

THE MIND-BODY RELATIONSHIP AND FRENCH POETRY

(c. 1240-1500)

by

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Thesis submitted for the

degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

at the

University of London

April, 1973



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ABSTRACT

Accounts of French medieval verse have always supposed that there was no readily identifiable general theory of poetry in the Middle Ages. At most, it is accepted that there were arts of versification (the Latin Poetrie of the XII/XIII centuries, the French Arts de Seconde Rhetorique of the XVth century), which covered points of grammar, rather than of "theory" as the term is usually understood.

However, there were non-literary theories which were systematically used by certain medieval poets. They derived from Greco-Arabic, rather than Latin, learning. The most notable of these were theories concerning the relationship of mind and body - in sleep, in semi-wakefulness and in melancholy.

Encyclopedists and men of learning began to relate poetry to the sciences of the quadrivium in Late Antiquity (Augustine, Boethius). This tendency became increasingly clear in the XII/XIII centuries, at the same time as the diffusion of texts like the Avicenna Canon of Medicine and the pseudo-Aristotelian Problemata.

Jean de Meun was the first French author to relate the new sciences to poetic expression on an important scale. His discoveries were exploited by a number of poets in the XIV/XV centuries.

The first major poets to use an art of poetry (that is, an ars poetica, rather than an ars versificatoria) and to apply its lessons to their work were Chastelain and François Villon. Their use of Averroes's commentary on Aristotle - the Poetria Aristotelis - has gone unnoticed. Towards the end of the fifteenth century French poetry evolved away from its interest in science in the direction of a number of ill-defined aims. Some of these were moralizing, others appear to be concerned with pure technique. Almost none of the poetry/<sup>then</sup>written attempted to imitate the qualities of classical verse. It was concerned with problems of formal expression, rather than with exploring the structure of the mind or of the universe, as previously.



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I should like to thank Dr. M.F. Lyons, whose help and whose criticism enabled this work to take its present form.

I am also grateful to Dr. R.W. Hunt and to Dr. E. Jachimowicz for their suggestions for reading on the Latin and Arabic background to the subject.

## INTRODUCTION

The notion that medieval verse did not possess an Art of Poetry of the kind developed in Classical Antiquity or in the Renaissance has become one of the commonplaces of literary history. The studies in which this view is implied or explicitly stated are too numerous to be mentioned here. The only general account of French Poetics, relating medieval theory to later theory, which has considered the matter in some detail, is W.F. Patterson's Three Centuries of French Poetic Theory (1328-1630)<sup>1</sup>. The author describes four main types of treatise on poetics used during the period which he studied. These were the Art of First Rhetoric (the study of rhetorical figures, related to poetry through poetry's use of the same figures), the Art of Second Rhetoric (or versification), the Poetria (a treatise combining elements of the first two) and finally the Art Poétique (or Poésie)<sup>2</sup>. W.F. Patterson allowed that the Poetria or Poésie, which is usually seen as a specifically medieval type of treatise, might even contain echoes of the Art Poétique<sup>3</sup>. However, he considered that the vernacular Art Poétique, similar in scope and content to Aristotle's Poetics and to Horace's letter ad Pisones, did not exist before the sixteenth century. According to the generally accepted terms used by W.F. Patterson, there existed therefore in the Middle Ages a treatise termed Poetria or Poésie, which was based partly on an analysis of figures of speech to be used in verse, and partly on an account of line lengths and stanza forms. This sort of treatise might also explain mythological allusions<sup>4</sup>, but unlike the Art of Poetry or

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1 2 vols, 1935.

2 op.cit. p.3f, p.10.

3 ibid, p.11. WFP quotes Jacques Le Grand's Archiloge Sophie and notes: "As one reads this definition one seems to catch distant echoes of Aristotle's doctrine of poetry as imitation. But in practice Poésie is a simpler matter".

4 cf. for example the anon. XVth century treatise, Règles de la seconde Rhétorique in Recueil d'Arts de seconde Rhétorique, ed. E. Langlois, p. 65ff.

Poésie, it did not deal with more sophisticated concepts of poetry, such as mimesis, that is the concept of imitation, described by Aristotle. The Poetria, therefore, and in consequence medieval poetic theory taken as a whole, could be seen according to this theory to have only superficial links with the view of poetry that we owe to Aristotle or to Horace.

The argument that Patterson developed with some precision can be found in more general terms in most accounts of Medieval or Renaissance poetry in France. And, on the face of it, the belief that Medieval verse lacked an Art of Poetry is perfectly acceptable. Between the middle of the fourteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries it is possible to mention three works that deal with theories informing poetry. The first is the short piece inserted by E. Hospfner at the head of his edition of Machaut's works<sup>5</sup>. There is the Art de Dictier by Eustache Deschamps in which verse is seen in the context of the other Arts<sup>6</sup>. Finally there is the anonymous treatise (ascribed to Regnaud Le Queux)<sup>7</sup>, entitled the Instructif de seconde rethorique and published as an introduction to the Jardin de Plaisance about 1501<sup>8</sup>.

The first of these, Machaut's Prologue, considers the relation of the poet's work to its component parts, Music, Rhetoric and Scens, and relates them to Nature.

