case, the use of “*appresso*” still does not fit very well, as the first quote comes

⁵⁵⁸ “Also, that the soul be without knowledge, it is not good; and he that hasteth with his feet sinneth.”

⁵⁵⁹ The Oxford English Dictionary, 3rd Edition (1989) says that it is “A compilation of excerpts from other writings. The word is from the Latin *flos* (flower) and *legere* (to gather): literally a gathering of flowers, or collection of fine extracts from the body of a larger work. It was adapted from the Greek *anthologia* (ἀνθολογία) “anthology”, with the same etymological meaning. Medieval florilegia were systematic collections of extracts taken mainly from the writings of the Church Fathers from early Christian authors, also pagan philosophers such as Aristotle, and sometimes classical writings”.

⁵⁶⁰ Francesco Di Capua, *Sentenze e Proverbi nella tecnica oratoria*, Napoli: Libreria Scientifica Editrice, 1946, pp. 100 - 101. “Talune lettere, sermon, opuscoli, trattati dell’antichità Cristiana e del medioevo, infarciti di sentenze e di autorità, sembrano composti così: l’autore, propostosi un tema, ha raccolto intorno ad esso un bel numero di massime e di citazioni di autori sacri e profane, aiutandosi anche con florilegi, concordanze, *excerpta*, ecc.; poi le ha riordinate, disponendole sotto le varie divisioni e suddivisioni in cui ha anatomizzato il tema, quindi ha legato le aride ossa di questo scheletro e le ha ornate con parole e concetti più o meno opportune.”

⁵⁶¹ In his *Recherches sur Guittone d’Arezzo*, *op. cit.*; *Lettere*, *op. cit.*; and most specifically on this theme in Claude Margueron, “La tecnica della citazione e l’arte del tradurre nelle «Lettere» di Guittone d’Arezzo”, in Georges Straka, *Actes du Xe Congrès International de Linguistique et Philologie Romanes* (Strasbourg, 1962), 3 vol., Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1965, Vol. II, pp. 751-760.

⁵⁶² Which needs to be reprinted; the only printed edition that I have come across is from the sixteenth century: Guilielmo Peraldo Episcopo Lugdunensi, *Summae virtutum ac vitiorum*, 2 Tomes, Lugduni : apud Ioannem Frellonium, 1551.

after the second in Peraldus' work⁵⁶³. In any case, the citations even in *Virtutem* are in Latin, and Guittone decided to translate certain of the maxims into his medieval version of Italian, when these particular Biblical citations served his greater purposes. The assumption that Guittone used Peraldus' work is used by Margueron to emend a citation of *Proverbs* that has a lacuna in MS *L*: at §40 the poet says "E Salamone: "Riso <mesto sarà de dolore⁵⁶⁴>"; ma se v'è dolore, ov'è dunque allegrezza?⁵⁶⁵" This is a somewhat simple emendation to make: in all of the books that were thought to be by Solomon during the Middle Ages, the Latin word for "laughter", *risus*, *risi* (fourth declension) is only found eight times: *Proverbs* 10, 23 (quasi per risum stultus operatur scelus sapientia autem est viro prudentia)⁵⁶⁶; *Proverbs* 14, 13 (risus dolore miscebitur et extrema gaudii luctus occupant)⁵⁶⁷; *Ecclesiastes*, 2,2 (risum reputavi errorem et gaudio dixi quid frustra deciperis⁵⁶⁸); *Ecclesiastes* 7,4 (melior est ira risu quia per tristitiam vultus corrigitur animus delinquentis⁵⁶⁹); *The Book of Wisdom* 5, 3 (dicent inter se paenitentiam agentes et per angustiam spiritus gementes hi sunt quos habuimus aliquando in risu et in similitudine inproperii⁵⁷⁰); *Ecclesiasticus*⁵⁷¹ 19, 27 (amictus corporis et risus dentium et ingressus hominis enuntiant de illo)⁵⁷²; *Ecclesiasticus* 21,23 (fatuus in risu inaltat vocem suam vir autem sapiens vix tacite ridebit)⁵⁷³; and finally *Ecclesiasticus* 27,14 (narratio

⁵⁶³ For which, see Margueron, *Lettere*, p. 63, notes 30 and 31.

⁵⁶⁴ The brackets contain Margueron's emendation.

⁵⁶⁵ "And Solomon: «Laughter <will be the affliction of grief>»; but if there is grief, where then is happiness?"

⁵⁶⁶ "It is as sport to a fool to do mischief: but a man of understanding hath wisdom."

⁵⁶⁷ "Even in laughter the heart is sorrowful; and the end of that mirth is heaviness."

⁵⁶⁸ "I said of laughter, It is mad: and of mirth, What doeth it?"

⁵⁶⁹ Which is actually verse 3 of *Ecclesiastes* in our Bible of reference: "Sorrow is better than laughter: for by the sadness of the countenance the heart is made better."

⁵⁷⁰ Again, since our Bible of reference does not contain this book, the English translation that follows is from *The New Oxford Annotated Edition*, 3rd Edition, in verses 4 and 5: "They will speak to one another in repentance, and in anguish of spirit they will groan, and say 'These are the persons whom we once held in derision and made a byword of reproach'". *Apocrypha*, p. 76.

⁵⁷¹ I have included Guittone's citations from this book, as he often confuses *Ecclesiastes* and *Ecclesiasticus*. It is impossible to know which one he thought belonged to Solomon, but Margueron suggests that the confusion between the two goes back to Peraldus' work. See, for example, Margueron, *Lettere*, p. 53, note 5.

⁵⁷² The same note as above applies here too, and to the next two Apocryphal citations as well. There is some discrepancy between the Vulgate versification of these chapters and the English version; this first is found in chapter 19, verse 30: "A person's attire and hearty laughter, and the way he walks, show what he is".

⁵⁷³ Verse 26: "The mind of the fool is in their mouth, but the mouth of the wise in their mind".

peccantium odiosa et risus illorum delictis peccati)⁵⁷⁴. Of all of these options, there are only two that Guittone could have had in mind with his citation: as the “laughter” of the MS is neither the object of a preposition, nor is it part of a plural subject, the plausible verses are the one that Margueron chose, and *Ecclesiastes* 2,2. Given that Guittone, when translating the biblical passages from Latin, had a tendency to place the verb at the end of the phrase in Italian, this sentence would have become something along the lines of “riso errore credevo [or] pensavo”; but as “*dolore*” is there in the Latin of the *Proverb*, and one cannot mistake “*dolore*” of the MS (the one after the citation from Solomon) with “*errore*”, Margueron’s choice is the only one plausible.

Moving on now to the other mentions of Solomon in this letter, the sentence that follows that seen just above once again quotes Solomon: at §41, we read “Unde salamone dice, « D'esti mondani gioiosi è noia grande; gaudi' de stolto è obbrobbio di tristezza ».”⁵⁷⁵ This verse vaguely recalls the difference between wise people and fools, as seen in *Proverbs* 3,35: “gloriam sapientes possidebunt stultorum exaltatio ignominia”⁵⁷⁶. Once again we see here that Guittone did not read the Vulgate directly, but relied instead on the work of Peraldus, which for this verse of *Proverbs* has “exultatio”, or “joy”, whereas the *Vulgate* has “exaltatio”, or “promotion”⁵⁷⁷. Continuing with the direct citation of Solomon, at §65, the author wrote that “E salamone, 'non già giusto conturba in che che divenga lui’”⁵⁷⁸, which is a direct reference to *Proverbs* 12, verse 21: “non contristabit iustum quicquid ei acciderit impii autem replebuntur malo”⁵⁷⁹. While Solomon says that nothing at all will happen to the just, Guittone tells Monte that the just need not worry about anything that happens to them, as bad things do not happen. Keeping in mind that this is a letter from Guittone to a friend of his who

⁵⁷⁴ Verse 13: “The talk of fools is offensive, and their laughter is wantonly sinful”.

⁵⁷⁵ Whence Solomon says, “Worldly pleasures are a great bother ; the joy of the fool is forgetting his sadness”.

⁵⁷⁶ “The wise shall inherit glory: but shame shall be the promotion of fools.”

⁵⁷⁷ Which Margueron was the first to point out, in his note 41, on p. 67, though without giving the difference between the two.

⁵⁷⁸ And Solomon [said], “the just man does not worry about anything thing that happens to him”.

⁵⁷⁹ “There shall no evil happen to the just: but the wicked shall be filled with mischief”.

had lost all of his money, it is interesting and fitting that the Aretine should change the meaning slightly of what Solomon said in this passage, even though using the *Proverbs* most assuredly gave the author a more powerful argument.

To conclude this section on Guittone's use of *Proverbs* in his letters, we will briefly see an instance in which he does not mention the source at all, and another in which he gets his source completely wrong. The first case is seen in the first letter, to Gianni Bentivegna⁵⁸⁰. Unlike the third letter that we saw above, this one was seemingly not prepared using various *florilegia* and other instruments, as very few authors are quoted directly and at such a furious pace. The letter is a response to the question of "how to be a good person"⁵⁸¹. This, Guittone says, is a noble cause and one that ancient and new Sacred Scripture deals with (at §6). The sentence in consideration is found at §17, wherein Guittone talks about worldly riches:

E se pro e onore vi fusse, e netto di dannaggio e d'onta, pagamento dov'è? E non, come più cresce ricchezza, pagamento decresce? Ricchezze crescere ad arca, ad animo no è più che legne crescere a foco; unde, come più arca s'empie, animo più se voita e più incende⁵⁸².

This image of wood and fire used in moral teaching comes directly from Proverbs 26, verse 21: "sicut carbones ad prunam et ligna ad ignem sic homo iracundus suscitatur rixas"⁵⁸³. But Guittone does not give this citation in his letter: indeed, Guittone does not cite a single source in this letter, although it is clear that many of the images either come from or were also used by a plethora of other writers, both from before and after Guittone's life. Margueron comments on one such element of this letter, on the classification of the sciences found in §6 and §7. The scholar says that, as Guittone makes no mention of the vast amount of literature on this very subject, this is a sign "of how profoundly immersed in it Guittone was, being as

⁵⁸⁰ Found on ff.1 - 4 of MS L, and in Margueron, *op. cit.*, pp. 4 - 11.

⁵⁸¹ As can be seen by the *Propositio* in §§2 - 5.

⁵⁸² "And if there were good and honor [in money], without any damage or offense, where is the fulfillment? And is it not that the more wealth increases the more fulfillment decreases? Wealth increases in an ark, to the soul it is no more than wood grows in a fire; therefore, as much as the ark increases, so the soul is emptied and the more it burns."

⁵⁸³ "As coals are to burning coals, and wood to fire; so is a contentious man to kindle strife."

he was in no way self taught”⁵⁸⁴. Given all of this information, it seems that in this letter the Aretine was writing something that he actually thought and that he believed would help the young man who asked him for advice.

The last instance to point out in the letters of Guittone is found in his twenty-second letter, to Giovanni Legista⁵⁸⁵. This short letter is a lesson on what the Bible and Fathers say about the personal and professional life of a judge, which Giovanni was. The citations are all in Latin, as the audience for this missive was an expert in that language. At §3 we immediately find the odd use of the words of Solomon: “Saver dovete, delettissimo caro mio, che nel *Salmo* si legge: “*Principium sapientiae timor Domini*””⁵⁸⁶. While this word order does follow the *Psalms* 110, verse 10⁵⁸⁷, the words are not exact. The *Psalms*, in fact, has “*Initium*” instead of “*Principium*”; while the two words do mean the same thing, there is another verse, from *Proverbs*, chapter 1, that uses the same words as Guittone, but in a different order: verse seven, as we have already seen above in the section on Marcabru, has “*Timor Domini principium sapientiae*”⁵⁸⁸. Guittone knew the Bible very well and directly quoted from it quite often; he had a choice here between two verses that mean the exact same thing but which makes the reader (at least one who is well versed in the Bible, as a medieval judge would have been), associate the words with two very different messages. The *Proverbs* go on from verse seven to give advice to young men in general on how to live good lives, while the *Psalms* is a short treatise on the wrath that the God of David will bring upon his enemies. While this might seem like a trifle, the Bible was considered to be the Word of God and as such its use was made for specific purposes. However, as we have already seen that Guittone often used instruments other than the Bible, it is possible that the problem is in the poet’s reference

⁵⁸⁴ Margueron, *op. cit.* “Di quanto profondamente ne fosse impregnato Guittone, che era tutt’altro che un « autodidatta »”. p. 15, note 6.

⁵⁸⁵ On ff.24r - 25v, and in Margueron, *op. cit.* pp. 241 - 243.

⁵⁸⁶ You must know, my most delightful dear, that in the *Psalms* we read « *Principium sapientiae timor Domini* ». The Latin translates to “The beginning of knowledge is the fear of the Lord”.

⁵⁸⁷ As well as *Ecclesiastes*, 1,16.

⁵⁸⁸ “The Fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge.”

material and not in his misunderstanding of the implications of his citation: the fear of the Lord is important for gaining understanding (which is seen in both biblical passages), but sometimes it is used to instruct (like in *Proverbs*), while at others it is used to threaten (*Psalms*).

In the English tradition, too, the Proverbs were used to warn people from falling into sin and damnation. In a *pastourelle* (or a meeting between the narrator and a low born lady in a natural setting) in Harley 2253, at ff.66v - 67r, the reader first sees a traditional opening scene:

In a fryht as y con fare fremede
y founde a wel feyr fenge to fere;
heo glystnede ase gold when hit glemede;
nes ner gome so gladly on gere.
[THL, p. 29; vv. 1 - 4]⁵⁸⁹

The narrator, as tradition dictates, attempts to woo the young lady and have a sexual encounter, encouraging her to take off her clothes for a good portion of the poem. In verses 15 - 16, this situation sets up a perfect time to use the book of *Proverbs*, simultaneously giving the reader a lesson and making the poor peasant girl better prepared in Biblical knowledge than the narrator: “betere is were þunne boutte laste / þen syde robes ant synke into synne”⁵⁹⁰. This clever response to the narrator’s request evidently echoes a similar sentiment that is found in the book of *Proverbs*, chapter 19,1: “melior est pauper qui ambulat in simplicitate sua quam torquens labia insipiens.”⁵⁹¹ The maid, then, is calling her aggressor a fool, which is quite dangerous for someone of her social status in the time in which this poem was written⁵⁹². The maiden’s next response, in vv. 19 - 20, is equally biblical and is used for the same purpose as the first reference to the work of Solomon: “betre is make forewardes faste /

⁵⁸⁹ In a wood as I did walk, unfamiliar, I came across a well found prize, she glistened like gold when it gleams; there was never a person so beautiful in clothes.

⁵⁹⁰ It is better to wear thin clothes without blame / than ample robes and to sink in sin.

⁵⁹¹ “Better is the poor that walketh in his integrity, than he that is perverse in his lips, and is a fool.”

⁵⁹² For a discussion on this poem in general, and the only recourse that a woman of the time who found herself in a position such as the maid, see Woolf, Rosemary, “The Construction of ‘In a frith as I con fare fremede’” in *Medium Aevum*, 38 (1969), pp. 55 - 59.

þen afterward to mene ant mynne”⁵⁹³. These words of the maid are quite similar to *Ecclesiastes*, chapter 5, verse 4: “multoque melius est non vovere quam post votum promissa non complere”⁵⁹⁴. Once again the maid responds to the narrator’s offer of very nice clothes with a biblical admonition, which perhaps, according to authors of the time, was associated with Solomon. Having the maid respond in this way, using the Bible, is an interesting choice for the thirteenth century poet: this woman is low born and in rags, sitting alone in the woods, but she knows how to have an intelligent discourse and save her honor (at first), through diverse sentences from the Old Testament. Since, in the end, the narrator wins his prize, and for the fact that the poem changes its tone after this second biblical reference⁵⁹⁵, it seems that the narrator has changed his mind about the societal norms and what to expect of this maid that he has found in the wood⁵⁹⁶.

The next poem to discuss from the Harley MS is truly very similar to the advice given in *Proverbs*, 2, vv. 11 - 22 (but the poem is for women, while the Proverb is for men. Still, the same idea holds true in both, in a certain sense). It is the first of a series of poems written in Anglo-Norman which is found between the two longest linguistic series of Middle English lyrics. On ff.67v - 68v, the Harley scribe has placed a poem of 349 verses which recounts the story of two women who go on a sort of quest⁵⁹⁷. The biblical knowledge of the author of this poem, who in the final verses says that it was finished in 1301, is vast, as is his familiarity with preaching, writing and a vast assortment of religious aspects of his time. Since it is not possible to place the entire poem here, plus a translation, a brief synopsis will have to suffice.

⁵⁹³ It is better to make true promises / than to lament and regret afterward.

⁵⁹⁴ Better is it that thou shouldest not vow, than that thou shouldest vow and not pay.

⁵⁹⁵ This is accurate according to Woolf’s treatment of the lyric. For an opposite interpretation, see Stemmler, Theo, *Die englischen Liebesgedichte des MS. Harley 2253*, Bonn: Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelm-Universität, 1963, p. 150.

⁵⁹⁶ Although, the maid, in the last four verses of the poem, laments the fact that she is not a witch and thus cannot change her shape in order to flee her current predicament. On this aspect of the poem, see Woolf, *op. cit.*, pp. 58 - 59.

⁵⁹⁷ This poem is now available in Carter Revard, “The Wife of Bath’s Grandmother, or How Gilote showed her Friend Johane that the Wages of Sin is Worldly Pleasure, and How Both Then Preached This Gospel Throughout England and Ireland” in *The Chaucer Review*, 39/2 (2004), pp. 117 - 136; the poem is transcribed and translated at pp. 125 - 132.

The crux of the story recounted therein is that two women decide to have sex as much as they want, with whomever they choose. Rather than being ostracized, the women, Gilote and Johane, form a sort of religious order; they travel through England, Ireland and elsewhere making converts of all the women they come to. That which interests us most here is the way in which Gilote, the original professed “sex fiend”, convinces her friend Johane, a virgin who yearns to be like Mary, to let conscience free and not to worry about what ignorant and hypocritical priests say as regards sex. The poem is filled with evidence of the author’s knowledge of both scripture and of exegesis; one of the first and most telling instances of the humor that the author has entrenched within the text is in a response, at vv. 29 - 37, to the accusation that Gilote lives in sin (as she is sexually liberated):

Par la ou vous deites je su en pecche:
certes, c’est voirs si su je nee,
pur ce qe je primes fu engendre,
je ne me poey garder de pecche—
vnqe ne fust femme, ne ja serra,
pus ce qe deus Adam primes crea,
35] damoisele ne dame, de sa ne de la,
qe a la foyz ne pecche coment qe il va⁵⁹⁸.

