Cum dicit auctoritas: Quotational Practice in Two Bilingual Treatises on Love by
Gérard of Liège

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Abstract

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"*Cum dicit auctoritas*: Quotational Practice in Two Bilingual Treatises on Love by
Gérard of Liège" is the first dedicated study of two oft discussed and poorly understood
thirteenth-century love treatises known mainly for their unusual, syntactically integrated mixture
of Latin and Old French. In addition to providing the first complete translation into any modern
language of the treatises—*Septem remedia contra amorem illicitum valde utilia* (*Seven Very
Useful Remedies for Illicit Love*) and *De divino amore* (*On Divine Love*, formerly *Quinque
incitamenta ad Deum amandum ardenter*)—this dissertation aims to shed light upon Gérard's
practice of quotation, particularly as it pertains to the construction of authority. Each chapter
takes a particular category of quotation as its subject, and shows not only how that category
functions within Gérard's treatises, but also how it may inform current scholarship in medieval
studies.

The first chapter contains the translation of both treatises. In the second chapter, "The
Poetic Practice of Gérard of Liège in *De divino amore*," I reexamine the Old French refrain
corpus in light of what I call Gérard's "refraining"—a poetic and quotational practice that
bridges the sacred-profane divide in his treatise *De divino amore*. The third chapter, "*Cum vulgo
dicitur*: Proverbs and the Language of Authority," concerns the changing relationship of
linguistic authority between French and Latin in the thirteenth century. The fourth chapter,
"Quoting and Rewriting the Church Fathers: The Making of Thirteenth-Century Authority,"
examines some of the most emotionally disturbing and striking quotations in Gérard's treatises in
order to explain how Gérard establishes his own authority; in addition, this chapter presents a

new perspective on the concepts of *auctoritas* and authorship as they pertain to medieval religious texts. In the fifth and final chapter, "*Septem remedia amoris*: Classical Latin Poetry in the Treatises of Gérard of Liège," I focus on Gérard's much maligned first treatise—the *Septem remedia contra amorem illicitum*—to uncover its deep, Ovidian underpinnings, and I ask why Classical Latin poetry is almost entirely absent from the second treatise, *De divino amore*.

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Acknowledgments

These words represent the end of a six-and-a-half-year journey that has been by turns harrowing and felicitous. I imagined that I would find great relief in writing them, but instead, my mind is aswirl with the names of all of the people I want to thank, and I am tormented by my inability to find the language to thank them. How can I thank the people who made it possible for me to achieve a dream I wrote down in a time capsule in elementary school? And given the magnitude of the sacrifices they have made on my behalf, how could I dare even think about assuaging my anxiety by taking the easy way out—writing something like, "Words are not enough to express my gratitude to the following people," and being done with it? Although words are truly not enough, I will try to find some nevertheless.

I begin by thanking my family. My father and mother, Andy and Paula Azab, risked their long-term physical and financial health to give me the privilege of higher education, which they did not have. My achievement is theirs. In addition, I am grateful for my uncle and aunt, Mohamed and Resi Abdelrahman, who helped to fund my undergraduate education when my parents fell on especially hard times.

Second, I give my hearty thanks to my Vergil, my former advisor at Tufts University, Professor Vincent J. Pollina, who encouraged me to declare a French major just a few weeks into my first semester, and who became my intellectual father. Over the years, I have tried in vain to live up to his example. One day, likely in my second year at Tufts, Professor Pollina said, "Perhaps we'll make a medievalist of you yet!" to which I replied, "Jamais de la vie !" But here I am.

Third, I thank the community of scholars who have nurtured my research—above all, the co-sponsors of my dissertation, Professor Carmela Vircillo Franklin in the Department of

Dedication

cui dono opus arduum sequentem

post annos modo anxios paratum?

献给我的丈夫

et à la mémoire de Dom André Wilmart, O.S.B.

Introduction

I. Overview of Contributions to Current Scholarship

Gérard of Liège, Gerardus de Leodio, Gerhard von Lüttich, Gerardus Leodiensis (or

Leodicensis), Gerard van Luik, perhaps even Gérard of Reims or Gérard of Mailly, either the

Cistercian or the Dominican—the thirteenth-century author of the bilingual (Latin-Old French)

religious treatises that form this dissertation's corpus—remains shrouded in a mystery that seven

centuries, many names, and numerous scholars have only succeeded in rendering more abstruse.[1]

And yet, in spite of the obscurity that cloaks his identity and work, Gérard's unique, bilingual

treatises have appeared in a diverse set of academic books and articles over the past century—

this, notwithstanding the fact that they have never, at least until now, been translated into any

modern language. The subject of this dissertation is Gérard's practice of quotation in the *Septem*

remedia contra amorem illicitum valde utilia (*Seven Very Useful Remedies for Illicit Love*) and

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[1] Medievalists are confronted with a vexing variety of naming conventions for medieval authors, even within a single scholarly work. My practice in these pages is therefore to refer to them by their given names in their mother tongues (hence Hugues of Saint-Cher, but Hugh of Saint-Victor), to use the English preposition "of," and to use vernacular place names, rather than Latin ones. I supply alternatives in parentheses next to the first mention of each name, so that scholars searching through the text for one author in particular may find the task easier.

in *De divino amore* (*On Divine Love*), which has until now been misleadingly known as *Quinque incitamenta ad Deum amandum ardenter* (*Five Spurs to Loving God Ardently*).[2]

The main reason why *Septem remedia contra amorem illicitum* and *De divino amore* have received only limited attention is that they have never been translated. I suspect that this is in large part because translating these bilingual texts demands a strong formation in both medieval Latin and Old French. In addition, limited scholarly treatment of a few paragraphs of *De divino amore* translated by Peter Dronke in *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric* has resulted in a similarly limited view of how these treatises might be studied by scholars spanning the field of medieval studies.[3] The most significant contribution of this dissertation is therefore a complete translation, with ample linguistic and interpretative notes, of Gérard's treatises. In a short translator's introduction following this one, I describe my methods and

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[2] The three manuscripts of these treatises differ with regard to the title of the second treatise. Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 1890, from the Clairvaux collection, has "Septem incitamenda ad Deum amandum ardenter," clearly written in red in a different hand than the rest of the text. Bibloteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 71 has a rubricated "Septem incitamen*t*a ad Deum amandum ardenter" as well. (Yet the spurs ("incitamenta") presented in the course of the treatise only number five.) Notably, both of these manuscripts also contain the *Septem remedia*, and Wilmart indicates that they are probably from the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, respectively. I have not been able to view the one manuscript that contains the second treatise alone; the undigitized fifteenth-century manuscript (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 2475-81) has the title "Quinque incitamenta ad diligendum deum" according to the catalogue—but I do not know whether this title is in the manuscript, or how exactly it is presented. Before the second treatise, the early-sixteenth-century print edition (discussed below on page 11) has "Sequitur in quinque incitamenta ad deum perfecte amandum Praefatio" ("[A] Preface on the five spurs to loving God perfectly follows"), which suggests that the "quinque incitamenta" pertain only to the treatise's preface, as is actually the case. Furthermore, while the editor of the print edition writes "finis remediorum septem contra amorem illicitum et peccatum luxurie" ("end of the seven remedies against illicit love and the sin of lust") at the end of the *Septem remedia*, he writes only "finis" at the end of the second treatise—no mention of the spurs. Given that the medieval titles are themselves inconsistent, and that the editor of the print edition did not refer to the whole treatise as the "quinque incitamenta," it is justifiable to provide a modern title that accurately captures the subject of the treatise as a whole.

[3] Peter Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), pp. 59-61; the translation is slightly incorrect, because Wilmart's edition of Gérard's text, which Dronke follows, contains a few errors.

highlight some of the ways in which I have developed Dom André Wilmart's commentary and diverged from his 1933 edition of the treatises.[4]

Beyond the translation and commentary, this dissertation contains the first dedicated study of the *Septem remedia* and *De divino amore*. Like a number of other scholars of French, I first encountered these treatises while studying lyric interpolation; Gérard's second treatise features numerous lyric snippets that have caught academic eyes. But I quickly discovered that Wilmart was not exaggerating when he wrote to the "benevolent reader" of his edition: "Il est vrai que Gérard n'indique pas toujours exactement ses 'autorités,' puise à des sources troubles, y mêle ses propres réflexions. Néanmoins, et quoique je n'aie pas hésité, pour la paix de ma conscience, à relire d'affilée diverses séries d'ouvrages, trop de textes m'ont échappé. [...] Au lecteur bénévole de compléter ce travail très imparfait."[5] Not only did Wilmart leave a number of proverbial question marks next to quotations whose sources he did not recognize, but, perhaps more significantly, he also failed to notice a significant number of quotations not set off by the usual, "As [insert authority here] says..." While such instances of unacknowledged quotation are in no way unique to Gérard,[6] they routinely go unnoticed by Wilmart and by other scholars of medieval Latin texts. Glaring and grave are the consequences of this lack of recognition for literary scholarship—since mistaking quoted material for an original composition represents a

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[4] Gérard of Liège, "Les Traités de Gérard de Liège sur l'amour illicite et sur l'amour de Dieu" in *Analecta reginensia: extraits des manuscrits latins de la reine Christine conservés au Vatican, Studi e Testi* 59, ed. André Wilmart (Vatican City: Vatican Apostolic Library, 1933). Henceforth, I will refer to this as Wilmart (1933) in the notes.

[5] Wilmart (1933), p. 182, n. 7

[6] While it is tempting to think of this practice as a form of plagiarism, the word "plagiarism" cannot apply to medieval works in the way it does to modern ones; since plagiarism means passing off another's work as one's own, usually for some benefit, it does not pertain to the kind of assimilation and copying of source material that was for medieval writers an act of reverence rather than of devious self-promotion.

major interpretative blunder—as well as for historical and philological enterprises. This is the first reason why I chose to focus on different kinds of quotation in the four chapters of this dissertation.

The second reason is that most of the treatises' text constitutes some form of quotation—be it strict quotation (attributed or not) or paraphrase. In other words, Gérard's treatises are very much at the nexus of what Sarah Kay has called the parrots' way and the nightingales' way, with the former referring to verbatim repetition, and the latter being characterized by "recreation rather than verbal repetition."[7] Gérard does often quote other texts verbatim—but many times, he prefers to cite them only (i.e. beginning with a phrase like, "As we read in the *Lives of the Fathers*..."), re-creating their stories for his audience. I treat both of these as forms of quotation, though I often refer to paraphrase specifically as distinguished from verbatim repetition ("quotation"). Thus, in each chapter of this dissertation, I have focused on a different quotational category (e.g. French poetry, proverbs, Latin prose, and Latin poetry) in order to show how a given category functions within the treatises, what the treatises may reveal about the category itself, and how they connect to larger issues and debates in medieval studies. The last section of this introduction contains a more detailed account of the contents of each chapter.

Now that I have outlined what I view as the dissertation's key contributions to medieval scholarship—translating Gérard's treatises for the first time into any modern language, providing extensive philological commentary on them, and showing, through the analysis of Gérard's

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[7] Sarah Kay, *Parrots and Nightingales: Troubadour Quotations and the Development of European Poetry* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), pp. 11-12. See also Sarah Kay, "How Long is a Quotation? Quotations from the Troubadours in the Text and Manuscripts of the *Breviari d'Amor*," *Romania* 127, no. 505-507 (2009), pp. 1-26. While I have not hewed to Kay's terminology in the chapters of this dissertation, her writing on medieval quotational practice has helped me to see quotation beyond what is typographically set off as such in Wilmart's 1933 edition.

quotational practice, how his treatises interact with medieval textual traditions and inform

current scholarship—I would like to provide the reader with some biographical, historical, and

scholarly background.

II. Who Was Gérard of Liège?

My purpose in this dissertation cannot be to settle once and for all the identity of the historical

personage named Gérard of Liège; rather, I aim to present and study the treatises attributed to

him. That said, my study of Gérard's treatises has yielded certain insights into who he was—or at

least, into who he likely was not. I hold the view that Gérard of Liège, like many authority-

names, was probably attached to otherwise anonymous texts by scribes who recognized certain

stylistic or thematic traits they found in clearly attributed works; in this case, Gérard's

bilingualism may have been a major factor in attributing numerous sermons in Paris, BnF MS

lat. 16483 to him, as well as the *Tractatus super septem verba dicta a Domino Jesu Christo

pendente in cruce* (*Treatise on the Seven Sayings of the Lord Jesus Christ Hanging on the

Cross*).[8] Still, not content with the vagueness that this associative method of medieval attribution

implies, several scholars have attempted to identify Gérard with specific historical personages at

specific times; I therefore believe it useful to give some sense of the difficulty of identifying

Gérard of Liège, the efforts that have been made, and what my research may contribute to those

efforts.

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[8] Christopher J. McDonough, "Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France Lat. 16483: Contents, Audience, and the Matter of Old French," *Medieval Studies* 64 (2002), pp. 131-216 contains a detailed treatment of these sermons and their use of French; Nigel F. Palmer discusses the other attributions in "The Authorship of *De doctrina cordis*," in *A Companion to the Doctrine of the Hert : The Middle English Translation and Its Latin and European Contexts*, eds. Denis Renevy and Christina Whitehead (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2010).

In 1931, in an article containing a partial first draft of what would become the complete edition of Gérard's treatises that he published in 1933, Wilmart opined that since Gérard mentioned John Halgren of Abbéville in the second treatise, he must have been alive at least in the early thirteenth century;[9] furthermore, because Wilmart finds the great doctors of the thirteenth century to be absent from the treatises, he prefers (again, in 1931) to identify Gérard with the founding (early-thirteenth-century) abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Val-Saint-Lambert in the diocese of Liège. In spite of some tempting leads in the form of former abbots (i.e. before 1202) of Signy named Gérard—for Val-Saint-Lambert was Signy's daughter, and

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[9] André Wilmart, "Gérard de Liège: un traité inédit de l'amour de Dieu," *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique* 12 (1931), p. 429

this abbot Gérard of Val-Saint-Lambert was sent from Signy—we know absolutely nothing about who this particular abbot Gérard was.[10]

Wilmart also notes, however, that for readers who are more inclined to set the composition of the treatises at a later date, there was *perhaps* a second Gérard who governed the abbey of Val-Saint-Lambert between 1249 and 1254 (yet, contrary to Wilmart's dates, it was more likely between 1250 and 1252).[11] In his 1933 edition of the treatises, Wilmart changes his mind, and opts to favor this would-be mid-thirteenth-century abbot Gérard because the word *begini*, which he reads in *De divino amore*, did not exist before the mid-thirteenth century.[12] That said, as Nigel Palmer implies at the end of his extraordinarily meticulous work on Gérard of Liège and on the authorship of *De doctrina cordis*,[13] there is no particular reason to assume that Gérard came from Val-Saint-Lambert—Wilmart appears to have happened upon his two candidates by scouring the pages of Ursmer Berlière's *Monasticon Belge* for thirteenth-century abbots named Gérard, but, for the reasons I have given in the (very) long footnotes below, the Gérard who authored the treatises and the *De doctrina cordis* was very likely neither of the two Wilmart identified[14]—and the second one was probably not even named Gérard. Indeed, Gérard of Liège may well have been a monk originally from Liège who lived outside of that diocese, and as a matter of sound methodology, this consideration ought to have led Wilmart to consider all of the thirteenth-century Gérards in the *Gallia Christiana* and then some, since Gérard never identifies himself clearly as an abbot in the treatises or in *De doctrina cordis*. With our current resources, we simply cannot know who Gérard of Liège was; Wilmart's guesses were true shots in the dark, and should no longer be taken seriously. We must make our peace with the fact that there is no known historical personage with whom this singular writer may be remotely reasonably identified.

[10] In the following long note, I cite several important (and imperfect) eighteenth- and nineteenth-century historiographical texts that must be read carefully alongside each other, ideally with the charters they analyze close at hand. *Gallia Christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa*, 16 vols. (Paris: multiple publishers and reprintings, 1715-1865); Ursmer Berlière, *Monasticon Belge*, vol. 2 *Province de Liège* (Liège: Centre national de recherches d'histoire religieuse, 1962); J.G. Schoonbroodt, *Inventaire analytique et chronologique des chartes du chapitre de Saint-Lambert, à Liège*, 2 vols. (Liège: J. Desoer, 1863 and 1880); Joseph Mathy, *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Signy*, 2nd ed. (Reims: Imprimerie Coulon, 1993); Pierre-Louis Péchenard, *Histoire de l'abbaye d'Igny de l'ordre de Cîteaux au diocèse de Reims* (Reims: Imprimerie Coopérative de Reims, 1883). The generally accepted view that the *Monasticon Belge* may replace the *Gallia Christiana* for the material it covers is incorrect. According to the *Gallia Christiana* (vol. 3, col. 1021 [or 1121, depending on printing]), what would become in 1202 the abbey of Val-Saint-Lambert, a daughter of the abbey of Signy, began as the house of Holy Mary of Rosières at a place between Liège and Huy (also referred to as Estriv(e)al and Plenevaux). Rosières was founded c. 1192 after a land grant was made to the abbey of Signy c. 1187. It was a failed monastic project—likely around 1197, its monks were recalled to the abbey of Signy, whence they came. This upset the duke of Limbourg, who was deeply invested in the monks' presence on his land, and who succeeded in coaxing them back with a better location between 1200 and 1202, when Val-Saint-Lambert was officially founded under an abbot Gérard. The *Gallia Christiana* (vol. 9, col. 306) hypothesizes that the abbot Jacques sent his predecessor, the fourth abbot of Signy, also named Gérard, to Rosières in 1192: "Sane Gerardus, veteranus abbas Signiaci mitti potuit ad Estivias an. 1187 ab abbate Signiacensi Guidone; ipse autem Guido abdicato Signiaco mitti potuit anno 1202 ad Vallem S. Lamberti ab abbate Gerardo [*le Bègue*] qui sequitur." ("Surely Gerard, the former abbot of Signy could have been sent to Estivias [Rosières] in 1187 by Guido [Guy], abbot of Signy; and the same Guido, having abdicated at Signy, could have been sent in 1202 to Val-Saint-Lambert by the abbot Gérard [the Stammerer, tenth abbot of Signy—ninth according to Mathy, p. 61] who follows.") There appear to be several layers of error here—a reversal of names and a false date—since, according to primary sources quoted by Ursmer Berlière (whose life's work, the *Monasticon Belge*, sought to correct and update the *Gallia Christiana* for medieval Belgium), it was the *sixth* abbot, Guido (or Guy), whom abbot Jacques (1192-1197) sent to Rosières along with twelve monks (Berlière, p. 157), and this would have happened in 1192, according to the section of the *Gallia Christiana* cited at the beginning of this note. Further, the *Gallia Christiana* clearly acknowledges that Gérard was the first abbot of Val-Saint-Lambert in 1202, not Guido. Still, one might wonder if, given the error here, and the tendency to send former abbots to govern daughter monasteries, this Gérard, fourth abbot of Signy (1177-1181) is also first abbot of Val-Saint-Lambert. Pierre-Louis Péchenard (p. 166, n. 2) shows that this is the same Gérard who was sent against his will ("e Signiaco violenter assumptus"), probably in his old age (hence "venerabilis"), to be the abbot of Igny after his service at Signy had concluded. If Péchenard's sources are correct, however, there is confusion in the historical record—confusion to which the *Gallia Christiana* (vol. 9, 301) otherwise attests in its vague and partial account of Igny's order of abbatial succession; again, this Gérard is said to have governed Signy until 1181, but, according to the record, he succeeded abbot Pierre Monoculus (*le Borgne*) at Igny when Pierre left to become the abbot of Clairvaux in 1179. (Surely, Gérard could not have been abbot of Signy and of Igny at the same time.) This might suggest that Igny had trouble filling the post until it found Gérard a few years after Pierre's departure. At any rate, this Gérard, fourth abbot of Signy—the alleged successor of One-Eyed Pierre at Igny—was probably of advanced age, and, depending on the source, died either at Signy or at Igny. It therefore seems most likely to me that Gérard le Bègue, tenth abbot of Signy, sent *another* Gérard, most likely *not* the fourth abbot of Signy, to Val-Saint-Lambert around 1202. (Either that, or he sent himself—but the record claims that he ended his abbacy at Signy in 1205, and it seems unlikely that Signy and Val-Saint-Lambert shared an abbot until then, given the internal struggles that the *Gallia Christiana* alludes to at Signy; there is also no record of the first abbot of Val-Saint-Lambert being called *le Bègue*.) According to Schoonbroodt and Berlière, both

of whom worked with primary sources from Val-Saint-Lambert, Val-Saint-Lambert's first abbot died on July 17, 1206—Wilmart alone gives July 12 as his death date, doubtless erroneously. In spite of all of this confusion surrounding dates, Gérards, and movements from abbey to abbey, we are able to conclude with some certainty that the Gérard who was sent to be the first abbot of Val-Saint-Lambert was probably not the fourth or tenth abbot of Signy. In fact, we know nothing about the first abbot of Val-Saint-Lambert beyond the fact that he was named Gérard, and that he came from Signy. In any case, I am convinced that he was not the author of the treatises, which renders all of this moot—still, I have included all of my research here, in case a future scholar should beg to differ.

[11] Wilmart justly writes "peut-être" where I have italicized "perhaps." Schoonbroodt (charter 2260, vol. 2, p. 348, n. 1) has no qualms about equating what appears to him to be a manuscript "G." abbreviating "Gerardus" in a charter dated 1250 with "Everhard" (Everhardus), who, Schoonbroodt writes, was "abbé en janvier 1250 [...] suivant la *Gallia Christiana* et l'obituaire de l'abbaye." The *Gallia Christiana* further notes that this Everhard died ("obiit") in 1250, and was formerly prior (*prieur*) at the abbey of Igny. Berlière (p. 159) agrees with reading "G." as "Gerardus," but, by stating incorrectly that Schoonbroodt's charter is dated 1251—it is dated 1250—Berlière implies that Everhard ruled from 1250-1252 (it should be 1248-1250). (Additionally, Berlière does not explain why he identifies G(erardus) as being the prior Everhard of *Signy*, rather than of Igny, following the *Gallia Christiana*—perhaps this was an error, given that only one consonant separates the two abbeys.) I wonder if the "G." that would, according to Berlière and Schoonbroodt, abbreviate "Gerardus," was misread by Schoonbroodt, or even miswritten, since Gerardus and Everhard are not straightforwardly interchangeable, as are Everhard and Eberhard (or Gerard and Gerhard). It is vexatious that Schoonbroodt, who did such meticulous work, did not include diplomatic transcriptions of the material he translated from Latin into French, as I am unable to locate this charter featuring the G-abbreviation in the manuscript cartulary Paris, BnF, MS lat. 10176. If the charter shows a true majuscule here, as Schoonbroodt's typed text implies, then it is possible that majuscule G and E looked confusingly similar, as they often do in thirteenth-century hands. I would therefore consider it wiser, given that the *Gallia Christiana* and the obituary (according to Schoonbroodt, at least) both give "Everhard" as the abbot at this time, to take this apparent G-abbreviation in the charter as an E-abbreviation. And even if there is no question that this is a G-abbreviation, Berlière still makes a bizarre choice in naming the abbot at this time Gerard, rather than Everhard, since that is the name clearly documented elsewhere. Finally, Wilmart's indication that this Everhard/Gerard governed between 1249 and 1254 appears to be his own faulty interpretation of Berlière, who notes that the first mention of Arnoul (Arnulfus, Arnulf) is in a charter dated 1254. This emphatically does *not* mean that Arnoul's abbacy began in 1254! Since medieval record-keepers were generally more careful to record endings than beginnings, we know only that Arnoul was abbot of Val-Saint-Lambert until he died in 1270. More precisely, since we know that Arnulf's predecessor, Everhard/Gerard, served only two years as abbot, and that Everhard/Gerard's predecessor, Henri, died in 1248, it is more reasonable to assume that Everhard/Gerard served only from 1248-1250, and that Arnoul had a twenty-year abbacy. All of this to say that it is by no means settled history (or paleography) that a monk named Gérard governed Val-Saint-Lambert around 1250, and I therefore find the identification of this abbot Everhard with our Gérard of Liège to be extremely tenuous.

Regarding the separate question of Gérard's religious affiliation, Wilmart holds, for reasons I will now detail, that internal evidence in the treatises—particularly in the *De divino amore*—requires attribution to a Cistercian; furthermore, since Wilmart also takes the author of *De doctrina cordis* to be the same Cistercian who composed our love treatises, he rejects from consideration another mid-century Gérard who was said, in fifteen of the sixteen manuscripts of *De doctrina cordis* containing an attribution to a Gérard of Liège, to be a Dominican lector.[15] But if the *Septem remedia*, *De divino amore*, and *De doctrina cordis* were all written by one Cistercian author (and likely for a Cistercian audience), why do the fifteen aforementioned manuscripts of the *De doctrina cordis* attributed to Gérard identify him as a Dominican? Palmer outlines three possibilities:

> We are faced with a choice. One option is to suppose that, by coincidence, there were two writers who went by the same name, a Dominican and a Cistercian. In this case we can safely attribute *De doctrina* to a Dominican lector in Liège writing for Cistercian men and women. The similarities of style between the two writers must be explained by the fact that they were addressing the same audience at about the same time. A second possibility is that the name of a Dominican lector, who wrote *De doctrina* for a Cistercian audience, was transferred to a pair of genuinely Cistercian texts, the *Septem remedia/Quinque incitamenta* [i.e. *De divino amore*], in error. A third possibility is that a Cistercian writer, Gérard of Liège, came to be confused, in the early years of the manuscript tradition, with a

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[12] Wilmart (1933), p. 181, n. 2. As I discuss below regarding the question of audience, this mention of Beguines (either male ones, or a combination of male and female beguines) is very problematic for philological reasons—*begini* is certainly a *lectio difficilior*; yet the *lectio facilior*, *benigni*, in this case, is supported by two of the three manuscripts, and makes much better sense in context. How can Wilmart have been so certain of his reading of one word that he was willing to dismiss his qualms from 1931 about placing the treatises at the beginning of the thirteenth century?

[13] Palmer, "The Authorship of *De doctrina cordis*," p. 55

[14] Edmond Mikkers, in "Le Traité de Gérard de Liège sur les Sept Paroles de Notre-Seigneur en Croix," *Collectanea Ordinis Cisterciensium Reformatorum* 12 (Jan. 1, 1950), also holds the view that our Gérard was likely not one of those Wilmart identified.

[15] Palmer, "The Authorship of *De doctrina cordis*," p. 48; This would be the same Dominican lector who was thought to have been present as an assessor of the visions of Juliana of Cornillon, which implies that he was considered a "theologian of some distinction."

well-known figure who lived for many years in the Dominican convent at Liège, with the result that sixteen manuscripts of the *De doctrina* and the *Catalogus virorum illustrium* have inherited a false attribution. [...] The most likely solution, which is the position favoured by Wilmart, is that we are dealing with a Cistercian writer, Gérard of Liège, whose name came to be confused with that of Brother Gérard, lector of the Dominican convent in Liège, an individual who on account of his preaching, pastoral duties and contacts with the local ecclesiastical hierarchy may have been rather better known to the early scribes than the Cistercian author.[16]

I am persuaded by the solution proposed by Wilmart and Palmer, but I would like to add a fourth possibility, since the strongest piece of internal evidence for Cistercian authorship of the *De divino amore* is not quite as strong as it seems. Wilmart considers the following statement to be determinative of Gérard's association with the Cistercian Order:

> Sed videamus diligenter quomodo viximus et vivimus in terra sancta et in loco sanctorum et in domo perfectionis. Quam perfectionem nos omnes qui ordinem Cisterciensem professi sumus, devovimus, idest coram Deo et sanctis eius promisimus [...]

> But let us look carefully at how we live and have lived on holy land, and in a place of holies, and in the house of perfection. And all of us who are professed in the Cistercian Order have devoted ourselves to this perfection—that, we have made a promise before God and His saints [...][17]

Yet Wilmart was unaware of an early sixteenth-century print edition (published by Josse Bade in Paris in 1521), edited by Guillaume Bibauc (Bibault, Guilielmus Bibaucius), who replaces "ordinem Cisterciensem" with "in religione."[18] By changing two words, Wilmart's textual

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[16] ibid., pp. 52-53

[17] *De divino amore* §II.1.A. ¶ 2, Wilmart p. 212

[18] Gérard of Liège, *Remedia septem contra amorem illicitum, praecipue mulierum: Et quinque incitamenta ad amorem Dei, omnibus necessarium*, Guillaume Bibauc (Guilielmus Bibiaucius), ed. (Paris: Jodocus Badius [Josse Bade] Ascensius, 1521). This text is widely available online, including on Google Books. The USTC and several libraries erroneously give Guilielmus—a Flemish preacher and early-sixteenth-century Carthusian monk, who became the general of his chapter in 1521 (note the year above)—as the author of the treatises. Interestingly, as their first editor, he purges the treatises of French (only occasionally translating Gérard's French into Latin), and he appears to add his own thoughts in "additiones" at the end of each treatise.

smoking gun disappears, and one might wonder if an early Cistercian scribe, copying these treatises for his brothers (and possibly sisters), might have slipped "ordinem Cisterciensem" in where another text originally stood. That said, I do concur with Wilmart that the preponderance of textual evidence points to Cistercian authorship. Furthermore, especially because all three manuscripts of *De divino amore* contain "ordinem Cisterciensem"—even though one of them does not appear to share a common archetype with the other two—it is most likely that it did come from Gérard's Cistercian hand.

Finally, to address the question of when Gérard lived, my analysis of Gérard's quotations reveals that it is possible to say with more certainty than Wilmart or Palmer that he flourished in the middle of the thirteenth century.[19] Four pieces of evidence illustrate this, both in the *De divino amore*. The first comes from Guillaume of Peyraud (William Perault, Perrault, Peyraut, Pérault, Guilelmus Peraldus), whom Gérard quotes in the passage below:

> Dupliciter dicunt creature nobis ut Deum amemus: uno modo, ostendendo eum dignissimum amore nostro; bonitas enim universarum creaturarum ostendit creatorem esse optimum, et ideo amore nostro dignissimum. Item sunt dona nature, dona fortune, dona gratie et dona glorie. Dona nature sunt fortitudo corporis, pulcritudo [etc.]

> God's creations speak to us doubly, so that we may love Him—one way is by showing Him to be most worthy of our love, for the goodness of all creation shows Him to be the greatest creator, and thus worthy of our love. Thus, we have the gifts of nature, the gifts of fortune, the gifts of grace, and the gifts of glory. The gifts of nature are bodily strength, beauty [etc.]

Were it not for the bizarre problem above—Gérard indicates two ways (*dupliciter*) that God's creations speak to us, but he only supplies one—it is unlikely that anyone who had not read the

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[19] In addition, note that the many similarities Guido Hendrix finds between the *Postillae* of Hugues of Saint-Cher and the *De doctrina cordis* imply that, if the same Gérard wrote the *De doctrina cordis* and the treatises, he was a mid-to-late-thirteenth-century writer. In the following paragraphs, I will focus only on internal evidence in the treatises.

treatise *De charitate* in Peyraud's *Summa de virtutibus* would have recognized this as coming from Peyraud. The proof of the direction of borrowing consists in the fact that Peyraud's text, which matches Gérard's exactly, continues to outline a second way ("secundo") before moving onto the gifts:

> Dupliciter dicunt creaturae nobis ut Deum amemus. Uno modo, ostendendo eum dignissimum amore nostro, bonitas enim universitatis creaturarum ostendit creatorem esse optimum, et ideo amore dignissimum. Secundo, quia creaturae sunt dona Dei et beneficia Dei. (p. 352)

> God's creations speak to us doubly, so that we may love Him—one way is by showing Him to be most worthy of our love, for the goodness of all creation shows Him to be the greatest creator, and thus worthy of our love. [as above] Secundo, quia creaturae sunt dona Dei et beneficia Dei. (p. 352)

While what follows this quotation in Peyraud's text is quite different from what we read in Gérard—Gérard is paraphrasing and adding his own commentary from other sources, rather than copying Peyraud verbatim *in extenso*—each of the "spurs" (*incitamenta*) comes directly from Peyraud's treatise *De charitate* in the *Summa de virtutibus*.[20] This is why, to my mind, scholarly tradition is wrong to refer to Gérard's second treatise as the *Quinque incitamenta*—these spurs are demonstrably not Gérard's, and they only comprise the very first part of a treatise on divine love in general.[21] But putting that matter aside, the above quotation, truncated as it is by Gérard, implies a mid-thirteenth-century date for Gérard's treatises; especially in light of the fact that Peyraud's *Summa* was extremely popular in the Middle Ages (with around 300 extant manuscripts), it is harder to make the case that Peyraud was actually copying from Gérard,

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[20] Guillaume of Peyraud, *Summae Virtutum ac Vitiorum*, vol. 1 (Lyon: Guillaume Rouillé [Guilelmus Rovillius], 1571), p. 242, accessible here: https://books.google.com/books?id=ez-Tyomgv9YC&dq . See my commentary on the translation for further correspondences.

[21] It would be equally absurd to call Boethius' famous treatise *De Trinitate*, *De tribus partes speculativae philosophiae* because that is what he discusses first after the introduction.

whose *De divino amore* survives in only three manuscripts.[22] Peyraud himself was born around 1200 and died around 1270; although I cannot find a sure date for the *Summa de virtutibus*, such a monumental work of scholastic erudition likely did not belong to his tender youth, which would put its date toward the end of the first quarter of the thirteenth century at the earliest, and more likely in the second quarter of the century. Gérard, then, would have written his treatises sometime later.

A second point that may be useful for dating is Gérard's mention of "magister Rigaus" in the *Septem remedia*.[23] About this name, Wilmart writes, "*Id est, ut videtur, Ricardus de Sancto Victore*." This simply cannot be correct—Gérard plainly quotes Richard of Saint-Victor many times in *De divino amore*, even referring to him by name as "Ricardus."[24] Rigaus (subject case of Old French *Rigaud*) is the French form of Rigaldus (not Ricardus) in Latin, and although I cannot locate the text Gérard quotes, he is in all likelihood referring to the thirteenth-century theologian Eudes Rigaud (Odo Rigaldus, Odon Rigaud, Eudes of Rouen), a famous professor at the Sorbonne, who was active in the mid-thirteenth century and died in Rouen in 1275. It would be necessary to locate the quotation attributed to "master Rigaus" in order to prove the case

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[22] This does not eliminate the possibility that Peyraud copied from Gérard, and cleaned up the text, where he saw a "secundo modo" was clearly missing. To me, however, it looks as if Gérard quotes Peyraud, remembering perhaps that the "secundo modo" has to do with gifts (*dona*), and then goes off in a new direction. It is also possible that here and elsewhere, Gérard and Peyraud are quoting from the same source—if this is the case, then that source has not survived. If one could make a compelling case that Peyraud took material from Gérard, this would certainly be a testament to Gérard's as-yet-unacknowledged authority, and it would doubtless place him earlier in the thirteenth century. Still, seeing how widely Gérard quotes from other sources— overwhelmingly *not* contributing his own "new" theological material, but bringing many different sources into a unified discourse, and providing connective tissue in the form of his own explanations and examples—I find it much more reasonable to assume that Gérard takes the "five spurs" from elsewhere.

[23] *Septem remedia* §I.1. ¶ 6, Wilmart p. 187

[24] *De divino amore* §II.2.B. ¶ 4, Wilmart p. 221

beyond all doubt, but this would seem to be the only Rigaus (or Rigaldus) that the manuscript

tradition has left for our consideration.

Third, in *De divino amore*, there is a similarly unknown quotation of "magister Johannes

de Abbatisvilla" (John Halgren of Abbéville, Jean [Halgren] d'Abbéville),[25] which led Wilmart

to believe that Gérard had to be alive in the thirteenth century, however briefly. According to

Wilmart's 1931 article, John Halgren was "successivement doyen de la cathédrale d'Amiens en

1218, archevêque de Besançon en 1225, cardinal évêque de Sabine en 1227, et [il] mourut à

Rome en 1237," [26] Wilmart assumes (if I understand him correctly) that the reference to John

Halgren as "magister" must refer to his time as a teacher, and states that Gérard's reference to

him "reporte sans doute à la première décade du XIIIe siècle."[27] According to the *Dictionnaire*

de Spiritualité ascétique et mystique, John Halgren only became a regent in Paris in 1217. Would

Gérard have referred to him as *magister* before that date?[28] Once again, although we cannot

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[25] *De divino amore* §II.1.A. ¶ 1, Wilmart pp. 211-212

[26] Wilmart (1931), p. 429

[27] ibid.

[28] In addition, if Gérard did know him as his teacher (or as a generally respected teacher), I cannot see what would have prevented Gérard from continuing to call John Halgren "magister," even after the latter had gained new titles. In his entry, "Jean d'Abbéville" in the great *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique* vol. 8 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1974), pp. 249-255, Jean Ribaillier claims that John Halgren was born in the last quarter of the twelfth century, and became a "régent" at the University of Paris in 1217. It is not entirely clear how this term lines up with that of "magister," but Charles Thurot, in *De l'organisation de l'enseignement dans l'Université de Paris au moyen-âge* (Paris: Dezobry, E. Magdeleine et Compagnie, 1850), claims that "Dès le XIIe siècle, *regere scholas* signifiait professer. On s'habitua à dire, par abréviation, *regere*. *Magister regens* était un maître qui enseignait" (p. 90). There were also *magistri non regens*. This said, the only qualification required for teaching was the *licence* (licentia), after which the *maîtrise* could be awarded without further examination—a sort of honorary degree (pp. 154-155). It is therefore hard to say whether Gérard would be referring to the period after which John Halgren was named a regent, or rather sometime after John Halgren received is *licence* and began teaching and preaching. He could also be using *magister* in a general way to refer to a contemporary theological authority (rather than a Church Father) without implying anything about John Halgren's education and titles at the Univeristy of Paris.

identify the work from which the quotation of "magister Johannes de Abbatisvilla" came, or even the precise meaning of *magister* in this context, the evidence would seem to point to a date later than 1206,[29] since John Halgren would likely have become renowned enough to be quoted after that date.

Finally, Gérard seems to "quote" the *De doctrina cordis* itself in his *De divino amore*—a fact that no scholar has thus far recognized. The textual correspondences are in bold; and I quote *De divino amore* alongisde *De doctrina cordis* before providing the English translation of the passage from *De divino amore* below. The parts that differ in the second paragraph are translated in brackets:

> **Et dicit Crisostomus quod optimus victorie modus est in multis vinci.** Et "gloriosius est iniuriam tacendo fugere quam respondendo superare," sicut dicit Gregorius. Et "**melius est vitium vincere quam** personam.["?] Vitium enim **vincit qui tacet et sustinet** patienter et benigne; **personam aliquando vincere videtur qui** dure **respondet**, **sed** qui **a vitio vincitur** intus, **licet extra** fatuis **victor appareat**.["?]

> **Dicit** enim **Chrysostomus**: **Optimus victoriae modus est in multis vinci.** Attende [Pay attention]: quod **melius est vitium vincere quam** vinci a vitio [to be conquered by vice]. **Vincit, qui tacet, et sustinet. Personam aliquando vincere videtur, qui respondet: sed a vitio vincitur intra, licet extra victor appareat.**[30]

> **And Chrysostom says that "the best path to victory is, in many cases, to be vanquished."** And "It is more glorious to flee injury by remaining silent, than to gain the upper hand by responding," as Gregory says. And "**It is better to conquer the vice than the person.**["?] For **he conquers vice who remains silent, and** patiently and kindly **endures**; and **he seems to conquer a person whenever he responds harshly, but he is conquered by vice within, even if outwardly, he appears** to fools **to be a victor**.["?][31]

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[29] That is, the death date of the first Gérard of Val-Saint-Lambert

[30] Gérard of Liège, O.P., *Liber de doctrina cordis*, ed. Brother Aloysius de Aquino (Naples: Giovanni Battista Sottile, 1608), accessible here: https://books.google.com/books?id=sJctzPz_MlUC&pg=PP7#v=onepage&q&f=false

[31] *De divino amore* §II.4.B.b. ¶ 2, Wilmart p. 231

This is what I have called, a number of times in the commentary on my translation, a "quotational *mise-en-abyme*"—quotations of quotations, which are somewhat frequent in Gérard (and in medieval literature in general, though they often go unacknowledged), and which present certain problems for analysis. What makes this passage so difficult in the first place is that we must judge how long the quotation is. Does it end with "Better to conquer the vice than the person"? Does it end at the end of the text I quoted above? Because nothing, in fact, after "melius est vitium vincere quam personam[/vinci a vitio]" seems to have been recorded by any other writer. In fact, we can only be sure that the very first part of the quotation above comes from Chrysostom, in the homilies on Matthew: "Saepenumero ergo vinci quam vincere praestantius est: optimus profecto iste victoriae modus est" ("Thus oftentimes it is more efficacious to be conquered than to conquer: it is indeed the best way [to achieve] victory.")[32]

Chrysostom's original, however, is in Greek, and I do not know whether Gérard 1) approximates the message of a Latin translation he read or heard, and expounds upon it in his own words, beginning with "melius est [...]" ("it is better [...]"), or 2) quotes more or less verbatim from a medieval translation to which we no longer have access, and which differs from the one beginning with *saepenumero*. If the first option is true, it is not so surprising that some of the same authorities and interpretations thereof should appear in both *De doctrina cordis* and *De divino amore*—especially if we believe that their author is one and the same. If the second option is the case, then it is possible that the *De doctrina cordis* and *De divino amore* are quoting the same, lost source, and therefore, that these quotations tell us nothing about anything. But I do not

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[32] Wilmart refers to the Paris edition of 1585 of Chrysostom's homilies on Matthew; Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* 58, 756, provides a slightly different translation of the same: "Saepe namque superari melius est: hic porro optimus est victoriae modus."

consider it likely that the author of *De doctrina cordis*, a different Gérard, quoted *De divino amore* here (and perhaps here alone).

But let us try to deal with this hairy situation from a different angle. Does it not seem that the quotation from Gregory, ("It is more glorious...") is somehow missing from the passage from *De doctrina cordis*?

> **And Chrysostom says that "the best path to victory is, in many cases, to be vanquished."** [*Initial statement about a counterintuitive way to achieve victory.*] And "It is more glorious to flee injury by remaining silent, than to gain the upper hand by responding," as Gregory says. [*This statement by Gregory explains what the "best path to victory" is in more concrete terms.*] And "**It is better to conquer the vice than the person.**["?] [*This maxim follows from the previous statement, because "to respond," and "gain the upper hand" would mean to harm one's adversary, rather than to address the underlying cause of conflict.*] For **he conquers vice who remains silent, and** patiently and kindly **endures**; and **he seems to conquer a person whenever he responds harshly, but he is conquered by vice within, even if outwardly, he appears** to fools **to be a victor**. [*The last bit explains the maxim in more detail by explaining how "remaining silent" can be seen as conquering vice.*]

My commentary in italics shows that without the Gregorian text, there is no real connection between the ideas that "The best path to victory is, in many cases, to be vanquished," and "It is better to conquer the vice than the person"—yet these statements appear without connection in the *De doctrina cordis*. I would submit that this is because the common writer of these treatises exhibits, in this short passage of the *De doctrina cordis*, an accurate, but incomplete memory of a thought he developed more fully in the *De divino amore*. Furthermore, given that there is absolutely no evidence to the contrary (i.e. these quotations exist in this form *only* in these two texts), it is not forbidden to believe that Gérard quotes himself. Wilmart and Palmer both note

thematic similarities between the *De doctrina cordis* and *De divino amore*—perhaps *De divino amore* served, in some places, as a rough draft for Gérard's more accomplished work.[33]

A skeptic would counter that my evidence is circumstantial, and based on a number of assumptions about authorship, dating, and direction of quotation that are not without complications themselves. Still, if the skeptic, believing against other evidence, and against the expertise of Wilmart and Palmer, that the Gérard of the *De doctrina cordis* and the Gérard of the *De divino amore* were different people writing, respectively, in the mid-to-late thirteenth century and early thirteenth century, it would nevertheless be necessary to admit that the supposed later Gérard most likely quoted the supposed earlier one in the passage under discussion, and inclusion in such an important work of thirteenth-century theology would suggest that *De divino amore* was recognized early as a valuable work.

This concludes my assessment of the textual evidence for a mid-to-late-thirteenth-century dating of Gérard's treatises, and for the Cistercian identity of their author. To summarize: 1) Wilmart's identifications of Gérard with abbots of Val-Saint-Lambert are almost entirely untenable; 2) significant internal evidence suggests that Gérard was a Cistercian, in spite of the minor doubts one might have about the most salient proof of this in *De divino amore*; and 3) compelling, but somewhat shaky internal evidence places the writing of these treatises closer toward the middle of the thirteenth century than toward the beginning. This third point in particular merits further exploration, but, as it would require extended analysis of the *De*

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[33] A future article may explore this possibility, which would require reading the full Latin text of the *De doctrina cordis* alongside *De divino amore*, paying special attention to common quotations and the order in which they appear in both texts. In any case, my impression is that compared to *De doctrina cordis*, *De divino amore* is a more youthful work—more of a literature review than a full-fledged dissertation.

doctrina cordis, as well as the unedited writings of John Halgren of Abbéville and Eudes Rigaud—all texts that lie outside my corpus—I can explore no further here.

III. What Was Gérard's Audience?

The reader of these treatises will readily agree that Gérard is writing for monastics. He quotes the Rule of Saint Benedict,[34] mentions treating brothers in the infirmary,[35] and generally seems to advocate for a cloistered existence. For current scholars, one of the most tantalizing questions, which Wilmart foregrounds in his 1933 introduction to the treatises, is whether or not Gérard wrote them for female religious, and perhaps even for Béguines. Wilmart believed that Béguin(e)s formed part of *De divino amore*'s audience, but more on that in a moment.

The internal evidence for a female audience is mostly in the *Septem remedia*, in which Gérard states numerous times that his remedies apply to men and women alike. In the final chapter of this dissertation, I question whether we ought to read these statements as straightforward proof that he was actually addressing women, or rather as echoes of Ovid's rhetorical posture in the *Remedia amoris*. In *De divino amore*, Gérard only addresses his audience as "fratres" ("brothers") five times—no mention of "sorores."[36] According to Wilmart, however, Gérard includes Béguins (i.e. Béghards, possibly Béguines as well, since the masculine plural could cover both) explicitly:

> Multi enim et maxime **Begini** et in religione multi existentes: dum sunt pauperes vel claustrales, nullam administrationem habentes vel potestatem, ita apparent humiles, benigni, misericordes et Deo devoti quod semper de Deo cogitare, de Deo loqui velle videntur. Cum autem elevati fuerint in aliquam prelationem aut in aliquam dominationem et potestatem, que non est nisi a Deo, ut ait apostolus,

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[34] E.g. *De divino amore* §II.2.B. ¶ 4, Wilmart, p. 220, n. 5

[35] *Septem remedia* §V.1., Wilmart p. 197

[36] Of course, these short apostrophes could have been added by someone other than Gérard, but, according to Wilmart's *apparatus criticus*, four of them are found in all three manuscripts of *De divino amore*.

statim obliviscuntur Deum, nec cogitant nec loquntur de Deo, et ita sunt immisericordes, incompassibiles, obstinati, alios despitientes et in quantum possunt opprimentes et conculcantes; quod valde mirum est, nec recordantur nec attendunt quid vel qui fuerunt, sed quid sunt.

> For there are many very good-natured people [or, following Wilmart, "many and very {*maxime*} Béguins"], and many living in religion: while they are poor or cloistered, having no office or power, they appear humble, good-natured, merciful, and devoted to God, since they seem always to want to think and talk about God. When, however, they are elevated to some choice position, or to some powerful lordship, which is nothing if it is not from God, as the Apostle says, they quickly forget God, and neither think nor speak of God, and are thus so unmerciful, uncompassionate, stubborn, disdainful, and—as much as they are can be—oppressive and contemptuous of others, that it is very surprising that they neither remember nor consider what or who they were, but only what they are.

As much as one might like *Begini* to be the correct reading here, I simply cannot see how this masculine plural noun might be modified by the adverb *maxime* ("most," "very," "especially"), which Gérard uses often. *Benigni* (good-natured people)—the reading provided by two of the three manuscripts of *De divino amore* and by the sixteenth-century print edition—is thus syntactically the only reading that makes sense, even if it is the *lectio facilior*. I further find it impossible to understand how the situation Gérard describes in this passage could apply to lay communities of Béguin(e)s, whereas the hierarchy of administrative offices was an important and well-attested part of monastic and Church life. In light of the grammatical and semantic problems with the reading *Begini,* we must be very skeptical of Wilmart's editorial choice—and even if we can accept it, by virtue of the fact that any "choice positions" and "powerful lordships" would have been held by men, we can be reasonably certain that Gérard makes no special reference to Béguin*es* here.

All philological questions aside, we may still wonder whether or not Gérard wrote his treatises in part for Béguines or female religious, since we know from charters, for example, that Cistercian monks were confessors "dans les abbayes de femmes" before 1258 in the diocese of

Liège.[37] In addition, in the *Septem remedia*, Gérard tells a number of stories about religious men and women who were overcome with erotic desire despite their longstanding virtue or their decrepitude—stories that serve as warnings for men and women alike who do not lead a perfectly cloistered existence. Further inquiry into the treatises' manuscript transmission, as well as the into sixteenth-century print edition (which contains some Carthusian additions to Gérard's text), may reveal more about how and by whom Gérard's treatises were read through the centuries. Until then, we only know that Gérard wrote for his brothers, whom he urged time and time again to flee women, and to focus all of their energy on loving God.

IV. Scholarly Treatment of Gérard's Treatises

The scholars who have studied Gérard's treatises in the past eight decades since Wilmart's edition can be divided broadly into two groups. The first comprises scholars who have studied Gérard's work principally for its content, and the second, scholars who have taken interest in it chiefly for its bilingualism. Please note that in this section, where I refer to the *De divino amore*, others have used the title *Quinque incitamenta*, which I regard as incorrect, for reasons articulated in the second section of this introduction (pp. 12-13).

To my knowledge, Peter Dronke, in his *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric* (1958), was the first scholar to discuss Gérard's treatises after Wilmart. He uses Gérard as a starting point for his second chapter, "The Background of Ideas," in which he asks how twelfth- and especially thirteenth-century love poets came to express love for a woman in religious terms. To answer that question, he proposes thinking "in terms of the influence of three

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[37] Berlière, *Monasticon Belge*, pp. 159-160, n. 2: "On rencontre des moines du Val-Saint-Lambert comme confesseurs dans les abbayes de femmes : à Herckenrode, avant novembre 1258 [...]; au Val-Benoît, [1278]; en 1301, 1315 à Moulins, dont l'abbé du Val avait la paternité [...]" Of course, the existence of charters at a certain date testifying to the fact that Cistercian monks in Liège confessed nuns says nothing about when, exactly, the practice began.

kinds of language, which [he calls] mystical, noetic [...] and Sapiential."[38] As an example of

mystical language, he finds in Gérard's treatises "a fascinating [, virtually unknown] witness,"[39]

and, since he focuses on the relationship between the sacred and the profane, he presents

analyses of a few passages of the *De divino amore* in which Gérard quotes trouvère lyric. For

Dronke, Gérard uses the French lyric as he might use any other authority—that is, to make

"almost all his main points"[40]—and Dronke concludes from his analyses that 1) the

"metaphorics" of sacred and profane love are identical because "for love-poet and theologian

alike[,] earth and heaven remain one single sphere of discourse,"[41] and 2) that the language of

love in courtly poetry has its roots in mystical writings about and experience of God's love. In

brief, Dronke contends that although Gérard uses "profane" poetry, it has no meaning for him

beyond his religious allegorization of it: "Sacred and profane love are wholly divorced."[42]

Like Dronke, Barbara Newman considers the relationship between the sacred and the

profane in the *De divino amore*, but she does so by examining Gérard's characterization of God

as at once desirable (like the ideal courtly lover) and jealous (like the husband in a *chanson de

mal-mariée*). This involves looking at how and why Gérard distorts the context of certain

refrains that he quotes. After analyzing one such distortion, Newman argues that in the *De divino*

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[38] Peter Dronke, *Medieval Latin*, p. 58

[39] ibid., p. 59

[40] ibid.

[41] ibid., p. 62

[42] ibid.

amore, the violence of divine love, as described by other devotional writers of Gérard's time,[43]

becomes a spur to loving God: "Violence becomes sexy, the threat of hell seductive. To be raped

(or in more polite language, 'ravished') by God at swordpoint is the height of bliss."[44] The most

intriguing point Newman makes, though, is not so much about Gérard's development of the

concept of violent charity as it is about Gérard's total equation of *caritas* and *amor*—words,

Newman reasons, whose divergent connotations are ignored by Gérard, for whom "to love God

[…] is to practice what the poets call *fin'amors*."[45] This appears to open up the possibility that

sacred and profane love are not so "wholly divorced" as Dronke thought, and, as Newman shows

in a limited way, studying Gérard's practice of quotation as I do in this dissertation may unveil

the nuances of his theology of love and desire.[46]

  At the fore of the second group of scholars of Gérard's treatises is Nico H.J. van den

Boogaard, who dedicated an article, "Les insertions en français dans un traité de Gérard de

Liège," to the study of lyric refrains in the *De divino amore*. He is, for the most part, interested in

identifying these refrains where Wilmart could not.[47] But his conclusions—and more

specifically, his findings that many of the lyric refrains Gérard quotes were found in well-known

motets—may cast doubt upon Gérard's degree of familiarity with secular poetry as such:

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[43] To this effect, Newman cites Hugues and Richard de Saint-Victor. Barbara Newman, *God and the Goddesses: Vision, Poetry, and Belief in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press, 2005)

[44] ibid., p. 155

[45] ibid., p. 153

[46] To these studies of the treatises' content, we may also add Tony Hunt's edition of the *Cantiques Salemon*, in which he conjectures that since Liège was at the heart of Beguine country, Gérard's work may have been intended not only for his fellow Cistercian monks, but also for Beguines and their confessors. Tony Hunt, *Les Cantiques Salemon: The Song of Songs in MS Paris BNF Fr. 14966* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), p. 50

[47] Certain refrains still escape him, however.

"Gérard de Liège ne serait donc pas en contact avec la lyrique profane tout court, mais avec la lyrique profane telle qu'elle était connue et reçue dans les milieux cléricaux."[48] This observation allows van den Boogaard to go beyond Dronke: Gérard does not merely assign an allegorical, divine sense to poetry that he first encountered as secular poetry; rather, since he likely became aware of this poetry in the context of motets, it must have always belonged, for him, to the devotional realm.

While Sylvia Huot, in her discussion of Gérard in *Allegorical Play and the Old French Motet*, does not reexamine van den Boogaard's daring and problematic claim, she reaffirms Dronke's position using her deep knowledge of the motet corpus: Gérard simply and naturally extends the allegorical reading of the *Song of Songs* to lyric poetry, thereby "recasting […] sacred history and theological doctrine in erotic and bodily imagery."[49] In my view, Huot does not give enough weight here to Dronke's point that erotically charged, mystical language was, from Origen (c. 184 – c. 253) on, an essential part of "sacred history and theological doctrine," but nevertheless, her work implies that the combination of Latin and French, sacred and profane in the *De divino amore* may give way to interpretative ambiguities that are also present in motets featuring an Old French motetus and a Latin tenor.

Lastly and most recently, Anne Ibos-Augé centers her short treatment of Gérard de Liège upon an intriguing linguistic feature of his quotational practice that points in the direction of a

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[48] Nico van den Boogaard, "Les Insertions en français dans un traité de Gérard de Liège," in *Marche romane: Mélanges de philologie et de littératures offerts à Jeanne Wathelet-Willem* (Liège: Cahiers de l'association des romanistes à l'université de Liège, 1978), p. 696. I discuss this further in the first chapter of this dissertation—the evidence of monastic motet performance is very thin indeed, and it is therefore not safe to assume that since some refrains found in Gérard were also found in motets, this is how he became familiar with them.

[49] Sylvia Huot, *Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet*: *The Sacred and the Profane in Thirteenth-Century Polyphony* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), p. 73.

special affinity for poetic language: "Il semble […] que Gérard de Liège se soit appliqué à lier ses citations à son texte par certaines assonances."[50] This observation excites precisely because it leads us back to Wilmart, and to a greater appreciation of what makes Gérard an exceptional bilingual writer:

> [Il est évident] que le mélange du latin et du français dans toute l'œuvre de Gérard de Liège est un artifice voulu, un maniérisme, qui ne se peut confondre avec une sorte de notation bilingue destinée à la récitation dans l'un ou l'autre idiome suivant la qualité du public. Cette discussion […] a du moins l'avantage de rendre manifeste l'originalité de notre auteur.[51]

In light of this review of all of the secondary literature on Gérard of Liège's treatises, I hope that the value of my project is clear: in terms of form and content alike, Gérard's treatises are fascinating works, and a synthetic study of them—particularly on account of the dearth of writing about the *Septem remedia*[52] —would be very useful to scholars from different

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[50] Anne Ibos-Augé, *Chanter et lire dans le récit médiéval*, vol. 1 (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), p. 287

[51] Wilmart (1931), p. 384

[52] Newman, in *God and the Goddesses*, does judge the *Septem remedia* to be "a wholly predictable text teaching contempt of the world and its corollary, contempt of women" (p. 151). This view perhaps originates with Wilmart who writes, in his 1931 article, that "Sous les dehors d'une construction logique et réfléchie, le traité des sept *Remèdes* n'est, en réalité, qu'un essai de moine moraliste, et à l'usage des moines, sur le péché de luxure : essai qu'il n'est point injuste, tout en réservant les bonnes intentions de l'auteur, d'estimer **diffus, chargé de redites, médiocre enfin et manqué, pour l'ensemble** [emphasis mine]." (p. 394) The judgment expressed by Wilmart and Newman is, in my opinion, deeply unfair, and I seek to explain why in the final chapter of this dissertation. In addition, in a rather introductory piece that makes many problematic assumptions about Gérard's identity, sources, originality, audience, and use of poetry, David Carlson discusses Gérard's reading of Ovid in the *Septem Remedia*, claiming that "Gérard represents C.S. Lewis's 'Ovid misunderstood' school of medieval classical scholarship, by virtue of his having taken Ovid's *Ars* and *Remedia* as seriously written and worth serious refutation"—a view with which I take issue at length in the fourth chapter of this dissertation. A number of times, Carlson quotes passages as belonging to Gérard that are actually quotations themselves. This has serious consequences for his interpretations of certain passages that he views as similar to bits of Old French romance. David Carlson, "Religion and Romance: The Languages of Love in the Treatises of Gérard of Liège and the Case of Andreas Cappellanus," in *Poetics of Love in the Middle Ages: Texts and Contexts*, eds. Moshe Lazar and Norris J. Lacy (Fairfax, VA: George Mason University Press, 1989), pp. 81-92, esp. p. 88

disciplinary backgrounds who want to understand more precisely how Gérard uses language and deploys his wealth of theological and literary learning.

V. *Cum dicit auctoritas: Quotational Practice in Two Bilingual Treatises on Love by Gérard of Liège*

To begin this section, my dissertation's title requires some explanation. In each of my chapters, I am preoccupied to a greater or lesser extent with the idea of "authority" or *auctoritas* as it pertains to French and Latin writing in Middle Ages. *Auctoritas*, as I explain in the fourth chapter, is a polyvalent word, and in borrowing Gérard's expression, "cum dicit auctoritas"— which, either qualified or unqualified by a name (e.g. "Gregorii," "of Gregory"), introduces a number of quotations in the treatises—I intend to evoke several possible translations, including "as the authority says," "as an authority says," "as authority says." The presence or absence of the definite or indefinite article before the word "authority" in English underscores many of the questions I ask about where quotations come from—a single authoritative source, from an abstract notion of authority itself—as well as about how medieval writers like Gérard conceived of, created, and deployed *auctoritas* in their own writings. As for the part of the title after the colon, I have hesitated to use the word "bilingual," although I prefer it to the adjective "macaronic," which implies, for many readers, a burlesque jumble of languages.[53] That said, Gérard's treatises are not even-handedly bilingual—they are, for the most part, in Latin, with snippets of Old French text that are syntactically integrated to varying degrees with the Latin.

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[53] Other scholars, like Siegfried Wenzel, in *Macaronic Sermons: Bilingualism and Preaching in Late-Medieval England* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), have hedged their bets by using both terms in the titles of books about a corpus that features the linguistic mixing of Latin and a medieval vernacular. For a more comprehensive view, J.N. Adams explores the definitions of these words at length in the introduction to *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)

Beyond the question of bilingualism, the words "quotational practice" in the title are intended to echo "devotional practice," since the practice of quotation—of remembering, preserving for posterity, and interpreting—can itself be seen as a form of devotional practice when it serves a higher spiritual purpose.

In order to adhere to formatting guidelines, I have placed the translations of both treatises in the first chapter of this dissertation. In the second chapter, focusing on the material that is of most interest to current scholars of medieval French literature, I examine the lyric interpolations or refrains that find themselves in Gérard's *De divino amore*. Confronted with questions about how certain snippets of erotic, secular poetry in French come to be interpreted in ways that now seem unusual, I begin the chapter by casting doubt upon the scholarly assumptions that underpin the critical study of the "refrain" that began with the repertory of Nico H.J. van den Boogaard in 1969.[54] I argue that Gérard's use of these texts testifies to a living poetic practice involving the recombination of fixed elements ("types," in a Zumthorian sense), rather than the strict quotation of pre-existing songs; borrowing a word from Eleanor Johnson, who uses it in a different sense,[55] I call this "refraining," in order to emphasize the element of living practice in these texts, rather than the fixity that the noun "refrain" implies. This amounts to asking whether Gérard is really quoting refrains at all. Furthermore, I challenge the view that French poetry in Gérard's treatise functions as "vernacular authority," since in *De divino amore*, Gérard's poetic practice does not seem to have an authoritative function, but rather an emotive one. I ultimately contend that

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[54] Nico H.J. van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains du XIIe siècle au début du XIVe* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1969)

[55] Eleanor Johnson, "Reddere and Refrain: A Meditation on Poetic Procedure in *Piers Plowman*," *The Yearbook of Langland Studies* 30 (Jan. 01, 2016). I thank Professor Johnson for sharing and discussing this article with me before its publication.

Gérard's refraining is a way of bridging the sacred-profane divide by distilling theological material in an emotionally charged, eminently accessible and memorable way.

The third chapter continues to investigate the notion of vernacular authority by looking at the vernacular and Latin proverbs that find their way into Gérard's treatises. In this chapter, I argue that Gérard's treatises testify to a shift in authority from Latin to the vernacular, and that Gérard confers authority upon the vernacular in two ways. First, he uses French not merely in passing—for example, to gloss difficult Latin words—but assigns it the status of a memorial language that had long been reserved for Latin, especially in theological discourse. Second, by analyzing the differences between Latin and French proverbs, which I view as another form of quotation alongside refraining, I show how Gérard builds upon a proverb tradition generally characterized by its rusticity or concreteness, and elevates the vernacular proverb to the level of Latin authority.

In the fourth chapter, I attempt to clarify the term *auctoritas* or "authority" by asking in what sense a thirteenth-century monk, never (to my knowledge) cited by name by other medieval writers, might be considered an authority in his own right. This requires me to revisit and to contest the prevailing definition of *auctoritas* supplied by Alastair Minnis. My study of how Gérard constructs his own authority gives me the occasion to study how he deploys the term *auctoritas* and "textual authorities" themselves in his quotations of the Church Fathers, and in his marvelous paraphrases of stories from the *Vitae Patrum* (*Lives of the Desert Fathers*).

The fifth and final chapter discusses the authorities *par excellence* of the Middle Ages— the Classical Latin authors, and specifically, Gérard's quotation of Latin poetry. Since the preceding three chapters of the dissertation generally draw examples from the *De divino amore*, this chapter makes the much maligned *Septem remedia contra amorem illicitum* the center of

attention. In this chapter, I argue that the *Septem remedia* is an Ovidian work in its overall

conception and in many of its particulars—far from being an example of the "'Ovid

misunderstood' school of medieval classical scholarship, or a predictable screed against

women,[56] I contend that it represents a playful, self-aware engagement with Ovid's *Remedia*

amoris.

In the following pages of translation and commentary, the reader will find a wealth of

fascinating passages that I have neglected to analyze in the chapters, and there also remains

much to say about some of the passages I have quoted. My task in this dissertation has been to

make Gérard's treatises accessible to those who do not possess the requisite linguistic

background to work through Latin and Old French text of highly variable difficulty, and in so

doing, to give other scholars a sense of these treatises' as-yet-unrecognized richness. This

richness owes, in large part, to Gérard's polyphonic use of Old French and Medieval Latin

alongside stylistically varied quotations of Latin writers and sources spanning the centuries. But

perhaps even more significantly, it comes from Gérard's humanity—from his deeply personal

acknowledgment of his audience's human struggles and spiritual aspirations, as well as of their

diverse intellectual needs and tastes.

A Plea to Librarians: Reconsidering the Attribution of the Treatise *De doctrina cordis* to

Hugues de Saint-Cher

One contribution of this dissertation, in practical terms, is to refute the argument of one

Guido Hendrix regarding the authorship of the treatise *De doctrina cordis*, which, from as early

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[56] See n. 52 *supra*

as 1280 until 1980, was attributed to the Gérard of Liège.[57] Although the *De doctrina cordis* lies outside of this dissertation's scope, I take the unusual step of discussing the question of its attribution here because I believe that an utterly untenable attribution of this famous work to Hugues of Saint-Cher (Hugh, Hugo de Sancto-Caro) has had the unintended consequence of preventing Gérard's treatises from attracting the wider scholarly interest they might otherwise have enjoyed. It is my hope that librarine who have removed *De doctrina cordis* from Gérard's canon on Hendrix's authority alone will reconsider that position after reading this note.

I am not able to say here that Gérard of Liège, the author of the *Septem remedia* and *De divino amore*, was the author of *De doctrina cordis*. No one could make that claim beyond all doubt. There is no question, however, that Hendrix's argument for "restituting" the attribution of *De doctrina cordis* to Hugues of Saint-Cher is so problematic that the world's libraries must reconsider removing *De doctrina cordis* from Gérard's canon on Hendrix's authority alone. Of course, I am not a disinterested party in this debate, since the author of a significant oeuvre like *De doctrina cordis* will naturally attract more scholarly attention than the author of only two relatively short treatises and a few sermons, however unique these may be for their linguistic features. Yet I believe I am responsible for explaining how my research, combined with the recent study of *De doctrina cordis*' authorship by Nigel F. Palmer,[58] undermines the argument that this text was written by Hugues de Saint-Cher. It is therefore my view that, for lack of a sensible alternative, medieval attributions of the *De doctrina cordis* to Gérard of Liège should be

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[57] This subject is revisited at great length by Nigel F. Palmer, in "The Authorship of *De doctrina cordis*" in *A companion to the Doctrine of the Hert : The Middle English Translation and Its Latin and European Contexts*, eds. Denis Renevy and Christina Whitehead (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2010).

[58] Palmer, "The Authorship of *De doctrina cordis*," cited *supra*.

respected. I hope that librarians will consider these brief remarks, which build upon the most current scholarship on this question.

Guido Hendrix makes the case for Hugues of Saint-Cher's authorship of the *De doctrina cordis* in a short article containing three parts: 1) four pages of background about Gérard of Liège, 2) fourteen pages of side-by-side Latin text (*De doctrina cordis* and Hugues of Saint-Cher's *Postillae*), and 3) one page of analysis.[59] I am not persuaded by the argument outlined in this article for the following reasons.

In the first part of his article, Hendrix begins to sow doubt about Gérard's long unquestioned authorship of the *De doctrina cordis* by asserting that "Si l'on veut bien se donner la peine de lire successivement *Quinque incitamenta* et une partie de *De doctrina cordis*, on n'échappera certainement pas à l'impression de se trouver devant des oeuvres de deux auteurs différents," but Hendrix provides no evidence here to support this claim.[60] In fact, the bilingual (Latin-Old French) features of both texts would seem to speak in favor of common authorship, and Hendrix concedes that the same writer may write differently at different moments in life. Furthermore, concerning style, my own research has uncovered several long passages—some of which I take up in the fourth chapter of this dissertation—that clearly point to stylistic unity. Apart from Hendrix's unexplained comment on a difference in style, the first part of his article only strengthens the notion that a certain Gérard, the writer of the *De divino amore* (formerly *Quinque incitamenta*), was chronologically capable of writing *De doctrina cordis* as well.

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[59] Guido Hendrix, "Les 'Postillae' de Hugues de Saint-Cher et le traité 'De doctrina cordis'," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 47 (Jan. 1, 1980), pp. 114-130

[60] Hendrix, p. 116. Depending on how much of *De divino amore* he read, Hendrix may be correct—the preface to the treatise that properly forms the *Quinque incitamenta* is largely an unacknowledged quotation of Guillaume of Peyraud, which is perhaps why Hendrix senses stylistic disunity.

Second, the fourteen pages of Latin text, which constitute an edition of a part of *De doctrina cordis* presented next to passages from the *Postillae* of Hugues of Saint-Cher, are very far from showing common authorship. Quotation, even in the absence of any usual markers thereof, is one of the most salient features of Gérard's treatises, and of theological writing more broadly. The frequent correspondences between *De doctrina cordis* and Hugues' *Postillae* are not surprising, given the immense importance of the latter text to biblical exegetes. They are less surprising still when considered alongside some of the other authorities Gérard quotes and cites in his treatises. Take, for instance, Gérard's treatment of the Dominican, Guillaume of Peyraud, whose *Summa de virtutibus et vitiis* likely constitutes, as I explain in the second part of the introduction, the entirely unacknowledged source (often word-for-word) of the introduction to *De divino amore* (specifically, the part that might be called the *Quinque incitamenta*). Just as this does not prove that Peyraud authored Gérard's treatises, frequent unacknowledged paraphrase or quotation of the *Postillae* does not imply that Hugues was the author of *De doctrina cordis*.

Third, I present the final part of Hendrix's article. The emphasis below is mine:

> Plusieurs auteurs ont accordé de l'importance à la présence d'éléments français dans les œuvres attribuées à Gérard de Liège. Les proverbes français, les explications de termes et les phrases en français sont effectivement nombreux dans *Quinque incitamenta*, mais font totalement défaut dans *Septem verba* [*dicta a domino Jesu Christo pendente in cruce*]. Dans la partie du *De doctrina cordis* reproduite ci-dessus [...] on ne relève que : [...] « corde iam solidato, id est *afferme* », [...] « multum perdit qui bonum vultum, gallice *bone chiere*, amici sui perdit », et [...] « equo fit ex resultu, gallice *resort*, alterius vocis ». Ces explications françaises ne nous semblent pas nécessaires et leur fonction n'est pas claire. **Mais supposons un instant que l'auteur du *De doctrina cordis* ait, avec un clin d'oeil au lecteur, introduit *bone chiere* en allusion à son nom, Saint-Cher... Dans ce cas, les textes parallèles du *De doctrina cordis* et des *Postillae* ne révéleraient pas une dépendance, mais une origine commune. Moins de trente ans après que V. Doucet a augmenté considérablement « l'héritage littéraire » du maître dominicain [...] notre hypothèse ouvre des perspectives que nous nous proposons d'explorer.[61]**

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[61] Hendrix, pp. 129-130

Especially in light of the fact that Hugues, a renowned theologian, has a great number of works clearly attributed to him, I am not persuaded by the notion that one French gloss among numerous others, *bone chiere* (*bonne figure,* by extension a welcoming or amiable mien), is a self-conscious reference to the author's place of birth (which is Saint-Cher, not Sainte-Chère). Why hide this way, in this specific treatise?[62] And even if there were a satisfactory answer to that question, the case would remain far from closed.

In all fairness, Hendrix's editorial contributions have greatly enriched the study of thirteenth-century theology, and he does clearly state that this is a hypothesis—"notre hypothèse." Unfortunately, however, this hypothesis has been received as fact by library catalogues the world over—and this, to Gérard's detriment. It is time to augment (or at least to restore) the *héritage littéraire* of another *maître*, Gérard of Liège, who remains the most likely author of *De doctrina cordis*. For a more detailed discussion of the authorship of *De doctrina cordis*—one that is consonant with my assessment of Hendrix's hypothesis—I direct the reader to Nigel F. Palmer's "The Authorship of *De doctrina cordis*," cited above.

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[62] I believe that it would be similarly wrong, given the preponderance of evidence to the contrary, to claim that Gérard's use of the word *balbutio* (stammering) in the penultimate paragraph of *De divino amore* really identifies him as *Gérard le Bègue* (Gerardus Balbus, Gérard the Stammerer), the ninth or tenth abbot of Signy.

Translator's Introduction

What seemed at first to be a relatively straightforward exercise—translating Gérard of Liège's bilingual treatises for the first time—proved much more challenging than I could have anticipated. First, I had the benefit of a clean Latin text edited by one of the twentieth century's greatest Latinists, Dom André Wilmart O.S.B., who took special interest in the treatises and wrote about them at some length before preparing an edition using all extant manuscripts; needless to say, this translation would not have been possible without Wilmart's immense effort. Second, the few paragraphs of Gérard's treatises that currently exist in scholarly translation are not particularly challenging. I therefore had every reason to believe that this translation would come together quickly. Yet I was sorely mistaken in thinking that the existing edition would be sound enough to translate, and that Gérard's Latin would pose no great difficulty.

To the first point, Wilmart's edition, while extremely helpful, is less than authoritative. Wilmart was unaware, for example, of a sixteenth-century print edition that contains key insights into troubled passages, so I unexpectedly had to compare his edition to that one, which led to the discovery of numerous errors. These discoveries sent me back to the manuscripts, which I was able to consult at length in high-quality, black-and-white scans online, and which revealed further errors and confusions—misread abbreviations and minims, and especially, misread passages of Old French text. What began purely as an effort of translation, then, became a more challenging editorial project. While I have not provided a re-edited Latin text in the following pages, the reader will find my key observations in the notes to the translation.

To the second point, in my careful reading of Gérard's treatises, I found that Gérard's Latin was very far from simple. This is mostly because he relies so heavily on quotation from a variety of sources spanning more than a thousand years of conventions of style and usage. Aside

from the difficulty of reading a text that contains so many different writers—often using the same words (synonyms of "love" and "lust," for instance) in different ways—there is the even greater difficulty of translating so many distinct voices. Should the text of the Bible not "sound" different from Gérard's stories from the Vitae Patrum? Should words attributed to the *doctor mellifluus,* Bernard, not sound as different in English as they do in Latin from those attributed to Gregory?

I had to answer those questions early on, as I began by translating all of the passages from the Bible in my own words. But I quickly saw that my decision was entirely inconsistent with past and present quotational practice—imagine the perversity of quoting the sixth commandment ("non occides") from Exodus 20:13, as "Don't kill"! For anyone who has studied the Bible, or read literature that quotes the Bible, that verse must be very close to "Thou shalt not kill" in order to be recognized as a biblical quotation. Thus, in my translation, I ultimately opted to use an authoritative translation, the Douay-Rheims—a reasonably literal translation of the Vulgate with a distinctly archaic ring—for the hundreds of biblical (or liturgical) quotations in Gérard's treatises. Regarding other texts, I have generally provided my own translation (indicating where I have not in the notes), and I have strived to preserve the treatises' textual polyphony. Most importantly, to my ear, there is nothing stiff or dogmatic in Gérard's prose, and I have done my level best to present a faithful rendering of his unique voice to twenty-first-century readers.[1]

A few words remain to be said about my presentation of Gérard's text. As there are no quotation marks in the manuscripts, I have taken the liberty (which Wilmart did not) of

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[1] That said, I have used one archaism regularly as a *pis-aller*—the translation of *unde* as "whence." Gérard uses *unde* extremely frequently to introduce quotation, and translating "which is why," or "from which," in each case seemed unnecessarily complicated.

supplying these where it seemed necessary or reasonable to do so. That said, the reader should take quotation marks with a critical grain of salt—sometimes, they indicate a paraphrase, and in multiple places where the source is unknown to me, Gérard may have added his own words to more direct quotations. As I discuss in the second chapter of this dissertation, medieval quotation is more flexible than quotation in modern print culture. Furthermore, since I have discovered numerous quotations that are not marked as such in any way by Gérard, I have occasionally used asterisks—I call them "solicitation marks," borrowing a term from Antoine Compagnon—to mark passages that, by virtue of an unusual word or turn of phrase, may also be quotations. Concerning other punctuation marks, I have punctuated the text according to my understanding, which sometimes produces a reading entirely different from Wilmart's, and I have detailed these disagreements in the notes. And regarding capitalization, I have followed modern conventions throughout, including the capitalization of God and the related pronouns.

As an Old French scholar, I have corrected Wilmart's text in a number of places and clarified it for modern readers by adding punctuation (chiefly apostrophes) and accents (final é)—these, of course, do not exist in the manuscript, but they aid in comprehension. In view of greater clarity, I have also distinguished "v" from "u," and "i" from "j" in French and Latin, which Wilmart and the manuscripts do not.

Finally, it is true that this is a particularly heavily annotated translation. In large part this is because in the notes, I have tried to establish the norms and standards for the translation of an unusual set of texts, as well as to save time for my readers by providing context that will help them more quickly to assess the relevance of a given part of the text to their own research. Being the first rarely means being the best, but I hope that the utility and faithfulness of this translation

will outweigh its faults until I am able to produce a parallel text edition of these singular treatises.

I invite any reader of my work to contact me by e-mail at aba2134@columbia.edu with questions or comments.

Chapter I. Translation and Commentary: *Septem remedia contra amorem illicitum valde utilia* **and** *De divino amore* **(formerly known as** *Quinque incitamenta ad Deum amandum ardenter*)

Septem remedia contra amorem illicitum valde utilia

Introduction. Since what is best for every rational soul is to protect and withdraw its love from all carnal and illicit love (and especially so for women, whose foremost grace and beauty and glory is their heart and body's virginity, which, if abandoned—and this is a great shame indeed—may not be fully recovered), one must[1] humbly seek the purity of temperance and endeavor, from the very bottom of one's heart, to yoke and unite oneself to the greatest immutable good—that is, to God. The more fervently all have to work to achieve this union, the better they know that they cannot enjoy peace and tranquility of heart in this life, nor can they receive any of devotion's sweetness from God, nor attain the bliss of our celestial fatherland. And [since][2] truly, there is no greater toil, no greater affliction in the present life than to be seized and dominated by illicit and carnal love, and to follow its orders, since it shuns God— carries the mind,[3] heart, and body, away from God—and to such a degree that it does not suffer men and women to follow their own laws and to be masters of themselves; rather, it holds them

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[1] The subject of "debet" is, in fact, "anima rationalis" —not in the literal sense, but in the more figurative sense of "every person." To translate more literally, therefore, one would have to use the pronoun "it" in the latter part of the sentence (i.e. "it [the rational soul] must seek the purity of temperance and endeavor, from the very bottom of its heart"), which, on account of the awkwardness of saying "the heart of the soul" in English, leads to the creation of meaning and confusion that does not exist in the Latin, where "every rational soul" simply stands for "every person."

[2] Wilmart has a "quia" in brackets here. The syntax does not require it.

[3] The translation of "anima" seems to require "mind" here, but can also mean soul or spirit, depending on the context. Since Gérard quotes freely from sources that use the term diversely, I have translated it according to my understanding on a case-by-case basis, rather than leaving it in Latin as many translators do.

in wretched servitude, and, as the experienced know, even when they want to, they are unable to shake such a yoke off. But, conversely, there is nothing sweeter, nothing more joyful, nothing more fruitful than to love God with all one's heart and to give oneself over to the obedience of His love. *Mais nus ne le set ki ne l'a assaié.*[4] Whence the Lord says in the Gospel: "For my yoke is sweet and my burden is light;"[5] the yoke, that is, of my love, and the burden of my command, since John says in his canonical epistle,[6] "His commandments are not heavy,"[7] because he orders us to do nothing that is not light, useful, and honorable. That said, carnal love—of aristocrats and peasants alike, and of the rich and poor alike—ends and is consummated in filth. Whence the sons of Israel in Egypt were enslaved "in clay and brick,"[8] just as carnal lovers and loveresses[9] are enslaved in in wretched filth. For that reason, we must, as far as we are able, flee and despise illicit, carnal love, and stick wholly to God with perfect love.[10]

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[4] The addition of the apostrophe (l'a) and the accent aigu (é) makes sense of Wilmart's diplomatic transcription of the proverb: "*Mais nus ne le set qui ne la assaie*" — the idea is clearly "mais personne ne le sait qui ne l'a pas (encore) essayé" —no one knows it who hasn't experienced it; or, more idiomatically, "You don't know until you've tried."

[5] Matthew 11:30 "iugum enim meum suave est et onus meum leve." From here on, the symbol (W) will indicate a source indicated by Wilmart. My own finds will be marked with (A). Additionally, as noted in the Translator's Introduction, I have tried to preserve the authority of biblical quotation in translation by using, and occasionally adapting, the Douay-Rheims translation of the Bible. That said, Gérard's biblical quotations often come from the text of the liturgy—his biblical quotation is therefore tied to his daily devotional practice.

[6] "Canonica" usually refers to a canonry, or perhaps to the Bible itself, but in this expression, "in canonica sua," Gérard elides the word "epistula," as do certain other medieval writers when they refer to the Canonical or Catholic Epistles. To my knowledge, this has never been noted in a translation.

[7] 1 John 5:3 "mandata eius gravia non sunt" (W)

[8] Exodus 1:14 (W)

[9] "amatores et amatrices"

[10] "Per perfectum amorem" perhaps recalls the root meaning of "fin'amor."

First, we shall lay out seven remedies for illicit love, and then, God willing, we shall establish that which can and must urge us on toward divine love.

§I.1. ¶ 1 The first remedy for illicit love is to resist its beginnings and temptations manfully,[11] since if it is not resisted manfully from the beginning, then temptation will come alive at once, and gain strength—and often, to such a degree that only with great difficulty, if ever at all, can it be extinguished, just as we often see clearly that when a small spark falls upon straw, if a finger or foot snuffs it out immediately, it is easy to extinguish, but if it is neglected and permitted to grow, it burns so fiercely that a thousand men would not be able to extinguish it. So it goes, without a doubt, for the temptations of the flesh and of the devil. Whence Isidore says, "The beginnings of diabolical and carnal temptations are fragile and weak, and if they are not guarded against from the start, they grow and strengthen mightily, such that never but with the greatest difficulty may they be vanquished,"[12] since, as Isidore also says, "The devil is a slippery snake whose head, that is, the first suggestion, if not resisted, will slip into the cockles of your heart before you feel a thing."[13] Thus, the beginnings of temptation must be resisted.

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[11] While "viriliter" may also be taken as "vigorously," it is clear from context that Gérard uses the word in its etymological sense, "like a man." The Douay-Rheims Bible has "manfully" for "viriliter" (pertaining to Judith) in Judith 15:11, and I have used this translation throughout.