The second, the Art de Dictier, relates the musique naturele of poetry to the musique artificiele of instrumental music.

The third, the Instructif, is in the main an account of verse forms and figures of speech, but with token homage paid, at the beginning and end, to the idea of inspiration.

These works will be considered in greater detail later in this

5 SATF, tI, p.1-12.

6 Oeuvres, SATF, tVII.

7 Le Jardin de Plaisance, SATF, tII, p.36ff.

8 ibid, tI, f<sup>o</sup>a.ii.v<sup>o</sup>a. For the date given by E. Droz, A. Piaget, II, p.35.

study, but, from this brief résumé, each of them can be seen to view poetry from the standpoint of an analysis of its working parts, rather than in the light of the aims of the poet or of the scope of poetry. In this fairly precise sense, then, these treatises can be seen to be concerned with an analysis of poetry's means, rather than with its aims or its transcendental meaning. In further support of this view, it could be said that the references to inspiration in the Instructif are general mythological allusions and not at all central to an understanding of poetry as a subject, that Deschamps' distinction between natural and artificial music is mere repetition of what had been more intelligently said in earlier fourteenth century musical treatises<sup>9</sup>, and that Machaut's Prologue gives a typically scholastic view of poetry as dependent on other disciplines.

While I would accept this general view of both the Instructif and the Art de Dictier, I consider that Machaut's short contribution to the problem has been undervalued and deserves more serious consideration. Despite this reservation, there is nothing, superficially at least, that bears comparison with the scope of an Art of Poetry as the term is defined by W.F. Patterson, or as generally understood. It could also be said that, leaving aside Machaut's description of poetry as a compound of other arts, the Art de Dictier and the Instructif are less fluent and less thorough guides to the writing of verse in the vernacular than the Latin Poetrie of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had been to the writing of Latin verse. In conclusion, therefore, French poetic theory in the Middle Ages appears inferior not only to what was written later on, but also to the medieval Latin treatises, that is, to the Poetrie of authors like Matthieu de Vendôme or Geoffroi de Vinsauf who have been attacked so frequently

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9 R. Dragonetti, Fin de Moyen Age et Renaissance: Mélanges offerts à R. Guette, 1961, p.49-64, mentions an apparent debt to Boethius' De Musica. The debt would seem to be indirect. The distinction between the "two musics" is clearly stated in two XIVth cent. works: J. de Muris, ed. M. Gêrbert, Scriptores Ecclesiastici, 1784, t3, p.199 and in the Speculum Musicae, ed. W. Grossmann, 1924, p.74, p.86-7. Boethius is much vaguer.

for their pedantry<sup>10</sup>.

There is one obvious objection to this view of French poetic theory in the Middle Ages. It is generally accepted that medieval poets must have followed ideals that were different from those of classical poetry. This is seldom, if ever, questioned. It seems wrong therefore to look for the theories that may underly medieval verse only in works bearing a passing similarity to Horace's letter to the Pisones or even to the medieval Latin Poetrie. If the poetry written by the vernacular poets has its own particular characteristics, then it would surely be surprising to find the theories behind it, or transcending it, in treatises recalling classical models. This study will look at a number of texts that have not been examined for an understanding of medieval poetic theory.

Objection can also be made to a further assumption in W.F. Patterson's study. The assumption ~~can be broadly~~ stated as follows:

Poets create and theorists record<sup>11</sup>.

This is to imply that true poets do not write with one eye on the text book. It is also to suggest that the work of the theorist consists in codifying the findings of the poets. The first proposition may be true enough, though the second does not necessarily any longer apply when, as with the case of poetry in the vernacular, there may be no satisfactory precedents, for writing that verse, and when theory in other fields of learning may seem to have more relevance to the meaning of poetry than the dull treatises of a Geoffroi de Vinsauf or of a Deschamps. In my view, Jean de Meun and certain medieval poets after him looked for the meaning of the verse they wrote in treatises that bore little relation to the pedestrian Poetrie or to Deschamps' Art de Dictier. The contrary

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10 cf. P. Bagni, la Costituzione della poesia nelle Artes del XII-XIII sec., 1968, for a general view of the question.

11 op.cit., p.9-12.

assumption has led to the wrong-headed view that Villon, for instance, was some sort of untutored genius, instead of a poet of unrivalled intelligence with a deep insight into poetic theory. Greater knowledge of the background to his poetry must show him to have been both this and the great lyric poet he has long been recognized to be.

It can be convincingly argued that in the medieval period some poetry reflected theory from other fields of learning. In this instance, theorists can be seen to explore and poets to feed on their discoveries, so that the analogy 'creation-realisation', in that precise order, may no longer be absolutely true.

It can be said in conclusion that it is as wrong to look for theory only in suitably headed or inscribed treatises as it is to judge the poetry actually written against the contents of such treatises. It is worth recalling the cautionary remarks made by E. Langlois in his preface to his edition of the various arts of versification written in the fifteenth century: these arts in no way define the essence of the verse that they help to create<sup>12</sup>.