Gilote’s is a humorous response that makes use of her intricate knowledge of the Bible; throughout the work this character defends herself from criticism with her keen mind for Scripture and the ways of the world. In the verses that follow, Gilote gives her friend some advice on life, that is remarkably similar (though completely contrary) to the description of a capable wife, as seen in the final chapter of *Proverbs*. After Johane urges her friend to find a husband and get married, like people are supposed to do, in vv. 53 - 70 comes the response:

La ou vus parlez endreit de mariage—
noun frai-je, Johane: ce serreit outrage
de vivre en peyne e en damage:
Qe malement se marie, ne fet pas qe sage!
Je serroi pris de su en ma mesoun,
desole, e batu pur poi d’enchesoun,

⁵⁹⁸—“As for your telling me I live in sin, / Of course that’s true, and I was born to do it— / Conceived in sin, we all are destined to it! / I cannot keep from sinning in some way— / No woman ever has, nor ever may: / Since God made Adam, neither maid nor dame / Has lived at any time without some blame.”

e auer les enfauntz a trop de foyssoun—
 e ja ne departyrai de tel laroun!
 Vnqe ne sauoy femme que prist mary
 qe (tost ou tart) ne se repenty.
 A noun dieu, Johane! ne est pas issi
 entre moi-meismes e mon amy:
 je pus quant je vueil partyr de ly,
 sauntz congie de prestre ou de autruy—
 e choyser vn autre, tauntost apres,
 e viure en joie e tous jours en pes!
 Adreyn de mes pecchies estre confes,
 e de touz mesfetz auer reles.^{599,,}

This bit of advice is a basic repudiation of all of the things that make a good wife, as per

Proverbs, chapter 31, vv. 10 - 29:

aleph mulierem fortem quis inueniet procul et de ultimis finibus pretium eius 11 beth confidit in ea cor viri sui et spoliis non indigebit 12 gimel reddet ei bonum et non malum omnibus diebus vitae suae 13 deleth quaesivit lanam et linum et operata est consilio manuum suarum 14 he facta est quasi navis institoris de longe portat panem suum 15 vav et de nocte surrexit deditque praedam domesticis suis et cibaria ancillis suis 16 zai consideravit agrum et emit eum de fructu manuum suarum plantavit vineam 17 heth accinxit fortitudine lumbos suos et roboravit brachium suum 18 teth gustavit quia bona est negotiatio eius non extinguetur in nocte lucerna illius 19 ioth manum suam misit ad fortia et digiti eius adprehenderunt fusum 20 caph manum suam aperuit inopi et palmas suas extendit ad pauperem 21 lameth non timebit domui suae a frigoribus nivis omnes enim domestici eius vestiti duplicibus 22 mem stragulam vestem fecit sibi byssus et purpura indumentum eius 23 nun nobilis in portis vir eius quando sederit cum senatoribus terrae 24 samech sindonem fecit et vendidit et cingulum tradidit Chananeo 25 ain fortitudo et decor indumentum eius et ridebit in die novissimo 26 phe os suum aperuit sapientiae et lex clementiae in lingua eius 27 sade considerat semitas domus suae et panem otiosa non comedit 28 coph surrexerunt filii eius et beatissimam praedicaverunt vir eius et laudavit eam 29 res multae filiae congregaverunt divitias tu supergressa es universas⁶⁰⁰.

⁵⁹⁹ “But as for marriage . . . Joanne, *what* a crime / To waste in wedlock all our best bed-time! / Or if I married badly—as most *do*— / He’d make my home a prison, beat me too, / Keep me in strict confinement night and day, / One brat at breast, another on the way! / Sentenced to life, with such a thug for jailer, / Who’d wonder if I found some wealthy bailer? / Of women I’ve known, every single wife / Repents her having chosen married life. / In God’s name, Joanne, things are *not* like that / With me and my man— / I could leave him flat / Without a priest to stick his Amen to it, / And take another, if I chose to do it! / I live in happy freedom, not duress, / So long as I am careful to confess / And be absolved of possible offenses.”

⁶⁰⁰ Who can find a virtuous woman? for her price is far above rubies. 11 The heart of her husband doth safely trust in her, so that he shall have no need of spoil. 12 She will do him good and not evil all the days of her life. 13 She seeketh wool, and flax, and worketh willingly with her hands. 14 She is like the merchants’ ships; she bringeth her food from afar. 15 She riseth also while it is yet night, and giveth meat to her household, and a portion to her maidens. 16 She considereth a field, and buyeth it: with the fruit of her hands she planteth a vineyard. 17 She girdeth her loins with strength, and strengtheneth her arms. 18 She perceiveth that her merchandise is good: her candle goeth not out by night. 19 She layeth her hands to the spindle, and her hands hold the distaff. 20 She stretcheth out her hand to the poor; yea, she reacheth forth her hands to the needy. 21 She is not afraid of the snow for her household: for all her household are clothed with scarlet. 22 She maketh herself coverings of tapestry; her clothing is silk and purple. 23 Her husband is known in the gates, when he sitteth among the elders of the land. 24 She maketh fine linen, and selleth it; and delivereth girdles unto the merchant. 25 Strength and honour are her clothing; and she shall rejoice in time to come. 26 She openeth her mouth with

Here, and throughout the poem, we see that the protagonist is both well aware of her place in society as per biblical norms, which she repeatedly alludes to, though without ever actually quoting the Scripture. Carter Revard has shown⁶⁰¹ that this vulgar and humorous dialogue acts as a counterbalance to the other dialogue in Harley 2253, *The Harrowing of Hell*, which we mentioned briefly in section one of the previous chapter.

The final poem to discuss in this section of our study uses the biblical narrative for the same purpose, both within the piece itself and within the larger narrative of the entire poetry book. On ff.112r - 113v, towards the end of an Anglo Norman linguistic group of poems, the scribe placed a piece of advice from a father to his son, extant in 7 MSS in the form found in Harley 2253, and in one other MS in a much longer version⁶⁰². This short version is formed of 184 rhymed couplets that was apparently quite popular in the thirteenth century. The advice imparted to the narrator's son contains many explicit references to Christianity in general and to the biblical narrative in particular throughout, but for us it is enough to see the opening verses of this poem to show the parallel with the book of *Proverbs* :

Un sage home degraunt valour
 Ki jadis vesquist en honur
 Urbane esteit il apellé
 Ki en sun tens fust amé,
 De sun fiz ceo purpensa,
 E de son bon sen li demustra,
 E dist : chier fiz ore escotez.
 Si jeo di bien le entendez.
 Nofture vos voille enprendre
 Tant cum vos estes d'age tendre.
 Car pur veir a vos le di
 Que poi vaut le desnurri.
 Al primer tur t'avise
 Servez Dieu e sente eglise.

wisdom; and in her tongue is the law of kindness. 27 She looketh well to the ways of her household, and eateth not the bread of idleness. 28 Her children arise up, and call her blessed; her husband also, and he praiseth her. 29 Many daughters have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all.

⁶⁰¹ In his article "*Gilote and John*: an Interlude in B.L.MS Harley 2253, in *Studies in Philology*, 79/ 2 (1982), pp. 122 - 146.

⁶⁰² The other six MSS that transmit this shorter version are: Cambridge, Trinity College Library, B. 14. 40, ff. 129r-138v; Cambridge, Trinity College Library, O. 1. 17; Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 1. 1, ff. 6r-7v; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley, 9, f. 55v; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley, 425; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 210, f. 45.

Pere e mere honurez
 E bele grace vos averez,
 Bone saunté e lone vie.
 De ceo vos ne faudrez mie⁶⁰³.

These opening lines are incredibly similar to the advice given from a father to his son, as seen in *Proverbs*, chapter 2. The opening lines of Solomon's work are nearly identical to the Anglo Norman poem seen above; verses 1 - 5 begin this chapter with:

fili mi si susceperis sermones meos et mandata mea absconderis penes te 2 ut audiat sapientiam auris tua inclina cor tuum ad noscendam prudentiam 3 si enim sapientiam invocaveris et inclinaveris cor tuum prudentiae 4 si quaesieris eam quasi pecuniam et sicut thesauros effoderis illam 5 tunc intelleges timorem Domini et scientiam Dei invenies⁶⁰⁴

Both poems open with a father imploring his son to listen as he has wisdom to impart, before beginning a list of wise advice for living well. While the *Proverb* advises the son to search for knowledge and to obey God, in the Anglo-Norman poem of Harley 2253 the son is urged to obey both God and the Catholic Church. This is a small difference and reflects the two very different times in which the poems were written. Still, the sentiment and format are identical, as are the various pieces of advice that the father gives. Where the Anglo-Norman poem is different, however, is that the son also has a voice in the piece and creates a dialogue with his father, an element missing in the *Proverbs*. That notwithstanding, the dependence upon the medieval poet upon this *Proverb* of Solomon is plain to see and further illustrates the fact, that Revard Carter has discussed so often that the Harley Scribe knew the *Proverbs* and appreciated poetry that depended upon them for their various messages; he even used these poems in strategic places within his poetry book to give the reader a clear message on how to live, much as the *Proverbs* do.

⁶⁰³ A wise man of great worth / who always lived according to honour / Urbain was his name / and he was much loved in his time. To his son he gave a response / and in so doing showed his great sense / And he said : dear son listen now / if I understand things well. / Nature wants to take take you/ as you are of a tender age. / Since it sees you in your youth / if would like to ruin it for you. / First of I let me advise you / to serve God and the Holy Church. / Honor your father and your mother / and you will have much grace, / good health and a long life. / On this point doubt me not.

⁶⁰⁴ "My son, if thou wilt receive my words, and hide my commandments with thee; 2 so that thou incline thine ear unto wisdom, and apply thine heart to understanding; 3 yea, if thou criest after knowledge, and liftest up thy voice for understanding; 4 if thou seekest her as silver, and searchest for her as for hid treasures; 5 then shalt thou understand the fear of the Lord, and find the knowledge of God."

In this section we have seen the use of *Proverbs*, and sometimes lack thereof, in poetry within the MSS that we have chosen to study. The wisdom of Solomon was much appreciated by all three linguistic traditions under examination, which, surprisingly, will not be the case for the other two books of the OT that we have chosen to examine. There is a prevalence for one book or another within the different traditions, which we will see in the next two sections of this chapter, and which we must explain. For the Harley scribe preferred the *Song of Songs*, which our other two combinations of scribes and authors used much less, while Guittone d'Arezzo had an affinity for the *Proverbs*, while the other two did not. These cultural differences will be explained, perhaps, by the differences in periods in which the works were composed and the actions of the leaders of the Church in the meantime.

IV.ii. *The Psalter as Spiritual and Poetic Guide?*

The word “Psalm” comes from the Greek *ψαλμός*, which is a translation of the Hebrew word *mizmor*; all of these words mean “a song recited to the accompaniment of a stringed instrument”, for which David, the supposed author of the *Psalms*, is most often shown playing a harp in medieval iconography. The OT book of *Psalms* is comprised of 150 different songs, probably written over five centuries⁶⁰⁵. The *Psalms* probably were used by the Hebrews during Temple services, and as such became incredibly important after the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem in 70 BCE when “study of the *Psalms* replaced their liturgical recitation”⁶⁰⁶. Given the importance of the *Psalms* in Christian history and early christological interpretations of the Old Testament, and given the fact that these 150 texts were comprised of different songs, or poems, one could assume that the *Psalms* as they were transmitted through the Middle Ages would have been an important cornerstone of vernacular love lyrics; this, however, is not the case, at least within the works of the three poets and poetry books that we are examining in this study.

⁶⁰⁵ See *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, p. 775 of the Hebrew Bible.

⁶⁰⁶ *Idem*, p. 776.

As Charles Kannengiesser duly points out, “for the authors of the NT, the *Psalms* is the most frequently cited OT book. During the era of the Fathers, the *Psalter* lost none of its importance”⁶⁰⁷. Indeed, the authors of the Gospels quoted from *Psalms* and *Deuteronomy* more than any other books of the Old Testament⁶⁰⁸. The *Psalter* was reinterpreted by these early Christian authors with a decidedly christological reading: *Psalms* 2⁶⁰⁹, 82⁶¹⁰ and 110⁶¹¹ were used in particular to show that Jesus was, in fact, the son of God and that his coming had been prophesied by the Old Testament. In the earliest centuries of Christianity, the Fathers commented on the *Psalter* at length; as one example⁶¹² that stands for the whole, Saint Augustine’s longest commentary-like work is his discourse on the *Psalms*⁶¹³. By the end of the Patristic era, “the memorization of all the Psalms became a requirement for ordination”⁶¹⁴, and was used in various parts of daily life⁶¹⁵. In the end, the *Psalter* was one of the most important and most copied books throughout the entirety of the Middle Ages and beyond, as was briefly mentioned in the opening of this chapter. The MS evidence is far too great to mention here in its entirety, but the literate (those able to read Latin) had the opportunity to know this poetry first hand⁶¹⁶.

⁶⁰⁷ Charles Kannengiesser, *op. cit.* p. 297.

⁶⁰⁸ See *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, p. 475 of *Essays*.

⁶⁰⁹ Used in *Hebrews*, chapter 1, vv. 5 - 14, in particular.

⁶¹⁰ In the *Gospel of John*, chapter 10, vv. 31 - 39 Jesus quotes this *Psalms* in self defense against the accusations of blasphemy.

⁶¹¹ In Mark 12, vv. 35 - 37, Jesus interprets this *Psalms* to show that, since David called God the Lord, no son of David’s could be the messiah, and thus only he, Jesus, could make such a claim. Although it is interesting that the *Gospel of Matthew* opens with the chronology of Jesus, which passes through the house of David, making him, Jesus, a descendant of this Hebrew King and thus, the “scribes” about whom Jesus was speaking were correct (given the Christian belief that Jesus was the Messiah).

⁶¹² Although most of the Church Fathers commented on this Book: from Origen to Jerome, the commentaries deal with a wide range of issues in the *Psalms* and the entire history of this book is far too great to discuss here. See, for example, the introduction to Saint Augustine, *Commento ai Salmi* [Manlio Simonetti (ed.)], Roma: Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, 1998, pp. ix - xx for a very good history of the commentaries on this work.

⁶¹³ *Enarrationes In Psalmos*, in *PL* 36; more recent editions can be found in; Augustine, *Discourses sur les Psaumes*, 2 tomes, [Jean-Louis Chrétien (ed.)], Paris, Éditions du Cerf, 2007; and in English in *Saint Augustine: Exposition on the Book of Psalms*, in *NPNF*, vol. 7.

⁶¹⁴ Kannengiesser, *op. cit.* p. 299.

⁶¹⁵ For both funerals and weddings. See *ibid.*

⁶¹⁶ See page 22 of this study: it is explicitly stated that the *Psalter* was able to be owned by the laity even after the ban on the Bible in translation.

The Christological interpretation of the *Psalter* led to miniatures in the MS tradition, since at least the eighth century, showing both Christ and David together, or times Christ standing next to the tree of Jesse⁶¹⁷. One Psalter that was completed before the year 778, in present day Austria, shows Christ standing next to David the prophet: Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, 409, on ff.1v, and 2v :



The prophet David is shown here above on the left with the usual accompaniment of a harp on f.1v, while Christ the King is found on f.2v of this MS that was made in the monastery of Mondsee⁶¹⁸.

⁶¹⁷ Based on the aforementioned genealogy of Christ in the first two chapters of the *Gospel of Matthew*.

⁶¹⁸ The images can be found at:

http://www.biumontpellier.fr/florabium/servlet/PhotoManager?recordId=collection_num:BIU_IMAGE:10384&i docsId=ged:IDOCs:13022&resolution=MEDIUM



The Winchester New Testament and Psalter⁶¹⁹, made in Gloucestershire in the twelfth century, uses two images that have already been seen within this study to show the Christological interpretation that is necessary to understand the book of *Psalms*: in an illumination on f.7v there is a sort of Jesse tree surrounding David as he writes the *Psalms*⁶²⁰.



This next medieval *Psalter* to look at, originally made in France during the first half of the thirteenth century and shown here below and to the left, shows both Christ in Majesty and David playing the lyre; both in their respective iconographic poses within the historiated B of *Beatus vir*, in Psalm 1,1 (f.1r). This *Psalter* is now known as Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Medicei Palatini, MS 13. There are an impressive number of *Psalters* that were in

circulation during the Middle Ages, both illuminated and not⁶²¹, and it is simply not possible to discuss them all here. These books were written in both Latin and French, and at times (in England at least) were accompanied by a vernacular explanation underneath the Latin.

⁶¹⁹ Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 53.

⁶²⁰ The image can be found at

<http://www.tcd.ie/Library/assets/Lightbox%20Exhibitions/choicebooks/collections.html>

⁶²¹ The British Library alone counts, only among the illuminated *Psalters* in its collections, 29 different *Psalters* made from between the seventh and thirteenth centuries; this is not counting the *Psalms* present in entire Bibles nor those in later Books of Hours.

The three MSS under scrutiny were created by people who knew the *Psalms* intimately, as will be shown in short order, but just the same their poetry only rarely showed signs of the influence of the *Psalms* within their lyrics. In the case of the Harley MS there is not one love lyric that shows any knowledge of the this particular book of the Bible, though we know for a fact that the scribe of this MS was well aware of this biblical book. Even Marcabru and Guittone d'Arezzo, two poets who were well aware of the Bible and what was written therein, used the *Psalms* quite sparingly within their love lyrics, a fact that is very interesting and can tell us something about these poets' attitudes about the Bible in their writing of love poetry. We will see the instances in which these poets used the *Psalms*, and try to explain why they used them so sparingly.

The MS *D^a*, at least in the sections dedicated to Marcabru, does not transmit any poetry that uses the *Psalms*; however, the northern Italian tradition of Marcabru's corpus is somewhat replete with references to Solomon, as we have already seen in the first section of this chapter, but even there, and surprisingly, his poetry is quite light on references to or citations of the *Psalms*. Having examined closely all of Marcabru's poetry, it seems that the only reference that this poet made to the *Psalms* within his lyric corpus is found in a poem that is transmitted by seven MSS (including all of those of the northern Italian tradition), *D'aiso laus Dieu* (PC 293.16). There has been quite a bit of critical attention paid to this poem, given the difficulty in understanding exactly what Marcabru wanted to say here. Interpretations have ranged from seeing this as a song in which the poet is deliberately difficult⁶²², to an exegetical Christian interpretation in which the poet gives several meanings (at least three) to his words and general message⁶²³, to a natural continuation of the narrative

⁶²² See Erich Köhler, *Trobadorlyrik und höfischer roman*, Berlin: Rütten/Leoening p. 136.

⁶²³ See Aurelio Roncaglia, "Il gap di Marcabruno", in *Studi medievali*, 17 (1951), pp. 46-70; pp. 46 - 52.

focus as seen in all of Marcabru's other poems⁶²⁴. Whatever the case, within this poem we see the only possible reference to the *Psalms* in the entirety of Marcabru's lyric production⁶²⁵.

The poem begins with thanksgiving to God and to Saint Andrew, brother of Simon Peter whose name means "virility" in Greek (ἀνδρεία). This is a fitting Saint to thank in the here, since the poem is full of boasts of the narrator's manly abilities: in stanza five, for example, the narrator claims to be able to strike a man without him knowing how to hit him back "qu'ieu fier autrui / e·m gart de lui, / e no·s sap del mieu colp cubrir"⁶²⁶. These sorts of boasts continue through the end of the poem and as such the reader of the MSS sees that the Saint who is thanked in the beginning of the piece is quite well chosen.

The verses that interest this study are quite few, but are also telling of the attitude of this twelfth century poet: the third stanza may contain a reference to a very specific image from the *Psalms*:

De ginhos sens
soi si manens
que molt sui greus as escarnir;
lo pa del fol
caudet e mol
mange e lais lo meu frezir.
[MCE, p. 212; vv. 13 - 18]⁶²⁷

After the boasting of the first three verses, the narrator talks about the "fool's bread"; but whence does this image come? Lazzerini has suggested⁶²⁸ that the fool's bread is found in the book of *Ecclesiasticus*, chapter 20, vv. 17 - 18 "Fatuo non erit amicus, et non erit gratia bonis illius; 18 qui enim edunt panem illius, falsae linguae sunt. Quoties et quanti irridebunt

⁶²⁴ For which see L. T. Topsfield, *Troubadours and love*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975, pp. 19 - 28.

⁶²⁵ At least as far as we have seen in our studies thus far.

⁶²⁶ MCE, p. 212: at vv. 34 - 36; "For I strike another man and protect myself from him, and he doesn't know how to cover himself from my blow".

⁶²⁷ "I am so rich in cunning meanings that it's very hard to make a mockery of me ; I eat the fool's bread while it is warm and soft, and I leave my own to cool."