[12] Isidore, *Sententiarum*, I, 3, 5 § 15 (P.L. LXXXIII, 663 A l. 6 sq) "Temptationum diabolicarum et carnalium initia fragilia et debilia sunt, que, si in principio non caveantur, fortiter convalescunt et crescunt in tantum ut nonquam aut cum maxima difficultate vincantur" (W)

[13] ibid., § 14 (P.L. LXXXIII, 663 A l. 3 sq) "diabolus lubricus serpens est, cuius si capiti, idest prime suggestioni, non resistitur, totus in intima cordis, dum non sentitur, illabitur" (W)

¶ 2 And what is the beginning of all good or evil works?[14] Surely thought, like the root is the beginning and cause of a tree's branches and fruit, and, as the Apostle says: "If the root be holy, so are the branches;"[15] thus, if thought be holy and pure, then holy and pure works follow, and the converse. Nor can one who is accustomed to good thoughts entertain the workings of evil, and the converse. Whence Hugh of Saint-Victor says, "Just as wood feeds fire, so too do thoughts nourish desires, and, if they are good, the fires of charity blaze, but if they are evil, the fires of lust."[16] And therefore, one must take care of sin where it is usually born—in thought—and immediately fight against the impulse toward it at the first temptation, since the more quickly it is resisted, the more easily it is extinguished. Whence Peter in his canonical epistle said, "Resist the devil" in the beginning, "and he will fly from you."[17]

¶ 3 And let it be known that the devil does not ignite the kindling of lust anywhere but where he has first perceived delight in perverse thoughts. Just as we ourselves see *De ces rikaus ki font le makement de ces foles amours*[18] when they are sent from some man for the purpose of turning some woman on to carnal love and ensnaring her in consent to the perverse workings of the

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[14] The print edition supplies "quid," making this a question: "And what is the beginning of all good or evil works? Certainly thought…" Although the BAV and Troyes manuscripts appear to have a "quod" abbreviation here, which Wilmart replicates, I think that the reading in the print edition is most likely correct, not least because it is consistent with Gérard's style—the reader will note that he often poses short questions after quotations.

[15] Romans 11:16 "Si radix [fuerit] sancta, et rami" (W)

[16] Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De arca noe morali* 1.IV § 8 (P.L. CCXXVI, 676 B l. 8) (W)

[17] *Re vera* James 4:7 (not Peter) (W) The print edition, which usually corrects such errors of biblical attribution, leaves this one in place. Is Peter actually speaking in this quotation? Was this epistle generally misidentified as one of the Petrine epistles?

[18] For an extended discussion of this passage, and of the meaning of *rikaus* (roughly, "bawd"), see the fourth chapter of this dissertation. Finally, "makement" though not attested elsewhere to my knowledge in this sense, likely refers to the action of the "maquereau," a lascivious go-between—also a word with German roots (cf. *Mäkler*, "broker").

flesh, when, with pleasure, the poor little girl hears the words *de cele diable rikaut* and laughs, and is delighted by her words. Then *cele rikaus* receives from her a greater audacity and trust in speaking, as well as the hope of fulfilling her desires.[19] And after this clear example, we read in Genesis of Eve, to whom the devil said, like the *male rikaus*: "Why hath God commanded you, that you should not eat,"[20] et cetera, and she weakly replies, "Lest perhaps," says she, "we should die."[21] "Lest *perhaps*," said he too,[22] like that most malicious and evil *rikaus*—seeing *ke ele faisoit ja mols bras*, [23]and that she was listening to him with pleasure, and delighting in his words—knowing that what is heard happily is easily acted upon, drawing out from her this material and audacity for speaking more openly and trustingly, he replied, "No, you shall not die the death."[24] And thus he ensnared her. But, if she had responded manfully in the first place, he would not have deceived her. Whence she later said, "The serpent deceived me,"[25] *mais che fu atart*. Thus, without a doubt, the devil himself speaks to us through evil thoughts, which are

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[19] While I take "ei" with "accipit" rather than "loquendi," it remains unclear whether "ei" refers to the woman or to the man. "Tunc cele Rikaus audatiam et fidutiam ampliorem loquendi ei accipit et spem implendi quod cupit."

[20] Genesis 3:1 "Cur praecepit vobis dominus: ne comederetis" (W)

[21] ibid., 3:3 (W)

[22] Wilmart punctuates this such that the translation would be, "'Lest perhaps,' she said. And he, like…" The BAV manuscript has a period after "dixit," where Wilmart puts his semicolon, but the Troyes manuscript does not, leaving open this reading, which is more probable because Gérard has already reinforced that *she* said "ne forte" ("lest perhaps") by adding, "inquit" to the quotation.

[23] i.e., that her defenses were already down

[24] ibid., 3:4 (W)

[25] ibid., 3:13 (W)

properly *ses rikaus*[26] so that he may deceive and corrupt our feelings [*affectio*] with evil pleasure and evil consent.[27]

¶ 4 But when he speaks to us in this way through evil thoughts, what must we do? Immediately, we must be angry at ourselves, and look upon our habits,[28] and say in our hearts, "Hey, you wretch, what are you thinking? I am a professed monk, devoted to God, and my soul is the bride of the highest king, who is now present, and knows all that I am thinking, since thought is the same as speech before Him, to whom every heart is laid bare, and He is a jealous God—more so than all other lovers—who sees His bed and blanket—that is, my mind and my conscience—being stained by these most wicked messages and intrusions by evil angels[29] who want to corrupt me, and who want to separate me forever from my God, my celestial spouse, just as it is said in the book of Wisdom, "For perverse thoughts separate from God."[30] *O las con douleureuse desevree!*[31] Whence the prophet "Woe unto them, when I shall depart from them,"[32] and Gregory, "Thought of carnal sin stains the soul, and pleasure gravely wounds it, but the

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[26] His go-betweens ("bawds")—see chapter four for more on this passage.

[27] As always, hendiadys creates difficulties in translation, since it is a frequent feature of Latin prose, but not of English—it is likely more accurate to understand this as "evil consent to pleasure" or "consent to evil pleasure."

[28] "habitus"—Gérard appears to refer to the monastic habit here, rather than to one of the more abstract meanings of this word.

[29] Echo of Psalms 77:49 (W); the original sense of "messenger" for *angelus* is relevant here.

[30] Wisdom 1:3 (W)

[31] Likely "separation," although the corpus of Old French dictionaries does not contain this word.

[32] Hosea 9:12 (W)

consent of the soul totally kills it,"[33] and when the soul turns toward this, it must immediately

become angry and spit,[34] that is, *crakier [cracher] ansi[35] com en[e]mi se face en se viuté,[36]* and

to say to God with devotion in one's heart, "Let my heart" and my body "be undefiled," God,

"that I may not be confounded," that is, by evil pleasure or by evil consent, and to hasten back to

prayer, since Isidore says: "This is the remedy for him who burns with temptation for sin:

whenever he is taken with any vice whatsoever, let him turn toward prayer, since frequent prayer

extinguishes the assault of vice."[37]

¶ 5 And I am not saying that it is necessary to go to church all the time, but wherever it is—

in bed, or in the bath, outside, or in the cloister—let one pray there in one's heart, since every

place is suited to prayer for a devout soul, because the place does not sanctify the man, but rather

it is sanctified by man and woman, and the tempted soul must invoke God at the moment of

temptation, and seek the intercession of the saints, and say with devotion:[38] "God, father of the

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[33] Bernard, *Sermo VI*, "De cute, carne et ossibus animae" (P.L. 182, 557 B and C): "Sicut enim peccati cogitatio decolorat, affectio vulnerat, sic consensus omnino animam necat." (A) Gérard has a slightly different text, "Cogitatio de peccato carnali animam decolorat, delectatio graviter necat, sed animi consensus eam totaliter necat." Here as elsewhere, we cannot assume that the attribution to Gregory is false—it is typical of medieval practice to quote and paraphrase without attribution, and Bernard and Gérard may therefore share a common source.

[34] Better punctuation would perhaps be "ideo cum hoc attendit, anima statim debet"

[35] Probably "ansi" here (rather than Wilmart's *ausi*), though the BAV manuscript is ambiguous.

[36] Wilmart's edition provides the following: "crakier ausi com enmi se face ense uiute" (p. 186). "Viuté" is a form of "vil(i)té" (see Godefroy), here and also elsewhere in this treatise. (It may also be a misreading of the minims in vilité.) Studying the two manuscripts (Troyes and BAV) does not yield answers about how precisely to understand this passage, though the abbreviation for "enmi," as unclear as it is, could possibly stand for something other than "enmi" (perhaps "enemi," or a misreading of "om(e)"). Still, sticking with what the manuscripts give us, we have something like, "To spit as in its face, in [or at] its baseness."

[37] Isidore, *Sententiarum*, l. III, 7 § 1 (P.L. LXXXIII, 671 B sq.) (W)

[38] Wilmart: "*id est juxta Letaniam Sanctorum quae vocatur*, 'Pater de celis deus, miserere mei. Fili redemptor mundi deus, miserere mei […] Sancta Maria, ora pro me'" (W)

heavens, have mercy on me. God the Son, redeemer of the world, have mercy on me," et cetera. "Blessed Mary, pray for me." And run through all the saints thus and ask for their help, and say that prayer which is most useful against evil thoughts and temptation of the flesh:[39] "Merciful God to whom my whole heart lies open, to whom all desire speaks, and from whom nothing is hidden, purify, by the infusion of the Holy Spirit's grace the thoughts of my heart along with my desire, that I may love thee perfectly and worthily praise thee forever,[40] and free my heart from the temptation of evil thoughts, that it may become a worthy dwelling-place for the Holy Spirit forever. Amen." These are the weapons for our defense against the insults of our enemies and adversaries, that is, the world, the flesh, and the devil.

¶ 6 And let it be known that mortal sin comes to exist through consent to the pleasure of thought, the impulse of which is mortal, even without the corresponding deed, which is why

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[39] Wilmart: "*Re vera duae orationes* [two prayers]*; 'De spiritu sancto' hic coadunantur, augentur, singulari numero aptantur; quae incipiunt:* Deus cui omne cor patet (—et digne laudare mereamur); Haec oblatio, domine Deus, cordis nostri maculas (—efficiatur habitatio)*; cf. Muratori, Liturgia Romana Vetus, II* (1748), 383." So much to say that Gérard is paraphrasing multiple prayers, seamlessly weaving them together. Gérard: "Deus misericors, cui omne cor patet et [cui?] omnis voluntas loquitur et quem nullum latet secretum, purifica per infusionem et gratiam sancti spiritus cogitationes cordis mei et affectum meum, ut te perfecte diligere et digne laudare merear in eternum, et libera cor meum de temptatione malarum cogitationum, ut sancti spriritus dignum fieri habitaculum inveniatur in eternum, amen"

[40] Here begins another prayer.

Augustine says that "the lingering delight of thought is a mortal sin."[41] And master Rigaus[42] determines what "lingering delight" is, saying, "Consent to pleasure, the act of which is mortal, [is mortal?][43] when the soul takes pleasure in mortal sin—and especially in the sin of lust—by thinking, and wittingly turns toward what delights it, and does not want to attempt to be freed from this delight, but rather wishes to wallow in it with pleasure. And although there is no consent here in deed,[44] still, in this case, the soul sins mortally, and on account of this, if it should remain unrepentant, it will be damned; but if the soul is pleased in spite of itself,[45] and tries, according to its own strength, to be freed from this pleasure, though it may remain unfree, we may not say that it is a mortal thing, since it *does* displease the soul."[46] Whence the apostle

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[41] Augustine *Ennaratio in Ps.* L § 3 (P.L. XXXVI, 587 "Inest peccatum, cum delectaris… carnalis delectatio…frenanda est, non relaxanda.") (W) Gérard: "morosa delectatio cogitationis est peccatum mortale." See Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae: Vol. 27 (1a2æ. 86-89): Effects of Sin, Stain, and Guilt,* ed. T.C. O'Brien (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 62-63; see also Paul D. Stegner, *Confession and Memory in Early Modern English Literature: Penitential Remains* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), ch. 1 (toward the end) for more about *delectatio morosa*. This is a concept with a long history. (A)

[42] This is very likely Eudes (Odo/Odon) Rigaud, but Wilmart wonders whether it might be Richard of Saint-Victor. The print edition contains "Richar." Rather than "Rigaus," but this reading is not found in the manuscripts. Locating this quotation would be very helpful for the dating of these treatises, but I have been unable to find it. See Introduction for more about this particular reference.

[43] Unless I am mistaken, we must understand the relative "cuius actus" as being very elliptical— "consensus in delectatione cuius actus [mortalis est] est mortalis quando…"

[44] Or, rather than taking "hic" spatially, which may a step too far, "Although this consent is not in deed"

[45] Literally: "If it displeases the soul that is nevertheless pleased"

[46] A difficult sentence, in large part because Wilmart gives "avertere" where we must read (following the print edition) *advertere*—turning "away from" the mortal sin that delights it is exactly what one would want the soul to do, which is why this reading makes the whole passage into nonsense.

says, "Now if I do that which I will not, it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me,"[47] and that sin is a suffering to be healed someday, not an action to be condemned. And thus, the beginnings of temptation—that is, the first thoughts of it—must be resisted. Whence Ovid says in the *Remedia amoris*: "While you still can, and moderate movements stir your heart, if it hurts, stay your foot at the very first threshold."[48] And furthermore, "Resist the beginnings: it is too late to employ medicine when your ills have already grown strong by long delay."[49] And furthermore, "Destroy, while they are still new, the fatal seeds of sudden illness,[50] for delay gives strength, and also ripens tender grapes.[51] Everything is in the beginnings.[52]

And now, let this suffice for the first remedy, and let us dispatch more briefly with the others.

§II. ¶ 1 The second remedy is to watch over all of the body's senses—and particularly those of sight and hearing—since *a besieged stronghold can't hold for long, unless its doors are watched carefully.*[53] God's stronghold is our heart, and its doors are our senses—particularly sight and hearing—since through these in particular do exterior things enter into the soul, either

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[47] Romans 7:20 (W) Vulgate: "Si autem quod nolo, illud facio: jam non ego operor illud, sed quod habitat in me, peccatum;" Gérard: "Si ego quod nolo illud facio non ego illud operor, sed quod habitat in me peccatum"

[48] Ovid, *Rem*. vv. 79-80 "Dum licet et modici tangunt tua pectora motus [Ovid: "praecordia motus"], / si piget, in primo limine siste pedem"

[49] ibid., v. 91-92 "Principiis obsta, sero medicina paratur, / cum mala per longas convaluere moras"

[50] ibid., v. 81 "Opprime, dum nova sunt, subiti mala semina morbi"

[51] ibid., v. 83.

[52] Not from the *Remedia*, but from the *Fasti*. *Fasti*, I, v. 178 "'omnia principiis,' inquit, 'inesse solent'," vs. Gérard: "Omnia principiis semper inesse solent." Note how carefully here, as elsewhere, Gérard maintains the meter even while changing the words slightly. I discuss this, and the rest of the Ovidian quotations in more detail in the final chapter of this dissertation.

[53] Is this a common proverb or a quotation? "Castrum obsessum non potest diu teneri, nisi porte eius diligenter custodiantur"

to its benefit or detriment, and Jeremiah lamented the evils brought about by these two senses, saying, "For death is come up through our windows,"[54] et cetera. Whence in Genesis: "And the woman saw that the tree was pleasing to the sight,"[55] and then consented and ate; and thus, for a little pleasure, she damned us all, which she assuredly wouldn't have done, if first she had diligently guarded against listening to the devil, and then looking at the forbidden food. Whence Gregory says: "Let us consider with how much control we who live mortally must check ourselves against things that are forbidden to see, if even the mother of the living was brought to death by her eyes."[56] Similarly, the Egyptian woman did not mind her sight well, who wrongly threw her eyes upon Joseph, who was "comely to behold,"[57] and on account of this, she burned with lust for him to such a degree that she cared not that she was of the highest birth, was extremely wealthy, and had a noble, rich husband, powerful throughout the land of Egypt, or that Joseph was a poor foreigner, like *uns avolés,*[58] and her slave—a bought man; but caring nothing about any of this, overcome with insane love, unblushingly and pleadingly she often said, "Lie with me, lie with me,"[59] and even sought shamelessly to do violence to him. *Car vraiment cuers ki de cele amour est sourmontés ne rewarde ne bas ne haut, ne povre ne rike, fors ke sen*

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[54] Jeremiah 9:21 "Intravit mors per fenestras nostras" (W)

[55] Genesis 3:6 (W) Gérard: "Vidit mulier lignum quod esset pulchrum visu;" Vulgate : "Vidit igitur mulier quod bonum esset lignum ad vescendum, et pulchrum oculis." This is more paraphrase than quotation—or perhaps this, too, comes from liturgical text.

[56] Gregory, *Moralia*, XXI, 2 § 4 (P.L. LXXVI, 190 B l. 15, *pensandum est*, etc.) Gérard: "Pensemus quanto debemus moderamine erga illicita visum restringere nos qui mortaliter vivimus, si et mater viventium per oculos ad mortem venit." (W) Likely another paraphrase.

[57] Genesis 39:6 (W)

[58] avolé = sans aveu, in feudal terminology, one who has no *seigneur*, and no one's protection.

[59] Genesis 39:7 (W)

desirier,[60] since, just as the authority of Gregory says:[61] "Do not wait for reason where feeling is lingering about."[62]

¶ 2 And of this, we see many examples in our lives. "Therefore, lest we occupy our thoughts with some lubricious—that is, lustful—things, we must foresee that it is not right to consider what it is forbidden to desire."[63] Whence it is written in Proverbs: "Thy eyes shall behold strange" and beautiful women, and what follows? "And thy heart shall utter perverse things"[64]— that is, about these very women, devising lustful thoughts in the heart—and further along, "And thou shalt be as a pilot fast asleep, when the helm" of the mind's guidance "is lost,"[65] since nothing so blinds the senses and cuts off reason[66] as the heat of carnal lust, as is clear in the case of the elders in the book of Daniel's chapter on Susanna;[67] they were wiser than everyone, practiced in law, and even judges of Israel, and yet, through carnal lust, they lost everything, as

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[60] "sen(/son) desirier" = "son désir" ; infinitive for noun. "For truly, a heart that is overcome with this love doesn't consider anything—high or low, poor or rich—except for its own desire.

[61] "sicut auctoritas Gregorii"

[62] Bernard, *Epistolae* 12*, "*Ad Carthusianos" (P.L. 182, 116A) "Non enim expectatur ratio ubi affectio trahit." (A) —Bernard makes no mention in this passage of quoting Gregory. But neither does Rabanus Maurus (see below).

[63] Gregory, *Expositio in librum Job* (P.L. 76,190 B) "Ne ergo quaedam lubrica in cogitatione versemus, providendum nobis est quia intueri non decet quod non licet concupisci." (A) Rabanus Maurus (among others) appears to quote Gregory verbatim without attribution in *Super Jeremiam prophetam* (P.L. 111, 1238 D). The last part of the quotation is found in numerous sources in the P.L., for example in Pseudo-Jerome, *Regula monachorum* (P.L. 30, 408 D) "ne liceat videri, quod concupisci non licet."

[64] Proverbs 23:33 "Oculi tui videbunt extraneas, et cor tuum loquetur perversa" (W)

[65] Proverbs 23:34 "Et eris [sicut dormiens in medio mari, et] quasi sopitus gubernator, amisso clavo." —"amisso clavo" would be more literally rendered as "having let go of the helm;" I have modified the Douay-Rheims translation to make it fit better with what follows.

[66] "excecat" = "exsecat" ?

[67] Daniel 13:5 (W)

we read in Daniel. The same goes for Zimri [Zambri] the Israelite, as we read in Numbers, who was taken with such insane desire that in the presence of Moses and of the whole people who were weeping, he entered the brothel of a Midianite woman. And of Solomon—the most wise and astonishing and pitiable—a distinguished interpreter of the sacred Scriptures by the name of Renerius[68] says: "The sun of mankind, Solomon, treasure-chest of the lord's delights, dwelling-place of a singular wisdom, abandoned the light of his mind, the perfume of his fame, the glory of his house—that is, his conscience—and alas, all for the love of a woman."[69]

¶ 3 Similarly engrossed by such carnal passion was David, for a lack of watchfulness over his eyes, when he carelessly threw his eyes upon the wife of Uriah, Bathsheba, whom he saw bathing in the nude, and on account of this, he so burned with lust for her that although he knew she had a husband, he took her by force, and, absorbed by lust, in an act of the most vile treachery, he had his most loyal soldier—that woman's husband—killed, though he knew that this was against God, to his soul's damnation, and to the damnation of all who were complicit in this scandal. Although it was after some time, he and his sons were indeed punished,[70] and he was well aware, when he committed those sins, that he would not come away unscathed. But, as a certain authority of Gregory says:[71] "Burning with lust while he desires satisfaction, he neither

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[68] I have not identified this "Renerius," but my research indicates that "Renerius" is Latin for "Regnier" or "Raniero" (or something to that effect). At any rate, this quotation ultimately belongs to Gautier Map, and to the famous letter "Disuasio Valerii," in *De nugis curialium*. (A) Nicolai Poloni, in his second sermon (toward the end) has the same words as Gérard, and attributes them to Jerome, as does Migne (P.L. 30, 254). By the mid-thirteenth century, it was most common to attribute the "Disuasio Valerii" to Jerome, on account of Jerome's famously antagonistic association with a certain Rufinus. See Ralph Hanna III and Traugott Lawler, eds., *Jankyn's book of Wikked Wyves* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1997) (esp. pp. 43 et sq.) for more about this letter and its attribution to Jerome.

[69] Gautier Map, *De nugis curialium*, letter from Valerius to Rufinus.

[70] The plural here is unusual, as just one son was punished.

[71] "sicut dicit quedam auctoritas Gregorii"

awaits, nor thinks of looking for, a way out, and all of these evils befall him by neglect of his eyes, because he was ensnared by them."[72] Thus Job, speaking for people this sort,[73] also lamented, saying, "My eye hath wasted my soul"[74]—*C'est à dire, mes ious m'a mon cuer tolu.* Whence Hosea: "And Ephraim is become as a dove that is decoyed, not having a heart,"[75]—*car itel gent ne sont mie à aux [à eux-mêmes], car il n'ont mie la seignourie de lor cuer.* Nothing is a greater shame than this, especially for those who wear the habit of religion—if there are such people, which heaven forbid![76]—and, in order that such may know *u lor cuers est*, let them see what they love. And they are able to understand where their love is if they consider what they willingly think about, and thus, by their own thoughts may they know what they love and where their heart is. Of the eyes, it is said in the Psalms, "He came to see" what he desires, of course, and what follows? "His heart gathered together iniquity" from these things he had seen and heard, "to itself,"[77] that is, to his detriment, and to the damnation of his soul. And on account of

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[72] Source? "Ardens concupiscentia, dum satiari desiderat, non attendit nec cogitat exitum rei; et hec omnia mala ei venerunt per incustodiam oculorum suorum, quia captus fuit per ipsos"

[73] I believe "in persona + genitive" to be the equivalent of "speaking for"—this appears to be a uniquely medieval usage, and has never been commented upon.

[74] Lamentations 3:51 (W), the quotation continues "because of all the daughters of my city" : "Oculus meus depraedatus est animam meam in cunctis filiabus urbis meae." Also, this is the first time of several that Gérard attributes the text of the Lamentations (of Jeremias) to Job. Why? Was there perhaps a tradition according to which these were the Lamentations of Job?

[75] Hosea 7:11; 9:11 (W) "[et factus est] Ephraim quasi avis seducta non habens cor." See Elena Lombardi, *The Wings of Doves*: *Love and Desire in Dante and Medieval Culture* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012), p. 95 for more about this passage and its medieval reception.

[76] This sounds like "God forbid there be people who wear the habit of religion!" even though that is likely not what Gérard means—but the Latin sounds like this, too, and I cannot find a way around it.

[77] Psalms 40:7 "Et si ingrediebatur ut videret, vana loquebatur; cor eius congregavit iniquitatem sibi." (W) Gérard leaves off the conditional "si" at the beginning, and suggests that "sibi" refers rather to the man than to his heart itself. That said, Gérard himself often uses "suus" incorrectly—the editor of the print edition regularly corrects him.

this, blessed Job used to say: "I made a covenant with my eyes," that is, by restraining and watching over them, "that I would not so much as think upon a virgin,"[78] unless, of course, I should see first what later I might love against my will. Whence Gregory: "In order that the clean mind may be protected in thought, the eyes must be kept away like robbers from a crime."[79] And let that suffice for the second remedy.

§III. The third remedy is to flee solitude, since, as Chrysostom says, "Then most especially doth the devil assail, when he sees men left alone, and by themselves,"[80] since, where he fears no punisher, the tempter approaches more easily, as Gregory says: "For in solitude, fear, shame, and modesty are all sent away, and reason is devoured, and the sanctity of the soul is imperiled, and virginity, easily corrupted,"[81] as is clear in the story of Thamar, who was corrupted by Amon, her brother, when she was alone with him, as we read in the book of Samuel.[82] Similarly, observe[83] the elders in the book of Daniel who burned with lust for Susanna, since they often saw her walking in the orchard of her husband, and what follows? "And they were inflamed with lust towards her,[84] and they said to her: 'Behold the doors of the orchard are shut, and nobody seeth

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[78] Job 31:1 "Pepigi foedus cum oculis meis, ut ne cogitarem quidem de virgine" (W)

[79] Gregory, *Moralia*, XXI 2 § 4 (P.L. 76, 190 B l. 7 sq) (W)

[80] St. John Chrysostom, *Homilies on the Gospel of St. Matthew* 13 ("iuxta versionem Aniani: cf. edit. Paris. 1581, t. II, 103, l. 4 ab imo" ; P. G., LVII, 209 l. 32) (W) Source of translation: http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf110.iii.XIII.html

[81] Source? Latin text: "Nam in solitudine amittitur timor, pudor, verecundia, et absorbetur ratio et periclitatur animi sanctitas et facile corrumpitur castitas et virginitas"

[82] 2 Kings 13:1 et sq. (W)

[83] Gérard uses the singular "nota" here, even though he addresses a plural audience elsewhere.

[84] Daniel 13:8 (W)

us, and we are in love with thee: wherefore consent to us, and lie with us.'"[85] etc. Similarly, the wife of Potiphar never so shamelessly and immodestly urged Joseph at first to consent, nor ever so violently seized him, as she did when she saw him alone while she, too, was alone, when she grabbed his clothing;[86] and why? because at that time she was more greatly tempted and she burned more furiously in her lust when she had the space, time, person, and opportunity to sin. Whence "Now it happened on a certain day, that Joseph went into the house, and was doing some business without any arbiter,"[87] that is, witness, and so on in Genesis. And Jerome teaches us in the same way, saying, "Never sit alone with a lone woman in secret, without an arbiter"[88]— that is, witness, since solitude persuades one to do all bad things, "—nor have faith in past chastity"[89] as if one who had long lived chastely; "for you can be neither stronger than Samson, nor wiser than Salomon, nor holier than David,"[90] since all of these were slain by women,— because, as the same Jerome says, "Desire breaks iron minds."[91] *Cest chiaus et celes qui sunt plus dures et froides ke fiers.*[92] And Pierre of Blois says that "solitude is something extremely

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[85] ibid., 13:19-20 (W)

[86] Genesis 39:12 (W) Wilmart incorrectly provides Genesis 35:12 and 35:11 below.

[87] ibid., 39:11 (W)

[88] Jerome, *Epistolae* LII §5 (P.L. XXII, 532 l. 17 sq.) (W) "Solus cum sola in secreto et absque arbitris, idest testibus, non sedeas umquam"

[89] ibid., 531, l. 2 *ab imo* "nec in preterita castitate confidas" (W)

[90] ibid., l. 1 *ab imo* (W)

[91] Jerome, *Epist*. CXVII §6 (P.L. XXII, 957 l. 22); append. XLII § 3 (P.L. XXX Cl. 4) (W) "Ferreas mentes libido domat"

[92] "That is, those men and women who are harder and colder than iron." The feminine plural agreement is very interesting.

dangerous that most powerfully precipitates a strong man into guiltiness,"[93] and if this is true of strong men, the same goes for strong women. Peter also says:[94] "With solitude in the middle of things, honor shamelessly lays down its arms" *Car tost se rent pour vencut.* And for this reason, you must flee solitude; as Augustine says, "Sin cannot be conquered completely unless the opportunity and occasion for it are thoroughly avoided."[95] And let this suffice for the third remedy.

§IV.1. ¶ 1 The fourth remedy is to flee the company of women, as well as their gifts and acquaintance with them, and what I say of women to men, I say the same of men to women, since, as Ovid says in the *Remedia amoris*: "It is difficult to defend against a fire next-door."[96] And thus, women are always to be fled, since the sight of them always stains observers' hearts, the hearing of them attracts, their speech inflames, and their touch pollutes, because from the soles of her feet to the top of her head, [97] there is no place on a woman upon which a trap has not been laid for capturing the eyes of men. Judith 16 hints at this at this well enough, where we read

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[93] Petr. Bles., *Epist.* IX (P.L. CCVII C l. 5) (W) "Solitudo est quae virum fortem fortissime praecipitat in reatum;" Gérard paraphrases: "Solitudo est quoddam maximum periculum quod hominem fortem fortissime precipitat in reatum"

[94] ibid., l. 6 (W)

[95] Perhaps a paraphrase of Augustine, Sermon 123, *De verbis Evangelii Joannis* (P.L. 38, 685), "Aliter enim tentator non vincitur, nisi contemnatur." (A) Gérard: "Peccatum perfecte non vincitur nisi eius oportunitas et occasio sollicite ca[v]eatur." Wilmart has "caneatur" (from the verb caneo, "to be grey or white," which was used in its active form, not the passive we have in "caneatur")—the print edition rightly gives "caveatur," from "caveo" ("to beware, avoid, etc.").

[96] Ovid., *Rem.* 625 "ignis defenditur aegre;" Gérard: "proximus a tectis egre defenditur ignis" (the meter works) (W)

[97] Deuteronomy 28:55; Job 2:17; Es. 1:6 (et multa alia, vide Google) (W)

that she "bound up her locks with a crown" to ensnare Holofernes.[98] *C'est à dire ke ele se treca*

[tressa], et mist une couroune en son chief. Behold, a trap on her head, and the following, "Her

sandals ravished his eyes;"[99] behold a trap on her feet. For the sandals are episcopal sandals,

chaucier jolit. And further: "Her beauty made his soul her captive."[100] Ecclesiastes 7 says the

same: "And I have found a woman more bitter than death, who is the hunter's snare, and her

heart is a net, and her hands are bands;"[101] and this is said so that he who holds her hand may

know that he is already in the devil's chains. Whence in Proverbs 7: "Behold, a" young "woman

meeteth him in harlot's attire prepared to deceive souls."[102] And for that reason, their company

must be fled, since "From their garments cometh a moth."[103] "Her conversation burneth as

fire,"[104] and on this account, it is said in Sirach 9:[105] "Sit not at all with another man's wife, nor

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[98] Judith 16:10 "et colligavit cincinnos suos mitra" (W) —interestingly, "mitra" doubtless refers to a ribbon rather than a crown, but in later medieval Latin, it refers to a miter, which is a type of crown (like the bishop's miter). The Douay-Rheims translation, like Gérard in his French translation, takes the word to mean "crown."

[99] ibid., 16:11 "sandalia eius rapuerunt oculos eius" (W)

[100] ibid., 16:11 "pulcritudo eius captivam fecit animam eius" (W)

[101] Eccl. 7:27 "inveni amorem amariorem morte mulierem, que laqueus venatorum est, sagena est cor eius, vincula sunt manus eius" (W)

[102] Proverbs 7:10 "et ecce occurrit [illi] mulier ornatu meretricio preparata ad capiendas animas" (W)

[103] Sirach 42:13 (W) Gérard does not finish the quotation, which makes the sense clear—he elevates it, in this way, to proverbial status: For from garments cometh a moth, *and from a woman the iniquity of a man.* "De vestimentis enim procedit tinea, et a muliere iniquitas viri"

[104] Sirach 9:11 "colloquium enim illius quasi ignis exardescit" (W) Curiously, Wilmart does not render these quotations in all caps, as he usually does for biblical quotations.

[105] Gérard uses "Ecclesiasticus" instead of Sirach; I have chosen to translate Sirach as the name of the book (following the Douay-Rheims translation), since Ecclesiasticus is easily confused with Ecclesiastes.

repose upon a bed with her," for previously stated reasons. The same in Proverbs: "Can a man hide a fire in his bosom, and his garments not burn?"[106] et cetera.

¶ 2 And "So he that goeth in to his neighbor's wife, shall not be clean" of sin, of course, "when he shall touch her,"[107] since she is glue and pitch. Whence Sirach: "He that toucheth pitch shall be defiled with it."[108] And for this reason, fear the touch and closeness of women. Indeed, it is read in the Gospel that, when a certain woman touched the Lord furtively and lightly, the Lord sensed his power leave Him,[109] and, although it may not have been a sin for Him,[110] it would have been called such for us. Whence the same said to a woman, whom He without a doubt loved a great deal: "Do not touch me."[111] And would that all people—especially those who wear the religious habit, men and women alike—when they speak to each other—would that they should say: "Do not touch me!" The Apostle instructs his disciples to do the same, saying, "Fly fornication."[112] Upon which[113] the Gloss says: "Oh how evil is this [sc. *fornicatio*], that it cannot be conquered by knowledge or strength, but only by flight, since it is most necessary in such temptation to flee the place and to turn away from those by whom [fornication] itself is brought

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[106] Proverbs 6:27 "Numquid potest homo abscondere ignem in sinu suo, et vestimenta eius non ardeant" [et for ut]

[107] Proverbs 6:29 (uxor for mulier) "Sic qui ingreditur ad uxorem proximi sui non erit mundus cum tetigerit eam" (W)

[108] Sirach 13:1 "qui tetigerit picem inquinabitur ab ea" (W)

[109] Luke 8:44-46 (W) Another paraphrase.

[110] "ei" could also refer to "her;" given the context, however, I think it is slightly more likely that it refers back to Christ.

[111] John 20:17 "noli me tangere" (W)

[112] I Corinthians 6:18 "fugite fornicationem"

[113] Or perhaps literally, "above which"

to mind, for there is no other way to conquer it."[114] Whence Jerome says, "The farther away each

may have been from those opposing, the more he does not perceive the opposition; and the less is

he roused by pleasures who is not where the throng of pleasures is, and less does he suffer the

troubles of greed who sees no riches;"[115] and so it is with women. The same says, "All

unbefitting companionship with women is the glue of transgressions and the poisoned birdlime

with which the devil goes fowling;"[116] And thus, women are to be fled, since, as Ovid says: "Not

easily will the hungry man be kept away from a set table, and springing water provokes great

thirst."[117] Thus Jerome:[118] "First, flee the cause of sin, since no one is strong for long."[119] And

the same: "Let us withdraw from slippery places as much as we can; even on dry land, we do not

stand firmly enough."[120] And the same: "A thief is never safe when he is kept imprisoned with

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[114] I cannot locate this in the Ordinary Gloss. To which gloss does Gérard refer? An interesting question for further research.

[115] Gérard attributs this to Jerome. Pseudo-Cyprian, *De singularitate clericorum* (P.L. IV. Ann 1865 915 A l. 14) (W)

[116] ibid., 921 B l. 12 viscus/viscum (not that it matters) (W)

[117] Ovid, *Rem*. 631 sq. "non facile esuriens posita retinebere mensa, / et multa[m] saliens incitat unda sitim" (W) Interesting that the print edition has the correct text (multam sitim, not multa unda). Wilmart does not note the error here.

[118] The print edition here supplies Isidore. Is this because its editor recognized the quotation as being misattributed, or because he had access to a manuscript that provided a different name? One might also wonder if abbreviations are to blame (for example, abbreviating Jerome and Isidore as *I.*).

[119] Dom Wilmart reads the variant "d(omi)ni" when he ought to have read "diu" (accursed minims!); "avi" is a semantic impossibility—no one is strong to a bird? "Nemo diu fortis" was long attributed to Ambrose, without a more precise indication of the source. "Causam [causas] primo fuge peccati, qui nemo avi [re vera: diu] fortis" (A)

[120] *Re vera*, Seneca, *Letter to Lucilius* (ep. 116.5) toward the end, "Quantum possumus [nos] a lubrico recedamus; in sicco quoque parum fortiter stamus" (A)

treasure, nor is a sheep free from harm living in one den with a wolf."[121] And Isidore says: "A serpent in the breast and a fire in the lap are pernicious neighbors."[122]

§IV.2. ¶ 1 But many are too confident in their old age, or in the virtue of women or in their chastity, and so, many times, they throw themselves into danger. We have a first example to the contrary regarding the elders in Daniel.[123] Daniel said to one of them: "O thou that art grown old in evil days,[124] beauty hath deceived thee, and lust hath perverted thy heart"[125] and the heart of the other elder. One must therefore not rely upon old age, since I saw with my very own eyes a certain Cistercian monk who had lived for nearly fifty years in the order and who was a priest and who had held many positions in the order and who, it appears, conducted himself well in these positions, and who was around eighty years old and had already reached decrepit old age. And yet, by excessive familiarity and friendship with a certain woman, he became so infatuated that at such an age, spurning all of the suffering and penitence and good works that he had performed in the order, he left his house and order, and went foolishly into society with love for that woman in order to sate his passion, and shortly after that, he died. Similarly, one reads in the *Lives of the Fathers* of a certain elder who, greatly deceived by the frequentation of women, had

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[121] Ps.-Cypr., *De singularitate clericorum* (P.L. IV, 926 D l. 6: intra unam). (W)

Once again, this treatise attributed to Jerome.

[122] It is unclear where Isidore says this (if anywhere—Pierre of Blois (Petrus Blesensis) *Epistola* X in the P.L.), but this is clearly from one of Aesop's fables, *Femina et coluber*— which has the exact same language (including the idea about "neighbors" or "guests", which other contexts lack). Note also that Gérard's "non ergo confidendum est in senectute" (beginning of ¶ 2 in the section below) is very close to "non est confidendum de hoste suo," the opening of *Femina et coluber*. (A)

[123] "Contra primum habemus exemplum…" "Contra" seems strange here, but perhaps it refers specifically to excessive confidence.

[124] Daniel 13:52 "Inveterate dierum malorum" (W)

[125] ibid., 13:56 "species decipit te et concupiscentia subvertit cor tuum" (W)

an affair with a certain woman who conceived a child by him and gave birth, and after the boy

had been weaned, the woman denounced the old man who had made her pregnant; he, however,

took the boy up and carried him among those of his brothers who were young, and with great,

heartfelt suffering and contrition and tears, he cried out in accusation against himself, saying:

"My lords and brothers, do not have faith in your youth, nor in your strength. Most wretched and

unfortunate of men, I was deceived by intimacy and love for women in my decrepit old age, and

produced this!"[126]

¶ 2 And thus, trust not in old age, nor, for that matter, in longstanding chastity, since, as

Seneca says, "Whom misfortune often passes by, it will someday discover;"[127] —"Nor do the

years do what a single day does."[128] I have even heard from certain great man of religion who

told me that a certain priest and a certain woman had been brought up together in one home from

their teenage years, and had remained there together for thirty years, conducting themselves

properly and religiously, both remaining virgins; yet the priest began to fall ill, and that woman

took care of him diligently, since she loved him very much with noble love at that time, and they

had lived for a long time together in chastity and virginity; but, when she was often next to him,

touching him now and again, the devil put his hand to work[129] and both were stirred up by carnal

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[126] A dramatic retelling. Wilmart gives: *Verba Seniorum* l. V § 35 (idest narratio quae incipit: Senex quidam erat in Scithi…, *sed multo diversius et prolixius refertur:* P.L. LXXIII, 883 B-C). (W)

[127] Seneca, *Hercules* Act 2, 328 (W)

[128] "non faciunt anni quod facit una dies" — this appears fairly frequently in literature of the thirteenth century in Latin, e.g., 1271-1276 in the little-known *De Victoria Parmensi*, the *Chronica* (1280s) of Salimbene di Adam (of Parma) (p. 76), and the *Chirurgia* of Henry of Mondeville. (A)

[129] "Manum apponere dicebantur qui sese insinuarent in rei cuiuspiam egregiae communionem" in *Adagiorum D. Erasmi Roterdami Epitome* (Amsterdam: Officina Elzeveriana, 1663), p. 295

fire to such a degree that, consenting to evil, they were both corrupted and abandoned their virginity at once. Thus, trust not in longstanding chastity.

¶ 3 Similarly, do not trust in a man's or a woman's virtue, since, as Hildebert says, "A woman and her flesh together make weakness, and even among paragons of virtue, lead easily to ruin."[130] Whence Seneca says, "Chaste is the woman whom nobody ever solicited;"[131] and as he might say: "It is difficult for her to be chaste who has been solicited." For blessed David had lived for a long time in marital chastity and was so holy that the Lord said of him, as reported in the Acts of the Apostles: "I have found [...] a man according to my own heart,"[132] and however holy he was, since he nevertheless had too much faith in himself and kept poor watch over his senses, he fell into fornication, adultery, and homicide.

¶ 4 And furthermore, do not trust in the virtue of woman nor in her longstanding chastity, because, as Seneca says: "Whom misfortune often passes by, it will someday discover;"[133] and Jerome says that for a long time, the devil sets desire in place without any flames—that is, he hides it *sans aparence*—until, yoking together two little torches—that is, *home et femme*—he sets them both aflame at once with the fire, of course, of lust, and for a long time he sets aside the weapons of his savagery until, like an experienced hunter, he can bind those he is about to slay with his trap's ropes. *C'est à dire ke li diables maintes fois personnes de religion ne tempte*

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[130] Hildebert, *Epist.* I, 13 (P.L. CLXXI, 178 C l. 9) et cf. I, 6 (ibid., 152 A l. 10) "caro et mulier cumulata infirmitas, et inter exempla virtutum facilis ad ruinam" (W)

[131] Ovid, *Amor.* 1, 8, 43, "Casta est quam nemo [Gérard: umquam] rogavit" (W) It is interesting that Gérard thinks Ovid is Seneca. Perhaps he did not have access to the *Amores*, or misremembered the source. At any rate, this is not an entire line of verse, and Gérard generally quotes Ovid in verse faithfully.

[132] Acts 13:22 "Inveni [...] hominem [virum] secundum cor meum" (W)

[133] Seneca, *Hercules* Act 2, 328 (*hic* cum *superest*, cf. if. l. 95) This is strange—a repeat of the previous Seneca quotation.

mie apiertement de luxure, ains desous espesse de bien et de saintet les tente, et ensi les enlace par sovent anter, par regarder et par parler, right up until he leads them into an occasion for sin, and then he slays them as they consent to perform the deed. *O las con grans douleurs !* and furthermore, as Jerome says, "Everywhere, your presence with women is to be tasted and not drawn out, but just as if in passing, the approach to women must be shown to be somehow fleeting."[134] Whence Ovid, "Fire nourished by the wind, by wind is extinguished: a gentle breeze feeds the flames, a stronger one kills them."[135] "Though you may extinguish this fire, if you should touch a cinder with sulfur, it comes alive, and so the smallest shall the largest fire become."[136] *Li sens de ces viers si dist ke douces paroles et douc sanlant si espendent et norissent amours. Mais estraigne sanlant et roides et dures paroles si l'estaignent. Mais tost est repris par biaus sanlans, et d'une petite estinciele de demonstrance d'amour naist trop tost uns tres grans fus de maise[137] amour et de maise convoitise.* [138] And thus, familiarity with women must be fled. Whence Jerome: "If you are fond of a modest and virtuous woman because you have seen her living well, be fond of her with your mind, and do not frequent her for the sake of

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[134] This comes from the same text of Pseudo-Cyprian as above, *De singularitate clericorum* (P.L. IV, 928 C l. 2: tamdiu copitum ignem sine u. fl. occultat —accendit et tamdiu etc") (W). I translated this particularly difficult quotation, which I discuss in the final chapter of this dissertation, with the aid of Diane Fruchtman's translation, *De singularitate clericorum : A Third-Century Treatise Against Spiritual Marriage* (MA Thesis, Indiana University, 2007).

[135] Ovid, *Rem*. 807-8 (restinguitur) "Nutritur vento, vento extinguitur ignis, Lenis alit flammas, grandior aura necat" (W)

[136] Ovid, *Rem*. 731-732, has "Ut paene extinctum cinerem"—keeping with the meter (!), Gérard changes the words, yoking two unrelated couplets together more closely in their syntax, and uses poetry to explain a very difficult bit of prose, which he then goes on to explain further in French. The French text itself is not so much a translation as it is a deepening of understanding.

[137] = mauvais(e) ; viz. Godefroy "mais, maise"

[138] The print edition has "indebitae concupiscentia" as a translation for "maise convoitise" (A)

your bodily desire;"[139] and "Remember that a woman, because of her passion, cast out Heaven's gardener."[140] Do not trust in your strength or in hers, and say within yourself, *"Since I am not oakum or straw, I ought to fear the friendship of women."* In reply, I say that *fire alters iron itself, and leaves behind little more than more fire.*[141] And thus, the fire of lust alters men who are hard as iron, and inflames them to do evil. Whence Jerome: "Desire breaks iron minds."[142] And also, *from two stones struck together, a spark issues forth; so too from the familiarity of two people, who are like the two rocks, does the spark of lust issue forth.* And in addition, *if a wall is not burned by a candle that has been placed next to it, at least it will be significantly damaged; in the same way, even if a man never falls into the sin of the flesh on account of familiarity with a woman, he is nevertheless damaged and stained by such familiarity.* Whence Jerome: "Believe me—he who is connected to the goings-on of women cannot walk wholeheartedly with the Lord."[143]

¶ 5 Similarly, spurn and do not receive the favors, gifts, letters, and greetings of women, since they are like a snare for capturing carnal love, and even a gentle breeze for reviving[144] the

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[139] Ps.-Jerome., *App.* XLII (P.L. XXX, 298 D l. 9, *idest tantum*: Feminam etc.) "Si pudicam et sanctam diligis feminam quam videris bene conversantem, mente dilige, non corporali frequentes affectu" (W)

[140] Jerome, *Epistolae* LII § 5 (P.L. XXII, 532 A l. 1) (W)

[141] "Ignis ipsum ferrum immutat, et quasi totum ignem efficit;" "Fire changes iron itself, and brings about almost a whole/total fire." I take this to mean that there's no iron left; fire begets more fire—consumes what it burns.

[142] ibid., CXVII § 6 (cf. superius) (W) —the same text is quoted earlier: "ferreas mentes libido domat"

[143] Pseudo-Jerome, App XLII §4 (P.L. XXX, 298 C. l. 9 "corde habitare") "Crede michi: non potest cum dominus toto corde ambulare qui feminarum accessibus copulator" (W)

[144] Wilmart chooses to read "reivvandum" (not a word) instead of the obviously correct "revivandum"—a question of minims.

flame of a desire that is now almost snuffed out. Whence they say, "I want you to keep this as a memory of me." *O las con dolereuse et damageuse souvenance !*[145] We who ought to have our heart and mind set on our God in chorus and in prayer are often urged to remember—many times against our will—by the wretched favors of these women with their fleshly goad. *Thence thought is bound, feeling is transfigured even in the good work and fervor of penitence, all one's members become weak, and all devotion is abandoned;*[146] and thus it is said in proverbs:[147] "The gift of the fool," that is, of a woman, "shall do thee no good. [S]he will give a few things, and upbraid much: and the opening of h[er] mouth is the kindling of a fire,"[148] since the devil sees to it that we are lit up by these things and set aflame with lust by memories and imaginings of women, and, [even] in the service of God and in our penitence, we abandon our devotion.

¶ 6 And so, the Lord says in Isaiah 14: "And I will destroy the name of Babylon, and the remains, and the bud, and the offspring."[149] Here are four things concerning carnal love, which the Lord wants to remove from the hearts of the religious, and to destroy entirely. Naturally,[150]

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[145] This is doubtless a spontaneous outburst rather than a line of poetry (though *con doleureuse et damageuse souvenance* makes an alexandrine).

[146] "Inde ligatur cogitatio, transfigitur affectio, et in bono opere et fervore penitentie fit membrorum omnium dissolutio, et omnis ammititur devotio"

[147] Wilmart, by capitalizing "in Proverbiis," suggests that Gérard means "in [the book of] Proverbs." It seems that Gérard may mean something closer to "proverbially," since this comes from Sirach, not from Proverbs. That said, the similarity between Sirach and Proverbs is well known—perhaps Gérard misremembered?

[148] Sirach 20:14-15. The Vulgate reads "Datus insipientis" (not "donum," as in Gérard) "Donum [Vulgate: datus] insipientis non erit tibi utile […] Exigua dabit et multa improperabit et apertio oris illius inflammatio est" (W)

[149] Isaiah 14:22 "Perdam Babilonis nomen et reliquias et progeniem et germen [Vulgate: et germen et progeniem]" (W)

[150] Wilmart punctuates incorrectly in my view; according to his punctuation, the "four things" would be "the name of Babylon," when in fact, this is only the first of the four.

the name of Babylon, for Babylon is interpreted as disorder and signifies lust and carnal love, because carnal love ends in filth and disorder, as those who have experienced it know. And what greater disorder could arise in people wearing the religious habit than through carnal love and sin of the flesh? And thus, the Lord wants in such people to destroy the name of Babylon, so that we neither say nor hear any words at all that stir up carnal affections. As the Apostle says: "Fornication," of the body, of course, or "uncleanness" of the heart "or foolish talking", et cetera, "let it not so much as be named among you, as becometh saints."[151] But what? "Thanksgiving, and the voice of praise"[152] *de chou ke Dius nous a enfremés en son castiel de sainte religion par tres grant jalousie d'amour,*[153] like the thanks and praise that princes, kings, and emperors give everywhere for their wives, whom they love most dearly, so that, if anywhere in their hearts an evil desire should rise up, the ability to fulfill it would nevertheless be lacking. On account of this, we must at all times give thanks to God and raise our voices in praise, since He so diligently guards us—even against our own will—that we are often not able to bring into effect[154] what we desire wickedly; yet it is not our merits that accomplish this, but His mercy and most perfect charity, since, as Chrysostom says, "No carnal lover, even if he should be senseless beyond measure in the love of his sweetheart, can burn in his love as intensely as God is poured into the

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[151] Paul to the Ephesians 5:3-4 "Fornicatio autem, et omnis immunditia, aut avaritia, nec nominetur in vobis, sicut decet sanctos: Aut turpitudo, aut stultiloquium, aut scurrilitas, quae ad rem non pertinet: sed magis gratiarum actio" (W) Gérard: "Gérard: "Fornicatio […] aut immunditia […] aut stultiloquium […] non nominetur in vobis sicut decet sanctos"

[152] Isaiah 51:3 "[Gaudium et laetitia invenietur in ea, = Sion] gratiarum actio et vox laudis" (W)

[153] Allegorical types of courtly literature (sainte religion, le jaloux…) are present here.

[154] "ducere ad effectum" (legal language?)

love of our souls."[155] *O las ki sui je,* to whose salvation God so diligently and continuously attends, even while I resist. Small wonder, *car je li ai trop cher cousté pour quoi il ne me viout mie perdre, car il set que m'ame vaut.*

¶ 7 So too does God want the remains of Babylon to be destroyed and reduced to nothing in the heart of His spouse—that is, of the religious soul. *C'est les remansailles des pechiés, si comme les recordemens et les souvenances des delectations carneus ki passées sunt u c'on peuist avoir fait.*[156]

¶ 8 Similarly, he wants the bud and the offspring to be abolished from our hearts—that is to say, *les affectueus parlemens, les dous regars et les dous ris et les salus et les douces lettres et les guiaus,*[157] since all of those are reminders,[158] occasions and material for carnal love, as well as the path to misfortune and to the destruction of all religion and all that is sacred. Whence Jerome says: "Sacred love has no part in little gifts and handkerchiefs," that is *plouroirs,* "and ribbons," that is, *keuvrekies,*[159] "offered up and pressed to the mouth, or in flattering and sweet letters, as, for instance, when someone says in such a letter: 'You are my honey, my heart, my

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[155] These exact words are found elsewhere, for example in the *Florilegium Casinense* in the *Bibliotheca casinensis*, vol. 3 (Montecassino, 1877), p. 402: "Nemo amatorum carnalium, etiam si sit supra modum insaniens in amorem dilecte sue, ita exardescere potest in amorem suum sicut deus infunditur in amorem animarum nostrarum" (A)

[156] "That is, the remains of sins, such as recallings and memories of carnal delights that happened or that one may have committed"

[157] g*o*iaus, as in *joyaux*—jewels (continuing with the theme of gifts)

[158] "Rediviva"?

[159] i.e. *couvre-chefs*

light and all my desire.'"[160] And all of these are the bud and the offspring, as well as an incentive for carnal affections, and a cause of damnation.

¶ 9 And on account of all of the aforesaid, and much else besides, the crowd of women must be fled, along with their friendships and gifts and letters and greetings, since all of these are poisoned, and are traps of the devil for tricking and destroying men.

And now, let this suffice for the fourth remedy.

§V.1. The fifth remedy is to occupy the heart with the Holy Scriptures and solemn meditations, and the body with good works, or with service to brothers in the infirmary,[161] or with some other useful bodily exercise, since, as Bernard says, "Evil spirits put evil thoughts into the idle mind, with the result that if it takes a break from work, it does not cease to take pleasure in evil thoughts."[162] For this reason, Jerome says, "Always do some work, in order that the devil may always find you occupied,"[163] since, should he not find us occupied with some good work, *il nous metera en oeuvre male,* that is, of lust or evil love, because the definition of love is "the

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[160] Jerome, *Epistolae* 52 §5 (P.L. XXII, 532 l. 24: *paulo deversius*, says Wilmart) "Crebra munuscula et sudariola et fasciolas ori applicatas et oblatas blandasque ac dulces litteras sanctus amor non habet, ut cum ponitur in litteris sic: 'Vos estis mel meum, cor meum, lumen meum et omne desiderium meum'" (W)

[161] "In infirmatorio"

[162] A very popular snippet of text, first appearing in Gregory's sixth-century *Homiliae in Ezechielem*, P.L. 76, 927B. Next, we find it in Taio Caesaragustinus, in the chapter of his *Sententiae* titled "De satanae tentamentis" (7th c., P.L. 80, 919D), and again in Lanfranc (11th c.) in P.L. 150, 640A: "Otiosae menti maligni spiritus pravas cogitationes inserunt, ut si quiescat ab opere, non quiescat a malorum operum delectatione." I can find no text of Bernard containing these words, but Gérard may be quoting from memory, as his text differs from that of the above three in several ways (for example, the use of the simple ablative, "quiescit opere […] quiescat delectatione," where Gregory, Taio, and Lanfranc use the preposition "a(b).") (A)

[163] Jerome, *Epistolae* CXXV §11 (1078, l. 14: fac et aliquid operis etc.; *aliter*: facito al.) "Semper aliquid operis fac, ut semper te diabolus inveniat occupatum"

passion of the unoccupied soul."[164] *C'est adire k'amours si est une passions ki naist en cuer wiseus.*[165] And this passion, if it is of God, is called charity; if, however, it comes from carnal love, it is called lust. For Augustine calls charity passion, saying: "O powerful, o most powerful passion of charity, which is unbearable, if untempered. Powerful indeed," he says, "the passion that renders the soul that possesses it powerless over itself,"[166] etc. So too are lust and carnal love called passion. Whence the Apostle: "Not the passion of lust,"[167] etc. O, truly, there is no greater passion [=suffering] than to burn with carnal desires, since he who labors in this passion never has peace of mind, because, as Ambrose says, "Such raves by night as gasps for breath by day;"[168] all that he sees and possesses displeases him, because he does not possess the object of his lust—what he desires, what he gasps for. And *iceus vraiement a trop dolereuse vie,* as the experienced know.

§V.2. Such passion is born of idleness. Whence in Ezekiel: "Behold this was the iniquity of Sodom,"[169] that is, the material and occasion for iniquity. Which is? "Fulness […] and

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[164] I have found the following reference online, by searching "animi vacantis passio"—Erasmus used it, taking it, perhaps, from John Chrysostom: "Chrys. Hom. 14 in cap. 1 Mt." ; also in Bonaventure, *Sancti Bonaventurae ex Ordine Minorum Opusculorum Theologicorum Tomus Primus* (Venice: Haeres Hieronimi Scoti, 1611), p. 269

[165] *wiseus = oiseus (oisif)*

[166] I cannot locate this in Augustine, but do find it in Gilbert of Hoyland, who continued Bernard's sermons *in Cantica*. Gillebertus, *In Cantica* XLVII § 4 (P.L. CLXXXIV, 244 B l. 14) "Iure potens inquit, [que] animum quem possederit sui ipsius efficit impotentem" (W)

[167] 1 Th 4:5 "Non in passionibus [passione] desiderii, [sicut et gentes, quae ignorant Deum]" (W)

[168] Ambrose, *De Cain et Abel* I, 5 § 20 (P.L. XIV, 345 C l. 13) "talis nocte fervet, die anhelat" (W)

[169] Ezekiel 16:49 "Ecce haec fuit iniquitas Sodome" (W)

idleness"[170] and so forth, since, as Lucan says, "Leisure makes the mind fickle."[171] The same

goes for Ovid: "You see how leisure corrupts the sluggish," that is, *pareceus,* "body; water, too,

becomes diseased unless it flows."[172] Whence Pope Leo, "The territory of flesh, if not subjected

to constant cultivation, produces, from its idle bosom, the thorns of temptation and the brambles

of carnal regrets."[173] Whence Ovid in the *Remedia amoris*, "You ask how Egistus became an

adulterer. Obviously, it's because he was lazy."[174] And thus, leisure must be avoided, and

occupation in good works, earnestly sought, since, as the philosopher Flaccus says,[175] "If you do

not turn your mind toward study and noble pursuits, you will be wrenched by envy or by

continual love."[176] And now, let this suffice for the fifth remedy.

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[170] ibid., "saturitas [panis et abundantia,] et otium" (W)

[171] Lucan, *De bello civili* IV, 704 "Variam semper dant ocia mentem" (W)

[172] Ovid, *Pont.*, I, 5, 5 "ignavum corrumpant otia corpus, ut careant(*?) vitio si moveantur aquae;" "Cernis ut innavum corrumpunt ocia corpus, et capiunt vitium, ni moveantur aque" (the meter works) (W)

[173] Leo (III?), *Serm.* LXXXI § 3 (P.L. LIV, 421 D l. 2) (W) "Terra carnis, nisi assiduis fuerit subiecta [*re vera subacta*] culturis, cito de sinu otioso [*re vera de segni otio*] spinas temptationum tribulosque [carnalium compunctionum] producit." Apparently, Gérard has modified this quotation for his own purposes (there is no mention, in Leo, of the brambles *of carnal regrets*. Also, *de segni otio* vs. *de sinu otioso*).

[174] Ovid, *Remedia*, vv. 161-2 "Queritur Egistus quare sit factus adulter. In promptu causa est, desidiosus erat" (W)

[175] Either "philosophus" must be understood as "the philosopher" or as an adjective with adjectival strength, modifying "Flaccus" (i.e. philosophically)—Horace, that is. Since the meter here probably does not work (see below), I am inclined to think that Gérard is quoting a philosopher he believes to be named Flaccus, rather than the poet Horace.

[176] Horace, *Epistulae* I, 2, 35 (says Wilmart: "*ubi sane* : "intuendes, tuum *om.,* vigil *pro* iugi"). "Si non / intendas animum tuum studiis et rebus honestis, / Invidia vel amore iugi torqueberis." (W) I take "jugi" as the ablative of the adjective *jugis, juge* (continual, ever-flowing, etc), rather than as the genitive of "jugum" ("yoke"). Since the adjective has a long "u," the meter does not work, but since "jugum" has a short "u," it is possible that Gérard thought of "jugis" as fitting the meter.

§VI.1. ¶ 1 The sixth remedy is to consider the extreme vileness and corruption of those people who are loved carnally.[177] Whence Gregory says: "If you lust after beautiful flesh, think upon what it is when lifeless, and you will understand what you love."[178] Further: "Nothing is so useful for taming an appetite for carnal pleasures as this: let each think about how what he loves while it is alive would be like if it were dead."[179] One also reads in the *Lives of the Fathers*[180] of a certain elder who, while in society in his youth, really liked a beautiful woman, and, though he had long been in an order, he was so burdened by love and memory of that woman that he could not sleep on account of excessive love and desire for her. After a certain time, he heard that she had died and been buried, and a little later, he went in secret, in the middle of some night, to the grave where she had been buried, and he dug until he came upon her body, which stank so much he could hardly stand it, and he lobbed off the piece of that woman's flesh from the part of her that he most hungered for while she lived, and took it with him. And whenever he was tempted by carnal lust and by that woman, he put that putrid, stinking piece of flesh up to his nose and said to himself: behold, you wretch—behold that which you so loved and so ardently desired. And thus, he often sedated his lust with that most foul of foul stenches.[181] And this is why

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[177] "Quae carnaliter amantur," writes Gérard—we might expect "quae carnaliter amant," but the context makes the meaning clear.

[178] Gregory, Moral. XVI, 69 § 83 (P.L. LXXV, 1162 l. 12: caro utique cum concupiscitur, etc.) "Si caro pulcra concupiscitur, pensetur quid sit exanimis, et intelligitur quid amatur" (W)

[179] ibid., l. 14: "Nil quippe sic… quam UT unusq." (W) In both the Troyes and the BAV manuscripts, this quotation is attributed to Jerome the second time around; in the BAV manuscript, if my reading of the difficult hand is correct, it is attributed to Jerome both times. (A)

[180] *Verba seniorum* l. V § 22 (P.L. LXXIII, 878 sq., *idest narratio quae incipit: "*Frater quidam erat probatus tentationibus in Scithi," *hic vero contracta et mutata*, says Wilmart) (W)

[181] "fetidissimum fetorem"

Gregory says, "Nothing is so useful for taming an appetite for carnal pleasures as this: let each think about how what he loves while it is alive would be like if it were dead."[182]

¶ 2 So great is the stench of carnal sin that many demons, remembering the nobility of their birth, refuse to tempt men with lust.[183] Whence one reads of a certain cleric who was really crazy about a most beautiful woman, and who used the art of magic to possess her in his house and in his bed at his desire. And one day, while he lay in his bed, and she with him, he saw a filthy devil walking through his bedroom, taking the appearance of a man and who was covering his nose with his hand such that he could hardly breathe. Seeing this, the cleric asked him: "Why is it that you cover your nose?" and the demon replied, "Because of the relationship you have had with that woman, you stink so much to me that if every putrid cadaver and all the dung in the world were under my nose, the lot of it would reek less than you do on account of your lustfulness." Hearing this, the cleric was remorseful in his heart, and said : "Alas, wretched me! What have I done, and how have I so polluted myself? And if even the devil, who is fetidness itself, thinks that I stink, how fetid must I seem to God, who is most pure and clean?" And remorsefully he abandoned his sin and did penance. So great indeed is the stench and filthiness of flesh not only dead, but also living, that no young man, however handsome, and no woman, however beautiful, or however noble, does not have so many unclean, fetid things come out of the all the moving parts of his or her body that all, men and women alike, know how abominable the body is. Whence Seneca says, "Man and woman—oh, what a hateful affair, unless it should rise above

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[182] Gregory, *Moral.* XVI, 69 § 83 (P.L. LXXV, 1162 l. 12: caro utique cum concupiscitur, etc.) "Si caro pulcra concupiscitur, pensetur quid sit exanimis, et intelligitur quid amatur" (W) Repeated word for word from above.

[183] ibid., l. 4 et sq.? (W) It's not clear whether this is part of the quotation. "Tanta est feditas in peccato carnali quod multi demones, memores sue nobilitatis in creatione, dedignantur homines temptare de luxuria"

the human."[184] *Nothing is more vile and nothing more unclean than man and woman sinning together—not even a toad; nothing is more noble and nothing more precious in the whole world than man and woman living in a state of grace.* *But nothing so pollutes both body and spirit as the sin of the flesh, and yet, there is no greater madness, no greater ardor than the madness and ardor of carnal love and carnal lust.* Whence Tully says, "Of all of the mind's disturbances, none is greater than the madness of carnal love and of carnal lust, and thus these must be despised and fled."[185] And now, let this suffice for the sixth remedy.

§VII. ¶ 1 The seventh remedy is the consideration of the nobility, preciousness, and dignity of the rational soul—the nobility and dignity of which Bernard describes (just in part, not wholly in its infinity, since it could not be described) by saying in his *Meditations*: "O soul distinguished by the image of God, decorated with [His] likeness, betrothed [to Him] by faith, endowed with [His] spirit, redeemed by the blood of Christ, partaking in reason, heir of goodness, fit for beatitude,"[186] etc. Behold, in part, how great the dignity of the rational soul is. Likewise Bernard, speaking of the dignity of the rational soul, on whose behalf God came down from the heavens into the world, says: "Who doubts that something great was at issue, given that such high

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[184] Seneca, Nat. Quaest. I, Prol. § 5 (res est contempta homo nisi…) "O quam contempta res est homo et mulier, nisi supra humana surrexerit" (W)

[185] Cicero, Tuscul., IV, 35 § 75 "Maxime autem admonendus est quantus sit furor amoris. Omnibus enim ex animi perturbationibus est profecto nulla vehementior, ut, si iam ipsa…" (W) What is clear is that this is not a quotation, but an extended paraphrase. Wilmart's punctuation is incorrect—he has a semicolon after "carnal love."

[186] (Ps.-)Bern., *Medit*. III § 7 (P.L. CLXXXIV, 489 C) (W) In fact, this very much resembles verse—internal rhyme, rhythm. "O anima insignita dei imagine / decorata similitudine, desponsata fide, / dotata spiritu, redempta Christi sanguine / rationis particeps, heres bonitatis, / capax beatitudinis…" Also found elsewhere (for example, in Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De anima*) with a slightly altered text. (A)

majesty—from so far away, and to such an unworthy place—deigned to descend?"[187] And

furthermore, "How astonishing, the consideration of a searching God, and how great the dignity

of the man who has been sought!"[188] Similarly, Augustine describes the dignity of rational

creation and explains for what purpose it was created, saying, "God made rational creation," that

is, *home et femme,* "so that it might understand the highest good, and might love it by

understanding it, possess it by loving it, delight in it by possessing it, and be blessed by

delighting in it."[189] Oh how great is the dignity of rational creation—that is, of the soul. But alas!

man, though he is so honorable and worthy, still lacks understanding.[190] Whence one says in

proverbs,[191] "Man does not know his own worth." And this is apparent when man, in his utter

stupidity, gives up and abandons God,[192] gives up his soul, gives up the eternal beatitude for

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[187] Bernardus, *Sermo 1 in Adv.* § 7 (P.L. CLXXXII, 38 C l. 15) "Quis dubitat magnum aliquid fuisse in causa ut maiestas tanta de tam longinquo in locum tam indignum descendere dignaretur" (W)

[188] ibid., 38 D l. 13. "Mira querentis Dei dignatio, et vere magna dignitas hominis sic quasiti" (W) —very difficult to translate, on account of the economy of the participle; the idea is that God seeks us out—a wondrous act of consideration—and that we are dignified for having been sought out by Him.

[189] Pseudo-Augustine, *De diligendo Deo* § 2 (P.L. XL, 850 l. 9)

[190] A powerful echo of Psalms 48:13 (W), but, in fact, a purposeful rewriting of the psalm— Gérard changes the tenses of the verbs (esset -> sit ; intellexit -> intellegit), which affects the understanding of the "cum" clause, putting the emphasis on man's true worth and dignity, all the while recalling the Psalm's harsh words about man, who, for his willful lack of understanding, has lost paradise and made himself like a beast. A fascinating way of using the language of the Psalms.

[191] Once again, Wilmart capitalizes "in Proverbiis"—this quotation, if indeed Gérard has Job 28:13 (W) in mind, means something totally different than the biblical verse (which has "eius" instead of "suum," referring not to man's own worth, but to the value of *wisdom*, from the preceding verse). This is not, at any rate, from the book of Proverbs, and it seems that Gérard is drawing attention to either the proverbial nature of this sentence, or to the figure of speech (metaphor—man = commodity) that the word "pretium" implies. "Nescit homo precium suum"

[192] Though the text reads "dereliquit" (perfect tense, according to Wilmart), the print edition (more correctly) has the present tense "derelinquit"—the combination of tenses here creates nonsense.

which he was made—gives it all up for illicit love and for momentary pleasure, and binds himself to eternal suffering. And this really is the stupidest insanity. Whence Isaiah: "They have given all their precious things for food to relieve the soul."[193] And it says well and truly "to relieve,"[194] not "to satisfy." For pleasure and delight are the food that feeds the flesh, but with such food it can never be wholly satisfied, since, as Jerome says, "Pleasure generates hunger, not satiety."[195] Whence Job says: "When he shall be filled"[196]—temporarily, of course, with the pleasure of his lust, "he shall be straitened, he shall burn"[197] more still than before.

¶ 2 We see the same thing with the forger, who sometimes flings water off of his broom onto the fire of his furnace, and the more the fire is extinguished on the surface, the hotter the inside becomes. The same is doubtless true of carnal pleasures—the more they are practiced, the more the practitioners burn and set themselves aflame, as the experienced know. Whence Jerome says: "The love of a woman for a man is always insatiable; once it is extinguished, its fire comes back to life, and after riches, it is poor once again, and it effeminates the virile mind and, with the

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[193] Lamentations (Thr.) 1:11 "Dederunt pretiosa quaeque [Gerard: queque preciosa] cibo ad refocillandam animam" (W) It is strange that Gérard attributes this text from the Lamentations to Isaiah (as he does elsewhere, I believe). The print edition correctly gives Lamentations as the source.

[194] Though the Douay-Rheims and KJV give "relieve" here, the Latin "refocillo" means "to warm into life again" or "to revive." Nevertheless, from what follows, and in keeping with many translations of the Bible, it seems that this word has generally been interpreted as having more to do with refreshment than with resurrection.

[195] Jerome, *Epistolae* XX § 13 (P.L. XXII, 385 l. 9) (W) "Voluptas famem sui habet et transacta non satiat;" Gérard: "Voluptas famem et non satietatem generat." Paraphrase.

[196] Job 20:22 "Cum satiatus fuerit"

[197] ibid., "ar[c]tabitur et estuabit"

exception of its own suffering, it only thinks of what sustains it."[198] Thus the Lord rebukes us in

Isaiah, suffering for us and saying: "Why do you spend money for that which is not bread, and

your labour for that which doth not satisfy you?"[199] *Those who lustfully serve carnal desires

always go a-begging,[200] searching for a place and a way to satisfy their desire, but they never

find it; truly, the more fully they drink of carnal pleasures, the more they thirst and burn.*

Whence Job: "Thirst shall burn against him,"[201] and the Lord, in the Gospel: "Whosoever

drinketh of this water, shall thirst again,"[202] and even more so.[203] By "water," we may understand

"the pleasure of the flesh," which flows and passes quickly by, after the fashion of water. And

small wonder if the pleasure of the flesh cannot be entirely fulfilled, since it is a fire, as Job says:

"It is a fire that devoureth even to consumption, and rooteth up all things that spring"[204] from

good thoughts, that is. *For he who[205] is overcome by carnal love can neither think well, nor love

[*diligere*] religiously, nor speak affectionately of God, nor serve perfectly.*

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[198] The print edition ascribes this to Isidore, not to Jerome; Wilmart notes "Cf. P.L. XXX, 339 D l. 10" — "Amor mulieris ad hominem insatiabilis est semper, qui extinctus reaccenditur et post copiam rursus inops est animumque virilem effeminat et, excepta passione, quod sustinet aliud cogitare non desinit" (W)

[199] Isaiah 55:2 (W) Vulgate: "O om., vestrum om., laborem vestrum;" Gérard: "[O] Quare appenditis argentum vestrum non in panibus et labores vestros non in saturitate?"

[200] "Semper mendicant." Is this a criticism of mendicants?

[201] Job 18:9 "exardescet contra eum sitis" (W)

[202] John 4:13 "[Omnis] qui biberit [bibit] ex aqua hac sitiet iterum" (W)

[203] Or, "even more so" is a gloss for "again" ("iterum").

[204] Job 31:12 "Usque ad consumptionem [perditionem] devorans et eradicans omnia genimina [omnia eradicans genimina]" (W)

[205] Wilmart's reading, "since it [=desire of the flesh?] is overcome by carnal love," etc, does not make much sense; the print edition has "superatus" (one who is overcome), and it is possible that Wilmart read a final "s" as a final "r." In any case, without either the past participle or another subject (qui superatur, instead of quia superatur, for example), the sentence is agrammatical.

¶ 3 And nevertheless, such a fire—of lust, that is—never says: "That's enough," until it has rendered the body feckless, since "The horseleech hath two daughters"[206]—that is, vanity and pleasure—that always "say 'Bring, bring.'"[207] And just as the fire never dies down as long as it is supplied with material, the more material is supplied, the hotter and more fervent it becomes; so too the sin of lust[208]—the more one practices it, the more it glows, as it is written in proverbs,[209] "For as the wood of the forest is, so the fire burneth."[210] Thus, the more occasions they have for sin and are filled up with its work, the more fully their lust [*concupiscentia*] is inflamed and grows. But, as it is said in Proverbs, "When the wood faileth, the fire shall go out;"[211] thus, if the occasions for sin fail, so too shall carnal love fail, along with carnal longings, since, when the cause is destroyed, so too is the effect. And Bernard says: "I know men satisfied by this world, and who are nauseated at the thought of it; I know men who are satisfied by the money, honors, pleasures, and curiosities [*curiositates*] of this world—and not just satisfied, but satisfied to the point of nausea."[212] *And, by this grace of God, it is easy to obtain whatever satiety we will,

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[206] Proverbs 30:15 "Sanguisuge duae sunt filiae dicentes, 'affer, affer'" (W)

[207] ibid.

[208] "Luxuria"—this is the first time, I believe, Gérard uses this word in the treatise; elsewhere, "concupiscentia" generally seems to refer to lust. The classical sense of the word has to do more with excess than with abandoning oneself to the pleasures of the flesh.

[209] Here again, we have the mystery of "in proverbiis"—does Gérard really think that this comes from the book of Proverbs? Or did "Proverbs" simply refer to several books of the Bible, including Sirach and possibly Job?

[210] Sirach 28:12 (W) Gérard: "secundum lignum silvae inardescit ignis;" Vulgate: "Secundum enim ligna silvae sic ignis exardescit"

[211] Proverbs 26:20 "Si [*cum*] defecerint ligna, extinguetur ignis" (W)

[212] Bernard, *De conv. ad clericos* XIV § 26 (P.L. CLXXXII, 848 D l. 10) (W)

because not abundance, but contempt for it, begets grace.*[213] Therefore, he who wants to be fully satisfied by all pleasures and longings of this world and of the flesh—and to be satisfied to such a degree that they even become abominable and offensive to him—let him not pursue them by practicing them, and let him flee them in hatred, since there is no better way to fulfill them.

¶ 4 O how miserable and insane we are, *who seek that which cannot satisfy us,[214] and who follow a wind—that is, of carnal pleasure—that can fill no one.*[215] Whence it says in Hosea: "Ephraim feedeth on the wind,"[216] etc., although we have the means at hand to fulfill and sate all of our desires—that is, our God, who is for the holy pleasure and consolation of the whole world, and whom we would doubtless find more quickly and easily than the consummation of our carnal desires, if we sought Him with such effort, such desire, and such striving. But alas, as Augustine says, "Carnal lovers desire and seek what is destructive more ardently than *we* do what is useful; they run more gaily to death than do we to life, even though they encounter many difficulties and many and adversities in their desires and pleasures, because they labor, labor, labor, in heart and in mind, on their affairs."[217] And they labor triply in the heart—that is, by

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[213] This sentence is extremely difficult. The idea seems to be that God has made it easy to obtain an abundance of anything, in order that we may come to hold such abundance in contempt. If this is not the meaning, it is unclear to me how "contempt" can be seen as "begetting" grace.

[214] "qui querimus ea que nos satiare non possunt"

[215] "sequimur ventum de quo nullus impleri potest"

[216] Hosea 12:1 "Ephraim pascit ventum" (W)

[217] Bernard, *Sermones* XXXVI, "De altitudine et bassitudine cordis" (P.L. 183, 639 B) (A) "Ardentius illi perniciosa desiderant, quam nos utilia; citius illi ad mortem properant, quam nos ad vitam;" Gérard: "Ardentius desiderant et sequntur carnales amatores pernitiosa quam nos utilia, alacrius currunt ad mortem quam nos ad vitam, et tamen tot difficultates et tot adversitates inveniunt in suis [sic] cupiditatibus et voluptatibus, quia laborant in corde, laborant in corpore, laborant etiam in ipsa re." —It is not clear where the quotation of "Augustine" ends, but the latter part of what I have presented as a quotation here is not found in the above sermon of Bernard.

desire, anxiety, and care[218]—in which way they satisfy their desire, and yet, as soon as they have satisfied it, it grieves them. Whence Jerome: "The desire for fornication is anxiety, and penitence is satisfaction."[219]

¶ 5 And not only does that desire for anxiety precede this sin, but so too do many other troubles that the Lord calls thorns. Whence Hosea, chapter two: "I will hedge up thy way with thorns."[220] These are the thorns of the insomnia, fears, cares, labors, expenses that precede and accompany this sin. Whence Bernard: "O what an affliction, what sleeplessness, what a mean feast there is in momentary pleasure; sometimes, the sleeplessness lasts for years and continues after the feast of momentary pleasure."[221] So great is the insanity of carnal lovers and of the lustful that they run through the thorns to their death, and, with so many expenses,[222] they set themselves on the path to hell. What we read in Proverbs, chapter five, regarding the deceitful woman by whose example carnal desire can be understood, pertains to penitence: "But her end is bitter as wormwood."[223] *How very foolish is the merchant who engages in the sort of business

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[218] "desiderio, anxietate et sollicitudine"

[219] Also found in Peter Cantor (P.L. 205, 333A) (A), and attributed to Jerome in the *Gemma Ecclesiastica* of Gerald of Wales in J.S. Brewer, ed., *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, vol. II (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1862), p. 172

[220] Hosea 2:6 (W) Vulgate: "Sepiam viam tuam spinis;" Gérard: "sepiam vias tuas spinis"

[221] Source? Wilmart's text reads: "O quantus luctus, quante vigilie, quam modicum festum in momentanea libidine; interdum extenduntur vigilie per annum, et sequntur momantanee delectationes festum." I view this as an unlikely reading, however, and would prefer "delectationis," following the BAV manuscript.

[222] Taking "expensis" as the ablative plural of "expensa" rather than the past participle of "expendo" in an ablative absolute construction.

[223] Proverbs 5:4 "novissima autem illius amara quasi abs[c]intium" (W) It is worth mentioning that "novissima" may well refer literally to the harlot's nether-regions, rather than to her end (fate).

it's certain he'll come to regret!*[224] Whence a certain example we have of a certain young woman who, thinking that the pleasure of this sin was a great thing because of her desire for it, allowed her virginity to be taken. Afterward, seeing for what a brief and vile thing she abandoned such a great treasure, she lamented and grieved so much that, on account of her suffering, she killed herself.[225]

¶ 6 Therefore, dearest ones, since we hear in the scriptures, see with our eyes, know by experience, that there are so many hardships in carnal love and carnal desire, so many anxieties of the heart, so many impurities, *pour Dieu!*, let us lift up our hearts, our love, and our desire to that highest good—that is, to God, who can forgive all of our iniquities, who can redeem our life from destruction, and who can decorate and crown us with mercy and compassion, heal all our diseases, and satisfy our desires with good things.[226] And the whole world and all the desires of the flesh cannot accomplish this, since "All flesh lacks flavor"—that is, it is displeasing—"to one who has tasted the spirit."[227] Whence Anselm: "O wretched man, why do you wander about so much in looking for pleasures and for good things for your body and mind? Love one good, and that is enough. —What do you love, my flesh? Certainly, pleasures and delights [*dilitias*]. But what do you desire, my mind? Certainly, honors, joys, and knowledge. O, it is there, it is there— that is, in God—everything you love and everything you desire, but there it is pure, holy, and

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[224] A popular saying? "insipiens est mercator qui forum tale fecit unde certus est quod paenitebit."

[225] An incredible anecdote; "prae dolore voluit se interficere" —the perfect tense here (rather than the imperfect *volebat*)—implies that she she wished to *and did* kill herself.

[226] Gérard, taking a leaf out of Bernard's book, is crafting sentences out of the language of the Psalms—without, of course, making any reference to the psalm in question, which is 102(:3-5). (W)

[227] A page or so after this, Gérard gives Gregory as the source of these words: "gustato spiritu desipit omnis caro"

noble"[228]—so much so, that when you have tasted its sweetness, all other sweetnesses and pleasures will turn into bitterness and abomination.

¶ 7 And blessed David knew this well, who had many carnal pleasures, seeing that he had many very beautiful wives—that is, Bathsheba, who was the most beautiful, and Michal, and Abigail, and many others, along with many riches and many honors of this world; but after he had tasted the sweetness of Christ, he called all carnal pleasures iniquity against God, saying: "I have held hatred for iniquity, and I have" even "abhorred it."[229] But how does he respond?[230] Certainly that "I was mindful of God, and I was delighted," so much that "my spirit fell away."[231] Behold the delight that is in God conquers all carnal delight, since, as Gregory says, "All flesh lacks flavor to one who has tasted the spirit;"[232] and Augustine, "God alone can be loved without trouble, embraced with purity and delight, desired with freedom from care, and whatever else we might love is either suffering or material for suffering."[233]

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[228] Anselm, *Proslogion* XV (P.L. CVIII, 240 A l. 6 — B l 2 (with diverse additions) "O miser homo cur per multa vagaris querendo voluptates et bona corporis tui et anime tue. Ama unum bonum, in quo sunt omnia bona, et sufficit. —Quid enim amis, caro mea? Certe voluptates et delitias. Sed quid desideras, anima mea? Certe honores, gaudia et scientiam. O ibi est, ibi est, scilicet in Deo, quicquid amatis et quicquid desideratis" (W)

[229] Psalms 118:163 (*not* 118:13, as Wilmart says) (A)

[230] I'm not quite sure about how this question fits. This is the best I can do with "Sed quare respondet?" (Which I would normally take as "But why does he respond?" if I understood to what Gérard could possibly be referring as a "response")

[231] Psalms 76:4 "Memor fui Dei, et delectatus sum, [et exercitatus sum]: et defecit spiritus meus" (W)

[232] Bernard, *Epistolae* CXI "Ex persona Eliae monachi ad parentes suos" (P.L. 182, 225 B), "gustato spiritu, necesse est desipere carnem" (cf Gérard's text in the note above.) Bernard does not present this as a quotation. (A)

[233] Source? The quotation seems to end here, but it may continue. "Solus deus sine molestia amatur, cum puritate et iocunditate amplectitur, cum securitate desideratur, et quicquid aliud amaverimus aut dolor est aut materia doloris"

¶ 8 For we desire many things that we cannot have; but without a doubt, he who desires God perfectly, will possess Him happily in eternity. Whence Bernard: "Let him who already desires God desire Him even more, since the more he is able to desire, the more he will be accepted by God."[234] But oh, how foolish we are, who ought to seek and desire the greatest good—that is, our God—with every fiber of our hearts, and the everlasting joys of paradise, for which we were created; and we wretches desire harmful things, and vileness and filth—that is, the carnal pleasures that the prophet calls "dung" not even worth the name, saying, "The mules have rotted in their own manure."[235] Explaining this, Gregory says: "For mules to rot in their own manure is for men to finish their life in the foolishness of lust."[236] If the king of France had but one son to be his heir and king of his whole kingdom, and if he loved him with all his heart, and if the boy were very handsome and noble, yet so foolish that he preferred to be in the stable with the stable-boys[237] or in the dung-pit with the cattle and pigs rather than in the palace with his father, the king, and with the nobles and princes, wouldn't one say, full of pity, "Oh, how sad it is that this most noble creature—so handsome and so worthy, but forgetful of his nobility, beauty, and dignity, looks down upon that highest good and so lovingly desires those vile and filthy things"?