I have pursued my own researches in two directions. The first of these is easily defined. It covers the encyclopedias and encyclopedic compendia of learning written during the medieval period. These contain, if not the elements of an art of poetry, at least those of an attitude to poetry. They are of interest, as much for the ways in which they neglect, or condescend to, poetry, as for the positive consideration they give it. As academic works, they may reflect the thinking of poets with pretensions to learning. Jean Bouchet's Les Regnars Traversans..., for instance, written around 1502-3 in verse, considers poetry as one of the arts, in much the same way as Deschamps, at the end of the fourteenth

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12 Recueil d'Arts de seconde rhétorique, p.vii, "Il importe(...)plus compliquées".

century, in his Art de Dictier<sup>13</sup>. The best existing study of poetry's fortunes in the compendia of learning is E. de Bruyne's Etudes d'Esthétique médiévale<sup>14</sup>. The attention that it gives poetry in relation to the disciplines of the trivium, and also to music, does not emphasize the connection between poetry and the other sciences of the quadrivium. This is my second field of research: the relation between poetry and medieval science.

The first section of this study is devoted to Poetry in the encyclopedic tradition. The second and third sections are concerned with the links between poetry and theology, on the one hand, and poetry and the natural sciences on the other. This is a much wider field of study than the survey of the encyclopedic tradition (Part I). It has been touched on where theology (Part II) is concerned, but almost entirely neglected for poetry and the natural sciences (Part III). In my conclusions to Part III of this study I have noted the extent of the work that remains to be done. At the same time I have concentrated on one aspect of this - the relationship between mind and body - that seems to me to have had the most importance eventually for French Poetry.

There are three main elements in the link between Poetry and Science. They are theological accounts of the soul, physiological descriptions of the brain and body and finally, <sup>verse</sup> expression. They have a common interest in the way the mind expresses itself. Poesie savante, that type of poetry with pretensions to learning, sought to express the mind's powers in a number of ways, and notably by means of analogies drawn from the tractatus de anima and the treatises on physiology. This assertion supposes that poetry was written to express the apparently vague

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13 For Les regnars... (A. Verard, n.d.), cf. A. Hamon, Jean Bouchet, p. 401, n.1 for the date.

14 Ghent, 1946, 3t. Cf. also Irene Behrens, Die Lehre von der Einteilung der Dichtkunst, Halle, 1940 and Joseph Mariétain, Problème de la classification des sciences d'Aristote à Saint Thomas, Paris, 1901.



notion of "mind" and that this poetry can be defined in psychological or physiological terms. This association may seem as unattractive one, while the analogy with mind is, on the face of it, sufficiently vague and sufficiently general for the same to be true of any written observation in either poetry or prose. Unless the identification of opus with anima and corpus is clearly stated, there is no more point in making the analogy than in saying that a poet "identifies himself" in his work.

However, the theological and scientific texts, usually in Latin and only occasionally in French, allow the problem to be stated with some precision. In this way it can be said that the mind of the writer or poet is seen as a place of imaginative activity with its own laws corresponding to those in theological or medical accounts of the soul and body.

This description can only appear surprising when it is realized that the poésie savante of the medieval period has hardly ever been described in these terms. It is usually referred to, rather obliquely, as "allegorical" or "dream" poetry. Terms such as these would still be acceptable, if they were clearly shown to belong to a more complex view of the mind. In practice this has not been the case. The "Allegory" and the "Dream" have taken on an almost autonomous existence. This usage is superficially justifiable since allegorical exemplification formed part of a theory of the imagination, and this theory<sup>15</sup> was more interesting than some "disembodied" accounts of allegorical imagery would have their readers suppose. As for the dream convention, this derives from the Aristotelian or Avicennian notion that the imagination may work most

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15 The most valuable general contribution is still C.S. Lewis's The Allegory of Love. R. Tuve's Allegorical Imagery (1966) is of questionable value and in a number of respects ~~tends to obscure the~~ issues.

freely in sleep.

Neither allegorical imagery nor the dream convention can usefully be considered in isolation from their sources in medieval thought. The sources are a limiting factor in the development of allegory, though in certain circumstances, the imagination and its operations has what amounts to an autonomous existence. In sleep, for instance, it may appear to operate without reference to other powers of the mind. In the Roman de la Rose, Reason is powerless, relatively speaking, to withstand the operations of the irrational mind expressed through the figments of the imagination. This question has to be considered in detail. It is central to an understanding of the link between mind, body and verse.

The use of poetry to give expression to the powers of the mind raises the further problem of why poetry, rather than prose, should be chosen. To this there seems to be no clear answer. It is not enough to plead poetry's traditional associations with imaginative expression. Poetry's role here was less inevitable than might be thought. The satura, for instance, with its alternating passages of prose and poetry, exemplified in Boethius's De Consolatione and in Martianus Capella's De Nuptiis, was of importance both in Latin and in vernacular literature.<sup>16</sup> The satura returned to favour in the work of Alain Chartier and Christine de Pisan, and held a place of importance in imaginative literature for most of the fifteenth century. It almost certainly owed this place to the influence of De Consolatione Philosophie on both Chartier and Christine. On the other hand the few great poets of the later Middle Ages - Jean de Meun, Villon, Charles d'Orléans - made no use of it in those works that have survived, while Machaut and Froissart used prose more sparingly than the rhétoriqueurs of the fifteenth century. It is clear that prose, as well as poetry, might be used for imaginative expression and that the