⁶²⁸ Lucia Lazzerini, "La trasmutazione insensibile. Intertestualità e metamorfismi nella lirica trobadorica dalle origini alla codificazione cortese" (I parte) in *Medioevo Romanzo*, 18 (1993), pp. 153 - 205; pp. 172 - 173.

eum!"⁶²⁹ This image is linked to that of carnal desires, and is placed in opposition to the bread of the wise (or of wisdom), which in *Psalms* chapter 77 of the *Vulgate* (78 in the *Authorized Edition*), v. 25 is called *panis angelorum*: the bread of the angels, which is the manna from Heaven that God sent to the Jews in the wilderness (as recounted in *Exodus* chapter 16 and *Numbers*, chapter 11). This verse does fit well with the image found in the poem, as well as the overall message of the narrator. If we understand the entirety of this poem not literally, by interpreting the narrator as Marcabru, but rather as a parody of other troubadour's boasting which the author uses in his own right in order to make fools of them (as seen in verse 29 - 31 "qu'e dobl' es fatz / e dessenzatz / qui-s lais' al fol enfoletir"⁶³⁰ then Marcabru is staying true to his poetic persona that we have seen on countless occasions already in this study.

We have already seen that Guittone was well versed in the Bible, and when he was so-inclined he also had the use of various *florilegia* to help him to correctly quote from the Bible in his various letters. The first section of this chapter has attempted to demonstrate the use of *Proverbs* in his letters, and to show his use of the *Psalms* in those same places would be superficial⁶³¹. Within his lyric compositions, Guittone too seems to have been reticent to use the *Psalms*: in two of his love sonnets in MS *L* there are verses that seem to recall the *Psalms*. In the first instance, towards the end of the eighth poem of the narrative (f.105v) the narrator of the poem is protesting against the beloved woman who is a font of both love and death. In verse 12 Guittone seems to be quoting from *Psalms*:

Pietà, per Deo, de me vi· prenda, Amore,
poi, sì m' avete forte innaverato,
da me parte la vita a gran dolore,
se per tenpo da voi non so' agiutato !

⁶²⁹ "The fool saith, I have no friends, I have no thank for all my good deeds, and they that eat my bread speak evil of me. How oft, and of how many shall he be laughed to scorn!"

⁶³⁰ "For doubly foolish and insane is the man who lets a fool make a fool of him."

⁶³¹ Guittone did also quote from the *Psalms* on many and varied occasions in his letters; at times, it seems, directly from the *Vulgate* and at others from Peraldus' work. See Margueron, *op. cit.*, at least pp. 61 - 63, notes to letter 3, paragraphs 20, 24 and 31.

Ch' altri de me guerir non à valore,
 como quello che 'l tiro à 'nvenenato :
 ché in esso è lo veneno e lo dolciore,
 e 'n voi ! Ch', Amore, or sia ve[r'] me mostrato
 che tanto de dolsor meve donate,
 ch' amorti lo venen, sì non m' ausida,
 perch' eo mi· renda in vostra podestate !
 E la mercé, c' ognor p[er] [m]e si· grida
 de dolse e di pietosa humilitate
 [...].⁶³²
 [GdC, p. 24]

Leonardi suggests that this image of everyone crying out for mercy on behalf of the poet comes from another Occitan poet, Perdigon. His *chanson*, *Tot l'an mi ten* (PC 270.13, found in 19 different MSS, including *D* [though not in *D^a*] as well as the entirety of the Italian tradition) is quite similar to this one by Guittone. The poet complains of his being faithful to a woman, but she longs for his death (as does Love itself⁶³³). Directly thereafter, at verse 23 the poet says that “mas eu sui cel que merce no lor crida”⁶³⁴; Leonardi focuses on the word *crida* in Occitan, which is Guittone’s *grida*, or cry out. The scholar goes on in his explanations of the verse with citations from other Occitan poets, but the final source for this exclamation seems to be Biblical; in *Psalms* 31,6, of the *Vulgate* King David writes (according to the introduction to the *Psalm* it was written by him), “pro hac orabit ad te omnis sanctus”⁶³⁵. The Latin word *orare* can be translated into English as both “to pray” and “to cry out”, while the Italian “gridare” is much more explicitly *to cry out* than *to pray*. Even if this is, in fact, a reference to the psalm, it seems much more likely that Guittone was referencing Perdigon purposefully and not quoting from the Bible in such an unconvincing manner. If Guittone is in fact using the *Psalms* (or if Perdigon was using them for his poem) there is a better source

⁶³² By God, may compassion take you, dear, / since you have injured me so gravely, / life will painfully leave me / if you don’t help me in time ; / for nobody else can heal me, / just like the snake whose venom is used for theriac / in which there is both the poison and the cure / so you too can heal me with love ; / You give me such sweetness / that the poison is destroyed, and I don’t die / which is why I bow to your authority. / And the compassion, which everyone cries for on my behalf, / of sweet and pious humility / [...]. Verse 14 is not present in MS *L*, but it is in *V* : “piacciavi l’orgoglio vostro conquida” : “May it [compassion] defeat your pride”.

⁶³³ “entre midonz et Amors cui sui fis: / lor platz ma mortz e lor es abellida”; “To my Lady and to Love, who I am faithful to: they both desire my death and it would please them”. See Chaytor, *op. cit.* p. 11.

⁶³⁴ But I am the one who will not cry for their mercy.

⁶³⁵ *Psalm* 32 in the Authorized version: “For this shall every one that is godly pray unto thee”.

than the one pointed out by Leonardi: *Psalm 27* in the *Vulgate* begins with the author crying out for God and saying that if he is not answered that he will surely die: “huic David ad te Domine clamabo Deus meus ne sileas a me nequando taceas a me et adsimilabor descendentibus in lacum”⁶³⁶. *In lacum* is the Latin translation of the Hebrew word “*sheol*” which is the abode of the dead. This seems to be much closer to the substance of Perdigon’s poem, and therefore also to the reference in Guittone’s poem.

The second use of the *Psalms* in Guittone’s lyric corpus is found in the same MS, just two poems later (on f.106r). In this sonnet the narrator asks for mercy from his beloved for the last time and with some insistence⁶³⁷. The first verse of this poem, which is the part that concerns us most, is a mirror image of last verse of that which precedes it in the MS, also on f.106r⁶³⁸.

Amor, per Deo, mercé, mercé, mercede
del gran torto, ché più v’ amo che mene.
Lasso !, morte perdona hom per mercede
a hom che di morir servito à bene ;
e no è ancor crudele sì che mercede
non faccia umìl, talché pietà retene ;
e vence Deo per sua pietà mercede,
e cos’ altra che voi non lei se· tène.
Ma certo non pur porete orgogliando
montar tanto, che [più] senpre eo non sia,
con mercede cherere, umiliando.
Epur conven che l’ alta umiltà mia
vad’ a forza il vostr’ orgoglio abassando,
e faccia ·vi d’ umana signoria.⁶³⁹
[GdC, p. 30]

Once again Leonardi has suggested, probably accurately, that this first image is an homage to previous lyric poets of the Sicilian school and the Occitan tradition. The scholar notes the

⁶³⁶ 28,1: “Unto thee will I cry, O Lord my rock; be not silent to me: lest, if thou be silent to me, I become like them that go down into the pit.”

⁶³⁷ His tactic seems to have worked ; for at the beginning of sonnet 11 the narrator discusses how nice it is to have finally received the much sought after mercy.

⁶³⁸ Sonnet 9 ends with the verse: “che dir: “Mercede, - amor, mercé, mercene!””. [GdC, p. 27] “than to say, “mercy - love, mercy, mercy!””.

⁶³⁹ Beloved, by God, mercy mercy mercy / for my great fault of loving you too much. / Alas !, death forgives the man for mercy’s sake / rather than he who, dying, served him well, / and isn’t it still cruel that mercy / does not humble, since it retains its compassion ? / And God, in his pity, is overcome by mercy, / which you alone are able to resist. / But truly you can not have such pride / that I stop continually asking / you for mercy, humbling myself before you. / And still it is necessary for my great humility / to take down your pride by force, / and give you back your human ladyship.

similarities between this first verse and one from Giacomo da Lentini's eighth poem, *Donna, eo languisco e no so qua speranza*⁶⁴⁰; the final verse of the first stanza is, indeed, nearly identical to that found here: "eo non so dir se non «Merzé, per Deo!»". Likewise, the opening is similar to Aimeric de Pegulhan and Folquet de Marseille. The common point of reference for all of these poets, and poems, is probably *Psalms* 50, verse 3 in the *Vulgate*: "miserere mei Deus secundum magnam; misericordiam tuam et; secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum dele iniquitatem meam"⁶⁴¹. The biblical explanation of this psalm is found in the first two verses in which the poet is said to be David, and that he had written (or sung) this after having gone to Bathsheba. As this is the 51st Psalm in the translation from the *Septuagint* that Jerome had undertaken, it was the first entry in the second part of the *Psalter*, and as such was illuminated much more grandly than most other psalms. Given the literary account in the biblical narrative of David having cried out to God because of his sin with Bathsheba, it is also an important and well known piece of OT literature, as we have already seen in chapter 3 that the story of these two characters was known by both those who were able to read the original Latin text and by those who went to church or even passed by cathedrals. However, and once again, Guittone's use of this famous verse from this very famous psalm is probably more likely due to his re-working, and sometimes translating, of older poetry and thus Guittone's knowledge of the Bible had little to do with the use of it here and in his lyrical pieces generally.

The love poetry transmitted in Harley 2253 does not seem to contain any references to the *Psalms*, although the scribe knew them very well. Geoff Rector has recently examined the translation of the *Psalter* in England during the twelfth century; he has found that rather than

⁶⁴⁰ For which see the edition in Giacomo da Lentini, *Rime* [Roberto Antonelli, (ed.)], Roma: Bulzoni, 1979.

⁶⁴¹ *Psalms* 51, verse 1 in the Authorized edition: "Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy lovingkindness: according unto the multitude of thy tender mercies blot out my transgressions."

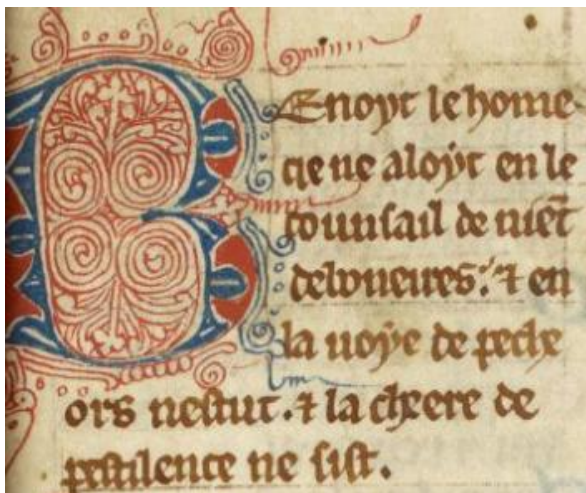
Middle English, the translators of the *Psalms* preferred to work in Anglo Norman⁶⁴². As Carter Revard has shown⁶⁴³ one of the earliest MSS on which the Harley scribe worked was BL Harley MS 273, copied between 1314 - 1321. Although this scribe's first work in the MS begins at ff.181v - 191v, there is an illuminated *Psalter* in French, on ff.8v - 53v. The Harley scribe did not transcribe this piece into Harley 273, but according to Revard,

the Harley scribe still had Harley 273 in his possession [in 1321] and was treating it as his book, copying devotional and other material into blank pages or columns of it at least ten years later than the earliest work in it by him⁶⁴⁴.

The scholar continues shortly thereafter:

During 1314 - 28, then -- to sum up the evidence in Harley 273 -- the Harley scribe was obtaining and in part copying texts devotional, penitential, and administrative [...] Finally, in Harley 273 there is also an illuminated Psalter, Benedicite, Te Deum, Credo, Litany, Office for Virgin Mary, and Placebo (incomplete) at fols. 8r-69v, all in textura⁶⁴⁵.

Over this 14 year period the Harley scribe had constant and direct access to a *Psalter* in French in a MS that he worked on personally, adding marginalia, making corrections, and completely various works therein. His knowledge of the *Psalms* is therefore not in question here.



Here to the left is a detail of the first verse of Psalm 1, taken from BL Harley 273. This is a French translation of the Oxford Psalter⁶⁴⁶, which the Harley scribe had in his possession for more than a decade. Fol. 8r, detail.

⁶⁴² See Geoff Rector, "The Romanz Psalter in England and Northern France in the Twelfth Century: Production, Mise-en-page, and Circulation" in *Journal of the Early Book Society*, (2010) 13, pp. 1 - 38.

⁶⁴³ *Scribe and Provenance* in Fein, *op. cit.*, pp. 65 - 69 in particular.

⁶⁴⁴ *Idem*, p. 68.

⁶⁴⁵ *Idem*, p. 69.

⁶⁴⁶ For the full text of this translation, see Franciscque Michel, *Libri Psalmorum versio antiqua gallica*, Oxford: Typographico Academico, 1860.

In Harley 2253, on the other hand, there are three instances in which the *Psalms* are discussed: on *f.134r* the scribe has listed Psalms to say on various occasions, on *f.136v* (the first thirteen ruled lines) there is a list, in Latin, of eleven Psalms to recite in various circumstances, while on *ff.136v - 137r* he has transcribed *Psalms* that “Saint Hillary prescribed to be read”, according to the title, also known as his *Tractatus super Psalmos*⁶⁴⁷. The inclusion of these three items in Harley 2253 may help to explain why there was no room given to love poetry that made use of the *Psalms*: if the idea of the scribe was to provide his audience with a fun and instructive book on how to lead a good life, also through examples of what not to do, then the inclusion of these three sections of *Psalms* precludes the need for them within the strict confines of love poetry.

The *Psalms*, in the end, are a group of 150 poetic prayers designed to be sung to the tune of a stringed instrument. All three of the poets under examination knew these poems well but decided not to use them in their love poetry. While the Harley scribe did transmit at least some of the *Psalms* into his poetry book, both Marcabru and Guittone made almost no mention of them within their lyrical productions. It is possible that these two poets, given their religious natures (Marcabru for the entirety of his life, while Guittone was overtly religious in his lyrics only after 1265), saw no need to use this best known poetry within their own works: Marcabru certainly heard the *Psalms* sung throughout the days of the week, given what we will see in the next section of this chapter, while Guittone used them only in imitation or in homage to other poets who had already used them within their own poetry. For a good portion of his poetic output, Guittone found himself using other people’s words and putting them to new uses within a stable *canzoniere*: something that Marcabru apparently never did. Thus the book of *Psalms*, at least for our three poets, was not a poetic guide to be followed.

⁶⁴⁷ Printed in Hilarius Pictaviensis *Tractatus super Psalmos. I: Instructio Psalmorum. In Psalmos I-XCI*, [J. Doignon, (ed.)], CCSL, 61, Turnhout: Brepols, 2002.

This interesting fact might be able to be explained by what we saw in the *avant propos* about medieval audiences and the poets responsible for the works in the three MSS under consideration here. As both Marcabru and Guittone d'Arezzo were interested in writing in a difficult way, often using reference that would have been obscure to people who were not well read, it can be argued that the poetry in question was not intended for the masses, but rather for a more culturally sophisticated audience. If this is the case, given what we have seen about the prolific nature of the use of the *Psalms* in daily life throughout the Middle Ages, perhaps it was seen as too plebeian to use them within these poets' lyrics. We will come back to this argument in the general conclusions.

IV.iii. Cantico Canticorum: *Sensuous Praise Poetry*

If we wish to consider the influence of the Song of Songs in medieval lyrical poetry, a crucial and difficult problem confronts us at the outset: the varied forms in which the love-language of the Canticle was cited and transmitted.⁶⁴⁸

Thus begins Peter Dronke's fundamental study on the influence of the *Song of Songs* on medieval love poetry, and his sentiments are no less true now than they were twenty years ago. Indeed, the *Song of Songs*, ascribed to Solomon in the first verse of the Authorized edition⁶⁴⁹, held an important place in the works of medieval poets and biblical exegetes⁶⁵⁰, but it is incredibly difficult to know exactly what version of this book medieval authors used, either passively or actively⁶⁵¹. Furthermore, due to its nature as a, seemingly, erotic love poem between a man and his lover, this book was the source of much debate among the Church

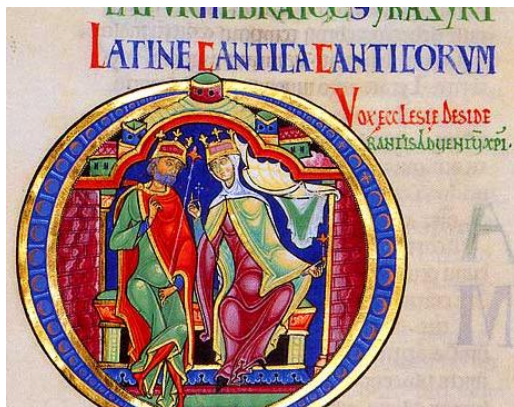
⁶⁴⁸ Peter Dronke, "The Song of Songs and Medieval Love-Lyric" in *The Bible and Medieval Culture*, Lourdaux, W. and D. Verhelst (eds.), Mediaevalia Lovaniensia Series I/Studia VII, Leuven: University Press, 1979, pp. 236 - 262; now in Peter Dronke, *The Medieval Poet and His World*, Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1984, chapter 8, pp. 209 - 236.

⁶⁴⁹ The *Vulgate* does not contain this verse, beginning instead directly with *Osculetur*.

⁶⁵⁰ For an analysis of the use of the *Song of Songs* in medieval poetry, as well as a complete bibliography, see Ann W. Astell, *The Song of Songs in the Middle Ages*, New York: Cornell University Press, 1990; for a specifically medieval Christian reading of this biblical book, see E. Ann Matter, *The Voice of my Beloved: The Song of Songs in Western Medieval Christianity*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990; while for a specific study on the *Song of Songs* in medieval Italian secular poetry, see d'Arco Silvio Avalle, *Ai luoghi di delizia pieni: Saggio sulla lirica italiana del XIII secolo*, Milano and Napoli: Ricciardi, 1977.

⁶⁵¹ What is not up for debate is the fact that medieval love poets did, in fact, use the language and images from this book for a vast amount of secular love poetry.

Fathers. According to Charles Kannengiesser⁶⁵², Hyppolytus of Rome (170 - 235) was the first of the Fathers to interpret the two principle characters of the *Song of Songs* as Jesus Christ playing the part of the Bridegroom of the poem who converses with the Church, his bride⁶⁵³. Another exegete who was roughly a contemporary of Hyppolytus, Origen (184/5 - 253/4) “sought to eliminate all interpretations which would reflect on the earthly or carnal message, though he did not deny the book’s literal meaning as a drama about marriage”⁶⁵⁴. By the High Middle Ages this idea of the *Song of Songs* being a poem between Jesus Christ and the Church was so ingrained in traditional interpretations of the text that the illuminators of the Winchester Bible (Winchester, Winchester Cathedral, MS 17, second half of the 12th



century) even included this information within the first historiated letter of the book; on f.270v the book’s illuminators have announced that “Here begins the *Song of Songs*”. The image to the left is within the first “O” of *Osculetur Me* (Let him kiss me, *Song of Songs*, 1,1 in the *Vulgate*), but before

the actual book begins there is an explanation of the figure: “Vox ecclesi(a)e desiderantis adventum Chri(sti)” (The voice of the Church as she desires the coming of Christ). The group who worked on this Bible⁶⁵⁵ left no room for doubt as to what the true message of this book was.

⁶⁵² Kannengiesser, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

⁶⁵³ For which, See Gérard Garitte (ed.), *Traité d'Hyppolyte sur David et Goliath, sur le Cantique des cantiques et sur L'Antéchrist*, CSCO 263 (Louvain: Secrétariat du CSCO, 1965), pp. 32 - 70, CSCO 264 (Louvain: Secrétariat du CSCO, 1965), pp. 23 - 53.

⁶⁵⁴ Kannengiesser, *op. cit.*, p. 303. While Origen’s works have been published in a plethora of editions over the centuries, the edition of his commentary on this biblical book in particular consulted was Origene, *Commentario al Cantico dei cantici*, introduzione, testo, traduzione e commento a cura di Maria Antonietta Barbàra, Bologna: EDB, 2005.

⁶⁵⁵ Scholars have shown that there was only one copyist of the MS, but as many as six different illuminators. Among the many studies on this MS, see at least Larry Ayres, "Collaborative Enterprise in Romanesque Manuscript Illumination and the Artists of the Winchester Bible", in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Winchester Cathedral*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 6 (1983), pp. 20 - 35 ; and Claire Donovan, *The Winchester Bible*, London: The British Library, 1993.