¶ 9 And truly, brothers, such are those who look down upon the heavenly and cling lovingly to carnal desires, and they are totally out of their minds. Whence Aelred says, "Since God alone

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[234] Source? "Qui Deum desiderat adhuc amplius desideret, quia, quantumcumque plus desiderare poterit, tantum est de deo accepturus"

[235] Joel 1:17 (W) Vulgate: "Computruerunt iumenta in stercore suo;" "innumera" (innumerable things) in place of "jumenta"

[236] Gregory, *Moralia* XXII, 8 § 15 (P.L. LXXVI 294 C l. 10) (W)

[237] "cum gartionibus" (avec des garçons)

is superior to the rational soul—the angel's equal[238]—all the rest may be deemed inferior. What is so near to madness as for superior heavenly goods—having abandoned their superior heavenly Father—to seek rest in these things compared to which they themselves are infinitely better and more noble?"[239] *O las!* How lamentable and shameful it is that many people more eagerly strive and desire to throw themselves into the mire of carnal pleasure than into the the purest and most precious bed of chastity and of knowledge of purity! Whence the same Aelred says: "O wonderful and most noble creature, inferior to the Creator alone, whither do you cast yourself down?" That is, *en con grant vilité*?[240] A certain pagan philosopher speaks of this baseness, saying: "If I knew that the gods would be ignorant of it, and that men would not find out about it, I would still refuse to sin"—by the sin, that is, of lust—"on account of the baseness and foulness of this sin."[241]

¶ 10 Therefore, the consideration of the nobility and dignity of the rational soul is very effective in causing contempt for illicit love and carnal desire; and of this seventh and last remedy, let the aforesaid suffice, although there is still much in accordance with the sacred Scriptures that we could bring forward about the preceding remedies. But on account of readers'

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[238] I am quite uncertain about this translation of "par angelus"—Wilmart notes a variant, "par angelis," which is in line with my reading.

[239] I believe my translation is correct, but Wilmart does not appear to have understood it as I do, given his punctuation. (This isn't surprising, considering the syntactic and conceptual difficulty here.) Aelred of Riévaulx, *Speculum caritatis* I § 22 (P.L. CXCV, 526 A l. 7 *om.* patre…celestia, in infin., et nob., sibi ; —Gerard has actually complicated things!) (W)

[240] *Vilité* [baseness/vileness], or *viuté*, which Godefroy supplies as a variant, though I suspect that it is a result of misread minims. Wilmart also seems to have taken "con grant" (how great) incorrectly as a form of the (nonexistent?) verb "congrer" (whence "congrant" in his edition).

[241] This saying was extremely well known, and generally attributed to Seneca (rarely to Plato), without any further indication of where Seneca wrote it. There is much variation, so Gérard is paraphrasing (and adding) rather than quoting exactly. "Si scirem deos ignoscituros et homines non noturos, peccare dedignarer, propter vilitatem et turpitudinem huius peccati" (A)

disdain and lack of devotion, we leave out many very wholesome and useful things and turn

ourselves to the following work, that we may investigate and examine that which can and must

urge us on to, and set us aflame with, divine love.[242]

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[242] In the manuscripts, the treatise ends here. It may be worth asking, however, if the seven (brief) remedies "pro saecularibus" that follow in the print edition were also written by Gérard, or whether they were added by the Carthusian editor of the print edition.

De divino amore[243]

Prologue. Since we have many marvelous spurs to loving God in the sacred Scripture, as well as many true and healthy exhortations to disdain and flee all illicit love, what an astonishing wonder it is—and how very sad—that we are so audaciously, so yearningly, and so effortfully transported to that which pollutes and defiles our body, kills our soul, blackens our reputation, deprives us of eternal beatitude, and binds us to perpetual suffering; and in seeking and obtaining our highest good, our complete joy, the delectable and sweet yoke—that is, divine love, *de quoi toute joie vient et tous solas,* whence authority[244] says that love is the cause of all joy—in seeking and obtaining that alone, we are, alas, lazy, tepid, remiss. Small wonder that it is written in Genesis, "The imagination and thought of man are prone to evil from his youth."[245] And a corrupted nature has a stronger appetite for perishable things and for things harmful to itself— that is, pleasures and delights—than for permanent things and things useful to itself, since it is really difficult, if not impossible, for flesh born of vanity and pleasure not to be a lover of vanity and pleasure. And truly, inasmuch as God is better than the world or than the flesh, He should be loved more fervently and ardently by us. The world cries: "I shall forsake;" the flesh says, "I shall putrefy;" and the devil, "I shall deceive;" but God, "I shall restore."[246] See, therefore, whom

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[243] Formermly *Quinque incitamenta ad Deum amandum ardenter*—see the Introduction to this dissertation for more on this point.

[244] "auctoritas"—one could also translate this using the definite or indefinite article. (See the introduction and the fourth chapter of this dissertation.)

[245] Genesis 8:21 (W) Vulgate: "Sensus enim et cogitatio humani cordis in malum prona sunt ab adolescentia sua;" Gérard: "Sensus hominis et cogitatio proni sunt ad malum ab adolescentia sua" —more of a paraphrase than a quotation

[246] This sentence appears to be a modified quotation; see Jordan of Saxony (O.P. or O.S.A.? O.P. was earlier) *Expositio* 8, which has "ego inficiam" instead of "ego putrefiam," and "Christus vero dicit" instead of "deus vero," in Eric Leland Saak, *High Way to Heaven: The Augustinian Platform Between Reform and Reformation* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), p. 465 (A)

you shall strive to love: truly, God alone, if you are wise. Hereupon, let us see what can and must urge us to love Him perfectly.[247] And there are chiefly five things that so urge us—that is, the sacred Scripture, nature, the grace that God has shown to us, the whole of creation, and the glory promised anew to us by God.

Intro. I. Scripture spurs us on in many places. Whence Deuteronomy 6: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart,"[248] et cetera. And again, in Deuteronomy 11: "Love the Lord thy God,"[249] et cetera. And again, 1 John 4: "Let us love God, because God first hath loved us."[250]

Intro. II. Nature spurs us on to do the same. For if a son naturally loves his father, from whom he received part of his body,[251] the more he ought to love God, who made his body and soul out of nothing. Whence Augustine: "The genitor must be loved, but the Creator must be put first."[252] Furthermore, in Sirach 7: "With all thy soul fear the Lord."[253] And he he made you such, determines Bernard in his sermons, saying: "Meditate, o man, on what sort of thing God made you: in terms of the body, assuredly a surpassing creature; in terms of the soul,

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[247] Perhaps another echo of "fin'amor"

[248] Deuteronomy 6:5 "Diliges dominum deum tuum [ex] toto corde tuo" (W)

[249] ibid., 11:1 "Ama [itaque] dominum deum tuum" (W)

[250] 1 John 4:19 "[Nos ergo] diligamus deum, quoniam ipse [*vulg*. Deus] prior dilexit nos" (W)

[251] "patrem, a quo habet partem corporis sui;" literally, "father, from whom he has a part of his body." I thank Professor Franklin for clarifying that this implies that the other part comes from the mother.

[252] Augustine, *Sermones* 100, 1 § 2 (P.L. XXXVIV, 603) (W)

[253] Sirach 7:31, 32. Gérard combines two verses, taking the first part of v. 31 ("In tota anima tua") and the rest from v. 32 ("dilige eum qui te fecit"). (W) This is interesting because he replaces fear or awe (v. 31 reads "In tota anima tua time Deum") with love for the Creator. It also shows how freely he quotes from the Bible, and, accessorily, what Biblical authority means to him (i.e., it's not in the precision of words).

distinguished by the image of a very great creator; sharing in reason; fit for eternal beatitude. Furthermore, he made both—that is, body and soul—to be connected to each other by an incomprehensible artifice, not cable of being known by intelligence."[254] *Neither was man worthy previously, since he did not previously exist;[255] nor was there any hope of recompense to God, since He has no need of our goods.*[256] Furthermore, if a knight loves another, his lord, because[257] he holds everything in fief from him, and he keeps faith for him in all things, the more we must love God, on whose account we possess our faculty of perception,[258] our reason, our memory, our members, our bodily senses, our body, and our soul.[259] For we would not want to give up our eyesight for the annual income of a thousand acres of land,[260] nor our reason or faculty of perception [sensus] or life for the whole world, and yet, God has given these to us, and

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[254] Bernard, *Sermones de Ps. "*qui habitat," XIV § 1 (P.L. CLXXXIII, 239 A l. 3: *paulo diversius*) (W) Gérard: "Cogita o homo qualem te deus fecerit: nempe secundum corpus egregiam creaturam, secundum animam magis imagine creatoris insignem, rationis participem, beatitudinis eterne capacem; porro ambos sibi coherere fecit, scilicet corpus et animam, artifitio incomprehensibili, sapientia investigabili." Similar to a passage from the pseudo-Bernardine *Meditations* quoted in the *Septem remedia*.

[255] I do not understand what this means, or how it fits in this context. The passage that follows (until "non eget" at least) is found word-for-word (although spread out) in Pseudo-Bonaventure's *Amatorium*, described as an "ascetic pamphlet" in Jay Hammond, Wayne Hellmann, Jared Goff, eds., *A Companion to Bonaventure*, (Leiden: Brill, 2014), p. 69 (A). Gérard may have been aware of this as an anonymous text, or its author may have drawn from him (probably less likely). There appear to be a number of quotations or paraphrases here of various sources, none of which are cited.

[256] Psalms 15:2 "Deus meus es tu, quoniam bonorum meorum non eges" (A)

[257] See the print edition, which has "quia" instead of "eo quod," and which slightly modifies the syntax in the following.

[258] I have translated "sensus" as "faculty of perception" here, since Gérard uses "sensus corporis" later on in the sentence.

[259] See Pseudo-Bonaventure, *Amatorium*, p. 186 which has similar language (https://books.google.com/books?id=4ULoezqR55wC&l) (A)

[260] "marcatus" should be "a rent of a mark"—a thousand mark-rents of land?

much more, and we possess them all on His account,[261] and shall only possess them for as long as it pleases Him. Yet how little we fear and love Him! Whence Bernard: "I must most completely love Him through whom I am, live, and know."[262]

Intro. III. ¶ 1 The grace shown to us by God also invites us to love Him, and especially the grace of redemption, about which 2 Corinthians 8: "For you know," brothers, "the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ,"[263] that is, *con grant amour il eut à nous, et con grant bonté il nous a fait*.[264] And the Apostle defines this love in part, but not in whole,[265] saying the following: "That being rich He became poor, for your sakes; that through His poverty you might be rich."[266] And furthermore, in Galatians 2: "He loved me and delivered Himself for me."[267] I shall not be ungrateful for such grace from God, *car certes je l'amerai*. But how much? Augustine asks God how much he ought to love Him, saying: "How much shall I love you, good Jesus, how much shall I love you? Your love is as a fountain perpetually flowing, and my love is as thirst. With your whole self you have loved me. I know perfectly well what I should do. I shall place my whole self against your whole self," that is, *tout contre tout,* "and with my whole self I shall love

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[261] The feudalistic term "tenere ab aliquo" may be better rendered as "hold in fief from."

[262] Bernard, *In cant.* XX § 1 (ibid., 867 A l. 10) (W); the final verb is "sapio," which has more to do with sense perception than knowledge.

[263] 2 Corinthians 8:9 "Scitis enim gratiam Domini nostri Jesu Christi" — Gérard replaces "enim" with "fratres" (W)

[264] It is perhaps worth noting that the rule for the agreement of past participles was not fixed until later in the history of the French language; "grant" is an epicene adjective in Old French, meaning that it does not have feminine endings, even though "bonté" is a feminine noun.

[265] "ipsam" either refers to "amour" or to "gratiam" (here synonymous, in any case)

[266] ibid., Quoniam propter vos egenus factus est cum esset dives, ut illius inopia vos divites essetis" (W)

[267] Galatians 2:20 "Dilexit me et tradidit semetipsum pro me" (W)

you. What I shall not be capable of sooner, I shall nevertheless be more capable of, when you should will it.[268] But may you know one thing, that I shall not rest until I am wholly become love."[269]

¶ 2 Furthermore, it is said in Sirach 29: "Forget not the kindness of thy surety"[270] *Et pour quoi?* Certainly, because He gave His soul for you. See in part how much God loved us, [271] and how much we ought to love Him—that is, with our whole selves—since He loves us with His whole self. Whence in Jeremiah: "I have forsaken my house, I have left my inheritance: I have given my dear soul into the land of her enemies,"[272] and I did this all for you. Whence Peter in his canonical epistle: "Christ suffered for us"[273]—to possess us. Whence Augustine: "He spent so much in order that He alone might possess you."[274] *Car Dius ne resamble pas garçon, car il ne*

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[268] See below, "quod prius non potero"—I would have expected, "quod prius non pot*u*ero." The print edition has an entirely different reading (not observed by Wilmart in the extant manuscripts): "te amabo, quia plus non potero; plus autem potero cum dare volueris" ("I shall love you, since I shall be able to do no more than that; yet I shall be more able when you grant [your love?].)

[269] Wilmart notes, "Only the following words, unless I am mistaken, are actually in the work of Augustine," referring to *Serm.* XXXIV, 5 § 8 P.L. XXXVIII, 212, "Diligam Deum ex toto me." (W) In fact, the quotation seems to continue beyond what Wilmart indicates. Meister Eckhart of Hochheim, in *Werke: Meister Eckhart ; Texte und Übersetzungen herausgegeben von Niklaus Largier,* ed. and trans. Niklaus Largier (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1993), p. 568, among others, also quotes these words: "Quantum amabo te, bone Ihesu, quantum amabo? Amor tuus sicut fons iugiter fluens, amor meus sicut sitis. Ex toto enim te me amasti. Scio certe quid faciam. Ponam totum meum contra totum tuum, […] et ex toto me te amabo. Quod prius non potero, plus autem potero, cum dare volueris. Sed unum tamen scias quod non quiescam donec totus amor fiam." (A) Perhaps the text has been lost, as it is not found in the P.L.

[270] Sirach 29:19 "Gratiam fidejussoris ne obliviscaris [Gérard: tui]" (W)

[271] "ecce in parte quantum Deus nos amavit." Is there a contemporary debate about love "in parte" and "in toto" or something to that effect?

[272] Jeremiah 12:7 "Reliqui domum meam, dimisi haereditatem meam: dedi dilectam animam meam in manu inimicorum ejus" (W)

[273] 1 Peter 2:21 "Christus passus est pro nobis [Gérard: habendis]" (W)

[274] Augustine, *Tr. VII in Ioj*., § 7 (P.L. XXXV, 1441: tanti emit ut solus possideat") (W)

viout ke nus parchon [personne] ait à l'ame ki l'amera.[275] Whence Augustine says, "The love of

God cannot be in a heart where it is not either alone or the highest, since one heart, at once and at

one time, cannot contain divers loves."[276] Whence in Isaiah: "For the bed is straitened," that is,

of the heart, "so that one must fall out, and a short covering," that is, of love, "cannot cover

both."[277] So it is with the love of God and carnal love, which cannot be together at once. Thus,

that which God made and endured for us can and must urge us to love Him. Whence Bernard: "If

I owe my whole self to God for having created me, what shall I give for His having renewed me,

and in this way?"—that is, by means of His most bitter death. "In the first place He gave me

myself, and in the second, He gave me Himself; and when He gave Himself, He restored me to

myself. Therefore, created and restored, I owe myself twice over in return for myself. And how

may I repay God for Himself? For even if I could multiply myself a thousand times [*et si me

milies respondere possem*], what am I compared to God?"[278] Likewise, Bernard says about the

Song of Songs: "Above all things, the cup that you drank—labor for our redemption—makes you

lovable to me, good Jesus. With this, He easily claimed all our love for Himself. This, I say, is

what caressingly attracts our devotion, and very rightly demands it, and very closely binds it, and

very violently moves it."[279] Likewise, Anselm speaks about the same thing: "Behold, Lord—

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[275] The print edition makes the meaning clearer: "Quia Deus non videtur prostituto amore delectari ut garcio, quia non vult ut aliquis habeat partem ad animam quae eum amabit" ("For God does not seem to delight in prostituted love like a lad, since he does not want that anyone else should have a part of the soul that shall love Him.") Wilmart's reading "ki l'amera" comes from BAV Reg. lat. 71; the Troyes MS (Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 1890) from the Clairvaux collection has "k'il amera" ("whom He shall love.")

[276] Source?

[277] Isaiah 28:20 "Coangustatum est enim stratum, ita ut alter decidat; et pallium breve utrumque operire non potest" (W)

[278] Bernard, *De diligendo deo* V § 15 (P.L. CLXXXII, 985 C l. 5)

[279] Bernard, *In cant.*, sermon XX § 2 (P.L. CLXXXIII, 867 C l. 9.) (W)

because you made me, I owe my whole self to your love; because you promise so much, so much do I owe my very self to your love; and the greater you are than I, because you sacrificed yourself, the more I owe you more than myself."[280]

Intro. IV. In the aforesaid, therefore, it is evident that the grace shown to us by God must urge us to love Him; the whole of creation urges us to love Him, as well. Whence Augustine, in his *Confessions*, "Heaven and earth, and all things therein—behold! they speak to me everywhere, so that I may love you; nor do they cease to speak to all, 'So that they are inexcusable.'"[281] God's creations speak to us doubly, so that we may love Him—one way is by showing Him to be most worthy of our love, for the goodness of all creation shows Him to be the greatest creator, and thus most worthy of our love.

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[280] Anselm, *Medi. de humana redemptione* (P.L. CLVIII, 768 D — 769 A l. 5 *paucis mutatis*), "Ecce domine [Wilmart: eccedo mine??], quia me fecisti, debeo me ipsum amori tuo totum; quia tanta promittis, debeo me ipsum amori tuo tantum, inmo tantum debeo plus quam me ipsum quanto tu maior me es pro quo dedisti te ipsum" (W)

[281] Quotational mise-en-abyme: Augustine, *Confessions* l. X, 6 § 8 (P.L. XXXII, 782) and (embedded therein), Romans 1:20 ("ita ut sint inexcusabiles"), "Celum et terra et omnia que in eis sunt, ecce undique michi dicunt ut te amem, nec cessant dicere omnibus, ut sint inexcusabiles." The idea being, of course, that if everything speaks to man of God's greatness, man has no excuse ("inexcusabiles") for failing to love Him. In view of the comment below, this may, in fact, be a quotation within a quotation within a quotation. This and what follows are found *verbatim* in Guillaume of Peyraud, *Summae Virtutum ac Vitiorum*, vol. 1 (Lyon: Guillaume Rouillé [Guilelmus Rovillius], 1571), p. 242. See Introduction to this dissertation for more about Peyraud and this passage. In addition, note that BAV Reg. lat. 71, which contains both treatises, also contains Peyraud's text to some extent—food for a future study of transmission. See Michiel Verweij, "The Manuscript Transmission of the *Summa de Virtutibus* by Guillielmus Peraldus: A Preliminary Survey of the Manuscripts," *Medioevo, Rivista di storia della filosofia medievale* 31 (2006) 103-297.

Intro. V.[282] ¶ 1 Furthermore, we have the gifts of nature, the gifts of fortune, the gifts of grace, and the gifts of glory. The gifts of nature are bodily strength, beauty, subtlety, intellect, eloquence, song [*vocis melodia*], and similar things that He gave us for serving and loving Him. The gifts of fortune are honors, riches, and pleasures—but woe upon us, wretched as we are; not only do we refuse to serve Him with His gifts and graces, but, what's even more wretched, we dishonor Him with those same gifts and graces, and wage war against Him, offering up and yielding our members and our bodies as "instruments of iniquity unto sin,"[283] which is a great shame, since this shall be most cruelly and dreadfully punished. For[284] it sometimes happens[285] that a strong man, boastful and assured of his strength, becomes a boxer, a robber, or a plunderer. Sometimes a man becomes one of keen disposition, skilled in the law and eloquent, and becomes a lawyer, and sells his understanding to deceive and disinherit the simple-minded and innocent. A woman becomes beautiful and shapely, and with that very beauty she launches an attack on God, and she drags her mind and body, and, of course, the souls of many, full of lust for her,[286]

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[282] I disagree with Wilmart's division of the text—at the end of the prologue, Gérard outlines the five incitements, i.e., Scripture, nature, grace, creation, and new glory. Clearly, the problem is that it's not clear where Gérard starts talking about this glory. I would argue that Gérard means for it to fit into the discussion of the gifts—glory in Heaven being the greatest gift of all. Notwithstanding, Wilmart's division reflects a real one in the text—the gifts of nature and fortune are transient and subject to corruption, while the gifts of grace and glory are not.

[283] Romans 6:13 "[Sed neque exhibeatis membra vestra] arma iniquitatis peccato" (W)

[284] "enim"—This and other slightly out-of-place connectors may suggest that all of this is a sort of pastiche.

[285] The print edition gives "contingit" (present) instead of "contigit" (past)—I think the print edition gives the correct reading.

[286] "concupiscentia sui," where one would expect "eius;" but Gérard frequently uses "suus" where "eius" is needed.

into eternal damnation. Whence Sirach: "Many have perished by the beauty of a woman."[287] And that's certainly true of the body and the soul. Behold, when we ought to honor God and love Him more ardently, we look down upon Him and provoke His wrath. "Alas," says a certain authority of Gregory, "what is more iniquitous, what more detestable than the fact that you despise your Creator when He is so deserving of being loved?"[288]

¶ 2 To continue, the gifts of grace are the virtues—that is, humility, kindness, patience, obedience, charity, et cetera. The gifts of glory are sight, knowledge, enjoyment, and love [*dilectio*], and other good things that cannot be diminished; and for all of these things that God made for me, he asks nothing from us in return but to be loved by us wholeheartedly. Thus Augustine says, "For all of these things that God has made for me, I have nothing I might give him in return, except only to love Him. For He cannot be paid back in any better or more proper way than with love for what He gave with love."[289] *Quankes il fist en tiere [= en terre], il le fist pour m'amour avoir, et quankes je ferai dorenavant, je le ferai pour plaire à lui seulement et pour s'amour avoir*, amen. Whence in the Song of Songs: "My beloved to me, and I to him."[290] Wholly for me did He live, and for me, He died. Thus even my whole life and my whole death

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[287] Sirach 9:9 "Propter speciem mulieris multi perierunt [: et ex hoc concupiscentia quasi ignis exardescit]" (W)

[288] Source? I believe I have preserved the meaning, but I am not sure if there's a way of rendering this sentence more literally. "Prodolor […] quid nequius, quid detestabilis quam ut inde creator tuus a te despiciatur unde magis merebatur amari"

[289] Source? "Pro hiis omnibus que pro me fecit deus, quid ei retribuam non habeo, nisi ut tantum diligam eum. Non enim melius nec decentius quam per dilectionem rependi potest quod per dilectionem donatum est." There is an echo here of Psalms 115:13, "Quid retribuam Domino[?]" (A)

[290] Song of Songs 2:16 "dilectus meus mihi, et ego illi [qui pascitur inter lilia]" (W)

shall be His purview, and may it be as the Apostle says: "Whether we should die, let us die unto the Lord; whether we should live, let us live unto the Lord.[291]

§I. ¶ 1 Therefore, since we have our sights on seeking and discovering, in the sacred Scripture, whatever can, and rightly must, inflame and urge us to love God—and some of these we have already considered above[292]—we must first ask what love is,[293] and what its definition is.

¶ 2 Augustine defines it by saying: "Love is a unitive or copulative force, unifying and connecting the lover to the beloved."[294] In addition, Honorius[295] says that to love God perfectly is to despise all good fortune and adversity for the sake of fully enjoying God.[296] But let it be known that the rational soul is of such a nature that it could not endure or live without love [*amor*] of whatever sort. And thus, since it is so, *pour Diu !,* let a man take care that he engages his love well and places it fittingly. For the love [*amor*] of the heart is of such a nature that, if it should be placed in something that is less worthy than itself, it is disfigured, impoverished, and

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[291] Romans 14:8 (W) Gérard: "Sive moriamur, domino moriamur, sive vivamus, domino vivamus;" Vulgate: "Sive vivimus, domino vivimus; sive morimur, domino morimur." Gérard substitutes the indicatives for hortatory subjunctives for effect. I have modified the Douay-Rheims translation slightly to reflect this nuance.

[292] The print edition has (correctly, to my eye) the indicative "habemus" rather than the subjunctive "habeamus."

[293] Gérard writes "amor sive dilectio"—clearly intending to indicate that the two nouns are synonymous here, but English only has "love." Going forward, I will indicate the Latin word corresponding to "love" in brackets when it is **not** "amor" or a form of the verb "amare."

[294] Augustine, *De Trinitate* VIII, 10 § 14 (P.L. XLII, 960) "Quid est ergo amor nisi quaedam vita suo aliqua copulans…amantem scilicet et amatum;" Gérard: "Amor est vis unitiva sive copulativa, uniens et copulans amantem ad amatum" (W)

[295] The author of the Elucidarium, as mentioned below.

[296] Honorius of Autun [Honorius Augustodunensis], *Expositio in cantica canticorum*, §8 (P.L. 172, 482D): "Dilectio Dei est [Gérard: Amare deum perfecte est] omnia commoda et incommoda contemnere, causa perfruendi Deo" (A)

made worthless. But if it is built up to something that is better, more beautiful, and more noble than itself, it becomes better, more beautiful, and more noble, after the fashion of [a refined] metal. And thus, with the greatest diligence, we must take care where we put our heart and our love, since, as Bernard says, "In every creature occupied with vanities under the sun, nothing can be found that is more sublime, nothing more noble, nothing more precious, and nothing more similar to God, than the human heart."[297] For which reason God requires nothing from us but our heart—that is, the love of our heart. *Et certes il le doit bien avoir pour moult de raisons,* since, when it comes to giving, none is worthier than God, because He Himself is supremely good and "supremely beautiful above the sons of men."[298] Whence it is written in the Elucidarium that "God is of such inestimable beauty, of such ineffable suavity and sweetness, that the angels who outshine the sun sevenfold with their beauty insatiably desire to look upon Him without ceasing."[299] And He is not only beautiful, but also the "author of beauty," as it is said in the book of Wisdom.[300]

¶ 3 *Furthermore, if our love is up for sale [*si venalis est amor noster*], certainly no one will pay more dearly for it than God, not to mention that He has already paid for it most dearly—that is, by His most dreadful death—and He is yet prepared to pay for it most dearly, because He shall, even now, give it the glory of good conscience,* about which the Apostle boasted, saying:

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[297] (Pseudo-)Bernard, *Meditationes piisimae* §7 "De custodia cordis, et studio orationis" (P.L. 184, 497D) "In omni namque creatura quae sub sole mundi vanitatibus occupatur, nihil humano corde sublimius, nihil nobilius, nihil Deo similius reperitur" (A)

[298] Echo of Psalms 44:3 "Speciosus forma prae filiis hominum" (W)

[299] Honorius of Autun, Elucidarium, Book 1 (P.L. 172, 1110 B), "Deus est substantia spiritualis, tam inestimabilis pulchritudinis, tam ineffabilis suavitatis, ut angeli, qui septuplo solem sua vincunt pulchritudine, jugiter desiderent in eum insatiabiliter prospicere" (W)

[300] Wisdom 13:3 "speciei **generator**" (W) caveat: the word "generator" only means "author" in the sense that both produce or create.

"Our glory is this: the testimony of our conscience."[301] Similarly, He shall give His illustrious peace, "which surpasseth all understanding."[302] And this peace can be understood as contempt and hatred for all worldly things—that is, for "the concupiscence of the flesh, the concupiscence of the eyes, and the pride of life;"[303] and such contempt is now the greatest joy, as Gregory says: "Nothing is graver or more laborious than to burn with earthly and carnal desires, and nothing is more joyful, nothing sweeter than to long for nothing from this world."[304] *Every abundance of worldly things could not confer such a great peace and such a great good, since the eye is not satisfied by sight, nor is the ear filled up with hearing, nor the heart with longing,* and such peace is acquired *par Diu amer*.[305] Whence Bernard: "The good love of Christ, by which carnal love is shut out, despised, and the world is conquered."[306] Similarly, Gregory says: "When a soul [*anima*] begins to love God, he becomes anxious about his desire, and all things that formerly

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[301] 2 Corinthians 1:12 "Gloria nostra haec est: testimonium conscientiae nostrae, [quod in simplicitate cordis et sinceritate Dei, et non in sapientia carnali, sed in gratia Dei, conversati sumus in hoc mundo: abundantius autem ad vos]" (W)

[302] Epistle of Paul to the Philippians 4:7 (W) Wilmart takes "que" as an enclitic, when in fact it must be the relative pronoun "quae" here.

[303] 1 John 2:16 "Quoniam omne quod est in mundo, *concupiscentia carnis* est, et *concupiscentia oculorum*, et *superbia vitae*: quae non est ex Patre, sed ex mundo est" (W)

[304] Source? "nichil gravius nichilque laboriosius quam terrenis et carnalibus desideriis estuare, nichilque iocundius, nichil suavius quam nichil appetere de hoc mundo [Quantam pacem et quantum bonum omnis affluentia rerum mundanarum dare non posset, quia oculus mundanorum non satiatur visu, nec auris impletur auditu nec cor appetitu, et talis pax acquiritur *par diu amer*]" —what's in brackets may also be part of the quotation (apart from the very last bit in French).

[305] Is "Nec satiatur oculus visu, nec auris impletur auditu" a proverb upon which Gérard expands? Thomas à Kempis (in his *Admonitiones ad spiritualem vitam utiles, liber 1: De imitatione Christi, et contemptu omnium vanitatum mundi,* Book 1, Chapter 1 (https://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lspost15/ThomasKempis/kem_i101.html) notes the proverb "Non satiatur oculus visu, nec auris impletur auditu" —"The eye is not satisfied by sight, nor is the ear filled up with hearing. Hugh of Saint-Victor (commentary on Ecclesiastes) also has a long passage exploring the meaning of this proverb (P.L. 175 141 D - 144 B)—this may be worth exploring further. (A)

[306] Bernard, *In cant.* XX § 9 (P.L. CLXXXIII, 876 D l. 6

pleased him in society become worthless to him; and what formerly delighted his mind shortly becomes extremely irksome."[307] And thus, it is good to give our love to Him.

¶ 4 Furthermore, in the future, in exchange for our love, He shall give His heavenly kingdom—and nothing greater than this, nothing more precious can be given. "If, however, our love asks for violence," *c'est, c'on li face force*,[308] "no one will do greater violence on its behalf than He. For He seeks it as if with an unsheathed sword. For you shall either love Him, or die an eternal death. Whence David: 'Except you will be converted,' from earthly love, that is, to the love of God, 'He will brandish His sword.'"[309] And here, a certain song that is commonly [*vulgo*]

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[307] Gregory, Hom. XXV in Evang., § 2 (P.L. LXXVI, 1191 A l. 6; *idest ab his verbis:* "fit desiderio") "Cum anima Deum amare coeperit, fit desiderio anxia; vilescunt ei cuncta que prius ei in seculo placebant, et que prius delectabant animum eius fiunt ei postmodum vehementer onerosa." (W) This is the first of a number of difficult-to-translate passages featuring the word "anima," meaning not a "soul" in the strict sense, but a person more generally—here, for instance, it's clear that Gregory is not talking disembodied about souls wandering about in society; nor is he making philosophical claims about the soul's possession of a mind. Latin translators routinely struggle with this, sometimes opting for "her" (because *anima* is feminine), or even for the neuter "it" because the soul is a thing. Each of these options simply creates meaning in English that does not exist in any way in Latin. For my part, I will note "anima" in brackets where necessary to remind the reader of this difficulty, and will translate the pronouns according to my understanding of what the context requires.

[308] According to my understanding of the use of the subjunctive in Old French, this instance of the subjunctive of the verb "faire" ("face") is unusual unless one understands Gérard's syntax as being totally integrated with the Latin—"si amor noster requirit *c'on li face force*." The relative clause after the verb *requerre* in Old French would naturally have a verb in the subjunctive. This is a truly remarkable example of syntactic integration.

[309] Psalms 7:13 "Nisi conversi fueritis, gladium suum vibrabit" (W) This passage (beginning with "If, however" and ending with "His sword," without Gérard's French insertion) is quoted verbatim from Guillaume of Peyraud, *Summae Virtutum ac Vitiorum*, vol. 1 (Lyon: Guillaume Rouillé [Guilelmus Rovillius], 1571), p. 241

sung may be recited:[310] *Tout à force, maugré vostre, vorrai vostre amour avoir.[311]* And

Augustine says, speaking for himself and for all of us:[312] "O God, what am I to you, that you

should command that you be loved by me, and, if I do not do this, be angry with me, and threaten

me with monstrous sufferings?"[313]

§II. And let it be known that we must love God fourfold, for there is shameful love, powerful

love, sweet love, and wise love.[314]

§II.1. Shameful love comes from three things: from an injury of faith, from deceit, and from

treachery.[315]

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[310] I am unaware of other cases in which "dicere" means "to recite" in this way, but I cannot
otherwise make sense of the sentence.

[311] vdB 1784. This use of *vouloir* in the future tense ("vorrai;" Wilmart erroneously supplies
"vorsai") would seem to be the remnant of a periphrastic future (like *habeo* + infinitive); there is
a periphrastic future formed with *a vrea* (to want) in Romanian that doubtless corresponds to this
rare use in Old French. Furthermore, while it is rare enough not to be found in any grammar of
Old French, a comprehensive search of Classiques Garnier's online *Corpus de littérature
médiévale des origines au 15e siècle* (Classiques Garnier Numérique) does reveal other uses.

[312] "In persona sui et omnium nostrum." See n. 73 for this construction.

[313] This quotation is also at the end of the passage from Peyraud's *De Charitate*, which Gérard
quotes extensively without attribution above. The 1912 Loeb edition has: "What am I to thee,
that thou shouldest command me to love thee, and be angry with me, yea and threaten me with
great mischiefs, unless I do love thee?" ("Threaten me with great mischiefs"!) Augustine,
Confessions Book 1, 5 § 5 (P.L. XXXII, 663 *om.* o domine *et* hoc), "Quid tibi sum ipse ut amari
te iubeas a me, et nisi [hoc] faciam, irascaris michi et mineris ingentes miserias" (W)

[314] Here, Gérard may be drawing from the famous commentary of Thomas of Perseigne (Thomas
the Cistercian), these four types of love are detailed in his commentary on the Song of Songs in
P.L. 206, 176. (A) Migne publishes Thomas' commentary on the *Song of Songs* along with a
short text of John Halgren of Abbéville, whom Gérard quotes a bit further on, and who interprets
the *Song* as being an intimate dialogue between Mary and Jesus. See Brian E. Daley, "The
'Closed Garden' and the 'Sealed Fountain': Song of Songs 4:12 in the Late Medieval
Iconography of Mary" in *Medieval Gardens*, ed. Elisabeth B. MacDougall (Washington, D.C.:
Dumbarton Oaks, 1986), p. 266 (esp. n. 43).

[315] Cf. Du Cange, "Traditio 2" (dolus, fraus, perfidia)

§II.1.A. ¶ 1 It is certain that all of us who have undergone baptism, have, in that very baptism, through our sponsors, in the presence of all and of the vicar of Christ[316]—that is, of a priest—renounced the Devil and all of his pomps.[317] And what is it to renounce the Devil (who is the chief of all who are proud), if not to flee, detest, and disdain haughtiness, bragging, and all desire for earthly heights? And what are the pomps of the Devil that accompany pride, if not carnal desires, such as the desires of the eyes, desires for carnal pleasures, and so on?[318] Now, therefore, let us see how we keep that faith we have vowed to God in baptism—that is, how we keep our innocence and the other graces, virtues God has entrusted to us, and given us in baptism itself. O, alas! Out of a thousand, you cannot find one who has not abandoned this treasure of innocence and virginity, and most of the time, before they could make it to the age of manhood. Whence master John Halgren of Abbéville: "The Lord, in the Gospel, set a little boy as an example of innocence and purity in the midst of his disciples," that is, the apostles, "and said to them: 'Unless you be converted, and become as little children, you shall not enter into the kingdom of Heaven' and rightly so, since children"—boys, and girls who are still little ones— "are corrupted and abandon that most precious and irrecuperable treasure of innocence and virginity before they can come to the age of manhood."[319] Whence in Revelation: "Thou hast few

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[316] The term "vicarius Christi" means a "an earthly representative of Christ."

[317] This language refers to the liturgy of the sacrament of baptism ("Abrennuntias Satanae? *resp.* Abrenuntio. — Et omnibus pompis eius*? resp.* Abrenuntio.*"); see the William Palmer's digitized *Origines Liturgicae* 27, Vol. II: Antiq. of the English Rit., Ch. V., Baptism at http://anglicanhistory.org/palmer/palmer27.html (A)

[318] Gérard echoes Augustine, *De symbolo ad catechumenos sermo alius*, ch. 1 (P.L. 40, 652) (A)

[319] Source? This "age of manhood" part ("virilem etatem") is repeated above. Gérard specifies the meaning of "infantes" (using the vernacular "gartiones" as a gloss, along with "puellae," on which he puts the emphasis by adding "adhuc infantule"), and his specification, for its mention of girls, doesn't quite fit with the rest of the quotation, unless girls can also reach "virilem aetatem."

names in Sardis, which have not defiled their garments."[320] And so, small wonder if a soul [*anima*] blushes in shame when, wanting to raise his heart's desire up to God, he remembers that, by evil consent and by evil action, he injures the first promise he made [*fidem vovere*] to God in baptism. And not only does he injure the promise of the first baptism, which is made with water, but also of the second baptism, which is made by the entry into religion, which is the second baptism, in which those things that were lost following the first [baptism] are recovered—except the seal and wholeness of virginity, which can nevermore by any means be recovered.

¶ 2 *But let us look carefully at how we live and have lived on holy land, and in a place of holies, and in the house of perfection.* And all of us who are professed in the Cistercian Order[321] have devoted ourselves to this perfection[322]—that is, we have made a promise before God and His saints[323] that we will live more purely and devoutly, and in a more holy fashion, and more perfectly in the order than anyone in the whole world who is not bound by a similar chain, and without a doubt, it shall behoove us to make good on our promise. And let us look at how we

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[320] Revelation 3:4 "Habes pauca nomina in Sardis, qui non inquinaverunt vestimenta sua" (W)

[321] See the Introduction to this dissertation for more about this passage. It is worth noting that the print edition has "qui *religionem* professi sumus" (instead of "ordinem Cisterciensem"), which suggests that a given copyist may have modified the text depending on his ordinal *appartenance*, and indeed, one of the major manuscripts of this treatise (the oldest, and the one Wilmart regards as most reliable) came from the old library of Clairvaux. Perhaps Wilmart placed too much weight upon this sentence in his judgment of the treatises' authorship. That said, there is a great emphasis placed on the desert in what follows; imagery of the desert was of special significance to Cistercians, and figured especially prominently in the Cistercian foundational texts.

[322] Where Wilmart has "devovimus," (perfect of devoveo) the print edition has "denominamus" (present of denomino)—both can mean "mark out, designate." I suggest taking "nos" as a reflexive pronoun with the verb, rather than as the subject (which it might at first seem to be). The sentence does not appear to make sense otherwise.

[323] Cf. The *Rule of Saint Benedict*, XLVIII (P.L. LXVI, 805 A l. 7) (W)

fulfill our vow to the Lord, that is, in the perfection of our life, which consists of four things—namely, *holy meditation, pure intention,[324] true speech, and perfect action.*

¶ 3 Alas, alas! what shall we say to the Lord, miserable we, who transgress our vows daily, and especially our vows of perfection, by filthy thoughts, by impure intentions, by vain, false, and deceitful speech, and by unjust and injurious actions? For many are free of bodily action, but wander about in their thoughts and intentions, like the sons of Israel, who, going forth in the desert so that they might come into the promised land, where there was a profusion of all good things, were fasting repeatedly, and yet, with all their heart and desire were burning and panting for the flesh pots of Egypt,[325] which they had left behind and which they had bought at such a high price—that is, in the hardest labor and in the most vile servitude, as it is recounted in Exodus. And yet, they panted so much for those same flesh pots—that is, carnal pleasures—that, forgetting the joy and fervor and hearty delight that they felt as they were leaving Egypt and in crossing the Red Sea—forgetting even that God was feeding them daily with manna and celestial bread, "having in it all that is delicious, and the sweetness of every taste"[326]—forgetting, furthermore, that the Lord had promised them a land flowing with milk and honey,[327] greater than all other lands, in which they would fully, happily enjoy an abundance of all good things, having done away with the fear of all evils, and [forgetting] that they were already on their way

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[324] Here and in what follows, it seems to me that "affectio" is best translated as "intention" (rather than the more obvious "affection")—"intention" is closer to the etymology of the word (ad+ficio), and jibes better with "meditation, speech, and action."

[325] An echo of Exodus 16:3 "dixeruntque ad eos filii Israhel utinam mortui essemus per manum Domini in terra Aegypti quando sedebamus super ollas carnium et comedebamus panes in saturitate cur eduxistis nos in desertum istud ut occideretis omnem multitudinem fame" (W)

[326] Wisdom 16:20 "omne delectamentum in se habente et omnis saporis suavitatem," an interestingly integrated quotation. (W)

[327] Exodus 3:8, 17; 13:5; 33:3. (W)

and had made much progress—, regardless, forgetful of all of these things, in their hearts, they were still living in Egypt, and only their bodies were in the desert. And had it not been for the Red Sea, which they dared not enter and which they would have had to cross, had they wanted to go back—if it hadn't been for this, doubtless many of them would have gone back.

¶ 4 The same goes for many who live in religion, whom the Lord, on account of his most special and tender love, drew hence from the iron furnace of Egypt[328]—that is, of the world— and who[329] left from there with great fervor and great, wholehearted joy and devotion,[330] so that through the desert of religion, they might come to the promised land—that is, the land of eternal beatitude—, because it is necessary to pass through this desert of penitence. And also, through the many fasts they performed, they drew very near to that land, and the Lord fed them daily with manna—that is, with celestial bread—with bread, at any rate, for his children,[331] that He wants not to be cast to the dogs[332]—that is, to the angry, the haughty, the lustful, and so forth— but only to his children—that is, to those who are predestined to blessed life [*predestinatis ad vitam beatam*]. That bread, with which the Lord daily feeds his dearest children, is moral and holy reading, humble and devoted prayer, song in church and psalmody, and the Eucharist upon the altar. And that bread gives us hope and courage, if we take it up[333] with devotion, because we

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[328] Deuteronomy 4:20 "Vos autem tulit Dominus, et eduxit **de fornace ferrea Aegypti**, ut haberet populum haereditarium, sicut est in praesenti die"

[329] The print edition has a "qui" before "exierunt," which seems necessary.

[330] The print edition has "laetitia cordis—id est, devotione"

[331] The Douay-Rheims translation has "children" instead of "sons" for "filii," and this strikes me as being more accurate here (and in what follows) than "sons," since no particular male exclusivity is implied in the Latin.

[332] Matthew 15:26 "Qui respondens ait: Non est bonum sumere panem filiorum, et mittere canibus" (W) Note how the New Testament finds its way into this OT narrative.

[333] "sumimus," not "swnimus" (as Wilmart has)

are the children of God.[334] And in order for us to possess the promised land—that is, the inheritance of eternal beatitude—the Lord has called upon us and led us into this desert of religion. For we do not read that others ate manna, if not those whom the Lord promised the promised land, and those who pray with them. So it goes for that bread with which the Lord renews and sustains His own in the desert, "lest they faint in the way."[335] And although the Lord is ready to sustain them—that is, *tenir le menton,*[336] *like swimming boys, lest they be drowned in the deep*—and presents them daily with this most holy and highly fortifying [confortavium] bread, still they are disgusted by it, just as the manna became disgusting to them; nor do they put it up to their mouths, nor want to chew it—that is, to exert themselves for these things—in order that they may draw the nutritious sweetness of devotion out from it.

¶ 5 But, with all of these things disdained and neglected, just as the ape that seeks the nut's core, and, finding bitterness in the shell, throws the whole nut away, and thus loses the sweetness of what's inside, so too do those who, on account of some austerity and bitterness that they sometimes find in the exercise of virtues, quickly shrink away from that very exercise. And in their negligence, they find no devotion; and their hearts, their thoughts, and their hearts' longings, and all of their desires are in the world and in carnal desires, and they send them back to what they have left behind and to many other things they regret not having done, to such a degree that only their bodies are in the cloister, in the dormitory, and in church; and their hearts and longings, thoughts, desires, and love—all in society and in carnal desires; and such a man

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[334] Romans 8:16 "Ipse enim Spiritus testimonium reddit spiritui nostro **quod sumus filii Dei.**"

[335] Matthew 15:32 "Misereor turbae, quia triduo jam perseverant mecum, et non habent quod manducent: et dimittere eos jejunos nolo, ne deficiant in via." (W)

[336] "Hold their chin up" (i.e. keep them above water)

is[337] like a statue, entirely without a sense of devotion, and without reason, and without memory of the spiritual goods he has abandoned, and of the eternal punishment to which he hastens, and of the blessed joys that he loses for eternity.

¶ 6 And so it happens that whatever he[338] sees, whatever he hears, whatever he does—all things displease, and all things repulse him, to the point that he lacks the power to fulfill what he wickedly desires.[339] And even if he were able, by a path other than the Red Sea—that is, shame—to go back to Egypt—that is, to society—without a doubt, [neither][340] the fear, nor the love of God would hold him back in the least. But the Red Sea—that is, shame, and fear, and necessity, and poverty—hold him back. And thus, such men as these really must fear that which the sons of Israel themselves had pursued on account of their evil desires. For although the Lord had performed so many and such great marvels for them when they went out from Egypt,[341] and although he had promised them the promised land and they had already made much progress,[342]

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[337] The subject of "est" is unclear—it cannot be "he" (since Gérard has been speaking of "them" up until this point), and so it is likely an "it," referring back to any one, or to all, of the preceding nouns (heart, longing, desire, thought, love). It seems to me that "it's" captures this vagueness well and naturally enough. The print edition has a clearer text, beginning a new sentence, "Talis est sicut statua" —Such (a man) is like a statue. Although this is not strictly necessary in Latin, English really requires a stated, personal subject in the sentences that follow.

[338] The subject is the same as before, probably still "heart" or "love," but at this point the synechdoche is so obvious that a personal pronoun is probably justified.

[339] The gist of the whole passage seems to be that a house (soul) divided against itself cannot stand.

[340] The print edition has an extra "nec" here, and I think it is necessary for the passage to make sense. Otherwise, it would read, "The fear of God, not love, would hold him back a little bit." Or perhaps (and this is really stretching it), "The fear of God, and not least, the love, would hold him back." But both of these translations are nonsense in context. The point (as Gérard makes clear in what follows) is that to cross the Red Sea is to endure shame—if a man could go back to Egypt without crossing the Red Sea (i.e., enduring shame), even the love and fear of God couldn't stop him. But shame, fear of poverty, etc, keep him in from going back.

[341] Wilmart notes an echo with Psalms 113:1. I do not see it.

[342] Gérard is repeating himself almost verbatim from above.

none of them entered into it or tasted the sweetest fruits of that land, except just two men.[343] But the others perished in the wilderness,[344] and especially the lustful, in the greatest penury and misery, and so they destroyed both their bodies and their souls.

¶ 7 *The same goes for those wretches—certainly the most wretched and unhappy of all—who take part in religion only with their bodies, but in their minds, desires, constant thoughts, and all longings, they dally and live in the world and in carnal desires; they destroy their bodies, their lives, and their souls, since they themselves do not fulfill their burning desires, not because they don't want to,[345] but because they aren't able.* For they aren't lacking ill will, but rather power, or wealth, and since "all merit resides in intention,"[346] either for good or for evil, and the Lord judges and rewards more according to one's intention and will than according to his action, and though they may not sit entirely at the table of the Devil, and the world, and the flesh—where they could chew, mouths open, the morsels of carnal pleasures, and satisfy themselves a bit with those pleasures—still, as far as they are able, they lick the trays, and forks,[347] and plates,

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[343] Numbers 32:12, Caleb and Josue (W)

[344] Deuteronomy 9:28 (W)

[345] Wilmart reads "volunt," which is exactly contrary to the meaning in context—surely, we must read "nolunt" (and we know that such minim mistakes are not unheard of in this edition and in medieval manuscripts). Otherwise, this means, "not because they want to, but because they aren't able." This would be a direct contradiction of the explanation that follows in the next sentence.

[346] "Penes voluntatem est omne meritum" is also the 72nd rule of Alan of Lille's *Regulae Theologicae* (P.L. 210, 658 A) (A)

[347] This word is not found in any dictionary—the word looks a lot like "little spears," and is left out entirely from the print edition. I imagine that it came to mean something like fork or skewer (for meats?) in much the same way that the diminutive of shield, "scuta" (here, "scutella"), came to mean tray. To this effect, I wonder if "patella" actually means spoon, rather than dish—the word simply suggests a small, concave surface. At any rate, the actual objects to which these words correspond in English is not as important as the rhetorical thrust (they're licking the dishes and the cutlery, for God's sake!).

where and upon which food once was. Whence it is said in a certain vernacular proverb [*vulgari proverbio*]: *"Pour chou leke [= lèche] li ciens en le*[348] *paiele, pour chou k'il n'i puet mordre."*[349] But they would much rather take a big bite, if they could.[350]

¶ 8 Whence in the book of the Paralipomenon,[351] Adonibezec—that is, the Devil, or the world—said: "Seventy kings under my table gathered up the crumbs that fell from my table;"[352] that is, they have thus gathered up the smallest things from my table—that is, memories of carnal pleasures—because they were not able to sit fully at the table of my carnal pleasures, which they mightily regret. Such are those most wretched men: because they cannot fulfill in action those carnal desires and pleasures of theirs, which they long for wholeheartedly, they lap at them. *Las*, they lap at them and adore them as much as they can, so that they may cool the fires of their desire a bit. And you all know what doubtless comes to them as a result of that. The more, and the more frequently, they lap at carnal desires with their memories, frettings, imaginations, and utterances, without a doubt, the more they will burn and be tormented later on. Just as we see flies on a plate of honey, which are so weakened, after they've eaten a little of that honey, that

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[348] feminine or masculine or dialectal variant?

[349] The print edition translates this proverb—halleluia!—making the meaning of the French clear. "The dog licks the plate [paiele = patella] because he can't bite it." ("Unde in quodam vulgari proverbio dicitur: 'Ideo lambit canis patellam, quia in ea non potest mordere'.")

[350] This long, difficult, rather rambling passage is reminiscent of certain passages in the *Septem remedia*. Such stylistically consistent passages as these are strong internal evidence of common authorship between the treatises.

[351] This word usually refers to the two books of Chronicles in the Old Testament. Here, however, Gérard refers to the book of Judges. This would not be the first apparent mistake Gérard has made—and it is all the more likely, that the quotation is inexact (perhaps liturgical).

[352] Clearly a paraphrase (I have changed the Douay-Rheims text accordingly), though one may wish that Gérard had cited verbatim the Biblical text, in all of its graphic detail (fingers and feet cut off!). Judges 1:7 "Septuaginta reges amputatis manuum ac pedum summitatibus colligebant sub mensa mea ciborum reliquias" (W)

they can hardly even fly away, the same goes for the aforementioned men; and on account of such longings, and the worst desires, unless they repent appropriately, they shall be damned to Hell for eternity, much like those who live in pleasure in society, and who fill their desires to the full—but these latter men are even more damned, since, although the former destroy their souls, still, they're much better than those who follow through in action with the desires of the body and flesh.

¶ 9 But those who destroy their body and soul—and who are lamentable in the present [*in presenti*]—will in the future be extremely, eternally lamentable. Whence in Exodus the Pharaoh said to the sons of Israel: "No straw shall be given to you, yet neither shall any thing of your work be diminished;"[353] still, they needed to give Pharaoh the same number of bricks as they used to when he gave them straw. The same goes for those who, although they do not have the means to pursue their desires—even with the means removed from them—will pay as great a weight and number of torments to the devil in Hell as will many pleasure-seekers in the world, since, as we have already said, "all merit resides in intention."

§II.1.B. Furthermore, shameful love is born in the heart, when a soul [*anima*][354] remembers that he has very often committed deceit concerning the things of the world and of the devil—that is, by covering up and hiding sins against God in his heart.

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[353] Exodus 5:11, 18 "Nec minuetur quidquam de opere vestro," "Paleae non dabuntur vobis" (W)—notice that Gérard weaves these verses together in reverse. Perhaps this is liturgical text?

[354] I ask the reader to pardon the awkwardness of the pronouns here and below—Latin often does not require subjects or possessive adjectives, but one has to choose in English. As mentioned earlier, Gérard is not creating an anatomy of the soul, or ascribing to the soul itself an ability to remember or to commit deceit, or anything else. "Anima" here is above all a synecdoche—the most important part of the human being is taken to represent the whole person.

§II.1.C. ¶ 1 A soul [*anima*] also becomes shameful for his betrayal of God, by yielding up his bodily members as "instruments of iniquity unto sin,"[355] and by giving his very self, which God loved [*diligebat*] most tenderly, over to the devil. And for that reason, when a soul wants to lift himself up to solicit and love God, and sees that he has dishonored and offended God many times, and very often lied to Him, it's no wonder if he is ashamed and blushes at his evils, since he must appear before God. And on this account, Ezra said, "O my God, I am confounded and ashamed to lift up my eyes to Thee," *et pour quoi?* certainly, "for our iniquities are multiplied, and our sins are grown up even unto Heaven."[356] For sometimes, when we are gravely ill and fear death, we cry out to the Lord with great suffering of heart, and with tears and sighs: "Lord, merciful Lord, have mercy on me," and "render health unto me, and a place for penance," and "I promise you that I shall atone and love you with my heart and shall serve you with my whole body for all the days of my life."[357]

¶ 2 But, when we are made healthy, we are often worse than we were before, and we have turned that which God conferred upon us in His benevolence and greatest mercy away from atonement for our evils, and applied it to our greater damnation. Whence Job says: "God hath given him time for penance, and he abuseth it unto pride."[358] And yet, "God is not mocked."[359]

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[355] Romans 6:13 "arma iniquitatis peccato" (W)

[356] 1 Ezra 9:6 (W) Vulgate: "Deus meus, confundor et erubesco levare faciem meam ad te: quoniam iniquitates nostrae multiplicatae sunt super caput nostrum, et delicta nostra creverunt usque ad caelum;" Gérard: "Deus meus confundor et erubesco valde erigere oculos meos ad te, quia iniquitates nostre multiplicate sunt et peccata nostra creverunt usque ad celum." Gérard emends and alters the quotation a bit.

[357] These are fragments of different prayers that exist in different forms.

[358] Job 24:23 "Dedit ei Deus locum [Gérard: "tempus"] poenitentiae, et ille abutitur eo in superbiam [Gérard "superbia"]" (W) Interesting how Gérard replaces place with time, even though he uses "spatia" above.

[359] Galatians 6:7 "Nolite errare: **Deus non irridetur**" (W)

For He is "a patient rewarder,"[360] since, as Gregory says, "Though he endures the sins of men, without a doubt, He shall get revenge from them. And those who once despise the most benevolent and merciful God in their good health and prosperity, shall later in their [time of] greatest need be despised by Him, and will find in Him an extremely severe judge, inestimable in his cruelty."[361] Whence Isaiah: "Woe to thee that despisest God"[362] in good health, that is, and in your youth and prosperity, "shalt not thyself also be despised" in your need, in your sickness, and in your death? Certainly so. Likewise, the Apostle says: "Or despisest thou the riches of his goodness, and patience, and long suffering?"[363] And what follows? He says below [*subdit*]: "But according to thy hardness and impenitent heart, thou treasurest up to thyself,"[364] from day to day, that is, "wrath" and disdain on the day of judgment. Therefore, when a soul [*anima*] considers that in many, or all, of the aforesaid situations, he has failed and offended God, it is no wonder if he is confounded, fearful, and ashamed.

¶ 3 And such blushing or shame—that is, because he has offended God with sin—is very pleasing to God. Whence Gregory says: "Just as the shamelessness of the of the sinner displeases

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[360] Sirach 5:4 (W) "Ne dixeris: Peccavi, et quid mihi accidit triste? Altissimus enim est patiens redditor"—The Biblical context makes the meaning clear, but notably, Gérard assumes knowledge of it. (The idea is that God is a "patient rewarder" of sins—interestingly, Gérard's modification "patiens est et redditor" of "patiens redditor" is further proof that Gérard is a frequent user of hendiadys (when two nouns replace a noun modified by an adjective).

[361] Source? "Ipse modo sustinet peccata hominum, sed sine dubio postea reddet vindictam eorum, et qui modo spernunt deum benignissimum et misericordem in sua sanitate et prosperitate, postea in sua maxima necessitate spernentur ab eo et invenient eum districtissimum iudicem in inestimabili crudelitate."

[362] Not exactly Isaiah 33:1 (W) "Vae qui praederis […] et qui spernis, nonne et ipse sperneris" — woe to thee that spoilest; Gérard takes "spernere" from later in the line and replaces it with "praedari" here.

[363] Romans 2:4 "An divitias bonitatis ejus, et patientiae, et longanimitatis contemnis?" (W)

[364] ibid., 2:5 "Secundum autem duritiam tuam, et impoenitens cor, thesaurizas tibi iram in die irae" (W)

God, so the shame of the penitent pleases Him. And such shameful, contrite blushing is like a lure"[365]—that is, *loire*, for calling out to God and calling Him and abandoned grace back. And whenever the Lord should be removed from us on account of our sins, and raised up *en haut* like falcons and hawks, only *moustre li le loire* of your contrite heart and of your humility,[366] and immediately He will most willingly look back at it,[367] and will come down, and turn back, and there will be peace. Whence it is said in Revelation: "Thy eyes have made me flee away."[368] For the heart's pain and blushing shame appear in the eyes, and through both of them, discord becomes greater harmony, and friendship becomes sweeter, stronger, and more fervent, as is apparent in [the stories of] David and of Peter after his denial,[369] and in many others. Whence Seneca says, "Harmony is sweeter for discord."[370]

¶ 4 But let us now see how. Certainly, when a soul [anima] illuminated by grace considers in his mind that he has frequently and gravely offended God with evil acts, and frequently violated the pact of friendship and fidelity, and shown himself to be ungrateful for the favors that [God] has granted and grants to him daily, and using those very good and gifts, he very often wages war against God—considering these things, he is most bitterly pained, confounded, shameful,

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[365] A word that has to do with falconry in particular, e.g. in Albertus Magnus' *De falconibus*. See Michèle Goyens, Pieter de Leemans, and An Smets, eds., *Science Translated: Latin and Vernacular Translations of Scientific Treatises in Medieval Europe* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2008) p. 327.

[366] Note the syntactic integration of French and Latin here.

[367] Referring to "leurre"? One might expect a masculine pronoun, then, but the word's gender appears, in fact, to have been variable.

[368] Song of Songs 6:4 (W) Vulgate: "Averte oculos tuos a me quia ipsi me avolare fecerunt"

[369] I am not certain how the story of David is relevant here, but Peter denied Jesus three times, and then went on to found the Church.

[370] Not Seneca, but Publilius Syrus, *Sententiae*, v. 154 (W) (my translation is adapted from that in the Loeb *Minor Latin Poets, Volume II*.) Literally "Discord becomes sweeter harmony."

and very indignant with himself for ever having ventured to dare such things against God, his Creator and Recreator and omnipotent Lord. And from that pain of heart, and shame, and indignation, what follows? Certainly, on account of its sins, "The soul [*anima*] itself consequently becomes more open to correction, then more patient in toilsome adversity, then wiser in caution, then more burning with love, then humbler on account of its knowledge, then more acceptable and more pleasing for its modesty, then more prepared for obedience, then more excited and devoted in giving thanks." And Bernard says these things.[371] Whence such a soul may well sing a certain song which is said in the vernacular: *Grevet m'ont li mal d'amours; mius en vaurai, car plus sages en serai, et de foliser allours me garderai.*[372] For the Apostle says, "To them that love God, all things work together unto good,"[373] and indeed, not only unto the good things that are done, but also unto the evil, as it is plain according to the authority of Bernard above.[374] Augustine also says, "O sinner, although you may be a sinner—and a huge one— nevertheless, do not multiply the number of, and occasions for, your sins; the mercy of God has no bounds: those whom He indulges, He knows not how to reproach, and those whom he pities,

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[371] Wilmart incorrectly identified this. It is taken word for word from Bernard, *In cant.*, I § 14 (P.L. CLXXXIII, 843 A) (A); right before it, Bernard says that the Church is the Spouse in the *Song of Songs*. Gérard is not talking about the Church, but about the soul. ("mansuetior fit ad correctionem, inde patientior ad adversitatem et laborem, inde sagatior ad cautelam, inde ardentior ad amorem, inde humilior pro conscientia, inde acceptior et magis placens pro verecundia, inde paratior ad obediendum, inde ad gratiarum actionem et devotior ac sollicitior.") This passage has occasionally been mistranslated (see Peter Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love Lyric*, and Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book*).

[372] vdB 772

[373] Romans 8:28 "Diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum" (W)

[374] "Superius"—a nod to the written (rather than spoken) nature of the text. Also note *auctoritas bernardii* (the authority of Bernard)

he receives in greater intimacy of friendship."[375] And let the aforesaid suffice regarding shameful love.

§II.2. There is also a powerful love[376] that despises fear, seeks hardship out of love, and does not run away from shame.

§II.2.A. It despises fear. Whence Jerome says: "There is certainly nothing that one taken by wild love would not dare."[377] For the love of David made him very daring, when he said, "The Lord is my light and my salvation, whom shall I fear? The Lord is the protector of my life: of whom shall I be afraid?"[378] "If armies in camp should stand together against me, my heart shall not falter."[379] "Though I should walk in the midst of the shadow of death, I will fear no evils."[380]

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[375] Source? This quotation does sound Augustinian, especially in "sis peccator et enormis peccator" and "nullas habet dei misericordia metas" (the ending of which clearly thumps in dactylic hexameter), but I was not able to find it. See, however, Hoyland's continuation of Bernard's commentary, which Gérard cites above—perhaps these words of Augustine were fairly well known. Gilbert of Hoyland, *In cant.,* sermon XXXIII, "Odor uguentorum" (P.L. 184, 174 C) (A) "Quibus propitiatur, improperare nescit: dimidiata uti non novit clementia; familiaritatis in gratiam suscipit quibus indulget;" Gérard: "quibus indulget improperare nescit, quibus miseretur in maiorem familiaritatis amicitiam suscipit"

[376] I have chosen to use the adjective "powerful" for "fortis amor," and to translate "fortis" in general as "powerful" in the following passage. The problem with the translation "strong" is that in certain sentences, it becomes necessary, in English, to use a synonym like "forceful(ly)," or something to that effect, to avoid excessive awkwardness. "Powerful" seems to be a good compromise, but it does not do such a good job of capturing the sense of physical strength that "strong" or "forceful" does. And translating the word variously would be a crime, since coherence at the lexical level, which the Latin has, would be totally lost.

[377] Source in Jerome? Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book 6, v. 465 "et nihil est quod non effreno captus amore / ausit" Gérard has shown himself to be sensitive to metrical concerns, which shows that although this *is* a line of Ovid, he likely did not recognize it as such. Or perhaps Gérard is deliberately masking his Ovidian source?

[378] Psalms 26:1 "Dominus illuminatio mea et salus mea, quem timebo? Dominus protector vitae meae, a quo trepidabo?" (W)

[379] ibid., 26:3 "Si consistant adversum me castra, non timebit cor meum" (W)

[380] ibid., 22:4 "Nam etsi ambulavero in medio umbrae mortis, non timebo mala, quoniam tu mecum es" (W)

Et pourquoi ? Certainly "for thou art with me"[381]—that is, *car je sui avoeuc mes amours.* And

Ovid says: "Love is a kind of warfare, so get out, hesitant ones! These banners are not to be

borne by timid men."[382] Similarly, Jerome says, "Virtue is greedy for danger"—the danger of

love, that is—"and thinks about where it is headed, not what might befall it."[383]

§II.2.B. ¶ 1 Furthermore, powerful love seeks pain and hardship. For Job loved powerfully

when he said, "Who will grant that my request may come, and that God may give me what I look

for?"[384] And what was it that he so desired? He makes it plain below, saying: "And that He that

hath begun may destroy me, may He let loose His hand, and cut me down. And that this may be

my comfort, that afflicting me with sorrow, He spare not."[385] Similarly powerfully did David

love, when he beseeched God, saying, "Prove me, o Lord, and try me; burn my reins and my

heart."[386] But why did these blessed men seek these things? Because they knew that the more

completely and severely the good suffer for their God, the more ardently they love Him. Whence

Gregory says, "The desires of the chosen are sown deep by adversity in order that they may

grow, just as one blows on a fire to make it grow; and when it seems to be almost extinguished,

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[381] ibid.

[382] Ovid, *ars amatoria*, liber II, v. 233 (not 203, as Wilmart notes) "Militie species amor est: discedite segnes! Non sunt haec timidis signa tuenda [Gérard ferenda] viris." Once again, Gérard's modification fits the meter.

[383] *Re vera* Seneca, Dial. I, 4, 4 "quo tendat" (W)

[384] Job 6:8 "Quis det ut veniat petitio mea, et quod expecto tribuat mihi Deus?" (W)

[385] ibid., 6:9-10 "[9] Et qui coepit, ipse me conterat; solvat manum suam, et succidat me? [10] Et haec mihi sit consolatio, ut affligens me dolore, non parcat [, nec contradicam sermonibus Sancti]." (W) I have modified the Douay-Rheims translation, which interprets verse 9 as a question, "Qui coepit, ipse me conterat; solvat manum suam, et succidat me?"—Gérard suggests here that this is not a question, the subjunctive expresses a *wish* to suffer "pain and hardship" for God. A fascinating lesson in how translation and modern punctuation limit interpretation.

[386] Psalms 25:2 "Proba me, Domine, et tenta me; ure renes meos et cor meum" (W)

then it more fully and truly burns."[387] Whence this: *Quant plus me bat et destraint li jalous, tant ai je mius en amours ma pensée.* "For God," as Moses said, "is mighty[,] jealous"—[388] that is, *jalous.* Whence Gregory says, "For God thrusts His love out more powerfully, the more harshly he strikes."[389] For the blessed soul in the Song of Songs loved God most powerfully, saying, "I will rise, and will go about the city: in the streets and the broad ways I will seek him whom my soul loveth."[390] And then, "I sought him, and I found him not;"[391] "I called, and he did not answer,"[392] and while I thus seek my beloved, whom I love and desire with my whole heart, "the keepers that go about the city found me."[393] And what did they do to you *pour ten [ton] ami?* Certainly, "they struck me, and wounded me, and took away my veil from me,"[394] and all of these things happened to me, and I endured them for my beloved. But although I do not strive after any of this, still, all of these things certainly kindle and inflame me to love God more. *Et ke je languis apriés lui par amours* and thus *pour Diu,* "Tell my beloved that I languish with

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[387] Gregory, Moral. XXVI, 15 § 24 (P.L. LXXVI, 361 C l. 1: Sic itaque el. des. dum premuntur adv. proficiunt, sicut *etc* inde roboratur) (W) "Electorum desideria deprimuntur adversitate ut crescant, sicut ignis flatu premitur ut crescat, et unde quasi extingui cernitur, inde amplius et verius inflammatur"

[388] Exodus 20:5 (W) It is unclear to me whether Gérard means for "fortis" to modify "zelotes," which, in its Biblical context, it does not.

[389] Source?

[390] Song of Songs 3:2 "Surgam et circuibo per vicos et plateas, queram quem diligit anima mea" (W)

[391] ibid., "quaesivi illum et non inveni" (W)

[392] ibid., 5:6 "Vocavi, et non respondit mihi" (A)

[393] ibid., 5:7 "Invenerunt me custodes qui circumeunt civitatem; percusserunt me, et vulneraverunt me. Tulerunt pallium meum [mihi custodes murorum]." (W)

[394] ibid. (W)

love"[395]—Look, we see that even those evils which the blessed endure in the present for Christ are for them the cause of, and material for, greater desire and love.[396]

¶ 2 But it is extraordinary that in the hearts of many, the love of God is deficient in the good things that God gives them abundantly. For there are many most good-natured people,[397] and many living in religion while they are poor or cloistered, having no assistance or power; thus they appear humble, good-natured, merciful, and devoted to God, since they seem always to want to think and talk about God. When, however, they are elevated to some choice position [*prelatio*],[398] or to some powerful lordship, which is nothing if it is not from God, as the Apostle says,[399] they quickly forget God, and neither think nor speak of God, and are thus so unmerciful, uncompassionate, stubborn, disdainful, and—as much as they can be—oppressive and contemptuous of others, that it is very surprising that they neither remember nor consider what or who they were, but only what they are. For it is said that the *grifons* [griffon] is an impure animal, for it has *grifes* [claws], the wings of an eagle, and the body of a lion. Similarly, many

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[395] ibid., 5:8 (W) Vulgate: "si inveneritis dilectum meum, ut nuntietis ei quia amore langueo;" Gérard: "nuntiate dilecto quia amore langueo"

[396] "Ecce videmus quod mala etiam que sancti patiuntur in presenti pro Christo, causa et materia est eis maioris amoris et dilectionis." Gérard uses a singular verb here; the print edition has "sint" —it seems to me that "sunt" is the necessary verb form.

[397] See the Introduction for more on Wilmart's hopeful reading of "Begini." As much as I would love Wilmart's reading to be the correct one, it does not work here. It is not a *lectio difficilior*—it is clearly an error. The context does not support the reading, and (again) with all of the minims (Begini vs. benigni), such a mistake would have been easy for a scribe to make. Two of the three manuscripts have "benigni"—only the Troyes manuscript has "begini."

[398] Richard Kay discusses the translation of this Medieval Latin term in *Dante's Monarchia* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1998), p. 102. (He chooses "preferment.")

[399] Where?

living in poverty and in the cloister have the wings of an eagle; they have such folded sleeves,[400] such submissive eyes, and all of their bodies' members are so put together that they appear to many most blessed and most kind; but, when they are raised up, as we have already said, they show in their actions that under those wings lay hidden the heart and body of a lion—that is, pride and cruelty in their hearts. Whence this: "There is one that humbleth himself wickedly, and his interior is full of deceit."[401]

¶ 3 And once again, it is said in a certain proverb that "honors change morals," but this is certainly not true. For they do not change morals, but reveal them. Whence Seneca says, "Even a poisonous snake can safely be touched and handled while it is numb with cold; nevertheless its venom is not lacking—no, indeed—but only inactive. Similarly, cruelty, vanity, and pride lie under the appearance and countenance of many, and lack only the favor of Fortune to dare to act like the worst. But you shall know—you understand—what they wish for: give them as much power as they wish."[402] For one reads in Ezekiel about the lioness who "set one of her young

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[400] "manicas plicatas" See Anselm of Havelberg, *Epistola Apologetica*, (P.L. CLXXXVIII, 1133 B and 1135 BC) (A), who mocks monks who think that the contemplative life means sitting with joined hands and folded sleeves, cited by Giles Constable in *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 290.

[401] Sirach 19:23 "Est qui nequiter humiliat se, et interiora ejus plena sunt dolo" (W)

[402] The quotation is considerably longer than what Wilmart indicates. Seneca, Epistle 42, 4 Gérard: "Serpens enim pestifera tuto tangitur et tractatur, dum riget frigore; tamen non desunt illi tunc venena,—non vero,—sed torpent. Sic crudelitas, ambitio, et superbia multorum sub vultu et sub aspectu latet; ut autem paria pessimis audeant, fortune favore deficitur. Eadem vero velle eos—subaudis—cognosces, da posse quantum volunt;" Seneca: "Sic tuto serpens etiam pestifera tractatur, dum riget frigore ; non desunt tunc illi venena, sed torpent. Multorum crudelitas et ambitio et luxuria, ut paria pessimis audeat, fortunae favore deficitur. Eadem velle sic subinde cognosces: da posse, quantum volunt." (Loeb edition) The last sentence contains significant textual problems, but basically means "If you want to know their character, give them the power to do what they want." (A)

lions up for a lion, and he went up and down among the lions"[403]—that is, among the prideful, vain, cruel, and merciless—the high and mighty of this world.[404] And what did he learn from them? Certainly, what follows.[405] And certainly what? He who seemed a sheep while he was in the submission of the cloister—that is, good-natured, tame, merciful, and humble—and who seemed to have the wings of an eagle and to fly with those two wings—that is, with hatred for all earthly things, and desire for eternal ones—when lifted up, is found to be a cruel and merciless lion; and thus, "He became a lion and learned to capture prey and to devour men, and to make widows,"[406] and many other evil things—that is, to oppress and afflict the poor, and to defraud them of their goods.[407] And they bring these things back from their assemblies and consortia.[408] Whence the philosopher says, "As often as I have been among men"—*voire* men such as these— "I have returned more cruel, more prideful, and greedier [than I was before]." Furthermore, he

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[403] Ezekiel 19:5-6 "tulit unum de leunculis suis; leonem constituit eum. Qui incedebat inter leones, [et factus est leo…]" (W)

[404] I am unsure about the precise meaning of "prelatus;" I'm tempted to see "prelate," but am concerned that to translate it this way would be anachronistic, and would unjustly make Gérard into one who looks unfavorably upon ecclesiastical authority.

[405] What follows refers to the rest of the Ezekiel 19:6 above: "et factus est leo: et didicit praedam capere, et homines devorare [etc.]," "And he became a lion: and he learned to catch prey, and to devour men." (A) See below.

[406] ibid., 19:6-7

[407] Wilmart's punctuation does not work: "contristare" can't reasonably be construed with "bonis eorum," because it always takes (from what I can tell) an accusative object.

[408] Increasingly, it does seem that Gérard is talking about priests. But I am not sure about this translation—"Et haec reportant de frequentia et consortio eorum."

says, "As often as I have been among men, I have returned [from their company] less a man,"[409] that is, less virtuous, since he sees that others gather riches however they can, according to their ability, and whatever he may reach at—be it peace or not, be it justice or injustice—he wants to act in like fashion.

¶ 4 And alas, what's truly worst and most dangerous, and what is (and will be) most damnable for them, [is that] on account of the malice and cruelty of such men, others defend and cherish their own [malice and cruelty] in their hearts, and believe that they may act like those men, with the result that they see many great and powerful men doing such things, and their hearts may so senselessly yield themselves[410] that they hasten toward damnation, and it appears to them that they do everything justly and rightly, and their conscience does not check them— and yet, they certainly ought to be fearful, since there are paths that seem right to men, but which, in the end, plunge straight into the depths of Hell.[411] And for this reason, they must stick to God with love most ardently when they are farthest removed from Him, since even good people, on account of the ills and adversities that God inflicts upon them, are very far removed, as was said earlier,[412] from God. Whence Richard also says, "Wonder, I beseech you, wonder,

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[409] The "philosophus" in question is Seneca; this is a paraphrase of Seneca, Epistle 7 § 3; the exact same formulation, not found in Seneca, "quotiens inter homines fui, crudelior, superbior, avarior redii; quotiens inter homines fui, minus homo redii," *is* found in the Ancren Riwle of the 13th century (and later in Thomas à Kempis), where it is attributed to Jerome. See James Morton, ed. and trans., *The Ancren Riwle: A Treatise on the Rules and Duties of Monastic Life, Edited and Translated from a Semi-Saxon MS. of the Thirteenth Century* (London: J.B. Nichols and Sons, 1858), p. 163.

[410] The print edition has a different reading ("cor obcaecatur [occaecatur]" —the heart is blinded). "obsecatur" (for "obsequatur") is the *lectio difficilior*, to be sure.

[411] *Rule of Saint Benedict*, c. VII (P.L. LXVI, 372 B l. 2), *id est iuxta locum*, Prov. XVI, 25. (W) My translation here is not entirely literal, but it avoids a frustrating misplaced modifier ("men, of which the ends/whose end…" etc.)

[412] Where?

and be powerfully awed at how the love of God disappears in evil people on account of an official promotion, and how the love of God in good people grows, even in whippings. Beyond all doubt, the love of God grew stronger in Lawrence on account of his burning than[413] it did in the emperor Decius on account of the authority that God gave him. Indeed, in Lawrence, the love of God became hot by his burning; but, it was deeply lacking in Decius because of the command of the power granted to him; and, what's grander and more astounding than this, the flame of love became stronger in the bitter pain of martyrdom[414] than it could become on account of whatever temporal glory, however great."[415]

§II.2.C. ¶ 1 Furthermore, powerful love does not run away from shame, but truly longs for it, and its greatest glory and great honor seems to be to endure shame and dispossession for Christ. Whence Hildebert says: "It is a great comfort, when it comes to Christ, to endure tribulations, and shame, and dispossession."[416] The apostles knew this, who "went joyfully from the presence of the council rejoicing that they were accounted worthy to suffer reproach for the name of

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[413] Surely Wilmart misread a "quam" abbreviation for a "quod" abbreviation—not only does the print edition have a clear "quam" abbreviation, but also, the sentence makes no sense without the term of comparison after "plus."

[414] Literally: "in martyrdom on account of his bitter pain."

[415] A rather difficult passage (also overlooked by Wilmart), from Richard of Saint-Victor's *Mystical Ark* (AKA *De gratia contemplationis*, AKA Benjamin Major) Book 2, Chapter 24, P.L. 196, 105 A) "Mirare, obsecro, mirare et vehementius obstupesce quomodo in malis amor dei deficiat ex beneficio, et qualiter amor dei in bonis crescat, etiam ex flagello. Absque dubio plus in Laurentio amor dei convaluit ex incendio quam in Decio [R of S-V has Nero] imperatore ex suo imperio quod sibi dederit deus; inmo certe in Laurentio amor dei incanduit per incendium; in Decio vero penitus defecit per concesse potestatis imperium; et quod adhuc maius est et mirabilius, plus in martire amoris flamma convaluit ex acerba pena quam fieri potuisset ex qualibet et quantalibet temporali gloria." It's interesting how faithful this text is to the text of Migne in the Patrologia. (A)

[416] Hildebert of Lavardin [of Tours], Epistle I, 19 (P.L. CLXXI, 191 B: in causa, et in ea persecutionem sustinere), "Celebre solatium est, cum Christus est in causa, tribulationem et confusionem et deiectionem sustinere" (W)

Jesus."[417] Whence the Apostle says, "God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ,"[418] since in this [cross], I know most certainly that He loved me very much, because He endured such hardships for me, and I endure the same on account of my love, and they are my cross. Further, he says elsewhere, "I please myself in my infirmities, in reproaches[,] in persecutions," et cetera, "for Christ."[419] And in many other places, he often said such things, about which he rejoiced above all else.

¶ 2 And I tell you rightly indeed, brothers, that among His most special favors and principal spiritual gifts—one of the greatest gifts that God bestows upon the earth for his most special and dear friends—is when God gives someone tribulations, or shame, or great adversity [to suffer] for Him, and for justice, and for upholding truth, since God is truth, and in adversity itself, or in shame, God grants him pious endurance, devotion and joy of heart, and thankfulness for all things.[420] And without a doubt such a person must be very joyful, since he has definitive signs that he is God's beloved,[421] and his dearest son. And of these two things are written: "For whom the Lord loveth, He chastiseth: and as a father in the son he pleaseth himself"[422]—that is, on account of patience, good-humor, and enduring devotion, and in this, he already has a down

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[417] Acts 5:41 "ibant gaudentes a conspectu concilii, quoniam digni habiti sunt pro nomine Jesu contumeliam pati" (W)

[418] Galatians 6:14 "Mihi [autem] absit gloriari, nisi in cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi[: per quem mihi mundus crucifixus est, et ego mundo]" (W)

[419] 2 Corinthians 12:10 "[Propter quod] placeo mihi in infirmitatibus meis, in contumeliis, in necessitatibus, in persecutionibus, in angustiis pro Christo[: cum enim infirmor, tunc potens sum]" (W)

[420] "dat ei Deus piam patientiam, cordis devotionem et iocundiatem et in omnibus gratiarum actionem." Perhaps "thanksgiving" would be more accurate for "actio gratiarum."

[421] "amicus" — above, I translated "friends."

[422] Proverbs 3:12 "Quem enim diligit Dominus corripit, et quasi pater in filio complacet sibi" (W)

payment on eternal beatitude.[423] Whence it is written: "He scourgeth every son whom he receiveth."[424] And furthermore, it is said of Moses that he "esteemed the reproach of Christ greater than the treasure of the Egyptians, for he looked unto the reward"[425] that followed from it. Furthermore, the apostle says, "For when I am weak," that is, when I endure any adversity for Christ, "then I am powerful"[426] in hope, that is, and in love. And let this now suffice regarding powerful love, which does not run away, but longs for shame because of its love.[427]

§II.3. There is also a sweet love, which has four facets, since it is insuperable, inseparable, singular, and insatiable.[428]

§II.3.A. ¶ 1 For blessed Agnes loved insuperably, whose love could not be conquered by anyone, either by present gifts or by future promises—not by forebodings, not by afflictions, and not by imminent beatings. Which is why when that boy who was crazy with love for her brought to her the most precious gold jewelry, precious stones, gold rings, and many other necklaces, and promised her riches without end, that he might conquer and take for himself the love of blessed

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[423] "iam habet arras eterne beatitudinis"

[424] Hebrews 12:6 "flagellat autem [Gérard: Dominus] omnem filium quem recipit" (W)

[425] Hebrews 11:26 "Majores divitias aestimans [Gérard: estimabat] thesauro Aegyptiorum, improperium Christi : aspiciebat enim in remunerationem" (W)

[426] 2 Corinthians 12:10 (W) Gérard: "cum autem infirmior, tunc fortior sum;" Vulgate: "cum enim infirmior, tunc potens sum"

[427] "pro suis amoribus" (in the plural in Latin)

[428] Wilmart notes (correctly) that Richard of Saint-Victor proposes this same four-part division in Richard of Saint-Victor, *De quattuor gradibus violentae caritatis* (P.L. CXCVI, 1213 D l.4 (W) "In primo itaque gradu amor est insuperabilis, in secundo inseparabilis, in tertio singularis, in quarto insatiabilis. Insuperabilis est qui alii affectui non cedit ; inseparabilis, qui a memoria nunquam recedit ; singularis, qui socium non recipit ; insatiabilis, cum ei satisfieri non possit. Et quamvis per singulos gradus possint notari singula, specialius tamen in primo gradu notatur amoris excellentia, in secundo ejus vehementia, in tertio ejus **violentia**, in quarto ejus supereminentia."