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16 Bernardus Silvestris, De Mundi Universitate; Alanus, De Planctu Nature. A large number of fifteenth century French works copied the form.

fluctuating use of the satura form was partly a matter of literary fashion. But this is an unsatisfactory explanation, if it is one at all. The use of Poetry for imaginative expression, rather than Prose, is supported, in my view, by its links with the sciences of the quadrivium, such as Music. It was when he was speaking in a grammatical context that Isidore of Seville, in the Etymologiarum (I, xxxviii), wrote that prose was to be given the same importance as poetry<sup>17</sup>. Augustine, on the other hand, saw Poetry, governed by conventions of number and harmony, as partly reflecting the harmony of the creation<sup>18</sup>. In this sense at least, prose does not have the same inherent links with those physical laws and harmonies which can be defined by the disciplines of the quadrivium. The theories developed by Augustine in the De Musica and the De Ordine implicitly link verse with a superior order which in turn can be understood by the study of Music (De Musica VI, i), but the close connection between Poetry and the working of the imagination on the one hand, the Creation and revelation of Truth, on the other, is made explicit in the ninth century in Scotus Eriugena's De Divisione Naturae and in his commentary on the Pseudo-Dionysian Celestial Hierarchies. If this seems to cover too complex a range of knowledge for medieval poets writing in the vernacular, two points should be borne in mind.

Firstly, the poets dealt with here are not the epic and lyric poets who have been the objects of previous attempts to define a poétique médiévale<sup>19</sup>. Their work is ~~considered~~ more interesting than that of the poètes savants. It is also usually less easy to analyse in the sense that its narrative is less pedantic and the use of material apparently

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17 PL 81, 1177BC. "Praeterea tam apud Graecos quam apud Latinos longe antiquiorem curam fuisse carminum, quam prosae...." This, in his view, was no longer justified.

18 The recognition given poetry's importance in this respect is grudging (De Musica, Books I, II and VI).

19 E. Vinaver, Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale, t2, 1959 and P. Zumthor, Langue et Techniques poétiques à l'époque romane (XIe - XIIIe siècles), 1963.

freer. Medieval lyric and epic verse offers, not surprisingly, fewer coordinates with the thought of the period. Verse with learned pretensions, from the time of Alanus and Jean de Meun to Georges Chastelain and Villon, may not necessarily set out to instruct or to edify, the reader, but, didactic or not, it is conscious of means and material to a striking extent. From about 1180 to about 1480 the substance of the dream convention altered very little.

Secondly, these poets took for granted a complexity of style and allusion, which often calls for an effort of humility on the reader's part. Late medieval verse allowed those of its authors, who so wished, scope to conjure up several meanings within an apparently simple line. There is no point in allowing our own brand of critical hubris to obscure the intentions of poetry that was probably intended to be contemplated and admired, not delivered up to a value judgement on the basis of an arbitrary explication de texte. More should be known of the theory underlying medieval verse, before any claim can be made to a real understanding of poets like Villon, who appear to invite "response" in a modern manner. At the very least it should be allowed that these poètes savants had a knowledge of the Greco-Arab thinkers. More trouble should be taken with this background, and less with the paraphernalia of "critical response" dating from the Romantic period.

The first part of this study deals, then, with the position of Poetry in the compendia of learning. The second and third<sup>parts</sup>/attempt to define the relation of Poetry to Theology and the Natural Sciences. The fourth part takes Poetry and the dominant mind-body relationship from the time of Jean de Meun to the early fifteenth century. The fifth part pays particular attention to the growing influence of Averroes's commentary on Aristotle's Poetics (the so-called Poetria Aristotelis).

This influence has never been seriously examined before, as far as I have been able to learn. In consequence, the meaning of an influence that was mainly Arabic, Greek only at several removes, and Latin to no appreciable extent, has been overlooked. It has resulted in a genuine misunderstanding of the nature and aims of late medieval French verse. Because the Renaissance, where French Poetry is concerned, is in good part a reaction against previous poetic practice and theory, it is probable that a misunderstanding of the nature and aims of late medieval poetry has been responsible for an inevitable misunderstanding of this reaction. The nature of the Pléiade's reaction against the Rhétoriciens and the school of Marot may be better appreciated when the exact nature of the Arab influence on fifteenth century poetry comes to be known<sup>20</sup>. It will certainly be better understood when more is known of medieval poetic theory.

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20 The problem lies outside the scope of this thesis. It is connected, however, with the influence of the Poetria Aristotelis (the Latin translation of Averroes' commentary on Aristotle's Poetics). This Poetria had ~~probably~~ been known in the West since the late thirteenth century, perhaps even rather earlier. The vogue for it in France in the mid-fifteenth century is surprising. For want of any other hypothesis I connect this with a growing interest in things Oriental. The Poetria's influence on both Villon and Chastelain can be established without too much difficulty. The problem of whether the French poets knew any other Arabic teaching on the subject of poetic theory, and whether they knew any Arab poets in translation, has never been raised before. Research on the problem of contacts between East and West, on the precise nature of the evolution of French poetry in the fifteenth century and of the general lack of interest in Italian poetry shown by French poets, as distinct from the interest taken in Italian thought by the French humanists, may help state the problem more clearly or perhaps dismiss it altogether as an illusion. There are, at this moment in time, no known translations of Arabic poets into Latin or any other European language, dating from that period. I have summarized the problem in Appendix 4. Some light might be thrown on the question by the translations of Arab poetry and literature such as those undertaken by E. García Gómez. His edition and translation of Ibn Guzman (Todo Ben Gúzman, Madrid, 1972) makes clear the probable sources of Marot's épître naturelle. C.A. Mayer's edition of the Épîtres is characterized by neglect of the medieval sources and an evident desire to prove that Clément Marot was a man of the Renaissance. Research on the matter by a qualified medievalist would probably help in an elucidation of this problem.