Leaving aside for a moment the Christological interpretation of the *Song of Songs*, on a strictly literal level this book is either a poem or a series of interconnected poems⁶⁵⁶ between a man and a woman. The descriptions of the two lovers and their conversations with each other (as seen in chapters 1,9 - 2,7 and 4,1 - 5,1) are full of traditional images found in love poetry: descriptions of the physical beauty of the beloved (as seen in chapter 1, vv. 14 - 15: “14 ecce tu pulchra es amica mea ecce tu pulchra oculi tui columbarum 15 ecce tu pulcher es dilecte mi et decorus lectulus noster floridus”⁶⁵⁷), the scents and sounds associated with the lover (by way of example, see chapter 1, verse 12: “fasciculus murræ dilectus meus mihi inter ubera mea commorabitur”⁶⁵⁸), and the expressions of desire on the part of both characters (from the very beginning of the book, chapter 1, verses 1 - 3:

1 Osculetur me osculo oris sui quia meliora sunt ubera tua vino 2 fragrantia unguentis optimis oleum effusum nomen tuum ideo adolescentulae dilexerunt te 3 trahe me post te curremus introduxit me rex in cellaria sua exultabimus et laetabimur in te memores uberum tuorum super vinum recti diligunt te⁶⁵⁹.

This language is reminiscent of that seen above in the love lyrics seen in chapters one and three of the present study, and were seen and used by all three poets under consideration here.

The first poem to examine has been interpreted as a rare “example of positive love in Marcabru”⁶⁶⁰. The poem *Bel m'es cant son li frug madur* (PC 293.13) is transmitted by only six MSS, among which are both of the exemplars from the northern Italian tradition seen thus far. This poem was already seen in chapter three for its use of Cain and his heirs (in vv. 33 -

⁶⁵⁶ According to the *New Oxford Annotated Bible*, p. 959 of the Hebrew Bible, “It is unclear whether the composition should be read as a single, unified poem or as a collection of several shorter pieces written in a common style and idiom. Nevertheless, the sequence is coherent and exhibits a lyrical structure that derives its unity from repetitions and juxtapositions rather than from narrative devices such as plot or character development”.

⁶⁵⁷ As already mentioned, these are translated in the Authorized version at vv. 15 - 16: “15 Behold, thou art fair, my love; behold, thou art fair; thou hast doves’ eyes. 16 Behold, thou art fair, my beloved, yea, pleasant”.

⁶⁵⁸ Verse 13: “A bundle of myrrh is my wellbeloved unto me; he shall lie all night betwixt my breasts.”

⁶⁵⁹ Verses 2 - 4: “Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth: for thy love is better than wine. 3 Because of the savour of thy good ointments thy name is as ointment poured forth, therefore do the virgins love thee. 4 Draw me, we will run after thee: the king hath brought me into his chambers: we will be glad and rejoice in thee, we will remember thy love more than wine: the upright love thee.”

⁶⁶⁰ MCE, p. 179.

44), but it is worth seeing the use of the *Song of Songs* as well, which, according to Errante⁶⁶¹ is representative of the main way in which this Biblical book influenced the works of Marcabru. The scholar suggests that the literary inspiration for Marcabru's poetry was "the contemporary literature of the Church"⁶⁶², but he maintains that this inspiration was more a question of tone than of "precise and circumscribed imitation or of plagiarism which was more or less accurate: it is [rather] the impulse that encouraged him to create". The opening verses of this poem are those that most interest us here:

Bel m'es cant son li frug madur
 e reverdeio li gaïm,
 e·il auzel per lo temps escur
 baisso de lor votz lo reffrim,
 tant redoipto la tenebror –
 e mos coratges s'enganza,
 q'ieu chant per joi de fin'amor,
 e vei ma bona speranza⁶⁶³.
 [MCE: p. 180]

The opening of a poem with a theme of Spring time and nature, which as has already been seen in chapter 1 was a very popular motif in medieval love lyrics, and usually gives the narrator the opportunity to talk about love, as is the case in this poem in verses 7 and 8. Instead, Marcabru continues his poem with a discourse on false friends and leaves this opening scene as it stands in the verses shown above: that is, with the narrator singing about love and good hope coming. This *speranza* has been interpreted as a *senhal* to stand for an actual love interest of the poet⁶⁶⁴, but it also means "hope", which might easily rise up again after the darkness of winter. Guido Errante agrees with Pollina, believing that the last two verses shown above refer to either a simple love story, or perhaps even to a specific sexual

⁶⁶¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 48 *et passim*, 199 *et passim*, and 227 - 228.

⁶⁶² Both this and the following quotation are found in Guido Errante, *op. cit.*, p. 201. "la letteratura contemporanea della chiesa" [...] "imitazione precisa o circoscritta o di plagi più o meno felici: è impulse che eccita a creare".

⁶⁶³ "I like it when the fruits are ripe and the green shoots sprout again for a second haycrop, and the birds lower their twittering voices on account of the dark days, so much do they fear the gloom, and yet my heart leaps for I sing for joy of noble love and see my good hope (coming).

⁶⁶⁴ By Vincent Pollina, "Les melodies du troubadour Marcabru: questions de style et de genre" in *Atti del Secondo Congresso Internazionale della Association Internationale d'Etudes Occitanes*, Giuliano Gasca Queirazza, 2 vols., Torino: Dipartimento di Scienze letterarie e filologiche, Università di Torino, 1993, I, pp. 289-306.

encounter: the critic defends this thesis by saying that the “model for our poet is the Scripture: that which the text does not say has more weight than the words”⁶⁶⁵. To this end, he compares the entirety of the first stanza of the poem in question to the *Song of Songs*, chapter 2, verse 13, but the similarities between the two poems begins even earlier, in verse 10 of the biblical book:

10 et dilectus meus loquitur mihi surge propera amica mea formosa mea et veni 11 iam enim hiemps transiit imber abiit et recessit 12 flores apparuerunt in terra tempus putationis advenit vox turturis audita est in terra nostra 13 ficus protulit grossos suos vineae florent dederunt odorem surge amica mea speciosa mea et veni⁶⁶⁶.

The spring time motif, with the end of the winter and the blossoming plants is the same in both poems, but the interesting and new interpretation has to do with the second half of the biblical verse 13 and the final two verses in Marcabru’s poem. The lover in *Song of Songs* tells his friend and lover to get up and come away with him. There the poet stops the story, according to the theory of Errante, and lets the reader’s imagination understand just what the poet intends with his *surge amica mea et veni*. Likewise, Marcabru leaves the audience to imagine what all would have happened in between the first two stanzas: the implicit understanding is that the narrator and his *speranza* had a sexual encounter, thus the things that the poet does not say are indeed more important than what he does, and Marcabru took this idea directly from the *Song of Songs*. However, if one were to continue reading the second chapter, verses 14 - 15 continue the conversation recounted conversation between the lovers:

14 columba mea in foraminibus petrae in caverna maceriae ostende mihi faciem tuam sonet vox tua in auribus meis vox enim tua dulcis et facies tua decora 15 capite nobis vulpes vulpes parvulas quae demoliuntur vineas nam vinea nostra floruit⁶⁶⁷.

⁶⁶⁵ Errante, *op. cit.*, p. 201: “Modello per il nostro poeta rimane la Scrittura: quell che il testo non dice ha più peso delle parole”.

⁶⁶⁶ “My beloved spake, and said unto me, Rise up, my love, my fair one, and come away. 11 For, lo, the winter is past, the rain is over and gone; 12 the flowers appear on the earth; the time of the singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land; 13 the fig tree putteth forth her green figs, and the vines with the tender grape give a good smell. Arise, my love, my fair one, and come away.”

⁶⁶⁷ “14 O my dove, that art in the clefts of the rock, in the secret places of the stairs, let me see thy countenance, let me hear thy voice; for sweet is thy voice, and thy countenance is comely. 15 Take us the foxes, the little foxes, that spoil the vines: for our vines have tender grapes.”

The editors of the *New Annotated Oxford Bible* say that although the dove of verse 14 in ancient Hebrew texts was a common metaphor for inaccessibility⁶⁶⁸, and although the Hebrew is obscure in verse 15, “the woman appears to answer teasingly that, far from being inaccessible, her sexuality (*our vineyards*) is in full bloom and in danger of being raided by others (*foxes*)”⁶⁶⁹.

Marcabru, however, most likely did not read Hebrew, and his access to and knowledge of the *Song of Songs* must have come from elsewhere; Errante suggests two possible sources: either the various church services during which the *Song of Songs* was read aloud, or the many works of Saint Bernard (1090 - 1153), whose activity, as Errante is quick to underline, “took place precisely during the time of Marcabru’s poetic production, and frequently in Aquitaine”⁶⁷⁰. The scholar goes on to list the many places in which the poetics of Marcabru and Saint Bernard’s *Sermones in Cantica Canticorum*⁶⁷¹ can be tied together. In his thirtieth sermon on this book, entitled *Mystical Vineyards and the Prudence of the Flesh*⁶⁷², at §7 Bernard explains that the vineyard stands for the soul and the audience must not let foxes (or pressing needs: “Demoliuntur eam sedulae quaedam vulpeculae instantium necessitatum; irrumpunt undique anxietates, suspiciones, sollicitudines”⁶⁷³). This interpretation is completely different from what the more recent editors have suggested, but it was probably what Marcabru was aware of. So, since Bernard did not mention the idea of foxes being other possible suitors for the Bride, and indeed does not directly comment on the second half of verse 13, it is possible that Marcabru took this to mean that the author of the *Song of Songs*

⁶⁶⁸ In the *Hebrew Bible* section, p. 962. Although in Christian imagery the dove has a completely different iconographic meaning.

⁶⁶⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 962, Hebrew Bible. The italics are in the original.

⁶⁷⁰ Errante, *op. cit.*, p. 199 : “si svolse proprio negli anni della produzione poetica di Marcabru, e di frequente in Aquitania”.

⁶⁷¹ Printed in *PL* 182 - 185, and more recently in Bernard of Clairvaux, *On the Song of Songs*, 4 vols, Cistercian Fathers Series nos 4, 7, 31, 40, Spencer, MA: Cistercian Publications, 1971–80.

⁶⁷² In *PL* 183, columns 936 - 937, *Qualiter populus fidelium seu animae electorum per vineas significantur, quarum Ecclesia custos dicitur; et de prudentia carnis, quae est mors*.

⁶⁷³ Pressing needs like little foxes steadily destroy it; anxieties, suspicions, cares, charge in from all sides.

simply stopped after verse 13 and let the audience's imagination fill in the gap, which he thus copied on his own poetry.

The *Song of Songs* also comes up in another poem by Marcabru that is only transmitted in the Italian tradition: *El son d'esviat chantaire* (PC 293.5). The main section of this poem of interest currently is the final stanza and the tornada:

L'amors don ieu sio mostraire
nasquet en un gentil aire
el luoc on ill es creguda:
es claus de rama branchuda
e de chaut e de gelada,
q'estrains no l'en puosca traire.

Desirat per desiraire
a nom qui.n vol amor traire⁶⁷⁴.
(MCE: 92)

This last stanza might be resonant with Biblical and Christian imagery: the “gentil aire” and “luoc” of lines 50 - 51 are taken to represent the “*hortus conclusus*” of the *Song of Songs*, chapter 5, verse 1: “*veniat dilectus meus in hortum suum*⁶⁷⁵” and “Desirat” is seen to be Christ (as seen in the MS illumination at the beginning of this sub-chapter. Errante⁶⁷⁶ makes this claim on the same grounds for which he saw the gap in the previous poem as being influenced by the *Song of Songs*:

Such is the poetic language of the origins of romance literature. From the Liturgy this [the language] propagated to the sacred writers, from these it went to the schools, from the school into life. The filling up of the pauses and silences of the Sacred texts offered the commentators lyrical ideas of incomparable beauty⁶⁷⁷.

⁶⁷⁴ Verses 49 - 56; "The love whose advocate I am was born into a noble line in the place where it has grown up: [this place] is enclosed by leafy branches, [protected from] heat and frost, so that no stranger can take it from there. He who wants to take it from there is called 'Desired' instead of 'Desirer'."

⁶⁷⁵ I am come to my garden, my sister, my bride.

⁶⁷⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 185.

⁶⁷⁷ *Idem*, p. 199: "Tale il linguaggio poetico delle origini romanze. Dalla liturgia esso si propaga agli scrittori sacri, da questi alla scuola, dalla scuola alla vita. Il riempimento delle pause e dei silenzi dei testi sacri offriva ai commentatori spunti lirici di incomparabile bellezza."

The same basic ideas will hold true for Marcabru's poems 2, 13, 28, 30, 34 and 39, which all relate to or were influenced, by the silence and setting of the *Song of Songs* according to Errante⁶⁷⁸.

If Errante's interpretation of the influence of the *Song of Songs* and the way that it was used by Marcabru in particular and medieval love poets in general is accurate, then the same can be said for Guittone d'Arezzo. In the first poem that we saw by Marcabru in this section (PC 293.13) the first citation from the Bible that we looked at came from chapter 2 of the *Song of Songs*, in which the lover calls his beloved "*amica mea*"⁶⁷⁹. In all of his lyric production (between sonnets and *canzoni*, both religious and secular) Guittone d'Arezzo used the word '*amica*' a total of five times. Two of these occur in the love sonnets found in MS L, two in the amorous songs (also found in MS L) and only once in his religious lyrics (in his sonnet *O quanto fiedi me forte sanando*⁶⁸⁰) also found in MS L, at f.118r. The first instance of Guittone's use of this word comes in the Aretine's ninth love song, found on f.64rv: *Lasso, pensando quanto*. In this love song, the narrator complains that his beloved no longer loves him because of his bad behavior. At vv. 40 - 43 he says that "Così m'è solo amica / la mia dolze speranza, / che fammi doloranza — unque obbriare"⁶⁸¹. The sentiment is the opposite of that seen in Marcabru's poem, but it is interesting that in the first lyric in which Guittone uses a word for his beloved that means "friend" he should also use the *senhal*, or perhaps just the word, that Marcabru used in a poem in which traces of the *Song of Songs* have been seen. The next poem within Guittone's corpus to use this word comes but two songs later in the MS under consideration: at ff.64v - 65r the song *Tuttur, s'eo veglio e dormo* is another love song in which the poet is sick with love-longing: the poem begins "Tuctor, s'eo veglio o dormo, /

⁶⁷⁸ Who was joined in his belief by several other scholars, for which see MCE, p. 89.

⁶⁷⁹ My friend. This translation of the (male) lover's name for his beloved occurs nine times in this book: at 1,9 and 15 ; 2,2, 10, and 13 ; 4,1 and 7 ; 5,2 ; and at 6,4.

⁶⁸⁰ Sonnet 171 in Egidi, *op. cit.*

⁶⁸¹ "And so she is just my friend, / my sweet hope, / who causes me pain - never to forget."

di lei pensar non campo, / ch'Amor en cor m'atacca"⁶⁸². The poet continues with a description of how worthy his beloved is to be loved, and how worthy he himself is of loving her, as he has always been a good servant. At vv. 55 - 57 we again come across the idea of having a friend, who perhaps the poet would prefer be his lover: "E val, sembrame, meglio, / quanto riso ver' meglio, / sperar ch'aver d'amica"⁶⁸³. Once again we see the female friend and hope being placed in the same sentence, much like in Marcabru.

Turning now to what Leonardi has called Guittone's *canzoniere*, there are two instances in this group of love sonnets in which the author calls the woman "amica". The first occurs in sonnet 55, in which the *senhal* for the beloved has gone from *Gioia* (Joy) to *Noia* (Bore). The narrator does not know what he should do to win her love, and thus complains to her about her ambiguous responses to the poet's varied advances. To understand the use of the word *amica* in this poem, one must see at least the first eight verses:

Certo, Noia, non so ch'eo faccia o dica
 sì trovo en voi diversa opinione:
 cortese e dolce e amorosa amica
 veggio senpre ver' me vostra fazzone;
 e la lingua villana ed enemica
 è senpre ver' me più tutta stagione,
 com'eo più d'amar voi prendo fatica
 e la fazzon più de dolcezza pone.
 (GdC: p. 165)⁶⁸⁴

The beloved (ex-beloved?), then, at times shows herself to be a loving friend but also a terrible enemy, much in the same way that the narrator finds her ever more beautiful while at the same time he is less and less able to love her. This sonnet does not seem to fit into the same dynamic as the other poetry that we have seen thus far, but the next one will. Sonnet number 74 is placed in the middle of a series of poems in which the narrator is far away from his beloved (who has once again been called *Gioia*). The use of the word *amica* is different in

⁶⁸² "All the time, whether I am asleep or awake, I can not think of her, but that love attacks my heart."

⁶⁸³ "And it seems to me to be worth more, as rice is to millet / to hope than to have [her] as a friend."

⁶⁸⁴ "Truly, Bore, I don't know what I do or say / that makes me see in you contradictory opinions: / courteous and sweet and a lovely friend / I always see your face towards me; and your villainous and enemy tongue / is ever more always lashing at me, / just as I find it ever more difficult to love you / and your face ever more beautiful".

this poem, in that the narrator is no longer communicating with his beloved, but instead he speaks directly to the personification of Hope; the sonnet begins “Ai dolze cosa, perfetta Speranza, / amica di ciascun omo, e più mia”⁶⁸⁵. *Speranza* in this case is not a *senhal* for a woman but it is an entity with whom to interact verbally much like we saw that Wisdom is personified in the Old Testament. The final use of the word *amica* in the poetry of Guittone is of a similar vein: in a series of sonnets in which Fra Guittone praises the virtues (after having written badly about the seven deadly sins) these are personified, but only one of them gets to be a friend of the poet: “O quanto fiedi me forte sanando, / tu, dolze amica mea, bona coscienza”⁶⁸⁶. Once again the poet is speaking directly to the personification of an abstract idea, who he has called his friend. Of the five times that Guittone used the word, then, two were dedicated to his beloved (like in the *Song of Songs*), two were dedicated to personifications of ideas (like in the *Book of Wisdom*), and one was dedicated to a woman that he did not love. But three of these instances used *amica* in the same context as he used *speranza* or *sperare*: both of which mean hope, as seen above in Marcabru’s piece. It is highly likely that Guittone was aware of both the works of Saint Bernard⁶⁸⁷, at the very least indirectly through the various *florilegia* that he used in writing his letters, but also of the works of Marcabru. In fact, in his *canzone* number nine that we briefly examined, the Aretine poet has made a direct reference to a poem by the Occitan poet shortly after the verses that we saw. As Leonardi has shown in his introduction⁶⁸⁸, when discussing the difficulty in deciphering exactly what Guittone means to say in this poem in particular, but also in many of his lyrics generally:

The obscurity is tied to the concept of love that is expressed there (vv. 37 - 39, 55 - 57); decisive confirmation comes from the precise allusion that Guittone makes, at the

⁶⁸⁵ GdC p. 222: “Oh sweet thing, perfect Hope, / friend of all men, and mine even more.”

⁶⁸⁶ “Oh how you hit me healing me strongly / you, my sweet friend, clean conscience.”

⁶⁸⁷ Guittone quotes the Saint directly in three of his letters : 3, 21 and 22.

⁶⁸⁸ Leonardi, *op. cit.* p. xx.

moment in which he names his own *trobar clus*, of Marcabru's *paraul'escura*⁶⁸⁹ (*Sкуро...parlo* [I speak darkly = my language is difficult;]), and the choice is made to use the Occitan poet who is the most ideologically motivated (apart from being one of the oldest, and therefore not ignored), and to a poetic program in which the difficulty is a function of the *razo* [reason/purpose,] (just like in the *ragione* [reason/purpose] that will be abundant in Fra Guittone)⁶⁹⁰.

Guittone was well aware of the works of Marcabru, most likely through the northern Italian tradition of MSS, and therefore his similar use of the *Song of Songs* is most likely not happenstance, especially given the exacting nature of his word choice generally.