Agnes, who said that she owed herself to another, more beautiful, powerful, and richer than he. All things that he offered and promised her, she looked down upon, as if they were dung. Whence she said, "Depart from me, you bait of death, you kindling for villainy; depart from me, for I am already awaited by another lover."[429] And afterward, she narrated her lover's qualities, as it is recorded in her legend; and there, she says many wonderful things about her beloved. For that reason, the love that she had for Him could in no way—not with necklaces, not with gifts, not with promises—be conquered by anyone. Whence she herself said, "For I shall not be able to look upon another, and thus to insult my superior beloved, who is such[430]—and to abandon Him with whom I am united in Heaven,[431] and he has already put a seal[432] upon my face—that I would take no lover before Him."

¶ 2 And afterward, it is said that the virgin of Christ was "neither shaken by fear, nor seduced by flattery," such that her love should be overcome—small wonder if sweet love cannot be

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[429] Wilmart's reference takes some work to track down. It is slightly incorrect. Gérard is quoting a letter of Ambrose. In Migne's first (1845) edition of volume 17, the page number is 736; in the later editions, it is 814. The reference number within the text remains 479. Ambrose, *Epistolae*, Letter 1 § 3 (P.L. 17, 736 or 814 A) (W) "Ad haec, beata Agnes tale fertur juveni dedisse responsum : Discede a me, fomes peccati, nutrimentum facinoris, pabulum mortis : discede a me, quia jam ab alio amatore preventa sum, qui mihi satis meliora obtulit ornamenta" etc. Gérard paraphrases passages from this letter for his retelling.

[430] I sense that the text here is slightly corrupt. One would want to take "et talis est" with "ut" (which comes much later), but how can it be so?—Gérard is putting two sentences together, both from the letter of Ambrose—one is, "Non ergo potero ad contumeliam prioris amatoris vel aspicere alium et illum relinquere, cum quo sum charitate devincta;" and the other (a bit earlier on the same page, and the first line of a famous chant), is "posuit signum in faciem meam, ut nullum praeter ipsum amatorem admittam." Perhaps Gérard has just done a shoddy job of cobbling these two sentences together. In the interests of not cleaning up Gérard's prose where it isn't clean, I've given a literal translation, according to my understanding.

[431] The print edition has "collo" instead of "celo," which would yield the following translation: "to abandon that with which I am bound about my neck" (referring not only to the necklace, but to the Lord's sweet yoke).

[432] "signum;" Perhaps an echo of Song of Songs 8:6 "pone me ut signaculum super cor tuum" (A)

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overcome! For in the Song of Songs, love[433] [*amor sive dilectio*] is compared to death,[434] which

triumphs over all things, and conquers and overcomes all—and I speak of all living things—, and

none can resist it, except God. *And what is death, if not the gravest and most intolerable

passion,[435] which no one can feel or experience without having to forfeit all of his senses and

bodily movements, and separating his soul from his body?* Without a doubt, in the same way,

love [*amor sive caritas*] is the most powerful passion, since no one can feel or experience it

without necessarily having to forfeit all of his senses and bodily motions, and to make the

motions of his soul—that is, his knowledge, his power, and his will—a captive in obedience to

love. For Augustine, *li anguisseus d'amours*, felt and knew this well, saying, "O powerful, o

overpowering passion of love [*caritas*]! Powerful indeed, since it renders the soul that possesses

it powerless over itself. For once it has been kindled in the mind, 'it reacheth from end to end

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[433] Although a possible tension between the commonly held definition of "amor" and a holier notion of love may be glossed over, to translate "amor sive dilectio" with two separate words would be to miss the point entirely—Gérard is indicating their synonymity here in order to draw a connection between what he is saying about love and the Biblical passage he is recalling, which contains the word "dilectio," not "amor." In the Song of Songs, "dilectio" (and etymologically related words) are most frequent—"amor" only appears twice, in the famous verses containing "quia amore langueo." Barbara Newman discusses all of this at some length in *God and the Goddesses*.

[434] Song of Songs 8:6 "quia fortis est ut mors dilectio" (W)

[435] The translation of "passio" is also very difficult—using the word "passion" is misleading, since "passion" commonly lacks the negative connotations (of endurance of suffering) that "passio" so often evokes in Latin. But I don't see a way around it—unless, perhaps "perturbation" would be better. At any rate, what is called for here is a word (like "passion" itself, but perhaps a bit more neutral in English) that captures meanings ranging from suffering to emotional arousal.

mightily,'[436] and it always grows, and does not expire until it has made the soul expire."[437]

"Which no man knoweth, but he that receiveth it,"[438] and if he who feels this may wish to speak

of it,[439] he who does not love will not understand the language.[440]

§II.3.B. ¶ 1 Sweet love is also inseparable, because it cannot be separated. Paul loved sweetly

and inseparably, when he boldly said, "Truly, who shall separate us from the love of Christ?"

Will it be "tribulation? or distress?" or prosperity?[441] "or persecution? or the sword?"[442]

Certainly, "I am sure that neither life nor death,"[443] *c'est à dire* neither adversity nor prosperity,

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[436] Another quotational mise-en-abyme. Gilbert (reference in note below; possibly quoting Augustine, but it's possible Gérard is just mistaken) here quotes the Book of Wisdom 8:1, "attingit ergo a fine usque ad finem fortiter" (A).

[437] Gilbert of Hoyland, *In cant*., sermon 46 (on "quia amore langueo") (P.L. CLXXXIV, 244) A particularly difficult passage to make certain sense of. I considered the translation "until it has delivered the soul," but that would be an unusual use of "reddere" in this context…the problem at the level of meaning is this: why should the fire of charity *ever* expire, even after it has consumed the soul?

[438] Revelation 2:17 "Qui habet aurem, audiat quid Spiritus dicat ecclesiis: Vincenti dabo manna absconditum, et dabo illi calculum candidum: et in calculo nomen novum scriptum, **quod nemo scit, nisi qui accipit**" (W)

[439] The print edition has "may wish to say how great it is" ("quam grande sit"), and eliminates "et" after "sentit": "et si ille qui hoc sentit et de eo loqui voluerit linguam non intelliget qui non amat." I would conjecture that the second "et" is an error; otherwise, stretching the grammar perhaps a bit, we could have, "And if he who feels this should wish for a tongue to speak of it [linguam de eo loqui?], he who does not love will not understand." Fortunately, none of these variations change the basic meaning of the sentence.

[440] So far, Gérard is following Richard of Saint-Victor's basic definition (but not his text)—love is insuperable, as Richard says, when it does not yield to a third party. The example of Agnes illustrates this point.

[441] Interesting that Gérard slips this in here. It has nothing to do with the Pauline context (see note below). Gérard does show an interest in poverty elsewhere in this treatise as well—perhaps this speaks to contemporary debates about the poverty of Christ and the virtues of monastic poverty.

[442] Romans 8:35 "Quis [Vulgate: ergo] nos separabit a caritate Christi? tribulatio? an angustia? [an fames? an nuditas? an periculum?] an persecutio? an gladius?" (W)

[443] ibid., 8:38 "Certus sum enim quia neque mors, neque vita [, neque angeli, neque principatus, neque virtutes, neque instantia, neque futura, neque fortitudo]"

et cetera, "nor any creature,"[444] *soit biele, soit plaisans, soit riche, soit deduisans,*[445] "shall be able to separate us from the love [*caritas*] of God,"[446] *c'est de mes amours.* For the sweet love that is inseparable demands all thought and speech and action. For David loved inseparably, saying, "Let my tongue cleave to my jaws, if I do not remember thee."[447]

¶ 2 For it is said of the blessed virgin Brigid, who loved [*diligebat*] God inseparably, and whom Saint Brendan,[448] because of his devotion, visited one day on account of the great virtues he had heard attributed to her. And after long, spiritual conversations, the same blessed Brendan most privately [*secretissime*], devoutly, and attentively asked her how much she loved God. She resisted that question, but afterward, with devotion and humility, and as she was asked,[449] she humbly responded that, just as her breath left from her and she drew air back in without interruption, and could not otherwise live, so she kept God without interruption in her heart and in her memory, for otherwise her spirit would die out.[450] Behold inseparable love. For she may well have been able to sing a certain song that is sung in the vernacular:[451] *En quel liu ke mes*

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[444] ibid., 8:39 "[Neque altitudo, neque profundum,] neque creatura alia [Gérard: *creatura aliqua*] poterit nos separare a caritate Dei [, quae est in Christo Jesu Domino nostro]"

[445] The chiasmus is certainly suggestive of poetry.

[446] ibid., 8:39 (W)

[447] Psalms 136:6 "Adhaereat lingua mea faucibus meis, si non meminero tui" (W)

[448] Was this story possibly recounted in the famous ninth-century *Voyage of Saint Brendan the Abbot*?

[449] Literally, "according to her command/order"(—hers only inasmuch as Brendan gave it to her.)

[450] Obviously, in light of the vocabulary of breathing, "spiritus" is to be taken as having double meaning. I have tried to convey this in translating the verb "deficere" as "die out."

[451] "Hec enim bene cantare poterat carmen quoddam quod *vulgo* canitur." We might also translate "commonly" for "vulgo." Are we meant to imagine, as I suspect, that Bridget herself is singing in French (even though she was Irish)?

cors soit, mes cuers est à mes amours et allours estre ne doit. Et se il s'en departoit, mais à mi ne revenist,[452] car à mi fallit aroit."[453]

¶ 3 Augustine, *d'amours li anguisseus*, also loved God sweetly and inseparably when he said, "Certainly since I first learned of you, sweet Jesus, you remain in my memory,"[454] *not withdrawing from my heart, nor from my mouth, nor from my actions, and I am joyful because of you, since I find no pure or sincere love except in you, because in other joys, laughter is always "mingled with sorrow, and mourning taketh hold of the end of joy."*[455] For God is a "sweet lover, a wise counselor, and a powerful helper."[456] "For in this [sc. earthly?] exile, He is gentle and lovable; in judgment, He shall be just and terrible; and in His reign, glorious and wonderful."[457] And thus, since He is such, *se je l'aim, ne m'en blasmes, car je ne m'en puis*

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[452] i.e., "ne me revînt plus" ("mais" = "plus" here); "Wherever my heart is, it is with my love and must be nowhere else. And if it were to leave, it would nevermore come back to me, for it would have failed me."

[453] Correcting the text of Wilmart and Dronke, van den Boogaard notes that we must read "à mi" instead of "ami"—the homophony is certainly intentional, but the verse makes no sense otherwise. The translation is thus: "Wherever my heart is, it is with my love and must not be elsewhere. And if it should leave, it would nevermore return to me, for it would have failed [i.e. given out on] me." See van den Boogaard, "Les insertions en français dans un traité de Gérard de Liège," in Marche Romane: Mélanges de Philologie et de Littératures Offerts à Jeanne Wathelet-Willem (Liège: Cahiers de l'Association des Romanistes de l'Université de Liège, 1978), p. 689.

[454] Augustine, Confessions 10, 25 (A) "Certe ex quo te didici, bone Jhesu, semper manes in memoria mea." What follows sounds very much like Augustine, but I cannot locate it: "non recedens a corde, non recedens ab ore neque ab operibus, et gaudeo de te, quia purum seu sincerum gaudium non invenio nisi in te, quia in aliis gaudiis semper risus dolore miscetur, et extrema gaudii luctus occupat."

[455] Proverbs 14:13 "Risus dolore miscebitur [Gérard: semper miscetur], et extrema gaudii luctus occupat" (W)

[456] Apparently from Bernard, but he repeats it several times in his works (echoing the final verses of Psalms 85, for example), so it may also come from elsewhere. P.L. 182, diverse sermons, 582 A-B, P.L. 183, 598 A, and the *In cant.,* sermon 20 (*de triplici modo dilectionis qua Deum diligimus*) (P.L. 183, 868 B) (A)

[457] Bernard, *In epiphania domini*, sermon 2 § 2 (P.L. 183, 148 B) (A). The text is about Solomon, but Gérard seems to modify its meaning in this context.

tenir. Et pour quoi? Certainly, "because in earthly things, wherever my soul turns, it finds bitterness" and has nowhere from which to take sweetness, unless it turns toward you," o good Jesus, "'who are a sweet and delightful Lord.'"[458] Blessed Augustine says the aforesaid.[459]

§II.3.C. ¶ 1 Sweet love is also singular, because it accepts no sharer in its love, most of all not one hostile to its beloved. And Moses, who knew God's will, teaches this, saying: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart, and with thy whole soul, and with thy whole strength."[460] Certainly, when something is considered whole, nothing is left remaining.[461] For blessed Agnes certainly loved singularly when she said, "His faith alone do I keep, and I commit myself to Him in total devotion."[462] For if the most vile and wretched boy loved some girl, in no way would he want for her to love anyone other than him—nothing would make him sadder, if he burned intensely with love for her. And what do we think about God, who desired so very much all of our heart's love? Whence he asks: "My son, give me thy heart"[463] through love, that

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[458] Augustine, *Enarratio in psalmos*, sermon 85, (P.L. 37, 1086 (top of page)) The last part is a slightly modified quotation (Gérard has "suavis et dulcis" where the psalm has "suavis et mitis") of Psalms 86:5 "Quoniam tu, Domine, suavis et mitis" (A)

[459] This ends a wickedly difficult passage—none of the quotations (with the exception of the last one) are identified as such (which is why Wilmart did not recognize them).

[460] Deuteronomy 6:5 (W) Vulgate: "Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et ex tota anima tua, et ex tota fortitudine tua;" Gérard: "Diliges Dominum Deum tuum toto corde tuo, tota anima tua et tota virtute."

[461] Perhaps a proverb: "Ubi totum ponitur, nichil relinquitur" — Since "pono" and "relinquo" are very polysemous, my translation is conjectural. The idea seems to be that nothing can supplement what is already whole.

[462] Ambrose (same letter as above) (P.L. 17, 814 C) (W) It is possible that much of the language that follows is actually Ambrose's.

[463] Proverbs 23:28 (W) Vulgate: "Praebe, fili mi, cor tuum mihi, [et oculi tui vias meas custodiant]" Gérard: "Fili prebe michi cor tuum"

is. And Moses says, "What doth the Lord thy God require of thee, but that thou love Him?"[464] As

if he were saying, "He requires nothing else, just as the most noble bird [i.e. the eagle?] wants

nothing from its prey but its heart."

¶ 2 And without a doubt, He requires nothing from us that He has not [already] done for us,

as well as infinitely many greater things.[465] Whence Augustine says: "With His whole self,

omnipotent God loved us."[466] Note [*nota*, sg.] these words—that is, that He who loved us is God

and is omnipotent. And he continues below [*subdit*]: "Evidently, he subjected His whole body to

torture for us, His whole soul to obedience, and the Son of God preferred to die temporally than

to desert our love."[467] Whence Chrysostom says that "no carnal lover, even if he is crazed

beyond measure with love for his beloved, can burn in his love in the same way as God is poured

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[464] Deuteronomy 10:12 (W) Vulgate: "quid Dominus Deus tuus petit a te, nisi ut timeas Dominum Deum tuum, et ambules in viis ejus, et diligas eum, ac servias Domino Deo tuo in toto corde tuo, et in tota anima tua" Gérard: "Quid aliud requirit a te Dominus, nisi ut diligas eum?" Note the eschewal of the language of fear (awe) in Gérard's selective paraphrase.

[465] The print edition has a reading that immediately makes more sense grammatically, but I suspect Wilmart's may be closer to the "truth"—"nihil requirit a nobis, quoniam fecit pro nobis et in infinitum multo maiora." (He needs nothing from us, since he has done things much greater for us, and in infinity). Wilmart's reading, though more difficult, makes better sense in the end; I have found other examples in Medieval Latin of "infinitum" being used as an adverbial accusative (instead of "infinite" or "infinito")—unusual, but entirely possible. At any rate, the meaning here (that God isn't demanding something He hasn't Himself given) is much more suited to the context than the meaning in the print edition (that God doesn't need anything from us, because He already has it all).

[466] The source appears Adam of Perseigne (Adamus abbas Perseniae) (1145-1221), Letter 16 ("ad abbatem de Turpiniaco") (P.L. 211, 636 B) "toto se nos amavit Omnipotens" Gérard: "se toto nos amavit omnipotens Deus" (A) There is no indication that Adam is quoting, which, again, does not necessarily mean that this isn't a quotation of Augustine.

[467] ibid., P.L. 211, 636 A-B "totam se anima exhibuit ad obedientiam, totum se deposuit corpus ad mortem, mortem autem crucis" and "ipse maluit mori quam nostro deesset amori;" Gérard: "Totum corpus scilicet posuit pro nobis ad tormentum, totam animam ad obedientiam, et maluit dei filius temporaliter mori quam nostro deesset amori" (A)

into the love of our souls."[468] Behold how God loves us. And as Augustine says, "When God loves, He wants nothing other than to be loved, inasmuch as He loves for no other reason than to be loved, knowing that they are blessed with love who shall love Him."[469] David also loved sweetly and singularly when he wanted to be consoled by no one but God alone, when he said: "My soul refused to be comforted"[470] by all others, that is. But why? Certainly because "I remembered God, and was delighted"—so much so, that "my spirit swooned away."[471]

¶ 3 Similarly, Esther loved singularly when she said, "Lord God, thou knowest that thy handmaid hath never rejoiced, since I was brought hither unto this day, but in thee, O Lord, the God of Israel."[472] She could well have sung this: *"Se de lui ne me vient joie, d'autrui ne le[473]*

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[468] See n. 155 above—Gérard has quoted this passage before, in the *Septem remedia* (further proof of the treatises' authorship). "Is poured into" ("infunditur") is rather strange—I wonder if this is a literal translation of a Greek middle verb (which would then be translated, "pours into"). It is possible that Gérard read Chrysostom's Greek in Anianus' Latin translation, but ultimately, this is impossible to know. A certain preaching manual has a text very close to Gérard's—Avignon's reëdition of Houdry's *La bibliothèque des prédicateurs, vol. 1* (Paris: Louis Vivès, 1870), p. 163—and gives Homily 24 on Paul's letter (which?) to the Corinthians. I can find no text which corresponds to this in the available English translations online. In a future edition of this text, I will have to consult a Latin translation of Chrysostom's homilies to try to hunt this down.

[469] *Re vera* Bernard, *In Cant*. LXXXIII § 4 (P.L. CLXXXIII, 1183 C l. 12) (W) "Cum amat Deus, nichil vult aliud quam amari, quippe qui non ob aliud amat nisi ut ametur, sciens ipsos amore beatos qui eum amaverint." Correct tense (in English) of the last verb in the relative clause of characteristic?

[470] Psalms 76:3 "Renuit consolari anima mea" (W)

[471] ibid., 76:4 "Memor fui Dei, et delectatus sum; [et exercitatus sum,] et defecit spiritus meus" (W)

[472] Esther 14:16-18 (W) Gérard takes the beginning of the sentence "tu scis" (thou knowest), which continues over several verses, from verse 16, and quotes all of verse 18, changing the verb tense from the third person singular (sit) to the first person singular (sum). "Tu scis [quod] numquam laetata sit ancilla tua [Gérard: nunquam letata sum ego ancilla tua] ex quo huc translata sum usque in praesentem diem, nisi in te, Domine Deus Abraham [Gérard: Israel]."

[473] One would expect "la;" perhaps this is a dialectal variation or a misreading.

quier avoir."[474] And why? Certainly, because the beauty of my beloved exceeds all beauty and His sweetness conquers all sweetness. Indeed, as Bernard says: "All other joy compared to Him is sorrow; every sweet thing, bitter; every beautiful thing, ugly; finally, everything whatsoever that can delight is bitter."[475] And Augustine knew this, when he said, "Lord, lord, give yourself to me, I look not but for you. If you should not give yourself, I want nothing from you."[476] And why do you want nothing from Him but Himself? The same responds:[477] "Certainly, since nowhere is there a consolation—nowhere a cooling; but everywhere I find suffering and tribulation, when I urgently seek Him whom I love ardently, and find Him not."[478] Bernard: "Where shall consolation be without, if within—in myself, in your absence, my Lord—there is perturbation? How is all solace not hidden from me for as long as you hide your face from me?

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[474] vdB 1663

[475] Bernard, *Epistolae* 123 "ad alteram sanctimonialem," *quae sub habitu religioso animum gesserat mundo deditum* (P.L. 182, 259 C) "Ei omnis comparata aliunde jocunditas meror est, omnis suavitas dolor est; omne dulce, amarum; omne decorum, foedum; postremo omne quodcumque delectare potest, amarum [Bernard avoids repetition with "molestum"]" (A)

[476] Source? "Domine, domine, da michi te, non quero nisi te. Si non dederis te, nichil volo de te." Wilmart notes that "da mihi te" is found in Augustine, *Confessions*, book 13, ch. 8 (P.L. 32, 848), and that the rest does not appear to be from Augustine. Yet this is very Augustinian language, and Gérard does not treat it as his own commentary (which, judging from its content, it is not) on "da mihi te." It's likely that either Augustine or someone else wrote this, but given the short, common words used, it is unlikely that I will be able to locate it using online search tools.

[477] This leads me to think that the previous quotation is actually from the same commentary of Gilbert of Hoyland that Gérard has previously attributed to Augustine. I cannot find it in Hoyland's text, however.

[478] Gilbert of Hoyland, *In cant*., sermon 3 § 1 (P.L. 184, 22 D) "Nusquam consolatio, nusquam refrigerium, sed ubique tribulationem et dolorem invenio, dumillum quem ardenter diligo et instanter quero non invenio" (A)

Certainly, it is my duty to suffer, when it happens that I am separated from you."[479] And then, "'My heart is troubled, my strength hath left me, as well as the light of my eyes,'[480] while you yourself are not with me. These three blessings have vanished with you: power, truth, and identity."[481]

¶ 4 *And yet without a doubt, brothers, the soul is happy when it suffers so much (because it does not see or feel God as much as it desires to) that whatever it sees displeases it, and it has no peace in anything,* since it has nothing it loves perfectly. Whence Augustine, *li anguisseus d'amours* says: "Happy the soul [*anima*] to whom Jesus tastes so sweet, who sorrowfully considers everything he perceives, while among these things that he perceives, he does not see Him whom he so happily loves."[482] Such a soul may well say, *Ceste danse ne me plaist nient, puis ke mes amis n'i tient.[483]* And Bernard says these words, "If I read, it pleases me not, unless I see Jesus there. If I talk or dispute,[484] it has no flavor for me, unless Jesus," *mes amis, "*should

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[479] ibid., sermon 3 § 2 (P.L. 184, 22 D, 23 A-B) Gérard: "Ubi erit foris consolatio, si intus in me [Gilbert: ipsa] te absente turbatio? […] Quo pacto non absconditur omne solatium, quamdiu abscondis faciem tuam a me? […] mihi certe dolor incumbit, dum a te me separari contingit" (A) Suffering itself is a solace. Gérard (or his source) is selectively quoting in order to clarify difficult meaning. What is strange here is that previous quotations of Gilbert have been attributed to Augustine; this one is attributed to Bernard—indeed, the whole of Gilbert's commentary was, because it was a continuation of Bernard's, attributed to Bernard himself. Perhaps Gérard was looking at a book of miscellaneous, condensed commentary on the Song of Songs? If that's possible, we have another type of quotational mise-en-abyme.

[480] Psalms 37:11 "Cor meum conturbatum est, dereliquit me virtus mea, et lumen oculorum meorum[, et ipsum non est mecum]" (W)

[481] "identitas" in the sense of "unitas;" Gilbert of Hoyland, *In cant.* III § 1 (P.L. 184, 22 D) (W)

[482] Source? "Felix anima cui dulcis Ihesus tam dulciter sapit, que cuncta que cernit tristis considerat, dum in hiis que cernit illum non videt quem tam feliciter amat"

[483] vdB 333

[484] i.e. Scripture? (disputationes)

make a sound there."[485] And why? Certainly because Jesus, *m'amours,* is "Honey in my mouth, a tune in my ear, and a joyful song in my heart."[486] And thus, he loved [*diligebat*] singularly, and his heart's love could not in any other way find peace in anything, but whatever else he saw or heard seemed entirely foolish and was entirely displeasing to him. Whence Bernard himself says, "I tell you, brothers, nothing else pleases me meanwhile, as long as what alone pleases me is not here."[487] And let this now suffice regarding singular love.

§II.3.D. ¶ 1 Love is also insatiable, because it cannot be satisfied; rather, the more it feels, the more it tastes the sweetness of its love; the stronger its thirst, the stronger its desire, and the more strongly it burns with love. "And there is the greatest difference between carnal pleasures and spiritual delights. For carnal pleasures not acted upon are ardently desired, but, when acted upon, they quickly become disgusting. On the contrary, however, spiritual delights become disgusting if not possessed, but, once possessed, they are more strongly desired."[488] For Augustine loved insatiably, when he said, "Oh what is sweeter, more delightful, more joyful than your love, Lord, than the love of your love?"[489] "My soul languishes in my midst—" *mais pour Diu,* "revive

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[485] Gérard paraphrases Bernard, *In cant.*, sermon 15 § 6 (P.L. 183, 747 [2nd ed.] or 845 A) (W)

[486] ibid. (A)

[487] Bernard, *In cant.* Sermon 74 § 7 (P.L. 183, 1142 B) "Dico vobis, filii [Gérard: fratres], nil aliud interim libet, dum non praesto est quod solum libet" (A) Irene Edmonds translates, "I assure you, my sons, I find joy in nothing else if He is not here, who alone gives me joy"—that's certainly the idea, but Bernard is actually speaking in more general terms.

[488] Gregory, *Hom in Evang.*, XXXVI § 1 (P.L. LXXVI, 1266 A-B) "Hoc distare, fratres charissimi, inter delicias corporis et cordis solet, quod corporales deliciae cum non habentur grave in se desiderium accendunt, cum vero habitae eduntur comedentem protinus in fastidium per satietatem vertunt. At contra spirit[u]ales deliciae cum non habentur in fastidio sunt, cum vero habentur in desiderio; tantoque a comedente amplius esuriuntur, quanto et ab esuriente amplius comeduntur." (W) Gérard paraphrases this, making the language a bit easier to understand.

[489] Source? (same as below?) "O Quid dulcius, quid suavius, quid iocundius amore tuo, domine, amore amoris tui?"

it!"[490] *But oh, what am I saying? I am lying—my soul does not languish, but would that it were languishing! I am astonished, and I faint away in my astonishment.* Why does it not languish, since, o good Jesus, "your memory is 'sweet beyond honey;'[491] meditating upon you is sweeter than food; to speak of you is complete recreation; to know you, perfect consolation; to cleave to you, eternal life; to be separated from you, perpetual death."[492]

¶ 2 David also loved insatiably, when he said, "My soul hath thirsted after God, the living fount,"[493] since all other joys and delights of this world are not living founts, ever coursing and flowing, but are truly "broken cisterns that can long since hold no waters"[494] of joys and pleasures, since almost daily, "laughter shall be mixed with sorrow and mourning taketh hold of the end of joy," that is, even though "all of those rivers run into the sea"[495] of suffering and

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[490] (Pseudo?)-Augustine, *De contritione cordis*, book 1, ch. 2 (P.L. 40, 944) has only "fame amoris tui languet anima mea, refocilla illam" (A)

[491] Psalms 18:11 "dulciora super mel et favum" (A) ("sweeter than honey and the honeycomb") Also see the hymn "Jesu dulcis memoria" (often attributed to Bernard) https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jesu_Dulcis_Memoria (A)

[492] Bernard, *Lamentatio in passionem Christi* (P.L. 184, 771 A-B) (A) Gérard: "Cur non languet, cum memoria tua super mel sit dulcis, meditatio de te plus quam cibus suavis, loqui de te plena sit refectio, noscere te perfecta consolatio, tibi adherere vita eterna, a te separari mors perpetua." It is interesting to note (and I have noticed this before) that the verb "refocillare" is found just above this passage in the *Lamentatio*, since it is also the last word in Gérard's previous quotation ("refocilla eam!"). This linguistic connection (and others like it) shows us something of his method for drawing connections between different passages.

[493] Psalms 41:3 "Sitivit anima mea ad Deum fortem, vivum" (W) Gérard (according to Wilmart) has "fontem" instead of "fortem"—this would mean "God, the living fount" (not the fount of life)—"r" and "n" are sometimes close enough in manuscript that this may be a misreading, *but* Gérard goes on to talk about the "fons" in what follows. Is this a willful modification of the psalm, or is this the psalm as Gérard knew it from performing the liturgy?

[494] Jeremiah 2:13 Vulgate: "Duo enim mala fecit populus meus: me derelinquerunt fontem aquae vivae, et foderunt sibi cisternas, **cisternas dissipatas, quia continere** [Gérard: diu] **non valent aquas.**" (W) Note again the lexical *enchaînement*—the connecting word is "fons," even though it is not part of the quotation.

[495] Ecclesiastes 1:7 "Omnia flumina intrant in mare, et mare non redundat" (W)

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bitterness, but "at the right hand of God are delights even to the end;"[496] and thus the same David says, "My soul longeth and fainteth for the courts of the Lord."[497] Furthermore, elsewhere, after he had tasted God's sweetness, he said, in a great fit of desire, "As the hart panteth after the fountains of water; so my soul panteth after thee, o God."[498] For the nature of the hart[499] is such that whenever it should feel it is about to expire, it goes around through various hidden caverns and attracts a poisonous serpent with its breath and gulps it down, and immediately afterward it so burns and thirsts that it seems many fountains could not satisfy its desire; but still, it cannot be satisfied, and indeed, on account of the excessive thirst, it is so weakened and becomes so meagre that the skin separates from its flesh, and, having shed its flesh, it becomes young again.

¶ 3 So, too, the holy soul [*anima*],[500] burning and boiling on account of desire for love—whatever it sees, whatever it hears, whatever it reads about God cannot satisfy it, but rather throws its mind into greater disquiet and stronger flames, and where, as it seems to some, it ought to find a refuge of consolation, it properly makes a discovery of desolation and perturbation, since the more beautiful the things it sees, the sweeter what it hears or feels about its God—that is, *de son ami*—the more completely its mind is oppressed, and saddened, and

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[496] Psalms 15:11 "delectationes sunt in dextera dei usque in finem" (W) (link with "delectationes")

[497] ibid., 84:3 "Concupiscit, et deficit anima mea in atria Domini[; cor meum et caro mea exsultaverunt in Deum vivum]" (W)—now "living" is the link.

[498] ibid., 41:2 "Quemadmodum [Gérard: sicut] desiderat cervus ad fontes aquarum, ita desiderat anima mea ad te, Deus" (W)

[499] No pun intended—"stag;" see the reference to the eagle and the griffin above. Was Gérard thinking of a specific bestiary? His version of the story is unusual, I think. http://bestiary.ca/beasts/beast162.htm—The idea here is that the stag consumes the snake, and nearly dies of thirst, but, having taken on the attributes of the snake, it sheds its skin and is reborn.

[500] Here, I use the neuter pronoun "it;" it seems to me that the soul is more of a personification than a synecdoche here.

made anxious, because it cannot have Him whom it so ardently desires, since, as Augustine says, "When we love and desire, and do not possess that which we love, we must suffer."[501] And then it[502] thinks about where it is and where it is not.[503] Where it is, as the Lord said to Adam after he sinned: "Where art thou?"—that is, *in what great wretchedness, in what great vileness, in what utter lack of all true goods, and in what great dangers of temptation, since on any day you will, we are in danger of ruining all the good things we have done with mortal sin, and of losing the sempiternal beatitude of the blessed, and of moving toward the most bitter and perpetual torture of the damned,[504] unless the mercy of God does not protect us,* and "because man does not know whether he is worthy of love or of hatred, but all things remain uncertain."[505] And thus, it suffers and fears rightly.

¶ 4 It also considers where it is not—that is, in that place of perfect joy where the "harmony of angels is heard, sweet to the ear; the fragrance[506] of all spices, sweet to the smell; the incomparable beauty offered up to the sight; the inestimable sweetness flowing forth to the taste;

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[501] Augustine, *In ps.* XXXVII § 5 (P.L. XXXVI, 308 ult. l. : *Quicquid amamus et non habemus…*) Gérard: "Cum amamus et desideramus et illud quod amamus non habemus, necesse est ut doleamus" (W)

[502] Here and below, it is unclear what the subject is. It may be "Augustine" here, or man below.

[503] Have I understood correctly? since I take these as indirect questions, I would expect "ubi sit." Of course, Gérard doesn't follow all of the "rules," but perhaps I am mistaken.

[504] "ad acerbissima supplicia et perpetua dampnatorum;" The print edition leaves out "damnatorum" (which I take as the genitive plural of "damnatus" rather than of "damnator").

[505] Augustine, *liber soliloquiorum animae ad deum* § 29 (P.L. 40, 887) "nescit homo utrum dignus sit vel amore vel odio, sed omnia reservantur incerta" (A)

[506] I cannot find any definition for "fragror" (in the print edition) or "flagror" as a noun; perhaps it is like "dulcor" for "dulcedo," and means "fragrantia."

the ineffable softness submitted to the touch."[507] And thus it must daily call out to its beloved in prayer from the bottom of its heart, and say, *"Oi dous amis com longhement me lairés vous en estrengue pais.[508] he pour Diu* 'draw me after you.'"[509] And thus, Paul was saying: "Unhappy man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?"[510] And certainly, "I desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ."[511] And why? Certainly, I know that "if my earthly house of this habitation be dissolved, that I have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in Heaven."[512] And I know that when I shall have come there, "I shall see God, *ki est m'amours*, at my will, and shall have Him for my pleasure, and I shall delight in Him for my amusement. I shall see Him in eternity; I shall shine in His truth, and shall rejoice in His perfect goodness.

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[507] While this quotation has not been preserved in the P.L., I have located it in a volume dedicated to the writings of Richard Rolle, where these exact words are described as being contained (in two manuscripts) in the Latin notes to Rolle's Middle English manuscript text: "Quinque dona spectancia ad quinque sensus in patria scilicet in celo: i) armonia omnium angelorum, suavis auditui. ii) fragror omnium aromatum fumigans olfactui; iii) pulcritudo admirabilis obiecta visui; iiii) dulcedo incomparabilis influens gustum; v) suavitas inestimabilis obiecta tactui. [not in Gérard: Vita autem ibi est sine morte, iuventus sine senectute.]" (A) C. Hortsman, ed., *Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole, An English Father of the Church and His Followers* (London and New York: Swann Sonnenschein & Co. and MacMillan & Co., 1895), p. 128, n. 4.

[508] vdB 123

[509] Song of Songs 1:3 "trahe me, post te curremus in odorem unguentorum tuorum" (W) (the connection being the vocabulary of the senses); also, note the effect of the comma in the Vulgate.

[510] Romans 7:24 "Infelix ego homo, quis me liberabit de corpore mortis huius" (W)

[511] Philippians 1:23 "desiderium habens dissolvi et esse cum Christo;" Gérard, "Cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo" (W) That Gérard uses this, rather than the Vulgate text is very interesting. Many of the Church fathers (including Jerome in his letters) use "Cupio dissolvi," and it is thought that this is a relic of the Vetus Latina, perhaps preserved in liturgy. It also has an interesting history of being used to discuss suicide (see Peter Lombard, Montaigne, etc.)—I wonder if such undertones can be found here, too.

[512] 2 Corinthians 5:1 "Scimus enim quoniam si terrestris domus nostra hujus habitationis dissolvatur, quod aedificationem ex Deo habemus, domum non manufactam, aeternam in caelis" (W) Gérard changes the verb tense (first person plural to first person singular).

'There without end I shall delight in God, whose aspect is kind, whose face is comely, and whose speech, sweet.'"[513] And thus it is no wonder if "I desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ."[514]

§II.4. There is also a wise love, which consists in three things—that is, in fleeing all things that displease and in seeking out that which pleases the beloved, and in preparing and adorning oneself because it is agreeable, pleasing, and welcome to the beloved. For "God is charity," says John—that is, *amours.* And thus, *ame ki viout amer, et bien viout iestre amée, par dedens et defors bien doit iestre aournée—par defors simple et coie, humle et bien ordenée; par dedens ardaument par amours embrasée.*[515]

§II.4.A. ¶ 1 First, therefore, it must be considered how, in wise love, we may flee those things that displease Him. And as we see materially, when a youth—be he a layperson or a cleric—burns with love for a woman, so that he loves her jealously, if he should bring her

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[513] (Pseudo-)Bernard, *Meditationes piisimae de cogitatione humanis conditionis* § 4 (P.L. 184, 492 C) "Videbit Deum ad voluntatem, habebit ad voluptatem, fruetur ad jucunditatem. In aeternitate vigebit, in veritate fulgebit, in bonitate gaudebit. […] 'Omnes laetantur in laetitia et exsultatione: omnes delectantur de Deo, cujus aspectus pulcher, facies decora, eloquium dulce.'" (A) Here, we have another quotational *mise-en-abyme*: the final part of the quotation of Bernard seems to be a riff on Augustine, *De spiritu et anima liber I* § 60, "Trinitatis nomina sunt pietatis" (P.L. 40, 821): "Omnes contemplantur, omnes laetantur, omnes delectantur in Deo: cujus aspectus pius, facies decora, eloquium dulce." Augustine, for his part, riffs on the language of the Song of Songs 2:14 ("ostende mihi faciem tuam, sonet vox tua in auribus meis: vox enim tua dulcis, et facies tua decora") and 4:3 ("sicut vitta coccinea labia tua, et eloquium tuum dulce") (A) Gérard's text, for comparison, is: "Videbo Deum ad voluntatem, habebo ad voluptatem, fruar ad jocunditatem. In eternitate videbo, in veritate fulgebo, in bonitate perfecta gaudebo. Ibi sine fine letabor de deo, cuius aspectus est pius et facies decora et eloquium dulce." Note that Gérard changes all of the verbs to the first person, and adds a few words here and there. Gérard makes use of the exact same Bernardine text at the end of the treatise. His modifications suggest, to my ear, quotation from memory.

[514] Philippians 1:23 (as above)

[515] See van den Boogaard, "Les Insertions," p. 694.

jewelry, presents, or gifts[516] from Paris or from faraway markets, for the purpose of appeasing, adorning, or decorating his beloved with the greatest costs and expenses, and if he should see that she gave those presents and gifts that he had given to her to another lover of hers whom she liked better, there would be nothing that could offend and displease him more seriously. And what should we say of God, who is the most fervent lover of our souls, and who gave and granted to us whatever good we have so that we might love Him wholeheartedly—that is, His beauty, strength, knowledge, riches, and honors?

¶ 2 And why do you think He becomes so very angry when He sees that the gifts of His graces—which He has conferred upon us in order that we might love Him more ardently—that we employ these things in the service of the most vile and filthy lovers—that is, of the world, the devil, and the flesh—who love us for no other reason than to deceive us, to corrupt us, to rob us of all our goods, to strangle and kill us? And God bewails such a soul in Ezekiel, saying to it: "Thou tookest thy beautiful vessels, of my gold, and my silver"—that is, wisdom and knowledge—"which I gave thee"—that you might love me—"and thou madest thee idols of them!"[517] Through Ezekiel, the Lord also says to such a soul, "Thou settest my oil and my sweet incense before them"[518]—that is, before your lovers. Furthermore, Hosea: "I have multiplied

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[516] See Du Cange, "eulogias" 4: "EULOGIÆ dicta præterea quævis munera, quæ offeruntur, non tam ex debito, quam ex convenientia : verbi gratia, lib. 1. Reg. cap. 25. 27. Quod Davidi ab Abigail offertur a Vulgato Interprete Benedictio, a LXX. Εὐλογία dicitur. In Regula S. Benedicti cap. 54. vetantur Monachi"

[517] Ezekiel 16:17 "tulisti vasa decoris tui de auro meo atque argento meo, quae dedi tibi, et fecisti tibi [imagines masculinas, et fornicata es in eis]" (W)

[518] ibid., 16:18 "[et sumpsisti vestimenta tua multicoloria, et operuisti illas, et] oleum meum et thymiama meum posuisti coram eis" (W)

their gold and silver, and they made an image of Baal for themselves,"[519] by which it is understood that with the gifts that He voluntarily confers upon us in return for serving and honoring Him, we dishonor Him and employ them in the service of His enemy—that is, [in service of] of the devil (by pride, wrath, and envy), or of the world (by avarice and cupidity), or of the flesh (by lust and filth). And thus, as it is said in Sirach: "The jealousy and the rage of the husband will not spare in the day of revenge, nor will he yield to any man's prayers, nor will he accept for satisfaction ever so many gifts."[520]

§II.4.B. Wise love also consists in seeking out that which is agreeable to the beloved—that is, to God—and in doing it. For it is said in Sirach that "what is agreeable to God is faith and meekness,"[521] since *through faith, man is possessed by God with regard to his intellect, and through meekness, he is possessed [by God] with regard to his feeling.*[522] And this is all that God requires from us—that is, our intellect and our feeling.

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[519] Hosea 2:8 "[Et haec nescivit, quia ego dedi ei frumentum, et vinum, et oleum,] et argentum multiplicavi ei, et aurum, quae fecerunt [Gérard: sibi] Baal" (W) I have modified the Douay-Rheims translation, which I regard as slightly incorrect—they made a statue of Baal using the gold and silver ("quae fecerunt Baal"), but the D-R has "which they have used in the service of Baal." (Of course, "Baal" could also be a translation of a dative, Hebrew words remaining uninflected in Latin.)

[520] *Re vera* Proverbs 6:34-35 "Zelus est furor viri non parcet in die vindicte, nec acquiescet cuiusquam precibus nec recipiet [Vulgate: suscipiet] pro redemptione dona plurima" (W) Interesting that once again, it appears that the quotation is attributed to the wrong book of the Bible (Sirach instead of Proverbs)—but all of the ms indicate Sirach (*Ecclesiasticus*).

[521] Sirach 1:34-35 "[…] quod beneplacitum est illi [Gérard: Deo], fides et mansuetudo" (W)

[522] For the difference between "intellectus" and "affectus," see Peter Nickl, "*Affectus* & *Intellectus*: A Medieval Point of View" *Philosophy Study* 5, no. 7 (July 2015), pp. 349-355—"affectus" is often translated "will," a synonym of "voluntas," but I think "feeling" may be a better fit here.

§II.4.B.a. ¶ 1 For faith pleases God so much that without faith it is impossible to please Him; indeed, "anything that is not of faith is sin,"[523] as the Apostle says. And what is faith? Faith is duly to believe that God is the Redeemer of all good and evil people, that He is present everywhere, that He sees and knows whatever we do, whatever we think, and whatever we undergo. And thus, the good are very joyful because God knows and considers all things. For if someone should love another person and be far away from her, he would be able to endure many sufferings, pains, and adversities for her that she would be unaware of, and if, by chance, those were recounted to her, she wouldn't believe them; both in this, and in all things, the love of God exceeds earthly and carnal love, since wherever I am, God knows how I am doing,[524] and what and how much I endure for Him, and how much I love him. Whence it is said, "Thou alone considerest labor and sorrow"[525]—justly, that is. And thus, since the holy soul [*anima*] knows and sees by faith that God sees him [*eam*] everywhere and knows whatever he endures and how he is doing, he watches over himself everywhere diligently, within and without, lest he should think, or say, or do anything that might displease God, since because[526] he always has God present in his mind.[527]

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[523] Romans 14:23 "Omne autem, quod non est ex fide, peccatum est" (W)

[524] "quomodo mihi est" (even though one would expect "quomodo mihi sit")

[525] Psalms 9:35 "Vides, quoniam tu **laborem et dolorem consideras,** ut tradas eos in manus tuas. Tibi derelictus est pauper; orphano tu eris adjutor" Psalms 10:14, which Wilmart cites here, does not exist. (A)

[526] This appears to be an error in the text. Was this part of a quotation that was only half copied? There is no "cum" in the print edition, which would make this, "since he always has God present in his mind."

[527] Again with the pronoun trouble. Here, it seems to me that we have more synecdoche than personification. (Gilbert of Hoyland uses the feminine endings of verbs in the first person, when identifying himself with the beloved soul in his commentary on the Song of Songs.)

¶ 2 Thus, Augustine said of God: "He readily shows Himself to me everywhere; He offers His presence to me everywhere; wherever I turn, He does not abandon me; whithersoever I may go, He always runs to meet me; whatever I may do, He always aids me."[528] And thus, in all places, such faith causes[529] a soul to protect the law and honor of God in himself and in others[530]—nor can he see or hear anything that is contrary to the honor of God without his heart's immediately being troubled, and crying out, and opposing it as far as it is able, as we read of Mattathias in the book Machabees—and many remarkable things are said about him, which pertain to zeal for God.[531] Likewise, Bernard says, "All that tarnishes the name of my God tears my heart out."[532] He did not have such faith, who said this in Sirach: "Walls are on all sides. Who seeth me?"[533] They did not have such faith, who said in Ezekiel, "The Lord hath forsaken the earth, and the Lord seeth us not."[534] Hypocrites do not have such faith, who serve only when

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[528] Source? Perhaps Gérard is echoing Bernard (or Bernard is echoing Augustine) here: Bernard, *tractatus de interiori domo* ch. 18 § 30 (P.L. 184, 523 D) (A): "Eripe me, Domine, ab homine malo, id est, a me ipso; a quo recedere non possum. Nam quocumque me verto, vitia me sequuntur: ubicumque vado, conscientia mea non me deserit, sed praesens assistit, et quidquid facio, scribit…" Gérard: "Ubique michi paratum se exhibet; ubique presentem se offert; ubicumque me verto non me deserit, quocumque iero semper occurrit; quicquid egero semper assistit"

[529] This construction with "facere" appears more vernacular than Latin: "talis fides facit in omni loco custodire animam"

[530] "in alio" (lit: in another)

[531] 1 Machabees 2:23 et sq. (not quoted, but merely cited by Gérard)

[532] Bernard, *Epistolae* 179 (P.L. 182, 343 B) (A) This is not a literal translation ("skins my heart" would be more literal). There's a bit of wordplay ("excoriat cor"), I think, so perhaps a not-so-literal translation is warranted.

[533] Sirach 23:25-26 (W) Gérard modifies the text slightly. Vulgate: "parietes cooperiunt me;" Gérard: "parietes sunt undique," and takes it out of order, citing from v. 26 first: "parietes sunt undique; quis me videt?" The whole passage is about fornicators.

[534] Ezekiel 9:9 "Dereliquit Dominus terram, et Dominus [nos] non videt" (W) Gérard personalizes this by adding "nos" before "non videt."

watched, and give praise in appearance only.[535] But the Apostle did have such faith and said: "And therefore we labor, whether absent or present, to please Him."[536]

§II.4.B.b. ¶ 1 Furthermore, meekness or kindness is continual and dutiful patience. For he is called meek who is not swept up impatiently in words, deeds, or will, by another's agitation or by the wrongs done to him, and such patience of meekness pleases God very much and obtains divine love. Whence in Revelation, the Lord says: "I have loved you"—and why?—"because thou hast kept the word of my patience," et cetera.[537]

¶ 2 And such a patient or meek man commits many great deeds[538] and many victories to God every day, since he triumphs over his flesh by meekness. Whence: "Blessed are the meek, for they shall possess the land"[539] of their flesh. Hereupon, Bernard says that "chastity is obtained by

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[535] Proverb: "Ad oculum serviunt et in faciem benedicunt"

[536] 2 Corinthians 5:9 "contendimus sive absentes sive presentes placere ei" (W)

[537] Revelation 3:9-10 "Ecce dabo de synagoga Satanae, qui dicunt se Judaeos esse, et non sunt, sed mentiuntur: ecce faciam illos ut veniant, et adorent ante pedes tuos: et scient quia ego **dilexi te, / Quoniam servasti verbum patientiae meae,** et ego servabo te ab hora tentationis, quae ventura est in orbem universum tentare habitantes in terra" (W)

[538] The sense of this is somewhat unclear to me. I believe Wilmart's reading is incorrect—it's certainly the *lectio difficilior*, but "prohibitates" does not appear to be a word—it may even be a hapaxlegomenon; searching for forms of "prohibitas" ("prohibitatis, prohibitatibus," etc.) yields no results. Wilmart notes the variant "probitates," and this is, in fact, the reading in the print edition. Du Cange notes that this word refers to military exercises—tourneys, etc., in the following entry : "**Probitates**, *Decursiones militares, Ludicræ equestres pugnæ, ut sunt hastiludia et torneamenta, in quibus generosi animi specimen edere solent.* Laudes Papiæ apud Murator. tom. 11. col. 42, 'Tunc enim nobiles civitatis hastiludiis, aliisque seculi probitatibus delectantur.'" He goes on to explain the Old French *prouer* ("probe agere, ut militem decet") as following from this militaristic sense of "probitas." Since Gérard follows (in a syntactically typical synonymic binomial) with "victorias," the above sense of "probitates" seems more justified than "prohibitates." The question remains, however, how best to translate this word in English—I do not necessarily believe "great deeds" is the best solution.

[539] Matthew 5:4 "Beati mites quoniam ipsi possidebunt terram" (W) Gérard adds "carnis sue" to the end.

meekness of knowledge."[540] Furthermore, he triumphs over his neighbor by the patience of

meekness when, after he has been wronged by words or deeds, he sustains them patiently, and

sweetly and kindly replies, and, to the extent of his ability, repays the one who wronged him with

good things. And such a man is compared to the holy soul in the Song of Songs, about which the

Lord speaks while commending it:[541] "As the lily among thorns, so is my love among the

daughters."[542] For as the lily planted among the thorns is often pricked by them, and yet does not

stop scattering its scent, so holy men, however burdened by their neighbors, often still do not

decline to employ kindness and goodness in their actions. But the more the injustice against them

grows, the more amply their kindness and goodness is heaped up, and thus, they triumph over

their neighbors and "bring forth fruit in their patience."[543] And Chrysostom says that "the best

path to victory is, in many cases,[544] to be vanquished."[545] And "It is more glorious to flee injury

by remaining silent, than to gain the upper hand by responding,"[546] as Gregory says.[547] And "It is

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[540] Source? "Mansuetudine acquiritur conscientie castitas"

[541] For this use of the gerund, see Frank Anthony Carl Mantello and A.G. Rigg, eds., *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1996), p. 85

[542] Song of Songs 2:2 "Sicut lilium inter spinas, sic amica mea inter filias" (W)

[543] Luke 8:15 "fructum afferunt [Gérard: referunt] in patientia" (W)

[544] What does "in multis" mean here, exactly? "in multis modis" ("in many ways")?

[545] John Chrysostom, Homily 85 in Mt. (*ed. Par.* 1585 II, 617A: "Saepenumero ergo vinci quam vincere praestantius est: optimus profecto iste victoriae modus est; cf P.G., LVIII, 755)" (W)

[546] Gregory, *40 Homiliarum in Evangilia*, book 1, homily 18 § 4 (P.L. 76, 1153 A) "gloriosius est injuriam tacendo fugere, quam respondendo superare" (W)

[547] It's very interesting that these quotations present themselves in the exact same sequence here in *De doctrina cordis*. See the Introduction to this dissertation for more on this matter as it relates to common authorship.

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better to conquer the vice than the person."[548] *For he conquers vice who remains silent, and patiently and kindly endures; and he seems to conquer a person whenever he responds harshly, but he is conquered by vice within, even if outwardly, he appears to fools to be a victor.*

¶ 3 Further, the patience of meekness triumphs even over God,[549] as is clear regarding blessed Job. For it seemed that the Lord was very angry at him and that He wanted to crush him with sufferings and adversities, and, as if playing chess with him,[550] made many envious—that is, *enviaus*—of him;[551] but nevertheless, Job held them all off, always maintaining his patience and meekness and giving thanks, saying, "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away: as it hath pleased the Lord, so is it done: blessed be the name of the Lord."[552] For if, by impatience or

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[548] Wilmart was confused here, and it's no wonder, given the difficulties present. I have thus edited the punctuation. It appears that Gérard inserts a quotation of Gregory between two quotations of Chrysostom. This is confirmed by Berthold of Regensburg, in his sermon no. 17, *Beati fr. Bertholdi a Ratisbona Sermones ad Religiosos XX ex Erlagensi codice,* ed. Petrus de Alc. Hoetzl (?) (Munich: Institutum Litterarium Dr. Max Huttler, 1882), p. 90; he has the same exact text as Gérard, but I cannot yet identify the source. The translation of Georgius Trapezuntius may hold the answers: John Chrysostom, *Homiliae super Matthaeum*, trans. Georgius Trapezuntius (Cologne: Johann Koelhoff, the Elder, 1487), http://tudigit.ulb.tu-darmstadt.de/show/inc-iii-120

[549] One can understand why this did not make it into the print edition. (Nothing triumphs over God!)

[550] See du Cange "1. SCACCI, Scaci, et Scachi, seu Scaccorum ludus, *le jeu des Echecs*, sic appellatus a voce Arabica vel Persica Scach, quæ Regem sonat, quod præcipua Scaccorum, uti vocant, persona, Rex sit, quod a nobis observatum in Notis ad Joinvillam pag. 59. et ad Alexiadem pag. 383. 384. quamquam non desunt, qui a Germanico Scach, i. latro, de quo mox, dictum putant, ut sit latrunculorum ludus, quem eumdem esse cum ludo scachorum viri docti existimant, ex Ovid."

[551] The print edition becomes fascinating here: since scaccus is a word that his audience might not know, the editor clarifies "latrunculos" (a word in Seneca) *or* "scacos," and a bit later, where Gérard writes "invitatus" (which, in classical Latin, never means "envious," which is why he clarifies it with the French), the print edition has "gallice 'envians';" even though "envians" is a calque on a verb that doesn't exist (envio*) in Latin. Or perhaps the printer just set the wrong letter, leaving us with "envians" instead of "enviaus."

[552] Job 1:21 "Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit; sicut Domino placuit, ita factum est. Sit nomen Domini benedictum" (W)

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grumbling, he had not held off those envious[553]—that is *enviaus*[554]—of the Lord, doubtless he would have lost the game. But because he kept the game up firmly in all things, he won the game. Whence the Lord said to him—that is, the devil—who incited and moved Him to play against Job, "But thou hast moved me against him, that I should afflict him without cause,"[555] that is, *ke je iuasse [=jouasse] à li pour ti*, "and now look what you have won!" And the devil responded to God: "Certainly, he is very practiced in such a game, and is daring in making[556] everyone envious"—id est, *tous enviaus*[557]—"and holding them off, because 'skin for skin, and all that a man hath, [he will give] for his soul'"[558]—that is, *pour tenir le giu,* since he says, "Although he should kill me, I will trust in Him"[559]—*c'est à dire,* even if in that game against God I should have a very bad throw of the dice[560]—that is, *siet, contre quatorse*, which is a better throw, I would not lose the game, but will always hope that by my patience and kindness,

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[553] Translating "envieus/invitatus" in English is a challenge. L'envieux, in Old French poetry, is another literary type; l'envieux tries to sabotage the relationship between the lover and the beloved. Clearly, this pertains to those whom God uses to test Job's devotion.

[554] See the print edition again (idest "les envians")

[555] ibid., 2:3 "Tu autem commovisti me ut affligerem eum frustra" (W)

[556] "Certe, ipse valde peritus est in tali lusu et est audax ad faciendum et tenendum omnes invitatus, idest *tous enviaus*." I am not entirely sure how to translate "ad faciendum invitatus," but I take this to mean the devil is implying that Job is making everyone jealous.

[557] In a way, one could say the devil speaks French here and quotes himself in the Bible.

[558] ibid., 2:4 "Pellem pro pelle, et cuncta [Gérard: universa] quae habet homo dabit [Gérard does not have the verb "dabit"] pro anima sua" (A) The Douay-Rheims translation gives "life" instead of "soul" for "anima."

[559]ibid., 13:15 "Etiam si occiderit [Gérard: occidat] me in ipso sperabo" (W)

[560] I am not certain about this translation, but it seems to make sense. I cannot find other Latin uses of these (apparent) gallicisms "cancea" (chance/throw) and "detius" (dé ; OF diz/déz, which implies a form like "det(u)s," not far from the supposed etymology of "datus"). The text of the print edition suggests that my understanding to be correct with its glosses. Furthermore, this is a completely syntactically integrated sentence; the bad throw is "siet" (seven), against the better throw, which is 14.

and by the mercy of God, I shall win the game, since it pleases God very much when violence is repaid to Him kindly[561] with devoted patience and humble devotion.[562] Whence, since Job devoutly and patiently endured, and perseveringly kept the game up, the Lord gave the game up for him, and thus, he won the game. Whence it is said that "the Lord gave Job twice as much as he had before,"[563] and thus, by his patience, and sweetness, and meekness, he triumphed over God.[564]

§II.4.C. Wise love requires that he who wants to love should adorn and compose himself, so that he is honorable and becoming, since it is said in the vernacular *ke nus ne puet estre plaisans ne jolis ki n'aime par amours.*[565] And Paul knew this well, saying, "If I were strong enough, by the merit of my faith, that I could remove mountains, and if I had all knowledge, and knew all mysteries, and were so generous that I might distribute all my goods to feed the poor, and even if I were so strong that I could deliver my my body to be burned, and have not charity"—that is, *se*

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[561] "benigno" is probably a misreading for "benigne" (so the print edition)—"o" and e" can be close in these manuscripts, as we often see in Wilmart's French transcriptions ("ten" for "ton," "amor" for "amer").

[562] Apparently, "inferre" in the sense of "pay" (i.e. a tribute or tax, or perhaps here, a gambling debt). I suppose that with what Gérard was saying about "violent charity" above, we might want to take "inferre" to mean, in this case, "kindly do/inflict violence to/upon God through patience, etc"—but this seems to be a stretch.

[563] ibid., 42:10 (W) Vulgate: "et addidit Dominus omnia quaecumque fuerant Job, duplicia;" Gérard: "addidit omnibus que fuerunt Iob duplicia." Gérard seems to take this almost in the sense of adding money to the pot.

[564] The print edition conserves this language, though it left it out above.

[565] vdB 1549; van den Boogaard found this text nowhere else in this form, but see the refrain texts to which he likens it (vdB 1934, vdB 1391) in "Les insertions," p. 695.

je n'aime par amours, "it profiteth me nothing, and I am nothing"[566]—that is, in terms of worth or value. Therefore, he who wants to be loved and to love must be composed and adorned within and without, and thus, he might please God and be loved [*diligeretur*] by Him. Whence He says in Isaiah: "Since thou becamest honourable in my eyes, thou art glorious: I have loved [*dilexi*] thee"[567]—honorable, that is, outwardly, in terms of monastic life,[568] and glorious inwardly, in terms of holiness and purity of conscience, which is the glory of the heart. Therefore, it is proper for him to be gracious without and devoted within, who wishes to live and to please *au Diu d'amours*.

§II.4.C.a. And let it be known that a man is made outwardly gracious [*gratiosus*] to God and to men in five ways.

§II.4.C.a.1. The first is the fitting composition of all senses and all members—of the tongue and the rest alike. And this happens by fear and shame, which is very pleasing to God and to men, and especially in women and in young men. Whence Bernard says: "Shame[569] in the mind

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[566] 1 Corinthians 13:2-3 (W) Vulgate: "Et si habuero prophetiam, et noverim mysteria omnia, et omnem scientiam: et si habuero omnem fidem ita ut montes transferam, caritatem autem non habuero, nihil sum. / Et si distribuero in cibos pauperum omnes facultates meas, et si tradidero corpus meum ita ut ardeam, caritatem autem non habuero, nihil mihi prodest;" Gérard: "Si essem tam fortis per meritum fidei ut montes transferrem, et si haberem scientiam omnium et cognoscerem misteria omnia et essem tam largus ut distribuerem omnes facultates meas in usus pauperum, et si etiam in tantum prodigus essem ut corpus meum traderem ad comburendum, caritatem autem non habeam, nichil michi prodest, et nichil sum." This is an intricate paraphrase—more so than any I have yet seen of Gérard's biblical paraphrases.

[567] Isaiah 43:4 "Ex quo honorabilis factus es in oculis meis, et gloriosus, ego dilexi te" (W)

[568] There's a certain ambiguity here—"conversatio" is a common word for "monastic life" (or even "religious life," and I have seen it used this way numerous times); in more classical Latin, however, it almost always means "conversation." I doubt there is any ambiguity intended here—Gérard is doubtless speaking of the conduct of monks—but the idea of "conversatio" in the sense of "conversation" or "intercourse"—i.e., one's interactions with others—is not entirely absent.

[569] Although I have (rightly, I think) translated "verecundia" as "shame" in other contexts, "modesty" may be more appropriate here. This is a symptom of Gérard's quotation of so many different sources, each of which uses much of the same vocabulary in different ways.

is color upon the cheek, which brings beauty and increases grace."[570] He also says, regarding the shame that makes a man gracious to God and to men: "O how beautiful and how splendid a moral jewel is shame in the life and upon the face of a youth! What a true and unquestionable messenger of good hope—the proof of a good nature."[571] And what else? "Shame is the special glory of the conscience, the reputation's guardian, life's adornment, virtue's first-fruits, the seat of the virtues, nature's praise, and the mark of all honor."[572] Behold how an honorable composition of the senses and of all members, which is effected by shame, makes a man gracious to God and to men. And for that reason, blessed Bernard tried with all of his effort, from the very beginnings[573] of his religious life, to be gracious to God and to men by shame and by the fitting composition of his members and senses. Whence one reads in his *vita*: "The first virtue of the holy man was the disposition [*habitus*] of his body, which was so composed, and conducted itself so consistently, that in it, nothing was seen that could offend onlookers. Everything in it was disciplined, everything a mark of virtue, the form of perfection."[574]

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[570] Bernard, *In cant.*, sermon 40 § 1 (P.L. 183, 982 A l. 13) "Verecundia in mente color est in facie, que venustatem ingerit et auget gratiam" (W)

[571] ibid. (P.L. 183, 1195 B l. 2) "O quam pulcra et quam splendida gemma morum est verecundia in vita et vultu adolescentis" (W) What does the place from which quotations tend to be taken in the text (beginning or end) suggest about Gérard's compositional practice, or the potential sources from which he drew these quotations, if not the texts themselves in full?

[572] ibid. (P.L. 183, 1195 B l. 15) One might also translate "honestas" as "nobility."

[573] "in primordiis" should probably mean "in the very beginning," but I do not see how that works here.

[574] Although I cannot find the *vita* in question, this quotation is found in numerous liturgical texts; for example here: Jacques Dubois, *Un Sanctuaire monastique au Moyen-Age : Saint-Fiacre-en-Brie* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1976), p. 182 ("Office de Saint-Faron), and here : http://cantusindex.org/id/601881

§II.4.C.a.2. The second is a simple thing[575] that makes a man gracious: swift obedience, because one who obeys swiftly is made pleasing and gracious to God and to men, as is clear in the case of Abraham, who deserved such grace from God for his obedience, as one reads in Genesis.[576] Saul was also very pleasing to God, and mollified[577] and soothed Him with the obedience that he promised Him, saying to the Lord, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?"[578]—as if he were saying, "Whatever you have commanded, I am ready to do, even if it is difficult and troublesome for me." Similarly, David was very pleasing to God when he said, "My heart is ready, O God, my heart is ready"[579] and "I am ready, and am not troubled, that I may keep thy commandments."[580] Furthermore, in his obedience, David was pleasing not only to God, but also to men, when they praised him before the king, Saul, saying (Kings II), "For who amongst all

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[575] "simplex" does not, to my knowledge, have the sense of "simply" (= "just") in Latin.

[576] Genesis 22:18; 26:5 (W)

[577] "linire" is a variant spelling of "lenire."

[578] Acts 9:6 "Domine, quid me vis facere?" (W)

[579] Psalms 56:8 and 107:2 "paratum cor meum, Deus; paratum cor meum" (W)

[580] ibid., 118:60 "Paratus sum et non sum turbatus, ut custodiam mandata tua" (W)

has been found to be so faithful as David in thy kingdom—entering and leaving and going forth at the king's bidding?"[581]

§II.4.C.a.3. Continuous and devoted patience also makes a man gracious to God and to men. Whence the Lord says in Revelation: "I have loved thee because thou hast kept my patience."[582] Do you know, brothers, who, in tournaments, often win and get a reward—that is, *le pris dou tournoi*?[583] Is it possibly he who makes more [money]? Certainly not. Is it possibly he who loses more? No. But who is it then? Certainly, it's the one who keeps the helmet on his head longer and more continuously, and who suffers more, and stays in the fight longer. Such a man is praised and esteemed [*talis laudatur et appretiatur*], and by right, however poor he is, he must have the tournament's prize and the glory. Just as continuous and devoted patience makes men upright, praiseworthy, and gracious, so too do we love, praise, and honor the holy martyrs, since

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[581] 1 Samuel 22:14 (Vulgate: Here we have a crux. First, the indication of "Kings II" that Gérard gives us. Originally, the four books of the Bible we now know as 1 and 2 Samuel, and 1 and 2 Kings, were, respectively, 1-4 Kings. According to the Vulgate, 2 Kings would have become 2 Samuel, but the quotation Gérard gives us is from 1 Samuel. One might, of course, wonder why this matters—and it matters precisely because the text of the Vulgate does not match Gérard's text very closely at all, but *this* time, I have found an almost perfect match with the text of a breviary used in an eleventh-century: *Breviarum ad usum insignis ecclesie Eboracensis, vol.* 1, ed. Stephen Willoughby Lawley (Durham: Andrews & Co. et. al., 1880), col. 239. I have found the same text in Adam of Dryburgh (c. 1140 - c. 1212), sermon 18 § 3 (P.L. 198, 195 D) (A) And further, it is the text, word for word, of a chant from an eleventh-century breviary, Paris BnF ms. lat. 12601 (part of the liturgy for the feast of Kings: http://www.cantus.sk/chant/1492). This suggests that the text may be closer to that of the Vetus Latina (important for our consideration of Biblical authority, though I-IV Reg. have not yet been edited), and furthermore, that Gérard knew this biblical quotation (and others that seem divergent from the Vulgate text) not through his reading of the Bible, but through his reading of a breviary, or his performance of the liturgy. In all likelihood, Gérard is therefore not simply, routinely modifying the Biblical text to suit his purposes.

[582] Revelation 3:9-10 (W) Vulgate: "Dilexi te / quoniam servasti verbum patientiae meae;" Gérard: "Dilexi te quoniam servasti patientiam meam"

[583] Wilmart did not understand this as a question.

they have devoutly endured so many and such great things for God. Whence in Judith.[584]

Whence the authority of Gregory [*auctoritas Gregorii*]: "He who is more enduring in the face of injury will be more firmly established in the [heavenly] kingdom."[585] "Behold, we account them blessed who have endured,"[586] et cetera. Also in Sirach: "Let us now praise men of renown,"[587] et cetera.

§II.4.C.a.4. ¶ 1 His despicable humiliation[588] also makes a man gracious to God and to men, and makes him lovable.[589] Whence the Lord, knowing that humble humiliation is very pleasing in Heaven and on earth, teaches his disciples the two virtues that, among the others, attract the grace and love of God, of the angels, and of men—that is, humility and meekness. Whence He says, "Learn from me, because I am meek, and humble of heart."[590] And those two virtues are so connected and yoked together as one that the one cannot exist without the other, since no one can truly be humble unless he is meek, and the converse. Furthermore, Bernard says that humility makes one gracious and pleasing: "The only thing that pleases God is humility, be it in an angel

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[584] Judith 15:10-12 "Quae cum exisset ad illum, benedixerunt eam omnes una voce, dicentes: Tu gloria Jerusalem; tu laetitia Israel; tu honorificentia populi nostri: / Quia fecisti **viriliter**, et confortatum est cor tuum, eo quod castitatem amaveris, et post virum tuum, alterum nescieris: ideo et manus Domini confortavit te, et ideo eris benedicta in aeternum. / Et dixit omnis populus: Fiat, fiat" (W)

[585] Not Gregory, but Maximus of Turin (perhaps he is "auctoritas Gregorii"?), homily 85 (P.L. 57, 447 A) According to Migne, this text was falsely attributed to Ambrose (ibid. 445-446): "Non est opus ut eos refellamus qui S. Maximo hanc homiliam adimendam, ascribendamque S. Ambrosio censuerunt. Eorum enim et veterum codicum mss. auctoritate ac copia, et styli ratione refellitur evertiturque opinio" (A)

[586] James 5:11 "Ecce beatificamus eos qui sustinuerunt" (W)

[587] Sirach 44:1 "Laudemus viros gloriosos" (W)

[588] Hendiadys, "despectus et humiliatio"

[589] Note the agreement of verbs in the singular here and in the next sentence.

[590] Matthew 11:29 "discite a me quia mitis sum et humilis corde" (W)

or in a man,"[591] et cetera. Whence, among the other wonderful virtues of blessed Mary, she said

the Lord "respected her humility"[592] alone, thereby making her, as it were, gracious for Himself.

Whence the Lord, wanting his disciples to be gracious, taught them, saying, "When thou art

invited to a wedding, sit down in the lowest place; then shalt thou have glory before them that sit

at the table with thee, for every one that humbleth himself, shall be exalted."[593]

¶ 2 David knew this when he said, "The Lord is high, and looketh on the low things"[594]—that

is, he praises and favors them. Whence that proud woman, Michal, daughter of Saul, wife of

David, did not know or understand that a man's despicable humility[595] makes him gracious and

glorious to God and to men, when she rebuked him and his heart's despicableness because he

had humbled himself for the Lord "before the ark"[596] and before all of Israel, saying, "How

glorious was the king of Israel today," humiliating and "uncovering himself, as if he were one of

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[591] Bernard, *Pro dominica 1 novembris*, sermon 2 § 3 (P.L. 183, 348 A) "Sola est que Deo placet humilitas, sive in angelo, sive in homine" (A)

[592] Luke 1:48 "Quia respexit humilitatem ancillae suae" (W)

[593] ibid., 14: 8, 10-11 "Cum invitatus fueris ad nuptias […] recumbe in novissimo loco […] tunc erit tibi gloria coram simul discumbentis […] quia omnis qui se humiliat, exaltabitur" —note how much Gérard omits.

[594] Wilmart notes that this is from Psalms 112:4, 6 "Excelsus [super omnes gentes] Dominus […] et humilia respicit;" in fact, it is from Psalms 137:6 "excelsus Dominus, et humilia respicit" (A)—this is therefore not a condensation, as the last quotation was.

[595] "Despectus et humilitas" as above; for my translation to work, "despicable" must be taken in its etymological sense of "being looked down upon." Gérard makes clear in this passage that God's looking down upon us from on high does not indicate disdain, but love. Perhaps there is a better way to translate this than I am able to come up with.

[596] "coram arca" seems to be an echo of "saltavit coram arca," words that many, in the *Patrologia Latina,* claim to have found in 2 Kings (2 Samuel) 6. The reference is indeed to 2 Samuel 6:16, which has "saltavit coram *Domino.*" (A) What accounts for the difference between quotations of the text, and the Vulgate text itself? Perhaps "saltavit coram arcam" (which makes more sense in context, anyway) was liturgical text.

the buffoons."[597] She didn't believe what she was saying in this passage to be true,[598] but without a doubt, she spoke truly, because on account of his humility, he was pleasing to God and to men, and most tenderly obtained the love of God. Whence the Lord said of him: "I have found a man according to my own heart."[599]

§II.4.C.a.5. Honorable reverence shown to others also makes a man gracious, since there is no sane person who is so arrogant and so disdainful that he wouldn't not love him whom he sees constantly honoring and submitting to him. Whence the Apostle taught, saying, "In honor giving preference to one another."[600] Furthermore: "Honor all men," et cetera.[601]

§II.4.C.b. In short, we have, in the aforesaid, the five things that make a man gracious [to God] and to men: [the composition of the senses and members,][602] obedience to preceptors,[603] continuous and devoted patience in the face of adversaries,[604] contemptuous humiliation of

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[597] 2 Samuel 6:20 (W) Vulgate: "Reversusque est David ut benediceret domui suae: et egressa Michol filia Saul in occursum David, ait: Quam gloriosus fuit hodie rex Israel discooperiens se ante ancillas servorum suorum, et nudatus est, quasi si nudetur unus de scurris;" Gérard: "O quam gloriosus fuit hodie rex humilians et discooperiens se, quasi si esset unus de scurris." Note how Gérard comments upon the biblical sarcasm.

[598] "verum dicere in hoc non credebat, sed sine dubio verum dixit…"

[599] Acts 13:22 "inveni [David filium Jesse,] virum [Gérard: hominum] secundum cor meum." Yet it is perhaps notable that the citation occurs in this precise form (with "hominem" for "virum") in many, many writers, among which Bernard, *In cant.*, sermon 32 § 4 (P.L. 183, 628 C) (A)—again, possibly a trace of liturgical practice.

[600] Romans 12:10 "Caritate fraternitas invicem diligentes: honore invicem praevenientes" (W)

[601] 1 Peter 2:17 "Omnes honorate: fraternitatem diligite: Deum timete: regem honorificate" (W)

[602] Wilmart adds this text in brackets because Gérard omits it.

[603] This is the first occurrence of the word "preceptor"—what are the (monastic) connotations of this word in Gérard's time?

[604] "endurance of adversities"—the reading "adversarum" is surely incorrect—the print edition has "adversorum," and "adversarum" can only mean "of female adversaries." "Adversorum" can refer to either adversaries in general (adversus, -i) or adversities (adversum, -i).

oneself,[605] and honorable reverence for others. Similarly, five things make man devoted and agreeable to God—that is, *holy thought, pure feeling, just intention, contempt[606] for all earthly things, and desire for the celestial and eternal.*

§III. ¶ 1 We have yet to see how love begins, grows, strengthens, is confirmed, and is consummated. For a poet says that carnal love consists in five things—that is, "sight and speech, embrace and kisses, the deed."[607] Without a doubt, these may also be taken spiritually, concerning spiritual love, as it shall soon be clear. For we see how the spirit speaks—that is, through the mouth of Solomon—in the Song of Songs. And these words, if they should be taken in and understood only according to what the letter utters, no edification is gained from them, but rather an evil desire for carnal love is kindled and inflamed.[608] But we who must be spiritually perfect—like the bee that sets itself often upon bitter and poisonous flowers, but is so wise by nature that it flees and leaves the bitter poison behind, and thereafter, receives its sweet

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[605] Once again, the difficult-to-translate hendiadys, "despectus et humilitatio"

[606] Here, we have "despectus" in the sense of "contempt"

[607] Wilmart indicates that there is a similar phrase in Porphyry's commentary of Horace, Carm. I, 13, 15. This is very important. These are the "gradus amoris," about which there is considerable literature (primary and secondary). Wilmart's note is therefore not so useful, since so many writers had some variation of this. It is also worth noting that it is a perfect hexameter verse, and that it is thought to have something to do with Ovid, as Dronke makes clear in *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love Lyric* p. 488: "This is one of the many variations on the topos of the *quinque lineae amoris*, which from its origins in Ovid and in the grammarians Donatus and Porphyry became a favorite device in Medieval Latin, and passed into vernacular literatures, above all into French, where it continued to be widely used in the Renaissance." What follows is also very important. For further writings on this topic (esp. Friedman, "Gradus Amoris") see Don A. Monson, *Andreas Capellanus, Scholasticism, & the Courtly Tradition* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2005), p. 193. And there is one more thing—all of the sources I have found have "contactus" instead of "complexus" — Gérard may have supplied "complexus" in order to maintain the vocabulary of the Song of Songs.

[608] A truly amazing passage of medieval literary theory: Gérard speaks against an "ad litteram" explanation in the context of the Song of Songs. This constitutes a rare medieval recognition of the literal sense of the text.

nourishment, and keeps it for itself, we must do the same regarding all things that we hear, and read, and see. We must hold onto that which can can stir and inflame us to extinguish carnal desires, to flee the world and all things in the world in contempt, and to desire heavenly things, and to love God perfectly with all our hearts. And the holy soul in the Song of Songs did this, when it said, "I will rise, and will go about in the streets and broad ways"[609]—that is, I will think about those who "walk upon the narrowest path of penitence and perfection, and about those who walk upon the broad path that leads to death"[610] (that is, carnal and worldly lovers)—"and I will seek him whom my soul loveth"[611]—if, that is, I can find[, on these streets and ways,] any material reason to inflame and stir my heart to love my beloved (that is, my God).

¶ 2 For, as Gregory says, "There are [even] many laymen who have something worth imitating in their virtuous behavior."[612] Whence one reads in the Lives of the Fathers[613] that a certain most holy father was passing with many young men through a certain city, and met a

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[609] Song of Songs 3:2 "surgam et circuibo civitatem per vicos et plateas" (W)

[610] Matthew 7:13-14 (W) Vulgate: "[13] Intrate per angustam portam : quia lata porta, et spatiosa via est, quae ducit ad perditionem, et multi sunt qui intrant per eam. [14] Quam angusta porta, et arcta via est, quae ducit ad vitam : et pauci sunt qui inveniunt eam!" Gérard: "considerabo illos qui vadunt per strictissimam viam penitentie et perfectionis et illos qui vadunt per latam viam que ducit ad mortem" (quoting snippets of biblical text or ideas).

[611] Song of Songs 3:2 "quaeram quem diligit anima mea" (W) (continued from the above Song of Songs verse)

[612] Gregory, *Hom. XXV in Evang.*, § 2 (P.L. LXXVI, 1190 B l. 11) "Quia sunt nonnulli etiam vitae saecularis qui imitandum aliquid habe[a]nt de actione virtus" (W) Wilmart's edition makes this very confusing indeed. The most frequently cited version (even by Gérard's contemporaries, and even in the print edition) has "etiam" before "vitae" (not absolutely necessary, but helpful), and, more importantly, no "in" before "imitandum." Although this "in" is not necessarily incorrect (however unclassical it may be), it obscures the agreement of "aliquid" and "imitandum." The point Gérard seems to be making here—and his point is not the same as Gregory's—is that there is something noble in the impulses of carnal love, something worth imitating. Fascinating.

[613] Wilmart points us to the *Vita Pelagiae*, c. 2-4 (P.L. 73, 664 B-665). (W) Gérard takes considerable liberties with the text.

certain sinful fornicator of a woman, and she was very beautiful, and was so marvelously adorned with precious clothing, necklaces, earrings and wondrous jewelry to ensnare youths and silly men, that she was really a sight to behold. And seeing her, that old man totally stopped in his tracks, and for a long time, he looked at her intently. And the youths who were following him were shocked that he was pursuing her for such a long time and so attentively with his eyes, but they dared not speak to him of this. Later, though, he turned his face to those who were following him, and said to them: "Don't you see this woman who just crossed the street?" And they replied to him, "We see her well." And he said to them, "Were you enticed by her and by her beauty and her jewelry?" And they replied, "By no means, since she's a common woman, and we see her every day, and could have her, if we wanted to." And he, drawing out a long sigh and bitter groans, lifting his eyes to the sky with bitter weeping and tears, cried out and said, "Omnipotent God, supremely good and supremely lovable, I pray you not to confound and damn me on the day of judgment.[614] For I, an unhappy wretch, for so many years, well into my old age, have served you, who are all beauty, all sweetness, all delight, and all beatitude—and never in my whole life have I acted so carefully, so intently, so dutifully to compose, decorate, and adorn my soul in order to please you as that woman has done in a single day to please her filthy lovers." —O for suffering and for shame! Behold, we see that from the sin of another and from evil, that man gleaned profit and edification. And thus, Gregory says that "he who loves [*diligit*] God finds an occasion for salvation everywhere."[615]

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[614] Echo of Psalms 30:2 "In te, domine, speravi; non confundar in aeternum; in justitia tua libera me" (A)

[615] The only sources I am able to find attribute this quotation to Cassian, for example in Michael Bodeto, ed., *Allegoriam moraliumque sententiarum in utrumque divinae legis instrumentum abs triginta praeclaris & religione & doctrina viris* (Paris: Josse Bade, 1520), "Super Epist. ad Romanos CCXV" §O. I cannot, however, find the quotation in the volumes of Cassian's works in the P.L.

§III.1 ¶ 1 Now let us come back to the first thing—that is, the sight. For the sight by which the soul sees God is righteous faith. Whence Job: "With the hearing of the ear, I have heard you"[616]— that is, through preaching [*praedicatio*]— "now my eye seeth thee"[617] through faith, and therefore, I blame myself rightly, because I have not loved you ardently, though I see, hear, and read what great things you have done for me, what great things you have endured for me, and what great things you have promised me in return for my love. And thus, he who wants to enter into the mind of God—that is, into faith—must meditate often and think about what God did for him in creating him. For not a rock, not a dumb animal, not a miscarriage, not one devoured by death before baptism so that he might forever lack the vision of God and the beatitude of paradise—and furthermore, not a pagan, not a Jew or an infidel who, if he should remain in such a state, would, beyond all doubt, be damned forever—but God made me[618] a *man,* "capable of reason, marked by the image of God, adorned with His likeness, "the heir of divine goodness, fit for His beatitude, partaking in reason,"[619] and God never did these things for any creature except angels and man. And for all of these things, *He only asks to be loved by me wholeheartedly.*

¶ 2 Not only has He done these great things for me, but He has also endured grave and harsh things for my benefit, thereby showing me how much He loved me, in order that, reflecting upon and considering this, I might love Him in return, since "greater love [caritas] than this no man

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[616] Job 42:5 "auditu auris audivi te" (W)

[617] ibid., "nunc [autem] oculus meus videt te" (A)

[618] Note the change in pronouns (third person singular to first person singular).

[619] (Pseudo-)Bernard, *Meditationes* III § 7 (P.L. CLXXXIV, 489 C) (W) The same text is also quoted in the *Septem remedia*. Gérard modifies it very slightly here.

hath, that he lay down his soul for his friends."[620] And yet, He had greater love still, laying down

his soul for those who did not love Him. And thus, Bernard says, "Above all, the cup that you

drank for me, good Jesus, makes you worthy of my love,"[621] et cetera, as above.[622] And thus God

seems to call out to us daily through the display of His passion when we look at the image of the

crucifix. And that is what Gregory said as a versifier, saying, "With this—pierced through by a

hook for you—I show you what I love, o man. Oh, that I love and am not loved; loving, I do not

hook but am hooked. May my love hook you, for whom I am so hooked."[623] And thus, Peter

Chrysologus says:[624] "O man, love [dilige] God because you were so loved [amatus] by God,

and give your whole self over to His glory, since He brought His whole self down to be wronged

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[620] John 15:13 (W) Vulgate: "Majorem hac dilectionem nemo habet, ut animam suam ponat qui pro amicis suis;" Gérard: "majorem caritatem nemo habet quam ut animam suam ponat quis pro amicis suis." Wilmart notes that the text is that of the Roman antiphon of the apostles. That's worth looking into, but at any rate, this exact text existed since before Augustine, and is found everywhere, doubtless because it was part of the liturgy that predated the Vulgate. (See above, the text from Samuel)

[621] Bernard, *In cant.*, 20 § 2 (P.L. 183, 867 C l.9) "Super omnia reddit te michi amabilem, bone Ihesu, calix quem pro me bibisti" (A)

[622] See earlier note—Gérard means "above" in the text. This in-text reference says something about the way Gérard works.