## I. THE PLACE OF POETRY AMONG THE ARTS

### A. Late Antiquity to the Ninth Century

In considering the place of Poetry in the Middle Ages two historical factors are important. In the Latin encyclopedic tradition Poetry was generally linked to either Grammar or Music. It did not occupy an independent position in the scheme of the Arts. As a means of expression, it might be associated with Rhetoric<sup>1</sup>, but in the encyclopedias and the compendia of learning, authors as different as Varro, Martianus Capella and Boethius allowed it only a subordinate role. Classical learning was transmitted in a form that must have suggested that Poetry played only a limited part in classical education.

The hostility shown in the works of the Church Fathers must also be taken into account. This, it might be argued, was less damaging than Poetry's minor place in the Latin school tradition, as condemnation implied a certain importance in the discipline condemned<sup>2</sup>. Lactantius even referred to Poetry to support his case against polytheism<sup>3</sup>. Generally, though, the substance of poetry, described as fabulae or fictiones, was disapproved of on moral or doctrinal grounds<sup>4</sup>.

The exclusion of Poetry from a place of importance among the arts has been traced back to Varro (116-27 BC). It is thought that the nine arts, described in his no longer extant Disciplinarum Libri IX, comprised grammar, logic, rhetoric, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy,

1 Cf. E. de Bruyne, Etudes d'Esthet. Méd., tI, p.46, for instances from Cicero, Ovid and Tacitus. Cf. also J.J. van Dooren, Pour et Contre la Poésie, Brussels, 1948.

2 Cf. for example M. de Genoude, Les Pères de l'Eglise, 1839, tIV, p.35-58, p.120.

3 FL 6, De Falsa Religione Deorum, 129A-133A. Also, *ibid*, 169B-190A and 803A-806B.

4 As, for instance, in Augustine's Confessions, ed. M. Skutella, 1969, p.17, p.19, (I,xiii and I,xvi), where he attacks poetica illa figmenta and tonantem Jovem et adulterantem.

music, medicine and architecture<sup>5</sup>. This account of the arts was known to later authors<sup>6</sup>, like Martianus Capella and Cassiodorus, both of whom excluded medicine and architecture, and thereby reduced the number to seven. This was the scheme, subdivided with some logic into further parts, trivium and quadrivium, which held good for many centuries<sup>7</sup>.

The first important survey of the arts in late Antiquity is to be found in certain treatises of Saint Augustine: the De Ordine, the De Doctrina Christiana and the De Musica. The first two were general works, the third was to be one of a number of treatises on the arts.

In his De Ordine Augustine emphasized the importance of Grammar<sup>8</sup>, while making a special place for Logic<sup>9</sup>, since this "discipline of disciplines" enabled the student to distinguish between truth and falsehood and, for instance, to dismiss as fables stories such as that of Dedalus<sup>10</sup>. He recognized the links between Poetry and Music<sup>11</sup>, but he particularly emphasized those between Grammar and Poetry<sup>12</sup>. He describes the grammarian as the man best qualified to judge the value of Poetry<sup>13</sup>. Poetry, through its links with Grammar and Music is one

5 Robert Collison, Encyclopaedias, London/New York, 1964, p.23.

6 M. Capella, ed. Dick, 1925, p.154 and Cassiodorus, Institutiones, ed. Mynors, 1957, p.108-9.

7 P. Rajna, "Le Denominazioni Trivium e Quadrivium", Studi Medievali, tI, 1920.

8 PL 32, 1012 (De Ordine, II, 37), used "ut quidquid dignum memoria litteris mandaretur..."

9 PL 32, 1013, "ipsam disciplinam disciplinarum, quam dialecticam vocant."

10 *ibid.*, "Illa igitur ratio(...)verum ab omni falsitatis irreptione defenderat."

11 *ibid.*, between the voice as used in the theatre, wind and string instruments.

12 *ibid.*, "(Ratio)recognovit hinc esse illa semina quae in grammatica, cum syllabas diligenti consideratione versaret, pedes et accentus vocaverat."

13 *ibid.*, "Et quoniam de prima illa disciplina (Grammatica) stirpem ducebant (poetae), iudices in eos grammaticos esse permisit (Ratio)."

of the means by which human experience is recorded<sup>14</sup>.