The Harley MS is influenced by the *Song of Songs* much more obviously and openly than the other two MSS under consideration. The reason for this may be the fact that the scribe was not the poet (most likely in a great many cases and definitely in others) and therefore had a choice of what to include in his book and what to leave out. The references to the *Song of Songs* are found in only three different love lyrics, but the entirety of the poems in question have many points in common with various chapters of the biblical book. The first poem to examine is found on ff.63rv, and is the second in a linguistic grouping of ME lyrics⁶⁹¹. The poem in question is basically a long description of a very beautiful woman that the narrator knows and who he describes using the exact same techniques as the author (or authors) of the *Song of Songs*:

Ichot a burde in a bour ase beryl so bryht,
ase saphyr in seluer semly on syht,
ase iaspe þe gentil þat lemeþ wiþ lyht,
ase gernet in golde ant ruby wel ryht;
ase onycle he ys on yholden on hyht,
ase diamaund þe dere in day when he is dyht;
he is coral yclud wiþ cayser ant knyht;
ase emeraude amorewen þis may haueþ myht.

⁶⁸⁹ Which is seen in *Per savi-l tenc ses doptansa* (PC 293,37), at verse six. It must be noted that this poem by Marcabru is the final of his pieces as transmitted by MS D^a, which was finished in Modena in 1254, and which Guittone may even have had the opportunity to read first hand, as he spent a period of his life in Bologna and the surrounding areas.

⁶⁹⁰ "L'oscurità [è] legata alla concezione di amore vi è espresso (vv. 37 - 39, 55 - 57); conferma decisiva viene dall'allusione precisa che Guittone, nel momento di nominare il proprio *trobar clus*, fa alla *paraul'escura* di Marcabru (*Sкуро...parlo*), e la scelta va proprio all'autore provenzale più motivato ideologicamente (oltre che ad uno dei più antichi, non ignorati dunque), e a un programma poetico in cui la difficoltà è funzionale ad un'ardua *razo* (come per la *ragione* che abbonderà a Frate Guittone)."

⁶⁹¹ With the sole exception of a single Anglo Norman poem on ff.63rv.

þe myht of þe margarite haueþ þis mai mere.
 ffor charbocle ich hire ches bi chyn ant by chere.⁶⁹²
 [THL: p. 31]

This series of precious gems, flowers and colors are very similar to the description of the beloved in the *Song of Songs*, chapter 5, verses 13 through the first half of 16 :

13 genae illius sicut areolae aromatum consitae a pigmentariis labia eius lilia distillantia
 murrum primam 14 manus illius tornatiles aureae plenae hyacinthis venter eius eburneus
 distinctus sapphyris 15 crura illius columnae marmoreae quae fundatae sunt super bases
 aureas species eius ut Libani electus ut cedri 16 guttur illius suavissimum et totus
 desiderabilis⁶⁹³.

As seen in these two passages, the two authors use many of the exact same images in order to describe their loved ones. The only major difference between the two passages is that in the biblical passage the narrator is the female member of the couple, while in the Middle English poem it is the man who is describing a woman. Shortly thereafter in this same Harley Lyric, at vv. 38 - 40, the author changes his tactic, and we read:

ase quibibe ant comyn cud is in crone,
 cud comyn in court, canel in cofre,
 wiþ gyngyure ant sedewale ant þe gylofre⁶⁹⁴.
 [THL: p. 32.]

The spices listed in these verses would have been expensive in England during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but not at all unknown. Likewise in the *Song of Songs*, chapter 4, 13 - 14, we read that the beloved:

13 emissiones tuae paradisi malorum puniceorum cum pomorum fructibus cypri cum
 nardo 14 nardus et crocus fistula et cinnamomum cum universis lignis Libani murrum et
 aloë cum omnibus primis unguentis.⁶⁹⁵

⁶⁹² "I know a maiden, in a bower, as bright as beryl / Fair to be seen as sapphire in silver / as gracious as jasper that gleams with light / as true as a golden and ruby garnet ; / As onyx, she is one highly esteemed / as dear (precious) as a diamond when it is set ; / She is red coral that is famous with emperor and knight / Like emerald in the morning, this maiden has might. / The might of the pearl has this excellent may / By her expression I recognized her as a precious red stone."

⁶⁹³ "13 His cheeks are as a bed of spices, as sweet flowers: his lips like lilies, dropping sweet smelling myrrh. 14 His hands are as gold rings set with the beryl: his belly is as bright ivory overlaid with sapphires. 15 His legs are as pillars of marble, set upon sockets of fine gold: his countenance is as Lebanon, excellent as the cedars. 16 His mouth is most sweet: yea, he is altogether lovely."

⁶⁹⁴ "As cubeb and cumin [she is] remarkable for her head / in court she's remarkable, cinnamon in the chest / with cinnamon and setwall [a plant whose roots are used to obtain valerian, NdT] and clove."

⁶⁹⁵ "13 Thy plants are an orchard of pomegranates, with pleasant fruits; camphire, with spikenard, 14 spikenard and saffron; calamus and cinnamon, with all trees of frankincense; myrrh and aloes, with all the chief spices:"

The editors of the *New Oxford Annotated Bible* point out the these spices mentions, saffron, calamus, cinnamon and aloe are all spices that come from India, and thus would also have been incredibly expensive and hard to come by during the time of the writing of this book. While the poem in the Harley MS does not directly nor precisely quote from the evidenced passages from the *Song of Songs*, the similarities between the two are so great that one cannot help but imagine the biblical book as a very likely source for this lyric. Unfortunately, as the author is unknown, so to must be the influences on him; however, and notwithstanding the anonymity of the actual author of this lyric, the Harley scribe was decidedly aware of both the *Song of Songs* and the works of Saint Bernard, so his inclusion of this piece within his poetry book should come as no surprise.

The scribe then continued a bit later, towards the end of this linguistic grouping in the MS, precisely at *f.66v* with another lyric that is similar in scope and language to the poem we have just seen. The scribe has once again decided to transmit a poem in which the most beautiful of all women is described in a very similar way to both the last poem and to the *Song of Songs*. In the third stanza, after having informed the audience that the narrator will surely die without having his love be requited, he begins describing the fair maid of Ribblesdale⁶⁹⁶:

hire neose ys set as hit wel semep;
y deye, for dep þat me demep;
hire speche as spices spredeþ;
hire lockes lefly aren ant longe⁶⁹⁷, [vv. 29 - 31]
(THL: p. 37]

These verses once again recall the same ones from above, as well as chapter 5, verse 11 of the biblical book: “11 caput eius aurum optimum comae eius sicut elatae palmarum nigrae quasi corvus”⁶⁹⁸. Once again in the Bible we see a description of the man from the woman’s point

⁶⁹⁶ As we already saw above, in chapter 3.

⁶⁹⁷ “Her nose is set as well befits / I die, for the death that condemns me / Her speech spreads likes spices / her locks are beautiful and long.”

⁶⁹⁸ “His head is the finest gold, his locks are wavy, black as a raven”.

of view, while in the Harley lyric we see the opposite; still, and for the same reasons as above, the difference is minimal. For verse 30 in the Middle English poem, a possible source of inspiration can be seen in chapter 4,11 of the *Song of Songs*: “favus distillans labia tua sponsa mel et lac sub lingua tua et odor vestimentorum tuorum sicut odor turis”⁶⁹⁹. Spices spreading from the fair maid lips are fairly similar to the distillation of nectar from the lips of the beloved in the biblical narrative. The similarities continue in vv. 40 - 41:

hire teht aren white ase bon of whal,
 euene set ant atled al,
 ase hende mowe taken hede⁷⁰⁰;
 [THL: p.38]

Though there is a difference in the animal chosen to describe the whiteness of the teeth, *Song of Songs*, 4,2 contains exactly the same image: “dentes tui sicut greges tonsarum quae ascenderunt de lavacro omnes gemellis fetibus et sterilis non est inter eas”⁷⁰¹. Apparently the poet of the Middle English piece had seen either jewelry made of whale bone, or he had actually been on the coast of England (or any of the other British Isles, as travel among them was very common in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries), whereas the biblical author chose the whiteness of sheep for his ladies teeth.⁷⁰² Continuing the description of the maid, the poet announces that:

Hyre tyttes aren anvnder bis
 as apples tuo of Parays,
 Youself ye mowen seo⁷⁰³.
 [THL, p. 38; vv. 58 - 60]

This verse was perhaps not as vulgar in the Middle Ages as it seems to us today, and a possible point of reference for these verses may be found in *Song of Songs*, 7,7: “statura tua

⁶⁹⁹ “11 Thy lips, O my spouse, drop as the honeycomb: honey and milk are under thy tongue; and the smell of thy garments is like the smell of Lebanon.”

⁷⁰⁰ Her teeth are white as whale bone / evenly arranged all present / as courteous people may notice.

⁷⁰¹ “Thy teeth are like a flock of sheep that are even shorn, which came up from the washing; whereof every one bear twins, and none is barren among them.”

⁷⁰² It is, perhaps, interesting to note that some years later Lorenzo de’ Medici (1449 - 1492) will write a poem using the exact same images and words found in the two poems under discussion currently, but the teeth of his lady, the so-called Nencia da Barberino, has two rows of more than twenty teeth that are *whiter than those of a horse!* See, for an interesting poem, Rosella Bessi (ed.) *La Nencia da Barberino*, Roma: Salerno, 1987.

⁷⁰³ Her breasts are under fine linen / like two apples from the Garden of Eden / You all may see for yourselves.

adsimilata est palmae et ubera tua botris”⁷⁰⁴. It is worth remembering at this point, that the scribe copied a Middle English poem entitled *The Saying of Saint Bernard* (or *The three foes of man*) onto ff.106r - 107v⁷⁰⁵. While this poem was clearly not by the Saint, its inclusion in the MS shows a particular affinity on the part of the scribe towards the knowledge and works of this man⁷⁰⁶.

The Harley scribe continues, then, with the last poem that interests this section of our study on ff.72v - 73r: there the reader finds a song that uses a different part of the *Song of Songs*:

Blow, northerne wynd,
sent þou me my suetyng!
Blow, norþerne wynd,
blou! blou! blou!⁷⁰⁷
[THL, p. 48; vv. 1 - 4]

As we have already examined this poem earlier, these opening verses are the only ones that concern us presently; in the *Song of Songs*, chapter 4, verse 16, the poet wrote: « surge aquilo et veni auster”⁷⁰⁸, followed by an invitation for the man to come into her secret garden. The Harley lyric, on the other hand follows these opening verses with yet another description that we have already examined in some depth. The interesting part of these verses is that they act as a refrain, being repeated after each stanza. Thus the poet’s love longing is punctuated after every verse with a repeated call for the northern wind to send his lover back to him. According to the *New Oxford Annotated Bible*, the winds that the man summons in the *Song of Songs* are those very same winds “ of love” that the woman had warned him not invoke prematurely. For a scribe who seems to have been so well informed of this particular book of

⁷⁰⁴ “This thy stature is like to a palm tree, and thy breasts to clusters of grapes”. While this is the Authorized version of the verse, the latin word *botris* does not mean “grapes”, but rather “cluster”; if the poet did not know what a palm tree was, as he lived in England, the image of a tall tree’s biblical fruit would have necessarily led to the use of “apple”, the biblical fruit par excellence.

⁷⁰⁵ This poem is transmitted by five other MSS as well, for which reason we know that the edition in the Harley MS is missing the first stanza.

⁷⁰⁶ See also section 2 of this chapter for more on the Harley scribe’s religious writings in other MSS and the influence thereof on the choices in the poetry that he included in each different MS. See also, Carter Revard, “Scribe and Provenance” in Fein, *op. cit.* 2000.

⁷⁰⁷ “Blow Northern Wind, send my sweet one to me! Blow, Northern wind, Blow! Blow! Blow”.

⁷⁰⁸ “Awake, O north wind, and come, O south wind!”

the Bible, he surely would have known that the winds being called upon were the winds of love in the OT and thus included it in his meta-narrative text as the final poem in which this particular book was used so boldly.

We have seen how our poets used the wisdom books in general, and *Proverbs*, *Psalms* and the *Song of Songs* specifically, to give more weight to their poetry. We have also noticed that there is a certain preference among all three of our authors for the works of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux. At times the influence of these three books of the Bible have been incredibly straight forward, while at others one must delve into the medieval exegetes and those who copied their works in order to understand what it is the poets wanted to say with the use of these various parts of Scripture. The *Proverbs* were used more in the Northern Italian MS tradition of Marcabru's poetry than anywhere else, and that Guittone apparently never cited them at all within his lyrical corpus, while still he was well aware of their utility in giving advice. The *Psalter* was seen as both a spiritual and poetic guide, mainly for Marcabru and Guittone, but that the Harley scribe was clearly well aware of the *Psalms*, as he copied many of them into two different manuscripts. Finally we have most recently witnessed the fact that the *Song of Songs* was put to use by all three poets in slightly varying, but altogether similar ways, thanks also to the fact that at least one of their direct reference points was shared: Bernard of Clairvaux.

V. Conversion/Redemption

Conversion as experienced by an individual cannot be strictly equated with any account of that experience. Even with a person as articulate about his feelings as Augustine, an account such as the *Confessions* cannot convey the experience itself but only the person's reflective rendering in words or other signs of the feelings and meanings of that experience⁷⁰⁹.

Saint Augustine of Hippo⁷¹⁰ (354-430), one of the most prolific thinkers and writers of the entirety of late antiquity, provided the foundation for practically every field of medieval philosophy and theology through his manifold texts, including *De Doctrina Christiana*⁷¹¹ (397 [through book three] - 426), *De utilitate credendi*⁷¹² (391), *De genesi ad litteram*⁷¹³ (401-415), *De gratia et libero arbitrio*⁷¹⁴ (ca. 395), *De trinitate*⁷¹⁵ (399-419), and his most influential *Confessiones*⁷¹⁶ (397-398;), or his autobiography. His influence on the entire Middle Ages cannot be overestimated and his works were among the most read, copied and commented of all of the Church Fathers throughout the Middle Ages. His *Confessions* tell of the life of sin that he lived until the age of 22, which was after he had already intellectually been convinced of the truth of Christianity. By writing an autobiography in two parts, or focusing on his pre-conversion self in direct opposition to his post-conversion self, Augustine paved the way for medieval poets who wrote about themselves (or at least had a first person singular narrator in their poetry), as we will see mainly in the works of Guittone, but also in elements of the editorial choices of the copyists of all three of the MSS under examination.

⁷⁰⁹ Frederick H. Russell, "Augustine: Conversion by the book", in James Muldoon, (ed.), *Varieties of Religious Conversion in the Middle Ages*, Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997, pp. 13 - 30; p. 14.

⁷¹⁰ Augustine's works were printed in their entirety (along with several *Pseudo-Augustinian* piece) in PL 32 - 47; they have all subsequently been printed in various languages (including Latin) in recent years. One of the best introductions to the works of the Saint is James J. O'Donnell (ed.), *Augustine, Introduction and Text*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992. A vast bibliography to accompany this text can be found online at: <http://www9.georgetown.edu/faculty/jod/augustine/>

⁷¹¹ *On Christian Teaching*. [CPL 263]

⁷¹² *On the Usefulness of Faith*. [CPL 316]

⁷¹³ *On the Literal Meaning of Genesis*. [CPL 266]

⁷¹⁴ *On Free Will*. [CPL 352]

⁷¹⁵ *On the Trinity*. [CPL 328]

⁷¹⁶ *Confessions*. [CPL 251]

V.i. *The Conversion Topos in European Literature*

Christianity teaches that only through Jesus Christ can man be saved in order to go to Heaven, as is shown most clearly in the *Gospel of John*, chapter 14, verse 6: dicit ei Iesus ego sum via et veritas et vita nemo venit ad Patrem nisi per me⁷¹⁷. The promise of salvation through the intervention of Jesus (who has the ability to “wash away one’s sins) is seen particularly in the story of the conversion of a man named Saul⁷¹⁸, who persecuted Christians in his youth before his conversion to this religion and his subsequent importance in early Christian history. Saul’s conversion, as recounted in the *Acts of the Apostles*, chapter 9, vv. 1 - 20, narrates that even he who persecuted Christians in his youth was called by God (in the form of Jesus) to be a great man and to suffer for the glory of God:

Saulus autem adhuc inspirans minarum et caedis in discipulos Domini accessit ad principem sacerdotum 2 et petiit ab eo epistulas in Damascum ad synagogas ut si quos invenisset huius viae viros ac mulieres vinctos perduceret in Hierusalem 3 et cum iter faceret contigit ut adpropinquaret Damasco et subito circumfulsit eum lux de caelo 4 et cadens in terram audivit vocem dicentem sibi Saule Saule quid me persequeris 5 qui dixit quis es Domine et ille ego sum Iesus quem tu persequeris 7 sed surge et ingredere civitatem et dicetur tibi quid te oporteat facere viri autem illi qui comitabantur cum eo stabant stupefacti audientes quidem vocem neminem autem videntes 8 surrexit autem Saulus de terra apertisque oculis nihil videbat ad manus autem illum trahentes introduxerunt Damascum 9 et erat tribus diebus non videns et non manducavit neque bibit 10 erat autem quidam discipulus Damasci nomine Ananias et dixit ad illum in visu Dominus Anania at ille ait ecce ego Domine 11 et Dominus ad illum surgens vade in vicum qui vocatur Rectus et quaere in domo Iudae Saulum nomine Tarsensem ecce enim orat 12 et vidit virum Ananiam nomine introeuntem et inponentem sibi manus ut visum recipiat 13 respondit autem Ananias Domine audivi a multis de viro hoc quanta mala sanctis tuis fecerit in Hierusalem 14 et hic habet potestatem a principibus sacerdotum alligandi omnes qui invocant nomen tuum 15 dixit autem ad eum Dominus vade quoniam vas electionis est mihi iste ut portet nomen meum coram gentibus et regibus et filiis Israel 16 ego enim ostendam illi quanta oporteat eum pro nomine meo pati 17 et abiit Ananias et introivit in domum et inponens ei manus dixit Saule frater Dominus misit me Iesus qui apparuit tibi in via qua veniebas ut videas et implearis Spiritu Sancto 18 et confestim ceciderunt ab oculis eius tamquam squamae et visum recepit et surgens baptizatus est 19 et cum accepisset cibum confortatus est fuit autem cum discipulis qui erant Damasci per dies aliquot 20 et continuo in synagogis praedicabat Iesum quoniam hic est Filius Dei⁷¹⁹.

⁷¹⁷ “Jesus saith unto him, I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father, but by me.”

⁷¹⁸ Part of whose story was seen in the introduction to this study.

⁷¹⁹ And Saul, yet breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord, went unto the high priest, 2 and desired of him letters to Damascus to the synagogues, that if he found any of this way, whether they were men or women, he might bring them bound unto Jerusalem. 3 And as he journeyed, he came near

The changing of the man's name from Saul (when he was a persecutor of Christians) to Paul when he turned his life to Christianity marks a caesura between the two different phases of his life. Paul went on to be one of the most important of the early Christians, and several letters attributed to him are found in the New Testament⁷²⁰. The importance of Saul/Paul and his conversion is of such a fundamental importance to the Christian religion that it cannot be stressed enough just how much of a presence his story was in the lives and writings of Christians throughout late Antiquity (in the Latin West at least) and throughout the Middle Ages in Europe. Conversion in general will be both a political and religious experience, as well as eventually becoming a cornerstone of European literature through the time of our poets as well as directly thereafter⁷²¹.