[623] It is impossible to translate the wordplay here (amor/hamor). "Hoc homo te quod amo monstro tibi fixus ab hamo / Heu quod amo nec amor, amans non hamo sed amor / pro quo sic hamor te meus hamet amor" I have only been able to locate these verses in Jean Lalemandet, *Decisiones Philosophicae pars prima, seu logica* (Munich: Haeres Cornelius Leyserius, 1644) and in Werner von Koppenfels, *Esca et Hamus: Beitrag zu einer historischen Liebesmetaphorik* (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie Wissenschaften, 1973), p. 48, n. 67, which indicates Gervais of Melkley, in his *Ars poetica* (c. 1215) as the source. See Koppenfels' note for further bibliographical information.

[624] Gérard writes "Petrus Ravenensis," which, for a modern reader, would refer to the fifteenth-century author of a famous book on the art of memory. The Peter in question was Peter Chrysologus (c. 380 - c.450) who was the bishop of Ravenna from about 433 until his death. I have elected to use "Peter Chrysologus" to avoid confusion.

for you."[625] And Ambrose says: "God had such great zeal for our salvation that He nearly endangered His own while He was winning us over."[626] Therefore, since the soul sees God through the eyes of its thoughts, and, seeing His goodness in that which He has made, as well as the most perfect love in that which He endured for it, it is right to be wholly ravished[627] into His love. Whence Bernard says, "What should come of considering such great compassion so undeserved, such gratuitous and such tried-and-true love, such unexpected dignity, such astonishing sweetness—what, I ask, should come of lovingly considering these things, except that, having delivered the soul of the considerer from all inner perversity, they should astonishingly ravish[628] it unto themselves and move it powerfully?"[629]

§III.1.A. And truly, if beauty makes any man or woman lovable, what is more beautiful than Him, who is "beautiful above the sons of men,"[630] who is not only beautiful, but also "the first author of beauty,"[631] as it is said in the book of Wisdom. Whence the beloved in the Song of Songs says, when it is asked of her "what manner of one is thy beloved [dilectus], o beautiful one

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[625] Peter Chrysologus, *Sermones* 70 (P.L. LII, 599 A l. 14), "O homo, dilige deum, sic amatus a deo, et ad illius gloriam da te totum, qui totum se propter te ad suam deduxit injuriam" (W)

[626] Ambrose, *De Jacob* I § 25 (P.L. 14, 638 C l. 6) "Tantum fuit deo studium nostre salutis ut propemodum de sua periclitaretur, dum nos lucraretur" (W)

[627] "rapitur" (ravished, i.e., transported)

[628] "Violent charity" is not far off, and what connects these two passages—another example of Gérard's lexical enchaînement—is the verb "rapere."

[629] Bernard, *De dilig. Deo*. IV § 13 (P.L. 182, 982 A l. 12) (W)

[630] Psalms 44:3 "Speciosus forma prae filiis hominum" (A) For the curious "speciosus forma" (beautiful beauty), see Mikka E. Anttila, *Luther's Theology of Music: Spiritual Beauty and Pleasure* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), p. 166

[631] Wisdom 13:3 "speciei enim generator [haec omnia constituit]" (W); again, note that "generator" is not precisely the same as "author" in English.

among women"[632]—*car à biele amie affiert biaus amis*. She responds and says, "My beloved [*amicus*] is white and ruddy"[633]—that is, *blans et coulurés*. And this makes [him] beautiful. And truly, he was so lovable and beautiful that all who heard about him desired to see him, just as one reads about Solomon.[634] Whence in the Gospel of John it says, "Sir, we would see Jesus"[635] on account of His beauty.[636]

§III.1.B. And not only beautiful, but also rich, whence the Apostle: "You are all made rich in Him"[637] and "Glory"—that is, *toute joie*—"and wealth shall be in His house."

§III.1.C. He is also most generous, since He "giveth to all men abundantly,"[638] (James)[639] and "His hand is stretched out still"[640]—that is, for the purpose of giving, if anyone should want to receive.

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[632] Song of Songs 5:9 "Qualis est dilectus tuus [ex dilecto], o pulchrissima [Gérard: pulchra] mulierum" (W)

[633] ibid., 5:10 "Dilectus [Gérard: **amicus** (!)] meus candidus et rubicundus" (W) Note the lexical *enchaînement* with the French above.

[634] 1 Kings 4:34 "Et veniebant de cunctis populis ad audiendam sapientiam Salomonis, et ab universis regibus terrae, qui audiebant sapientiam ejus" (W)

[635] John 12:21 "Domine, volumus Ihesum videre" (W)

[636] Gérard's interpretation seems somewhat far from the text here.

[637] 1 Corinthians 1:5 (W) Vulgate: "in omnibus divites facti estis in illo;" Gérard: "Omnes in illo divites facti estis"

[638] James 1:5 "qui dat omnibus affluenter" (W)

[639] Gérard writes "Jacobi," which refers to the Epistle of Saint James.

[640] Isaiah 9:12, 17, 21; 10:4 "adhuc manus ejus extenta"—almost a refrain, given the number of times it recurs.

§III.1.D. He is also gentle in speech. *Car il set tres bien et tres biau parler.*[641] Whence John 5: "Lord, thou hast the words of eternal life."[642]

§III.1.E. He is also circumspect in His counsel. Whence He said to the rich man, "If thou wilt be perfect,"[643] et cetera.

§III.1.F. He is also assiduous in obedience.[644] Whence Matthew V: "Who maketh His sun to rise upon the good, and bad."[645]

§III.1.G. He is also vigorous in his help. Whence 1 Corinthians 10: "God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that which you are able."[646] Let it be noted here that in the beginning, temptation must be resisted—that is, in the beginning of thoughts.[647] Furthermore, in Exodus: "The Lord will fight for you,"[648] et cetera.

§III.1. ¶ 1 Therefore, since the soul sees by faith and frequently reflects in its thoughts upon the fact that God has done such great things for it, has endured such great things for it—and is so

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[641] Vernacular proverb?

[642] Not John 5, as Gérard says, but John 6:69 "Domine[, ad quem ibimus?] Verba vitae aeternae habes" (W)

[643] Matthew 19: 21 "[Ait illi Jesus:] Si vis perfectus esse[, vade, vende quae habes, et da pauperibus, et habebis thesaurum in caelo: et veni, sequere me]" (W) One must pay attention to all of Gérard's "et cetera"s.

[644] "Item sedulus est in obsequiis." Perhaps my translation is slightly incorrect? I am not certain how this relates to the quotation that follows.

[645] Matthew 5:45 "[Ut sitis filii Patris vestri, qui in caelis est:] qui solem suum oriri facit super bonos et malos[: et pluit super justos et injustos]" (W)

[646] 1 Corinthians 10:13 "[Tentatio vos non apprehendat nisi humana:] fidelis [autem] Deus est, qui non patietur vos tentari supra id quod potestis[, sed faciet etiam cum tentatione proventum ut possitis sustinere]" (W)

[647] An echo of the first of the *Septem remedia* (Wilmart p. 184 I, l. 1)

[648] Exodus 14:14 "Dominus pugnabit pro vobis[, et vos tacebitis]" (W)

beautiful that none is similar to Him, and so rich, so wise, so powerful that none can be compared to Him—it is very surprising and lamentable that it does not love Him perfectly, since "His beauty surpasses all beauty; His sweetness exceeds all sweetness."[649] Whence he who made the Elucidarium[650] says a wonderful word about God, saying, "God is a spiritual substance of such ineffable beauty, of such inestimable sweetness, that the angels who outshine the sun sevenfold with their beauty insatiably desire to look upon Him without ceasing."[651] And thus Gilbert says, "All things that are in you, good Jesus, have a certain way of enticing, and move one's thoughts to love, and thus, those who do not often and attentively contemplate the face of their Christ—that is, His goodness, wisdom, and beauty—cannot be inflamed by His love, since spiritual sight—that is, frequent contemplation—kindles each and every one to love."[652] "For," Hugh of Saint-Victor says, "the more often contemplation of this matter [i.e. the face of Christ?] shall weigh upon the mind, the more savagely love for Him burns in the heart."[653] The same also

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[649] Richard of Saint-Victor, *De praeparatione animi ad contemplationem* (AKA Benjamin Minor), chapter 1 (P.L. 196, 1 C) (A)

[650] i.e. Honorius of Autun, see n. 299 and 296.

[651] Honorius of Autun, Elucidarium, Book 1 (P.L. 172, 1110 B) (W) "Deus est substantia spiritualis, tam inestimabilis pulchritudinis, tam ineffabilis suavitatis, ut angeli, qui septuplo solem sua vincunt pulchritudine, jugiter desiderent in eum insatiabiliter prospicere;" Gérard: "Deus est substantia spiritualis tam ineffabilis pulchritudinis, tam inestimabilis suavitas, ut angeli, qui septuplo solem sua vincunt pulchritudine, insatiabiliter jugiter desiderent in eum prospicere" See n. 299**,** and note how Gérard quotes Honorius slightly differently each time, substituting, for example, "ineffabilis" for "inestimabilis."

[652] Gilbert of Hoyland, *In Cant.*, sermon 20 § 5 (P.L. 184, 105 A l.14) "Omnia que in te sunt, bone Jhesu, quandam habent allitiendi efficaciam et cogitationes sollicitant in amorem, et ideo illi qui frequenter et attente non considerant in faciem Christi sui, idest eius bonitatem, sapientiam, et pulchritudinem, non possunt inflammari eius amore, quia visus spiritualis, idest cogitatio frequens, ad amorem qualemcumque inflammat" (W)

[653] Wilmart is incorrect; this is from Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De unione corporis et spiritus* (P.L. 177, 291 A-B) (A)

says, "As logs nourish a fire, so do thoughts feed desires; if the thoughts are good, the fire of love [*caritas*] burns bright; if evil, however, the fire of lust will burn bright."[654]

¶ 2 Since, therefore, the rational soul can in no way live without love, *pour Diu*, let it lovingly see to it that it settles[655] the love of its heart well, for if it should settle its love well—that is, in God—it shall attain the glory of the blessed, but if it should settle it badly—that is, in carnal or earthly love—it will be damned forever. And Gilbert says, O man or woman,[656] "Whose beauty does your desire [*affectus*] allure"—that is, *alleke [allèche]* or *enlace*—"if not His, for He is 'supremely beautiful above the sons of men, whose lips are full of grace;'[657] whose bosom, full of mercy; whose hands, full of strength?"[658] But oh, He is *li biaus desconneus, li sages pau creus et li fors pau cremus et le boins pau amés.*[659] Whence He rebuked His disciples in the Gospel by lamenting, saying to them, "I have been so long a time with you, and you have

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[654] Hugh, *De arca Noe morali*, ch. 4 (P.L. 176, 676 B) "Sicut ignem ligna nutriunt, sic cogitationes desideria pascunt; si fuerint bone cogitationes, exardescit ignis caritatis; si autem male, exardescit ignis cupiditatis" (A)

[655] Another difficult word—the print edition replaces "assedeat" with "applicat et affigat." I am inclined to agree with Wilmart's choice, however. It is thought that one of the French conjugations of "asseoir" (j'assieds, etc") came from a transitional form "*assedeo" of the verb "assideo" in Latin—what we have here, then, is that transitional form. See Jean Bastin *Le Verbe dans la langue française (étude historique): Première partie, lexicologie* (St. Petersburg: Imprimerie Trenké et Fusnot, 1896), p. 63

[656] Gérard presents this as Gilbert's text, but it is in fact his own insertion.

[657] quotational mise-en-abyme; Psalms 44:3 "Speciosus forma prae filiis hominum, diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis" (A) slightly modified by Gérard (see below).

[658] Gilbert of Hoyland, *In Cant.*, sermon 20 § 9 (P.L. 184, 108 C-D) Gilbert: "Affectum tuum cujus alliciat species, si non eius qui est speciosus forma prae filiis hominum […] Diffusa est gratia in labiis, misericordia in visceribus, virtus in manibus;" Gérard: "Affectum tuum cujus alli*ci*t species […] si non eius qui est speciosus forma prae filiis hominum, in cuius labiis diffusa est gratia, misericordia in visceribus, virtus in manibus." Gérard modifies the text slightly to tie two sentences together.

[659] Did Wilmart read "pau for "peu" in this passage? Several these (if not all) are literary types.

not known me."[660] And thus, He said these things to them because they still did not love Him perfectly, as is clear in the [story of His] Passion. And truly, as Bernard says, "The power of His beauty is such that it cannot be seen and not loved."[661] Whence Gilbert says: "The sight of you, Lord Jesus, is powerfully violent, for it ravishes unto itself the desires [*affectus*] of onlookers."[662]

¶ 3 *But alas that we do not know Him, since we do not often look upon Him—that is, upon the good things He has done for us, and does for us daily—and because we do not consider the evils He endured for us, and thus, we remain ungrateful.* For that reason, Bernard says, "Do you want to know why you do not love [*diligis*] God? Certainly, because you do not know Him; and as for why you do not know him? Because you do not recognize that ineffable mercy and loyalty that He devotes to you day and night, and the more you rise up to thinking about his goodness, the more you shall burn with love for Him."[663] Therefore, love, be it carnal or spiritual, begins with sight. And let this now suffice regarding sight.

§III.2. Now as for the second thing—that is, talking—let us see how love progresses and grows through it, just as it is in the case of laypeople who love carnally, and who by words, and by putting their minds on display, kindle and set each other aflame. And it is useless to talk about them too much on account of their sick minds. But let us see how the holy soul speaks to God,

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[660] John 14:9 "Dicit ei Jesus: Tanto tempore vobiscum sum, et non cognovistis me?" (W)

[661] Source? Augustine may say something similar in the last chapter of *De Trinitate*.

[662] Gilbert of Hoyland, *In Cant.*, sermon 20 § 9 (P.L. 184, 108 C l. 14) "Vere efficax et violenta visio tua, domine Jhesu, qui intuentium in se rapit affectus." (A) I suppose "affectus" (acc. pl.) means "desires" here.

[663] Or "burn in His love?" Source? Many seem to attribute this to Jerome, including Ludolph of Saxony, *Vita Jesu Christi e quatuor Evangeliis et scriptoribus orthodoxis concinnata*, eds. A.-C. Bolard, L.-M. Rigollot, and J. Carnandet (Paris/Rome: Victor Palmé, 1865). "Vis scire quare deum non diligis? Certe, quia eum non cognoscis. Et quare eum non cognosics? Quia illam ineffabilem misericordiam et pietatem quam tibi nocte ac die impendit non recognoscis; et quanto plus in cognitione bonitatis eius ascendes, tanto plus in amore eius exardesces."

and in how many ways and how it thereby gains God's love, as the Scriptures say, along with Gregory and many holy men.

A soul [*anima*] speaks to God in four ways—that is, in confession, in prayer, in desire, and in praise of God or in thanksgiving.

§III.2.A. ¶ 1 For in confession, a soul [*anima*] properly speaks to God, because he does not confess to a man, but to God.[664] But his words of confession are welcome, agreeable, and pleasing to God when they are true, complete—humbly and shamefully blaming himself alone, not making excuses for himself on account of another. For as Augustine says, "Confession is the laying bare of hidden malice for [the purpose of] accusing oneself alone."[665] He must also be pained and groaning, and, so that he may have a material cause for groaning, pain, contrition, and shame, a sinful soul must think about what he has lost through mortal sin, what he has earned, and whom he has offended. And truly there is no man or woman [*aliquis sive aliqua*] of sound mind in existence, who, if he or she should earnestly give heed to these things—however great his or her hardness of heart—would not be most bitterly pained and confounded by shame.

¶ 2 And truly, it is fitting to bring such an indecent and pernicious thing as mortal sin to light, with a suffering and bitter heart, and with shamefaced speech. There are some who confess their sins—though they are immense and extremely grave—so painlessly, without bitterness of heart, and without the shame of disgrace, as if they were telling a story.[666] Such speech does not please God, and does not merit the grace of His love, but rather [merits] what I said before. Whence the

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[664] I must admit that it is very difficult to distinguish between personification and synecdoche in the use of "soul" below—I have used personal pronouns, but the reader should keep the alternative "it" in mind.

[665] Source? "Confessio est manifestatio latentis malitie in sui solius accusationem"

[666] "ac si recitent fabulam unam"—it may be interesting to look at the existence of "vernacular" Latin alongside more classical. There are shades of vernacularity in this text.

Lord says in the Song of Songs to such a soul: "Let thy voice sound"—that is, in such a confession—"in my ears: for thy voice is sweet"[667]—that is, pleasing to me, drawing me to you, and rousing me to love you, as did the wise, well-formed, and fitting words of Abigail, the wife of the most foolish boor—that is, Nabaal—the beloved and also the wife of King David, to whom he said, "Blessed be thou" by the Lord, "and blessed be the speech of thy mouth"[668] (Kings). And thus, Augustine says, "Confession of crimes is the beginning of love."[669] The philosopher Pythagoras also says, "The beginning of friendship is speaking well."[670] And truly, he who speaks in confession in the aforesaid manner, speaks well and gently to God, and through such speech, he gains God's love.

§III.2.B. ¶ 1 A soul [*anima*] also speaks to God in prayer when he shows Him his mind by meditating, [and] by considering the evils he has committed his its bitterness. Whence Hezekiah said to God in Isaiah, "For thee, I shall reflect[671] upon all my years"—that is, my whole life—"in the bitterness of my soul."[672] But alas, many men and women reflect upon their wicked lives and

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[667] Song of Songs 2:14 "[Columba mea, in foraminibus petrae, in caverna maceriae, ostende mihi faciem tuam,] sonet vox tua in auribus meis: [Gérard: quia] vox [enim] tua dulcis[, et facies tua decora]" (A)

[668] Wilmart cites 1 Samuel 25:32-33, Vulgate: "Et benedictum eloquium tuum, / et benedicta tu;" Gérard, "benedicta tu et benedictus sermo oris tui," but Gérard did not come up with a phrase like "benedictus sermo oris tui" on his own, and this is not found in the Vulgate (which has "eloquium tuum"). This is taken straight from a chant from the liturgy of the feast of Kings, among other feasts—http://cantusindex.org/id/001731 (A)

[669] Source? Wilmart conjectures Augustine, in ep. Joh. IV § 3 (P.L. 35, 2006: initium virtutis nostrae confessio peccatorum.)

[670] Source?

[671] The meaning of "recogito" here is actually something closer to "repent" (I will repent to thee…), as documented in Du Cange (and elewhere). But Gérard continues to use the word in such a way that it cannot be translated "repent" in English, so I have tried to preserve the lexical *enchaînement* by providing a slightly inaccurate translation of the Biblical text.

[672] Isaiah 38:15 "Recogitabo tibi omnes annos meos in amaritudine animae meae" (W)

sins, not in their bitterness, but with pleasure, which is very displeasing to God. And there are many occasions for going back [i.e. to sin] again, whence one reads about the sons of Israel,[673] who, remembering and reflecting upon the pleasures that they had in Egypt, considered the promised land to be worthless, and wanted to go back to Egypt, and they were gasping full of desire for that place.[674] Such are many in religious life, which is very sad indeed. *Car il ont trop dolereuse vie*, as the experienced know.[675] But we must show our wicked life to God humbly and shamefully, with the bitterest bitterness, and insistently beg His mercy for these evils every day without ceasing until God responds within our hearts and says to us: "Thy sins are forgiven thee,"[676] just as He said to Mary Magdalene. This is to say, "*li pais est faite* between you and me. *Je t'ai mal amour[677] pardounée et par tel parlement[678] tu as m'amour conquestée*. 'Go in peace.'"[679] That is, henceforth, do not offend me with your sin.

¶ 2 We must also reflect in prayer upon the good things that God has given, and gives us daily, and even promises us anew, that we may suffer and be confounded by our ingratitude, as Ezra says, "My God, I am confounded and ashamed to lift up my hands to thee." And why? Certainly, "for our iniquities are multiplied over our heads, and our sins are grown up even unto

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[673] Numbers 20:4 (W)

[674] discussed earlier; §II.1.A.

[675] A bit of humor here, perhaps!

[676] Luke 7:48 (W) Vulgate: "Remittuntur tibi peccata;" Gérard, "Dimittuntur tibi peccata." (W) Many sources have "dimittuntur," including liturgical chants: http://cantusindex.org/id/001313

[677] Wilmart's "Jetai malamour" makes this difficult. And ecce, Jesus *gallice loquitur*!

[678] One might wonder if "parlement" translates "oratio" ("prayer" rather than simple speech)

[679] Luke 7:50 "vade in pace" (W)

Heaven,"[680] and so that by remembering those good things, we may be kindled to burn with love for Him. But let it be known that all the strength of prayer, for it to be pleasing to God, consists in humility and in contrition of the heart, since, whatever it has done, God will never despise a "contrite and humbled heart"[681]—"whatever it has done," as the Psalmist says.

§III.2.C. The soul also speaks to God in praise of Him—that is, in psalmody, and in the liturgy [*cantus ecclesie*], and in thanksgiving. But words of praise are pleasing to God when "the mind harmonizes with the voice,"[682] and becomes glowingly cheerful. And from that praise, one[683] seeks nothing other than the glory of God, utility for one's soul, and the edification of one's neighbors.

§III.2.D. ¶ 1 The soul also speaks to God through desire, and this speech among others is more pleasing to God, and for this reason, He more quickly yields and grants whatever is asked of Him. And God is by no means accustomed to denying an ardent and holy desire,[684] for desire is an attractant, like a trap for attracting birds flitting about on high, and like the lure—that is,

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[680] 1 Ezra 9:6 (W) Vulgate: "Deus meus, confundor et erubesco levare faciem meam ad te: quoniam iniquitates nostrae multiplicatae sunt super caput nostrum, et delicta nostra creverunt usque ad caelum;" Gérard: "Deus meus confundor et erubesco valde erigere manus meas ad te, quia iniquitates nostre multiplicate sunt et peccata nostra creverunt usque ad celum.") "manus meas" may be explained by the gesture of praying; earlier (circa n. 381), Gérard supplies "oculos meos" for "faciem meam."

[681] Psalms 50:19 "Cor contritum et humiliatum, Deus, non despicies." (W) More an echo than a quotation.

[682] A very famous phrase, from the *Rule of Benedict*, c. 19 (P.L. 66, 476 A l.4) "mens concordat voci" (sometimes expressed as "ut mens concordet voci")

[683] In fact, the subject is probably either "the mind" or "the words [*loquela*]," but this poses problems for translating "animae suae utilitas" —the utility of the mind's soul? of the soul of the one producing the words? While this is unproblematic in Latin, translating it into English is difficult.

[684] Are we to understand that, contrary to classical usage, Gérard constructs "negare" with the dative?

loire—for recalling a hawk or falcon.[685] And that desire is often shown to God by an outpouring

of tears, since he who loves truly and desires perfectly considers weeping to be a sweet thing, as

long as what is loved and what is desired it not present. Whence one reads about blessed Peter

the apostle, who [so] burned with love and desire for God that he was not able to hear about or to

think of Jesus and of His life without crying straightaway, on account of his love and desire.[686]

And Paul said, "I desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ."[687] And David said, "Lord, all my

desire is before thee,"[688] and "My soul hath thirsted after God, the living fount,"[689] and "As the

hart panteth after the fountains of water; so my soul panteth after thee, o God."[690] (Here, it is

necessary to note the nature of the hart.)[691]

¶ 2 Similarly, Augustine spoke pleasingly to God when he said, "Lord, lord, give yourself to

me, I look not but for you. If you should not give yourself, I want nothing from you."[692]

Therefore, the speaking of desire is most highly pleasing to God—not a finely arranged plethora

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[685] See n. 365

[686] Source?

[687] Philippians 1:23, "desiderium habens dissolvi et esse cum Christo"; Gérard, "Cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo." (W) See n. 511

[688] Psalms 37:10 "Domine, ante te omne desiderium meum" (W)

[689] ibid., 41:3 "Sitivit anima mea ad Deum fortem [Gérard: fontem], vivum" See n. 493, which this repetition contextualizes. Furthermore, the "fontem vivum" variant is found in an immense number of texts, including liturgical ones. Gérard was not willfully modifying or misremembering the text—he was recalling the words he learned by frequent devotional practice.

[690] ibid., 41:2 "Quemadmodum[Gérard: sicut] desiderat cervus ad fontes aquarum, ita desiderat anima mea ad te, Deus" See n. 498.

[691] Gérard talks about stags above; this may be a "note to self" for preaching.

[692] Source? See n. 476. Gérard repeats himself.

of words.[693] Whence Ambrose says, "Christ loves to be desired; He does not love

storytelling."[694] *Car il viout estre lobés* [or *lobes*] *de cuer, et ne mie deleurés*[695] Whence Gregory

says, "We speak gently"—that is, to God—"when we beg for His face in our desire"[696]—we who

say with Moses, "Shew me thy face."[697] "And why, o soul," says God, "do you so desire to see

my face?" The soul responds and says what is written in Esther: "I know, Lord, that 'thy face is

full of graces,'"[698] and you cannot be seen and not loved, since Bernard tells me that your beauty

is so great that "you cannot be seen and not loved."[699] And God cannot long deny and ignore

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[693] "verborum multiplicitas vel compositio;" see George Alexander Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric and Its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times*, 2nd. ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), pp. 111-112.

[694] Ambrose, *De virginitate,* book 1, ch. 13 § 84 (P.L. 16, 287 C) "Desiderari Christus amat, confabulationes non amat" (A)

[695] Here, we have a few problems. First, it is unclear whether we have "lobe" (adj.) or "lobé" (past participle) here—I am inclined to think that this is the past participle of the verb "lober" (to flatter). In either case, Gérard's use of the word appears singular—"lober" is, according to Godefroy, always found in a negative sense, though it is very likely that the negative sense follows from a more positive kind of praise [like *louer*]. As for "deleurés," this is likely a misreading of an "r" for an "s"—either way, the verb is surely the same as "deluser" (*jouer de, moquer, berner*). The sense of the text is "For he wants to be praised from the heart, and not fooled [mocked]."

[696] Gregory, *Moralia* XI, 42 § 57 (P.L. 75, 978 C l. 15) "Loquimur placide cum eius faciem per desiderium postulamus" (A)

[697] Exodus 33:13 "ostende mihi faciem tuam" (W)

[698] Esther 15:17 (W) Vulgate: "facies tua plena est gratiarum;" Gérard: "Scio, Domine, quod facies tua plena est gratiarum." Gérard adds to the beginning of the quotation.

[699] *Sicut sponsa/anima in Canticis, quaesivi illud et non inveni*. The closest one comes to this precise formulation in (pseudo-)Bernard is his *Epist. ad fratres de monte dei*, book 2 § 18 (P.L. 184, 350 B, "Impossibile quippe est videri summum bonum et non amari." ; Gérard: "non potes videri et non amari") It was certainly in the air, though—Thomas Aquinas has it (*Collegii Salmanticensis Carmelitarum Discalceatorum Cursus Theologicus* vol. 10 (Paris: Victor Palmé, 1879), p. 67), as does Matteo of Aquasparta (*Quaestiones Disputatae Selectae Tom. I: Quaestiones de fide et de cognitione* (Quaracchi: ex typographia Colegii S. Bonaventurae, 1903), p. 378), who says that it is from the end of the first book of Augustine's *De Trinitate*. Again, "quaesivi et non inveni." Antonius (?) attributes this to Bernard, in *Antonianum*, vols. 7-8 (Rome: Pontificium Athenaeum Antonianum, 1932), p. 68.

such a loving and desirous soul, but quickly appears and gladly offers Himself to it. Whence Augustine says, speaking for God,[700] "O soul languishing and burning with desire for me, how many times, through your messengers and companions—that is sighing, groaning, sobbing, and your desire—how many times have you declared to me, 'Let my beloved come'[701] and 'let Him kiss me with the kiss of His mouth'[702] Behold I am here. I remain steadfast, I hold out my arms, I offer my mouth, I incline my head. Come therefore to embrace me and to kiss me as much as you will."[703]

§III.2. And let this now suffice regarding talking.

§III.3. Now let us consider the embrace by which love is strengthened. It is true that the soul does not have members like the body, but it still has functions [*effectus*] like bodily members. For the soul embraces and holds God with obedience and patience, as if with its two arms—that is, "enduring evils and doing good things for Christ," as Geoffrey says.[704]

§III.3.A. The soul embraces God when it not only patiently, but even willingly and joyfully endures tribulation, necessities, infirmities, reproaches and adversities for Christ, just like the apostles who "went from the presence of the council, rejoicing that they were accounted worthy

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[700] See n. 73 for this construction, "in persona"

[701] Song of Songs 5:1 "veniat dilectus meus" (A)

[702] ibid., 1:1 "osculetur me osculo oris sui" (A)

[703] Source?

[704] Source? Geoffrey (Gaufredo/Goffredo) Malaterra? Or is this a misreading of "Gerhohus" — see Gerhoh of Reichersperg, *Commentarium in psalmos*, part 7, Psalms 68:12 (P.L. X, 239 A) "Sic bona faciendo, et pro eis mala patiendo;" Gérard: "mala patiendo pro christo et bona faciendo" (A) Wilmart conjectures that this refers to Geoffroi of Clairvaux, Bernard's biographer and secretary.

to suffer reproach for the name of Jesus."[705] And Paul said, "I please myself in my infirmities, in reproaches, in necessities, in persecutions, in distresses," et cetera, "for Christ." And Job said: "He that hath begun may destroy me, may He let loose His hand, and cut me down. And that this may be my comfort, that afflicting me with sorrow, He spare not."[706] For in this I know that I am loved tenderly, because He says, "Such as I love, I rebuke and chastise."[707] And Bernard says, "I know you are favorable to me when I sense your anger."[708]

§III.3.B. The soul also embraces the Lord with devoted obedience, when it extends its arms to do His will in all things, saying with blessed Paul in the Acts: "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?"[709] and with the Psalmist, "I am ready, and am not troubled, that I may keep thy commandments."[710] And the soul sweetly embraces God and draws Him tightly toward itself, when it wants all that God wants, and when it knows whatever pleases it to be pleasing to God, and when it knows whatever displeases it to be displeasing to God. Whence Bernard says, "The spiritual embrace is to want the same thing and not to want the same thing."[711] And the Lord

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[705] Acts 5:41 "[Et illi quidem] ibant gaudentes a conspectu consilii, quoniam digni habiti sunt pro nomine Jesu contumeliam pati." (W) See n. 417

[706] Job 6:9-10 "[9] Et qui coepit, ipse me conterat; solvat manum suam, et succidat me? [10] Et haec mihi sit consolatio, ut affligens me dolore, non parcat [, nec contradicam sermonibus Sancti]." See n. 385

[707] Revelation 3:19 "ego quos amo arguo et castigo"

[708] Bernard, *In. cant.*, Sermon 42 § 4 (P.L. 183, 989 C) "Non enim cum nescio, sed cum sentio te iratum, tunc maxime confido propitium;" Gérard: "Tunc te scio mihi propitium, cum te sentio iratum." (A)

[709] Acts 9:6 "Domine, quid me vis facere?" See n. 578

[710] Psalms 118:60 "Paratus sum et non sum turbatus, ut custodiam mandata tua" (W) See n. 580

[711] Bernard, *In cant*. 88 § 3 (P.L. 183 1182 C l. 2) "Complexus plane ubi idem velle et idem nolle, unum facit de duobus;" Gérard: "complexus **spiritualis** est idem velle et idem nolle" (W)

leads such a soul continuously by the right hand as if to a dance.[712] Whence the holy soul says to

the Lord through the Psalmist: "Lord, thou hast held me by my right hand; and by thy will thou

hast conducted me."[713] Paul tightly embraced God when he said, "Who, then, shall separate us

from the love of God? Shall tribulation? Shall distress?"[714] and many other things that he

mentions there. "I am sure," he says, "that neither death, nor life," et cetera, "nor any other

creature shall be able to separate us from the love of God."[715] But the harder and more harshly

He beats me,[716] and harder the things I endure for Him, the more ardently I love Him. And, in

brief, let this suffice regarding the embrace.

§III.4. ¶ 1 Next is regarding the kiss, by which love is confirmed. For Bernard says that "the

soul kisses God as many times as it is pricked with His love."[717] And what is it to be pricked

with[718] the love of God? Certainly, the holy soul is rightly pricked with God's love when it has

already been cleansed and purified as much as possible by true contrition, confession, and the

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[712] Gérard uses "manum propriam," which appears to be a synonym for "manum dexteram."

[713] Psalms 72:24 "[Gérard: Domine,] Tenuisti manum dexteram meam, et in voluntate tua deduxiste me" (W)

[714] Romans 8:35 (W) Gérard: "Quis nos separabit a caritate Dei? tribulatio? an angustia?" See n. 442

[715] Romans 8:38-39 "Certus sum [enim] quia [Gérard: quod] neque mors, neque vita […] neque creatura aliqua [Gérard, alia] poterit nos separare a caritate Dei" (W) I have found the "alia" variant elsewhere, for example Damien Vorreux, "Offices parisiens des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles en l'honneur de Saint François d'Assise," *Revue Mabillon* 12 (2001), p. 267

[716] This is the same thought expressed earlier in French (*quant plus me bat et destraint li jalous*)

[717] Gregory, *Super Cantica canticorum expositio*, ch. 1 § 5 (P.L. 79, 478 C) "toties enim anima osculatur Deum, quoties in ejus amore compungitur" (A) Which, in this context, recalls love's darts, for example, in addition to the prick of compunction … Or does it? I cannot know how to translate this unless I know precisely what "compungo" means to Gérard—is the emphasis on the prick, or on the compunction that follows?

[718] "Et quid est compungi in amorem Dei?"

completion [*satisfactio*] of penance, and when, because it has tasted a little of God's sweetness, it desires, thirsts, and pants yearningly for Him. Nothing in this world pleases it. Whatever it sees, whatever it hears seems not wise to it, but totally foolish, as long as it does not see Him whom it loves ardently, and it continuously cries out in its heart: "'O let my beloved come, and let Him kiss me with the kiss of His mouth.'[719] *Ai lasse !* when shall He come and shall I see[720] Him? Through whose sweetest kiss to renew my spirit, languishing with desire for Him?" And thus, just as Bernard said above, to kiss God is to be pricked with His love and desire.

¶ 2 And truly, it's no wonder if the soul desires only to kiss God, for it knows that a voluntary and spontaneous kiss is certainly a sign of love. But know that the soul kisses God triply: first, *upon His feet, where it examines its sins and its misery, and there, there is pained sighing; next, it kisses His hands, and there, there is the exercise of hardship; finally, it kisses the mouth, and there, there is a certain and most apparent sign of love. In the first place, as we have said, it examines its own miseries. Secondly, it is pardoned, and thirdly, it is given the grace of courageous trust [*audacie et confidentie gratia*]. Firstly, a gracious God; secondly, a generous one; and thirdly, a dear and pleasing one, sweet and gracious.* Indeed, the Bridegroom has His

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[719] Song of Songs 5:1 and 1:1 (see above)

[720] The print edition has "valebo," according to which I would translate, "when shall I be worthy [or strong] enough to renew, though His sweetest kiss, my spirit, which languishes with desire for Him?" This reading solves a major problem: "videre" (here, "videbo") cannot be constructed with the infinitive "recreare." In fact, BAV Reg. lat. 71 shows that Wilmart may have misread the (admittedly difficult) abbreviations at the bottom of f. 62 v. The text should read not "quando veniet et quando videbo per eius dulcissimum […] recreare spiritum meum" (so Wilmart), but "quando veniet et *eum* videbo? [question mark in ms] per *cuius* dulcissimum osculum recreare spiritum meum" it looks to me as if the "eum" abbreviation has been modified to look like a "quando" abbreviation by the addition of a descender (which is in a lighter ink). The "cuius" abbreviation is also perhaps debatable. At any rate, even this reading does not solve the textual problem: there is no conjugated verb in the clause beginning "per cuius," and "videbo" cannot take an infinitive—perhaps we ought to understand "possit" or "possim" (i.e. Him, through whose kiss He/I can renew my spirit")? Or perhaps we can take this as a question with the infinitive ("per cuius osculum recreare?"), as I have done in the translation above.

mouth, and similarly, the Bride has hers: the two lips of the Bridegroom are, on the top, promise, and on the bottom, menace; the two lips of the Bride are, on the top, hopeful love, and on the bottom, fearful trembling. When, therefore, the soul joins its lower lip to the upper lip of our God above—that is, when hopeful love is joined to God's promise—the sweetest, most delightful and delectable kiss occurs and is felt, which the holy soul in the Song of Songs most ardently burned and prayed for yearningly, saying, "*oi* 'let Him kiss me' *mes tres dous amis,* 'with the kiss of His mouth.'"[721] And certainly, "Honey and milk are under His tongue."[722]

§III.5. ¶ 1 And after such a sweet kiss, nothing remains for the full consummation of perfect love but the deed, which will happen, of course, when the holy soul cleaves perfectly and is perfectly joined to its God, its Beloved, its Bridegroom, and "is one spirit with Him."[723] And it will be in Paradise on account of the most perfect charity, when it wants nothing but what God wants, loves nothing but God, desires nothing but God, and knows nothing but God. Then "the soul will know God, when it has also been known;"[724] then it will love as one who is loved; then "it shall see God at its will, shall have Him at its pleasure, shall delight in Him for its amusement. It shall see Him in eternity, shall shine in His truth, and shall rejoice in His goodness. There, 'the Bridegroom shall rejoice over the Bride,'[725] and the Bride shall raise a

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[721] as above, Song of Songs 1:1

[722] ibid., 4:11 "mel et lac sub lingua tua [Gérard: sua]" (W)

[723] Echo of 1 Corinthians 7:17 "Qui autem adhaeret Domino, unus spiritus est" (W)

[724] 1 Corinthians 13:12 "Videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate: tunc autem facie ad faciem. Nunc cognosco ex parte: tunc autem cognoscam sicut et cognitus sum" (W) For the extreme difficulty of translating the last part, see these commentaries: http://biblehub.com/commentaries/1_corinthians/13-12.htm. I take Gérard to mean by this that the soul, having revealed itself fully to God, will be permitted to know Him.

[725] Isaiah 62:5 "et gaudebit sponsus super sponsam[, et gaudebit super te Deus tuus]" (W)

shout of joy for her Bridegroom, whose aspect is kind, whose face is comely, and whose speech, sweet."[726]

¶ 2 Here, regarding the shout of joy, what kind of joy it is cannot be expressed in words.[727] Love begins there through sight, grows through words, is strengthened by the embrace, is confirmed by the kiss, but cannot be consummated by the deed, except in the glory of the blessed. And regarding this deed and this glory, we may stammer a little, but say nothing worthy.

But now, due to our inadequacy and to our many other responsibilities, let us make an end here—but let us ask the Lord, the most ardent lover of our souls, that by His most gentle mercy He may grant and make it that we begin, progress or grow, become strong, and be confirmed in His love, so that we may consummate[728] in it in the glory of the blessed. Amen.[729]

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[726] A remarkable passage—very similar to the following, paraphrased earlier by Gérard. (Pseudo-)Bernard, *Meditationes piisimae de cogitatione humanis conditionis* § 4 (P.L. 184, 492 C) "Videbit Deum ad voluntatem, habebit ad voluptatem, fruetur ad jucunditatem. In aeternitate vigebit, in veritate fulgebit, in bonitate gaudebit. […] Omnes laetantur in laetitia et exsultatione: omnes delectantur de Deo, cujus aspectus pulcher, facies decora, eloquium dulce." (A) Note also that the last part of the passage from Bernard appears to be a quotation of Augustine: "Omnes contemplantur, omnes laetantur, omnes delectantur in Deo: cujus aspectus pius, facies decora, eloquium dulce" (A) Gérard: "Tunc cognoscet Deum sicut et cognita est, tunc amabit sicut amata; tunc videbit anima Deum ad voluntatem, habebit ad voluptatem, fruetur ad iocunditatem. In eternitate videbit, in veritate fulgebit, et in bonitate gaudebit. Ibi gaudebit sponsus super sponsam, et sponsa jubilabit de sponso suo, cuius est aspectus pius, facies decora, et eloquium dulce." Gérard adds the passage from Isaiah above.

[727] "non potest sermone"—not in words, nor, surely, in a sermon.

[728] Clearly, this is strange—the print edition supplies "consummari" instead of "consummare," which Wilmart has, following all of the manuscripts. If we read "consummari," this would mean, "So that in it, we may be consummated in the glory of the blessed."

[729] The colophon in BAV Reg. lat. 71 may also contain some French: "Finito libro, sit laus et gloria Christo. Hunc de Gorgha [La Gorgue, near Hazebrouk] P. scripsit. sibi proque sua pena tres prebentur soludi, *trop* proquemerentur" — I think it more likely, however, that Wilmart misreads "tres" as "trop" in the ms. ("three coins were paid him for his trouble, and three were earned").

Chapter II. The Poetic Practice of Gérard of Liège in *De divino amore*

> La citation tente de reproduire dans l'écriture une passion de lecture, de retrouver l'instantanée fulgurance de la sollicitation, car c'est bien la lecture, solliciteuse et excitante, qui produit la citation. La citation repère, elle fait retentir la lecture dans l'écriture : c'est qu'en vérité lecture et écriture ne sont qu'une seule et même chose, la pratique du texte qui est pratique du papier. La citation est la forme originelle de toutes les pratiques du papier, le découper-coller, et c'est un jeu d'enfant.[1]

I. Medieval Poetic Quotation

This dissertation begins with an extended consideration of what has made Gérard quasi-famous among scholars of medieval French poetry: his practice of using what appears to be snippets of vernacular lyric (refrain) within his love treatises, the *Septem remedia contra amorem illicitum* and *De divino amore* (formerly known as the *Quinque incitamenta ad Deum amandum ardenter*). At the beginning of my research, I held the standard view—understandable for a person living in a post-manuscript book culture—that Gérard was quoting refrains he had read or heard. Indeed, as the quotation from Antoine Compagnon above attests, quotation is often thought of in terms of a "pratique du papier," like cut-and-paste ("découper-coller"): something read becomes a part of an author's vocabulary, after which the author can reuse it in her own work, reproducing "dans l'écriture une passion de lecture." But applying this conception of quotation to almost any text that Gérard would seem to quote proves to be a challenge because medieval textuality was more a practice of flesh than of paper.

In other words, after the fashion of the living creatures from which parchment is made, medieval texts—especially before the fourteenth century—exist in a state of change. They are not characterized by clear relationships between the writer and the written word, or by the printed word's fixity: writers, readers, performers, poets, and scribes are so inextricably bound

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[1] Antoine Compagnon, *La Seconde main, ou le travail de la citation* (Paris: Seuil, 1979), I.6. "La lecture à l'oeuvre" (all references for this title are to the Kindle e-book edition)

up with each other—and extant manuscripts are often so far removed from would-be archetypes—that we can rarely say for certain what a text *is*, precisely when it was written, or by whom. In consequence, Gérard rarely quotes a text that exists in the exact same form in the books (manuscript and print) to which we have access today. This suggests that in order to talk about quotation in the Middle Ages, we need to adjust our notion of what quotation is to some degree—the idea of quotation as verbatim repetition ("cut and paste") is not consistent with more fluid medieval practice, especially as that practice pertains to poetry.

To illustrate this point, consider the couplet, "La bêtise, l'erreur, le crime, la lésine / Captivent nos esprits et tourmentent nos corps." Who, today, would call this a quotation of Baudelaire's "Au lecteur"? Even calling it an inaccurate quotation seems to be a stretch—one would probably prefer to call it an imitation, a deformation, or a pastiche. Yet Gérard quotes Ovid's *Ars amatoria* (v. 233) as "Non sunt hec timidis signa [sc. amoris] ferenda viris," when modern editions have "Non sunt haec timidis signa *tuenda* viris."[2] Similarly, many quotations in Gérard's treatises do not contain the same exact text as any extant version of the Bible. That said, no scholar, I wager, would make the case that Gérard is not really quoting Ovid or the Bible—for two main reasons. First, since the same medieval texts transmitted in different manuscripts tend to vary widely—and in light of the considerable body of scholarly work treating medieval memorial culture and oral transmission—we are more comfortable accepting a degree of *variance* in medieval quotations that modern quotational practice cannot abide. And second, medieval textual authority differs from modern, in that the verbatim replication of words does not seem to have been a relevant factor in its construction, which is why Bernard Cerquiligni writes that "dans l'authenticité généralisée de l'oeuvre médiévale, la philologie n'a vu qu'une

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[2] *De divino amore* §II.2.A., Wilmart p. 218

authenticité perdue."[3] The same modern point of view that considers quotation to be verbatim repetition underlies longstanding philological bias in favor of authentic, authoritative versions of a given text that do not exist in material reality. A given text is now seen as quoted only if it conforms strictly to the text of a recognized archetype; in the Middle Ages, however, texts were quoted from memory, often without attribution (or with a made-up one), in passing, and were often closer to collaboration (i.e. between "quoter" and quoted) than to erudite repetition.

In this chapter, I shall reconsider the category of the "refrain"—often thought of as an essentially repeated text (both within a single poem and in different poems)—as a form of quotation. [4] Gérard's unique practice of using refrains (which I will call "refraining" later on) reveals that the relatively stable generic category that scholars have created does not adequately account for the vibrant, living poetic tradition that Gérard participated in by deploying these versets of Old French in his treatises. Tying Gérard's poetic practice into current scholarly discourse about the role of French lyric in prose, I challenge the view that French poetry in *De divino amore* functions as "vernacular authority," and I ultimately contend that Gérard's refraining serves to bridge the sacred-profane divide by distilling theological material in an emotionally charged, eminently accessible and memorable way.

II. Quotation and Poetic Collaboration

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[3] Bernard Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante: histoire critique de la philologie* (Paris: Seuil, 1989), p. 58

[4] According to Compagnon, perhaps the first scholar to theorize the refrain as a form of quotation, "[L]e refrain [est un] cas particulier de répétition interdiscursive et de citation (une sorte d'autocitation), où le texte lui-même fait partie de son propre intertexte, étant l'un des discours avec lesquels il entre en relation ; la première occurrence du refrain l'assimile à l'interdiscursif, les suivantes le répètent dans le discours où il retentit. Mis à part le refrain, la *citation* est de toutes ces formes la plus simple : la répétition d'une unité de discours dans un autre discours ; elle apparaît comme la *relation interdiscursive primitive*." *La seconde main*, §II.2., "La forme simple de la répétition interdiscursive"

To begin, I would like to explore the notion of medieval poetic quotation as collaboration, as this will demonstrate in part why I claim that Gérard is an active participant in a living poetic tradition. Gérard's participation in that tradition is not merely a matter of diction or syntax, but of interpretation. Take, for example, the refrain, "Quant pluz me bat et destraint li jalous, / tant ai je pluz en amours ma pensée" ("The more the jealous one beats and imprisons me, / the more I have my thoughts on love").[5] This refrain, which we shall discuss again later in this chapter, is inscribed in a "courtly" poetic tradition that generally imagines romantic love in the context of an extramarital affair; here, in a refrain belonging to the *chansons de malmariée* category, the *jalous*—the lyric type of the jealous husband—like Jealousy in the *Romance of the Rose*, or like the lord of Caerwent in Marie de France's *Yonec*—physically traps and abuses the speaker, but he has no hold over her thoughts, which are elsewhere in love. She is the grammatical object ("me") of the verbs designing the jealous husband's violent acts ("bat et destraint"), but in the second verse, she asserts her spiritual freedom from his control with the pronoun "je," which, by virtue of its grammatical superfluity here in Old French, has an emphatic character. In two unrhymed decasyllabic verses that highlight stark contrasts (husband/wife, lover/husband, violence/love, body/mind), the refrain memorably condenses a very popular theme. Further confirmation of a reading according to which these verses establish the aforementioned well-known oppositions comes in the context of a *chanson* attributed to Moniot d'Arras, "Amours mi fait renvoisier et chanter" ("Love makes me rejoice and sing"). The refrain in question finds itself repeated at the end of each stanza:

> Nus ne me doit reprendre ne blasmer
> Se j'ai ami, car plevir vous pourroie

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[5] Nico H.J. van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains du XIIe siècle au début du XIVe* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1969), p. 231. The number van den Boogaard assigns to this refrain is 1555—future references to refrains in this book will be in the following format: (vdB 1555)

C'on ne porroit en mon mari trouver
Nule teche dont on amer le doie.
Il me gaite, maiz son tans pis emploie
Que cil qui veut sour gravele semer,
Quar il iert cous, ja n'iere si guardée.
Quant pluz me bat et destraint li jalous,
Tant ai je plus en amours ma pensée.[6]

None should upbraid or blame me / if I have a lover, for I could prove to you / that one could not find in my husband / any mark worthy of love. / He watches me, but employs his time worse / than one who wishes to sow upon stone, / for he shall be a cuckold, nor shall I ever be so kept. / *The more the jealous one beats and imprisons me, / the more I have my thoughts on love.*

In light of the context—the lady goes as far as to say that her husband *will be* a cuckold ("il *iert* <u>cous</u>")!—would it not be strange to take the second verse of the refrain as referring to the lady's love *for her jealous husband*, a sort of *Philosophie dans le boudoir avant la lettre*? Strange or not, the interpretation is not impossible, and we know this because it is the one Gérard of Liège adopts in his treatise *De divino amore*, where God is the jealous husband and the lover at once.

Gérard uses this refrain in his discussion of powerful love (*fortis amor*), which "seeks pain and hardship" (§II.2.B.). What precedes it is a quotation from Gregory's *Moralia in Job* (*Morals on the Book of Job*), which elucidates the desire to suffer for God expressed by Job and by David:

Sciebant enim [sancti] quod quanto amplius et gravius affliguntur pro Deo boni, et tanto ardentius Eum diligunt. Unde dicit Gregorius: "Electorum desideria deprimuntur adversitate ut crescant, sicut ignis flatu premitur ut crescat, et unde quasi extingui cernitur, inde amplius et verius inflammatur. Unde illud: *Quant plus me bat et destraint li jalous, tant ai je mius en amours ma pensée*. "Deus

[6] Nico H.J. van den Boogaard, "Les insertions en français dans un traité de Gérard de Liège," in *Marche Romane: Mélanges de Philologie et de Littératures Offerts à Jeanne Wathelet-Willem* (Liège: Cahiers de l'Association des Romanistes de l'Université de Liège, 1978), p. 688. Van den Boogaard supplies the incipit from the classic edition by Holger Petersen Dyggve, "Moniot d'Arras et Moniot de Paris," in *Mémoires de la Société néophilologique de Helsingfors* 13 (1938), p. 84. I cite here the fifth stanza from the same song, in Samuel N. Rosenberg, Margaret Switten, and Gérard le Vot, eds., *Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères: An Anthology of Poems and Melodies*. Garland Reference Library of the Humanities, 1740 (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998), p. 297.

enim," ut dixit Moyses, "est fortis zelotes," idest *jalous*. Unde dicit Gregorius: "Deus enim amorem suum fortius exigit, cum durius affligit."

[Blessed men] knew that the more completely and severely the good suffer for their God, the more ardently they love Him. Whence Gregory says, "The desires of the chosen are sown deep by adversity in order that they may grow, just as one blows on a fire to make it grow, and when it seems to be almost extinguished, then it more fully and truly burns." Whence this: *Quant plus me bat et destraint li jalous, tant ai je mius en amours ma pensée*. "For God," as Moses said, "is mighty[,] zealous"—that is, *jalous*. Whence Gregory says, "God thrusts His love out more powerfully the more harshly he strikes."[7]

On the surface, Gérard's meaning here could hardly be clearer: he substitutes the jealous cuckold for the heavenly bridegroom, glossing *jalous* with the well-known *zelotes* of Exodus 20:5. To demonstrate that love is strengthened by pain and suffering, Gérard brings not only biblical and patristic authorities, but also a seemingly misinterpreted couplet of vernacular poetry to bear— misinterpreted in the sense that the tradition of vernacular love poetry does not support Gérard's equation of the jealous husband and the lover, who always stand in agonistic contrast to each other. Gérard's interpretative innovation in this regard is truly unique, and it suggests that while there are "right" and "wrong" ways of interpreting biblical and patristic texts, vernacular poetry is more malleable and open to interpretation.

Understanding how this unusual reading is possible will give us a sense of how the malleability of vernacular poetry fits into Gérard's overall project. For modern readers, after all, it is difficult to understand how a refrain that is so easily recognizable as belonging to the *malmariée* tradition could have been read entirely out of that context by someone who lived in the approximate place and time of its composition. To this point, Nico van den Boogaard elaborates on the assessment of Peter Dronke: "P. Dronke a très bien observé que pour Gérard de Liège le sens véritable des chansons d'amour profanes est un sens 'divin,' ou bien que les

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[7] *De divino amore* §II.2.B. ¶ 1, Wilmart p. 219

chansons sont la parodie de la langue de l'amour divin. Mais je propose une interprétation différente de ce phénomène : Gérard de Liège cite des refrains profanes parce que pour lui ils appartiennent déjà au domaine 'devin' [sic]."[8] Van den Boogaard submits this hypothesis on the grounds that six of the eleven lyric insertions he identified were found in two-part motets; had Gérard heard these motets, he would have been able to understand the vernacular text without leaving the cloister.[9] In this light, perhaps Gérard did not know the profane sense of the lyric at all, for in the two-part motet van den Boogaard supplies for "Quant plus me bat et destraint li jalous," it is true that Gérard's interpretation seems significantly less strange:

> **Part 1:**
> Amis, vostre demorée
> Me feit d'amours à celée
> Sentir les dolours,
> Car vostres est toz
> Mes cuers, s'il tant voz agrée,
> Et sera tous jors ;
> Ne ja se ce n'est par voz
> N'en voel estre desevrée,
> Puis qu'a vos me sui donée.
> Et biax cuers douz,
> *Quant plus me bat et destraint li jalous,*
> *Tant ai ge miex en amor ma pensée.*

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[8] van den Boogaard, "Les insertions," p. 697.

[9] ibid., p. 696. Reasonably enough, van den Boogaard notes that the text of a two-part motet could be understood upon hearing, whereas the text of a three- or four-part motet would be almost impossible to understand unless one had that text at hand. There is, however, something unreasonable about the assumption that monks passed their days singing vernacular motets in the oratorium; liturgical practice was remarkably demanding, and there is very little evidence about motet performance in the Middle Ages beyond Johannes de Grocheio's prescription that motets not "be performed in the presence of ordinary people, for they will not pay heed to its subtleties nor be delighted by its sound, but should be [heard] in the presence of the educated and of those who seek out the subtleties of art. Thus it is to be sung at festive gatherings of the latter, whereas the song called *rotundellus* is meant for festivals of ordinary laymen." This quotation is drawn from Dolores Pesce, ed., *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 12. I also thank Susan Boynton for pointing in me in the direction of Christopher Page, "An English Motet of the 14th Century in Performance: Two Contemporary Images," *Early Music* 25, no. 1(1997) 7-32; Page explores the implications for performance of a motet's inclusion in the early-fourteenth-century Harnhulle and Howard psalters, and shows what tricky territory this is.

My love, your delay makes me feel the sufferings of love in secret, for my whole heart is yours, if only it pleases you, and shall be forever; nor, unless it is your doing, do I ever wish to be separated from you, because I have given myself to you. And, lovely, sweet heart, *The more the jealous one beats and imprisons me, the more I have my thoughts on love*.

Part 2:
PRO PATRIBUS[10]

In the isolated stanza we have above, no internal evidence points to an extramarital affair, which leaves opens the possibility that Gérard equates the *ami* with the *jalous* without interpreting it as one acquainted with other *chansons de malmariée* might. To some degree, this validates van den Boogaard's hypothesis, which nevertheless rests on several assumptions that I shall challenge going forward. In so doing, I hope to shed light on the meaning of secular lyric in a religious context, specifically by showing how Gérard's poetic practice of "refraining" must reshape understanding of the sacred-profane divide in his writing.

III. Toward a Definition of Refraining

At this stage, it would be useful to have working definitions of two terms we will use again and again in this chapter and in the following ones, namely "lyric" and "refrain." Let us first discuss the former term, which is frequently the object of historicist criticism most recently and clearly articulated by Virginia Jackson in *Dickinson's Misery: A Theory of Lyric Reading*.[11] Jackson essentially sees "lyric" not as a product of an individual author's practice of writing, but as a product of a certain practice of reading. Deconstructing the category of lyric, she resists temptations to create alternative lyric categories (e.g. "feminist or humanist intentional and

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[10] ibid., p. 689. *Pro patribus* refers to Psalms 44:17 in the Vulgate; throughout, I will use the numbering of the Psalms presented in the Vulgate.

[11] Virginia Jackson, *Dickinson's Misery: A Theory of Lyric Reading* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005)

impassioned lyricism"), focusing instead on "various lyric genres (songs, notes letters, lists, postscripts, elegies, jokes, ads, dead crickets, valentines, stamps, Poetess verse, printed paper cut-out birds) as alternatives to a singular idea of lyric, or to an idea of the lyric as singular."[12]

The vision of lyric's plurality that Jackson expresses here responds to several different critical tendencies. The first is a twentieth-century tendency to theorize lyric as a consistent genre, which Jackson follows Paul de Man and René Wellek in challenging.[13] Whereas de Man, for his part, argues that the lyric as a genre does not exist, going so far as to proclaim that "Generic terms such as 'lyric' (or its various subspecies, 'ode,' 'idyll,' or 'elegy') as well as pseudo-historical period terms such as 'romanticism' or 'classicism' are always terms of resistance and nostalgia, at the furthest remove from the materiality of actual history,"[14] Jackson prefers to argue that lyric *does* exist as a critical construct: "My point has been that we would only know that a poem intended (if poems could intend) to be a lyric once it has been critically rendered as such at various moments before the moment in which you encounter it."[15] The second tendency to which Jackson responds is an abusively universalizing, ironically uncritical one, which she sums up thus: "[F]or twentieth- and twenty-first-century literary critics, all poetic texts are lyrics." Surely, this remark is somewhat tongue-and-cheek, but we nevertheless find ourselves between a critical rock and a theoretical hard place; the category of "lyric" is, on the

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[12] ibid., p. 251

[13] Paul de Man, "Anthropomorphism and Trope in the Lyric," in *The Rhetoric of Romanticism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984) and René Wellek, *Discriminations: Further Concepts of Criticism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970)

[14] ibid., p. 256

[15] Jackson, *Dickinson's Misery*, p. 130

one hand, potentially useful critical construct for talking about various historically-grounded types of poems, and on the other hand, it is arrant, ahistorical nonsense.

In his comprehensive study of lyric poetry, *Theory of the Lyric*, Jonathan Culler makes a different case.[16] While Culler gives due consideration to every line of critical inquiry into the nature and function of lyric poetry, he takes as his own starting-point the observation that a lyric poem does not exist *only* to be interpreted. It also—and perhaps more fundamentally—exists to be used, memorized, or repeated in some way, and interpretation may or may not be a part of those processes. But it is important to note that for Culler, the use and iterability of lyric is not the defining characteristic of lyric any more than interpretability is. (Signatures, to take a famous Derridean example, are iterable, too.)[17] Acknowledging that lyric has meant different things in different times, he seeks neither to provide *the* definition (or even *a* definition) of lyric, nor even to proffer clear criteria for identifying lyric as such, but rather to establish a theoretical framework for thinking about the poetic tradition in which lyric participates through the centuries—a theoretical framework capacious enough to include all of the rich possibilities contained in lyric poetry. Culler's central question is therefore not, "What is lyric?" but "Why lyric?"

To be somewhat abusively reductive in the interest of brevity, the answer has to do with the lyric tradition and lyric engagement. Culler shows, as so many others have done in close readings of lyric, that lyric poems participate in rich traditions—a sonnet responds to the tradition of sonnet-writing, lyrics containing common themes (like *carpe diem*) respond to other

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[16] Jonathan Culler, *Theory of the Lyric* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015)

[17] Jacques Derrida, "Signature Event Context" in *Limited Inc* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1988)

lyrics on the same themes, lyrics about how much "depends / upon / a red wheel / barrow"

challenge lyric conventions of vatic pronouncement, rhythm, and form. From this point of view,

lyric is no mere construction: it is a practice that exists in relation to a broad, diachronic

tradition, independently of critical opinion. The second reason "why lyric" concerns engagement.

If lyric poetry has a diminished standing in modern curricula at all levels, it is because the ways

we have been taught to read lyric poems—as a dramatic monologue or the sincere utterance of an

effusive speaker, as a riddle or an object of interpretation—are too limiting. In focusing so

heavily on interpretation, for instance, we often pass over the formal and rhythmic effects that

make lyric so seductive and memorable; and in approaching lyrics essentially as first-person,

dramatic monologues, we fail to think about the parts of a lyric that do not fit that model—or

worse, we dismiss as "non-lyric" poems that cannot be made into some kind of dramatic

monologue. Why lyric? Because, as Culler contends, unless we posit its existence, we run the

risk of closing ourselves off to the joys of reading that a broader understanding of lyric in all its

diversity enables.

Responding to Culler's 2008 article, "Why Lyric?,"[18] and self-consciously echoing its

title, Ardis Butterfield asks "Why Medieval Lyric?"[19] As she endeavors to problematize the

identification of medieval lyric in manuscript, Butterfield ultimately takes the historicist position

that the lyric is often in the eye of the critic. In other words, the article specifically responds to

the question "What Is Medieval Lyric?" or "How Do We Recognize Medieval Lyric?" While

both of these questions are especially important to confront in manuscripts that often do not

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[18] Jonathan Culler, "Why Lyric?" *PMLA* 123, no. 1 (Jan. 2008), pp. 201-206

[19] Ardis Butterfield, "Why Medieval Lyric?" *English Literary History* 82, no. 2 (Summer 2015), pp. 319-343

present verse divisions in poetry, there is still some interest, in asking "Why Medieval Lyric?" I would submit two reasons. First, the term "lyric" is, etymologically speaking, close to song, and much of what we call lyric poetry in the Middle Ages was sung; "lyric" thus stands at a certain distance from "song" and may include unsung poetry, while nevertheless evoking music or musicality. Lyric thus provides us with a useful category for talking about short medieval poetry that has not been passed down with accompanying musical notation. Second, and I think most compellingly, medieval poetry before the rise of fixed forms in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries firmly resists clear formal definition. The same lyric may be called a *virelai* by one scribe, and a *rondet* by another; having a category that includes an array of difficult-to-classify, essentially non-narrative short verse will, I hope to show, help us to think about the function and tradition of certain lyric elements—first and foremost, the refrain.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Alfred Jeanroy and Joseph Bédier debated the origin of refrain, with the former seeing every refrain as a shadow of a lost song, and the latter arguing that refrains are essentially complete dance songs.[20] It was not until 1964, however, that scholars had access to a more-or-less comprehensive inventory of Old French refrain texts in Friedrich Gennrich's *Bibliographisches Verzeichnis der französischen Refrains*,[21] four years after which they had a reliable one in van den Boogaard's *Rondeaux et refrains du XIIe siècle au début du XIVe*. Van den Boogaard's work is now required reading for anyone working on refrains, but his untimely death left the world without the synthetic study of refrain

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[20] Alfred Jeanroy, *Les Origines de la poesie lyrique en France au Moyen Age*, 4th ed. (Paris: Champion, 1965); Joseph Bedier, "Les plus anciennes danses françaises," *Revue des deux mondes* 31 (1906), 398-424

[21] Friedrich Gennrich, *Bibliographisches Verzeichnis der französischen Refrains des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts*, Summa Musicae Medii Aevi Band 14 (Langen bei Frankfurt: [s.n.], 1964)

that he had announced in the preface of *Rondeaux et refrains*. Eglal Doss-Quinby therefore took up the scholarly torch in her first book, *Les Refrains chez les trouvères du XIIe siècle au début du XIVe,*[22] stating, "[L]e répertoire de van den Boogaard soulève autant de problèmes qu'il n'en a résolu [sic]. Le plus fondamental est d'avoir proposé un genre sans le définir […] sans établir explicitement les critères d'appartenance qui ont déterminé le choix des textes réunis."[23] While Doss-Quinby does provide numerous metrical, positional, and semantic criteria for identifying refrains, a precise definition of refrain is not advanced, and Doss-Quinby often expresses the idea that "La découverte de refrains est […] parfois un processus assez subjectif."[24] One is tempted to ask "why refrain?" for much the same reasons as Culler prefers to ask "why lyric?," and the answer is similar: thinking about refrains as an independent corpus, notwithstanding the vagueness of its contours, may provide us with a more capacious understanding of this poetic practice.[25]

Certainly, though, there are cases in which we can all agree we are looking at a refrain, and at least in some of these cases, definitional criteria are unproblematic in a way they are

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[22] Eglal Doss-Quinby, *Les Refrains chez les trouvères du XIIe siècle au début du XIVe siècle* (New York: Peter Lang, 1984)

[23] ibid., p. 1

[24] ibid., p. 130

[25] The next major book on the subject of refrain is Jennifer Saltzstein's *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular in Medieval French Music and Poetry* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer: 2013). Saltzstein seeks "an intellectual framework for the practice of refrain usage that has largely been overlooked, namely, the conception of *auctoritas* in medieval writing" (p. 23), and she also problematizes the separate categorization of multiple, very similar refrains. Rather than focusing on poetic practice as this chapter does, however, Saltzstein focuses on intertextuality, looking at how "intertextual refrains" (refrains found in multiple textual settings) may be understood as creating poetic communities through dialogue. Many of Gérard's refrains are intertextual, but his use of them speaks to something beyond poetic dialogue or quotation in the sense of quoting whole verses from a poem one knows or has read, and, as I hope to show, his particular practice of "refraining" challenges the notion that refrains serve as vernacular authorities.

decidedly not when it comes to lyric. Doss-Quinby meticulously demonstrates that refrains are most recognizable when repeated at the ends of stanzas within a lyric, when they appear in multiple (lyric and sometimes non-lyric) contexts, and when melodic or metrical ruptures set them apart from their context, calling attention to the etymological significance of the word "refrain."[26] Further identifying criteria are found in manuscripts, where a majuscule sometimes signals the beginning of a refrain. But in the course of her study, Doss-Quinby shows that these clear-cut cases are not necessarily the norm, and that refrain is harder to identify with certitude the more contextually (semantically, metrically, and even musically) integrated it is. An added complication is that the word *refrai* (or a variant thereof) is seldom used in the earliest texts; rather, the texts themselves often refer to refrains "par toute une série de termes: *canchon, rondet, canchon ou rondet à carole, motet ou mot, conduit, sonet*, mais […] ces termes semblent interchangeables et peut-être arbitraires, n'étant pas utilisés dans les contextes des insertions de façon suivie ou exclusive."[27] We might therefore conclude that medieval writers thought of refrain as being a more musical than a textual practice, and it is true that explicit theoretical discussions of refrain exist not in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century *artes poeticae*,[28] but rather, as Doss-Quinby shows, in musical treatises, among which *De musica mensurabili positio* by John of Garland and moreover *De musica* Jean of Grouchy (Johannes de Grocheio).

The case of Grocheio is particularly interesting for our purposes, because he equates *refractus* with *responsorium*, a word referring (perhaps among other things) to the liturgical

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[26] Refrain (Old French variants *refrai*, *refrait*, etc.) comes from the past participle *refractus* of the verb *refringere* ("to break").

[27] Doss Quinby, *Les Refrains*, p. 161

[28] Edmond Faral, *Les Arts poétiques du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1924)

practice of responding in chorus to verses of a chant (a psalm, for example): "Nos autem solum illam rotundam vel rotundellum dicimus, cuius partes non habent diversum cantum a cantu responsorii vel refractus" ("We, however, call a round or rondelle only that whose parts do not have a different melody from the melody of the response or refrain").[29] These two elements—response and chorus—reveal themselves to be especially pertinent to the study of refrain, though they are the least accessible to us, inasmuch as we cannot know exactly how often refrains functioned in a call-and-choral-response dynamic. Still, we have abundant textual evidence that points to the presence of that dynamic when refrain is cited in narrative context: "Dans *la Court de Paradis,* les Saints chantent les refrains 'tuit communalement' [;] les refrains sont aussi chantés en choeur ou répondus dans *Renart*[.] dans *Le Tournoi de Chauvency*, plusieurs danseurs 'chantent avant', chacun à leur [sic] tour, et les caroleurs 'trestuit à une voiz' leur répondent[.] De même, dans *Le Roman de la Violette,* le refrain 'Ensi va qui bien aimme, ensi va' est répondu à l'unisson [;] dans *Ovide,* les dames chantent les refrains 'communement'[.]"[30] While this says nothing of how refrains were performed in what is generally considered to be their native context—lyric poetry—it does help us to get away from the idea of refrain as a clearly defined, textual or musical entity by drawing our attention to the *lyric practice* of what I will call "refraining."[31]

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[29] Translation mine; Latin text taken from Doss-Quinby, *Les Refrains*, p. 64.

[30] ibid., p. 171

[31] This felicitous use of the verb "to refrain" belongs to Eleanor Johnson, who has very generously shared her article "Reddere and Refrain: A Meditation on Poetic Procedure in *Piers Plowman"* (originally titled "Refraining in *Piers Plowman*) with me ahead of its publication in *YLS*. For Professor Johnson, the verb pertains to a practice of reading, which she masterfully demonstrates in examining how the "*reddere* refrains" echo throughout *Piers Plowman*. I, however, use the verb to point to a practice of lyric composition.

Whereas the concept of "refraining" aims to describe textual compositions in their *mouvance* or *variance*, scholars have thus far made the critical choice, following the lead of a few formidable voices in the field, to continue to think of Old French refrain texts in terms of their unity. This thought is implicit in the efforts of categorization that van den Boogaard and Doss Quinby engaged in; to cite a number in van den Boogaard's catalogue is essentially to refer to an urtext—to an archetypal version of a given set of similar, short texts. Yet modern scholarship has generally moved away from such Lachmannian thinking, while still taking the existence of archetypal refrains for granted. Drawing on Culler's idea of preserving the category of lyric poetry in order to provide a framework for thinking about how lyric poems are used and relate to their common tradition, I propose refraining as a new way of thinking about how refrain texts fit into medieval textual practices.

Recentering critical focus on the practice of "refraining" seems all the more reasonable that Doss-Quinby and van den Boogaard alike note the tight thematic coherence of the refrain corpus, and that this coherence underlies many refrains that differ from each other in very small ways. Consider briefly the "refrain à évolution," to which changes are made within certain types of lyric that exhibit narrative elements,[32] such as the *chanson de toile*, or even the modified refrains of *La Court du Paradis*, in which the refrain "Tote la joie que j'ai / me vient de vos" (vdB 1788) becomes "Vrais Diex, la joie que j'ai / me vient de vos."[33] In the "evolved" forms of the refrain, or in the "redeemed" refrain of *La Court du Paradis*, can we even speak of a refrain? How can these things be considered refrains, if their specific text fits almost none of the

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[32] Pierre Jonin, "Le Refrain dans les chansons de toile," *Romania* 96, no. 382 (1975), pp. 209-244

[33] Doss-Quinby, *Les Refrains*, p. 153, n. 13

generally accepted formal or philological criteria? The answer is practice—what we have is not exactly "a refrain," but the practice of refraining.[34] Doss-Quinby acknowledges this in part this when she writes, "[L]es diverses modalités du refrain et la contingence de chacune des versions détruisent toute notion d'unicité : 'le' refrain 387 n'existe que différemment de lui-même, c'est-à-dire qu'il n'existe que de façon plurielle, n'étant jamais figé ou achevé une fois pour toutes."[35] A perfect example of this comes in the dedication of her book to a certain David, for whom she writes, "cui lairai ge mes amors, / douz amis, s'a vous non ?" Whether this is an oversight, or a deep insight for a happy few, or just an inside joke, Doss-Quinby creates here a "refrain" that does not exist in this form in any manuscript, and thus points to refrain's insubstantiality;[36] that is to say—to turn this into a sort of refrain by repeating it—, Doss-Quinby reveals the *practice of refraining*, not the substance of refrain. Like so many medieval writers, she likely constructs this short lyric using memory of words and rhythm, and a whole host of typical elements (e.g. the form "cui… s'a vos non"), synonyms or parasynonyms (*lairai* instead of *donrai*; *amors* instead of *amouretes*) and common addresses ("Mere Dieu," "amie," "douz amis," etc.). It is this same practice of refraining that Gérard puts on display in *De divino amore*.

IV. Refraining in *De divino amore*

To summarize our discussion thus far: van den Boogaard hypothesizes that Gérard only knew the "divine"—not the profane—meaning of lyric poetry because he encountered it in the

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[34] My view also has the advantage of engaging with the thought of Robert Guillette in *D'une poésie formelle en France au Moyen-Age* (Paris: A.-G. Nizet, 1972). My ideas about refraining fit very well with Guillette's conclusion that medieval audiences had an especially well-developed sense of the formal mechanisms of lyric poetry.

[35] ibid., p. 210.

[36] ibid., p. 203. The chart on this page displays the twelve attested versions of vdB 387; all of the texts containing the "Douz amis" variant also contain the verb "donrai." I am not arguing for differences in meaning,

context of two-voice motets, sung *in claustro,* in which any profane meaning would have been overcome by a religious one imposed by the Biblical tenor. Our first step toward evaluating this claim has been to think about the genre of lyric, emphasizing the individual lyric's participation in a lyric tradition, and, for our purposes, in a broader medieval textual tradition characterized by the mixing of types and registers. From there, we have re-evaluated the generic category of "refrain," and have made a case for recentering critical focus on the practice of refraining.

The material under consideration in this chapter calls for this new critical framework because Gérard's *De divino amore* is unique among the works cited by van den Boogaard or Doss-Quinby in its non-literariness. Nearly all extant works in Old French containing refrain texts (lyric interpolated romance), some of which are mentioned above (*La Court du Paradis, Guillaume de Dole*, etc.), are either narratives or didactic poetic texts, whereas Gérard's text is not.[37] This makes *De divino amore* a precious window into medieval reception of lyric, for Gérard refrains (sic) not as a poet, but as a monk steeped in vernacular culture, preaching to (or writing for) other male—and perhaps female—religious.

Building upon our discussion of how and to what ends Gérard refrains, it is worth noting that refraining—which Gérard does in French, not in Latin—is largely a peculiarity of Old French poetic practice. Doss-Quinby remarks at the very beginning of her study that refraining appears in "la plus ancienne chanson française qui nous soit parvenue, la chanson de croisade 'Chevalier mult estes garis' qui date de 1147-48,"[38] and then in nearly a third of all French lyric

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[37] Notable exceptions in the field of didactic poetry include the (French translation of) Ovid's *Ars amatoria*, which Saltzstein treats in chapter two of *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular*, and the late-thirteenth-century *Ludus super Anticlaudianum* of Adam de la Bassée. Saltzstein erroneously identifies Gérard's *Quinque incitamenta* (i.e. *De divino amore*) as a "didactic poem" (p. 43 n. 34), and further claims that "the refrains that appear in these texts […] lack concordances in other works." Van den Boogaard shows this to be factually incorrect.

[38] Doss-Quinby, *Les Refrains*, p. 3.

until 1350; by contrast, between three and eight percent of Old Occitan lyrics feature refraining, according to István Frank.[39] Although it would be impossible to find ourselves on firm footing if we were trying to determine why refraining appears to have been particularly fashionable in Old French lyric, we may be able to draw some general conclusions about the practice's "pull" by briefly considering two of its major characteristics—that is, rupture and registral coherence.

First, as a quotational or repetitive practice, refraining either does not last long for the eye (just a few verses at the end of a longer stanza), or it lasts perhaps longer for the ear than the text in which it is interpolated—in a narrative setting like that of *Guillaume de Dole*, refraining accompanied by music would in all likelihood play out at a slower pace than an unsung narrative. Whether it happens quickly or slowly, however, the practice lends itself well to memory in its syntactic or rhythmic coherence (or a combination of the two), as well as by virtue of its breaking from its context.[40] In *chansons avec des refrains*, when the melody of the refrains is distinct from that of the rest of a given stanza, the effect of rupture would be even more powerfully felt, and likely more memorable for that reason. Second, refraining seems to occur almost exclusively when amorous desire is at issue, and it overwhelmingly belongs, within and

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[39] István Frank, *Répertoire métrique de la poésie des troubadours* (Paris: Champion, 1953), p. 58, cited in Doss-Quinby, *Les Refrains*, p. 3, n. 4.

[40] As explored above, it is often impossible to identify "refrains" as such—especially when the so-called refrain does not break away from its context, as is the case in many motets (see Doss-Quinby, *Les Refrains*, pp. 127-128). In many motets, it would be difficult to speak of a "practice of refraining" as I am trying to do because the composers of motets frequently disguise "refrained" text as an integral part of a whole. The practice of refraining is deprived of its characteristic breaking away. Since Doss-Quinby ultimately admits the existence of refrain as a thing, she deals with such cases of integration by claiming that Paul Zumthor, Pierre Bec, and Michel Zink exaggerate in claiming that "la fonction principale des refrains cités ou répétés est de produire des effets de rupture, des effets de contraste, d'ordre prosodique, rythmique, mélodique, registral et 'stylistique' (lexical et syntaxique)" (pp. 250-251). To this point, she cites unpublished correspondence with Zumthor: "Zumthor admet par ailleurs avoir un peu trop insisté dans ses publicatons sur ce côté 'rupture' [correspondance du 16 décembre 1979]" (p. 251). In my view, Zumthor et al. are justified in insisting upon the "rupture aspect" of refraining.

without strictly lyric context, to what Paul Zumthor calls the registers of *la requête d'amour* and *la bonne vie* in his seminal *Essai de poétique médiévale*.[41] The practice of refraining therefore draws upon familiar linguistic elements—according to register—that are all the more easily combinable for being made memorable by the form the "refrained" text takes. In other words, since the linguistic and thematic material involved in refraining is known and available to all— unlike certain authorities Gérard may cite—it has the unique virtue of being able to distill a complex idea into something eminently understandable, or even to serve as a slight respite from the rigors of Latin—a respite that nevertheless seizes the attention of the reader or audience on account of its difference, and perhaps invites deeper reflection on the theological point being made.

In the context of Gérard's treatise *De divino amore*, the "point being made" is not indifferent to the practice of refraining. Refraining is the mode of delivery—but for what, exactly, and why? It is notable, for example, that Gérard should abstain from refraining in his first treatise, *Septem remedia contra amorem illicitum*. Would it not be possible to refrain while decrying the ills caused by profane love by using, to choose an example totally at random from van den Boogaard's repertory, the following verses: "Et por ce croi savoir certeinement / que l'ai servi pour noiant" (vdB 719)? The language of love cuts both ways, especially in a lyric tradition in which expressions of love and blame often go hand in hand, so why does Gérard reserve it only for his treatise on divine love?

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[41] Paul Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médiévale*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2000), p. 301, but more generally ch. 5 and esp. ch. 6. For Zumthor, the concept of "register" replaces that of "genre," and involves taking certain thematic, formal, and linguistic elements (such as the amorous request, the use of diminutives ending in -et(e), the use of certain adjectives like *joli*, the idea of lightness and grace, etc.) that serve as something like readymade elements of poetic composition.

IV.1. Refraining and Violent Love

In order to answer that question, we shall consider, as a case study, Gérard's refraining as it pertains specifically to the question of "violent love," raised at the start of this chapter with vdB 1555.

Since violent love seems, at first blush, to be a subtype of love, let us first try to determine the meaning of love as it presents itself in *De divino amore*. In the most basic sense, love is a feeling that yokes humans to each other and to God. But more concretely, love is a word so closely associated with the idea of union or unity, and so semantically overdetermined, that only one word in English, "love," is readily understood as containing all of love's meaning. English parasynonyms like adoration, affection, or charity, are narrower, semantically speaking, than love. Contrary to what scholars sometimes suggest by distinguishing charity, for example, from love, in Gérard's treatises, and even in the works of other Latin writers, several words—*caritas*, *amor*, *dilectio*, and sometimes *amicitia*—correspond to the concept of "love," existing in the space between synonym and parasynonym.

The problem of drawing conceptual distinctions among the various Latin words for "love" is in full view in *De divino amore*. Gérard alludes to this difficulty when he writes,

> Cum igitur in promptu habeamus querere et investigare in sacra scriptura aliqua que nos incitare et inflammare possunt et merito debent ad amandum Deum […] querendum nobis est quid sit *amor sive dilectio*, et que sit eius diffinitio.

> Since we have our sights on seeking and discovering, in the sacred Scripture, whatever can, and rightly must, inflame and urge us to love God […] we must first ask what love is, and what its definition is.[42]

Here, we are in the territory of untranslatables: Gérard begins the most substantial part of his treatise with an ultimately aborted attempt to arrive at the definition of *amor sive dilectio*, two

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[42] *De divino amore* §I. ¶ 1, Wilmart p. 209

words meaning "love," connected by the word *sive* ("or") indicating their interchangeability—a pleonastic construction reinforced by the singular "its" (*eius*), which refers to both terms without making room for semantic distinction, as the plural "their" (*eorum*) might. In English, *amor sive dilectio* can only be "love," and the lack of English equivalent for this apparent synonymic reduplication obscures the fact that in Latin, it is one example among many of Gérard's reduction of various words for love—each charged with potentially different connotations and denotations—to one term. Further examples of this are found in Gérard's French commentary upon or translation of Latin text; for instance, improvising upon the language of 1 Corinthians:2-3, "Et si etiam in tantum prodigus essem ut corpus meum traderem ad comburendum, caritatem autem non habeam[, nichil sum]" ("And even if I were so strong that I could deliver my body to be burned, and have not charity [...] I am nothing"),[43] Gérard glosses, "id est, *se je n'aime par amours*," taking for granted the synonymy of "amour" in French and "charity" (*caritas*) in the Biblical Latin text. Whatever distinctions may exist in individual Latin authorities Gérard quotes, Gérard's quotation of many different authorities, taken together with his all-encompassing use of the word *amour* in French, does less to define love precisely than it does to bolster Gérard's own authority. He who knows what Augustine, Bernard, Gregory, the Elucidarium, and the Bible say about love must himself know what love is, even if no actual definition is advanced.

Viewed from another perspective, although the authoritative pronouncements on love in *De divino amore* §I. are many, one in particular stands out by virtue of content as well as of its position at the end of the section:

> Si autem violentiam requirit amor noster, *c'est c'on li face force*, nullus maiorem violentiam pro eo faciet quam ipse. Petit enim eum quasi gladio evaginato. Aut enim eum amabis aut eterna morte morieris. Unde David: "Nisi conversi fueritis," ab amore mundi scilicet ad amorem Dei, "gladium suum vibrabit." Unde hic

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[43] ibid., §II.4.C., Wilmart p. 232

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potest dici quoddam carmen quod vulgo canitur: *Tout à force, maugré vostre, vorrai vostre amour avoir.*

If, however, our love asks for violence, *c'est c'on li face force*, [that is, that one should do violence to it] no one will do greater violence on its behalf than He. For He seeks it as if with an unsheathed sword. For you shall either love Him, or die an eternal death. Whence David, 'Except you will be converted,' from earthly love, that is, to the love of God, 'He will brandish his sword.' And here, a certain song that is commonly [*vulgo*] sung may be recited: *tout à force, maugré vostre, vorrai vostre amour avoir.* [By force of strength, in spite of you, I will have your love.][44]

However indirect, this is the first mention in Gérard's treatise of what may be called "violent charity" or "violent love." Applying the militant text of Psalms 7:13 to the conversion from the cult of earthly love to the worship of God,[45] Gérard compares God first to a warrior who is ready to fight for our love, and then to a warrior who is ready to take what rightfully belongs to him. Undertones of sexual violence, especially in the quoted lyric refrain, serve to sharpen the paradox, borrowed from Augustine's *Confessions*, that closes this part of the treatise: "O God, what am I to you, that you should command that you be loved by me, and, if I do not do this, be angry with me and threaten me with monstrous sufferings?"[46] Gérard's attempt at a definition of love thus ends in a paradox; in one sense, this is utterly typical of medieval literature—think of Reason's definitions of love in the *Roman de la rose,* or even of vdB 719, quoted above—but the

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[44] ibid., §I. ¶ 4, Wilmart pp. 210-211; vdB 1784. My examination of the manuscript shows that the correct reading is "vorrai" rather than "vorsai" (which Wilmart and van den Boogaard have). I discuss the future form "vorrai" in a note to the translation.