In De Doctrina Christiana, the section on the arts in Book II contains a brief account of the views developed at length in De Ordine<sup>15</sup>. This section sets the liberal arts the task of scriptural interpretation. Grammar is the key to sacred learning. "Signs" are either natural or conventional (naturalia or data), and words are the most usual and versatile form of communication. The signa data - letters of the alphabet and syllables - are a means of overcoming the void left by the fading of the spoken word<sup>16</sup>. It is this concept of the importance of Grammar, vulgarized and widely diffused through the work of Isidore of Seville, which led, in the early Middle Ages, to the supremacy of what has been called

la grammaire devenue 'science totalitaire'<sup>17</sup>

These two main points - the relationship of Poetry with Grammar and Music, and Grammar's almost metaphysical role - are expanded on in Augustine's De Musica. This is the only one of the treatises planned on each of the arts to have come down to us. On Poetry it complements, therefore, the De Ordine and the De Doctrina.

In the De Musica, the grammarian as the guardian of recorded history, and hence of our precise knowledge of the past<sup>18</sup>, has a particular responsibility for Poetry. Grammatical and metrical form sets precise

14 col.1014, "rationabili mendacio jam poetis favente ratione(...)Jovis et Memoriae filias Musas esse, confictum est. Unde ista disciplina sensus intellectusque particeps musicae nomen invenit." Cf. also De Doct.Christiana, II, xvii, 27 on this "fable".

15 De Doct.Christ., II,xxix,45-II,xxxvii,55 (PL 34, 56-61).

16 *ibid.*, PL 34, col.38, "Sed quia verberato aere statim transeunt, nec diutius manent quam sonant, instituta sunt per litteras signa verborum." Compare Isidore, Etymologiarum, PL 82,82B, "Nomen dictum quasi notamen, quod nobis vocabulo suo res notas efficiat. Nisi enim nomen scieris, cognitio rerum perit."

17 J. Fontaine, on an observation by E. Elorduy, art. Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale, t9, 1966, p.531.

18 PL 32, col.1099 (II,i,I), "grammaticus, custos ille videlicet historiae"



limits on the limitless possibilities inherent in rhythm<sup>19</sup>. In this way it reflects the transcendental qualities of the immanent quantities - that is, of those numeri - which inform the world in which we live<sup>20</sup>. Augustine describes the relation of the particular to the universal harmonies as that of locales numeros to the

rationales et intellectuales numeri beatarum  
animarum atque sanctorum<sup>21</sup>

This is the expression of certain verse harmonies<sup>22</sup>, which relate to the permanent harmonies (manentibus numeris) beyond them<sup>23</sup>.

Verse, then, is to be understood in relation to Grammar, to Music and to the numbers informing the physical world. To accept this is not to imply that Poetry is of value in itself. Augustine supposes that the work of the poets can be of use at some point along the unprepossessing road - the vilem viam followed by Augustine - towards truth<sup>24</sup>. Music, on the other hand, is almost divine in that it participates, more closely than disciplines like Verse or Grammar, in that truth<sup>25</sup>. This position allows Poetry a reflected glory, from a technical or metaphysical viewpoint, that Augustine was at pains to refuse in his attacks on Poetry's mythological substance. This apparent contradiction -

19 PL 32, 1124, "in rhythmo contextio pedum nullum certum habet finem, in metro vero habet: ita ista pedum contextio et rhythmici et metri esse intelligitur; sed ibi infinita, hic autem finita constat."

20 De Musica, VI, xii, 35 (PL 32, 1182).

21 PL 32, 1192 & 1193.

22 *ibid.*, 1182, defined as the "artem istam rhythmicam vel metricam, qua utuntur qui versus faciunt."

23 *ibid.*, Mag. Quicumque isti sunt numeri, praeterire tibi videntur cum versibus, an manere? Dis. Manere sane. Mag. Consentendum est ergo, ab aliquibus manentibus numeris praetereuntes aliquos fabricari?"

24 1161-1162, "Illos igitur libros qui leget, inveniet nos cum grammaticis et poeticis animis, non habitandi electione, sed itinerandi necessitate versatos(...)intelliget non vilis possessionis esse vilem viam, per quam nunc cum imbecillioribus, nec nos ipsi admodum fortes ambulare maluimus..."

25 *ibid.*, 1084 (I,ii,3), "pene divina ista disciplina".

acceptance of poetry from the point of view of its form, but rejection of poetry for its content - appears to have been perpetuated in the Middle Ages in the clear divide between treatises on figures of speech and versification and those other treatises on mythology. The dichotomy, always supposing that it was seen as such by medieval thinkers and that it did consist of this clear distinction between the value of the form and the worthlessness of the content, was only solved, explicitly and openly, in the sixteenth century. Implicitly, it had been solved well before then, in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, by the skilful use of a poetry based on a mythology of the mind (that is, of the personified faculties of that mind) and on a mythology of nature (that is, of the forces at work in Nature). The two elements of the medieval solution, Mind and Nature, are related through the analogy between microcosm and macrocosm. The history of Poetry in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance is that of different attempts to deal with a dichotomy of form and content inherited from the late classical period. The originality of the medieval solution has been insufficiently recognized, or overlooked. It derives in part from the writings of Augustine.