The Emperor Constantine famously converted to Christianity after having a dream in which he was told that he would win a war under the sign of XP (the Greek letters *chi* and *rho*; which stand for Jesus Christ). The Emperor did as he dreamed, won his war, and on his deathbed was baptized into Christianity, thus bringing the entire Roman Empire under the

Damascus: and suddenly there shined round about him a light from heaven: 4 and he fell to the earth, and heard a voice saying unto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? 5 And he said, Who art thou, Lord? And the Lord said, I am Jesus whom thou persecutest: it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks. 6 And he trembling and astonished said, Lord, what wilt thou have me to do? And the Lord said unto him, Arise, and go into the city, and it shall be told thee what thou must do. 7 And the men which journeyed with him stood speechless, hearing a voice, but seeing no man. 8 And Saul arose from the earth; and when his eyes were opened, he saw no man: but they led him by the hand, and brought him into Damascus. 9 And he was three days without sight, and neither did eat nor drink. 10 And there was a certain disciple at Damascus, named Ananias; and to him said the Lord in a vision, Ananias. And he said, Behold, I am here, Lord. 11 And the Lord said unto him, Arise, and go into the street which is called Straight, and enquire in the house of Judas for one called Saul, of Tarsus: for, behold, he prayeth, 12 and hath seen in a vision a man named Ananias coming in, and putting his hand on him, that he might receive his sight. 13 Then Ananias answered, Lord, I have heard by many of this man, how much evil he hath done to thy saints at Jerusalem: 14 and here he hath authority from the chief priests to bind all that call on thy name. 15 But the Lord said unto him, Go thy way: for he is a chosen vessel unto me, to bear my name before the Gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel: 16 for I will shew him how great things he must suffer for my name's sake. 17 And Ananias went his way, and entered into the house; and putting his hands on him said, Brother Saul, the Lord, even Jesus, that appeared unto thee in the way as thou camest, hath sent me, that thou mightest receive thy sight, and be filled with the Holy Ghost. 18 And immediately there fell from his eyes as it had been scales: and he received sight forthwith, and arose, and was baptized. 19 And when he had received meat, he was strengthened. Then was Saul certain days with the disciples which were at Damascus. 20 And straightway he preached Christ in the synagogues, that he is the Son of God.

⁷²⁰ The *New Oxford Annotated Bible* lists them: "13 are from Paul or his missionary associates: Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Ephesians, Phillipians, Colossians, Galatians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus and Philemon", in *New Testament*, p. 240.

⁷²¹ Which will be discussed in the general conclusions.

Christian banner. The Franks were likewise converted to this religion when their leader Clovis converted to Christianity in order to win a battle⁷²². These political conversions, while very important for the history of Christianity, in Europe in particular, but also throughout the world in general, have been extensively studied many times and thus need not be discussed here⁷²³.

The *Confessions* of Augustine was one of the first literary works to discuss the theme of conversion at length. In this book, the Saint examined his life both before and after having converted to Christianity and thus formed one of the most lasting literary topoi throughout the subsequent millennia⁷²⁴. The moment in which the actual conversion of the character Augustine within the book takes place is found in Book 8, chapter 12; after having cried under a fig tree on his own for some time, the future Saint went into his room and heard either a boy or a girl singing a song. This incident led him to go open the Bible and read whatever verse he happened to open to: half way through §29 Augustine tells what happens exactly to him in that room.

itaque concitus redii in eum locum ubi sedebat Alypius: ibi enim posueram codicem apostoli cum inde surrexeram. arripui, aperui, et legi in silentio capitulum quo primum coniecti sunt oculi mei: 'non in comessationibus et ebrietatibus, non in cubilibus et impudiciis, non in contentione et aemulatione, sed induite dominum Iesum Christum et carnis providentiam ne feceritis in concupiscentiis.' nec ultra volui legere nec opus erat. statim quippe cum fine huiusce sententiae quasi luce securitatis infusa cordi meo omnes dubitationis tenebrae diffugerunt. § 30 tum interiecto aut digito aut nescio quo alio signo codicem clausi et tranquillo iam vultu indicavi Alypio. at ille quid in se ageretur (quod ego nesciebam) sic indicavit. petit videre quid legissem. ostendi, et attendit etiam ultra quam ego legeram. et ignorabam quid sequeretur. sequebatur vero: 'infirmum autem in fide recipite.' quod ille ad se rettulit mihi aperuit. sed tali admonitione firmatus est placitoque ac proposito bono et congruentissimo suis moribus, quibus a me in melius iam olim valde longeque distabat, sine ulla turbulenta cunctatione coniunctus est. inde ad matrem ingredimur, indicamus: gaudet. narramus quemadmodum gestum sit [...] ⁷²⁵

⁷²² For information about the conversion of Clovis, and thus the Franks, see Marco Battaglia, *I Germani, Generi di una cultura europea*, Roma: Carocci, 2013, pp. 184 - 185.

⁷²³ Recently in Massimo Guidetti, *Costantino e il suo secolo: l'editto di Milano e le religioni*, Milano: Jaca Book, 2013; but see also Lawrence G. Duggan, "For Force is Not of God? Compulsion and Conversion from Yahweh to Charlemagne", in Muldoon, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 - 62.

⁷²⁴ For a brief introduction to one of the more interesting aspects of this work, see E. Ann Matter, "Conversion(s) in the Confessiones," in *Collectanea Augustiniana*, Joseph Schnaubelt and Frederick Van Fleteren (eds.), New York; Bern: P. Lang, 1990, pp. 21 - 28. For a more complete bibliography see Muldoon, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 - 30.

⁷²⁵ The original Latin is from Agostino, *Confessioni*, [Giovanni Reale (ed.)], Milano: Bompiani, 2012, p. 804, (who uses the Latin edition of the Confessions established by Martin Skutella) while the modern English translation is found in Saint Augustine, *Confessions*, [Translated with an introduction by R. S. Pine Coffin], London: Penguin Classics, 1963, pp. 178 - 179. "So I quickly returned to the bench where Alypius was sitting,

Twice in this short passage, the narrator felt the need to tell someone immediately about what it was that he had experienced: first he confided in Alypius, before finally going in to his mother's house to tell her as well. The explanation of what had happened, when it comes to a conversion, is of the utmost importance, it seems. The *Confessions* of Augustine, however, are in the form of a book, which creates another problem for the person who is converted: can the audience trust the words on the page that the author has penned? How is a reader to know that that which is in the book is the truth? Augustine thought of these problems, which he addressed a bit later in this work.

Indeed, the crux of the *Confessions* is also in the idea of what the truth of a written work is versus the truth as it really is. Augustine the author claims that what he says is true, but that only God can actually make it true, as only God truly knows the man, who is in almost complete darkness as far as the knowledge of himself is concerned. In book 10, chapter five Augustine says that:

Tu enim, domine, diiudicas me, quia etsi nemo scit hominum quae sunt hominis, nisi spiritus hominis qui in ipso est, tamen est aliquid hominis quod nec ipse scit spiritus hominis qui in ipso est. tu autem, domine, scis eius omnia, quia fecisti eum. ego vero quamvis prae tuo conspectu me despiciam et aestimem me terram et cinerem, tamen aliquid de te scio quod de me nescio. et certe videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate, nondum facie ad faciem. et ideo, quamdiu peregrinor abs te, mihi sum praesentior quam tibi et tamen te novi nullo modo posse violari; ego vero quibus temptationibus resistere valem quibusve non valeam, nescio. et spes est, quia fidelis es, qui nos non sinis temptari supra quam possumus ferre, sed facis cum temptatione etiam exitum, ut possimus sustinere. confitear ergo quid de me sciam, confitear et quid de me nesciam, quoniam et quod de me scio, te mihi

for there I had put down the apostle's book when I had left there. I snatched it up, opened it, and in silence read the paragraph on which my eyes first fell: "Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying, but put on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make no provision for the flesh to fulfill the lusts thereof." I wanted to read no further, nor did I need to. For instantly, as the sentence ended, there was infused in my heart something like the light of full certainty and all the gloom of doubt vanished away. 30. Closing the book, then, and putting my finger or something else for a mark I began -- now with a tranquil countenance -- to tell it all to Alypius. And he in turn disclosed to me what had been going on in himself, of which I knew nothing. He asked to see what I had read. I showed him, and he looked on even further than I had read. I had not known what followed. But indeed it was this, "Him that is weak in the faith, receive." This he applied to himself, and told me so. By these words of warning he was strengthened, and by exercising his good resolution and purpose -- all very much in keeping with his character, in which, in these respects, he was always far different from and better than I -- he joined me in full commitment without any restless hesitation. Then we went in to my mother, and told her what happened, to her great joy."

lucente scio, et quod de me nescio, tamdiu nescio, donec fiant tenebrae meae sicut
meridies in vultu tuo⁷²⁶.

So even he who confesses does not know himself and the conversion as described on paper, or in a MS, is only as real as God makes it.

The problem of the truth in the claims made by writers will be persistent throughout history (and the Middle Ages in particular), especially in literary works wherein there is a first person singular narrator. The audience, often, automatically associates such a literary character with the author of the literary piece. As has been shown, Augustine already dealt with this problem towards the end of his literary biography. Within the works of the authors that we have been considering in this study the problem will be seen most clearly in Guittone d'Arezzo, to a less degree in the works of Marcabru⁷²⁷, and only very slightly within the *magnum opus* of the Harley scribe: while he was not the author of the poetry found therein, he did decide what poetry would be placed in the various sections of the MS, so as to form a coherent book or not. We will see in the next section that the three people concerned were in one way or another interested in this same idea seen in the *Confessions* of Augustine: there exists within each of the MSS a 'before' and 'after' within the corpuses. The hinge upon which this change in character, tone or message can be seen as a sort of conversion from one way of writing or copying poetry into another. But much like in the work by Augustine, at

⁷²⁶ Giovanni Reale, *op cit.*, pp. 892 - 894 while the modern English translation is found in Saint Augustine, *Confessions*, [Translated with an introduction by R. S. Pine Coffin], London: Penguin Classics, 1963, pp. 210, 211: "For it is You, O Lord, who judge me. For although no man "knows the things of a man, save the spirit of the man which is in him," yet there is something of man which "the spirit of the man which is in him" does not know itself. But thou, O Lord, who made him, knows him completely. And even I -- though in thy sight I despise myself and count myself but dust and ashes -- even I know something about thee which I do not know about myself. And it is certain that "now we see through a glass darkly," not yet "face to face." Therefore, as long as I journey away from thee, I am more present with myself than with thee. I know that thou canst not suffer violence, but I myself do not know what temptations I can resist, and what I cannot. But there is hope, because thou art faithful and thou wilt not allow us to be tempted beyond our ability to resist, but wilt with the temptation also make a way of escape that we may be able to bear it. I would therefore confess what I know about myself; I will also confess what I do not know about myself. What I do know of myself, I know from thy enlightening of me; and what I do not know of myself, I will continue not to know until the time when my "darkness is as the noonday" in thy sight".

⁷²⁷ As he has never been accused of having ordered his poetry in a particular way, while Guittone d'Arezzo purportedly did (for which see chapter 2.2).

times the words of the poets are not necessarily to be taken at face value: the men in question may very well have been using a literary device within their works, at least on one possible level of understanding their works.

V.ii. *Authorial Desire and Personal Conversion*

All three of the MSS under examination in this study show signs of the authorial desire to underline the importance of conversion of a sort, which also give the reader something of the general idea behind these poetry books. Guittone d'Arezzo, and the Harley scribe have included lyrics within their poetry books that encourage the leaving behind of carnal love and the desire and importance of turning one's life towards the love of God, and away from carnal desire. Marcabru, on the other hand, had no tangible part in any poetry book that has survived to the present day, which makes his poetic decisions slightly more difficult to understand; but just the same, the earliest of the authors in question did focus much of his attention on the love of God, while discouraging what he called time and again "false love". We will look at a few of the instances that this conversion towards the love of God is evident in the poetry of all three subjects under examination and attempt to draw conclusions about the poetry books based also in part on this information.

The first poem in MS *D^a* (which is present too as the third poem in the northern Italian tradition of MSS) has been associated with the first poem in the northern Italian group of MSS under consideration: *AK*. The common link between the two is the juxtaposition of the words *amor* (love) and *amar* (which can mean either bitter, to love, or false love, depending on the context). The first of the two to examine, PC 293.31, was written and in circulation⁷²⁸ after 1147, based on a reference to a historical fact, but before PC 293.15, which has been dated to before 1149⁷²⁹. The first poem begins like many songs about love, with the image of

⁷²⁸ According to the editors of the critical edition; see p. 389.

⁷²⁹ See *idem*, p. 201.

springtime coming and the renewed desire to write a song about love: the birds sing, flowers begin to bloom and the poet decides to sing about “amor con vai” (how love goes) in v. 16. In the third stanza Marcabru begins his analysis of the difference between true love and false love: in this poem the language is quite vulgar and the reader sees the hints of Marcabru’s past linguistic choices:

Amars vai et ataina
tri cab coratge frico
d’una voluntat conina
qe s’enpren del fuec felo.
[MCE, p. 390; vv. 19 - 22]⁷³⁰

The poet begins his treatise with the description of bad love and the bad things that it can do to a man; he “leaves his hair in the fire” (at v. 27), he is trapped and lured into a bad situation (vv. 28 - 31) and he is even physically tormented (v. 36). The MS traditions diverge here: MSS *AK* follow the majority of the other MSS in placing stanza 5, which begins the discussion of “good love” immediately, while MS *D^a* goes directly to stanza 6, which follows.

Domna no sap d’amor fina
c’ama girbaut dinz maio,
mas sa voluntat mastina
con fai lebreir’ ab gozo.
Ai!
D’aqi nasso·il ric savai,
c’us no·n fa condug ni plai,
Hoc,
si con Marcabrun declina.
[MCE, p. 392; vv. 46 - 54]⁷³¹

In this MS the discussion of false love continues in this stanza by explaining that certain people cannot understand *fin’amor*: the lecherous woman who loves somebody from below her social class is no better than a dog in heat, whence come wicked rulers (her sons). As Marcabru names himself here in verse 54 it seems that this stanza shows personal information: that he himself has been the victim of such a man who does not hold court, and

⁷³⁰ “Bad love goes and stirs up deceit with a young man’s thoughts of a cunt lust with catches fire from the wicked flame.”

⁷³¹ “A lady who loves a menial within the household knows nothing about fin’amore, since her desire cross-couples, like a greyhound bitch does with a lap-dog. –Ai- From this are born the wicked powerful men, not one of whom provides hospitality or holds court –Yes,- just as Marcabru declares it.”

who thus has not provided this poet with gifts or hospitality. Thus ends the description of false love in MS *D^a* and the poet turns, for one stanza only, to the description of good love:

Bon' amors porta meizina
per guerir son compaignio;
amar los senz disciplina
e·ls met a perdicio.
Ai!
Tan can l'avens dura, fai
a fol semblan d'amor jai,
Hoc,
e cant l'avens fail camina.
[MCE, p. 392; vv. 37 - 45]⁷³²

The description of all that “*bon amors*” does is relegated to two verses in this MS: it brings medicine to cure its companion. It is once again, however, compared to “*amar*”, or bad love, and as such sets up the next poem in Marcabru’s corpus, which may be seen as a conversion of sorts.

The first poem in the northern Italian tradition also has as one of its principle elements a difference between true and false love. The tone is much different from many of the other poems in the Marcabru corpus that we have examined thus far: even when discussing a theoretical woman who has taken on “two or three lovers” (in stanza 5), he does so in a muted way, without using any offensive words. Indeed, in the very first stanza the poet remarks on the difference between the poem he is currently writing and those that have come before it:

Cortesamen vuoill comensar
un vers, si es qi l'escoutar;
e pos tant m'en sui entremes,
veirai si·l poirai afinar,
q'era voill mon chan esmerar,
e dirai vos de mantas res.
[MCE, p. 202; vv. 1 - 6]⁷³³

⁷³² “Good love brings a remedy to cure its companion: lust torments the senses and casts them into perdition. – Ai- As long as the money lasts, it shows the fool a joyful appearance of love –Yes,- and when the money runs out, it makes off.”

⁷³³ “I wish to begin a *vers* in a courtly way, if there is anyone who will listen, and since I have occupied myself with so much, I will see if I can refine it, for now I want to purify my song and I shall speak to you of many things.”

This opening does not necessarily require the audience to be familiar with the previous works of Marcabru, but they do help in understanding exactly what the poet is referring to: evidently in the past the author had written poetry that was less than “refined” but now, for some reason, he has chosen to write in a style that is less offensive. The second stanza seems to indicate that the author had recently learned a few things about what it means to speak of love in a given way or rather in another:

Assaz pot hom vilaneiar
qí cortesia vol blasmar;
qe·l plus savis e·l meils apres
no·n sap tantas dire ni far
c’om no·n li puosca ensenar
petit o pro, tals hora es.
[*Idem*, vv. 7 - 12]⁷³⁴

While it is not certain that Marcabru is referring to himself in these verses, the change in his tone seems to indicate that he, having constantly criticized courtly love with the strongest of language throughout his literary career, has decided to talk about it in a different way, also due to the fact that somebody else has taught him that his past ways were not the only (or perhaps the best) mode of writing about something that the poet so despised in his earlier poetry. The poem continues in the third stanza with a call to moderation if a person wants to appear courtly (in vv. 13 - 14) and ends with the opposite: that is to say that he who is not moderate “*no sera trop cortes*” (v. 18: will never be very courtly). The fourth stanza, meanwhile, seems to reflect the specific change in tone within the poet’s own language, but can also be interpreted in such a way that it appears Marcabru is really writing about those who love excessively, or lecherously:

Mesura es en gent parlar
e cortesia es d’amar;
et qui no vol esser mespres
de tota vilania·is gar,
d’escarnir e de foleiar,

⁷³⁴ “A man who wishes to criticize courtliness can greatly debase himself, for even the wisest and the most cultivated man cannot say or do so much in this respect that one cannot still occasionally teach him a few things.”

puois sera savis, ab que·ill pres.
[*Idem*, vv. 19 - 24]⁷³⁵

As has already been noted, Marcabru did not always use the gentlest way of speaking in his earlier poetry; this new way of writing poetry may not make the poet happy, but at least this poem in particular cannot be deigned lewd. After the short discussion in stanza 5 of the falling worth of a woman who takes on several lovers at the same time (in vv. 27 - 28 in particular), the sixth stanza is where the critics⁷³⁶ have seen the aforementioned link between this poem and PC 293.31:

Aitals amors fai a prezar
que si mezeissa ten en car;
e s'ieu en dic nuill vilanes
per lleis, que m' o teingn' a amar ;
be·ill lauzi fassa·m pro musar,
qu'eu n'aurai so qe·m n'es promes.
[*Idem*, vv. 31 - 36]⁷³⁷

The *amors* of the first verse is the true form of good love, while the poet claims that if he should say anything bad about a woman, it should be interpreted as having come from false love, or *amar*. Many times throughout his poetic career Marcabru wrote many bad things about women; this personal turn in the poem informs that which came in the earlier stanzas. While at first glance the audience does not require any knowledge about the other poetry by Marcabru, with this stanza the audience is asked implicitly to think about the times that Marcabru has said bad things about women. In the northern Italian tradition of MSS this is the first piece and thus the reader who comes to Marcabru for the first time in (the Marcabru section of) this MS, these verses seem to be more of foreshadowing of future bad behavior on the poet's part. But for those who had either heard or read Marcabru's poetry elsewhere, these verses are a clear reference to a different personal attitude on the poet's part. The final stanza

⁷³⁵ "Moderation lies in noble speech, and courtliness comes from loving; and a man who does not want to be misjudged should guard against all base, deceitful and excessive behavior, then, although it might not make him happier, he will be wise."

⁷³⁶ Gaunt et al. accepts this interpretation, which they discuss and defend on p. 201.

⁷³⁷ "That love which holds itself dear is to be prized and if, on account of it (love) I should say anything base about her, let her attribute this to false love in me; indeed, I recommend her to keep me waiting in vain a long time, so that I shall not have from her what is promised to me."

of this *chanson* may give some idea about why Marcabru would write a poem in such a fashion:

Lo vers e-l son voill enviar
a-n Jaufre Rudel oltramar,
e voill que l'aion li Frances
per lor coratges alegrar,
que Dieus lor o pot perdonar,
o sia peccaz o merces.
[MCE, p. 204; vv. 37 - 42]⁷³⁸

Verses 37 and 38 are the principle motivation behind the dating of this poem: Jaufre Rudel was in the Holy Land during the Crusade in 1248, as were French soldiers on Crusade. Men who are combating for God and the Church, in theory, perhaps should not read poetry full of bad language or with lecherous characters that might make them forget their purposes in the war. In fact, Marcabru says explicitly that God would forgive the soldiers for reading a secular poem, such as this one. Had the poet wanted to send another poem that was more in tune with his earlier works perhaps it would not have been appropriate for the Crusaders.