[45] Psalms 7:13 "Except you will be converted, He will brandish His sword ("Nisi conversi fueritis, gladium suum vibrabit")

[46] *De divino amore* §I. ¶ 4, Wilmart p. 211

formulation of the paradox of violent love, refraining to form a bridge between sacred and profane conceptions of love, is unique to Gérard.[47]

IV.2. Refraining and Violent Love: What is Violent Love?

In this section, by tracing the genealogy of the concept of violent love and explaining how Gérard adopts it, I will show that Gérard refrains to communicate the depth of this theological construct to his audience. Gérard's mention of violent love in the passage quoted above is inscribed in a major current of religious thought on the subject of love that begins, for the most part, with the writings of Richard of St.-Victor in his late-twelfth-century treatise *De quatuor gradibus violentae caritatis* (*On the Four Degrees of Violent Love*). Andrew B. Kraebel, the treatise's English translator and editor, states that this title is a challenge for translators because "violent love" suggests rape or abuse, and he supplies "vehement" and "passionate" as possible alternatives.[48] While it is true that the adjective *violentus, -a, -um* in Latin has various shades of meaning—as does the adjective "violent" in English—in Richard's treatise, those pertaining to physical violence, punishment, and suffering are in play from the very beginning, and it is important not to discount them. When it comes to violent love, the violence is not understood in purely metaphysical terms; it has a real, physical impact regardless of the sacredness or profanity of its object, and for our purposes, this is significant because Gérard

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[47] One might object here that this also happens in *La Court de Paradis*, but I would argue that the comparison, while revelatory of the practice of refraining, is not deployed for the purpose of bridging the sacred-profane divide on the level of theology. See Eva Vilamo-Pentti, *La court de Paradis : poème anonyme du XIIIe siècle* (Helsinki: Suomalainen tiedeaktemia, 1953)

[48] Andrew Kraebel, trans., "Richard of Saint-Victor: *On the Four Degrees of Violent Love*" in *On Love: A Selection of Works Hugh, Adam, Achard, Richard, and Godfrey of St Victor*, ed. Hugh Feiss, OSB (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011) p. 263 n. 2. Furthermore, the title of the treatise, according to Gervais Dumeige, *Épître à Séverin sur la Charité et Les Quatre degrés de la violente charité* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1955), p. 101, only came to include the term *violenta caritas* in the fifteenth century.

appears to go one step further than Richard by adding the sexual violence of lyric poetry to the semantic mix.[49]

While qualifying *caritas* as *violenta*, as Richard does in the body of his treatise,[50] appears to have been a usage unique to him, it may come as a surprise to modern readers that he takes its meaning for granted while enumerating its various degrees. This is doubtless due to its uncontroversial doctrinal status, which Richard highlights by discussing how "wickedly free" (*male liber*) and "wickedly strong" (*male fortis*) Adam broke the chains of God's love in sinning against him:

> Sed qui sunt isti funiculi Adam primi parentis nostri, nisi munera Dei? Que, inquam, sunt ista caritatis vincula nisi Dei beneficia, bona nature, gratie et glorie? [...] Et scimus quia "funiculus triplex difficile rumpitur." Et tamen ruptus, "a seculo enim confregit jugum, rupit vincula." [...] O quam male fortis est quem tot caritatis vincula tenere non possunt! O quam male liber est quem hujus captivitatis jura non involvunt!

> But what are these cords of Adam, our first father, if not the gifts of God? What, I ask, are these chains of love if not the benefits of God, blessings of nature, grace, and glory? [...] And we know that the "triple cord is difficult to break," and yet it has been broken, "for from all eternity man has shattered his yoke, he has broken

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[49] Gérard's development aside, in Kraebel's view, what would have been truly jarring for Latin readers is Richard's use of the word *caritas* (rather than *amor*) to describe love at once sacred and profane. Yet Kraebel's hypothesis implies that theoretical distinctions among words for love in Latin were consistently observed in Richard's time, which they were not. Even a writer as early as Augustine—who did, in fact, attempt to distinguish various words for "love" from one another—did not observe them in general practice. (See John W. Rettig, trans., *The Fathers of the Church: Saint Augustine, Tractates on the Gospel of John 112-24; Tractates on the First Epistle of John* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1995), p. 116, esp. n. 64.) I would therefore argue that there is nothing especially jarring about the title of Richard's treatise, or even about the concept of violent love itself, which has clear textual foundations in the Bible, and may also be understood as deeply rooted in stories of martyrdom and asceticism. Furthermore, inasmuch as Richard's treatise fits into broader trends of twelfth-century mystical and spiritual "ladder literature" (e.g. Bernard's *De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae*), his project does not represent a notable departure with contemporary writing.

[50] The syntagm appears for the first time as an exclamation, toward the beginning of the text: "O vehementia dilectionis, o violentia caritatis!" (Dumeige, p. 128-129). Dumeige also notes (p.128 (a)) that this usage is unique to Richard, and explains that the title as we know it first appeared in the fifteenth century, when it was taken up by the publisher of the first complete edition of Richard's works (p. 101).

the chains." […] Oh, how wickedly strong is he whom such great chains of love cannot hold! Oh, how wickedly free is he whom the laws of this captivity do not cover![51]

It goes without saying that the sin that caused the first breaking of the "triple cord" of God's love resulted in physical suffering and death, and in this sense, the sin of Adam makes violence a necessary part of restoring the bond of pre-lapsarian love. Marius Taloş, in "How Can Love Be Violent? Reflections on Richard of St.-Victor's *On the Four Degrees of Violent Love*" expands upon this, describing violence as "an inherent consequence of infinite charity."[52] But it is more than that. It is not only an inherent consequence of divine love, but also a prerequisite for experiencing it; and it is not only a prerequisite for experiencing divine love, but also an integral part of any experience of love, whether its object be sacred or profane. Violent love therefore bridges the sacred-profane dichotomy, and this is what distinguishes it from other possible attributes of love, such as perfection, wisdom, and sweetness, which do not generally apply to human love (especially of the fornicatory sort). What is furthermore evident in Richard's treatise is the physicality, the embodied experience that defines violent love: directed toward God, violent love is experienced as rapture, and directed toward other human beings, it becomes increasingly deleterious in its physical effects.

Although the concept of violent love comes into play meaningfully in Gérard's *De divino amore*, Gérard is not exactly writing in the Victorine tradition. For example, he remains close to Bernardian thought regarding the ultimate spiritual union, stating, in contrast to Richard's innovative view, that although love may be confirmed by the "kiss of the mouth," it "cannot be

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[51] Kraebel, p. 276; Dumeige, pp. 128-131

[52] Marius Taloş, "How Can Love Be Violent? Reflections on Richard of St.-Victor's On the Four Degrees of Violent Love" in *AGATHOS International Review* 3, no. 1 (2012), p. 61

consummated by the deed, except in the glory of the blessed" (*De divino amore* §III.5.). Despite

such salient differences as this, Gérard does quote Richard in some depth in his treatise, most

notably in §II.2.C., where he refers to Richard by name,[53] and in §II.3., where Gérard takes his

four facets of sweet love (invincibility, inseparability, singularity, and insatiability) directly from

Richard's *De quatuor gradibus*. Yet even Gérard's explanations of these facets of what he calls

sweet love (*amor dulcis*), which Richard includes in a broader discussion of "the four degrees of

violence in fiery love,"[54] differ significantly from those that Richard provides. For instance,

whereas Richard describes invincible love (*amor insuperabilis*) as love that does not yield to any

other emotion, Gérard provides an external perspective with the example of Saint Agnes of

Rome, whose love for God could not be conquered by anyone—"either by present gifts or future

promises—not by forebodings, not by afflictions, and not by imminent beatings."[55] A testimony

to the pervasiveness of violent love in Gérard's work, his use of Agnes' story to limn insuperable

love is remarkable for what it leaves unsaid; the (pseudo-)Ambrosian text from which Gérard

quotes is rife with details of violence—sexual and otherwise—perpetrated against a twelve-year-

old girl who refuses a powerful, desperate suitor because she considers herself to be married to

Christ.[56] In this case, at least, the violence of earthly love—left out of Gérard's retelling, yet

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[53] There is perhaps a certain intimacy or veneration in the way Gérard refers to Richard as he does to Augustine or to Gregory—that is, without the qualification of a word like "magister" (see §II.1.A. "Master John Halgren of Abbéville" and "master Rigaus" in *Septem remedia* §I.1.)

[54] "in ardenti dilectione quatuor violentie gradus." Kraebel, pp. 281-282 and Dumeige, pp. 142-145.

[55] "nec donis presentibus, nec promissionibus futuris, nec minis futuris, nec in afflictionibus nec verberibus instantibus ab aliquo superari poterat." *De divino amore* §II.3.A. ¶ 1, Wilmart p. 222

[56] Although Karen Winstead in *Virgin Martyrs: Legends of Sainthood in Late Medieval England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997) states (p. 26) that this text is not of Ambrose, she does not provide a source for this assertion, which is discussed in some detail in a nineteenth-century translation and commentary, *The Life of Saint Agnes of Rome* (Philadelphia: Peter F. Cunningham, 1856) pp. 61-63 (URL: https://archive.org/details/lifeofstagnesofr00phil)

somehow present by virtue of the tale's being so well known—is textually conquered, so to speak, by Agnes' unyielding, invincible love of God.

As any reader of Gérard's treatises will observe, Gérard is drawn to striking examples and stark contrasts, and he often evokes violence (as the example of Agnes shows) that permits him first to compare and contrast divine and carnal love, and second, to coax people away from the latter, and toward the former. Thus, if lyric refraining is the mode or form Gérard employs to bridge the sacred-profane divide, violent love may be seen, in several cases, as the content. Understanding how refraining communicates that content, or how the content functions within the practice of refraining, will require us to look at this practice in more detail.

IV.3. Refraining and Violent Love: Refraining as Thoughtwriting and Devotional Practice

As it pertains to violent love, Barbara Newman sees Gérard's peculiar poetic practice as endeavoring to compete with a secular language of love that leads the soul away from God. In Newman's view, Gérard's equation of *amor* and *caritas* is a self-conscious trick,[57] and in passages like the one containing vdB 1784, quoted above on page 204, he makes violence "sexy:"[58] "To be raped (or in more polite language, "ravished") by God at swordpoint is the height of bliss."[59] This approach to reading Gérard's refraining may highlight the way in which poetic language can be seductive, but Gérard is doing more than seducing. Note how he introduces vdB 1784: "'Except you will be converted,' from earthly love, that is, to the love of

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[57] To be clear, while it is true that all words for love fall under *amor* for Gérard, the equation of *amor* and *caritas* is not Gérard's innovation, and many medieval Latin writers use various words for love interchangeably. I therefore do not see this as a self-conscious trick, but as an implicit argument for the unity of love.

[58] Barbara Newman, *God and the Goddesses: Vision, Poetry, and Belief in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), p. 155

[59] ibid.

God, 'He will brandish his sword.' **And here, a certain song that is commonly sung may be recited**: *tout à force, maugré vostre, vorrai vostre amour avoir*."[60] Setting aside the broader point about the paradox of love's violence that he goes on to make through Augustine (also above), and which vdB 1784 serves to preface and intensify, Gérard appears to present these verses as "thoughtwriting."[61] And for Gérard's didactic purposes, this is an effective mnemonic tool: two heptasyllabic verses contain the semantic potential of two longer, authoritative quotations. Unusual though this may seem, it is firmly rooted in the practice of monastic theologians—doubtless tied to a rigorous schedule of daily liturgical performance—of sewing snippets of biblical texts (especially psalms) together, essentially using them as thoughtwriting. In refraining, Gérard gives the audience words and ideas to repeat and to make their own, and in this way, he transforms refraining into devotional practice. These words then become a means of understanding how the same violent love can have divergent ends—misery and sin, or union with God.

V. Refraining Across the Divide: Secular Lyric as Authority in Sacred Context

Let us now return to the example we discussed at the beginning of this chapter, supplying a bit more context from §II.2.B., where Gérard considers how "powerful love" (*fortis amor*) seeks pain and hardship:

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[60] "'Nisi conversi fueritis,' ab amore mundi scilicet ad amorem Dei, 'gladium suum vibrabit.' Unde hic potest dici quoddam carmen quod vulgo canitur: *Tout à force, maugré vostre, vorrai vostre amour avoir.*"

[61] This is one function of lyric that Culler explores in *Theory of the Lyric*, p. 119. In short, thoughtwriting is the poet's production of thoughts and language for others' use. I find this particularly compelling because it points to the ways in which people often use or modify lyric language to present their thoughts on a given situation. The lyric becomes a kind of conceptual framework through which to reflect on that situation. The term "thoughtwriting," modeled on "speechwriting," is taken from Kendall Walton's "Thoughtwriting—in Poetry and Music," *New Literary History* 42 (2011): 462-466.

Sed quare appetebant hec isti sancti? Sciebant enim quod quanto amplius et gravius affliguntur pro Deo boni, et tanto ardentius Eum diligunt. Unde dicit Gregorius: "Electorum desideria deprimuntur adversitate ut crescant, sicut ignis flatu premitur ut crescat, et unde quasi extingui cernitur, inde amplius et verius inflammatur." Unde illud: *Quant plus me bat et destraint li jalous, tant ai je mius en amours ma pensée*. "Deus enim," ut dixit Moyses, "est fortis[,] zelotes," idest *jalous*. Unde dicit Gregorius: "Deus enim amorem suum fortius exigit, cum durius affligit."

Why did these blessed men [Job, David] seek these [sufferings]? Because they knew that the more completely and severely they suffer for their good God, the more ardently they love Him. Whence Gregory says, "The desires of the chosen are sown deep by adversity in order that they may grow, just as one blows on a fire to make it grow; and when it seems to be almost extinguished, then it more fully and truly burns." Whence this: *Quant plus me bat et destraint li jalous, tant ai je mius en amours ma pensée*. "For God," as Moses said, "is mighty[,] jealous"—that is, *jalous*. Whence Gregory says, "For God thrusts His love out more powerfully, the more harshly he strikes."[62]

Gérard does not preface vdB 1555 by referring specifically to song in the way he does with vdB 1784 above, but he does present it as he usually presents quotations, with "whence this." For this reason, it goes without saying for Newman and other scholars that these vernacular verses count as authorities. [63] But their function within the text reveals something else. Whereas the quotations of Gregory (perhaps Gérard's favorite authority) advance Gérard's argument by explaining why David and Job ask God to heap mischiefs upon them, vdB 1555 has a different purpose. Consistent with the practice of refraining as we understand it, it breaks up the logical progression of the explanation, which, in this case, is 1) adversity makes you stronger, and 2) God's inflicting pain upon you is proof that He cares. vdB 1555 does not exactly add anything to this, but it does

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[62] *De divino amore* §II.2.B. ¶ 1, Wilmart p. 218; vdB. 1555

[63] Among whom, Sylvia Huot, *Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet: The Sacred and the Profane in Thirteenth-Century Polyphony* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), chapter 2, and Saltzstein, *The Refrain*.

distill it into two familiar decasyllabic verses made all the more memorable by their identical rhythmic structure (caesurae after the fourth syllable).

What I am attempting to show in examining Gérard's refraining here is that we are led somewhat astray by asking what secular language means in a religious context. While we are preoccupied with intertextuality—trying to figure out which lyric, which motet Gérard may have taken his refrain from, or if he even understood the profane meaning of the text—we are ignoring the text as it presents itself. Saying something like "To be raped […] by God at swordpoint is the height of bliss"[64] misses the mark, because as tempting as it may be to think of medieval conceptions of violent love as woefully *medieval* in the pejorative sense, all evidence points—as in Richard of Saint-Victor's *De quatuor gradibus*—to an understanding that divine and secular love are not different in their essence, but in their tendencies. And if they are essentially the same, why should it be shocking that the linguistic expression of love manifests itself in terms readily accessible to human understanding? It is here that my analysis essentially converges with that of Peter Dronke:

> If sacred and profane love are wholly divorced, as by Gérard, then, as nothing is found in the intellect which was not first found in the senses, their metaphorics will be identical, as much as if they were wholly united […] a wealth not merely of love-language, but of precisely that kind of love-language which is most consonant with *amour courtois*, had accumulated over the centuries in the mystical and theological tradition itself. This is to me the most striking thing that emerges from Gérard's juxtapositions: the more deeply religious the language, the closer it is to the language of *courtoisie*.[65]

In my view, it is unnecessary to posit that sacred and profane love are wholly divorced, especially in Gérard's treatise, where, as we have shown in our analysis of Gérard's love-

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[64] Newman, *God and the Goddesses*, p. 155

[65] Peter Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), p. 61

lexicon, love (*amour*/*amor*) is very much a unifying and unified thing. Yet this does not detract

from the force of Dronke's argument: in describing an experience as indescribable and ineffable

as divinity or divine love, medieval writers had recourse to thoughts and words that flow from

lived experience, or from the experience of others communicated by literary and theological

traditions. Dronke's insight into this issue has perhaps lost some currency with more recent

scholars of French material because so many other examples of profane lyric in an apparently

religious setting have come into focus (*La Court du Paradis, Les Cantiques Salemon*, the

sermons of Jacques de Vitry, motets, etc.). It nevertheless constitutes an invaluable explanation

of why something so jarring to modern sensibilities shows itself to be so prevalent, and

apparently so unproblematic—no one was ever taxed with heresy for writing a motet, and there

was nothing controversial about the Song of Songs, though Bernard did suggest that they not be

studied before a certain level of maturity had been attained.[66]

VI. The Case for Refraining from Quotation to Composition

We now have two examples of how thinking about refraining—about linguistic practice

in its mutability and spontaneity, rather than its fixity—can help us to look beyond the sacred-

profane dichotomy, and toward questions of practice that both inform composition and reveal

purpose. The foregoing examples have also been presented by Gérard as quotations. But as we

shall see, not all instances of refraining in Gérard's treatises may be viewed through the lens of

strict quotation of pre-existing vernacular verse. In fact, I argue for refraining in large part

because many of the instances of "refrain" or lyric insertion cited by van den Boogaard do not fit

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[66] Huot, *Allegorical Play*, p. 72, n. 27

the mold of poetic quotation.[67] In the following examples, I will therefore revisit a number of

passages that have attracted critical attention in order to show how the practice of refraining may

help us to arrive at a deeper understanding of the place of poetry in Gérard's overall project.

To this end, let us begin with the first apparent example of refraining in Gérard's *De*

divino amore, which also has the special feature of being syntactically integrated into a long,

Latin sentence—the treatise's introductory sentence, for that matter:

> Cum ad amandum Deum multa et mira incitamenta in sacra scriptura habeamus,
> et ad contempnendum et fugiendum omnem amorem illicitum multa habeamus
> vera et salubria hortamenta, stupendum, mirandum et valde dolendum est quod ad
> illud quod corpus nostrum inquinat et destruit, animam occidit, famam obnubilat,
> eterna beatitudine nos privat et ad supplicia perpetua nos obligat, tanta aviditate,
> tanto desiderio et tanto conamine rapimur, et ad illud summum bonum nostrum,
> perfectum gaudium nostrum, delectabile et suave iugum, scilicet amorem
> divinum, *de quoi toute joie vient et tous solas*,—unde dicit auctoritas quod amor
> est causa totius iocunditatis—ad ipsum scilicet inquirendum et acquirendum
> tantum segnes, tepidi et remissi sumus, prodolor.

> Since we have many marvelous spurs to loving God the sacred Scripture, as well
> as many true and healthy exhortations to disdain and flee all illicit love, what an
> astonishing wonder it is—and how very sad—that what ruins and defiles our
> body, kills our soul, blackens our reputation, deprives us of eternal beatitude and
> binds us to perpetual suffering, is what transports us so audaciously, so
> yearningly, and so effortfully; and in seeking and obtaining our highest good, our
> complete joy, the delectable and sweet yoke—that is, divine love, *de quoi toute
> joie vient et tous solas*, whence authority says that love is the cause of all joy—in
> seeking and obtaining that alone, we are, alas, lazy, tepid, remiss.[68]

Here, Gérard's refraining contrasts most starkly with its setting. If one hadn't seen it copied into

the manuscript, one might wonder if it were a marginal, scribal flourish. This is because, given

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[67] van den Boogaard identified eleven lyric insertions, of which he considers nine to be refrains
in his repertory (vdB 1784, 772, 1555, 1683, 1663, 333, 123, 1579, and 1142). To this, Newman
adds two lyric insertions, one of which she appears to consider a lyric because it is in French.

[68] *De divino amore*, Prologue, Wilmart p. 205. Note that "authority" may be translated with the
definite or indefinite article, or with no article at all.

the syntactical complexity of the whole sentence, it so effectively draws our attention to itself

and toward the subject of divine love; in so doing, it also draws our attention away from what

would otherwise appear to be the point of the sentence, which is our lamentable unwillingness to

focus on divine love, even in the face of so many "marvelous spurs" and "true and healthy

exhortations." As lyric often does, *de quoi toute joie vient et tous solas* has a foregrounding

effect, and as refraining, this bit of French text effectively breaks the sentence up, distracting us

from the talk of what "ruins and defiles our body"—that is, matters we should stop thinking

about anyway. This is indubitably lyric language, and it participates in a tradition of refraining,

as van den Boogaard demonstrates by listing similar versets:

> [vd]B 458 : D'amors vient toute ma joie etc.
> B 459 : D'amors vient tote ma joie / ma jolietei
> B 460 : D'amors vient toute ma joie, / si ne m'en doit nus blasmer
> B 303: Quar la grant joie que j'ai / me vient d'amours
> B 299 : Car de li vient toute ma joie[69]

Yet it does not match any of these perfectly.

We find another, similar example of a "refrain" van den Boogaard could not locate

elsewhere, though he does give this one a number (vdB 1142):

> Sed debemus vitam nostram malam representare Deo humiliter et verecunde cum
> amarissima amaritudine, et de ipsis malis instanter misericordiam postulare et non
> cessare cotidie, donec respondeat Deus cordi nostro interius et dicat nobis:
> "Dimittuntur tibi peccata tua," sicut dixit Magdalene; hoc est dicere: "*Li pais est
> faite* inter me et te. *Je t'ai mal amour pardounée et par tel parlement tu as
> m'amour conquestée*. 'Vade in pace.'"

> But we must show our wicked life to God humbly and shamefully, with the most
> bitter bitterness, and insistently beg His mercy every day for these evils until God
> responds within our heart and says to us: "Thy sins are forgiven thee," just as he
> said to Mary Magdalene. This is to say, "*Li pais est faite* [Peace has been made]

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[69] van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et Refrains*, p. 485

between you and me. *I have pardoned your wicked love, and with such speech* [or prayer]*, you have conquered my love*. 'Go in peace.'"[70]

Aside from our surprise at francophone Jesus, these verses are particularly interesting because once again, they attest to a practice of refraining, rather than to the *a priori* existence of refrain. Van den Boogaard does not seem to have hesitated in qualifying them as a refrain regardless of the fact that they hardly fit any of the normal qualifying criteria. (One is reminded of Doss-Quinby's quip that the process of refrain-identifying is sometimes "assez subjectif."[71]) This is doubtless because on their face, they recycle enough structural and thematic refrain-matter to be worthy of belonging in the repertory, and the rhyme "pardounée-conquestée" does not appear accidental. If we look at them more closely, however, to what lyric situation could these verses correspond? I am not familiar with any lyric that would include a verse such as "Je t'ai mal amour pardounée," (though the formula does appear in Huon de Bordeaux's *Obéron*)[72] and furthermore, what is this "parlement," if not prayer, or *oratio*, which is precisely the subject of the entire passage? What we have here is not "a refrain," but Gérard refraining in the voice of Jesus. I might even go so far as to say that the idea of repetition that often accompanies the practice of refraining subtends a message of God's ever-renewed forgiveness. In any case, here, "The soul […] speaks to God in prayer," (§III.2.B., first sentence) and Jesus refrains in response, recalling the apparent synonymy of *responsorium* and *refractus* in Jean de Grouchy's *De musica*.[73]

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[70] *De divino amore* §III.2.B. ¶ 1, Wilmart p. 242

[71] Doss-Quinby, *Les Refrains*, p. 130

[72] A. Graf, *I Complimenti della chanson d'Huon de Bordeaux vol. 1: Aubéron* (Halle/Salle: Max Niemeyer, 1878), p. 6, v. 380, "Vos ai ainsi mal amour pardounée"

[73] See p. 196 *supra*

VII. Gérard's Vernacular Poetic Practice Beyond Refraining

For my penultimate example, I would like to look beyond refraining, to the possibility that Gérard composes whole lyric poems. To illustrate this point, I return briefly to Richard's *De quatuor gradibus*. Dumeige states, at the beginning of his discussion on the treatise's style, that "[l']humanisme du XIIe siècle dont l'École de Saint-Victor est un des foyers les plus rayonnants ne néglige pas l'aspect littéraire dans les oeuvres qu'il produit."[74] By way of demonstration, he rearranges Richard's prose into lines of varying lengths, laying bare the rhymes, alliterations, parallelisms, and other hallmarks of poetic composition that characterize Richard's style, for instance here:

> Sic tamen presentiam exhibet
> ut faciem suam minime ostendat.
> Dulcorem suum infundit,
> sed decorem non ostendit.
> Infundit suavitatem
> sed non ostendit claritatem.
> Suavitas itaque sentitur,
> sed species non cernitur.[75]

Now Gérard is no Richard when it comes to Latin prose style. The passages that can most certainly be called his own feature a kind of paratactic ramification that contains very little in the way of lyrical language. But in French, he has a *trouvère*'s touch. This is doubtless why Newman considers the French passage shortly before § I in *De divino amore* to be a lyric, versifying thus:

> Quankes il fist en tiere [= *en terre*, on earth, not "*entiere (f)*, whole," as Newman takes it]
> il le fist pour m'amour avoir,
> et quankes je ferai dorenavant
> je le ferai pour plaire a lui seulement

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[74] Dumeige, p. 116

[75] ibid., p. 122 and p. 158, "Pourtant, s'il révèle sa présence, il ne montre pas sa face. Il répand sa douceur, il ne montre pas sa splendeur. On sent sa suavité, mais on ne voit pas sa beauté."

et pour s'amour avoir. [Amen.]

Whatever He did on earth
He did it to get my love,
And whatever I shall do from now on
I shall do it only to please Him
And to have His love.[76]

Although this layout does expose the effects of rhyme, alliteration, parallelism, etc., that are absolutely present in these lines, one can hardly claim they straightforwardly make a lyric—they fit into no metrical structure, for example. They *do* testify, once again, by virtue of their familiar structures ("pour m'amour avoir," "pour s'amour avoir") and vocabulary, to Gérard's practice of refraining. Still, I do not believe it is right here to speak of a lyric quotation or insertion. In my view, Gérard is refraining a prayer (suggested by the closing "amen")—thoughtwriting a sort of devotional affirmation for his audience.

In a slightly different situation, Gérard deploys his lyric skill to compose what appears to be a "true" lyric stanza with a simple metric structure (four monorhyme verses of twelve syllables):

ame ki viout amer, et bien viout iestre amée,
par dedens et defors bien doit iestre aournée
par defors simple et coie, humle et bien ordonée
par dedens ardaument par amours embrasée.

A soul that wants to love, and to be loved,
Must be adorned within and without:
Without, simple and calm, humble and orderly,
Within, lit up ardently by love.[77]

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[76] *De divino amore* Intro. V. ¶ 2, Wilmart p. 209; Newman*, God and the Goddesses*, p. 152

[77] ibid., §II.4., Wilmart p. 228

The presentation here is that of van den Boogaard, who notices resemblances with vdB 1224 that he characterizes only as contentual, rather than formal.[78] This is perplexing because it is entirely likely that if Gérard was familiar with this text, he modeled the above stanza not only on its content, but also on its form (monorhyme verses of twelve syllables).[79] Regardless, we have no external evidence that Gérard did not compose these verses himself. Nor do we have any internal evidence to that effect, for Gérard often sets quotations—even in French, as we have seen—with words like, "Whence this," or "And such may recite these words…" The verses above are prefaced simply by "And thus," as a kind of lyric gloss on what comes just before them: "[Wise love] consists in three things—that is, in fleeing all things that displease, and in seeking out that which pleases the beloved, and in preparing and decorating oneself because it is agreeable, pleasing, and welcome to the beloved."[80] Given the circumstances, it is most logical to assume that the above verses are *not* just another lyric insertion, and this example goes very far indeed to suggest that Gérard is fully aware of vernacular poetic practice even as he hides what is in all likelihood his own voice behind the veil of the traditionally anonymous practice of refraining.

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[78] "Li douz Deus, que ferai de s'amor qui me tue? / Dame qui veut amer, doit estre simple en rue ; / En chambre o son ami soit renvoisie et drue." van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains*, p 694. Anne Ibos-Augé, in her book *Chanter et lire dans le récit médiéval*, 2 vols. (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), vol. 1, p. 914, writes that this "insertion est une citation," in the absence of proof. I can find no evidence that this text (or anything similar) exists elsewhere.

[79] But perhaps my understanding of what van den Boogaard means by formal elements here is imperfect. How else could he claim that "la ressemblance ne repose que sur le contenu. En l'absence d'éléments formels, je n'ose pas conclure à un rapport entre les deux textes" ("Les insertions," p. 695)?

[80] "Item est amor sapiens, qui est in tribus, scilicet in fugienda omnia que amori displicent, in inquirendo ea que ei placent, et in preparando et ornando se ad hoc quod sit gratus, placens et acceptus amori." *De divino amore* §II.4., Wilmart p. 228

Finally, let us try to answer a question we asked much earlier in this chapter: why does Gérard refrain from refraining in the *Septem remedia*? For we have seen that the language of love, like love itself, can serve different masters. I would argue that the answer has to do with the thoughtwriting, devotional, and attention-grabbing dimensions of Gérard's refraining on the one hand, and with the fact that Gérard seeks to edify his audience—to draw them closer to God—on the other. With this in mind, to refrain in the *Septem remedia* would be to misuse language that Gérard deploys for ennobling ends. And if there is any "authority" in these vernacular refrainings, it is certainly not a function of their mere presence among Latin authorities like Gregory, Augustine, and Bernard. Rather, it stems from the way vernacular lyric can talk with such presence about love, and provide words for meditation that have endlessly spontaneous recombinant possibilities. Refraining is thus a lively counterpoint to Gérard's many named and nameless dead, Latin authorities known only through text and copying.

Chapter III. *Cum Vulgo Dicitur:* Proverbs and the Language of Authority

Cedite: iam caelum patria Maeonidae est.

In the previous chapter, I sought to demonstrate first that the "refrain" constructed as a coherent generic category by Friedrich Gennrich and Nico van den Boogaard is best understood as a compositional practice that I propose to call "refraining," rather than as a genre containing a set of fixed texts or urtexts —that is to say, that "refrains" exist in a such a state of variance because they are part of a compositional practice that draws upon familiar, typical elements to create memorable verses suited to a particular situation; and second, that Gérard's practice of lyric refraining bridges the sacred-profane divide in his treatises by distilling theological material in an emotionally charged, eminently accessible and memorable way. We further reflected upon and challenged the notion that refrains serve as "vernacular authorities," since they do not supply wisdom or knowledge so much as feeling, and do not serve to advance Gérard's arguments in the way that Latin authorities do.

In this chapter, I will continue to explore the question of vernacular authority. I argue that Gérard's treatises testify to a shift in authority from Latin to the vernacular, and that Gérard confers authority upon the vernacular in two ways. First, he uses French not merely in passing— for example, to gloss difficult Latin words—but assigns it the status of a memorial language that had long been reserved for Latin, especially in theological discourse. Second, by analyzing the differences between Latin and French proverbs, which I view as another form of quotation alongside refraining, I will show how Gérard builds upon a proverb tradition generally characterized by its rusticity or concreteness, and elevates the vernacular proverb to the level of Latin authority.

I. Authority and Memory: Gérard's Treatises as Devotional Florilegia

Intuitively, it makes sense that the mere use of a language in manuscript does not confer authority upon it. The manuscript tradition, after all, contains many vernacular marginalia, simple vocabulary glosses or translations, and even entire vernacular texts (lyric and epic poems, plays, etc.) that have little (if any) claim to *auctoritas*. Textual authority in the Middle Ages was built upon tradition, and had to do as much with form as with content. But as Latin learning became less and less rigorous, and the vernacular, more and more common in written discourse, the ways in which the vernacular was used—the purposes to which writers of all stripes put it—were bound to change. And Gérard's treatises testify to that change in their unusually integrated bilingualism.

At an earlier stage of this project, before I fully understood how refraining and proverb use constitute quotational practices at a more creative, elemental level, I considered them to be authorities alongside so many patristic and biblical ones, and thus looked to identify Gérard's proverbs in contemporary works—florilegia, collections of proverbs (including literary works like the thirteenth-century *Dit de l'Apostoile*) with which Gérard may have been familiar. But one scholarly work in particular—Mary Carruthers' *Book of Memory*—suggests that this source-seeking approach misses an important part of medieval practice by failing to foreground the role memory played in quotation. Why imagine Gérard more as a second-rate theologian and scholastic copyist saving quotations for posterity than as a creative writer undertaking a more personal project? For writing in the Middle Ages, Carruthers argues, is at least as much about preservation of knowledge for future generations' memory as it is about supporting one's own: "[I]n a memorial culture, a 'book' is only one way among several to remember a 'text,' to provision and cue one's memory with 'dicta et facta memorabilia' [memorable words and

deeds]. So a book is itself a mnemonic, among many other functions it can also have."[1] (To this effect, one might cite the following proverb: "Mémoire de ligière durée de plume doit estre confortée"—that is, a short memory must be refreshed by the pen.)[2] Furthermore, Carruthers elaborates upon the creative force of memory, indeed its centrality in the creative process, which reminds us that there is real creativity in weaving together, as Gérard does, hundreds upon hundreds of quotations such that readers medieval and modern have seemed to believe he was writing religious treatises, rather than compiling a florilegium or handbook of quotations about illicit and divine love. Still, a sustained reading of these treatises, my considerable research into Gérard's great number of named and unnamed authorities, and Wilmart's already herculean efforts (not to mention the work that remains to be done by future scholars with even more comprehensive digital resources), all imply that these treatises were, for Gérard, a memorial aid—that writing them was, at least in part, a personal, devotional project, inasmuch as this kind of writing may aim at refining the intellect and memory as much as it does at nourishing the spirit of the writer. To demonstrate this point before showing how Gérard's use of proverbs and sayings in Old French signals a shift in terms of linguistic authority, let us discuss three examples from his treatises—one from the *Septem remedia*, and two from *De divino amore*—that show how these treatises may be construed as a personal enterprise, and additionally, the role French comes to play therein.

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[1] Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 8; see also pp. 31-33 for a helpful account of Platonic thought about the value of writing as it pertains to memory

[2] Antoine Le Roux de Lincy, *Le livre des proverbes français*, rev. ed. Pierre Boutang (Paris: Hachette, 1996), p. 776

Especially in the *Septem remedia*, Gérard appears to be writing for the benefit of others. At first blush, to suggest otherwise (as I have above) would seem almost comical, given the subject matter. Did Gérard really need to remind himself to resist the beginnings of temptation, to keep an eye on his senses, and the other five remedies? Since he is writing from a place of knowledge, at several moments addressing his brothers ("fratres," "carissimi" VII.1) as if he were preaching to them, one would think not. But from another perspective, do the faithful not ask God daily, in the Lord's prayer, to lead them not into temptation? Perhaps it is possible that writing for others, as Gérard does, may jibe with personal devotional and memorial needs. This comes through grammatically in the Latin text of the third remedy:

> Tercium remedium est fugere solitudinem, quia, sicut dicit [...] Gregorius: "Nam in solitudine amittitur timor, pudor, verecundia, et absorbetur ratio et periclitatur animi sanctitas et facile corrumpitur castitas et virginitas," ut patet de Thamar que corrupta fuit ab Amon fratre suo, quia sola fuit cum eo, ut legitur in libro Regum. Similiter *nota* de senibus in Daniele, qui exarserunt in concupiscentia Susanne [...]

> The third remedy is to flee solitude, since, as Gregory says: "For in solitude, fear, shame, and modesty are all sent away, and reason is devoured, and the sanctity of the soul is imperiled, and virginity, easily corrupted," as is clear in the story of Thamar, who was corrupted by Amon, her brother, when she was alone with him, as we read in the book of Samuel. Similarly, *observe* [singular] the elders in the book of Daniel who burned with lust for Susanna [...][3]

The singular imperative "notā" (meaning "observe" or "take note") in Latin is unusual where logic would dictate the plural "notāte;"[4] in a sense, perhaps what looks like a "note to self" is more natural here than it would be in another section of the treatise, since Gérard is discussing a

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[3] *Septem remedia* §III., Wilmart p. 190

[4] The instruction "notā" in marginalia is not uncommon, but in the body of a treatise in which Gérard regularly exhorts a plural group, one would expect a plural instruction here.

matter (solitude) that is especially relevant to monastic life.[5] But, to borrow a term from Michael Riffaterre that designates the linguistic anomalies that often serve as springboards for and keys to interpretation, this "agrammaticality" (*agrammaticalité*) helps to make sense of several features of Gérard's treatises—for example, moments of extreme abbreviation, which appear not infrequently in *De divino amore*, from which we take our second example:

> Ita iugis et pia patientia reddit homines probos, laudabiles et gratiosios, sicut nos amamus, laudamus et honoramus sanctos martires, quia tot et tanta pie pro deo sustinuerunt. Unde in Iudith. Unde auctoritas Gregorii: "Qui patientior fuerit ad iniurias potentior constiuetur in regno." "Ecce beatificamus eos qui sustinuerunt," et cetera. Item in Ecclesiastico: "Laudemus viros gloriosos," et cetera.

> Just as continuous and devoted patience makes men upright, praiseworthy, and gracious, so too do we love, praise, and honor the holy martyrs, since they have devoutly endured so many and such great things for God. Whence in Judith. Whence the authority of Gregory: "He who is more enduring in the face of injury will be more firmly established in the [heavenly] kingdom." "Behold, we account them blessed who have endured," et cetera. Also in Sirach: "Let us now praise men of renown," et cetera.[6]

While it may reasonably be argued that Gérard gets away with abbreviating quotations from Sirach 44:1 and from James 5:11 (for which he gives no reference at all) because his audience knows the Bible through and through, it is harder to argue that someone other than Gérard could have known exactly to what "Whence in Judith" refers. Dom Wilmart, who surely knew the Bible almost as well as any medieval monk, suggests Judith 15:10-12:

> [10] And when she was come out to him, they all blessed her with one voice, saying: Thou art the glory of Jerusalem, thou art the joy of Israel, thou art the honour of our people: [11] For thou hast done manfully, and thy heart has been strengthened, because thou hast loved chastity, and after thy husband hast not

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[5] Siegfried Wenzel discusses similar imperatives in English sermons in *Macaronic Sermons: Bilingualism and Preaching in Late-Medieval England* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), p. 106. Gérard's texts would not seem to lend themselves straightforwardly to preaching, but that does not mean that parts of them were not conceived of as material for sermons, or that his linguistic habits as a preacher could not seep into a text designed for reading and remembering.

[6] *De divino amore* §II.4.C.a.4., Wilmart p. 234

known any other: therefore also the hand of the Lord hath strengthened thee, and therefore thou shalt be blessed for ever. [12] And the people said: So be it, so be it.

It is not clear, however, what this has to do precisely with the holy martyrs, or with pious patience. Rather, it seems that Gérard has written another note to himself—perhaps in preparation for a future sermon—since the mere mention of the name "Judith" is enough to call the relevant text to memory. As for the partial quotations from James and from Sirach, even with the full context, which the imagined audience for this treatise may have had, a reader or listener would still require more connective tissue to understand precisely how Gérard relates them to the subject at hand.

With these examples in mind, we may see Gérard's use of the vernacular in a new light—it may be viewed as deeply personal expression, rather than as code-switching performance for an audience. For instance, take the following passage, which prefaces an extended exposition of *amor sapiens*, or "wise love":

> Item est amor sapiens, qui est in tribus, scilicet in fugiendo omnia que amori displicent, in inquirendo ea que ei placent, et in preparando et ornando se ad hoc quod sit gratus, placens et acceptus amori. "Deus" enim "caritas est," dicit Iohannes, idest *amours*. Et ideo *ame ki viout amor, et bien viout iestre amée, par dedens et defors bien doit iestre aournée, par defors simple et coie, humle et bien ordenée, par dedens ardaument par amours embrasée.*

> There is also a wise love, which consists in three things—that is, in fleeing all things that displease, and in seeking out that which pleases, the beloved, and in preparing and adorning oneself because it is agreeable, pleasing, and welcome to the beloved. For "God is charity," says John—that is, *love*. And thus, *the soul that wants to love, and wants to be loved, must be adorned within and without: without, simple and calm, humble and orderly; within, burning with love*.[7]

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[7] *De divino amore* §II.4., Wilmart pp. 228-229

This passage begins the second part of *De divino amore* after the introduction, and is part of what appears to be a teleological progression of the four types of love—*amor verecundus, amor fortis, amor suavis, amor sapiens* [shameful love, powerful love, sweet love, and wise love]—likely drawn from Thomas ("the Cistercian") of Perseigne's popular, late-twelfth-century commentary on the Song of Songs. But Gérard's account rests upon his own examples and authorities, and he only takes from Thomas (or perhaps from their common source) the basic outline—i.e., that there are four types of love; that the first type, shameful love, consists in three things: in injury of faith, in deceit, and in treachery, etc.[8] But even more than elsewhere, it is in the French text that Gérard's devotional creativity is on display. This text does not appear to exist elsewhere in the French tradition—if it was a well-known song that Gérard simply scribbled down here, it has not been preserved elsewhere, as van den Boogaard notes.[9] It is not even clear that Gérard intends this to be a stanza of poetry, though it is certainly replete with poetic qualities, and can be presented as such, as we discussed in the previous chapter (p. 219):

> Ame ki viout amer, et bien viout iestre amée,
> Par dedens et defors bien doit iestre aournée,
> Par defors simple et coie, humle et bien ordenée
> Par dedens ardaument par amours embrasée

This presentation brings the formal elements of this passage to the fore—dodecasyllabic, monorhyme verses with a regular caesura after the sixth syllable of each verse, antithesis underlining the stanza's binary and repetitive structures ("amer...iestre amée," "par dedens et defors"), consonance ("par **ded**ens et **d**efors bien **d**oit"), assonance ("**a**rdaument par **a**mours embr**a**sée"), and finally, the verbal equation effected by the rhymed words as they pertain to

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[8] Thomas of Perseigne, *Commentarium in Cantica Canticorum, liber III*, P.L. 206, 175-176.

[9] Van den Boogaard, "Les insertions," p. 694.

"ame" ("ame [...] amée [est] aournée[,] ordenée[,] embrasée"). Furthermore, these rhymed past participles have equivalents throughout the Latin text, not only immediately before ("in preparando et ornando"), but also in the section that comes just after, with the gerundive phrase "ad componendum, ornandum et decorandum amicam suam [for the purpose of appeasing, adorning, or decorating his beloved]," where "componendum" would correspond to "ordenée," and "ornandum" to "aournée." The lexical integration of the verses into the surrounding text bolsters the hypothesis I advanced last chapter that these verses are of Gérard's making. Be that as it may, the most important point, as far as our discussion is concerned, is that this French text not only crystallizes what precedes it in a text whose content and rhythm bespeak devotional practice, but also that it frames the Latin exegesis that follows by putting emphasis not on "fleeing all things that displease," but rather on what *is* pleasing to the beloved. This represents a real innovation: this intimate, devotional text is fully integrated into Gérard's exposition of this final category of love, which endows its language with a singular authority. This is no mere translation or simple summary, nor is it a bit of marginalia. It stands with the Latin, in stylistic and contentual terms, on equal footing. What's more, this authority seems tied to the very personal, devotional nature of the text.

In the foregoing examples, we have seen how elements of Gérard's Latin text (a singular imperative, personal "calls" to memory) may be understood as suggesting that these treatises are not straightforwardly intended for an outsider's gaze—that they are a sort of memorial florilegium of sources, poetry, and reflections that testify to the peculiar relationship one native Old French speaker from the thirteenth century had with the language he learned in school. We have also begun to witness that the vernacular may, by virtue of its status as the mother-tongue— i.e., as the language of intimate, personal expression, and perhaps even of memory—, come to

stand on equal footing with Latin. The following two examples from *De divino amore* go further in tracing the shift in authority from Latin to French, and will help us to understand the stakes, in terms of authority, of proverb usage.

The first of these examples is a biblical quotation that reverses the relationship of authority through translation:

> "Percusserunt me, vulneraverunt me et abstulerunt pallium meum" [...] Attamen nichil horum [sc. gravaminum] attendo, inmo certe hec omnia me magis ad deum amandum inflammant et accendunt. *Et ke je languis apriés lui par amours;* et ideo *pour Diu, "*nuntiate dilecto quia amore langueo."

> "They struck me, and wounded me, and took my veil from me" [...] But although I do not strive after any [of these ills], still, all of these things certainly kindle and inflame me to love God more. *And because I languish after him with love;* and thus, by God, "Tell my beloved that I languish with love."[10]

In this fascinating example, in which Gérard discusses how powerful love "seeks pain and hardship," he considers the particular case of the Spouse in the Song of Songs, freely quoting from (and slightly adapting) the biblical text, putting words into the Spouse's mouth in multiple languages. Here, he imagines that although the Spouse does not actively seek out pain and hardship ("although I do not strive after any [of these ills—i.e., being struck, wounded, unveiled]"), still, they kindle her love. The French text, "Et ke je languis apriés lui par amours" may be read as a justification, and Gérard presents the Latin text ("nuntiate dilecto") as being consequent to ("ideo," "therefore") the French—a consequentiality he reinforces with the vernacular exclamation *pour Diu*. Thus, it seems that the Latin is a translation of the French, and not the other way around. In other words, *Et ke je languis apriés lui par amours* may be read as "the original," which imbues it with a textual authority that "nuntiate dilecto" appears to translate rather than fully to possess.

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[10] *De divino amore* §II.2.B. ¶ 1, Wilmart p. 219

Along the same lines, in the second example, Jesus speaks French (perhaps the only such example in extant theological discourse before the fourteenth century):

> [D]ebemus vitam nostram malam representare Deo humiliter et verecunde cum amarissima amaritudine, et de ipsis malis instanter misericordiam postulare et non cessare cotidie, donec respondeat Deus cordi nostro interius et dicat nobis: "Dimittitur peccata tua," sicut dixit Magdalene; hoc est dicere: *Li pais est faite* inter me et te. *Je t'ai mal amour pardounée et par tel parlement tu as m'amour conquestée.* "Vade in pace." Idest: De cetero noli me offendere per peccatum.

> [W]e must show our wicked life to God humbly and shamefully, with the bitterest bitterness, and insistently beg His mercy for these evils every day without ceasing until God responds within our hearts and says to us: "Thy sins are forgiven thee," just as He said to Mary Magdalene. This is to say, *peace has been made* between you and me. *I have pardoned your evil love, and by such speech [prayers] you have conquered my love.* "Go in peace." That is, henceforth, do not offend me with your sin.[11]

This passage, on the subject of how the soul communicates with God through prayer, shifts from a quasi-Augustinian call for devotional action before the colon ("cum amarissima amaritudine [...] instanter misericordiam postulare et non cessare cotidie"), to a New Testament quotation reaffirming the hope of redemption, then to imagined words of mercy in the vernacular, and finally to a stern command. It is precisely the stark contrast between the stern command delivered in Latin ("Noli me offendere")—a warning to the soul begging for mercy that it may not be granted a second time—and the warm words of pardon in French that interest us here. On the surface, one would be tempted to see this as reaffirming the authority of Latin in no uncertain terms: the mother-tongue comforts with stories of courtly love (reading the typical "conquête amoureuse" in "tu as m'amour conquestée"); Latin lays down the law. But this is not just any old Old French sentence. Gérard presents these as the words of Christ Himself, and as such, their

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[11] *De divino amore* §III.2.B. ¶ 1, Wilmart p. 242. Although *parlement* does simply mean speaking or speech in Old French, this passage is about *oratio,* which means both prayer (in a Christian context, as here) and speech in Latin. It is therefore possible that Gérard translates *oratio* (prayer) as *parlement.*

authority is unquestionable. What we have here, then, is a testament to vernacular authority: Latin may be the language in which the word of God is written, but the vernacular is the language in which the Word truly speaks.

II. Proverbs and Shifting Dynamics of Linguistic Authority

Now that we have seen this shift in authority from Latin to the vernacular as it manifests itself through a textual practice of memorial devotion, let us consider the shift in linguistic authority by looking at proverbs. In this section, I will begin by attempting to define what I mean by proverb, since it is impossible to agree upon what might constitute a proverb in Gérard's treatises in the absence of some definition.

II.1. Proverbs as Poetic and Authoritative Discourse

At the top of this chapter's first page, I quoted a verse from the second book of epigrams of the so-called Christian Virgil—the Italian poet, Jacopo Sannazaro (1456-1530)—and I believe that this verse is a useful point of entry into our definitional considerations, particularly as they pertain to the relationship between proverbs and poetry. Here is the verse in context, with the text of the relevant verse italicized: "Smyrna, Rhodos, Colophon, Salamis, Chios, Argos, Athenae / Cedite jam: Caelum patria Maeonidae est. [Smyrna, Rhodes, Colophon, Salamis, Chios, Argos, Athens— / Give up now: Heaven is Maeonides' {Homer's} homeland]."[12] This epigram's title is "De patria Homeri," referring to the ages-old debate surrounding Homer's origins; for Sannazaro, this is clearly a moot point. Be that as it may, this verse is often quoted out of context, and with variable placement of the colon (before or after "jam"), which clearly transposes it from the restricted semantic plane of the above epigram to that of universal truth

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[12] Jacopo Sannazaro, *Poemata ex antiquis editionibus accuratissime descripta*, ed. Joannes Antonius Vulpius (Gian Antonio Volpi) (Padua: Josephus Cominus, 1719), p. 202.

pertaining to poetic pretensions: "Give up: Heaven is already Homer's home." Taken proverbially, this verse is much like vdB 1555 ("Quant plus me bat et destraint li jalous, tant ai je en amours ma pensée"), which we discussed in the previous chapter as being subject to a particularly unusual interpretation by Gérard, given its lyric context (pp.188-189); one salient similarity is that as poetic discourse, both are denotatively more or less constant and interpretatively mutable, according to the context (or lack thereof) in which they find themselves. In addition, we could cite other similarities stemming from the status refraining and proverbs enjoy as poetic discourse: both are relatively short, frequently concern love and amorous relations, are generally anonymous, and may be seen as summarizing or interpreting their immediate context. There are even cases of convergence, in which proverbs are used as repeated refrains; according to Saltzstein, seven of the eighty-seven proverbs contained in the fourteenth-century Hereford proverb collection "are actually intertextual refrains that are also provided with scriptural concordance."[13]

My goal here is not to draw a specific distinction between proverbs and refraining, but to show that proverbs exist primordially as a form of poetry. They are even constructed in a way that recalls the practice of refraining as discussed in the previous chapter—that is, both are formed of typical elements that can be cobbled together extemporaneously to address a particular situation. To create a proverb, "the wit of one," as the saying goes, draws upon a relatively fixed set of linguistic tools to give a memorable expression to "everyone's wisdom." In structural terms, the proverb generally features easily replicable "topic-comment" constructions, such as

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[13] Saltzstein, *The Refrain and the Rise of the Vernacular*, p. 70.

"No news is good news," and "money talks" (where the topics are "no news" and "money").[14] This is why proverbs often fall into repetitive structures—such as "He who…, …," "The more/bigger/better/etc., the…"—structures that facilitate the context-appropriate substitution of terms of comparison or contrast.

Unlike most poetry, however, and certainly unlike Gérard's refraining, proverbs overwhelmingly have to do with the communication of wisdom and with "summing up," which is an authoritative function of the proverb (giving "the last word") that we will discuss a bit further on. Even though the notion that proverbs are the "wisdom of many" would seem to work against the notion of authority, this wisdom often carries the weight of long-established tradition and may even have legal force. Furthermore, adept use of proverbs (I think here for example of four-character idioms in Mandarin Chinese) often marks speakers as particularly authoritative. The proverb is therefore intimately tied to the construction of authority.

II.2. Recognizing Proverbs

These preliminary considerations aside, it is no more possible to define "proverb" than it is to define "refrain."[15] Still, before advancing my own view, I would like to draw attention to the two camps in paremiological literature. One tends to emphasize the traditional aspect of the proverb (as commonly circulated wisdom handed down from generation to generation), and the other favors structural and linguistic considerations. For his part, one of the most authoritative voices in this debate, Archer Taylor (1890-1973), the "acknowledged doyen of proverb

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[14] Alan Dundes has developed this structural account of the proverb in scholarly conversation with other paremiologists over the course of several publications, among which his essay "On the Structure of the Proverb," in *The Wisdom of Many: Essays on the Proverb*, eds. Wolfgang Mieder and Alan Dundes (New York: Garland Publishing, 1981).

[15] Rosmarie Thee Morewedge, "Proverbs," in *Handbook of Medieval Studies: Terms-Methods-Trends*, ed. Albrecht Classen, vol. 3 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), pp. 2026-2055 provides a rigorous, recent, and helpful overview of the subject.

studies,"[16] utterly rejects the possibility of ever arriving at a satisfying definition, and ultimately

chooses to rely on an "incommunicable quality," a certain *je ne sais quoi,* to identify them:

> The definition of a proverb is too difficult to repay the undertaking; and should
> we fortunately combine in a single definition all of the essential elements and give
> each the proper emphasis, we should not even then have a touchstone. An
> *incommunicable quality* tells us this sentence is proverbial and that one is not.
> Hence no definition will enable us to identify positively a sentence as proverbial.
> Those who do not speak a language can never recognize all its proverbs, and
> similarly much that is truly proverbial escapes us in Elizabethan and older
> English. Let us be content with recognizing that a proverb is a saying current
> among the folk. At least so much of a definition is indisputable.[17]

There are two points I would like to raise here in order to clarify the role that recognition plays in

definition before moving onto further considerations of structure and use, and I do this because

we must have some notion of how to recognize proverbs in Gérard's treatises, given that none of

us was born into an Old French- or Latin-speaking household. First, while it may be agreed in

some rare circles that proverbs are sayings "among the folk," there are also sayings that are not

usually considered proverbs, especially if we hold at least that proverbs communicate some kind

of wisdom; take, for example, the pseudo-Marie Antoinette saying, "Let them eat cake," or the

expression "From A to Z," both of which Taylor somewhat idiosyncratically qualifies as

proverbs.[18] The second point regarding the above passage is that even one who speaks a

language can never recognize all its contemporary proverbs, since it is possible to create

proverbs spontaneously by cobbling together typical elements, as I mentioned at the beginning of

this section. Take, for example, the proverb, "Love is good drinking," created using an online

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[16] Dundes, "On the Structure of the Proverb," p. 3

[17] Archer Taylor, *The Proverb and An Index to the Proverb* (Hatboro, PA: Folklore Associates, 1962), quoted in Wolfgang Mieder, *Proverbs: A Handbook* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004), p. 3

[18] Archer Taylor, "The Wisdom of Many and the Wit of One," in *The Wisdom of Many*, p. 6.

random proverb generator.[19] As a computer-generated text, no one could possibly know it from experience, but who would categorically deny its proverbiality? The proverb is therefore not just "a saying that is current among the folk," but a saying that *might* be current, according to the commonplaces of usage. And yet, Taylor's overarching message about an "incommunicable quality" still holds true—something tells us that "Love is good drinking" may well be a proverb, whereas "He who lives by the sword, shall die by water" is probably not, and if we posited that this is because there is no logical relationship between living by the sword and dying by water— thus claiming that a proverb requires a necessary logical relationship among its parts—one might counter with, "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth." In sum, proverb recognition seems to hinge upon the variables of linguistic plausibility ("Does this sound like a proverb?") and prior familiarity ("Have I heard this particular proverb before?"), as represented in the following diagram:
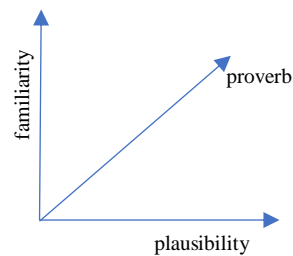
I submit that Taylor's "incommunicable quality" can thus be described as two qualities working together to shape our understanding of what is and what isn't a proverb—if something sounds enough like a proverb, it will not matter much if it is familiar, and vice versa.[20]

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[19] The Random Proverb Generator, www.idefex.net/b3taproverbs

[20] There are, of course, famous quotations and sayings that are very familiar but that are not proverbs, like "Let them eat cake." These, I would argue, do not fit the linguistic or semantic patterns that would make them recognizable *as proverbs* in the first place.

Now that we have a better sense of what goes into recognizing a proverb when we come across one, we shall try to understand what proverbs are at a functional and at a structural level, as well as what they were in Gérard's time, so that we can begin to discern what his use of them reveals about the relationship between Latin and French in the treatises, and perhaps in the thirteenth century more broadly.[21]

II.3. Proverbs in the Middle Ages

Etymologically speaking, the word "proverb" comes from the Latin *proverbium* (the prefix *pro* plus *verbum*), meaning, at root, "according to what is said," which would suggest an even broader definition than we admitted above. Classical Latin usage reflects this, especially in Cicero, with numerous examples referring to the "common speech" aspect of proverbiality, rather than to its communication of wisdom. Perhaps this accounts in part for Taylor's tendency to think of all sorts of common sayings as proverbs, and although more recent scholarship tends to prefer a narrower definition, medieval proverb collections seem to share Taylor's broad conception, since they contain sayings that we would not normally think of as proverbs.[22] But as far as wisdom is concerned, the common word in Latin for what we call a "proverb"—at least from Cicero through the twelfth century—was *sententia*, whence the French *sentence*. Beginning in the thirteenth century, though, there appears to be a shift: as the French term *proverbe* becomes increasingly popular—likely due to the vogue of vernacular proverb collections (the *Proverbes au villain* and the *Proverbes de Salemon et de Marcoul*, as well as the vernacular

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[21] It is my view that a proverb need not *be*, but only *appear* traditional, in order to count as a proverb; this runs counter to the view of proverb scholars and folklorists like Mieder (viz. *Proverbs: A Handbook*, ch. 1 for an account of this perspective), but is largely consistent with the thought of paremiologists like Dundes who take a more structural approach.

[22] For examples, see John Kemble's account of the *Proverbes de Salemon et de Marcoul,* in *The Dialogue of Salomon and Saturnus* (London: Richard and John Edward Taylor, 1848), p. 75

verse and prose translations of the *Proverbes Salemon*)—it becomes interchangeable with *sentence* in French, and ultimately relegates the Latinate *sentence* to a narrower meaning than it previously had, as Zumthor explains in "L'épiphénomène proverbial":

> Il paraît en effet assuré que la vitalité du mot *proverbe*, dans le français des XIIIe, XIVe et XVe siècles, fut assez forte pour refouler hors de l'usage courant l'ensemble de ses quasi-synonymes, et en subsumer les diverses nuances sémantiques et les fonctions. En particulier, *sentence* qui au XIIIe siècle semble interchangeable avec *proverbe*, prend par la suite une signification nettement différente et ne subsiste guère que comme terme juridique.[23]

We might add that around the same time, the word *proverbium* in Latin also appears to gain ground on *sententia*. While this may not be clear from the conservative Latin prose of the thirteenth-century *artes poeticae* published by Edmond Faral,[24] Gérard uses *proverbium*, rather than *sententia*, to preface proverbs in Latin and in the vernacular. This shift in meaning and usage represents a small triumph of the spoken, living mother tongue over Latin; the increasingly popular vernacular *proverbe* takes on its own life and meaning, and in so doing, ultimately effects a change in Latin usage—*proverbium*, (reverse) translating the more popular vernacular word *proverbe*, overtakes *sententia* in Latin, too. This example of how vernacular usage may effect a change in Latin usage is just one example of vernacular authority.

Before we turn our attention to proverbs in Gérard's treatises, a note about "authority" as it pertains to proverbs. While I treat this subject at length in the next chapter, suffice it to say here that authority is broader in its medieval conception than in its modern usage. It does contain the more modern sense, which, for our purposes, refers primarily to an authoritative voice—one endowed with the wisdom, experience, and reputation to comment credibly on a given topic. But

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[23] Paul Zumthor, "L'épiphénomène proverbial," in *Revue des sciences humaines* 163 (1973), p. 319

[24] Faral, *Les Arts poétiques*

in addition to that, an *auctoritas* in Medieval Latin is most often a traditional, textual, quoted source or author. In this sense, a proverb drawn from Augustine's *Confessions* would count, for a medieval writer like Gérard, as an authority (*auctoritas*), whereas a proverb drawn from anonymous oral tradition would not, since, according to Zumthor, proverbs lack the "quotation" trait that largely defines *auctoritates*.[25] But this is a rhetorical distinction; Gérard may never introduce a proverb with "Cum dicit auctoritas Gregorii [as Gregory's authority says]," yet functionally speaking, Latin authorities and vernacular proverbs serve the same purpose in his treatises: both preface or sum up larger theological discussions with words of wisdom that draw their authority on the one hand from the inherently venerable nature of well-known Latin writers and sources, and on the other, from a repository of often colorful, acknowledged wisdom.

III. Gérard's Proverbs

In addition to what we have already outlined about how a proverb may be recognized as such, we might add here that the vernacular, and vernacular proverbs by extension, were essentially rustic in nature. At the start, after all, the vernacular was not a literary language, but a spoken form of Latin, deformed over the centuries by circumstance, regional isolation, and foreign (in the case of French, Germanic) invasion, which calls to mind Quintilian's distinction between *urbanitas* and *rusticitas* in cultural and linguistic terms.[26] Indeed, according to numerous historians of the French language, the "birth" of the French language was signaled by the words "lingua romana rustica" that qualified the language used to address Charles the Bald's

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[25] Zumthor, "L'épiphénomène proverbial," p. 321

[26] Quintilian, *The Orator's Education Volume III: Books 6-8*, ed. and trans. Donald A. Russell (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), p. 71 (Book 6.3)

and his army in the ninth-century Oaths of Strasbourg.[27] And although Old French was a language of considerable refinement, possessing a flourishing poetic tradition by the time Gérard was writing his treatises, it long remained "rustic" in the pejorative sense, inasmuch as it was seen as a language for worldly entertainment, rather than for the pursuit of knowledge and wisdom.

This dichotomy begins to break down in the thirteenth century, with vernacular works of an encyclopedic character, but even Jean de Meun's *Rose*, for all its erudition, contains its fair share of petty entertainment and guffawing vulgarity (which, tellingly, monks like Gui de Mori, in his *remaniement*, sought to efface).[28] I would argue that one may trace the roots of this "breakdown" to vernacular proverb collections, especially the *Proverbes au villain*, the earliest collection of vernacular proverbs (late twelfth century) that appears not to have been a translation, however free, of a Latin text.[29] Such a collection speaks to the attractiveness of vernacular proverbs at the time, doubtless due to the personality and living presence of the vernacular and the relative ease with which it could be manipulated. More consequential, however, is the fact that such collections of rustic proverbs begin to establish in writing the vernacular as a source of wisdom, embodying more effectively than Latin the classical rhetorical call to use words to teach, to delight, and to persuade (*docere, delectare,* and *movere*).

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[27] Bernard Cerquiglini, *La naissance du français*, (Paris: PUF, 1991)

[28] Andrea Valentini, *Le remaniement du* Roman de la Rose *par Gui de Mori: Étude et édition des interpolations d'après le manuscrit Tournai, Bibliothèque de la Ville, 101* (Brussels: Académie Royale de Belgique, 2007)

[29] See Le Roux de Lincy's introduction to *Le livre des proverbes français*. This also brings to mind the *Proverbes de Salemon et de Marcoul*, mentioned earlier, but their textual tradition spans several languages and dates back to before French was written, whereas in the case of the *Proverbes au villain*, we seem to have an authentically French text.

Furthermore, as we shall see in the following examples, Gérard's use of proverbs in particular places the vernacular in an interpretive space that had traditionally been reserved for Latin.

III.1. Gérard's Latin Proverbs

Let us begin by examining Gérard's Latin proverbs, in order to have a point of comparison for the vernacular ones. Here, I will focus on non-biblical proverbs because, as the word of God, they have a different relationship to authority. The first quotation I would like to present, from the *Septem remedia*, contains several different kinds of proverbs and demonstrates how biblical proverbs differ from non-biblical ones in terms of abstraction and rusticity:

> Unde Ieronimus: "Appetitus fornicationis anxietas est, et satietas, penitentia." Et non solum precedit peccatum istud anxietatis appetitum, inmo et multe alie molestie quas Dominus spinas vocat. [...] Iste spine sunt vigilie, timores, sollicitudines, labores, expense, hoc peccatum precedentes et concomitantes. [...] Tanta est insania amatorum carnalium et luxuriosorum ut per spinas currant ad mortem suam et expensis multis parant sibi viam in infernum. Ad penitentiam pertinet illud quod legitur in Proverbiis V. de muliere fallaci, per quam voluptas carnis intelligitur: "Novissima illius amara quasi abscintium." O vere valde insipiens est mercator qui forum tale facit unde certus est quod penitebit.

> Whence Jerome: "The desire for fornication is anxiety, and penitence [is] satisfaction." And not only does that desire for anxiety precede sin, but so too do many other troubles that the Lord calls thorns. [...] These are the thorns of the insomnia, fears, cares, labors, expenses that precede and accompany this sin. So great is the insanity of carnal lovers and of the lustful that they run through the thorns to their death, and, with so many expenses, they set themselves on the path to hell. What we read in Proverbs, chapter five, regarding the deceitful woman by whose example carnal desire can be understood, pertains to penitence: "But her end is bitter as wormwood." How very foolish is the merchant who engages in the sort of business it's certain he'll come to regret![30]

The metonymic shift that happens in the first two sentences of this passage represents in miniature the linguistic process that often leads Gérard from one quotation to the next; rather than writing "that desire for fornication," Gérard writes, "that desire for anxiety," which only

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[30] *Septem remedia* §VII. ¶ 5, Wilmart p. 202

makes sense if one recalls the equivalence Jerome draws between the fornication and anxiety. This lexical choice allows Gérard to tie the theme of the carnal lover's anxiety more closely to the subject of the thorns, among which we find "timores [fears]," which are in the same lexical field as "anxietas." At this point in the passage, Gérard latches onto another thorn—the thorn of expenses (Latin *expensa, -ae*). This connection is somewhat more difficult to follow, as it requires one to be aware of the biblical verse preceding the one he cites, which is about a woman who sells her body, a harlot (*meretrix, -icis*): "Favus enim stillans labia meretricis et nitidius oleo guttur eius [For the lips of a harlot are like a honeycomb dropping, and her throat is smoother than oil]."[31] This is the context for the proverb at the end of the passage, and which, if it was not common "among the folk," at least presents itself as universal wisdom by divorcing itself from the immediate context concerning the wares of the *meretrix* with the introduction of a masculine figure, the *mercator*. Of course, proverbs about *marchands* and *marchandise* abound in French ("On n'a jamais bon marché de méchante marchandise," for instance), and in this light, the very commonality or vulgarity of Gérard's proverb stands in stark contrast to the authoritative proverb of Jerome and to the biblical text from Proverbs about the harlot's deceptions. In a passage that relies upon following a thread of lexical connections to create coherence—passing from anxiety to fear through the thorns, then forging a link between expenses and carnal sales—it is the proverbs that move the text from Jerome's lapidary, abstract *auctoritas* to the relatable, highly memorable, "vulgar" Latin proverb. Yet, by virtue of its position at the end of this series of authoritative quotations (which also include the book of Hosea and, allegedly, Bernard, omitted above for brevity's sake), this proverb is somehow elevated. It is no longer simply about a merchant's foolishness, nor about his shadier dealings, nor even about prostitution, but about

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[31] Proverbs 5:3, Douay-Rheims translation

selling oneself to the devil by pursuing the desire for fornication. While tying the passage

together, the proverb also invites interpretation well beyond its literal meaning, and this is one of

the key markers of authority: that it is subject to interpretation and intellectual consideration.

The second non-biblical proverb demonstrates this final point more clearly, since Gérard

subjects it to his allegorical interpretation, using it as a starting-point for the second of the seven

remedies:

> Secundum vero remedium est omnes sensus corporis et precipue visum et
> auditum diligenter custodire, quia castrum obsessum non potest diu teneri, nisi
> porte eius diligenter custodiantur. Castrum dei est cor nostrum, porte huius castri
> sunt sensus nostri, et precipue visus et auditus, quia per hos precipue intrant
> exteriora ad animam, sive ad bonum suum sive ad malum, et de malis que faciunt
> isti duo sensus conqueritur Ieremias, dicens: "Intravit mors per fenestras nostras,"
> et cetera.

> The second remedy is to watch over all of the body's senses—and particularly
> those of sight and hearing—since a besieged stronghold can't hold for long,
> unless its doors are watched carefully. God's stronghold is our heart, and its doors
> are our senses—particularly sight and hearing—since through these in particular
> do exterior things enter into the soul, either to its benefit or detriment, and
> Jeremiah lamented the evils brought about by these two senses, saying, "For death
> is come up through our windows," et cetera.[32]

At the very beginning of this passage, we have another proverb of the rustic sort, belonging to

the realm of lived experience, not to mention to a body of proverbs featuring castle imagery

(such as "Car de riens désirer n'a tel / que d'acquérir autrui chatel" from Jean de Meun's *Roman

de la Rose*). What is interesting about this proverb is the way Gérard spells out the terms of the

comparison and builds the passage out from it: at first, he clarifies that the castle (or stronghold)

corresponds to the heart, and the doors to our senses. But not stopping there, he adds windows to

the castle, thematically and architecturally tying the biblical quotation (Jeremiah 9:21) into the

proverb about the castle. Of course, in the broader context of thirteenth-century writing, there is

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[32] *Septem remedia* §II. ¶ 1, Wilmart p. 187

nothing unusual about Gérard's allegorical reading of this proverb, but given his penchant for quoting acknowledged *auctoritates,* it is nevertheless noteworthy that he uses this decidedly unclassical, non-biblical proverb as a starting point. Beyond being a further example of the proverb's memorial function—the building of a sort of "memory château" for better retention of the message—and to the Old French aesthetic of registerial mixing, this passage testifies to the way in which proverbs either comment on the text they follow or invite commentary (sometimes explicitly, as is the case above). In either case, as implicit commentary on other texts, or as material for commentary, they comprise a form of authority not unlike what we see in certain legal proverbs (like the proverb "first come, first served"),[33] which, though they are not attributable to any one authority, still represent a definitive statement on a given subject.

III.2. Gérard's French Proverbs

It is perhaps because the above proverbs feature recognizable figures and structures from contemporary life—the merchant and the castle, rather than the *senator* and the *villa*—, in addition to their favoring of the concrete over the abstract, that we may think of them as belonging to "rustic" discourse. (This is generally truer of Gérard's few Old French proverbs, which, as we shall see, sometimes self-consciously push the concrete toward the absurd, while still functioning as vernacular authorities.) Now that we have seen how certain medieval Latin proverbs may serve as textual authorities in spite of their rusticity, structuring and commenting upon biblical and patristic texts, the next step in our demonstration of the shift in authority from Latin to French involves examining some of the vernacular proverbs Gérard deploys in his treatises. My first example comes from the *Septem remedia*, and contains somewhat of a strange mix of the abstract and the concrete:

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[33] Mieder, *Proverbs: A Handbook*, pp. 43-45

Unde dicit Gregorius: Pensemus quanto debemus moderamine erga illicita visum restringere nos qui mortaliter vivimus, si et mater viventium per oculos ad mortem venit. Similiter mulier Egiptiaca visum suum non bene custodivit, que male iniecit oculos suos in Ioseph qui "erat aspectu decorus[.]" [I]nsano amore devicta, non erubescebat ei sepius dicere cum magnis precibus: "Dormi mecum, dormi mecum;" et etiam inverecunde ei vim inferre volebat. *Car vraiment cuers ki de cele amour est sourmontés ne rewarde ne bas ne haut, ne povre ne rike, fors ke son desirier,* quia, sicut auctoritas Gregorii dicit: "Non expectatur ratio ubi affectio trahit."

Whence Gregory says, "Let us consider with how much control we who live mortally must check ourselves against things that are forbidden to see, if even the mother of the living was brought to death by her eyes." Similarly, the Egyptian woman did not mind her sight well, who wrongly threw her eyes upon Joseph, who was "comely to behold[.]" [O]vercome with insane love, unblushingly and pleadingly she often said, "Lie with me, lie with me," and even sought shamelessly to do violence to him. *For truly, the heart that is overcome with this love doesn't look at anything—high or low, poor or rich—except its own desire,* since, as the [or an] authority of Gregory says, "Do not wait for reason where feeling is lingering about."[34]

The clear message of this passage is that love leads to insanity, and that even a person who is well provided for and well respected, like Eve ("mater viventium") or Potiphar's wife ("mulier Egiptiaca"), if not careful to avoid looking at temptation, will go mad. The anecdote of Potiphar's wife is particularly effective in this context (Gérard draws it out a bit longer than what we have quoted above), inasmuch as it expresses how the object of one's most ardent desire can go from being wanted and implored—thus possessing a certain power over the lover ("Lie with me, lie with me")—to being utterly reviled ("[she] sought shamelessly to do violence to him"). Thus the "highs" and "lows" in terms of status and wealth are well established before Gérard uses the words "bas" and "haut" in the proverb above. Furthermore, this proverb is deceptive in its apparent simplicity, for *regarder* (here, in "ne *rewarde* ne bas ne haut") often means "consider" in Old French, without necessarily implying literal sight. But in a passage about

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[34] *Septem remedia* §II. ¶ 1, Wilmart p. 188

watching out where one's gaze falls, it is doubtless no accident that Gérard chooses this

particular verb, leading the reader to concretize the image of a heart looking neither up nor

down—neither at a poor or a rich person—but rather, at the object of its desire. As if to call

attention at once to the strangeness (perhaps mild "insanity") of this image, and to its truth,

Gérard justifies it with an authority, or perhaps "the" authority,[35] of Gregory, which places this

proverb in the vein of the Latin ones concerning the castle and the merchant, as discourse that

both interprets its context ("ne bas ne haut, ne povre ne rike") and is interpreted. Furthermore, I

would submit that the presentation of an authoritative, Gregorian proverb that seems to gloss the

vernacular one ("Non expectatur ratio ubi affectio trahit;" "Do not wait for reason where feeling

is lingering about.") gives the vernacular proverb more authority, while the vernacular infuses

the Gregorian proverb with more life, perhaps emphasizing the physical concreteness of "waiting

around" and "lingering about."

Our next example, from *De divino amore*, is a bit longer than the previous ones, but it is

worth quoting at some length on account of its including the only vernacular proverb explicitly

called out as such by Gérard. In addition, the text that follows captures in even more detail the

dynamics of authority we have been discussing.

> [Q]uamvis enim dominus tot et tanta mirabilia fecisset pro ipsis in exitu de
> Egipto, et quamvis eis promisisset terram promissionis et iam multum
> profecissent, tamen nullus eorum intravit in eam nec gustavit dulcissimos fructus
> illius terre, nisi tantum modo duo homines [...] Sic isti miseri, inmo certe
> miserrimi et infelicissimi, qui sunt corpore tantum in religione, mente vero,
> desiderio, cogitatione assidua et affectione tota morantur et habitant in mundo et
> in carnalibus concupiscentiis, perdunt corpus suum, vitam et animam suam, quia
> non ipsi implent suam ardentem concupiscentiam, non quia volunt, sed quia non

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[35] In other words, it is unclear here whether Gérard is referring to "the" authority of Gregory—an authoritative statement of his—or to "an" authority of Gregory's—one that he cites. In any case, the only locatable source for this quotation is the twelfth epistle of Bernard *Ad Carthusianos* (*Septem remedia* §II. ¶ 1, see n. 62), which does not present the text as a quotation of another authority—but this is consistent with Bernard's quotational practice.

possunt. Non enim eis deest mala voluntas, sed potestas vel copia; et quia penes voluntatem stat omne meritum, [...] et licet non sedeant plene ad mensam diaboli et mundi et carnis, ubi possint mordere aperto ore morsellos carnalium voluptatum, et si ipsos aliquantulum ipsis voluptatibus satiare, tamen in quantum possunt lambunt scutellas, hastilia et patellas ubi et in quibus cibaria fuerunt. Unde in quodam vulgari proverbio dicitur: *Pour chou leke li ciens en le paiele, pour chou kil n'i puet mordre.* Sed multo libentius morderent pleno ore, si possent. Unde in libro Paralipomenon dixit Adonibezech, idest diabolus vel mundus: "Septuagintia reges sub mensa mea colligebant micas que cadebant de mensa mea;" idest ideo colligebant minima mense mee, scilicet recordationes carnalium voluptatum, quia non poterant plene sedere ad mensam voluptatum carnalium mearum, de quo eos tam valde penitebat. Sic isti miserrimi, quia non possunt implere opere concupiscentias et voluptates suas carnales, quas toto corde appetunt, lambunt. *Las,* lambunt eas et adorant quantum possunt, ut sic aliquantulum refrigerent ardorem cupiditatis sue. Et scitis quid devenit eis inde sine dubio.

For although the Lord had performed so many and such great marvels for them when they went out from Egypt, and although He had promised them the promised land and they had already made much progress, none of them entered into it or tasted the sweetest fruits of that land, except just two men. [...] The same goes for those wretches—certainly the most wretched and unhappy of all—who take part in religion only with their bodies, but in their minds, desires, constant thoughts, and all longings, they dally and live in the world and in carnal desires; they destroy their bodies, their lives, and their souls, since they do not themselves fulfill their burning desire because they don't want to, but because they aren't able. For they aren't lacking ill will, but rather power, or wealth, and since "all merit resides in intention," [...] and though they may not sit entirely at the table of the Devil, and the world, and the flesh—where they could chew, mouths open, the morsels of carnal pleasures, and satisfy themselves a bit with those pleasures— still, as far as they are able, they lick the trays, and forks, and plates, where and upon which food once was. Whence it is said in a certain vernacular proverb ["vulgari proverbio"]: *Thus does the dog lick the plate, since he can't take a bite out of it.* " But they would much rather take a big bite, if they could. Whence in the book of the Paralipomenon, Adonibezec—that is, the Devil, or the world—said: "Seventy kings under my table gathered up the crumbs that fell from my table;" that is, they have thus gathered up the smallest things from my table—that is, memories of carnal pleasures—because they were not able to sit fully at the table of my carnal pleasures, which they mightily regret. Such are those most wretched men: because they cannot fulfill in action those carnal desires and pleasures of theirs, which they long for wholeheartedly, they lap at them. *Alas*, they lap at them and adore them as much as they can, so that they may cool the fires of their desire a bit. And you all know what doubtless comes to them as a result of that.[36]

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[36] *De divino amore* §II.1.A ¶ 8, Wilmart pp. 214-215

The most salient feature of this long passage is the way in which it is structured around the *vulgare proverbium* about the dog—a fact which would have been even clearer, had it been possible to include the long passage leading up to this one, in which Gérard delves into interpretive detail regarding the manna that God provided to the Israelites to sustain them through the desert, and which they came to detest. The broader point that Gérard makes in this discussion about bodily and spiritual nourishment is directed at *ill-intentioned* monks who go through the motions of religion, partaking in devotional practice not because the spirit compels them to, but because they lack the courage to "chew, mouths open, the morsels of carnal pleasures." This is not so much an admonitory message as it is an outright condemnation of those with ill intentions, whom only wealth and power separate from the basest debauchery. They are subhuman—like dogs, as Gérard intimates in describing their licking ("they lick the trays, and forks, and plates," "lap at [carnal desires]" etc.) before and after the proverb. But in addition to being condemnable, they are also risible, and another way in which this passage seems to radiate outward from the vernacular proverb is in the humor that ties it together—the dog that wishes he could eat the plate, the kings (and, by extension, monks) lapping at the crumbs of carnal pleasure's memory, not realizing that this behavior leads as surely to damnation as does "sit[ting] at the table." The vernacular proverb ties all of the most important materials in this passage together—the manna, monks, kings, crumbs—and masterfully weaves them into a long text possessing elements of the tragic, the humorous, and the censorious, just as the proverb itself does.[37] As in the other examples we have considered thus far, the authority of this vernacular

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[37] Not to mention elements of woefully familiar medieval Christian antisemitism, since the ill-intentioned monks, who are dogs, are also compared at length to the ungrateful Jews wandering in the desert.

proverb springs in large part from the structuring, suggestive, interpretative force that is usually the purview of loftier, more abstract Latin discourse.

The demonstration of the shift in authority that we are trying to document in Gérard's treatise would not be complete without a final example showing, so to speak, the exception that proves the rule—a French proverb, in this case, that does not partake of the "rustic" expression and concreteness that characterize the others. Consider the French proverb at the bottom of this passage:

> Quintum remedium est occupatio cordis in scripturis divinis et sanctis meditationibus et corporis in bonis operibus[...] quia, ut dicit Bernardus, otiose menti maligni spiritus malas cogitationes immitunt[.] Ideo dicit Ieronimus: "Semper aliquid operis fac, ut semper te diabolus inveniat occupatum," quia, nisi nos invenerit in aliquibus bonis operibus occupatos, *il nous metera en oeuvre male*, scilicet cupiditatis et mali amoris, quia diffinitio amoris est animi vacantis passio. *C'est adire k'amours si est une passions ki naist en cuer wiseus*. Que passio, si est de deo, vocatur caritas; si vero est ex carnali amore, vocatur cupiditas.