Augustine's contribution centres on the relation of fantasy or imagination to the memory. The role of the memory is to preserve words and meanings<sup>26</sup> and from it these can be returned to the active mind. Not all these "memories" consist of images at one remove from reality. Where the mind deals with things visualized through descriptions made of them, it is dealing with impressions of other men's impressions. Augustine uses the term φαινόμενα to describe the impressions translated from sense to memory, and then back into the mind<sup>27</sup>. He speaks of

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26 De Musica (VI,viii,21), PL 32, 1174, "nisi memoria nos adjuvet, ut eo momento temporis quo ~~jam jam~~ initium, sed finis syllabae sonat, maneat ille motus in animo, qui factus est cum initium ipsum sonuit, nihil nos audisse possumus dicere"

27 ibid., 1180, "Haec igitur memoria quaecumque de motibus animi tenet, qui adversus passiones corporis acti sunt, φαινόμενα graece vocantur; nec invenio quid eas latine malim vocare..."

phantasmata or imaginum imagines to denote fantasies which derive from descriptions of other people's experiences<sup>28</sup>. Thus the distinction must be made between his memories or phantasiai depicting his father whom he knew, and those phantasmata associated with his grandfather whom he knew only indirectly through descriptions made of him by others<sup>29</sup>. The De Musica has survived in few manuscripts, but it is quoted by Cassiodorus<sup>30</sup> and Isidore reproduced Augustine's distinction in his Differentiarum, though without acknowledgement<sup>31</sup>. The most important acknowledged influence was on the theories of the mind developed by Scotus Eriugena: these will be considered in detail in the second part of this study.

In a sense, though, the influence of Augustine's view of the importance of fantasy to the memory on subsequent poetic theory was accidental and in no way inevitable. In the De Musica he considered Poetry a branch of music. For him, as for Boethius after him, Poetry is an inferior art, more concerned with imitation than with reason. Art is an affair of the reason: if all imitative sounds belong to the domain of art, then all imitation, even that performed by certain irrational creatures, must be art as well<sup>32</sup>. Augustine rejects this

28 De Musica, PL 32, 1180.

29 *ibid.*, "Aliter enim cogito patrem meum quem saepe vidi, aliter avum quem nunquam vidi, Horum primum phantasia est, alterum phantasma. Illud in memoria invenio, hoc in eo motu animi, qui ex iis ortus est quos habet memoria(...) Arbitror tamen, quod si nunquam humana corpora vidissem, nullo modo ea possem visibili specie cogitando figurare. Quod autem ex (1181) eo quod vidi facio, memoria facio: et tamen aliud est in memoria invenire phantasiam, aliud de memoria facere phantasma. Quae omnia vis animae potest. Sed vera etiam phantasmata habere pro cognitio, summus error est."

30 Institutiones, ed. Mynors, p.149, "scripsit etiam et pater Augustinus..."

31 PL 83, col.32, "Inter Phantasiam et phantasma. Phantasia est imago alicujus corporis visa, et cogitando postea in animo figurata, ut puta, avi vel patris species, quem aliquando vidimus..."

32 PL 32, 1086, "At si omnis imitatio ars est, et ars omnis ratio; omnis imitatio ratio: ratione autem non utitur irrationale animal; non igitur habet artem: habet autem imitationem; non est igitur ars imitatio."

view. He describes the playing of music as a mere discipline, and the musician as a man who can play without understanding the theory underlying the notes he plays<sup>33</sup>. A flautist, in his opinion, needs only a bent for imitation, alert senses and a reliable memory. These are all things we have in common with the lower animals<sup>34</sup>. The paid performer, the actor or histrion, usually has no understanding of music as an art<sup>35</sup>. The theoretician has an understanding of its true meaning, denied to poets, grammarians and performers<sup>36</sup>. The inferiority of poetry and imitation to reasoned knowledge is taken further in Boethius's De Musica.

Boethius makes a distinction between intellectual or rational activity and work involving a degree of manual dexterity, and declares:

It is a greater and nobler thing to understand what is done by another, than to do that very thing which he knows how to do<sup>37</sup>.

This principle is established in the name of reason<sup>38</sup>. As in the Augustinian De Musica, it is clear that Boethius's theoretician (his musicus) seeks truth beyond the musical work, rather than in that work<sup>39</sup>. The principle of the supremacy of rational activity is applied to other

- 33 PL 32, 1087, "nec ego affirmo eos, a quibus organa ista tractantur, omnes carere scientia, sed non habere omnes dico." As for skill on the flute or the lyre, "nihil ista disciplina puto esse vilis", if this skill is taken for knowledge of the actual discipline of music, rather than for the mechanical accomplishment it is.
- 34 1089, "appetitum scilicet imitandi, sensum atque memoriam", all things which "superius ratio docuit cum bestiis nos habere communia."
- 35 1090, "perprobabile est, neminem esse histrionum qui non sibi professionis finem in pecunia seu gloria constituat ac proponat..."
- 36 This is a view compounded of those given at the beginning of Book VI (supra, p. 22-25) and in the early chapters of Book I.
- 37 PL 63, 1195B, "Multo enim est majus atque altius scire quod quisque faciat, quam ipsum illud efficere quod sciat; etenim artificium corporale, quasi serviens famulatur."
- 38 ibid., "Ratio vero quasi domina imperat, et nisi manus secundum id quod ratio sancit efficiat, frustra fit."
- 39 1196A, "Is vero est musicus qui, ratione perpensa, canendi scientiam, non servitio operis, sed imperio speculationis assumit."

activities or disciplines<sup>40</sup>. In the field of music Boethius describes three activities: those of poet, performer and theoretician<sup>41</sup>.