To give this *chanson* a bit of context, the poem that follows it in MSS AK has already been discussed in chapter 3.3 of this study for its use of the figure of Jesus (PC 293.17), while that which follows thereupon is the first poem of MS *D^a*, PC 293.18, discussed in its own right in chapter 4.1. In short, this poem is a repudiation of love, which the poet says that he wants nothing to do with. It is also the origin of the *vida* of Marcabru found in MS *K*, wherein Marcabru claims never to have loved any woman, nor ever been loved in turn. These three poems together give an idea of Marcabru to the audience, depending on what one knows about the man (or the image that he gives of himself within his poetry). Within the context of MS *D^a* he is a poet who does not like love and repudiates it immediately for the harm that it has caused to men in general, to the youth of his day, and to society as a whole. This is the first image that the reader of this MS has of Marcabru and throughout the five poems

⁷³⁸ "I want to send the *vers* and the melody to Jaufre Rudel over the sea, and I want the French to have it, to cheer their hearts, for God can allow them this, whether it is a sin or a good deed."

attributed to him (plus the two that he wrote with Ugo Catola from later in the MS), he never changed his mind. In the northern Italian tradition, on the other hand, there is a change in the tonality and the attitude of the poet, as seen first in the new way of writing poetry found in his first entry, but that is contrasted with his other poetry in which he talked badly about women. The image of Marcabru in these MSS is not static, but changing, whereas in *D^a* there is no development of the poet and his ideas. We will turn back to this in the general conclusions.

The conversion of Guittone d'Arezzo from a secular love poet to a poet focused on the love of God has been well documented by scholars over the past century and more, even within this study. The poetry of his conversion has been hinted at here (in chapter 2.2) but it bears analyzing a bit more profoundly. The sixth quire of MS *L* begins with the moral and religious *canzoni* of 'Fra' Guittone; thus the reader of the MS has an unbroken line of the spiritually based writer from the first folio through *f.56r*, where the twenty-fourth and final religious *canzone* is placed, and which also happens to end the seventh quire. The MS is therefore not chronologically ordered, but thematically; as has already been mentioned, the MS starts with letters and post-conversion *canzoni*, followed by pre-conversion *canzoni* that deal with profane love for a woman. The next section of the MS wherein the reader finds works by the Areatine poet begins with the fourteenth quire, in which the love sonnets of Guittone (pre-conversion) begin: the religious sonnets are finally found from *f.117r* and thereafter. The first poetic piece⁷³⁹, then, that the reader of the MS comes across is Guittone's announcement that he will no longer write love poetry. He begins:

Ora parrà s'eo saverò cantare
e s'eo varrò quanto valer già soglio,
poi che del tutto Amor fug[g]h' e disvoglio
e più che cosa mai forte mi spare:
[PD, p. 214; vv. 1 - 4]⁷⁴⁰

⁷³⁹ Leaving aside any eventual letters in rhyme and/or letters that contain poems within them.

⁷⁴⁰ "Now we will see if I know how to sing / and if I am worth as much as I once thought, / especially now since I flee from and hate Love, / which seems worse to me than any other thing."

A poet who was famous for writing love poetry up until the writing of this poem saying that he hates Love and that it seems to him to be the worst thing on Earth is quite a strong image with which to open a poetry book. Picone has argued convincingly⁷⁴¹ that this poem hopes to be a repudiation of *fin'amor* and an announcement that the poet will from now on only focus his energies on true love: that is to say, the love from and for God. Picone says that, according to the new poetic identity of Guittone as found in this poem, the ideology of *fin'amor*

is false, because Love is found in conjunction not with “knowledge” [or wisdom], but with its opposite, “madness” [*follore*] (v. 11), not with God but with the Devil (vv. 14 - 15). The old *authority* (from Bernart [da Ventadorn, about whom Guittone is speaking in this part of the poem] to Andrea Capellano) held that poetry is only able to be written about love, that only he who understands the phenomenon of love is a poet (rather, he who identifies with the amorous hypostasis is that much more of a poet); the new *authority*, emblemized by the new “I”, holds instead that such an irrational idea as Love cannot be poetic: [it is] a passion that is inspired by the forces of evil and not by the forces of good”⁷⁴².

Not only is Guittone negating all of his previous poetic output, but he is challenging the very idea that poetry can only be about love, one of the most popular subjects in vernacular Italian (and Occitan) poetry up to that point. Picone goes on to show the many points that this poem has in common with the ideas of *conversio* as outlined by Saint Augustine⁷⁴³, first and foremost in the rhyme words “disembra” (to diverge from) and “asembra” (to appear), which are a clear reference to Augustine’s relationship with God. The second stanza further explains the poet’s new stance regarding worldly enterprises:

Ma chi cantare vole e valer bene,
in suo legno a nichier Diritto pone
e orrato Saver mette al timone,
Dio fa sua stella, e ‘n ver Lausor sua spene:
ché grande onor né grande bene no è stato
acuistato - carnal voglia seguendo,

⁷⁴¹ Michelangelo Picone, “Guittone e i due tempi del *Canzoniere*” in Michelangelo Picone, *op. cit.*, pp. 73 - 88.

⁷⁴² *Idem*, p. 80. “è falsa, perché Amore si trova in congiunzione non col «saver», ma col suo *oppositum*, il «follore» (v. 11), non con Dio ma col diavolo (w. 14-15). La vecchia *auctoritas* (da Bernart a Andrea Capellano) sosteneva che si può fare poesia solo di amore, che solo chi intende il fenomeno amoroso è poeta (anzi tanto più poeta quanto più si identifica con l'ipostasi amorosa); la nuova *auctoritas*, emblemizzata dal nuovo io, sostiene invece che non può essere poetico qualcosa di così irrazionale come l'amore, una passione ispirata dalle forze del male e non del bene.” The italics are Picone’s.

⁷⁴³ For which, see Michelangelo Picone, “Immagine e somiglianza: dai Siciliani a Dante”, in *Versante*, 12 (1987), pp. 63-73.

ma promente valendo
e astenendo - a vizi' e a peccato.
[PD, pp. 214 - 215; vv. 16 - 23]⁷⁴⁴

Guittone has made very clear here that God is the only way for a wise man to live well, and as such his poetry from this point on will be full of true Praise of his own (new?) North Star: God, all the while avoiding the sins of his youth. Before moving on to the sonnets of 'Fra' Guittone, it is important to look at a few verses from the third *canzone* in this section of the MS for an important piece of the conversion of this poet.

Ai! Quant'ò che vergogna e che d'ogli' aggio (ff.42r - 43r) is a song of regret for what the poet had done, but also hope for his future, as from now on he will not act according to his more base instincts and instead focus all of his attention on serving God⁷⁴⁵. In the second stanza, however, the poet admits to his past mistakes before making a very interesting claim, given both his later poetic output and the position of this poem in MS L:

Fra gli altri miei follor' fu ch'eo trovai
de disamor ch'amai:
pregiai onta, e cantai dolce di pianto,
e ingegnaimi manto
in far me e altrui saccente forte
in perdendo el nostro Dio e amico.
Guai, lasso, a me dico,
e guai a chi nemico
e orno matto crede, e segue legge
d'orno ch'è senza legge!
Però fuga lo meo folle dir como
suo gran nemico ogn'omo,
ch'eo l' vieto a tutti e per malvagio il casso.
[Egidi, p. 135; vv. 26-38]⁷⁴⁶

The poet has therefore admitted his past mistakes and has asked forgiveness, promising never to do them again, but he goes further and forbids anyone to read any of his earlier poetic

⁷⁴⁴ "But he who wants to sing well and be worthwhile / will place Righteousness at his helm / and honored Wisdom at the rudder, / God will be his North Star and true Praise will be his hope: indeed, nobody ever acquired great honor or good / - by following carnal desire, but with stalwart value and abstention - from vices and from sin."

⁷⁴⁵ See Picone's article, pp. 82 - 86, for an interesting analysis of this article within the greater context of the poet's religious *canzoni*; for our purposes a few verses are all that are directly important.

⁷⁴⁶ "Among my other mad actions was that I found myself / to have loved false love : / I praised shame, and sang of tears / and I thought myself clever / in making myself and others believe ourselves to be very wise / by losing our God and friend. / Woe to me, I say, and woe to whomever believes the devil / and believes crazy ornament, and follows the laws / of embellishment which is lawless ! / For which, flee from my mad words as / every man flees from his worst enemy, / for I forbid anyone to read them for the harm that they cause."

production. This sentiment does not fit in with the idea⁷⁴⁷ that the hand of Guittone had any part in fixing the order of his poetry, at least within MS *L*. If readers are not to read his earlier poetry then there is no sense in placing them in such an intricate order within this MS. We will see this problem again at the end of the discussion of the final sonnet that we examine in this section.

The section of the MS that transmits the *canzoni* of ‘Fra’ Guittone are obviously, from this point on, of a moral and ascetic nature: after having said in the opening poem that he would only write about God from that moment in his life forward, Guittone could not very well place a love song among the works of ‘Fra’ Guittone. However, there are three sonnets to briefly examine in the section of the MS in which the reader finds the works of ‘Fra’ Guittone: two of these seem to be from the point of view of a poet who has only recently converted to writing of God, while the third seems to look back on a much earlier period in his life.

The first sonnet of the final section of MS *L*, at f.117r is another poem on the author’s conversion, which is fitting, coming as it does directly after the final love sonnet of the *canzoniere* as described by Leonardi, after two blank ff.⁷⁴⁸ This poem is similar to a sonnet in rhyme scheme and metrics, but rather than 14 verses, there are 16 here (the second quatrain has an extra pair of verses in rhyme, before the first tercet). The reader sees the same ideas by ‘Fra’ Guittone as in the *canzoni* seen above:

Ahi, che villano e che folle follore
fue ribellarmete, benigno Dio!
Or no, lasso, sacc’eo che creatore
e salvator e redentor se’ mio?
e non che tu d’ogni meo ben fattore
e vero sanator d’onni meo rio?
e non, con se’, d’ogni signor signore,
re d’onni re e bon del tutto e pio?
e non che me chieri far posseditore

⁷⁴⁷ Found in Leonardi, GdC, introduction.

⁷⁴⁸ 115v and the entirety of 116 are blank.

d'onna tuo ben, sì fort'haime 'n desio?
 Ed io pur desdegnando e perseguendo,
 come tu reo o meo grande avversaro,
 e, ch'eo non potea più, sempre dolendo;
 e tu, tradolze meo bon signor caro,
 pur piacente sempre ème, cherendo,
 sì come forte fuss'eo necessario.
 [Egidi, p. 228]⁷⁴⁹

The linguistic choices seen in this poem are the very same as feudal language used by Occitan and Sicilian poets before Guittone, which was also employed by this same poet in his love lyrics. The sentiment here is like that of *canzone* 26, in which the poet asked for forgiveness for his past crimes; but here Guittone claims that he had treated God as if he were an enemy (*grande avversaro* traditionally is meant to signify Satan). This strong imagery will be a cornerstone of the ascetic poetry and invectives that the Aretine poet uses against both his past self and his current enemies.

A second religious, or redemption sonnet which follows the same pattern of asking for forgiveness of his past sins and of his choice to praise God and no longer write love poetry. Item 224 in MS *L* (and 174 in Egidi's edition, still the most recent edition of the entire poetic corpus of Guittone) is found on *f.*118v. The first eight verses give an idea of the new poetics of Guittone, as used against those who would presumably dare to question his poetic choices:

O tracoitata e forsennata gente,
 già non vidd'io miravigliarsi alcono
 ch'al mio Dio ribellai sì lungiamente,
 lo qual mi fece e fa quant'ho di bono;
 e, rendendomi lui, immantenente
 meravigliaste sì tutti a comono,
 e dite, como posso esser soffrente
 che mondano piacer tant'abandonno.
 [Egidi, p. 234, vv. 1 - 9]⁷⁵⁰

⁷⁴⁹ “Ah what obscene and unfaithful foolishness / was it to rebel against you, gracious God! / Do I not now know, that You are my creator / and savior and redeemer? / And do I not [know] that you are the benefactor of all my good fortune / and true healer of all my woes? / And do I not [know] that you are the Lord of Lords, / King of Kings, best and most pious? / And do I not [know] that you ask me to possess / all of your good, for you love me so much? / And though I disdained you, and persecuted you / as if you were bad, or my great enemy, / and, when I could no longer continue, always in pain, / and you, so sweet, my good and dear Lord, / you were always beautiful in asking me / to be as strong as I needed to be”.

This sonnet is clearly in response to those who have questioned Guittone's choice, though there is no MS evidence for such a conversation; the subject of the poem (you all) has obviously asked Guittone for an explanation of his choice, and the poet decries their lack of wisdom. The sonnet presupposes that the audience has heard (or read) the love lyrics of the Aretine and does not like his new way of writing poetry. As a poem unto itself this sentiment cannot stand on its own: without some background on the lyric production of Guittone the audience cannot appreciate what is going on in this sonnet, but as a part of an entire lyric arrangement in which the poet once wrote about worldly love and then decided to write about God it works perfectly. Given the defensive language that the poet uses in talking about his change of heart, and the fact that it is found in MS *L* quite early within the corpus of religious and moral sonnets, the audience has the impression that this poem was written by a newly converted poet who has not yet had time to digest completely the new form of poetry.

The last sonnet to look at comes much later in the MS: on *f.126r* the poet seems to be looking back on his former life from a great distance of time. But once again, without the background of the love poetry that Guittone wrote the audience can only understand this particular sonnet on a very literal level:

Deo, con fu dolce e ben aventureoso
 lo giorno che da me gioia partio,
 ch'allora departi' d'esser noioso
 e despiacente a ragione e a Dio.
 Allor tornò lo mio travaglio a poso
 e a saver lo mio folle desio,
 allora presi cor d'esser gioioso,
 en guisa tal, ch'onni tormento obbrio.
 Ahi, como e quanto allegro esser deggio,
 poi da tua signoria, malvagio Amore,
 l'alma e 'l corpo mio francato veggio.
 Non più l'amaro tuo sami dolciore,
 ché ben cerno da male e mal da peggio,
 mercé Lui, d'onni mio bono fattore.

⁷⁵⁰ "O inconstant and mad people, / I never saw anyone stare in awe / that I rebelled against my God for so long, / He who made me and gave me everything good that I have; / and, giving myself to Him completely, / you were all shocked as one, / and you say, 'how can I suffer so much / that I abandon worldly pleasure.

[Egidi, p. 252]⁷⁵¹

The reader of this poem can understand it on one level without any context whatsoever: this is clearly a poem by a man who had once been dedicated to “wicked Love” but has now seen the error of his ways and has thus turned to God, for which he is quite happy. The reader who knows about the entirety of Guittone’s corpus, on the other hand, sees in the words *gioia* and *noia* the two *senhals* for the poet’s beloved within the *canzoniere* of love sonnets. The narrator of this sonnet is not merely an anonymous poet who has generically turned his life to God and claims that it is much better than a previous life of sin that he had lived: this is the same narrator of the love sonnets from earlier in the MS *L*, who is referencing his turning away from the woman that he loved once and who he could never have. In fairness, the poem can be understood even without any context, as apparently Guittone claims to have desired (given his earlier ban on the reading of his love poetry) but the context of the love poetry in conjunction with this sonnet renders it part of a story, rather than a mere exercise in a certain form of *trobar clus*.

The Harley scribe also included two different lyrics in Middle English wherein the narrator says that he will no longer lead the bad life that had been his habit up until that point; the first poem specifically talks about the evils of writing about carnal love, while the second lyric is more general in the conversion from bad to good, but is similar in scope to the first. *Weping haueþ myn wonges wet*⁷⁵² is the first poem to examine, which is found on *f.66r*: this poem is followed in the MS by others that we have already seen⁷⁵³ and that are explicitly about the beauty of different women and how nice it would be if the narrator were able to have sex with her. The poem in question, however, is equally explicit in saying that he will no

⁷⁵¹ “God, how sweet and adventurous / was the day, that joy left me! / Since from that day I stopped being a bore, and displeasing to reason and to God. / That is when pain relaxed / and my foolish stupidity turned to wisdom, / then I was heartened to be joyous, / in such a way that I forget all torment. / Ah, how I must be happy, / since from you Madam, wicked Love, / I see my soul and my body freed. / No longer do they love your bitter sweetness, / since I now understand good from bad and bad from worse, / thanks to His mercy, the maker of all my good fortune.”

⁷⁵² “Weeping has made my cheeks wet.”

⁷⁵³ *Mosti ryden by rybbesdale, In a fryte, and A wayle whyt as whalles bone.*

longer write poetry about women: like Guittone before him, the poet claims that he has given up the writing of amorous lyrics and has decided to write only about the love of God. In the first verse the poet describes his past:

Weping haueþ myn wonges wet
for wikked werk ant wone of wyt;
vnblīþe y be til y ha bet
bruches broken, ase bok byt,
of leuedis loue, þat y ha let,
þat lemēþ al wiþ luefly lyt;
ofte in song y haue hem set,
þat is vnsemlī þer hit syt.
Hit syt ant semēþ noht
þer hit ys seid in song;
þat y haue of hem wroht,
ywis hit is al wrong.
[THL, p. 35; vv. 1 - 12]⁷⁵⁴

Fein has called this poem “The poet’s repentance”, and this seems to be a fitting title in English. For the poet claims that what he has previously written about women is unseemly, all wrong, and has caused him even to cry. In the second stanza the narrator discusses his love of the Virgin Mary and the fact that, thanks to her intervention and the birth of Jesus, women are good people: indeed he goes so far as to claim that there have been no wicked women anymore ever since Jesus was born (at v. 24). In the third stanza the poet continues the castigation of his previous poetic behavior; at vv. 29 - 36 he writes:

Forþi on molde y waxe mot
þat y sawes haue seid vnsete,
my fykel fleish, mi falsly blod;
on feld hem feole y falle to fete.
To fet y falle hem feole
for falslek fifti-folde,
of alle vntrewe on tele
wiþ tonge ase y her tolde.
[THL, p. 35]⁷⁵⁵

⁷⁵⁴ “Weeping has made my cheeks wet / for wicked deeds and lack of understanding ; / I will be unhappy until I have atoned for / broken transgressions, as the Book commands, / of ladies’ love, that I have left, / that gleams with with a lovely hue ; / *Often in song I have set / unseemly things to place [in song]. / It sits there and is unbecoming / where it is said in song ; / what I have written about them / indeed, it is all wrong.*” The italics are mine.

⁷⁵⁵ “Therefore on Eathe I am sorry / that I have said unbecoming speeches, / [for] my fickel flesh, [and] my deceptive blood ; I humble myself before them. / I am humbled also / for excessive falsehood / for talking about unfaithful people / with my tongue as I formerly told.”

What the poet wrote about and spoke with his tongue about false people in general (but women in particular) has left him sad and repentant of his actions, of his flesh and of his blood. The next stanza explains that which the poet will no longer discuss, either in writing or in song, while praising the fact that Jesus' birth and resurrection have brought joy once again to the world. The final part of the poem to see is in the penultimate stanza, directly after the poet has finished praising the glory of Jesus:

Euer wymmen ich herie ay,
 ant euer in hyrd wiþ hem ich holde,
 ant euer at neode y nyckenay
 þat y ner nemnede þat heo nolde.
 Y nolde ant nullyt noht,
 for nobyng nou a nede
 soþ is þat y of hem ha wroht,
 [THL, p. 36; vv. 53 - 59]⁷⁵⁶

The poet, then, claims that he will never again write nor say anything bad about women again, all the while praising Jesus and the Virgin Mary. He even denies that his past writing had even the hint of the truth in it; this is not quite as drastic a stance as we saw above in Guittone's poetry of conversion, but the sentiment is much the same.