> The fifth remedy is to occupy the heart with the Holy Scriptures and solemn meditations, and the body with good works[...] since, as Bernard says, "Evil spirits put evil thoughts into the idle mind[.] For this reason, Jerome says: "Always do some work, in order that the devil may always find you occupied," since, should he not find us occupied with some good work, *he shall put us to evil work*—that is, [the work] of lust or evil love, because the definition of love is the passion of the unoccupied soul. *That is to say, love is a passion that is born in an idle heart.* And this passion, if it is of God, is called charity; if, however it comes from carnal love, it is called lust.[38]

Though not as lapidary as perhaps it could be, the French "amours si est une passions ki naist en cuer wiseus" is a fine proverb in its own right, in addition to being an interesting translation of the Latin proverb, "amor est animi vacantis passio." Inasmuch as the Old French *oisif* ("wiseus") frequently stands in for the Latin *vacans, -antis* (at least once as a synonymic

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[38] *Septem remedia* §V.1., Wilmart p. 197

reduplication of "vacant"),[39] we might be tempted to see a simple translation here, thereby suggesting that Gérard felt a need to gloss the word "vacantis" above in French, or perhaps to give the Latin a more memorable French rendering. I do not think either of these is the case, first and foremost because the verb is very common; second, because Gérard uses the verb *vacare* elsewhere (in what appears to be his own Latin);[40] and third, because in a literal translation, one would expect "en *esprit/ame* wiseus(e)," yet Gérard substitutes the heart for the soul or mind. That said, the crux, as in Guillaume de Lorris's *Roman de la Rose*, is the meaning of *oisif*—does it have the same connotative neutrality as the Latin *vacans*?[41] The preponderance of evidence would suggest not: when Gérard was writing in the mid-twelfth century, *oisif* had much more pejorative connotations than the rather neutral Latin *vacans*—a linguistic fact of which Gérard is certainly aware, given the distinction he draws in the final sentence of the passage above. Referring to the Latin "definition of love," Gérard explains that if the passion of the "animus vacans [unoccupied mind]" is of God, it is called charity, but if it comes from carnal love, it is called lust. This implies that it is possible for the *animus vacans* to be *vacans* either because it is unoccupied by carnal desires, or indeed because it is unoccupied with good thoughts and deeds. The same is not true of *oisif*: Gérard intends the Old French proverb not as a petty translation for the lexically challenged, but as clear condemnation of the *coeur oisif*, using the word *oisif* not to gloss *vacans*, but to hark back to the pseudo-Bernardine warning about "the idle mind" ("otiose

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[39] See the first entry in the Grand Godefroy for "vacant," from Oresme, "[I]ls sont vacans et oyseux et se pourvoient de leur vivre sans labeur."

[40] *De divino amore* §II.1.A. ¶ 2, Wilmart p. 212

[41] Gregory M. Sadlek discusses the meaning of *oisif* in depth, particularly as it relates to the character Oiseuse in Guillaume's *Rose*, in "Interpreting Guillaume de Lorris' Oiseuse: Geoffrey Chaucer as Witness," *South Central Review* 10, no. 1 (1993): 2-37. He concludes that although Chaucer was cognizant of a non-pejorative meaning, he views "idylnesse" or *oisiveté* with distrust, and perhaps outright disapproval.

menti"), since *oisif* and *otiosus, -a, -um* are etymologically related. We might even go so far as to claim that Gérard's Old French proverb, lofty in its abstraction, derives some of its authority from Bernard for the purpose of effacing the nuanced ambiguity of the Latin.[42] At least in this passage, although the good and bad occupations of the mind are present in more or less equal measure, the French bits highlight only the bad ("il nous metera en oeuvre male;" "amours si est une passions ki naist en cuer wiseus"), and for a brief moment, French seems to lose its status as the language of song and romance, and to assume the admonishing tone of so many Latin authorities.

IV. Authority and Code-Switching

At this stage, let us summarize the argument as presented in the foregoing pages. In order to show how Gérard confers authority upon French in his treatises, we first considered these treatises as a memorial work (a sort of personal, devotional handbook or florilegium), arguing that Gérard assigns unwonted authority to French by elevating it as a memorial language in theological discourse—a distinction typically reserved for Latin. Second, Gérard gives greater authority to French by using its proverbs to structure and illuminate Latin texts and theological discourse; in the final example we studied above, the French proverb seems fully to assume the status of a Latin *auctoritas.* What is clear in this discussion of the ways in which Gérard makes French into a more authoritative language is that in these treatises, the cracks in Latin's linguistic authority are unusually visible. And while it is unlikely that Gérard, as if a spiritual ancestor of du Bellay and Ronsard, was consciously modifying dynamics of linguistic authority, his writing is a remarkable example of how monastic theologians like Gérard used their own language to fulfill intellectual and spiritual needs that were long within the purview of Latin alone.

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[42] See n. 164 in *Septem remedia* §V.1. regarding the provenance of this "diffinitio amoris."

Yet for all our discussion of language and shifting authority, we have not yet asked why Gérard uses one language or another. Scholarship on bilingualism and textual code-switching in the Middle Ages, especially before the fourteenth century, has tended to frame the issue as one of linguistic competency—as Siegfried Wenzel explains in *Macaronic Sermons: Bilingualism and Preaching in Late-Medieval England*, the prevailing view of medieval scholars, following in the footsteps of Albert Lecoy de la Marche's late-nineteenth-century study,[43] is that bilingual sermons were written down (or transcribed by *reportatores*) in one language (Latin) to be delivered in either Latin or the local vernacular, according to audience, and that use of the vernacular was guided almost exclusively by practical considerations (hard-to-translate idioms, rare words, etc.).[44] Yet Wenzel's study, like this one, demonstrates that there is art in medieval bilingual writing, and that imperfect knowledge of Latin (for example) cannot reasonably account for or "explain away" every manifestation of the vernacular. For his part, Wenzel relies on current research about bilingualism to argue that medieval code-switching, like modern-day code-switching, implies fluency in both languages, and he cites ample late-medieval textual evidence testifying to bilingual delivery of sermons to mixed audiences, for instance because the preacher wanted to hide something from the laity,[45] or to "create a language that with its combined virtues of lucid expository prose and heightened rhetorical appeal was well suited for delivery from the pulpit."[46] But even removing the dimension of delivery from consideration, Wenzel sees bilingualism as "the natural result of written discourse by fluent bilingual speakers,"

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[43] Albert Lecoy de la Marche, *La Chaire française au moyen âge, spécialement au XIIIe siècle, d'après les manuscrits contemporains* (Paris: Didier, 1968)

[44] Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, ch. 6, esp. pp. 116-118

[45] ibid., p. 121

[46] ibid., p. 127

and as proof that "at the time, and perhaps in a specific milieu, Latin was very much a living idiom."[47]

The first question this raises concerns nature, and Gérard's treatises have something interesting to say about this, not least because Gérard's mother tongue was, unlike Old English, itself a form of vulgar Latin. While Gérard's bilingualism may be the "natural result of written discourse by fluent bilingual speakers," his particular usage of Latin, however we characterize fluency, challenges the notion of "Latin" itself: as we saw in the Latin proverbs above, Gérard's treatises contain Latin from across the regesterial spectrum, from the abstract and learned to the concrete and rustic, and even from across the spectrum of grammatical correctness, since he often makes errors in using *suus, -a, um* or *eius* to designate possession (likely because this distinction was not observed in the vernacular).[48] In which Latin was Gérard fluent, then? For although we may read Shakespeare with relative ease, few today would proclaim themselves fluent in Elizabethan English, just as Gérard's Latin was not Ovid's, though Gérard quotes and glosses him.

The second question Wenzel's conclusion raises has to do with to what degree Latin was a "living idiom." We know that Latin continued to be a language of serious written expression, especially of the theological sort, well beyond the Middle Ages; but we also know that its use was, by the time Gérard was writing, largely restricted to the clerisy. In light of this, it would hardly be fair to call Latin a dead idiom, but it is significant that if it was living, it no longer had

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[47] ibid., p. 127

[48] The editor of the fifteenth-century print edition of Gérard's treatises corrects Gérard's usage systematically.

the same primacy as it did *Cicerone consule*.[49] I would therefore submit that if Latin is to be

thought of as a "living idiom" in the thirteenth century and beyond, it takes its life in large part

from the vernacular, almost vampirically assimilating its vocabulary, forms of expression, and

grammatical structures (particularly regarding the use of prepositions and parataxis).

With these two questions in mind, I would like to suggest that Gérard switches between

Latin and French not only because it is "natural" to him or because Latin is as alive as French,

but also because at this point in the history of the French language, the vernacular begins to

assert itself as a language of authority on its own terms. Considering medieval code-switching as

stemming from the observable shift in authority from Latin to the vernacular that is in evidence

in Gérard's treatises may account for the different types of code-switching that occur, sometimes

within a single text;[50] and although this is not within the scope of this dissertation, I imagine that

scholarship focusing more closely on broader questions regarding the dynamics of authority

between languages will bear fruit, since these dynamics do play a part in determining how

linguistic choice is made both consciously and unconsciously.[51]

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[49] I am simplifying here; J.N. Adams, in *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), traces the history of bilingual discourse from ancient Rome until the fourth century CE—Latin always coexisted with other languages (especially Greek), and code-switching recorded in all sorts of texts began long before the Middle Ages. But it is still true that by the thirteenth century, Latin was largely a language learned in school, not spoken on the streets.

[50] Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, ch. 2

[51] This is not to say that authority does not come up in the literature on medieval code-switching at all—indeed, scholars such as Mary Catherine Davidson have studied how speakers in medieval literary texts use one language or another to "construct authority and to restrict membership across social and literate groups" (p. 473). While it is surely true that code-switching may help a speaker to establish authority in order to achieve a variety of rhetorical aims, I have not been able to locate work that focuses on the relationship of authority between the languages involved in code-switching. Mary Catherine Davidson, "Codeswitching and Authority in Late-Medieval England," *Neophilologus* 87 (2003), pp. 473-483

At the very least in Gérard's treatises, we can make the case that the authority that the vernacular derives at once from its status as a language memory and devotion, and from its long contact with Latin lies behind many of the choices he makes. For part of what Gérard is doing in these treatises is establishing himself as an authority on the subjects of carnal and divine love, and what distinguishes him from the multitudinous authorities he quotes (with or without attribution) is precisely his use of Old French. Gérard's choice of language (in exclamations, for instance) may not always be a fully conscious one, yet it is still a way for him to express his feeling, his devotion, his authority on his own terms. Surely, he was well aware of the distance between his Latin and that of his revered authorities—the lengthier passages that appear to be Gérard's own prose couldn't contrast more sharply with the prose of an Augustine, a Jerome, a Gregory, or a Bernard. But Gérard does not have to be a great Latin prose stylist to connect, since he has vernacular tools that the Latin authorities do not.

Hereupon, we return to the proverb with which we began this chapter: "Cedite, iam caelum patria Maeonidae est." As far Gérard's treatises are concerned, "giving up" means recognizing the limitations of Latin, and accepting a humbler home than the one inhabited by the great Latin writers of centuries past. It means embracing the life of the vernacular and vernacular authority. And although Gérard's treatises, in their use of proverbs, only hint at what this embrace looks (or will look) like, they are perhaps the earliest example of vernacular authority's growth, which takes off in the mid-to-late thirteenth-century with translations of the Bible, with

encyclopedic vernacular works, and with the flourishing of vernacular prose, all of which we

may wonder if Gérard knew.[52]

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[52] On the topic of encyclopedic works, I wonder whether Gérard refers to an Old French or Latin bestiary in *De divino amore* §II.2.B. ¶ 2 Wilmart p. 219. His use of *grifons* and *grifes* rather than the Latin equivalents may suggest that the text he is drawing from or thinking of is in French. Beyond the possibility of contact with a bestiary, there is no evidence that Gérard was aware of specific vernacular prose or encyclopedic texts.

Chapter IV. Quoting and Rewriting the Church Fathers: The Making of Thirteenth-Century Authority

In the previous chapter, we examined the question of vernacular authority by tracing a shift in authority from Latin to the vernacular through Gérard's use of French as a memorial language and in expressions of emotion. Along the way, we saw how Gérard's French often interacts with Latin quotations not only by commenting upon them, but also by serving as material for Latin commentary. In this chapter, we will continue to explore how Gérard constructs authority through quotation in his treatises, this time by asking how Gérard establishes his own authority. Arriving at an answer to this question will require us to consider several points in succession. First, in what sense may Gérard be referred to as an authority? Second, in treatises characterized first and foremost by their copious use of quotation both loose and strict, how can we distinguish Gérard's voice? Third, what common traits do passages attributable to Gérard share, and how do these passages function rhetorically, in contrast to the other authorities Gérard uses to thunder against the company of women or to expound upon the nature of divine love? And finally, what do those passages show us about the construction of an authoritative identity in an increasingly literate medieval society?

In order to begin answering the first question—that is, in what sense Gérard may be referred to as an authority—let us begin by revisiting the meaning of the word "authority." As noted in the last chapter, there are important differences between authority in the modern sense, which tends to focus on a person's or a text's power to shape opinion or command obedience, and authority as a translation of the Latin *auctoritas*. The definition of this word in Latin is

perhaps slipperier than we have let on thus far, and in the discussion that will follow, it is

important for us to keep in mind how it changed, and what relationship it bears to authorship.[1]

To speak of *auctoritas* and authority requires us first to discuss the noun *auctor* in some

depth, and for two reasons. First and foremost, current scholarship would be more likely to ask

not "Was Gérard an authority?" but "Was Gérard an *auctor*?" Second, and more obviously, the

noun *auctoritas* is linguistically derived from *auctor*. Considering the second point as a way into

addressing the first, we are on etymologically thin ice, with scholars of authorship and authority

providing different accounts of the word's origins, and therefore, subtly different accounts of

who may be called an *auctor*, and in what circumstances. In his foundational work on the

medieval conception of authorship, Alastair Minnis looks toward medieval writers themselves—

mainly Uguccione (Hugutio) of Pisa and Dante—for the origins of the word *auctor,* which "was

supposed to be related to the Latin verbs *agere* 'to act or perform', *augere* 'to grow' and *auieo*

'to tie', and to the Greek noun *autentim* 'authority'."[2] But medieval etymologies have their

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[1] When I began this chapter, I endeavored to find a critical, etymological definition of *auctoritas* in the Middle Ages which I might be able to take as a starting point. As my research below demonstrates, I was not able to find such a definition. Following the work of Alastair Minnis (cited and discussed below), scholars have generally considered the question of *auctoritas* alongside authorship, assuming that *auctoritas* necessarily requires an *auctor*, or that medieval etymologies may be taken more or less at face value, or that one medieval writer's definition (i.e. Bonaventure's) may be understood as representative of broader medieval understanding. I have therefore attempted at some length here to revisit the sources upon which critical conceptions of *auctoritas* and medieval authorship have been based in order to advance my own definition. My findings here, which include the first reassessment of primary sources Minnis quotes only in English translation, fundamentally reshape current understanding of how *auctoritas* relates to authorship in the Middle Ages, and I therefore want to share them with my readers, even though they are ultimately somewhat tangential to my own attempt at definition, which begins on page 12.

[2] Alastair Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), p. 54. Minnis' book has been particularly influential in shaping scholarly thought on the question of etymology; see also Andrew Bennett, *The Author* (New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 39, and Stephen Donovan, Danuta Zadwoma-Fjellestad, Rolf Lundén, eds., *Authority Matters: Rethinking the Theory and Practice of Authorship* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2008), p. 2

limitations, as anyone who is familiar with Isidore of Seville's often fantastical etymologies can

attest, and in this particular case, the derivation of *auctor* from *auieo*, for which Dante made a

famous case in the *Convivio*,[3] appears to be apocryphal, based as it is on a Latin verb not attested

outside of Dante or Uguccione.[4] Medieval French and English scholarship generally complicates

the matter even further by adding another question into the mix—the apparent interchangeability

of the words *auctor, autor, actor*, *auteur, and acteur*, which has been studied meticulously by

Carolynn van Dyke.[5] While one might prefer a perspective more grounded in modern

philology—i.e., that *auctor* is quite simply formed from the stem of the fourth principal part

(*auctus, -a, -um*) of the verb *augēre* ("increase, nourish, grow")—thinking about the etymologies

and synonymic resonances proposed above does reveal the complexity of the concept of an

auctor in the Middle Ages, combining concepts of action, origination, intrinsic worth, unity or

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[3] Dante Alighieri, *Il Convivio* (*The Banquet*), trans. Richard H. Lansing, Book 4, Chapter 6, accessed digitally here: https://digitaldante.columbia.edu/library/the-convivio/book-04/

[4] According to Donovan, Zadwoma-Fjellestad, and Lundén in *Authority Matters*: "*Avieo* cannot be found in any standard dictionary of either medieval Latin or Neo-Latin, though the latest Dutch dictionary of Medieval Latin [...] lists two instances of the word, from 1477 and 1480, in texts with very limited circulations. This ghost word was created by Huguccio of Pisa, a twelfth-century grammarian who tried to explain the variant spellings of *auctor/autor* (see *Dictionary of the Middle Ages,* ed. Joseph Strayer, New York, 1985, VI, 327-28.)" p. 2, n. 5.

[5] Carolynn van Dyke, "The *Auctor* in the Paratext: Rubrics, Glosses, and the Construction of Vernacular Authorship," *Modern Philology* 115, no. 1 (August 2017), pp. 1-30. See also Jan M. Ziolkowski, "Cultures of Authority in the Long Twelfth Century," *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 108, no. 4 (2009), pp. 421-448, esp. p. 431 for more etymological context. Ziolkowski's presentation of the etymology and history of the word *auctoritas* has been helpful in forming the account I give in this chapter.

connectedness (in *auieo*), and ultimate authority.[6] Minnis attempts to simplify this complexity in

the following definition:

> The term *auctor* may profitably be regarded as an accolade bestowed upon a
> popular writer by those later scholars and writers who used extracts from his
> works as sententious statements or *auctoritates*, gave lectures on his works in the
> form of textual commentaries, or employed them as literary models. The criteria
> for the award of this accolade were tacitly applied: 'intrinsic worth' and
> 'authenticity'.

Minnis' definition is highly difficult to justify, however, given the examples he chooses. If

auctor, in the first place, might be "profitably regarded as an accolade," why does Minnis

provide no examples of the use of this particular word as an accolade? Minnis' argument that

"authenticity," which he defines as "a saying or piece of writing [being] the genuine production

of a named *auctor*," is undermined by the very authority he brings to bear in discussing what he

sees as the inferior *auctoritas* of unattributed works. He supplies the following translation from

Hugues of Saint-Cher regarding biblical Apocrypha:

> They are called apocryphal because the author is unknown. But because there is
> no doubt of their truth they are accepted by the Church, for the teaching of mores
> rather than for the defence of the faith. However, if *neither the author nor* the
> truth were known, they could not be accepted, like the book on the infancy of the
> Saviour and the assumption of the Blessed Virgin.[7]

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[6] Ziolkowski (ibid., p. 424) gives an account of the basic etymology of *auctor* according to
which the *-tor* suffix is considered to have been added to the verb stem "aug" of the verb *augēre*.
The voiced consonant ("g") would then have become unvoiced ("c") before the consonant "t." I
disagree with this account, since it cannot be argued that all nouns ending in "-tor" were formed
this way. Consider *arator* ("ploughman"), *inspector* ("viewer, observer"), and *victor*. These
nouns come from the verbs *arare*, *inspicere*, and *vinco*, respectively; if Ziolkowski were correct
about taking the stem of the verb ending in a consonant and affixing *-tor* to it, then the
corresponding agent nouns would be *artor** (ar+tor), *inspictor**, and *vinctor**. That said, all
agent nouns ending in *-tor* can be formed by adding *-or* to the stem of the fourth principal part of
the relevant verb. This makes sense when one considers that the passive (the fourth principal part
being the perfect passive participle) in Latin had to assume the functions of the middle voice. To
this point, see *Allen and Greenough's New Latin Grammar*, rev. ed. Anne Mahoney
(Newburyport, MA: Focus Publishing, 2001), p. 70 and p. 73, n. 2.

[7] Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, p. 55. The emphasis is mine.

The original text, for which Minnis appears to give an incorrect reference in n. 23 (*Postilla super librum Paralipomenon,* prologus [pr. *Hugonis postilla,* i, 295v]), simply does not include the text I have italicized. This text, both in the Paris edition of 1530 that Minnis quotes[8] and in the later Venice edition of 1703,[9] comes from Hugues' commentary on Jerome's famous *Prologus galeatus* ("helmed prologue"), which heads up the Bible's four books of Kings. For the purposes of the following analysis, I will quote the passage from the beginning in Latin and in English:

> [...] dicit [Hieronimus] hunc p[r]ologum posse dici principium Galeatum metaphoricè, quia sicut capiti superponitur galea, & armatum contra hostes defendit, sic prologus iste omni libro superponi potest, & defendit sacram Scripturam contra illos, qui inducunt apocrypha pro veris. Dicitur autem *dupliciter* liber aliquis apocryphus, vel quia auctor ignoratur, sed veritas patet: et tales recipit Ecclesia, non ad probationem fidei, sed ad morum instructionem. **Vel quia veritas dubitatur,** & tales non recipit Ecclesia, ut est liber de infantia Salvatoris, & de assumptione corporis Beatae Virginis.

> Jerome says that this prologue can be metaphorically called the "helmed beginning," since just as the helmet is put on top of the head, defending the one armed against enemies, so too can this prologue be placed at the top of all books and defend the sacred Scripture against those who take the Apocrypha as true. But a given book is said to be apocryphal on two accounts; *either* because its author is unknown (but its truth is manifest, and these, the Church receives—not for proving matters of faith, but for moral instruction), *or* because its truth is in

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[8] Although 18ᵗʰ-century editions of this work are widely available, the specific volume published in the 1530s in Paris to which Minnis refers is, according to the WorldCat database, only available in eleven German libraries; it is not available online. We may be assured, however, that the editions we can access are identical in their text to the Paris edition, because the editor of John Cosin's *Scholastical History of the Canon of the Holy Scripture* quoted the very same text we have under consideration from the 1530s Paris edition in Latin. See J. Sansom, ed., *The Works of the Right Reverend Father in God John Cosin, Lord Bishop of Durham*, vol. 3 (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1849), p. 221, n. 5.

[9] easily accessible here: http://sermones.net/_postille/

> doubt (and these, the Church does not receive, such as the book of the Infancy of
> the Savior, and of the Assumption of the Body of the Blessed Virgin[10]

The Latin, in short, tells a very different story, and a somewhat more interesting one. Whereas Minnis' translation clearly states that books are called apocryphal because their authors are unknown, as if this were the very definition of apocryphal, Hugues in fact writes that a given book is considered apocryphal for one of two reasons; on the one hand, because it is unattributed, and on the other hand, because the book's *truth* ("veritas") is dubious. Why does Hugues introduce this distinction right after mentioning that the purpose of the prologue he is commenting upon is to "defend the sacred Scripture against those who take Apocrypha as true"? Because his thirteenth-century view on the so-called Apocrypha differs from the one Jerome expresses here, and, given the airtight argument against the Apocrypha that Jerome advances, [11] Hugues needs to explain the Church's current position: the Apocrypha cannot be used for proving matters of faith ("ad probationem fidei") but *can* be used for moral instruction ("ad morum instructionem"). The question of authorship in all of this is irrelevant; it only appears to be relevant in Minnis' translation because he emphasizes and adds the word author unjustifiably, and removes the passage from its context.

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[10] Vol. 1, 218v in the Venice edition. The text of the thirteenth-century manuscript, BnF MS lat. 363, folio 189r, first quarter of right-hand column, is identical to that of the print edition, with the exception of the following: "tales recipit Ecclesia, non **approbationem** fidei, sed ad morum instructionem." The printer understandably appears to have taken the double "p" of *approbationem* as a mistranscription of *ad + probationem*; although the meaning is relatively clear either way, I would suggest that "**ad** appropbationem" is what was intended here. Or indeed, "approbationem fidei" stands in apposition to "tales," no preposition required.

[11] Jerome explains that since the Hebrew alphabet contains only twenty-two letters, and further, since this number has clear significance throughout the Old Testament, the books therein must number no more than twenty-two. This makes it impossible for any of the Apocrypha to be included in the cannon. The *Prologus galeatus* is available online in Latin and English here: http://www.bible-researcher.com/jerome.html#note1

Returning to Minnis' definition of the *auctor*, it is clear, at least from the above example, that "intrinsic worth" matters a great deal more than "authenticity" defined as "the genuine production of a named *auctor*." For Hugues, whether the apocryphal book of Wisdom was written by Solomon or by Marcoul is manifestly less important than the book's patent truth ("veritas patet"). Furthermore, Hugues uses the word *auctor*, but Minnis' definition does not match Hugues' use of the word, since in the passage we have quoted above, it cannot reasonably be construed as an accolade. The same goes for the text Minnis quotes from Saint Bonaventure, who asks whether Peter the Lombard may be thought of as the *auctor* of his works, when God is the *auctor* of the doctrine contained in them.[12] Minnis' chief examples in favor of the privileged status of medieval *auctor*ship speak to an apparently limited view of the *auctor*—the real, documented use of the word *auctor* by Latin writers, at least through the thirteenth century, refers either to God or to a book's *efficient cause*, without respect to the value of the work produced. In this light, it would perhaps be well to stop speaking of *auctores* altogether, since medieval authors themselves overwhelmingly did not refer to each other or to their predecessors in this way.[13] To speak of a medieval *auctor* in modern critical discourse is therefore often "to

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[12] Bonaventure, *Commentary on Peter Lombard's* Sentences*: Extracts from Exposition of the Prologue*, Question 4, in A.J. Minnis and A.B. Scott, eds., *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism c. 1100-c. 1375: The Commentary Tradition*, rev. ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 228. Bonaventure makes a semantic distinction in this passage, *not* an honorific one. See also Minnis' commentary on this passage in *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, pp. 133-134.

[13] After perusing the *Patrologia Latina Database,* the copious works at www.aquinas.cc provided by The Aquinas Institute, and the anthology *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism* (cited above), I have not found any usage of the word *auctor* (or its declensions) in Latin that disproves this claim.

employ [a] critical ter[m] which derive[s] [its] meaning from modern, not medieval, literary theory."[14]

The same is not true of *auctoritas*, a word and concept of which medieval writers, including our Gérard, made abundant use. If I have dedicated so much space to combatting the pervasive modern critical category of the *auctor*, it is because a clear appraisal of authority and authorship in the Middle Ages requires a greater degree of precision in critical vocabulary, and deserves a vocabulary that is grounded in medieval usage. We must bear in mind, after all, that Dante's etymological treatment (in Italian) of the word *autor* in the fourth book of *Il Convivio* comes in the context of an extended discussion about "loftiness of imperial and philosophic *authorities* [emphasis mine]"—he is only interested in the *autor* inasmuch as it provides him with a convenient means to explain that the *autor* is, by virtue of its (false) Greek etymology

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[14] Minnis, *Medieval Literary Theory*, p. 45

autentim "worthy of faith and obedience, [whence] we can see that authority means 'pronouncement worthy of faith and obedience.'"[15]

Having seen why the word *auctor* as it is defined, received, and used in modern critical literature does not jibe with its contextualized medieval usage, let us look more specifically at *auctoritas*, attempting to trace the shifts in its meaning from the Classical period through the Middle Ages. As we mentioned above, the word *auctoritas*, a derivative of *auctor*, comes from the verb *augēre*, meaning "to increase, nourish, grow." In the earliest texts analyzed by Lewis and Short,[16] *auctoritas* meant something closer to "what an *auctor* does" (hence, "a producing, production, invention") than to "the quality of an *auctor*," as one might expect by analogy with such nouns as *honestas* ("honorableness"), *paupertas* ("poverty"), or *veritas* ("truth").

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[15] Dante Alighieri, *Il Convivio* (*The Banquet*)*,* trans. Richard H. Lansing, Book 4, Chapter 6, accessed digitally here: https://digitaldante.columbia.edu/library/the-convivio/book-04/ ; "Above, in the third chapter of this book, a promise was made to discuss the loftiness of the imperial and philosophic authorities. Therefore, having discussed the imperial authority, I must continue my digression and take up the subject of the authority of the Philosopher, in keeping with my promise. Here we must first observe what this word "authority" means, for there is a greater necessity to know this in discussing the philosophic as opposed to the imperial authority, which by virtue of its majesty does not seem open to question. It should be known, then, that "authority" is nothing but "the pronouncement of an author." This word, namely "auctor" without the third letter *c*, has two possible sources of derivation. One is a verb that has very much fallen out of use in Latin and which signifies more or less "to tie words together," that is, "auieo." Anyone who studies it carefully in its first form will observe that it displays its own meaning, for it is made up only of the ties of words, that is, of the five vowels alone, which are the soul and tie of every word, and is composed of them in a different order, so as to portray the image of a tie. For beginning with A it turns back to U, goes straight through to I and E, then turns back and comes to O, so that it truly portrays this image: A, E, I, O, U, which is the figure of a tie. Insofar as "author" is derived and comes from this verb, it is used only to refer to poets who have tied their words together with the art of poetry; but at present we are not concerned with this meaning. The other source from which "author" derives, as Uguccione attests in the beginning of his book *Derivations*, is a Greek word pronounced "*autentim*" which in Latin means "worthy of faith and obedience." Thus "author," in this derivation, is used for any person deserving of being believed and obeyed. From this comes the word which we are presently treating, namely "authority"; hence we can see that authority means "pronouncement worthy of faith and obedience." Consequently, when I prove that Aristotle is most worthy of faith and obedience, it will be evident that his words are the supreme and highest authority. [...]"

[16] "auctoritas" in Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *A New Latin Dictionary*

Nevertheless, the latter sense prevails in Classical Latin, mostly because of the ample juridical use of the word.[17] To this point, J.P.V.D. Balsdon has shown that, at least in Ciceronian usage, *auctoritas* found itself in a relationship of near synonymy with *consilium* ("advice, counsel"); where they were aligned in meaning, they often referred to decrees of the senate—a concrete manifestation of the abstract "authority" that was seen as "the Senate's function in government." It is from this sense, perhaps, that the Dantean notion of being worthy of obedience stems. Where the meanings of these *auctoritas* and *consilium* diverged, however, the abstractness of the word was preserved, bringing it closer to synonymy with *dignitas*: "Anyone who spoke in the Senate gave *consilium*. A senior senator who spoke early in the debate spoke with *auctoritas* and, if things went properly, made the side on which he spoke the winning side [...] Yet the senior senator's *auctoritas* did not depend on his success in carrying the House with him."[18] This was surely fortunate for the senior senator, since "It was a feature and in part a cause of the failure of republicanism at the end that the repositories of *auctoritas* in the Senate were so little fitted for their responsibility or, alternatively, were so easily frightened from discharging it;" in this light, it is not surprising that the concrete sense of *auctoritas* did not overtake the abstract as the word made its way from antiquity to Gérard.

By the High Middle Ages when Gérard was writing, after more than a thousand years of Christian exegesis, *auctoritas* had indeed come to possess a specific concrete meaning that flowed from the abstract sense of *dignitas*: an authoritative pronouncement, one "worthy" (*dignus*) of being quoted—a near synonym, in fact, for "quotation," with the distinction that an

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[17] The entry in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (volume II, p. 1213) begins with the juridical usage.

[18] J.P.V.D. Baldson, "Auctoritas, Dignitas, Otium," *The Classical Quarterly* 10, No. 1 (May 1960), pp. 43-50

auctoritas, strictly speaking, was also seen as something worthy of being quoted. Medieval usage does not appear to have been limited to that meaning, however, and while it cannot be our task here to examine the particular uses of *auctoritas* in every Christian Latin writer of the thirteenth century, it is also not necessary to do so in order to demonstrate that the medieval word *auctoritas* admits of multiple medieval definitions, contrary to the prevailing assumption among scholars today that it refers chiefly (or exclusively) to authoritative quotations. To make this point, let us call one of the most prolific and canonical thirteenth-century Latin writers to witness, beginning with the following quotation from Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologiae* on "Whether there is only intellectual knowledge in the angels":

> It would seem that knowledge of the angels is not exclusively intellectual. For Augustine says [...] that in the angels there is *life which understands and feels.* Therefore there is a sensitive faculty in them as well. Further, Isidore says[...] Further, Dionysius says [...] On the contrary, Gregory says that *man senses in common with the brutes, and understands with the angels.* [...] I answer that [...] it is in keeping with the order of the universe for the highest intellectual creature to be entirely intelligent, and not in part, as is our soul. [...] A twofold answer can be returned to the contrary objections. First, it may be replied that those authorities are speaking [*auctoritates illae loquuntur*] according to the opinion of such men as contended that angels and demons have bodies naturally united to them.[19]

In this question, Aquinas begins by citing Augustine, Isidore, and Dionysius for the view that the knowledge of angels is not exclusively intellectual; he then cites Gregory for the opposing view, which he agrees with and expands upon. In the last sentence, he begins to explain the apparent error that "illae auctoritates" ("those authorities"), Augustine, Isidore, and Dionysius, make. While *auctoritates* in this case could potentially refer only to the authoritative pronouncements of the Church Fathers in question, the use of the verb *loqui* ("to say," "loquuntur" above) implies that Aquinas is actually referring to Augustine, Isidore, and Dionysius themselves as authorities,

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[19] Original text and translation from *Summa Theologiae* Book 1, Question 54, Article 5, provided by The Aquinas Institute at www.aquinas.cc.

auctoritates, since *loqui* nearly always has a personal subject.[20] In addition to this use of *auctoritas* as a person possessing authority, Aquinas also construes *auctoritas* as an concept, particularly in the questions sixty-seven through seventy-two of the *Summa Theologiae*'s first book, in which he considers the descriptions of the first six days of creation as recounted in Genesis. In each case, he begins his inquiry by raising objections to the order or nature of these biblical events—for instance, how could the "heavenly luminaries" have been created on the fourth day, when light itself was created on the first?—and in response to all of these preliminary objections, in each question, the first rebuttal reads, "Sufficit auctoritas Scripturae" ("The authority of Scripture suffices").[21] In cases such as these, Aquinas does not seem to be using *auctoritas* as a synonym for "authoritative quotation;" rather, he is affirming the very authority of scripture—its inherent worthiness of credence by virtue of its being the word of God. Only after this affirmation does he dismantle the various objections one by one, perhaps because the mere act of questioning biblical authority without explicitly affirming it might have had the flavor of heresy.

Moving now toward Gérard's usage of *auctoritas* in his treatises, we find that *auctoritas*, while chiefly concrete, occasionally tends toward abstraction and ambiguity. Consider the beginning of *De divino amore*, in which Gérard writes, "[...]dicit auctoritas quod amor est causa totius jocunditatis" ("[the? an?] authority says that love is the cause of all joy").[22] The translation is difficult here, since it is not exactly clear what Gérard is referring to. Is he referring to a quotation of an authority or of *the* authority he has at hand as he writes? If so, this particular

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[20] Furthermore, in all of the works of Aquinas available online, *loqui* has a personal subject.

[21] ibid., Book 1, Question 70, Article 1

[22] *De divino amore* Prologue, Wilmart p. 205

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auctoritas has not been found elsewhere. Or is he possibly presenting these words as stemming from authority itself—even from God's authority—, because their truth is self-evident, and therefore authoritative? Gérard's treatises contain several similarly ambiguous uses of the word *auctoritas*. To bring just one to the fore, when Gérard supplies us with a quotation he attributes to the "auctoritas Gregorii" (as at the end of *De amore* §II.4.C.a.3), does he mean to single out Gregory's authority (in the concrete or abstract), or is he signaling his recognition that Gregory is quoting another *auctoritas* (i.e. Maximus of Turin)? Since no surviving text attributed to Gregory contains the quotation identified as "auctoritas Gregorii," it is impossible to answer these questions definitively.[23] That said, at least once, Gérard seems to construe *auctoritas* clearly as an authoritative quotation, when he writes "ut apparet in auctoritate Bernardi superius" ("as it is plain according to the authority of Bernard above");[24] the use of *superius*, apparently to point spatially within the text to an earlier quotation, may be taken to limit *auctoritas* to its concrete meaning.

In all of the above examples, we can see that *auctoritas* is a profoundly multivalent word, and furthermore, that especially when it is unqualified, it represents a real challenge for translators and interpreters of medieval texts. Doubtless this is why Wolfgang Heßler thought the word better left in the original:

> The word *auctoritas* belongs to the most significant and lasting coinages of the
> Latin language. Its meaning is not always easy to ascertain, and attempting to

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[23] Twice elsewhere in the treatises, Gérard quotes "quaedam auctoritas Gregorii" ("a certain *auctoritas* of Gregory"): *Septem remedia* §II. and *De amore* Intro. V., Wilmart pp. 189 and 209. These cases are ambiguous for similar reasons.

[24] *De divino amore* §II.1.C. ¶ 4, Wilmart p. 218

translate it causes even more trouble. A wise person will do better to refrain from the effort.[25]

Acknowledging the difficulty of either ascertaining what *auctoritas* means or translating it in ambiguous situations such as those we have seen above, let us now try at least to understand what it is conceptually.

The first, and perhaps most important piece of the conceptual puzzle is to recognize that *auctoritas* is *not* authorship. Authorship, in the modern acceptation, is bound up with attribution; discussions about authorship revolve around the notion of the author. Who was the author? How did the author's life influence the work under consideration? These questions clearly interested writers in the Middle Ages—particularly, Minnis has convincingly shown, beginning in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in prologues and in the so-called *accessus ad auctores*—, so I certainly do not wish to suggest that authorship is irrelevant to understanding medieval writing. Authorship as it pertains to attribution is, as we shall see, an important component of *auctoritas*. But it is only one potential component among several. In the medieval way of thinking as represented by Gérard and by the other writers we have considered thus far, *auctoritas* may be reinforced by an illustrious attribution of authorship, but it can also exist independently of such an attribution.

The second piece of the puzzle concerns the notion of inherent truth. Recall the passage of Hugues' commentary on Jerome's *Prologus galeatus*, quoted above, in which Hugues defines the adjective *apocryphus*. Hugues makes a point of stating that books called apocryphal because their authors are unknown are still received by the Church because their inherent truth is

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[25] Wolfgang Heßler, "Auctoritas im deutschen Mittellatein. Eine Zwischenbilanz im mittellateinischen Wörterbuch," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 47, no. 3 (1965), p. 255, quoted and translated by Jan M. Ziolkowski, in "Cultures of Authority in the Long Twelfth Century," p. 421.

apparent. Alastair Minnis has argued that Hugues' testimony speaks to these works' being "far inferior [in terms of *auctoritas* to] works works which circulated under the names of *auctores*."[26] While it may be true that the apocryphal books of the Bible cannot, according to Hugues, be used for proving matters of faith (*ad probationem fidei*), the *auctoritas* of any book of the Bible, apocryphal or not, was doubtless superior to human *auctoritas*. And human *auctoritas*, as we see it at work in Gérard's treatises, does not appear to be greater or lesser for its lack of attribution. For his part, Gérard is perfectly content to identify a quotation as authoritative without identifying its author, as he does in the prologue to *De amore*.[27] He is even content to make use of *auctoritates* without identifying them as such in any way whatsoever. For example, the part of *De amore* that led generations of scholars to refer to the entire text as the *Quinque incitamenta ad Deum amandum ardenter* (*Five Spurs to Loving God More Ardently*) appears, in fact to be a long borrowing from the *Summa de vitiis* of one of Gérard's contemporaries, Guillaume of Peyraud (William Perault, Guillelmus Peraldus) *Summa de vitiis*. But since it is possible that Gérard simply did not see Guillaume's text as possessing sufficient *auctoritas*—about which more below—we observe that Gérard even quotes or paraphrases Gregory without acknowledgment, as at the beginning of *De divino amore* §II.3.D., and in many other places besides.[28] In light of these examples, I would submit that *auctoritas* depends far more upon a text's perceived inherent truth than it does upon the author under whose name it circulates, a detail that may be easily changed or left out entirely.

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[26] Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, p. 55. One might argue that the apocryphal books' lesser *auctoritas* has less to do with their dubious authorship than with their status outside of the canon; furthermore, they are not outside of the canon because their authorship is in doubt, but because they do not fit into the numerological scheme established by Jerome.

[27] See *supra*, p. 10, "dicit auctoritas quod amor est causa totius jocunditatis"

[28] *De divino amore* §II.3.D. ¶ 1, Wilmart p. 226

Still, it is curious that some *auctoritates* are accordingly identified while others are not, and this brings us to our third point, which has to do with being worthy of reproduction. In *Il Convivio*,[29] Dante states that *auctoritas* entails obedience. I would argue, however, that the textual record shows something distinct from obedience to *auctoritas* as it manifests itself textually. In the texts we have seen thus far, theologians like Thomas, Hugues, and Gérard do not slavishly obey their *auctoritates*; they quote them, assimilate them—enter into a dialogue with them. *Auctoritas* may therefore be seen as something that is worthy of being copied and discussed; as it applies to theological discourse, *auctoritates* are sources of inspiration and insight, not masters demanding slavish obedience.[30]

Finally—and this last matter is somewhat more complicated than the preceding three—*auctoritas* concerns age. To this point, Minnis' asserts that, for medieval writers, "To be old was to be good; the best writers were the more ancient. The converse often seems to have been true: if a work was good, its medieval readers were disposed to think that it was old."[31] Although Minnis is narrowly talking about authorship here, we can add that as *auctoritas* is concerned, these statements ring true; I have not been able to find a case in which a theologian refers to a contemporary (or a quotation of a contemporary) as an *auctoritas*. Thus, strictly speaking, it seems fair to say that an *auctoritas* must have attained a certain age before being identified as such. It is difficult to say, however, precisely what that age was: Gérard calls Bernard of

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[29] viz. n. 15 above

[30] I do not mean to claim here that one medieval writer's interpretation of a word's meaning is necessarily held by all other medieval writers; yet Dante's assessment has helped me to see more clearly how others treat *auctoritates*.

[31] Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, p. 53

Clairvaux an *auctoritas*,[32] though Bernard was only a century and a half older than he, give or take a few decades. Furthermore, the complicated relationship between *auctoritas* and authorship, coupled with what was essentially attributional free-for-all, meant that *auctoritas* did not need to *be* particularly old in order to be acknowledged; it only needed to be perceived as old, by virtue of its purported authorship, or perhaps even of its style. Rather than speaking of age *per se*, we might say more precisely that *auctoritas* was perceived as belonging to a textual tradition, for any one (or combination) of the multiple reasons a text may be received as traditional (e.g. repetition, age, style, etc.).

In view of the four foregoing considerations, let us summarize. For someone or something to be termed *auctoritas*, it had to be seen as 1) possessing inherent truth, 2) worthy of reproduction, and 3) part of a textual tradition. Regarding the relationship between *auctoritas* and authorship, on the one hand, *auctoritas*, as we have seen, exists independently of considerations of authorship. On the other hand, authorship can both render *auctoritas* more illustrious and be rendered more illustrious by it: a text may see its *auctoritas* increased by its affiliation with a great name, and an author's *auctoritas* may also grow as more authoritative texts are attributed to him. I believe it is also appropriate to add to this strictly medieval conceptualization of *auctoritas* the notion of functional *auctoritas*. By this term, I mean that theologians who are clearly on their way to becoming full-fledged *auctoritates*—i.e., who have not been dead for long enough—and whose works are used alongside those of acknowledged *auctoritates* like Augustine and Gregory, are, functionally speaking, *auctoritates* in their own right. In Gérard's treatises, for instance, we find the term *magister* (master or teacher) twice— "Magister Rigaus," and "Magister Johannes de Abbatisvilla" marking the provenance of

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[32] *De amore* §II.1.C. ¶ 4, Wilmart p. 218

quotations we would otherwise recognize as *auctoritates*.[33] Since the quotations of these *magistri* are functionally no different from those of the *auctoritates*, I think that we may understand the distinction between the two as a question of temporality, with *magister* essentially referring to a contemporary *auctoritas*.

Now that we have defined the terms of the discussion clearly enough, we are able to answer the question that set us down this long and tortuous path: in what sense may Gérard of Liège be referred to as an authority? In light of our current understanding of what *auctoritas* is, I would argue that Gérard was indeed an *auctoritas* for two reasons.

First, although I have found no evidence that anyone ever quoted Gérard's own words along the lines of "Cum Gerardus dicit...", Gérard's treatises were indeed circulated and copied with his name in the Middle Ages, as the manuscript tradition shows, and this is a testimony to the treatises' inherent truth and worthiness of reproduction, as well as to their belonging to the medieval textual tradition.[34] Additional proof of these qualities comes in the form of a 1521 print edition, more than a hundred years after Gérard likely died. In the publisher Jodocus Badius' (Josse Bade's) foreword, we find the following affirmation of the treatises' enduring value: "This book was found, containing remedies for shameful love affairs and spurs for divine love and rather more of this sort that accomplishes the same most suitably, and since it seemed most

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[33] Wilmart p. 187 (*Septem remedia* §I.1. ¶ 6), and Wilmart p. 211 (*De divino amore*, §II.2.B. ¶ 4), respectively.

[34] This is not to say that all texts that were copied and circulated with a name possess some kind of inherent truth—only that within medieval religious discourse, texts were attributed and copied in part for that reason.

worthy of everyone's reading, I have sought to have it printed."[35] Perusing the print edition, we

see that its editor, the Carthusian Guillaume Bibauc (Bibault, Guilielmus Bibaucius) expanded

upon Gérard's text; after the seventh remedy of the *Septem remedia*, for instance, we find an

"addidamentum pro secularibus"—an addition for secular clergy—which is indicative of how

Gérard, as is typical of *auctoritates*, served as a source of inspiration for posterity. That said, for

all the treatises were regarded by their publisher and editor as possessing sufficient *auctoritas* to

be worth the trouble of transforming into a printed book, Gérard's name did not make it onto the

types.

The second reason I believe it is fair to count Gérard as an *auctoritas* concerns

attribution. Gérard's *auctoritas*, while first established by the criteria underlined above, was (and

continues to be) cemented by the attribution of works of dubious authorship to him. If one

considers Gérard to be the rightful author of the celebrated treatise *De doctrina cordis*, which

survives in around two hundred manuscripts,[36] this affiliation certainly would confer *auctoritas*

upon his name, and upon the whole body of writings attributed to him, which include, in addition

to our treatises, a Paris sermon collection (BnF MS lat. 16483), the *Tractatus super septem verba*

dicta a Domino Jesu Christo pendente in cruce (*Treatise on the Seven Words Spoken by the Lord*

Jesus Christ as He Hung on the Cross),[37] and *De duodecim utilitatibus tribulationum* (*On the*

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[35] "Repertus est [hic] libellus continens remedia contra amores impudicos et incitamenta divini amoris, plusculaque id genus alia ad eundem appositissime facientia, quem quia omnium lectione visus est dignissimus imprimendum curavi[.]" The 1521 print edition is accessible in full online thanks to the Bayrische Staatsbibliothek: http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10193134_00002.html

[36] Guido Hendrix finds 204, in *Hugo de Sancto Caro's traktaat De doctrina cordis, vol. 1: Handschriften, receptie, tekstgeschiedenis en authenticiteitskritiek,* Documenta Libraria 16/1 (Louvain: Peeters Publishers, 1995)

[37] Edmond Mikkers, "Le Traité de Gérard de Liège sur les sept paroles de Notre-Seigneur en croix," *Collectanea Ordinis Cisterciensium Reformatorum* 12 (1950)

Twelve Profits of Tribulation).[38] Whether or not all of these works were actually written by Gérard is not our concern here, but the fact that they were attributed to him suggests that he was at least functionally regarded as an *auctoritas* by those who used his texts.

Much more interesting than the question of who Gérard was historically, for our purposes, is the question of who Gérard was textually. Returning to the guiding questions we posed at the beginning of this chapter, how, in treatises characterized first and foremost by their copious use of quotation both loose and strict, can we distinguish Gérard's own voice? And furthermore, how do these passages function rhetorically, in relation to the other *auctoritates* that fill Gérard's treatises?—in other words, textually speaking, who was Gérard, as opposed to Augustine, Bernard, the Victorine or the Dominican Hugo, or anyone else? Answering these questions will help us to understand how *auctoritas* comes about in the first place by exploring what goes into the aforementioned features of inherent truth and worthiness of reproduction that are essential to *auctoritas*.

Given that Gérard's treatises (and other medieval theological writing) contain a great deal of unacknowledged quotation, it can be challenging to say for certain what does or does not constitute Gérard's original writing. One safe place to look for writing that is authentically Gérard's would be at the beginning of each treatise, since these opening lines define his projects

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[38] For a more in-depth discussion of the question of the authorship of Gérard's treatises, see Nigel F. Palmer, "The Authorship of *De doctrina cordis*" in *A Companion to the Doctrine of the Hert: The Middle English Translation and its Latin and European Contexts*, eds. Denis Renevey and Christiana Whitehead (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010), pp. 19-56. Palmer argues convincingly that Gérard of Liège, who, according to the preponderance of internal evidence, was a Cistercian, was confused early in the manuscript tradition with a Dominican by the same name "who on account of his preaching, pastoral duties and contacts with the local ecclesiastical hierarchy may have been rather better known to the early scribes than the Cistercian author" (p. 53). It would seem, then, that while there were two Gérards, one did all the writing, while the other got most of the credit. But cases of stolen valor do not diminish the valor itself, and it was doubtless for his writings that the oft misidentified Cistercian won the honorific epithets "le devin" and "divinus" (pp. 38-39) for his Dominican coeval.

in such a specific way that they are extremely unlikely to be quoted from elsewhere. The following are the introductory sentences of the *Septem remedia* and of *De divino amore* and their respective translations:

> Cum omnis anime rationalis summum bonum sit amorem suum ab omni carnali et illicito amore retrahere et custodire, et specialiter mulieris, cuius precipua gratia et pulcritudo et gloria est cordis et corporis virginitas,—que tamen si amissa est, de quo valde dolendum est, amplius recuperari non poterit,—sequi debet cum humilitate continentie castitatem, et summo bono incommutabili, idest Deo, totis cordis medullis jungere et unire.

> Since what is best for every rational soul is to protect and withdraw its love from all carnal and illicit love (and especially so for women, whose foremost grace and beauty and glory is their heart and body's virginity, which, if abandoned—and this is a great shame indeed—may not be fully recovered), one must humbly seek the purity of temperance and endeavor, from the very bottom of one's heart, to yoke and unite oneself to the greatest immutable good—that is, to God.[39]

> Cum ad amandum Deum multa et mira incitamenta in sacra scriptura habeamus, et ad contempnendum et fugiendum omnem amorem illicitum multa habeamus vera et salubria hortamenta, stupendum, mirandum et valde dolendum est quod ad illud quod corpus nostrum inquinat et destruit, animam occidit, famam obnubilat, eterna beatitudine nos privat et ad supplicia perpetua nos obligat, tanta aviditate, tanto desiderio et tanto conamine rapimur, et ad illud summum bonum nostrum, perfectum gaudium nostrum, delectabile et suave jugum, scilicet amorem divinum, *de quoi toute joie vient et tous solas*,—unde dicit auctoritas quod amor est causa totius jocunditatis,—ad ipsum scilicet inquirendum et acquirendum tantum segnes, tepidi et remissi sumus, prodolor!

> Since we have many marvelous spurs to loving God in the sacred Scripture, as well as many true and healthy exhortations to disdain and flee all illicit love, what an astonishing wonder it is—and how very sad—that we are so audaciously, so yearningly, and so effortfully transported to that which pollutes and defiles our body, kills our soul, blackens our reputation, deprives us of eternal beatitude and binds us to perpetual suffering; and in seeking and obtaining our highest good, our complete joy, the delectable and sweet yoke—that is, divine love, *de quoi toute joie vient et tous solas,* whence an authority says that love is the cause of all joy— in seeking and obtaining that alone, we are, alas!, lazy, tepid, remiss.[40]

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[39] *Septem Remedia* Introduction, Wilmart p. 183. See also the note on the difficulties of translating this first sentence into English.

[40] *De divino amore* Prologue, Wilmart p. 205

Several things *sautent aux yeux* after the most cursory glance at these two introductory sentences. First, they are long and intricate—not surprising when one considers the long rhetorical tradition of the carefully wrought openings of Latin prose works from Antiquity onwards. This suggests that Gérard is self-consciously placing himself within a tradition of Latin writing, especially since, as we shall see, his writing does not otherwise display the highly recherché style exhibited here. Which brings us to our second point: the intricacy here is characterized not only by hypotaxis and hyperbaton (e.g. "valde dolendum est quod ad illud quod corpus inquinat [twenty-three more words] rapimur" in the second passage), but also by a particular care in sound and rhythm. In the *Septem remedia* passage, we see chiefly binary rhythms: "carnali et illicito amore," "retrahere et custodire," "cordis et corporis virginitas," "jungere et unire;" and in *De amore*, Gérard assails us in our laziness, tepidity, and remissness with a series of divine ternaries leading up to the cry of grief: "stupendum, mirandum, dolendum," "aviditate, desiderio, conamine," "bonum, gaudium, jugum," "segnes, tepidi, remissi." The final linguistic feature that seizes the reader's attention is, of course, the code switching toward the end of the *De amore* prologue. This sort of syntactically integrated code switching is typical of Gérard, and as it is to a greater or lesser degree consistent across all of the works attributed to him, I would also argue that it was a recognized part of his persona as an *auctoritas*; if nothing else, it is hard to imagine that at least some of the works that scribes placed in Gérard's canon were not thus attributed for their bilingualism.

For the moment, let us also note that these first sentences, especially when read aloud in Latin, are truly arresting in their consonance, assonance, and rhythm, as well as in their general diction. Although the cadences lack Ciceronian grandeur, their content reveals a certain theatricality, a tendency toward *pathos* that Gérard exhibits in other passages, albeit very

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differently.[41] As the frequent fire metaphors throughout his treatises attest, the love of God in Gérard's conception is a very strong emotion indeed, and this fact doubtless underscores the fiery, emotional language he uses here and in the examples to which we shall soon turn our attention.

Judging the quality of Gérard's Latin by Classical standards (i.e. dramatic use of periodicity, variety and clarity of sentence structure, grammatical correctness) the sentences above are as good as he gets. The remaining passages of the treatises that we might consider to be authentically his distinguish themselves, in fact, by what at first blush seems like linguistic carelessness or inelegance.[42] This comes through in minor grammatical errors Gérard makes, chiefly in the use of *eius* and *suus, -a, -um* to mark possession, as well as in the extreme parataxis that replaces the more elegant, Classical periodicity. Here, however, let us not forget that we

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[41] In §6.2.12 of Quintilian, *The Orator's Education Volume III: Books 6-8*, ed. and trans. Donald A. Russell (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), pp. 51-52 we find the following comparison of *pathos* and *ethos*: "Quin illud adhuc adiicio, πάθος atque ἦθος esse interim ex eadem natura, ita ut illud maius sit, hoc minus, ut **amor** πάθος, **caritas** ἦθος" ("Indeed I would still add that *pathos* and *ethos* are sometimes of the same nature, such that the former is greater, and the latter, lesser—for instance, love [*amor*] is *pathos*, and affection [*caritas*], *ethos*;" translation my own).

[42] Wilmart, in "Gérard de Liège: Un traité inédit de l'amour de Dieu," *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique,* 12 (1931), 349-430, notes that "Un trait distinctif, par quoi l'on reconnaît aisément la main de Gérard est la répétition des mêmes formules. Non pas qu'il semble tenir particulièrement à ses 'clichés' ; car il lui arrive de les changer d'un ouvrage à l'autre. C'est plutôt insouciance ou négligence de sa part ; si peu à court de mots qu'il soit, la raison de commodité le dirige, primant la préoccupation du beau langage" (p. 370). I agree that Gérard is not particularly preoccupied with beautiful language, but do not necessarily believe that utility is what drives him, either. A little earlier, Wilmart claims that Gérard, unlike certain other great Cistercian writers, "néglige entièrement la liturgie [et] remplit ses développements de citations déclarées et détachées qui donnent à ses ouvrages l'apparence d'un ramassis de preuves. Ce procédé didactique, qui nuit beaucoup à l'élégance, rapproche des derniers temps du moyen âge et, une fois de plus, sent l'École" (p. 368). Part of this is factually incorrect—I have noted numerous places in the translation in which Gérard uses the liturgical text rather than the biblical one. Additionally, one might argue that Gérard's compositional tack lacks Scholastic rigor, and is more in line with the tradition of monastic theology theorized by Dom Jean Leclercq in *L'Amour des lettres et le désir de Dieu : Initiation aux auteurs monastiques du Moyen-Âge* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1991)

must judge medieval Latin by different standards, and be willing favorably to appreciate language that does not actively seek its roots in Antiquity. Augustine famously reflects upon the humble style of Scripture in *Confessions* 3.5: "[I]t seemed to me unworthy of being compared with Ciceronian dignity. For my swollen pride recoiled from its style, and my sharp wit did not penetrate its depths."[43] Gérard surely draws his own style in part from the Bible's abundant use of parallelism and parataxis, as all medieval Christian writers do, but I would add that since Gérard's mother tongue was French, it is natural that his style in Latin, as an expression of the form of thought, should resemble the vernacular in its increasingly analytic linguistic character.[44]

Tying these reflections on Gérard's style into the question of how we can recognize writing that is authentically his, the second obvious place to look for Gérard's voice is in commentary upon *auctoritates*—that is, in short passages that link them together, or passages that purport to summarize their content, often preceded by *id est*, *scilicet*, or a verb phrase setting off a quotation (*X dicit in Y*, *legitur in Z*, etc.). This is significant for two reasons. First, it means that we may locate Gérard's voice within a quotation or paraphrase of *auctoritas*, often identifying it by its paratactic style. In the example below, I have bolded the conjunction "et" when it connects independent clauses in order to show how heavily Gérard relies on parataxis; passages such as these stand in stark contrast to nearly all clearly quoted material (and to much of the material in unattributed quotation), as the contrast between the first five lines and the rest of the passage shows. Second, the fact that Gérard's voice emerges in the practice of quotation or

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[43] Augustine, *Confessions*, vol. 1, ed. James J. O'Donnell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 26, "visa est mihi indigna quam Tulliane dignitati compararem. Tumor enim meus refugiebat modum eius et acies mea non penetrabat interiora eius."

[44] For the difference between analytic (inflecting) and synthetic (isolating) languages, see David Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*, 6th ed. (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), pp. 24-25 and 472

paraphrase itself suggests that *auctoritas* resides not simply in a proliferation of original pronouncements, but in engagement with other *auctoritates*. We will return to this second point later in this chapter. As for the first, let us see how Gérard illustrates one *auctoritas* using another one, and how this may contribute to the establishment of his own *auctoritas*:

> Sextum remedium est consideratio extreme vilitatis et corruptionis earum personarum que carnaliter amantur. Unde dicit Gregorius, "Si caro pulcra concupiscitur, pensetur quid sit exanimis, et intelligitur quid amatur." Item: "Nichil sic ad edomandum desideriorum carnalium appetitum valet quam unusquisque hoc quod vivum diligit quale sit mortuum penset." Legitur etiam in Vitis patrum, de quodam sene qui in seculo in adolescentia sua quandam pulcram mulierem valde dilexerat, **et**, cum esset diu in ordine, de recordatione et amore illius mulieris in tantum gravabatur quod non poterat quiescere pre nimio amore et desiderio illius, postea per aliquod spatium temporis audivit eam esse mortuam et sepultam, **et** post parum nocte media quadam occulte venit ad tumulum ubi sepulta erat, **et** fodit usque dum veniret ad corpus eius, quod tantum fetebat quod vix poterat sustinere, **et** abscidit frustum carnis illius mulieris in parte illa quam magis appetebat dum viveret, **et** secum detulit; **et** quando temptabatur de concupiscentia carnali, apponebat carnem illam putridam et fetentem ad nares suas et dicebat sibi ipsi: "Ecce, miser, illud quod tantum diligebas et quod tanto ardore desiderabas." **Et** sic sepius per illum fetidissimum fetorem sedavit concupiscentiam suam. **Et** propter hoc dicit Gregorius: "Nichil sic ad edomandum desideriorum carnalium appetitum valet quam unusquisque hoc quod vivum diligit quale sit mortuum penset."

> The sixth remedy is to consider the extreme vileness and corruption of those people who are loved carnally. Whence Gregory says: "If you lust after beautiful flesh, think upon what it is when lifeless, and you will understand what you love." Further: "Nothing is so useful for taming an appetite for carnal pleasures as this: let each think about how what he loves while it is alive would be like if it were dead." One also reads in the *Lives of the Fathers* of a certain elder who, while in society in his youth, really liked a beautiful woman, and, though he had long been in an order, he was so burdened by love and memory of that woman that he could not sleep on account of excessive love and desire for her. After a certain time, he heard that she had died and been buried, and a little later, he went in secret, in the middle of some night, to the grave where she had been buried, and he dug until he came upon her body, which stank so much he could hardly stand it, and he lobbed off the piece of that woman's flesh from the part of her that he most hungered for while she lived, and took it with him. And whenever he was tempted by carnal lust and by that woman, he put that putrid, stinking piece of flesh up to his nose and said to himself: "Behold, you wretch—behold that which you so loved and so ardently desired." And thus, he often sedated his lust with that most foul of foul stenches. And this is why Gregory says, "Nothing is so useful for taming an

appetite for carnal pleasures as this: let each think about how what he loves while it is alive would be like when dead."[45]

In this remarkable passage, which, strangely enough, begins and ends with the same *auctoritas*, Gérard deploys the full extent of his narrative skill to tell us the elder's stories from the *Vitae patrum*.[46] In order fully to understand Gérard's innovation, we also need to quote the text from the *Vitae patrum* that he seems to have in mind:

> A certain brother was tried by temptations in Skete, and the adversary dispatched the memory of a certain beautiful woman to his mind, and afflicted him greatly. And it happened that, according to God's plan, another brother coming down from Egypt, should land in Skete. And when they spoke, this brother gave news, telling him that his wife died. (Moreover, it was the same woman on whose account the brother was disturbed.) When he had heard this, he put on his cloak in the night and went up to where he had heard she was buried. And he dug the place up, wiped the blood from her putrid corpse on his cloak, and once he was back, he kept it in his cell. And when it stank excessively, he put those stenches before himself, and upbraiding himself, he said in his thoughts: "Behold the desire that you sought. You have it; be filled with it." And so he chastised himself with this sort of stench until his lustful thoughts died down.[47]

This is a shocking tale indeed—all the more that the defilement of the dead does not seem to be particularly sinful in either version, as if the woman's body exists only to satisfy the man's desire

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[45] *Septem remedia* §VI.1. ¶ 1, Wilmart pp. 196-197

[46] The *Vitae patrum* were not, it seems, a coherent collection of texts until they were collected by the Jesuit hagiographer Heribert Rosweyde and published by Migne in PL 73, 74, and 21 (387-426). These texts, which were mostly either translated from Greek into, or composed in Latin by the sixth century, must have circulated in diverse manuscripts—Gérard does make a specific reference to reading, "*Legitur* in vitis..."

[47] Migne, *PL* 73, 878D-879A "Frater quidam erat probatus tentationibus in Scythi, et immittebat ei adversarius memoriam mulieris cujusdam pulchrae in animo, et affligebat eum valde (Ruff., lib. III, n. 11). Et contigit, secundum Dei dispositionem, ut alter frater descendens de Aegypto, applicaret in Scythi. Et cum loquerentur, nuntiavit ei dicens: Uxor illius mortua est. Erat autem ipsa mulier, de qua inquietabatur ille frater. Quod cum audisset, tulit vestimentum suum nocte, et ascendit ubi eam sepultam audierat. [Col.0879A] Et fodit locum, et extersit cruorem putredinis ejus in vestimento suo, et reversus habebat illud in cella sua. Et cum nimis feteret, ponebat illos fetores ante se, et improperans cogitationi suae, dicebat: Ecce desiderium quod quaerebas. Habes illud, satiare ex eo. Et ita ex ejusmodi fetore castigabat semetipsum donec emorerentur concupiscentiae ejus.

(now for salvation) even after her death. One hardly needs to ask which story is more riveting, even though both feature the same basic plot: a lustful monk learns that his beloved is dead, digs up her body, and uses something from it to deliver himself from temptation; in each rendering, there is also a short and powerful castigatory soliloquy in the second person that briefly breaks the barrier between the reader and the monk, perhaps inviting the reader to reflect more intently on his own desire. That said, the differences between Gérard's recounting and the likely source text are striking. His beginning, for one, has much more drama—we're not looking at "a certain brother" in the deserts of the Natron Valley (Skete or Scetis), but an elder who, after many years of ascetic monastic life, cannot forget the love of his youth; his yearning deprives him even of sleep—all poignant details absent from the text in the *Vitae patrum*. Gérard also elevates the severity of the crime somewhat in his version, since the elder's desire is inherently fornicatory, whereas the *Vitae patrum*'s tale is ostensibly about a monk's desire for his wife. But where the two texts really diverge is in the details of the exhumation. The *Vitae patrum* text is relatively straightforward: the monk goes out at night, digs up the body, and soaks his cloak with putrid blood. Gérard, by comparison, goes all out: the elder's nighttime journey becomes a "secret" journey in the "middle of some night;" he digs "until he [comes] upon her body," which implies a great effort; in something like free indirect discourse, Gérard highlights the elder's struggle to overcome the horrible stench in order to cut from it the piece of flesh he most desired while his beloved was alive. Which piece of flesh was that, we wonder, and the mystery adds to the intensity of the narrative. And once the deed is done, he puts that piece of flesh, that "frustum" (a word that most often refers to a piece of food), that superlative "most foul of foul stenches"—no mere bloody cloak—not "before him" as the brother did, but right up to "his nostrils." Much more than the text he was likely working with, then, Gérard homes in on the disgusting bodily

details, forcing the audience to experience this story in such a vivid way that more than a thousand years later, it can still provoke a strong emotional response. Furthermore, if we recall the important place that readings from the *Vitae patrum* had in monastic life, it is quite possible that Gérard's thirteenth-century audience would have noticed these differences, and then as now, any recognition of the basic story can only heighten a reader's or a listener's interest in it.

We might also say that in this long passage, Gérard transforms not just one, but two *auctoritates*. The comparison above contains the obvious transformation of what was deemed an authoritative of moral instruction to maximize its emotional effect and to adapt it to the subject at hand (i.e. fornication); not so obvious, however, is the transformation of Gregory's *auctoritas*. Reading the beginning of the sixth remedy, we may find a bit of mystery—Gérard makes a point of putting the verb *amare* in the passive, such that he is discussing the extreme vileness and corruption not of those who *love* carnally, but of those who *are loved* carnally. What does this mean? One possible answer is spiritual (i.e. moral vileness and corruption), which the first Gregorian *auctoritas* could be alluding to with the adjective *exanimis*—if you would not risk eternal damnation for a dead body, why, given the body's impermanence, would you risk it for a living one?[48] As we have witnessed, however, Gérard goes in a very different direction, giving *exanimis* and *mortuum* in the *auctoritates* a very literal interpretation without, for that matter,

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[48] In Classical Latin, *exanimis* (*ex* + *animus*) is basically a synonym for *mortuus* (dead), but especially since strict distinctions between *animus* and *anima* are not uniformly observed in Medieval Latin, it is possible that Gérard's audience would have understood something closer to "soulless," especially without further context. Whether or not this is true, though, adjectives like *mortuus* and *exanimis* could refer to spiritual death as well as physical death.

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spelling its terms out; he merely repeats the *auctoritas* again at the end of the passage, and in light of the anecdote, it takes on a new shade of meaning.[49]

What does all of this suggest about Gérard's own *auctoritas*? If these are the passages in which Gérard finds his own voice, then we can begin to understand that his own *auctoritas* consists not only in an encyclopedic knowledge of *auctoritates*, not only in an ability to tie them together seamlessly in service of a higher truth, not only in a talent for revealing their deeper meaning—though certainly these are all constituent parts of Gérard's *auctoritas*. Along with all of these, Gérard's *auctoritas* is bound to his uncanny ability to tell a good story, to communicate in an emotionally striking way to a contemporary audience in language(s) they understand. Of course, one might think, as Dom Wilmart did, that such expression was attention-seeking and rather childish; speaking specifically of Gérard's bilingualism, Wilmart writes, "[O]n est tenté de croire que ce fut là plutôt chez Gérard une sorte de manie qui n'a fait que grandir, un désir instinctif de se distinguer et, tout ensemble, de se distraire au moyen de cet artifice un peu puéril."[50] For my part, I would prefer to see these marks of stylistic individuality not as child's play, but as being somehow for the audience's benefit. As the example above shows, Gérard uses his colorful way of communicating and engaging with *auctoritates* to convey meaning that is not apparent *per se*. This can be seen as augmenting his *auctoritas* (rather than diminishing it with puerile artifice) by revealing the extent of his understanding and skill in pastoral care; the inherent truth of the treatises—a function of their author's deep humanity, as well as of his

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[49] It should be noted that in what I have referred to as a transformation of the meaning of Gregory's quotation is actually more like a clarification; Gregory is clear enough, at the very end of Book XVI of the *Moralia in Job*, that he means contemplating the putrefaction of the dead body. Still, I would argue that Gérard's audience might not have had the details of the many books of the *Moralia in Job* present in their minds, and that the repetition of the *auctoritas* signals that it was not fully comprehensible before Gérard's story about the elder.

[50] Wilmart (1931), p. 373.

understanding of the Word of God and of the exegetical masters—would then make them more likely to be seen as worthy of reproduction, ensuring their place within the textual tradition for centuries.

That said, since one swallow doth not a summer make, I would like to provide another example of the kind of communication that distinguishes Gérard from the *auctoritates* with which he is in constant dialogue. Although I could cite a number of examples in both treatises similar to what we have above, in which Gérard retools a text from the *Vitae patrum*, the following is also from the *Septem remedia*, and appears to draw its material from vernacular storytelling:

> Primum itaque contra amorem illicitum remedium est principiis temptationum viriliter resistere, quia nisi in principio viriliter resistatur, statim temptatio convalescit et roboratur [...] Unde dicit Ysidorus [...]: "diabolus lubricus serpens est, cuius si capiti, idest prime suggestioni, non resistitur, totus in intima cordis, dum non sentitur, illabitur." Et ideo principiis temptationum resistendum est. Et qu[i]d est principium omnium operum sive bonorum aut malorum? utique cogitatio, sicut radix est principium et causa ramorum arboris et fructus, et, sicut dicit apostolus: "Si radix fuerit sancta et rami," sic, si cogitatio sancta fuerit et munda, sancta et munda sequuntur opera, et e converso. [...] Unde Petrus in canonica sua dixit: "Resistite diabolo in principio et fugiet a vobis." Et sciendum est quod non alibi diabolus fomenta concupiscentie succendit nisi ubi prius prave cogitationis delectationem aspexerit. Sicut nos videmus *de ces Rikaus ki font le makement de ces foles amours*, quando ab aliquo mittuntur ad aliquam excitandam ad carnalem amorem et decipiendam ad consensum prave operationis carnis, quando misera adolescentula libenter audit verba *de cele diable Rikaut,* et ridet et delectatur in verbis eius. Tunc *cele Rikaus* audatiam et fidutiam ampliorem loquendi ei accipit et spem implendi quod cupit. Et ex hoc manifestum exemplum habemus in Genesi de Eva, cui dixit diabolus quasi *male Rikaus*: "Cur precepit vobis dominus: ne comederetis," et cetera, et illa molliter respondit: "ne forte, inquit, moreremur." "Ne forte" dixit [Wilmart has a semicolon here] et ille, quasi pessima et malitiosa *Rikaus*, videns *ke ele faisoit ja mols bras*, et quod libenter eum audiebat et delectabatur in verbis eius, respondit [...]: "Nequaquam moriemini," et cetera, et sic eam decepit. Sed, si viriliter in principio respondisset, non eam decepisset. [...] *Mais che fu atart.* Sic sine dubio nos dyabolus ipsemet alloquitur per malas cogitationes que sunt proprie *ses rikaus*, ut nos decipiat et affectionem nostram corrumpat[.]

The first remedy for illicit love is to resist its beginnings and temptations manfully, since if it is not resisted manfully in the beginning, then temptation will come alive at once, and gain strength. [...] Whence Isidore says, [...]: "The devil is a slippery snake whose head," that is, the first suggestion, "if not resisted, will slip into the cockles of your heart before you feel a thing." Thus, the beginnings of temptation must be resisted. And what is the beginning of all good or evil works? Surely thought, like the root is the beginning and cause of a tree's branches and fruit, and, as the Apostle says: "If the root be holy, so are the branches;" thus, if thought be holy and pure, then holy and pure works follow, and the converse. Whence Peter in his canonical [i.e. catholic] epistle said, "Resist the devil" in the beginning, "and he will fly from you." And let it be known that the devil does not ignite the kindling of lust anywhere but where he has first perceived delight in perverse thoughts. Just as we ourselves see *those Rikaus who act as the procurers of foolish love affairs* when they are sent from some man for the purpose of turning some woman on to carnal love and ensnaring her in consent to the perverse workings of the flesh, when, with pleasure, the poor little girl hears the words *of that devil Rikaut* and laughs, and is delighted by her words. Then *this Rikaus* receives from her greater audacity and confidence in talking, as well as the hope of fulfilling her [or his?] desires. And after this clear example, we read in Genesis of Eve, to whom the devil said, like the *evil Rikaus*: "Why hath God commanded you, that you should not eat," et cetera, and she weakly replies "Lest perhaps we die." "Lest perhaps," said he too, like that most malicious and evil *Rikaus*—seeing that *her defenses were already down* [lit. that her arms were already soft], and that she was listening to him with pleasure, and delighting in his words, he replied, "No, you shall not die the death." And thus he ensnared her. But, if she had responded manfully in the first place, he would not have deceived her. [...] *But it was too late.* Thus, without a doubt, the devil himself speaks to us through evil thoughts, which are properly *his rikaus*, so that he may deceive and corrupt our feelings.[51]

This passage is replete with little mysteries. The first concerns the adverb *viriliter*, which means something close to "vigorously" in English, but additionally contains the word *vir* ("man")—turning to the Douay-Rheims translation of the Vulgate (Judith 15:11), where Judith is praised with the same adverb as having acted "manfully." At the outset, though, it is not at all clear why Gérard uses this particular adverb. The next mysteries concern the word *Rikaut* (or *Rikaus* in the singular subject and plural object cases) which, for dramatic effect, I have left capitalized exactly as it is according to Wilmart's edition and untranslated. What, or who on earth could this *Rikaus*

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[51] *Septem Remedia* §I.1. ¶ 1 - ¶ 3, Wilmart pp. 184-185

be? And since it looks something like a variant spelling of "Richard," why is it qualified by feminine adjectives throughout? History provides one possible answer: in the eleventh century, there lived a Dame Richilde (which is another form, according to other sources, of *Rikaus*),[52] a niece of Pope Leo IX and countess of Flanders (of which Liège is the capital), and who, after the death of her first husband, effectively disinherited her son and daughter from that marriage by sending them into religious life so that, with her second husband, rule over both Flanders and Hainaut.[53] Her second husband, Baudouin (Baldwin), who was a family member of Richilde's, was only allowed to marry her "on condition of abstaining from carnal union" with her husband, whom nevertheless "she induced [...] to sin."[54] One account even paints Richilde as an evil enchantress who cast magic dust over an enemy army only to have it turned back upon her own forces when God caused the winds to change.[55] On the surface, then, we have a match for Gérard's *Rikaus*—a lecherous woman of enduring notoriety, doubtless well known particularly in the environs of Liège, whose name may even have become a common noun (which would explain Gérard's plurals), like *tartuffe* or *casanova* today. Furthermore, the definition he gives of "*ces Rikaus ki font le makement de ces foles amours*" may be seen as referring to Richilde's

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[52] See, for example, *Annales du Cercle Archéologique de Mons*, vol. 11 (Mons: Dequesne-Masquillier, 1873), p. 56. For a more extended treatment of precisely this question, however, see Charles H. Livingston, "Ancien français *richous*," *Romania* 83, no. 330 (1962), pp. 248-251, but especially pp. 250-251, where he explains that "*richout, richolt, richeot, richelt, richiaus, richaut* [et] *richeus* [correspondent tous] au germanique *Richild.*" "K" is a frequent (Picard) variant in the Troyes manuscript of "ch" in the *Reginensis* manuscript, and elsewhere.

[53] Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicle of Hainaut*, trans. Laura Napran (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), p. 4

[54] Georges Duby, "Women and Power" in *Cultures of Power: Lordship, Status, and Process in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. Thomas N. Bisson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), p. 76

[55] Lambert of Ardres, *The History of the Counts and Guines and Lords of Ardres*, trans. Leah Shopkow (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), p. 74

potentially incestuous machinations after the death of her husband (*makement* is attested in the sense of "machination" in one fourteenth-century source, according to Godefroy's dictionary).[56]

Would, alas, that we could end our quest to make sense of this word here. But we cannot, since as good as all of this seems, and as close as it comes to Gérard's putative historical context, in what sense, according to the story above, could the Countess Richilde/Rikaus have been said to be sent from a man to a woman for the purpose of seducing her? Our answer must lie elsewhere. Going back to the idea that *Rikaus* may be read as *Richaus* or even *Richars,* since in many gothic cursives it is difficult to differentiate "u" from "r,"[57] and looking at the *Reginensis* manuscript, in which "r" is written indifferently with majuscule or a miniscule,[58] we may begin to wonder if *Richaus* ought to be written with a lower-case letter in any modern edition. Pursuing the hypothesis that *rikaus* is actually a substantive, we are confronted with an unfortunate dearth of useful dictionary entries for any possible variants of the word; Godefroy gives us "une variété de pomme," "un homme très riche," and for the variant *richous*, a very hesitant "qui possede

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[56] Interestingly, Richilde's fame extended well into the nineteenth century; there were at least six editions (with the sixth dating 1865) of Jean-Baptiste-Nicolas Coomans's *Richilde, ou épisodes de l'Histoire de Flandre, au onzième siècle* (Brussels: Imprimerie Bauvais, 1865), and there was even an opera, *Richilde: tragédie lyrique en quatre actes et dix tableaux* (Brussels: Schott Frères, 1887), by Émile Mathieu, with French and German lyrics.

[57] Albert Derolez, *The Paleography of Gothic Manuscript Books from the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), esp. pp. 149-152; although the *Reginensis* manuscript does have "ch" instead of "k," the scribe clearly differentiates "r" from "u" (which is otherwise, in his hand, identical to "n"), and writes "richaut/s" (f. 34r). The scribe of the Troyes manuscript is similarly clear in differentiating "r" from "u." Nevertheless, Wilmart notes that the common archetype of these two manuscripts must have contained errors (Wilmart p. 182), and it is not hard to imagine that a scribe, perhaps confronted with the task of reading an ambiguous cursive hand, and perplexed by the feminine "Richart," chose the female name Richaut instead. It is also possible, for reasons that will soon become clear, that "u" was the correct letter, and that the scribe of the Troyes manuscript, who reserves capital letters for proper nouns, took *rikaut* to be a proper noun as well (except where it is clearly not, i.e. in the second plural usage of *rikaut* in the passage, where it is not capitalized.)

[58] This is not a surprise, since Derolez (ibid., p. 138) confirms that "[t]he frequent writing of majuscule **R** in the initial position is a feature common to almost all Gothic cursive scripts."

(?)." The only way for this hypothesis to hold up would be for *rikaut* to be a word in dialect, and

indeed, the *Vocabulaire des noms Wallons d'animaux, de plantes et de minéraux*,[59] as well as the

Dictionnaire liégois-français[60] both identify *richâ* as being synonymous with the French *geai*

("jay"), with the former providing the following explanation:

> *richâ* (geai) vient de *Richard* [...] les Namurois semblent avoir donné au geai le nom de Gérard, parce que la forme namuroise de ce mot, *jureau*, signifie aussi: jureur, et que le geai semble *jurer* quand il crie. Le même oiseau a pu être appelé Richard à cause de la *richesse* de son plumage et de la huppe qu'il porte sur la tête.

Supposing that this word dates back as far as the Middle Ages, and that Gérard was familiar with

it, the problem that arises here concerns the *geai*, which, in the modern understanding, is not a

bird gifted with speech, and Gérard's passage requires that the *rikaus* be able to communicate

desires. Looking in the Paris 1743 edition of the *Dictionnaire de Trévoux*, we read:

> Oiseau d'un plumage bigarré, rouge, verd, bleu, blanc, noir & gris, & à qui on peut apprendre à parler. Il est de la grosseur d'un pigeon. [...] Le *geai* a le pennage fort agréable, à cause de la diversité de ses couleurs: il parle & siffle comme l'homme [...] il contrefait toutes sortes d'animaux, & se rend tout-à-fait domestique. [...] **On l'appelle *Ricard* en quelques lieux. *Diction. des Arts.* *Ricard* est mis-là sans *h*, comme on le prononce en Picardie. Ménage a écrit Richard.**

The *geai*, it would seem, was long closer to the parrot than what we think of today, which would

make it a perfect romantic go-between. Furthermore, in the French literary context, not only do

birds sing of love, as in the remarkable beginning of *Partonopeus of Blois*,[61] but lovers use birds

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[59] Charles Grandgagnage, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue wallonne,* vol. 1 (Liège: Félix Oudart, 1845), p. 122

[60] Henri Forir, *Dictionnaire liégois-français,* vol. 2 (Liège: Imprimerie et Lithographie E. Severeyns, 1874), p. 529

[61] For an extended analysis of this passage and its roots in Old French literature, Penny Eley and Penny Simons, "Bird Symbolism in *Partonopeus de Blois*," *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 36, no. 1 (2000), pp. 1-15.

and birdsong to communicate with each other, as in *Tristan et Yseut*,[62] as well as in Marie de France's *Yonec, Laüstic,* and *Milun*.[63] For our purposes, this is extremely significant: we might see, in the passage from the *Septem remedia* above, the whole passage about the *rikaut* as tying elements from the introduction into the tradition of vernacular storytelling: the snake that will "slip into the cockles of [one's] heart" is represented by the devilish serpent, who is also a *male rikaus,* an evil jay sitting on the branches of the tree that Gérard discusses in the first few lines pertaining to the first remedy ("Surely thought, like the root is the beginning and cause of a tree's branches and fruit, and, as the Apostle says: "If the root be holy, so are the branches"). And all of this, again, in the context of vernacular literature, for the edification of his intended audience, which, he tells us in the first sentence of the *Septem remedia* and elsewhere, includes women.