Unlike the sequence of poems that we saw in the MS of the Aretine poet, however, this particular poem is followed directly by love poetry in which the anonymous authors did exactly what the narrator of this particular poem said he would never do again. Here again lies the *meta-narrative* of the Harley MS that Carter Revard has discussed⁷⁵⁷. In one instance we see a poem of repentance for bad things that a poet has said about women in his verses, while in the following three items that the same copyist transmitted in his MS the reader sees exactly what was just criticized. As the above poem is transmitted only by the Harley MS it is impossible to know if it was used similarly in other codices; whatever the case may be for whence the scribe obtained this poem, its placement in this particular position only helps to

⁷⁵⁶ "And now I always praise women, / And I always defend them in the household, / And, when necessary, I deny / having said anything that they did not like. / I did not, and will not, say anything, / For no reason whatsoever / that what I wrote about them was the truth."

⁷⁵⁷ In Revard, *op. cit.* 2005.

reinforce Revard's thesis that the MS has a narrative sequence to it, and is not simply a miscellany made of random lyrics that the scribe decided to enter into his MS without any rhyme or reason.

The next poem is also one of repentance for the bad life that the narrator had lived before the writing of the same. The poet calls this a "prayer" in verse 1, and he immediately asks for God's forgiveness for all of the things that he had done in his life that were bad. In vv. 7 - 14 he outlines what the poem is about:

ffol ich wes in folies fayn,
in luthere lastes y am layn,
þat makeþ myn þryftes þunne,
þat semly sawes wes woned to seyn.
Nou is marred al my meyn,
away is al my wunne.

Vnwunne haueþ myn wonges wet,
þat makeþ me rouþes rede.
[THL, p. 46]⁷⁵⁸

The fact that the man speaking in this poem calls himself a fool, that he complains of things that he has said in the past, and the fact that his actions have caused him to cry bring the first poem directly to mind for both the modern and medieval reader of this MS. The narrator, in a different context to be sure (as this is the prayer of an old man and the former poem was, presumably, by a younger author⁷⁵⁹) but the overall sentiment is the same. He lists his physical ailments at some length, before finally admitting to what the sins of his youth were. The first section of this list forces the reader to contemplate various other lyrics found within the MS:

Whil mi lif wes luper ant lees;
Glotonie mi glemon wes,
wiþ me he wonede a while;
Prude wes my plowe-fere,
Lecherie my lauendere;

⁷⁵⁸ "I was a fool in vain follies, / In base vices I am lain, / that make my fortunes unhappy, / I who was accustomed to say fair speeches. / Now all my strength is injured, / and all my joy has gone away. // *Grief has made my cheeks wet*, / for which I express my repentance." The italics are mine.

⁷⁵⁹ The poem currently under exam makes constant mention of his ailing body and the problems of old age, whereas the former poem has no such complaint.

wip hem is Gabbe ant Gyle.
[THL, p. 47]⁷⁶⁰

The poem that Carter Revard has called *A Goliard's Feast*, found on f.55r, is a poem about a glutton who talks about religious festivities as if they were particularly well-suited days for sinning⁷⁶¹. The pride of the various first person lyric narrators can be seen in such poems as we have already examined, wherein the lover asserts himself in such a way as not to give the beloved a choice in going to bed with him or not (as in *In a fryte*, at ff.66v - 67r and many others). Lechery is the underlying element of most of the love lyrics in this MS; excessive lust is seen in both the ME and Anglo-Norman pieces found therein, particularly in the Anglo-Norman fabliaux that the MS transmits⁷⁶². We have already seen in the earlier poem, finally, that Falsehood and Deceit are two fundamental aspects of much of the love poetry, presumably, transmitted within this very MS. Not only is this a poem and prayer about the repentance of an old man, it is also the repudiation of all that has been found to be less than wholesome in the MS up to this point. In point of fact, after this item there follows directly *Blow northerne wynd* which was discussed in chapter four and which is highly Christian in its coloring, followed by a song on the death of King Edward II (*Alle þat beoþ of huerte trewe*) and finally religious and moral pieces. There will only be, after this poem, one more in Middle English⁷⁶³ that is not either political or religious: *The way of woman's love*, on f.128rv.

This last poem to briefly examine does not specifically have to do with conversion or redemption, but it is important in any discussion of either the Harley MS or in the use of the Bible in love lyrics in ME. As the two poems found on f.128r have been discussed in great

⁷⁶⁰ "My life was formerly base and false : / Gluttony was my minstrel ; / He dwelt with me a while ; / Pride was my playmate, / Lechery was my harlot [laundress] ; / With them is Falsehood and Deceit."

⁷⁶¹ *Quant voy la reuenue dyuer*, for which see Revard, *op. cit.* 2005, pp. 843 - 846.

⁷⁶² Of which there are four: for commentary, editions and translations of all four, see Carter Revard, "Four Fabliaux from London, British library MS Harley 2253, Translated Into English Verse", in *The Chaucer Review*, 40.2 (2005), pp. 111-140.

⁷⁶³ There are, however, some very vulgar pieces in Anglo-Norman ; these will be discussed for their placement within the MS in the general conclusions, but have already been discussed by Revard, in *idem*, and *op. cit.* 2000.

detail by various scholars⁷⁶⁴, ours will be but a general overview of the poetry in question. In short, these two poems share basically all of their main attributes: the rhyme scheme is identical in the two poems, the refrain in one poem is clearly a contrafacta of the other⁷⁶⁵, and most importantly, both poems open with an identical first verse and were copied into the Harley MS on the same folio. To understand the relationship between the two poems it is most helpful to see them side by side (as they have already been seen as they appear on the MS, in the introduction to the analysis of this MS in chapter 2.3). The first verses of both poem and the refrains will be sufficient to understand the relationship between the two:

Lutel wot hit any mon
hou derne loue may stonde,
bote hit were a fre wymmon
þat mucche of loue had fonde.
Þe loue of hire ne lesteþ nowyht longe;
heo haueþ me plyht ant wyteþ me wyþ wronge.

[refrain:]
Euer ant oo for my leof icham in grete þohte;

y þenche on hire þat y ne seo nout ofte.
[THL, pp. 71 - 72, vv. 1 - 8]⁷⁶⁶

Lutel wot hit any mon
hou loue hym haueþ ybounde
þat for us o þe rode ron
ant bohte us wiþ is wounde.
Þe loue of him us haueþ ymaked sounde,
ant ycast þe grimly gost to grounde.

[refrain:]
Euer ant oo, nyht ant day, he haueþ us in is
pohte;

he nul nout leose þat he so deore bohte.
[THL, p. 70; vv. 1 - 8]⁷⁶⁷

The poem above on the left explains that the narrator is in love with a woman who is the “fairest maid” (v. 11) that does not requite his love. This is a classic poem of love-longing but does not go into such lecherous detail as some of the other poems from the Harley MS seen

⁷⁶⁴ Most notably, perhaps, by Richard Firth Green, “The Two ‘Litel Wot Hit Any Mon’ Lyrics in Harley 2253” in *Mediaeval Studies*, 51 (1989), pp. 304-12.

⁷⁶⁵ Which of the two poems is the original has been the object of much debate. Carleton Brown (op. cit., pp. 235 - 236) suggests that since the religious version uses the word *derne* it was the later poem; but Betty Hill, “A note on ‘The Way of Christ’s Love’, ‘The Way of Woman’s Love’ in *Notes and Queries*, 19 (1972), pp. 46 - 47, underlines the fact that the word *derne* has also been attested in a religious piece, for which it is impossible to know which poem came first.

⁷⁶⁶ “Little does any man know / how secret love may stand, / Unless it were a forward woman / that had experienced much of love. Her love does not last long at all ; / She has made promises to me and blames me with injustice. / Ever and always for my dear one I am in great grief ; / I think of her whom I do not often see.”

⁷⁶⁷ “Little does any man know / how love has bound him / who bled on the cross for us / and redeemed us with his wound. / His love has healed us, / and cast the terrible spirit to the ground. / All the time, day and night, he has us in his thoughts; / He will never lose that which he has bought so dearly.” The modern English translations of both of these poems, with some slight modifications, are found in Maxwell S. Luria and Richard L. Hoffman (eds.), *Middle English Lyrics*, New York; London: W.W. Norton and Company, 1974, pp. 37 (for the love poem) and 201 - 202.

above. The poem on the right, on the other hand, is all about Jesus' love for mankind, and the story of the passion: Jesus' suffering on the cross to save all mankind from sin. One of these poems was clearly a re-writing of the other, and in the mind of the Harley scribe the poems are clearly related. These are the final two items in the MS written in Middle English and as such hold additional weight for the audience; based on Revard's analysis of the narrative that runs through the MS, it is of little consequence which of the poems is a re-working of the other. The fact that they are together shows that the Harley scribe, following this scholar's logic, had an objective: his message could have either been about love in general, or about love poetry specifically. If the message is about love generally, then a possible interpretation is that feelings of love for a woman are just as valid as the love of Jesus Christ for mankind, and thus licit. If, on the other hand, the scribe was commenting on poetry, then the message may be, and which seems more in line with the general layout of the MS, that even songs of profane love have a place in the life of a Christian who has something to learn about divine love, and the Christian idea of the love of Jesus for all mankind.

To conclude this chapter, we have seen that all three people that we have been examining throughout this study were concerned with a poetic 'before' and 'after'; that is, there is a certain way of talking about love in one phase of the poetic production that is vulgar, destined for the love of women, or full of falsity. Each of these three men, at a certain point in their careers, decided (and wrote down, or entered into the MS) that there was another way of writing about love that was much more desirable: the love of and for God can and should be taken into consideration by love poets and indeed this is the decidedly better way of writing love poetry. In the first MS that transmits Occitan poetry, unfortunately, this does not come through within the Marcabru corpus, due to the lack of poetry therein. However, the poetry that this MS does transmit gives the impression of Marcabru as a man who wants nothing to do with Love. Guittone's *canzoniere* (that is, the entirety of his corpus in MS L,

and not just his love sonnets) was intricately designed to give the idea of the passage of time and the changing nature of the poet himself, from one who sang of love for women to one dedicated to his love for God. The poet makes several references to his love poetry even within his religious/ascetic poetry, which leads to the conclusion that this poet wanted his audience to read his poetry book as a single story that covers the entire arc of his poetic output. The Harley scribe included two poems in Middle English that show, perhaps, that even love poetry can be used in the correct context to praise God. While there are several quite vulgar poetic pieces in the MS after the inclusion of these final two poems discussed above, the fact that they are all written in Anglo-Norman instead of Middle English can lead to the conclusion that these later vulgar poems were not destined to be read by those who were not cultured enough to understand the true messages behind them. As we have seen, the Harley scribe translated from Anglo-Norman into Middle English on various occasions and could have even translated these other vulgar poems into the native tongue of his area. We will come back to this point in the general conclusions, but for now it is important to note that each of the poets in question had conversion and/or redemption clearly in their minds when they wrote at least a part of their poetry, or when they structured their poetry books. Though this might seem like an obvious idea to modern readers, before the period under examination there were relatively few vernacular literary works that were designed in such a way, whereas after the diffusion of these three books the idea of conversion and redemption would go on to become an integral part of some of the most important European literature.

Conclusions

To conclude this study, an attempt will be made to bring to light the reasons that led the poets in consideration to use biblical references within their vernacular poetry, as well as the cultural reasons for the insertion of these lyrics within the specific MS contextualization, with the ultimate aim of shining a light on the literary cultural motivations of Western Europe during a period between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. We will see, in the end, that while the MS traditions under examination were relatively new in their scope and methodology, this would quickly become the norm for some of the most important and influential authors who directly followed these authors (in both a temporal and a literary sense).

The influence of the biblical narrative on the lives of authors (and everyone else, for that matter) during the Middle Ages was manifold for much of this period. The vast majority of the literature available to be read or listened to had a distinctively Christian bent: that which is present in the various MS traditions of Western Europe is almost exclusively religious in nature. The biblical narrative outside of MSS is also nearly ubiquitous in its presence in the lives of medieval writers and readers. We have seen (in chapters 3 and 4 in particular) that the Bible was interpreted even for those who were unable to read Latin through the use of the plastic arts: from sculptures to stained glass windows, the biblical narrative was available for everyone who passed through a church or in front of a fountain. As the Catholic Church specifically banned the translation of the Bible into languages that might help the populous understand the message therein for themselves, the principle characters at the very least could be understood by all through these other art forms. Thus, everyone who would have either heard or read the poetry transmitted by the three MSS examined in this study would have had at least a passing familiarity with part of the biblical narrative.

Each member of the audience brought a particular cultural and literary background, but as each person who would have read or heard the poetry we have discussed was from western Europe during a period from between 1100 and 1350, there were some common traits shared by all. The entirety of the audience would have been somewhat knowledgeable about the biblical narrative, but here the audience splits in two: on one side there is the audience who knew Latin and had the ability to know Scripture directly from the sources or through exegetical works that were popular during the High Middle Ages. On the other hand, the unlettered among the audience would have been aware of certain biblical stories at least in a generic way, through seeing European art and architecture which recounted various parts of the Bible. This part of the audience would not have been able to fully understand the depth of what the Church may have wanted them to, were they given direct access to the the Book⁷⁶⁸. That notwithstanding, there were certain biblical characters and situations that were well enough known to the general populous that their inclusion within literary works would have been appreciated on at least one level of understanding. But those who wrote and ordered the poetry seen above did not settle for one single level of understanding in their poetry books.

*Litera gesta docet, Quid credas allegoria,
Moralis quid agas, Quo tendas anagogia*⁷⁶⁹.

These Latin verses were taught during the Middle Ages to explain the four ways of interpreting the Bible, as described by Cassius, Augustine, and Pope Gregory the Great. For the medieval European writer, who most likely would have learned these verses in school, this rhyming couplet was the foundation on which the Bible was to be interpreted. Authors of lyrics generally, and our poets in particular, were educated men who certainly would have

⁷⁶⁸ Whence the ban on its translation discussed in chapter 1.

⁷⁶⁹ Printed in Robert M. Grant, *A Short History of Biblical Interpretation*, New York: Fortress Press 1963 [2nd edition, 1984]; the verses translate literally as “The letter instructs about what things were done; Allegory teaches us what we should believe; the moral level shows what to do; the anagogical signals aspects of the (spiritual and future) realm toward which we are directed”.

known about the various ways of interpreting the Bible. The first mode of doing so is in the literal sense, the second is as an allegory, while the third mode is *tropological*, or an interpretation that shows men how they should live during their lives, while the final mode of interpreting the Bible is *anagogical*, or as seeing Christ prefigured in Old Testament books. The authors of the poetry we have seen throughout this study used these various modes of interpreting the Scriptures within their poetry books to varying degrees and with different levels of success. We will try to explain in brief why the poets undertook such an endeavor.

The three poetry books that we have seen throughout this study can all be interpreted literally: the audience may easily see the words of the poet at nothing more than face value. When Marcabru wrote that Love was the downfall of man and that Youth was in decline in his time, the reader (or listener, as the case may have been) could easily interpret the lyrics as those of a man who did not like what he saw in society during his time and that it needed to change. Readers of Guittone d'Arezzo could easily understand his later lyrics as meaning simply that the poet did not want his early poetry to be read and that they should focus more on the things that he wrote after 1265. Likewise, the audience for Harley 2253 could easily have only read the poetry written in Middle English and thus have had a decidedly simplistic view of what is good for a person to do and juxtapose that with the actions that are clearly denounced even in the Middle English lyrics.

But for the cultured audience, the invectives of Marcabru against loose women and slacking morals, juxtaposed to biblical figures as they were so often, could have been interpreted at times as either a moral lesson or an ironic use of biblical images: that is, in any case, as something more than a simple vulgar diatribe. The works of Guittone d'Arezzo must be taken as a whole (letters, pre-conversion and post-conversion poetry all included) and only then can it be seen that the language of Guittone does not really change much when in 1265 he decided to dedicate his life to moral and religious poetry alone. If the *canzoniere* of 86

sonnets that MS *L* transmits is to be considered as an ironic discourse on the faults of courtly love lyrics, then based on the MS evidence and the linguistic choices we have seen, the moral and religious lyrics too can be considered to be derived less from personal conviction and more from the desire to use a literary device. The Harley scribe, meanwhile, chose to write in several languages, only translating certain items into Middle English from either Latin or Anglo-Norman; the choice of ending the Middle English lyrics with a contrafacta on the love of a woman and the love of Jesus for mankind is telling, in that the audience who only understood that language would not have gained anything more from the poetry book, while for those who were able to understand Anglo-Norman there were still four vulgar *fabliaux* to be read: these works make fun of certain aspects of society with the worst possible language and it is possible that the scribe did not offer them in Middle English so as to appeal in certain aspects to one audience, and in others to another. These multiple possible interpretations, one could argue, were used purposefully by the authors and scribes to appeal to the largest audience possible: vernacular love lyrics are not only for the cultured and instructed, but rather, they are meant to be enjoyed by everyone, at least on a certain level of understanding. This is one of the effects of the schools and universities that were becoming ever more popular in Europe during this time, in which young students were taught that there were, in fact, four different ways of interpreting the Bible. So why not, one could argue, have multiple ways of interpreting a book of poetry?

The idea of medieval Europe is incomprehensible if one does not have a solid idea of what Christianity was (and is) and the effect that this religion has had on the culture of this geographic entity. This study began by looking at the availability of the Bible in various languages throughout Europe before going on to examine the ways in which it was used, since medieval European literature can not be understood without some knowledge of the Bible.

Likewise, the three MSS under consideration were first examined in their entirety before delving into various particular aspects thereof (the individual poems themselves). Medieval European literature is incomprehensible if all of its aspects (the culture of the authors, the culture of the audience, the ways in which literature circulated) are not duly taken into consideration. One can make the claim that Guittone d'Arezzo was not necessarily sincere in even his moral poetic works thanks only to a vast codicological and philological framework: at the same time, what Guittone wrote is literature and should be read as such. Philology can not exist without literature, just as literature cannot be understood in its entirety without philology: in this same way Europe cannot be understood without Christianity and vice versa.

What was observed in the works of Guittone d'Arezzo holds true for both Marcabru and the Harley scribe as well: their works can be understood individually as single entities that use the Bible in certain ways in order to either give a moral lesson or to make fun of the clergy, or perhaps to simply give the narrator more clout. But through an investigation of the entirety of the various MSS and literary traditions, in all languages and literary genres, what one sees is an inter and intratextuality that comes to the fore, showing that European literature was already firmly in place even at a time in which the individual countries that make up modern day Europe were not well defined. These three authors all depended heavily on both the books of the Bible and exegetical works that were well known throughout western Europe. The Bible was indeed used in medieval love lyrics, but the entirety of the truth is something more than that: the Bible was the cornerstone of Christianity, which was the cornerstone of Western Europea throughout the time period in question. This book was never read directly by the vast majority of the population, but in the early centuries of Christianity it gave way to scholars and exegetes who attempted to interpret these books in certain political and social situations. These later works would go on themselves to influence both society at large and literature in particular. The three MSS we have seen used both of these elements: at times the

authors used images of Christ, David and Samson; at others the story of Adam and Eve were used to instill certain ideas within their audiences. All three men were influence by Saint Bernard and used his (and other exegetes') works to create their own. These works, these fully constructed poetry books, are among the first of their kind in each of the countries in question, and each of which would go on to influence important later authors: Dante Alighieri, Francesco Petrarca, Giovanni Boccaccio and Geoffrey Chaucer (to stay within the fourteenth century), the works of whom would finally go on to help bring Europe out of the Middle Ages and into the Renaissance and ever tighter European unity, both on a political and literary level. To understand the Bible in medieval European love lyrics is to understand a united literary Europe for nearly two centuries.

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