This interpretation, too, as satisfying and plausible as it may seem, is imperfect for one major reason: *richâ* and *richars* in the avian sense would surely be masculine nouns, and we have here a feminine noun that can only be explained by the fact that perhaps Gérard was thinking of the Latin *avis*, "bird," itself a feminine noun. This, however, is a hard sell. Thus, we come upon a final, and, I think, most convincing possibility in this hermeneutic mystery: *Rikaus* is, as we suspected above, a proper noun turned into a common one, but rather than referring to Countess Richilde of Flanders and Hainaut, it refers to Richeut, the prostitute and *entremetteuse*

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[62] ibid., p. 7

[63] Jean-Marie Kauth, "Barred Windows and Uncaged Birds: The Enclosure of Women in Chrétien de Troyes and Marie de France," *Medieval Feminist Forum* 46, no. 2 (2010), pp. 34-67, esp. p. 48: "In three of Marie's lais, *Yonec, Laüstic,* and *Milun*, women receive messages from their lovers when a bird or a bird's song comes through the window into their bedchambers. The husband can control the woman's body by imprisoning her in towers and in her own room, but there are certain things he cannot restrain. Marie's women become intellectually, spiritually, and, to a certain extent, sexually free within the constraints of imprisonment by coopting the instrument of their incarceration as a symbol transformed to represent themselves. Their enclosures are both constraining and protective, smothering and generative."

of *fabliau* fame. *Richeut* has been regarded as the earliest *fabliau* (or at least as a fabliau

prototype), possibly dating from 1159.[64] What's more, *Richeut* is supposed to have been the

object of her own literary cycle:

> It could be argued that Richeut was one of the few women to have her own series
> in the Middle Ages. Vernet has identified two textual fragments that attest to what
> the narrator states at the beginning of the fabliau: "Sovante foiz öi avez/ conter sa
> vie" ("You have often heard her life recounted.") (3-4).[65] In addition, both of the
> fragments seem to have connections to *Richeut* itself. [...] It is very possible that
> she exists in other texts that have been lost to us in addition to the fragments that
> remain. One could conclude that she is used as a reoccurring character in different
> stories because she was to be held up as an example of moral depravity and as a
> lesson on how not to behave. Still, we should not forget that Richeut never suffers
> any consequences for her actions.[66]

Of course, for Gérard, as for Eve in the passage of the *Septem remedia* under consideration, the

consequences could not be more dire—the death of one's soul, and eternal damnation. But the

quotation above suggests that Gérard and his thirteenth-century audience are likely to have been

familiar with the tale, which, though it seems to have been in vogue, and though it has attracted a

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[64] Joseph Bédier, *Les Fabliaux* (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1925), p. 40, cited
in Ingrid D. Horton, *Engendering Vice: The Exemplarity of the Old French Fabliaux*, Ph.D.
Diss., University of Kansas (2007), p. 13. Yet, according to Per Nykrog in his review of Philippe
Vernay's edition of *Richeut* in *Speculum* 65, no. 4 (1990), pp. 1070-1071, "[T]he date of 1159
proposed by Bédier has long since been abandoned and with it the live scholarly interest in the
text, leaving unsolved the entire complex of problems it raises, except for one point. In 1973, A.
Vernet [see n. 65 *infra*] published text fragments proving from internal evidence Bédier's
observation that there must have existed, at least in the thirteenth century, a well-known story
cycle about the nefarious deeds of the disreputable Richeut."

[65] André Vernet, "Fragments d'un Moniage Richeut?" in *Études de langue et de littérature du
Moyen Age offertes à Félix Lecoy par ses collègues, ses élèves et ses amis* (Paris: Champion,
1973), pp. 585-597

[66] Horton, *Engendering Vice*, pp. 151-152

great deal of scholarly attention, only survives in one very imperfect manuscript.[67] I would not therefore want to suggest that Gérard recalls here the details of the *Richeut* we know today, but rather, that her story was accessible enough that by Gérard's time, her name had already passed into common parlance as a word for *maquerelle*.[68]

In light of this reading, what Gérard does is perhaps without parallel in thirteenth-century theological discourse. Recalling that infamous bawd, he retells the story of Eve's temptation in Genesis essentially as a *fabliau*. A weak woman who speaks *molliter* ("weakly" or "softly"), with weakened defenses ("mols bras"), when the devil—that is, the *Rikaus*—addresses her, Eve fooled by the *Rikaus'* clever words into selling her soul for a *rikaus*—by which I mean an apple. Gérard even plays out the dialogue, even though Wilmart's edition makes Gérard look merely repetitive: "illa molliter respondit: 'ne forte, inquit, moreremur.' 'Ne forte' dixit; et ille, quasi pessima et malitiosa *Rikaus* [etc.]." But the fact that there is already an "inquit" ("said she") in the reported Biblical speech makes the "'Ne forte' dixit;" superfluous. Instead, I argue that we

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[67] Philippe Vernay, *Richeut : édition critique avec introduction, notes et glossaire* (Bern: Francke, 1988) is the current scholarly standard, replacing Irville Charles Lecompte's edition, "*Richeut,* Old French Poem of the Twelfth Century, with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary," in *Romania* 4, no. 3 (1913), which still provides a short and useful introduction. Vernay's edition was welcomed with favorable reviews from renowned scholars, the likes of Ménard, Zumthor, and Nykrog, but the brave reader who might wish to try this extremely difficult text would do well to consult the meticulous review by the great philologist and scholar of *fabliaux*, Willem Noomen, in *Romance Philology* vol. 46, no. 1 (1992), pp. 76-82, which carefully corrects numerous errors in Vernay's edition.

[68] Gérard doubtless alludes to this in glossing, "ki font le makement de ces foles amours." The verb *makier* is attested by Tobler and Lommatzsch, but not in this sense. That said, the etymology of this Germanic verb is fairly clear, if difficult to trace exactly; *makier* would be what the Mäkler (German "broker") or of the *maquerel* does, and *makement* would therefore be the noun formed from the verb. In this sense, it would mean "going-between" or perhaps "whoring," rather than "machination," which is what Godefroy has. According to Lecompte in the introduction to his *Richeut*, p. 263, "Ten years at most after 1159, *Richeut* is used as a synonym for *entremetteuse* [in Thomas' *Tristan*]." Finally, the Tobler-Lommatzsch *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch* provides *Kupplerin* ("pander," "bawd") as the definition, pointing to a few examples.

ought to follow the clear punctuation of the Troyes manuscript, eliminating the semicolon Wilmart inserts (following the *Reginensis*), and savoring the devil's sly reply, which exposes Eve's uncertainty, persuading her to sin: "She replied weakly: 'Lest perhaps,' said she, 'we should die.' 'Lest *perhaps*,' said he too, like that most malicious and evil *rikaus*." It would seem, finally, that Gérard fights fire with fire—tying together multiple *auctoritates*, biblical and patristic, into a thematically coherent *fabliau* of his own making, so that their truths may be better retained; the bawdy *fabliau* becomes an instrument for moral instruction.

That said, Gérard can hardly introduce the *fabliau* element to his discourse without some doubtless unintended interpretative consequences. Does acting *viriliter* ("manfully") not result, for every man in the *Richeut*, in getting duped? And what must we now make of Gregory's "slippery snake whose head, if not resisted..."? Vernacular literature thus shows itself to be dangerous by twisting meaning in unexpected ways. Gérard does not seem to be aware of this, however—his intention appears to be to connect and to engage, rather than to subvert or to make light of the *auctoritates* he absorbs and reveres.

At this point, we have seen several examples of how Gérard uses and transforms *auctoritates*, and of how and when we can distinguish his own voice from theirs with certainty. Through these examples, I hope to have shown Gérard's obedience of conventions of style in the treatises' beginnings; communication of strong emotional messages in passages from the *Vitae patrum*; and finally, engagement of the audience's attention to foster greater receptiveness, all work together to contribute to the treatises' *auctoritas*, as well as to their author's. They do this by making the content of the treatises more credible and thus worthier of reproduction, which cements their place in the textual tradition.

We now come to the last question we sought to answer in this chapter: what do these passages show us about the construction of an authoritative identity in an increasingly literate medieval society? Brian Stock, in his seminal tome, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, begins by tracing a shift from nonliterate to literate society, from "predominantly oral, to various combinations of oral and written" forms of communication.[69] By Gérard's time, both in clerical circles—where religious texts were studied, copied, and commented upon abundantly—and with the flourishing of vernacular literature, the movement toward literacy was ever more evident, creating what Stock calls textual communities:

> The term is used in a descriptive rather than a technical sense [...] What was essential to a textual community was not a written version of a text, although that was sometimes present, but an individual, who, having mastered it, then utilized it for reforming a group's thought and action. The text's interpreter might, like St. Bernard, remain a charismatic figure in his own right, whose power to motivate groups derived from his oratory, gestures, and physical presence. Yet the organizational principles of movements like the Cistercians were clearly based on texts, which played a predominant role in the internal and external relationships of the members. The outside world was looked upon as a universe beyond the revelatory text; it represented a lower level of literacy and by implication of spirituality. [...] The textual community was not only textual; it also involved new uses for orality. The text itself, whether it consisted of a few maxims or an elaborate programme, was often re-performed orally. Indeed, one of the clearest signs that a group had passed the threshold of literacy was the lack of necessity for the organizing text to be spelt out, interpreted, or reiterated. The members all knew what it was.[70]

There are clear resonances between this description of the textual community and Gérard's treatises, centered as they are around an individual who masters and presents a text for a purpose—especially the *Septem remedia valde utilia*, with its focus on useful advice for ensuring

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[69] Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), p. 9

[70] ibid., pp. 90-91

good behavior. Furthermore, from Gérard's copious use of patristic and biblical texts, and deep, personal understanding of them, one can glean a sense of the importance of literacy to him, and likely to his audience, which, as many examples in the treatises attest, did not need texts to be spelt out, interpreted, or reiterated.[71] It is safe to say, then, that at the particular time and in the particular place where Gérard composed these treatises, he was an active participant in a textual community.

It was thus in the context of this textual community that Gérard constructed his own *auctoritas*. And unlike a great Schoolman like Aquinas, whose *auctoritas* came from the sheer magnitude of his work and intellectual ideal it represented; unlike the great leader of the Cistercian order, Bernard, whose language seamlessly ties passages of the Psalms and the Song of Songs together in mellifluous prose poetry, hardly making reference to any patristic source at all; Gérard draws his *auctoritas* from a masterful mixing of oral and written traditions that reflects his context as a monastic theologian in the mid-to-late thirteenth century, working within "an atmosphere of commitment and devotion, within the framework of a way of life that has its focus not on externals but on seeking God."[72] In other words, in his narrow textual community, as well as in the broader textual tradition, Gérard's *auctoritas* cannot be divorced from his place within a monastery, showing mastery both of the texts he and his community loved and lived by, and of the songs and tales told outside the monastery's walls. The construction of an

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[71] I think here of passages in which Gérard writes "et cetera," or gives an oblique reference to another text, without quoting *in extenso*.

[72] J.T. Miller, "Monastic Theology," in *New Dictionary of Theology: Historical and Systematic*, eds. Martin Davie, Tim Grass, Stephen R. Holmes, John McDowell, T.A. Noble (Westmont, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2016)

authoritative identity in an increasingly literate society therefore meant embracing that society's increasingly complex relationship with the written and the spoken word across linguistic divides.

By answering the questions outlined in the first paragraph of this chapter, I have attempted to show that Gérard's *auctoritas* remains meaningfully distinct from the question of authorship, and that it stems not only from his quotational practice and engagement with other *auctoritates*, but also from his participation in traditions of Latin and vernacular storytelling. In the next chapter, which treats Gérard's quotation of Classical poetry, we shall see how education determines understanding, and how various *auctoritates* keep potentially dangerous poetic meaning in check.

Chapter V. *Septem remedia amoris*: Classical Poetry in the Treatises of Gérard of Liège

Successore novo vincitur omnis amor.[1]

I. Introduction: Toward an Appreciation of Gérard's Ovidian Aims

We now come to the final chapter of this dissertation, which takes as its subject the Classical Latin quotations that Gérard deploys in both of his treatises. Each of the previous chapters of this dissertation has attempted to tie Gérard's quotational practice—in "refraining," in using proverbs, and in reworking texts from the patristic tradition—to the question of authority. In the chapter preceding this one, I sought to establish a more rigorous, more properly medieval definition of *auctoritas*, and considered whether or not Gérard may be thought of as an *auctoritas* in his own right. In this chapter, without engaging in a thorny academic debate, I will show how Gérard uses the classical poetry he quotes. My primary aim is to demonstrate that the *Septem remedia*, which has been considered less interesting than *De divino amore* by those who have studied the treatises, constitutes a fascinating work in its own right—one that is truly Ovidian in its overall conception.

To that end, it is worth noting that this poetry is, at least at first blush, somewhat at odds with the religious tenor of Gérard's treatises. In many cases, as we shall see, Gérard quotes from Ovid's *Ars amatoria* and *Remedia amoris*, both of which are well known for their overt (or at least very thinly veiled) treatment of sexual intercourse. How is it that sexually charged secular poetry like the *Remedia amoris*, which is more ironic poison than remedy, can be accommodated to Gérard's earnest enterprise? History resolves this apparent contradiction to a degree; while the place of Classical Latin writers in Christian education and literature was debated from the fourth

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[1] "All love is conquered by a succeeding love." Ovid, *Remedia amoris*, v. 462.

century onward,[2] the instruction in *grammatica* (that is, Latin) that clerks received involved the study of quotations from Classical authors, if not entire works. Furthermore, the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries have been called the *aetas Ovidiana*, the Age of Ovid, an appellation substantiated in part by the increasing presence of Ovid—particularly of the *Amores, Ars amatoria, and Remedia amoris*—in the educational handbooks (*libri manuales*) that survive from the period.[3] In a way, therefore, it is not so surprising that Ovid and other secular poets should have found their way into Gérard's work.

But that is only part of the story, for even Gérard appears to exclude from the treatise *De divino amore* those classical works that make frequent appearances in the *Septem remedia*. This means that the hermeneutic puzzle cannot be solved simply by citing historical appreciation and allegorization of Ovid; there is perhaps something about the content itself of the Latin poetry Gérard uses in his first treatise that renders it inappropriate in the second. In order to understand what that might be, we need to take a close look at the quotations of Classical Latin poetry that Gérard uses in each treatise. Since the number of such quotations in the *Septem remedia* is much greater than that in *De divino amore*, I propose that we begin with the former. In the *Septem*

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[2] One particularly famous instance of this debate is Jerome's quarrel with Rufinus of Aquileia, in which he responds to Rufinus' charge that he is too steeped in secular knowledge by claiming that he has not trafficked in secular learning since he left school, but, "Bibendum igitur mihi erit de Lethaeo gurgite juxta fabulas poetarum, ne arguar scire quod didici?" [Shall I then have to drink from the river Lethe, following the poets' fables, lest I be charged with knowing what I have learned?]. Jerome, *Apologia adversus libros Rufini* I, 30, in Migne, P.L. 23, 422C.

[3] Eva Matthews Sanford, "The Use of Classical Latin Authors in the Libri Manuales," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 55 (1924), pp. 190-248. Using the exhaustive tables of contents Sanford presents for each book, we can see that whereas less than five percent of the eleventh-century *libri manuales* contain Ovid, 19% of the twelfth-century handbooks, and 31% of the thirteenth-century ones do. Further, while less than 5% of the twelfth-century handbooks contain the *Remedia amoris*, around 6% of the thirteenth-century ones feature it in some form. That said, Ovid has a long history in the classroom (even today!), as E.H. Alton and D.E.W. Wormell show in "Ovid in the Medieval Schoolroom," *Hermathena* 94 (July 1960), pp. 21-38.

remedia, there are a total of seventeen quotations from Classical literature. Sixteen of these are from verse, and twelve are Ovidian verse;[4] principally for this reason, I will therefore focus on how Gérard engages with Ovid in particular. By contrast, there are only two Classical quotations in all of *De divino amore*, which is slightly more than twice as long as the *Septem remedia*.

Seven Very Useful Remedies for Illicit Love, it is worth mentioning, may be seen as a somewhat misleading title—not for the same reason that *Quinque incitamenta ad Deum amandum ardenter* is (see pp. 12-13 of the Introduction for more on this), but because the "remedies" in question are mostly more preventative than they are curative; this sense of "preventative measure" is covered by the Latin *remedium*, but not so much by the English "remedy." This proves to be an important point of convergence between Gérard's treatise and Ovid's *Remedia amoris*, as the beginning of the poem makes plain in a dialogue between Cupid and Ovid about the poem's title:

> Love read the name and title of this book: "Wars," said he, "wars are in store for me, I perceive." Ah, Cupid, hold me not guilty of such a crime, who am thy poet, and have so often under thy command borne the standards thou didst give me. Other youths are ofttimes cool; I have ever been a lover, and if thou askest what I am doing, I am a lover still. Nay too, I have been taught by what skill thou mightest be gained [i.e. in the *Ars amatoria*], and what was impulse then is science now. Neither thee do I betray, O winsome boy, nor mine own craft, nor does the new Muse unravel the old work. If any lover has delight in his love, let him rejoice in his happy passion and sail on [his own] wind. But if any endures the tyranny of an unworthy mistress, lest he perish, let him learn the help my art can give. Why has some lover cast the noose about his neck, and hung, a sad burden, from a lofty beam? Why has one pierced his breast with the unyielding sword? Lover of peace, thou bearest the reproach of that murder. He who, unless

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[4] Each quotation is clearly marked as quotations by Gérard, but he does not always indicate the "correct" source.

he give o'er, will die of hapless love—let him give o'er; and thou shalt be the death of none.[5]

As Ovid reassures Cupid that he is ever a lover, in spite of the title of his new work, he makes the case that there ought to be a way out for those who would otherwise die of misery in love. In a way, Ovid's purpose would seem to be a noble one—to spare human beings untimely deaths. Of course, in the eight hundred or so verses that follow these, Ovid's advice ranges from the platitudinous (vv. 79-82, which amount to "do not fall in love in the first place"), to the contradictory (vv. 523 et sq. suggest that the lover should seek too much of a good thing, since "satiety too can make an end;" whereas earlier, vv. 214 et sq., he counsels long separation from the beloved), to the filthily misogynistic (vv. 406 et seq., in which Ovid advises the lover to choose sexual positions he knows his partner will not excel at, because "few women admit the truth, nor is there anything they will think has not become them"), to the metaphysical (v. 504, "He who can counterfeit sanity will be sane")—but all of this advice is offered with pervasive irony and humor. Above all, Ovid aims to entertain, not to teach, thus inverting the didactic genre's priorities while flaunting his own poetic mastery; he even goes so far as to proclaim that "Elegy admits it owes as much to me as the noble epic owes to Vergil."[6]

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[5] Ovid, *The Art of Love and Other Poems*, trans. J.H. Mozley, rev. ed. G.P. Goold (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979), p. 179. In this chapter, I take the Latin text from E.J. Kenney's Oxford Classical Texts edition, and the translation (with slight modifications in brackets) from the Mozley/Goold translation for the Loeb Classical Library. "Legerat huius Amor titulum nomenque libelli: / 'Bella mihi, video, bella parantur,' ait. / Parce tuum vatem sceleris damnare, Cupido, / tradita qui totiens, te duce, signa tuli [...] / Saepe tepent alii iuvenes; ego semper amavi, / et si, quid faciam, nunc quoque, quaeris, amo. / Quin etiam docui qua possis arte parari, / et, quod nunc ratio est, impetus ante fuit. / Nec te, blande puer, nec nostras prodimus artes, / nec nova praeteritum Musa retexit opus. / Si quis amat quod amare iuuat, feliciter ardens / gaudeat et vento naviget ille suo; / at si quis male fert indignae regna puellae, / ne pereat, nostrae sentiat artis opem. / Cur aliquis laqueo collum nodatus amator / a trabe sublimi triste pependit onus? / Cur aliquis rigido fodit sua pectora ferro? / Invidiam caedis pacis amor habes. / Qui, nisi desierit, misero periturus amore est, / desinat, et nulli funeris auctor eris[.]"

[6] Ovid, *The Art of Love*, pp. 204-205; vv. 395-396.

As the reader of Gérard's treatises knows, Gérard is nothing if not earnest in his didactic aims. This does not mean, however, that the *Septem remedia* is a dry, didactic work, or, as Barbara Newman sees it in *God and the Goddesses*, that "*Seven Useful Remedies Against Illicit Love* is a wholly predictable text teaching contempt of the world and its corollary, contempt of women."[7] While Gérard's treatise may well seem that way at first, it is, I hope to show, Ovidian both in its overall conception and in many of its particulars. From there, I argue that Gérard's use of Ovidian poetry to achieve his own didactic aims testifies to a deep understanding of Ovid's poetic enterprise. In other words, we shall see that Gérard uses the framework provided by the *Remedia amoris* to communicate something other than remedies against love that amount to contempt.

II. The *Remedia amoris* as Inspiration for the *Septem remedia*

Regarding the overall conception of the work, it would appear that Gérard's reading of the *Remedia amoris* is the source of every remedy save the seventh. Even the beginning of the treatise is similar to that of the *Remedia amoris*; whereas Ovid entreats Cupid to allow him to save the lives of unhappy lovers (quoted above), Gérard inscribes his remedies in a quest to save the soul from the sins of the flesh:

> Cum omnis anime rationalis summum bonum sit amorem suum ab omni carnali et illicito amore retrahere et custodire, et specialiter mulieris, cuius precipua gratia et pulcritudo et gloria est cordis et corporis virginitas,—que tamen si amissa est, de quo valde dolendum est, amplius recuperari non poterit,—sequi debet cum humilitate continentie castitatem, et summo bono incommutabili, idest deo, totis cordis medullis iungere et unire. Tanto ad id faciendum se exercere debent ferventius omnes, quanto veraciter sciunt se in hac vita pace et tranquillitate cordis non posse gaudere nec aliquam dulcedinem devotionis a Deo accipere nec ad beatitudinem celestis patrie pervenire. [Illicitus et carnalis amor non permittit] hominem et mulierem sui juris et sue potestatis esse; sed in servitute miserabili detinentur, nec se de tali jugo possunt excutere quando volunt, sicut sciunt

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[7] Barbara Newman, *God and the Goddesses: Vision, Poetry, and Belief in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press, 2005), p. 151

experti. At vero econtra, nichil dulcius, nil jocundius nichilque frutuosius est quam Deum toto corde diligere et amoris eius obsequiis se assidue mancipare. *Mais nus ne le set ki ne l'a assaié*.[8]

Since what is best for every rational soul is to protect and withdraw its love from all carnal and illicit love (and especially so for women, whose foremost grace and beauty and glory is their heart and body's virginity, which, if abandoned—and this is a great shame indeed—may not be fully recovered), one must humbly seek the purity of temperance and endeavor, from the very bottom of one's heart, to yoke and unite oneself to the greatest immutable good—that is, to God. The more all who burn with love have to work to achieve this union, the better they know that they cannot enjoy peace and tranquility of heart in this life, nor can they receive any of devotion's sweetness from God, nor attain the bliss of our celestial fatherland. [Illicit and carnal love does not suffer] men and women to follow their own laws and be masters of themselves; rather, it holds them in wretched servitude, and, as the experienced know, even when they want to, they are unable to shake such a yoke off. But, conversely, there is nothing sweeter, nothing more joyful, nothing more fruitful than to love God with all one's heart and to give oneself over to the obedience of His love. *But no one knows who hasn't tried it.*[9]

Although it is clear that Ovid's rhetorical posture as an unrepentant lover is quite distinct from Gérard's monkish morality, and although Ovid's contention that his poem will save lives is surely tongue in cheek, the purported human stakes are high in both cases. Nor is Gérard's introduction without a certain sympathetic playfulness that underscores his awareness of how difficult it is to cure a person of carnal love; his very position as teacher implies an expertise in the subject matter that the phrase "sicut sciunt experti" ("as the experienced know") underscores. Furthermore, his use of the vernacular proverb, "*Nus ne le set ki ne l'a assaié*," which may be approximated in English by "You'll never know till you try it," seems humorously out of place as it pertains to loving God—as if taking the cloth and devoting oneself to the Lord were a sort of popular diversion. And regarding Gérard's scrupulous inclusion of women, which historically-

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[8] *Septem remedia* Introduction, Wilmart p. 183

[9] ibid., Wilmart p. 183. See also the note on the difficulties of translating this first sentence into English.

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minded scholars have taken as proof that Gérard may have been writing for (or preaching to) an audience of monks and nuns alike,[10] one might see, even here, a self-conscious evocation of the *Remedia amoris*. At least four more times in the *Septem remedia*, Gérard makes a point of saying that his advice—however misogynistic—applies just as well to women as it does to men; Ovid does the same, just before he tells us that his *Remedia* would have saved Phyllis, Dido, Medea, Philomela, Pasiphae, Phaedra, Scylla, and Helen: "But whatever is said to men, deem it also said to you, ye [lasses]: we give arms to the opposing sides, and if aught thereof concerns not your needs, yet by example it can teach much" (vv. 48-49 et sq.).[11]

Any one of the above observations in isolation would not be enough to show that Gérard's treatise is more than meets the eye; yet taken together, they begin to suggest that Gérard is self-consciously modeling his treatise on the *Remedia amoris*. This becomes clearer still as Gérard enumerates his remedies. By way of proof, I list Gérard's remedies below, along with relevant passages in the *Remedia amoris*. Since we will discuss some of these later in more detail, I provide only English translations here, so that the reader may quickly appraise the similarities.

    I.   The first remedy for illicit love is to resist its beginnings and temptations manfully.

          a.   While it may be, and but moderate feeling moves your heart, if you dislike it, stay your foot on the first threshold.[12] (vv. 79-80 et sq.)

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[10] In addition to Wilmart, Nigel F. Palmer, in "The Authorship of *De doctrina cordis*" in *A companion to the Doctrine of the Hert : The Middle English Translation and Its Latin and European Contexts*, eds. Denis Renevy and Christina Whitehead (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2010), and Barbara Newman, in *God and the Goddesses*, have expressed this view.

[11] Ovid, *The Art of Love*, pp. 181-182

[12] *Septem Remedia* §I.1. ¶ 1, Wilmart p. 184; Ovid, *The Art of Love*, pp. 183-185. Note that Gérard quotes these verses in *Septem remedia*.

II. The second remedy is to watch over all of the body's senses—and particularly those of sight and hearing.

    a. We are won by dress; all is concealed by gems and gold; a woman is the least part of herself. Often may you ask, where is there aught to love amid so much; with this aegis wealthy Love deceives the eye.[13] (vv. 343-346)

III. The third remedy is to flee solitude.

    a. Whoever you are that love, solitary places are dangerous, beware of [solitary places]. Whither do you flee? You will be safer in crowd.[14] (vv. 579-580 et sq.)

IV. The fourth remedy is to flee the company of women, as well as their gifts and acquaintance with them.

    a. If you love, nor wish to love, see that you shun contagion; even beasts are hurt thereby. [...] Love steals in unseen, if you go not from your lover.[15] (v. 614 et sq.)

IV. Similarly, spurn and do not receive the favors, gifts, **letters**, and greetings of women.

    b. Beware of reading again the treasured letters of an alluring mistress; letters read over again move even constant minds.[16] (vv. 717-718 et sq.)

V. The fifth remedy is to occupy the heart with the Holy Scriptures and solemn meditations, and the body with good works, or with service [...] Passion is born of idleness.

    a. When therefore I shall find you amenable to my skill, obey my counsels and first of all shun leisure. That makes you love; that guards what it has done; that is the cause and sustenance of the pleasant evil.

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[13] ibid., §II. ¶ 1, Wilmart p. 186; Ovid, *The Art of Love*, pp. 201

[14] ibid., §III., Wilmart p. 190; Ovid, *The Art of Love*, pp. 217

[15] ibid., §IV.1. ¶ 1, Wilmart p. 191; Ovid, *The Art of Love*, pp. 219

[16] ibid., §IV.2. ¶ 5, Wilmart p. 195; Ovid, *The Art of Love*, pp. 227. Note that where Gérard uses *litterae* Ovid uses *scripta*.

> [...] You who seek an end to love, love yields to business: be busy, and you will be safe.[17] (vv. 143-144 et sq.)

> VI.   The sixth remedy is to consider the extreme vileness and corruption of those people who are loved carnally [i.e. of the object of your love].

>   a.   Consider in swift thought what kind of thing it is you love, and withdraw your neck from a yoke that may one day gall. [...] (vv. 89-90) I treated myself with my own herbs, and [...] it helped me to harp continually on my mistress' faults, and that, when I did it, often brought me relief.[18] (vv. 313-315 et sq.)

The seventh remedy—"the consideration of the nobility, preciousness, and dignity of the rational soul"[19]—is not Ovidian in its tenor, so I have not included it in this list. I will discuss how I see the seventh remedy as transcending the Ovidian frame—upturning, in a sense, the *Remedia amoris*—later in this chapter.

From the list, we can draw two major conclusions that support our understanding of Gérard's treatise as being inspired by Ovid's *Remedia* in its overall conception. First, since every single one of the first six remedies has echoes in the *Remedia amoris*, it seems fair to say that Gérard drew his remedies chiefly from this poem. But what we have here is far from slavish imitation, as the quotations demonstrate. Rather than mimicking the order of recommendations Ovid gives to lovers, or even quoting Ovid in the introduction to each remedy (as he quotes John Chrysostom, for instance, at the beginning of the third remedy), he uses various parts of the *Remedia amoris*—mostly, but not entirely in the order they are encountered in this text, according to verse numbers—as inspiration for something almost unrecognizably new.

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[17] ibid., §V.1., Wilmart p. 197; Ovid, *The Art of Love*, pp. 187-189, vv. 134-138 et sq.

[18] ibid., §VI.1. ¶ 1, Wilmart p. 198; Ovid, *The Art of Love*, pp. 185 and 199

[19] ibid., §VII. ¶ 1, Wilmart p. 200

This leads us to the second conclusion we might draw from seeing Gérard and Ovid juxtaposed as above: the reader unacquainted with Ovid would not immediately recognize that six of the seven remedies Gérard proffers are also found in the *Remedia amoris*. This is because although Gérard quotes Ovid in the text of three remedies (the first, fourth, and fifth), he ensconces each remedy firmly within the Christian textual tradition. Take as an example the third remedy, with a bit more context: "The third remedy is to flee solitude, since, as Chrysostom says, 'Then most especially doth the devil assail, when he sees men left alone, and by themselves.'"[20] Since there is no mention of Ovid here or elsewhere in the third remedy, one might argue that Gérard was simply unfamiliar with Ovid's suggestion that the lovestruck flee "solitary places." But given that nine of the sixteen verse quotations in the *Septem remedia* come from the *Remedia amoris*, and that these are spread out over the entirety of the text, it is more reasonable, in my view, to assume that he possessed more than a superficial familiarity with the poem. That is to say, while we cannot yet exclude the possibility that Gérard read a shorter, sanitized version of the text, perhaps with the most scandalous bits removed, the above list appears to testify to a deeper understanding than what a florilegium of epigrams taken from Ovid and others might provide. In light of the similarities between Gérard's remedies and portions of Ovid's poem, I would submit that on a macroscopic scale, Gérard has produced a highly Ovidian treatise not only in its broad outline, but also in its spirit. Just as Ovid bent genres to his poetic will— rewriting the rules, so to speak, for a new poetic age—Gérard rewrites the *Remedia amoris* for a thirteenth-century monastic audience, maintaining recommendations that do not offend devout sensibilities while still preserving the entertaining spirit of the text (i.e. through the use of anecdotes discussed in the previous chapter, epigrams, and the vernacular).

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[20] See n. 14 *supra*

III. Rewriting the *Remedia amoris*

Returning to the example of the third remedy, we can see what this rewriting entails on a more granular level. The authorities Gérard brings to bear—the Bible, Chrysostom, Gregory, Jerome, Peter of Blois—point to one basic reason why it is necessary to flee solitude: it is dangerous for men and women to be *alone together*. In the same vein, when women are alone (like Susanna walking in her husband's orchard in the book of Daniel), they may inflame men's sexual desires, and when men are alone (as Potiphar's wife caught Joseph alone), lonesome women may try to ensnare them:

> [D]icit Gregorius: "Nam in solitudine ammitur timor, pudor, verecundia [...]" ut patet de Thamar que corrupta fuit ab Amon fratre suo, quia sola fuit cum eo, ut legitur in libro Regum. Similiter nota de senibus in Daniele, qui exarserunt in concupiscentia Susannae, quia videbant eam sepius deambulantem in pomerio viri sui. [...] Similiter uxor Phutiphares numquam ita impudenter et inverecunde cogerat prius Joseph ad consentiendum nec umquam tam violenter apprehenderat eum, sicut fecit quando vidit eum solum cum ea sola, quando tenuit eum per vestem suam; et quare hoc? Quia tunc magis temptata fuit et magis exarsit in concupiscentia eius, quando habuit locum, tempus et personarum et oportunitatem peccandi.

> [...] Gregory says, "For in solitude, fear, shame and modesty are all sent away [...]" as is clear in the story of Thamar, who was corrupted by Amon, her brother, when she was alone with him, as we read in the book of Samuel. Similarly, note the elders in the book of Daniel who burned with lust for Susanna, since they often saw her walking in the orchard of her husband. [...] Similarly, the wife of Potiphar never so shamelessly and immodestly urged Joseph at first to consent, nor ever so violently seized him, as she did when she saw him alone while she, too, was alone, when she grabbed his clothing; and why? Because at that time she was more greatly tempted and she burned more furiously in her lust when she had the space, time, person, and opportunity to sin.[21]

Especially in a monastic context, it makes sense to stress that even men and women as holy as Susanna and Joseph are not safe in the presence of the opposite sex. But in a way, it is strange—maybe even slightly humorous—that Gérard should advise monks to flee solitude, when solitude

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[21] *Septem Remedia* §III., Wilmart p. 190

is such an important part of monastic life. Any strangeness notwithstanding, Gérard's position here is, on the whole, not so different from Ovid's in the *Remedia amoris*, though Ovid takes a slightly different tack:

> Whoever you are that love [...] beware of [solitary places]. Whither do you flee? You will be safer in a crowd. You have no need for secrecy (secrecy adds to passion); a crowd will give you succour. If alone, you will be sad, and the shape of your deserted mistress will stand, as if herself, before your eyes. Hence night is sadder than the hours of Phoebus; the companions, who might relieve your gloom, are absent. [...] Ever have some Pylades to care for his Orestes: this too will prove no small benefit of friendship.[22]

Both Gérard and Ovid agree that solitude can inflame the passions; Ovid, however, addresses one who is already in love, and comes very near, in mentioning Pylades and Orestes, to prescribing homosexuality as a favorable alternative to a lover's rumination and solitude. In other words, whereas Gérard repeatedly underscores the danger of men and women being alone together, Ovid is more concerned with the lover being alone *apart*. Ovid is perfectly content for men and women to be alone together if they want to be. Gérard does not advance such a risqué view, but in his reworking of Ovid's advice, he still manages to conjure up arresting portraits of biblical incest, blackmail, and libel to keep the attention of his audience.

The foregoing analysis of the structure of the treatise and of how Gérard translates advice from the *Remedia amoris* into Christian terms demonstrates that the relationship between the *Remedia amoris* and the *Septem remedia* is tighter than the thoroughly Christian tenor of Gérard's treatise might lead one to believe. It does not explain, however, how Gérard uses Ovid's poetry itself, and how he understands it, and perhaps the role of secular poetry more broadly in Christian discourse. For that, I now propose looking more closely at the first and fourth remedies, in which Ovidian quotations feature very heavily.

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[22] Ovid, *The Art of Love*, p. 217, vv. 579-584

IV. Gérard as a Reader of Ovid

Whereas there is nothing to suggest that Gérard lists the remedies in order of usefulness (or according to any other criteria), his training in grammar and rhetoric, as well as his experience as a reader, would doubtless have taught him to devote special attention to beginnings and endings—and this applies, we shall see, both to the beginning and end of the treatise, and to the beginning and end of an individual section of a given remedy. It is no coincidence that Ovid and Gérard start in precisely the same place, by advising lovers and religious, respectively, to avoid love's beginnings. In this remedy again, as in the third remedy above, Gérard's advice is slightly different from Ovid's: while the poet counsels the lover to escape love early if it pains him ("si piget"), the monk instructs his audience to resist love's "beginnings and temptations manfully." To make for an easier comparison, I quote Gérard and Ovid side by side below.

> Primum itaque contra amorem illicitum remedium est principiis temptationem viriliter resistere, quia nisi in principio viriliter resistatur, statim temptatio convalescit et roboratur, et multociens in tantum ut cum manga difficultate aut cert nonquam extingui possit, sicut ad oculum frequenter videmus quod, quando modica scintilla in stramine cadit, de uno digito vel de uno pede si statim conculcaretur, facile extingueretur, sed, si negligatur et crescere permittatur, in tantum multociens inflammatur ut mille homines extinguere non possent. Ita est sine dubio de temptationibus diaboli et carnis. Unde dicit Ysidorus: "Temptationum diabolicarum et carnalium intitia fragilia et debilia sunt, que, si in principio non caveantur, fortiter convalescunt et crescunt in tantum ut nonquam aut cum maxima difficultate vincantur;" quia, sicut dicit idem Ysidorus, "Diabolus lubricus serpens est, cuius si capiti, idest prime sugestioni, non resistitur, totus in itima cordis, dum non sentitur, illabitur."

> The first remedy for illicit love is to resist its beginnings and temptations manfully, since if it is not resisted manfully from the beginning, then temptation will come alive at once, and gain strength—and often, to such a degree that only with great difficulty, if ever at all, can it be extinguished, just as we often see clearly that when a small spark falls upon straw, if a finger or foot snuffs it out immediately, it is easy to extinguish, but if it is neglected and permitted to grow, it burns so fiercely that a thousand men would not be able to extinguish it. So it goes, without a doubt, for the temptations of the flesh and of the devil. Whence Isidore says, "The beginnings of diabolical and carnal temptations are fragile and weak, and if they are not guarded against from the start, they grow and strengthen

mightily, such that never but with the greatest difficulty may they be vanquished;" since, as Isidore also says, "the devil is a slippery snake whose head, that is, the first suggestion, if not resisted, will slip into the cockles of your heart before you feel a thing."

> A profitable aim it is to extinguish savage flames, and have a heart not enslaved to its own frailty. (vv. 53-54) [...] While it may be, and but moderate feeling moves your heart, if you dislike it, stay your foot on the first threshold. Crush, while yet they are new, the baneful seeds of sudden disease, and let your steed at the outset check his pace. For delay gives strength, delay matures the tender grapes, and makes what is grass into lusty crops. The tree that gives broad shade to strollers, when first it was planted, was a tender shoot, then it could be pulled by the hand from the surface of the earth: now it stands firm, grown by its own strength to unmeasured height. (vv. 79-88) [...] I have seen a wound that at first was healable, by tarrying suffer the penalty of long delay. But because we delight to pluck the blooms of Venus, ever we repeat, "Tomorrow it will be the same." Meanwhile secret flames creep into our inmost being, and the evil tree drives its roots deeper down. (vv. 103-106)[23]

Seeing these two passages side by side, Gérard's discursiveness stands in stark contrast to Ovid's epigrammatic brevity. Ovid supplies epigram after lapidary epigram, moving from thresholds, to seeds, to steeds, to grapes, to trees, and then to the blooms and flames of love—mostly natural imagery with clear sexual overtones, particularly of the phallic sort. Gérard takes a cue from Ovid, recycling the perennial love-fire metaphor that then becomes a connection to hellfire, and ultimately leads to the quotations of Isidore.[24] One might even say that the quotation from Isidore about the "slippery snake," whose allegorized head slips into the heart, is inescapably phallic, and therefore another echo of Ovid. In any case, here, as in the third remedy, it appears that Gérard has obscured his Ovidian source—a comparison of the Latin texts does not reveal much overlap in terms of vocabulary or style, and although there are similarities in imagery, Gérard has created some degree of plausible deniability regarding his source or inspiration. So much so,

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[23] *Septem Remedia* §I.1. ¶ 1, Wilmart p. 184; Ovid, *The Art of Love*, pp. 183-185

[24] He also echoes the tree and root imagery that Ovid uses, although, for brevity's sake, I have left this part out of the quotations above. ibid., beginning with "Et quod est principium."

that when he quotes Ovid at the end of the first remedy in what we might describe as quotational

dumping, it reads as if Ovid is just another one of his authorities, rather than the generative force

behind the whole text:

> [E]t ideo principiis temptationum, idest primis cogitationibus, semper resistendum
> est. Unde dicit Ovidius de remedio amoris: "Dum licet et modici tangunt tua
> pectora motus, si piget in primo limine siste pedem." Item: "Principiis obsta, sero
> medicina paratur, Cum mala per longas convaluere moras." Item: "Opprime, dum
> nova sunt, subiti mala semina morbi. –Nam <mora> dat vires, teneras quoque
> percoquit uvas. –Omnia principiis semper inesse solent." Et hec ad presens de
> primo sufficiant.

> And thus, the beginnings of temptation—that is, the first thoughts of it—must be
> resisted. Whence Ovid says in the *Remedia amoris*: "While you still can, and
> moderate movements stir your heart, if it hurts, stay your foot at the very first
> threshold." And furthermore, "Resist the beginnings: it is too late to employ
> medicine when your ills have already grown strong by long delay." And
> furthermore, "Destroy, while they are still new, the fatal seeds of sudden illness,
> for delay gives strength, and also ripens tender grapes. Everything is in the
> beginnings." And now, let this suffice for the first remedy.[25]

The effect of this series of Ovidian quotations can be understood in a few ways. Quoting Ovidian

verses in quick succession at the end of the passage gives Ovid "the last word;" Ovid's verse

serves as a pithy summary of what precedes, and the meter—which Gérard scrupulously

maintains even as he changes a word here and there—renders the passage, as well as Gérard's

overall message, all the more memorable. In addition, quoting Ovid at the end of the remedy in

this way can be seen as a way of acknowledging a debt—the equivalent of a medieval footnote

indicating a reference. (This reading, however, does not apply to the other remedies that are

similarly inspired, but that do not contain any quotations from the *Remedia amoris*.) On the one

hand, therefore, the quotation can be seen as paying homage; but on the other, there is a certain

measure of rivalry, possibly even indifference. Gérard strings Ovid's verses together as they

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[25] *Septem Remedia* §I.1. ¶ 6, Wilmart p. 187

come to him, without any further exegetical effort; in the case of the last quotation, "Omnia principiis semper inesse solent" ("Everything is in the beginnings"), he does not even indicate that the source is not the *Remedia amoris*, but the *Fasti*. It matters not. Gérard is using Ovid for his purposes—to communicate his message to his audience, and this secular poetry is just not serious or Christian enough to be more than an afterthought.

My own reading of these rapid-fire quotations of Ovid takes them as being somewhere between complete literary genuflection and a rival's disdain. Perhaps Gérard does not trouble himself with the details of the Ovidian text—with its deeper meaning, with its innuendo, with more contextualized quotation—because Ovid and the other classical poets were used as a teaching tool in schools; in fact, from this point of view, Ovidian poetry would quite naturally find itself subordinated to some other didactic end. As Gérard uses Ovid to illustrate his point after a long development, so too might the teacher of grammar have used the verse "Opprime, dum nova sunt, subiti mala semina morbi" to illustrate the use of the indicative mood of the present tense in temporal clauses containing the conjunction *dum*.

One more point about the above passage: Gérard does not merely quote Ovid, but actively alters his meaning. The difference is small but plain. In Ovid, the epigrams "Opprime, dum nova sunt, subiti mala semina morbi, / Et tuus incipiens ire resistat equus" (vv. 81-82, "Crush, while yet they are new, the baneful seeds of sudden disease, and let your steed at the outset check his pace"), and the one that follows it, "Nam mora dat vires, teneras mora percoquit uvas, / Et validas segetes quae fuit herba, facit" (vv. 83-84, "For delay gives strength, delay matures the tender grapes, and makes what is grass into lusty crops") are actually variations on the same theme, rather than consequent statements; yet Gérard's omission of the hemiepe ("Et tuus incipiens..." and "Et validas segetes...") creates a logical connection between the two

hexametri that does not otherwise exist: the seeds of sudden illness ripen into the tender grapes. Gérard does something similar in the fourth remedy, to which we now turn our attention in order to show how Gérard, while displaying a clear understanding of the Ovidian context of the verses he quotes, uses them to highlight a woman's virtue and to preach clerical singularity.

The fourth remedy comes in two parts, both of which concern the dangers of any kind of consort with women. It is even longer than the first and seventh remedies (misogyny is, unfortunately, a perpetual fount of creativity) and is unique in containing quotations from Ovid (and some from Seneca) throughout its text, rather than crowded together at the very end of a section. The first quotation comes at the beginning of the remedy (and more precisely, from the passage we highlighted above on page 301), which serves as a further confirmation that this is the passage Gérard had in mind as he wrote:

> Quartum remedium est fugere consortia mulierum, dona et familiaritates earum, et quod dico de mulieribus ad homines, hec eadem dico de hominibus ad mulieres, quia, sicut dicit Ovidius de remedio amoris: "Proximus a tectis egre defenditur ignis." Et ideo semper fugiende sunt, quia aspectus earum corda intuentium se inficit, auditus allicit, loquela inflammat et tactus inquinat, quia a planta pedis usque ad verticem non est locus in mulieribus in quo non sit positus laqueus ad capiendum oculos hominis. Quod satis innuitur in Judith XVI, ubi legitur quod "colligavit cincinnos mitra" ad decipiendum Olofernem.

> The fourth remedy is to flee the company of women, as well as their gifts and acquaintance with them, and what I say of women to men, I say the same of me to women, since, as Ovid says in the *Remedia amoris*: "It is difficult to defend against a fire next-door" (v. 625). And thus, women are always to be fled, since the sight of them always stains observers' hearts, and the hearing of them attracts, their speech inflames, and their touch pollutes, because from the soles of her feet to the top of her head, there is no place on a woman upon which a trap has not been laid for capturing the eyes of man. Judith 16 hints at this well enough, where we read that she "bound up her locks with a crown" to ensnare Holofernes.[26]

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[26] *Septem Remedia* §IV.1. ¶ 1, Wilmart p. 191

A number of remarkable things happen in this passage with respect to the quotation from the *Remedia amoris*. First of all, once again, Gérard reiterates that his advice applies just as well to men as to women—an echo of Ovid (similar to what we saw in the first remedy) that seems to acknowledge the overt misogyny of much of the advice that follows (i.e. as the equivalent of the "I have friends who are [insert adjective]" defense). Here, there is no hiding or delay in recognition of the Ovidian source, but curiously, Gérard cites Ovid's hexameter, "Proximus a tecte egre defenditur ignis," (v. 625, "It is difficult to defend against a fire next-door") as a stand-alone proverb, such that only the learned reader could know that the passage this verse comes from is precisely about fleeing the company of women. Even the next verse, the hemiepes, "Utile finitimis abstinuisse locis" (v. 626, "better to keep away from the neighborhood"),[27] would be more representative of the Ovidian passage's advice that the lover flee his beloved's company. It is impossible to say whether Gérard intended this as a sort of "call and response" common in liturgical texts—perhaps the elegiac couplet in question was just so well known that citing its hexameter verse was enough to call the hemiepes to memory, or at least to Gérard's own memory, if ever he read this aloud. Regardless, since we can be assured that Gérard is, in one way or another, engaging with a specific part of the *Remedia amoris*, it is appropriate to consider the terms of that engagement. To that end, I cite just a few lines of this section of Ovid's poem:

> Another [man] was already cured [of love]: [nearness] proved his bane: meeting his mistress was too much for him. (vv. 621-622) [...] 'Tis hard to hold the bull when he spies the heifer, the lusty steed ever whinnies at the sight of the mare. (vv. 633-634) [...] Let love fail, and vanish into tenuous air, and die by slow degrees. (vv. 653-654) [...] Now have you need of arms; here, brave warrior, must you fight: Penthesilea must fall before your steel. (vv. 675-676) [...] Do not

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[27] The perfect infinitive is used here, and this could well be translated "better *to have kept away* from the neighborhood [entirely]." Still, the perfect infinitive is often used "with the force of the present;" see Albert A. Howard, "On the Use of the Perfect Infinitive in Latin with the Force of the Present," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1 (1890), pp. 111-138.

arrange your hair because you are meeting her, nor let your toga's loose folds attract remark. (vv. 679-680).[28]

Ovid conceives of the beloved here in wholly adversarial terms—she is a heifer to be shunned, an Amazon queen (Penthesilea) to be slain, lest the tender lover find himself once again ensnared in her charms. Harking back to the passage from Gérard above, it seems at first as if he is going to continue in an Ovidian vein, with his talk of women's inflaming speech and polluting touch. But in point of fact, he does something quite different by mentioning Judith. Doubtless like queen Penthesilea, Judith was imagined as dressing her hair with a crown—Gérard translates *mitra* as *couronne* in French, although the word would have referred to a ribbon in earlier Latin—but unlike Penthesilea, Judith is remarkable for being a slayer, not for being slain. Judith was famed for acting "manfully" (*viriliter*) in using her feminine charms to enchant and then to behead Holofernes, the leader of the Israelites' Assyrian enemies.[29] She is the model of a woman doing God's work as well as any man, and furthermore, she is, in Jerome's own estimation in his preface to the book of Judith, "castitatis exemplum [...] non solum feminis, sed et viris imitabil[is]" ("The paradigm of chastity, [...] to be imitated not only by women, but even by men"). In other words, she is the polar opposite of Ovid's weak, male lover, wasting away and prettying his hair before a meeting with his beloved. Thus, in spite of the misogyny of much of what Gérard says in this remedy, Gérard's choice of Judith as the very first example of feminine danger throws woman's dignity and virtue into stark relief, even as she is portrayed as a potential source of sin. I would even go so far as to say that Gérard, consistent with his deeply held belief in the inherent dignity of the rational soul—subtly tones down Ovid's misogyny by choosing this

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[28] Ovid, *The Art of Love*, pp. 221-223

[29] Judith 15:11

particular example. And one final note on this passage that testifies to Gérard's delicate self-consciousness: the verb for "to hint at," used only once by Gérard, in "Judith 16 hints at this well enough" is *innuere*, which literally means, "to nod to"—a truly wonderful word choice, given that the story is about a beheading.

Later in the same remedy, Gérard quotes Ovid again, in what amounts to a breathtaking reversal, and uses Ovid to preach "clerical singularity" (*singularitas clericorum*):

> [D]icit Jeronimus: "Ubique gustanda est cum mulieribus non continuanda presentia, sed quasi transeunter feminis exhibenda est accessio, quodammodo fugitiva." Unde Ovidius: Nutritur vento, vento extinguitur ignis, / Lenis alit flammas, grandior aura necat. / Hunc licet extinguas, cinerem si sulphure tangas, / Vivit et e minimo maximus ignis erit." *Li sens de ces viers si dist ke douces paroles et douc sanlant si espendent et norissent amors. Mais estraigne sanlant et roides et dures paroles si l'estaignent. Mais tost est repris par biaus sanlans, et d'une petite estincele de demonstrance d'amour, naist trop tost uns tres grans fus de maise amour at de maise convoitise.* Et ideo fugienda est familiaritas mulierum.

> Jerome says: "Everywhere, your presence with women is to be tasted and not drawn out, but just as if in passing, the approach to women must be shown to be somehow fleeting." Whence Ovid, "Fire nourished by the wind, by wind is extinguished: a gentle breeze feeds the flames, a stronger one kills them. Though you may extinguish this [fire], if you should touch a cinder with sulfur, it comes alive, and so the smallest shall the largest fire become." *The meaning of these verses is that sweet words and a sweet aspect spread and nourish love. But a strange aspect and harsh and hard words extinguish it. But it returns soon through a fair aspect, and from a small spark of demonstration of love, too soon is a very great fire of evil love and lust born.* And thus, familiarity with women must be fled.[30]

The especially challenging quotation that begins this passage is not, in fact, from Jerome, but from a very popular text, *De singularitate clericorum,* by an anonymous third-century ascetic

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[30] *Septem Remedia* §IV.1. ¶ 4, Wilmart p. 194-195

now generally referred to as pseudo-Cyprian.[31] Gérard seems to have some familiarity with *De singularitate*, given that he quotes from it three times in this remedy—indeed, while it participates in a debate that may have seemed rather less lively to thirteenth-century religious than to those of the third century, *De singularitate* is an attack on a the long-extant practice of spiritual marriage, in which "a man and a woman committed to celibacy [live] together."[32] Although the words "spiritual marriage" do not appear in the fourth remedy, an implied rejection of spiritual marriage does figure therein.[33] The remedy for spiritual marriage is "clerical singularity," which is usually translated as celibacy, although the Latin word refers to an "entire lifestyle of solitude and separateness from women," rather than to renouncement of marriage and sex alone.[34] It would seem—in the above passage, in the fourth remedy more broadly, and, more broadly still, in the entire treatise—that this "singularity" is what Gérard prescribes for male and female religious. In this, he might be seen as taking Ovid's advice to an extreme, inviting Ovid's suffering lovers to join the monastery. Regardless of one's perspective on that particular score,

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[31] According to Diane Fruchtman, to whom I am very grateful for making this translation and commentary available on Academia.edu, "The treatise was anonymous until the 12ᵗʰ century, when it was attributed to Cyprian. Modern scholars have rejected this attribution[.]" Diane Fruchtman, *De singularitate clericorum : A Third-Century Treatise Against Spiritual Marriage* (MA Thesis, Indiana University, 2007). In the print edition of Gérard's treatises, the quotation in question was attributed to Isidore.

[32] ibid., Translator's Introduction, v.

[33] "I have even heard from a certain great man of religion who told me that a certain priest and a certain woman had been brought up together in one home for their teenage years, and had remained there together for thirty years, conducting themselves properly and religiously, both remaining virgins; yet the priest began to fall ill, and that woman took care of him diligently, since she loved him very much, with noble love, at that time, and they had lived for a long time together in chastity and virginity; but, when she was often next to him, touching him now and again, the devil took her hand and both were stirred up by carnal fire, to such a degree that, consenting to evil, they were both corrupted and abandoned their virginity at once. Thus, trust not in longstanding chastity." *Septem remedia* §IV.2. ¶ 4

[34] Fruchtman, *De singularitate*, p. 1, n. 1.

however, Gérard's special engagement with Ovid—his way of making Ovid an unwitting voice in favor of celibacy—is on full display in the quoted passage: in an interpretative chain, the Ovidian verses limn the pseudo-Cyprian lines that precede them, after which the French text expounds upon the verses. Jarringly, the verses in question, though syntactically and semantically coherent, come from two entirely different passages (one about letters, and one about wine), which I quote below in order to demonstrate how Gérard modifies them:

> Vina parant animum Veneri, nisi plurima sumas / Et stupeant multo corda sepulta mero. / **Nutritur vento, vento restinguitur ignis: / Lenis alit flammas, grandior aura necat.** / Aut nulla ebrietas, aut tanta sit, ut tibi curas / Eripiat; siqua est inter untrumque, nocet. (vv. 807-808)

> Wine prepares the heart for love, unless you take o'ermuch and your spirits are dulled and drowned by too much liquor. By wind is a fire fostered, and by wind extinguished; a gentle breeze fans the flame, a strong breeze kills it. Either no drunkenness, or so much as to banish care: aught between the two is harmful.[35]

> **Ut paene extinctum cinerem si sulpure tangas / Vivet et e minimo maximus ignis erit,** / Sic, nisi vitaris quidquid renovabit amorem, / Flamma redardescet, quae modo nulla fuit. (vv. 731-734)

> Just as a cinder nearly spent will live, if you touch it with sulfur, and from a small become a mighty fire, so, save you shun whate'er may renew your passion, the flame that was lately naught will glow once more.[36]

A cursory glance at the first passage shows that in its integrity, it is unconnected to Gérard's present subject; the second one, at least, has to do with gifts, pictures, and letters, which Gérard does discuss in the fourth remedy. Now compare the texts in bold with Gérard's Latin quotation: "Nutritur vento, vento extinguitur ignis: / Lenis alit flammas, grandior aura necat. / **Hunc licet**

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[35] Ovid, *The Art of Love*, p. 233

[36] ibid., p. 287

extinguas, cinerem si sulphure tangas, / Vivit et e minimo maximus ignus erit"[37] In addition to the rerouting of meaning that Gérard effects by yoking these two elegiac couplets together grammatically and semantically, he shows off his poetic skill by maintaining the hexameter verse with "hunc licet extinguas." Considering that medieval Latin verse had been quantitative (unlike qualitative Classical verse) for hundreds of years by the time Gérard lived, this is remarkable display, however small, of Gérard's knowledge and authority—an authority he goes on to reassert in French by explaining in allegorical terms how *li sens de ces viers* relates to love, seduction, and lust.

V. Love 'em and Leave 'em: The Absence of Ovid in the Seventh Remedy?

In all of the passages we have discussed thus far, we have observed that Gérard's engagement with Ovidian poetry functions on multiple levels; and I hope it is becoming clear that the *Septem remedia* as a whole represents a playful and self-conscious Christianization of the *Remedia amoris*. The final part of my demonstration concerns the quotations in the seventh remedy.

As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, there are no quotations from poetry in the seventh remedy. There is, however, one quotation from (allegedly) classical literature—not identified by Gérard as such, and not from poetry. In one sense, the seventh remedy represents both the transcendence of the Ovidian frame and the substitution of erotic poetry for moral philosophy; Ovid, in all of his irony and cynicism, would never suggest that the lover consider "the nobility, preciousness, and dignity of the rational soul," as Gérard does in this remedy. In another way,

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[37] As above, for ease of reference, my translation: "Fire nourished by the wind, by wind is extinguished: a gentle breeze feeds the flames, a stronger one kills them. Though you may extinguish this [fire], if you should touch a cinder with sulfur, it comes alive, and so the smallest shall the largest fire become."

however, the seventh remedy epitomizes the Ovidian notion, expressed in the *Remedia amoris*, that the poison and the cure are often one and the same.

To the point about transcendence, Gérard strikes an eminently philosophical tone from the beginning of the remedy by quoting a text he attributes to the *Mellifluus Doctor*, Bernard of Clarivaux:[38]

> Septimum remedium est consideratio nobilitatis, preciositatis, et dignitatis anime rationalis. Cuius nobilitatem et dignitatem describit Bernardus, in parte tantum, non in infinitum in toto, quia describi non posset, ita dicens in suis Meditationibus: "O anima insignita Dei ymagine, decorata similitudine, desponsata fide, dotata spiritu, redempta Christi sanguine, rationis particeps, heres bonitatis, capax beatitudinis," etc.
>
> The seventh remedy is the consideration of the nobility, preciousness, and dignity of the rational soul—the nobility of which Bernard describes (just in part, not wholly in its infinity, since it could not be described) by saying in his *Meditations*: "O soul distinguished by the image of God, decorated [with His] likeness, betrothed [to Him] by faith, endowed [with His] spirit, redeemed by the blood of Christ, partaking in reason, heir of goodness, fit for beatitude," etc. Behold, in part, how great the dignity of the rational soul is.[39]

This is Gérard's response to Ovid's cynicism and vanity: the Christian prose poetry of the thirteenth-century in Bernardine style, lapidary in its expression (as the brackets in my translation hint), lilting in the rhythm of its penult-accented perfect participles (decoráta, desponsáta, dotáta, redémpta), mesmerizing in its consonance, assonance, and rhyme—all unadorned by the classical artifice that crowns Ovid's art—and full of faith in the human capacity for good. It is also, in a sense, a very classical text in its overall theme of "self-

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[38] According to Thomas H. Bestul, the text of the *Meditations* attributed to Bernard in the Middle Ages "was probably written sometime during the thirteenth century. [The text] circulated extensively under the prestige of Bernard's name, and was [...] one of the most popular religious works of the later Middle Ages[, and was] widely read by lay and clerical audiences." Thomas H. Bestul, "*Meditatio*/Meditation," in *The Cambridge Companion to Christian Mysticism*, eds. Amy Hollywood and Patricia Z. Beckman (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 164.

[39] *Septem Remedia* §VII. ¶ 1, Wilmart p. 200

knowledge as the beginning of wisdom, [which is] a commonplace from classical antiquity that is frequently found in the works of twelfth-century authors who wrote on meditation and contemplation."[40] Thus, the seventh remedy from the start is rooted in classical and Christian philosophical traditions—not chiefly in the tradition of Ovidian love poetry from which Gérard takes his inspiration for the six preceding remedies. And this speaks to Gérard's larger goal in the treatise: to use the earthly entertainment of secular, classical love poetry to coax the "rational soul" to turn itself toward divine love. In the seventh remedy—and consistent with the widespread biblical symbolism of the number seven—Gérard fulfills his divine mandate and completes his Christian *Remedia amoris*.

That said, Gérard does not achieve this *coup de grâce* (if my reader will suffer such a pun) without help from "a certain pagan philosopher":

> De [vilitate fimi carnalis voluptatis] dixit quidam philosophus paganus, ita dicens: "Si scirem deos ignoscituros et homines non noturos, peccare dedignarer,"— peccato scilicet luxurie—"propter vilitatem et turpitudinem huius peccati."

> A certain pagan philosopher speaks of [the baseness of the mire of carnal pleasure], saying: "If I knew that the gods would be ignorant of it, and that men would not find out about it, I would still refuse to sin"—by the sin, that is, of lust—"on account of the baseness and foulness of this sin."[41]

Although I have included quotation marks here, Gérard is paraphrasing an oft-quoted (or paraphrased) statement of moral philosophy attributed mostly to Seneca, without any indication of where Seneca wrote it. Not that it matters much where he wrote it, however, since Gérard leaves the authority anonymous. This may be seen as a partial erasure of that authority—*un*

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[40] ibid.

[41] *Septem Remedia* §VII. ¶ 9, Wilmart p. 204

philosophe païen en vaut un autre—which, again, would be consistent with Gérard's practice of appropriating Classical Latin texts for his own Christian ends.

Erasure though there may be, there is also a curious elevation of classical Latinity and pagan philosophy here—this is, after all, the final quotation in the *Septem remedia*. Which brings me back to my earlier point about the proximity of the poison and the cure:

> Terra salutares herbas, eademque nocentes / Nutrit, et urticae proxima saepa rosa est. / Vulnus in Herculeo quae quandam fecerat hoste, / Vulneris auxilium Pelias hasta tulit. (vv. 45-48)

> The same earth fosters healing herbs and noxious, and oft is the nettle nearest the rose; the Pelian spear which wounded once its Herculean foe, bore relief also to the wound.[42]

Gérard never cites this passage, but I believe that its message is implicit in his treatises: the answer to the problem of illicit love—an answer Gérard presents at the very end of the seventh remedy, when he invites us to "investigate and examine that which can and must urge us on to, and set us aflame with, divine love"—is to sublimate illicit love into divine love. Love is the sickness, and love, too, is the answer. One might find further evidence of this reading in the quoted Ovidian verses that have to do with fire; while the fires of love in the *Remedia amoris* possess destructive force (vv. 625 and 731-732), the fire of love divine—a favorite image of Gérard's—is entirely salvific, even at its most violent.[43]

To continue this metaphor, and in light of the absence of classical poetry—indeed of any named classical authority—in the seventh remedy, it would seem that the fire of divine love burns Gérard's book of Ovid before he writes *De divino amore*. Gérard's living practice of

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[42] Ovid, *The Art of Love*, p. 181; "Telephus, son of Hercules, was wounded and healed by the spear of Achilles," p. 180, n. 1

[43] See Chapter II, p. 196 *et seq.* for more about "violent love."

French poetry dominates his second treatise, perhaps in part because French, as the mother tongue, was felt to be more appropriate for expressions of poetic devotion than first-century BCE pagan Latin.

VI. The Classics in *De divino amore*

The only quotations of Classical Latin poetry in *De divino amore* are found close together in a single passage about *fortis amor*, "powerful love":

> [Fortis amor] [s]pernit timorem. Unde dicit Ieronimus: "Nichil certe est quod non effreno captus amore ausit." Amor enim David multum audacem fecerat, quando dicebat: "Dominus illuminatio mea et salus mea, quem timebo? Dominus protector vite mee, a quo trepidabo?" "Si consistant adversum me castra non timebit cor meum." "Etiam si ambulavero in medio umbre mortis, non timebo mala." *Et pour quoi*? Certe "quoniam tu mecum es;" idest, *car je suis avec mes amours*. Et Ovidius dicit: "Militie speties amor est, discedite segnes. [/] Non sunt hec timidis signa ferenda viris." Item dicit Ieronimus: "Avida est periculi virtus,"—amoris scilicet—,"et quo tenditur, non quid passura sit cogitat.

> [Powerful love] despises fear. Whence Jerome says: "There is certainly nothing that one taken by wild love would not dare." For the love of David made him very daring, when he said, "The lord is my light and my salvation, whom shall I fear? The Lord is the protector of my life: of whom shall I be afraid?" "If armies in camp should stand together against me, my heart shall not falter." "Though I should walk in the midst of the shadow of death, I will fear no evils." *And why*? Certainly "for thou art with me"—that is, *for I am with my love*. And Ovid says: "Love is a kind of warfare, so get out, hesitant ones! These banners are not to be borne by timid men." Similarly, Jerome says, "Virtue is greedy for danger"—the danger of love, that is—,"and thinks about where it is headed, not what might befall it."[44]

When I wrote "quotations of Classical Latin" above, I included the verse Gérard attributes to Jerome, which comes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Book 6, v. 465: "Et nihil est quod non effreno captus amore / ausit" ("There is nothing that one taken by wild love would not dare"). In the way Gérard quotes it here, however, it does not conform to the rules of hexameter verse composition. Given the exceptional sensitivity Gérard exhibits in metrical matters (as we noted

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[44] *De divino amore* §II.2.A., Wilmart p. 218

in our earlier textual analyses), we have every reason to believe that he read this in Jerome (who knew his classics well, as his famous debate with Rufinus shows), or that Gérard saw it attributed to him, or perhaps even that he remembered the verse from somewhere, did not recognize it as such, and attributed it to Jerome because it pleased him to do so.[45] All of this to say that this mutilated verse from the *Metamorphoses* does not really count as a verse at all.

This means that the quotation expressly recognized as coming from Ovid above is the only classical quotation in the entire treatise—a treatise roughly twice as long as the *Septem remedia*. Although Gérard swaps the slightly more difficult verb *tuēri* (whence "tuenda") out for the more common *ferre* (whence "ferenda"), the meter still works. In addition, the verse comes from the second book of the *Ars amatoria* (v. 233), a work Gérard does not quote elsewhere. I would tend to think that the *Ars amatoria* as a whole would be more susceptible to Christian allegorizing than the *Remedia amoris*, and that the subject of teaching the art of love is more aligned with Gérard's purpose in the *De divino amore* than that of teaching the art of falling out of love. But this is immaterial: Gérard's one-off quotation of Ovid does not have the structuring force of Ovid in the *Septem remedia*, nor does its context in the *Ars amatoria* bear any deeper relationship to the above passage.

In that passage, the quotation of Ovid comprises one just authority among many. It does not stand out in the same way, for instance, that the chain of quotations of biblical poetry does, especially when arranged thus as a stanza:

> "The lord is my light and my salvation, whom shall I fear?
> The Lord is the protector of my life: of whom shall I be afraid?"[46]

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[45] If this is a quotation of Jerome or of any other theologian, however, it has been lost; searching for this text in the *Patrologia Latina* database yields no results.

[46] Psalms 26:1

"If armies in camp should stand together against me, my heart shall not falter." [47]
"Though I should walk in the midst of the shadow of death, I will fear no evils."[48]

I have placed quotation marks around each individual quotation from the Psalms, though nothing approximating markers between the different psalms exists in manuscript. Out of these three quotations, Gérard crafts one continuous, biblical quatrain: the second "couplet" responds to the first, and mirrors the first couplet's bipartite sentence structure as well as the semantic parallelism between its individual "verses." Additionally—and this went entirely unnoticed by Wilmart—the final line ("Etiam si ambulavero [...]") is not an incorrectly rendered quotation of the Vulgate text ("Nam etsi ambulavero"), but a quotation of the text of the liturgy that Gérard, as a monk, was charged with reciting day in and day out.[49] In other words, this would-be poem composed of psalm texts bespeaks Gérard's daily devotional practice. One might even wonder if, in "translating" the rest of Psalms 22:4, "for thou art with me" in a line of his own refraining, "car je sui avoeuc mes amours," Gérard is not cobbling together a sort of motet. As we saw in the second and third chapters of this dissertation, *De divino amore* has a particularly devotional tenor, and the playfulness that characterizes Ovidian verse seems to have no place in this context.

What I hope to have demonstrated here is that Gérard is simply not preoccupied with Ovid in the longer passage quoted above; Ovid's presence is not even the most interesting poetic event therein. But I have highlighted it nevertheless, in order to render the differences between the two treatises more patent, and to show how Gérard excludes classical verse from his more

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[47] ibid., 26:3

[48] ibid., 22:4

[49] Evelyn Birge Vitz, "Liturgical Versus Biblical Citation in Medieval Vernacular Literature," in *Tributes to Jonathan J.G. Alexander*, eds. Susan L'Engle and Gerald B. Guest (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2006), pp. 443-449. I thank Professor Vitz for sending this illuminating article to me after I shared with her my finding that Gérard often quotes from the liturgy, rather than from the Bible directly.

serious theological work. Most of the *Septem remedia*, though it might at first seem "wholly predictable," to recall the critical assessment cited at the beginning of this chapter, can also be thought of as clever, didactic fun and games. To the contrary, *De divino amore* could not be more serious in its aims; its length relative to the *Septem remedia*, and its complex, hierarchical organization structurally reflect the gravity of the enterprise.

This gravity is also reflected in the other classical sources Gérard draws from, which are also few—just two quotations that Gérard attributes to Seneca, and one he attributes to (a or the) "philosophus," possibly referring to Seneca there, as well. The latter quotations come from Seneca's epistles, and like the Ovidian quotations on page 317, they figure in Gérard's discussion of powerful love—particularly in the part censuring duplicitous monks who appear pious until greater power reveals them to be monsters.[50] To demonstrate the relatively minor role these quotations play in Gérard's discussion of powerful love, I quote the following:

> Iterum dicitur in quodam proverbio quod honores mutant mores; sed certe non est verum. Non enim mutant, sed monstrant mores. Unde Seneca dicit: "Serpens etiam pestifera tuto tangitur et tractatur, dum riget frigore; tamen non desunt illi tunc venena,—non vero,—sed torpent. Sic crudelitas, ambitio et superbia multorum sub vultu et sub aspectu latet; ut autem paria pessimis audeant, fortune favore deficitur; eadem vero velle eos—subaudis—cognosces, da posse quantum volunt." Legitur enim in Ezechiele de leena que "constituit leonem unum de leunculis suis qui incedebat inter leones," idest inter superbos, ambitiosos, crudeles et immisericordes, prelatos et potentes huius seculi. [Et factus est leo.]

> And once again, it is said in a certain proverb that "honors change morals," but this is certainly not true. For they do not change morals, but reveal them. Whence Seneca says, "Even a poisonous snake can safely be touched and handled while it is numb with cold; nevertheless its venom is not lacking—no, indeed—but only inactive. Similarly, cruelty, vanity, and pride lie under the appearance and countenance of many, and lack only the favor of Fortune to dare to act like the worst. But you shall know—you understand—what they wish for: give them as much power as they wish." For one reads in Ezekiel about the lioness who "set

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[50] The first quotation is actually not Seneca, as Gérard says, but a proverb from Publilius Syrus's *Sententiae* (a work that was thought to be Seneca's until the sixteenth century). Since this is in line with material treated in Chapter II, I do not discuss it here.

one of her young lions up for a lion, and he went up and down among the lions—that is, among the prideful, vain, cruel, and merciless—the high and mighty of this world. [And he became a lion.][51]

I would argue that there is no special *auctoritas* accorded to the classical quotation in this passage. It is taken from a source of moral authority (Seneca's moral epistles), and it functions like many other quotations of authorities we have seen—to advance the Gérard's argument, as material for reflection and commentary. But in this case, Gérard is quick to illustrate the meaning of the Senecan quotation with a relevant biblical quotation from Ezekiel, as if to diminish its importance to the overall argument. The same diminishment happens at the level of imagery in the broader context of the passage, which I have left unquoted for brevity's sake: the imagery of the lion rejoins earlier eagle imagery to make Gérard's point about certain duplicitous monks while totally eschewing the serpent imagery Seneca features. In my view, this passage testifies to the fact that in *De divino amore*, Gérard sees little value in using classical prose or philosophy to teach about God's love, as he reserves these classical quotations entirely for a passage that amounts to a tangential condemnation of bad monks. For his instruction about the nature of divine love, he has more powerful tools in his biblical and patristic authorities, as well as in living, breathing vernacular poetry, of which he makes ample use.

In closing, I would like to bring back the quotation at the top of this chapter, from Ovid's *Remedia amoris*: "Successore novo vincitur omnis amor"—every love is conquered by a succeeding one. To extinguish the flames of lust by being enflamed with God's love in order to avoid hellfire was the hope of mystics through the ages. Gérard's hope was surely no different,

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[51] *De divino amore* §II.2.B. ¶ 3, Wilmart p. 220. Wilmart only recognized the first part of the quotation as belonging to Seneca.

but these treatises show him to have been singularly engaged in the care of others' souls as well. And all in all, the analysis undertaken in this chapter suggests that Gérard is careful in how he uses the classical tradition to achieve his didactic aims. The classical poets and philosophers may well serve to teach good behavior and to censor bad, but in the territory of divine love, classical poetry and prose are conquered by a *successore novo*—the vernacular poetry that still keeps us talking about Gérard of Liège nearly eight hundred years after his death.

Conclusion

In these chapters on the different categories of quotation that Gérard makes use of in his treatises, I have endeavored to show how Gérard's writing may speak to medievalists across the disciplines of history, theology, and literature. This has seemed to me particularly appropriate, given that bridging linguistic and theological divides is so central to Gérard's project. In the final section of my dissertation, I would therefore like to outline some unexplored avenues for further study that I have come across in the course of my research.

I. The Print Edition

One of the contributions of my research is the rediscovery of the early-sixteenth-century print edition of Gérard's treatises.[1] This edition represents a fascinating testament to the reception of Gérard's works in later centuries, and provides insights into the manuscript tradition that I was only able to begin to explore in the notes to my translation—not infrequently, the sixteenth-century Carthusian editor's readings and clarifications made it possible to understand parts of the text that would have otherwise remained entirely mysterious. But beyond the nitty-gritty details of translation that I was primarily concerned with in my own consultation of the print edition, I was struck by the ways in which the editor had sanitized Gérard's text and augmented it for his audience—for example, by correcting Gérard's frequent misuse of possessive adjectives and pronouns, by eliminating French from his edition in curious ways,[2] by

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[1] Gérard of Liège, *Remedia septem contra amorem illicitum, praecipue mulierum: Et quinque incitamenta ad amorem Dei, omnibus necessarium*, Guillaume Bibauc (Guilielmus Bibiaucius), ed. (Paris: Jodocus Badius [Josse Bade] Ascensius, 1521). This text is widely available online, including on Google Books. Wilmart was unaware of his predecessor, as have been all subsequent scholars of Gérard's treatises.

[2] See n. 551 in translation on the gloss "envians"

avoiding theologically dubious statements,[3] or by adding sections "pro saecularibus" (for secular clergy?) to the end of each treatise.

A study of the print edition may also yield valuable insights into the manuscript transmission of Gérard's treatises. Often, Bibauc (the editor) cites a different *auctoritas* than the one we find in the manuscripts, which suggests to me that he may have been working with a manuscript that has been lost, or perhaps with the Brussels manuscript that I have been not yet been able to view. Additionally, comparing the print edition with the manuscripts, one might look into the reception of medieval bilingualism in early print culture—what other bilingual works were printed centuries later, and how did their editors handle them? Or were Gérard's bilingual treatises unique in having received the attention of an early-modern editor? What is the effect of marking French text in a Latin text with "*gallice*" followed by a Latin word, rather than with the original? What broader linguistic and theological considerations might be at play in the print environment, and how do those differ from the thirteenth-century manuscript context?

II. The Manuscripts

The manuscripts of Gérard's treatises housed at the Vatican Library (both treatises), at the *Médiathèque du Grand-Troyes* (both treatises), and at the Royal Belgian Library (only *De divino amore*) certainly merit further study. While Wilmart's study of them is documented to some degree in his *apparatus criticus*, my digital study of the first two aforementioned manuscripts reveals that his expert eye was not always correct in its reading, and chiefly for that reason, I plan to prepare a revised critical edition alongside a further revised translation at some point in the future. With the digital tools currently available, it may also be possible to find hitherto unknown copies of Gérard's manuscripts, although I have not yet located any.

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[3] See n. 549 in translation

Regarding the known manuscripts, several interesting things stood out to me. The first concerns the works alongside which Gérard's treatises were transmitted. For instance, I have found that the part of the treatises that corresponds to the "quinque incitamenta" is actually a quotation of Guillaume of Peyraud's *Summa de virtutibus et de vitiis* (also widely available online in numerous editions). Lo and behold, a portion of Peyraud's work is also transmitted in the Troyes manuscript, the earliest known copy of Gérard's treatises. Are there also resonances in the treatises of other works found in the manuscripts? In addition, a deeper study of the manuscripts may provide additional information about how these treatises were used and transmitted by their early readers. One question I have on this front regards the manuscript colophon at the end of the BAV manuscript, which tells us that the manuscript was copied (for the price of three coins) by a certain "P." at La Gorgue, near Hazebrouck.[4] What does the fact that this copy was paid for suggest, and do we have any sense of how valuable a "solidus" was at that time? Did "P." copy any other texts within BAV Reg. lat. 71? What conclusions (if any) about Gérard's texts and audience can we draw from the location of copying?

III. The Sermons and *De doctrina cordis*

As we discussed in the introduction to this dissertation, Gérard is most likely the author of the famous treatise *De doctrina cordis*, transmitted in more than two hundred extant manuscripts. Yet the relationship between this treatise—which also exists in Middle English, Old French, Middle Dutch, Middle High German, and in Old Spanish[5]—and the treatises that constitute the corpus of this dissertation has never been studied. I noted in the Introduction (pp.

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[4] See n. 728 in translation

[5] See *A companion to the Doctrine of the Hert: The Middle English Translation and Its Latin and European Contexts*, eds. Denis Renevy and Christina Whitehead (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2010)

15-16) that certain quotations appear in the same order in both texts, but my treatment has not been exhaustive, and there is certainly a great deal more work to do in terms of both philological and theological research. For example, what do these treatises teach us about Gérard's ideas about the nobility of the soul, which figure heavily in our treatises and in the *De doctrina cordis*? Is his use of *auctoritates* (including classical ones) consistent in these works? I imagine that it would be fascinating to compare passages of the various translations of *De doctrina cordis* with the original and with Gérard's treatises, and to see what different translators did with the texts; I further suspect that this project could occupy an entire book.

There are also a number of bilingual sermons attributed to Gérard (and to others) in the collection Paris, BnF MS lat. 16483, which has been studied by Christopher J. McDonough, but has never been edited.[6] Given the interest of medieval bilingual writing and of vernacular sermons to current scholars, the Paris sermon collection would surely be a source of deep insight into medieval bilingual preaching practice, especially as it pertains to a form of discourse that would be more oral than written. To that point, McDonough's article suggests that vernacular proverbs figure even more prominently in the sermons than in the treatises, as do simple glosses of Latin terms. I would want to consider whether putting Gérard's treatises in the broader context of his writing may give a sense of how his particular bilingual usage differs from that of other writers, and a future article might additionally explore how bilingual (Old French-Latin) theological discourse in particular is adapted for different audiences.

Finally, it goes without saying that studying *De doctrina cordis* alongside the sermons and our treatises (which has never been done) would help us to learn more about who Gérard

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[6] Christopher J. McDonough, "Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France Lat. 16483: Contents, Audience, and the Matter of Old French," *Medieval Studies* 64 (2002), pp. 131-216. This manuscript was recently made available in black and white online.

was, and perhaps even to make a truly definitive pronouncement on the authorship of *De doctrina cordis*, which recent scholarship has sought to do.

IV. *Septem remedia contra amorem illicitum* and *De divino amore*

It has been my conviction, in working on this dissertation, that Gérard's treatises, once translated, would be of significant value to medievalists of different stripes. What will continue to attract scholars to these treatises is doubtless their bilingual character, particularly in light of the rarity of syntactic integration in medieval bilingual practice. While I have discussed a number of examples of Gérard's bilingual usage in the four chapters of my dissertation following the translation, I have not exhausted all of them, and even some of the ones I have analyzed are interesting for reasons beyond what I highlighted in my chapters. For example, I have generally not placed Gérard's French writing in the context of thirteenth-century allegory, although he frequently uses lyric types (*li jalous*, *biaus semblans*, *li anguisseus d'amour*) that appear in an allegorical context. As far as Latin is concerned, there are a number of exciting passages that the reader of this dissertation will find I have not discussed.[7] Many of these passages contain hints about Gérard's life and times—the things he saw, the social problems he observed (for example, his hatred for duplicitous—perhaps mendicant?—monks),[8] his attitude toward monastic poverty, and more.

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[7] E.g. *Septem remedia* §IV.2. ¶ 1: "One must therefore not rely upon old age, since I saw with my very own eyes a certain Cistercian monk who had lived for nearly fifty years in the order and who was a priest and who had held many positions in the order and who, it appears, conducted himself well in these positions, and who was around eighty years old and had already reached decrepit old age. And yet, by excessive familiarity and friendship with a certain woman, he became so infatuated that at such an age, spurning all of the suffering and penitence and good works that he had performed in the order, he left his house and order, and went foolishly into society with love for that woman in order to sate his passion, and shortly after that, he died."

[8] For example, in *Septem remedia* §VII. ¶ 2

In addition, one learned in the Christian liturgical tradition will find much value in studying Gérard's biblical quotations, since, as I have noted previously, Gérard's quotations often match the text of the liturgy exactly, rather than that of the Vulgate. I am currently unaware of the extent of this practice of liturgical quotation in Gérard's work, and aside from an article by Evelyn Birge Vitz on the subject,[9] I have not encountered anything on this subject in any discussion of theological works (monastic or scholastic). Yet this is an especially relevant issue, as it points to an element of devotional practice in these (and doubtless other) texts that also opens up the interpretive field to considerations of how quotations and the discourse within which they are embedded resonate with the liturgy. The importance of the liturgy in the daily life of medieval religious truly cannot be understated—ample textual evidence and records of monastic life show that religious knew the liturgical texts inside and out—and in my view, these texts formed a common bond among monastic audiences and added layers of depth to communication that will often go unnoticed by readers who are not attuned to the liturgical context.

I further foresee fruitful, renewed study of classical quotation by medieval authors like Gérard, and hope that my presentation of the treatises will facilitate this exploration of how the classical tradition was continued at least through the thirteenth century in unexpected ways. In the final chapter of this dissertation, we considered how Gérard appropriates Ovid's work for his own purposes in the *Septem remedia*, even while masking his Ovidian inspiration. But I was unable, in the narrow context of that chapter, to place Gérard in a broader tradition of Ovidian writing—especially of vernacular Ovidian writing, since the thirteenth century saw numerous

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[9] Evelyn Birge Vitz, "Liturgical Versus Biblical Citation in Medieval Vernacular Literature," in *Tributes to Jonathan J.G. Alexander*, eds. Susan L'Engle and Gerald B. Guest (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2006), pp. 443-449; discussed briefly in Chapter V (p. 324, n. 49).

translations, literal and literary, of Ovidian works. Additionally, I did not attempt to draw broader conclusions about what Gérard's use of Ovid may teach us about the depth of clerical education in the classics in the *aetas Ovidiana*. These and other similar lines of inquiry will prove valuable to literary scholars, to historians, and to scholars of medieval theology alike.

In closing, while much work remains to be done in a number of areas, I have strived to provide as faithful a translation of Gérard's treatises as possible, as well as enough breadth in terms of subject matter in this dissertation's chapters to enable other scholars to see the enduring interest of Gérard's work. I feel that it is only appropriate here to quote Dom Wilmart's words, since without the years of effort that led to his pioneering edition, this dissertation would not exist: "Au lecteur bénévole de compléter ce travail très imparfait."[10]

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[10] Wilmart (1933), p. 182, n. 7

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