The role of the performer is concerned with technical proficiency and supposes no knowledge of musical theory<sup>42</sup>.

The poets, those artists who devise or contrive songs - aliud (genus) fingit carmina - achieve their effects through the use of instinct rather than by the use of reason. In the Boethian view this is not a titre de gloire. It merely serves to set them apart from the performer and, principally, from the rational theoretician.

The second branch of those who create music is that of the poets, given to song by a certain natural instinct rather than by investigation through reason, and for this reason they are cut off from a true knowledge of music.<sup>43</sup>

The theoretician, or musicus, is able to judge the work of the other two categories, and is superior to either of them<sup>44</sup>.

That this poet's "natural instinct" amounts almost to a tare in an ordered and rational view of the world can be understood by reference to the opening passages of Boethius's De Musica. There he describes the creation as a harmony, and its soul - the mundi animam - as composed musically in the same way that we are created<sup>45</sup>. To look into oneself

40 PL 63, 1196A, "Quod scilicet in aedificiorum bellorumque opera videmus..."

41 1196AB, "Tria sunt igitur genera quae circa artem musicam versantur: unum genus est quod instrumentis agitur, aliud fingit carmina, tertium quod instrumentorum opus carmenque dijudicat."

42 1196B, "sunt totius speculationis expertes."

43 *ibid.*, "Secundum vero musicam agentium est genus poetarum, quod non potius speculatione ac ratione quam naturali quodam instinctu fertur ad carmen, atque idcirco hoc quoque genus a musica segregandum est."

44 1196BC, "Tertium est quod iudicandi peritiam sumit, ut rhythmos cantilenasque eorumque carmen possit perpendere(...)Isque musicus est cui adest facultas secundum speculationem rationemve propositam ac musicae convenientem, de modis ac rhythmis(...)ac de poetarum carminibus, iudicandi."

45 1168C, "Non frustra a Platone dictum est, mundi animam, musica convenientia fuisse conjunctam. Cum enim ex eo quod in nobis est junctum convenienterque coaptatum, illud excipimus, quod in sonis apte convenienterque conjunctum est, eoque delectamur, nos quoque ipsos eadem similitudine compactos esse cognoscimus."

therefore is to understand that music:

Humanam vero musicam, quisquis in sese ipsum  
descendit, intelligit<sup>46</sup>.

Universal harmonies are repeated in the individual soul. Because of this music can cure certain of that soul's aberrations<sup>47</sup>. As one of those aberrations, the "natural instinct" bears comparison with the libido of the individual<sup>48</sup>. Both order and reason are countered by an instinct within man, which finds a sensual delight in worldly things<sup>49</sup>. Music, then, is both an expression of the harmony of the universe and a witness to the flawed harmony of the individual. It is a form of perfection to be treated with awe or respect<sup>50</sup>, and from which nothing should be taken away or added.

It is clear that in this rationalist's view of the world and in its reflection in music even poetry's subordinate place is to be questioned. The three functions within music, those of theoretician, poet and player, are echoed in Boethius's description of the three musics. These are mundana, humana and instrumentalis: the music of the spheres, that of the human voice and that of certain instruments<sup>51</sup>. Just as he placed

46 PL 63, 1172C.

47 1170BD, references to the treatment of madness through the therapy of music.

48 1168D, "Lascivus quippe animus, vel ipse lascivioribus delectatur modis, vel saepe eosdem audiens cito emollitur, at frangitur."

49 1169B, "Quod vero lascivum ac molle est genus humanum, id totum scenicis ac theatralibus modis tenetur." Boethius supposes that whatever is in some way outside the harmony of music or reason is opposed to it: "Amica est similitudo. Dissimilitudo vero odiosa atque contraria."<sup>(1169)</sup> This link between moral and aesthetic values, and their expression in a scientific framework can best be explored in a work like the Anticlaudianus. It also underlies much medieval and Renaissance painting.

50 1169A, "Unde Plato etiam maxime cavendum existimat, ne de bene morata musica aliquid permutetur."

51 1171D-1172D, "Tres esse musicas(...)Et primum ea quae est mundana in his maxime perspicienda est quae in ipso coelo, vel compage elementorum, vel temporum varietate visuntur..."

the poet below the theoretician, but above the player of musical instruments, Boethius implies here that harmony and metre are superior to instrumental music.

Boethius died in 525 AD. Cassiodorus Senator, who died in 575, compiled his Institutiones of divine and human letters towards the end of his life. He also included Poetry as an aspect of music, but etymologically he derived the term 'music' from 'muse'; this in turn, he claims, is derived from the Greek word for 'search'; the object of that search being

vis carminum et vocis modulatio<sup>52</sup>.

His definition of music, like that of Boethius, is moral rather than esthetic or scientific. The term 'scientia bene modulandi' can be referred to the use of reason, to the composition of music or to the organization of the human body<sup>53</sup>. Music can be used as a cure for the troubles of the mind<sup>54</sup>. The most interesting statement of music's moral and esthetic natures is Cassiodorus's observation that when we sin, we are "without music":

Quando vero iniquitates gerimus, musicam non habemus<sup>55</sup>.

In the treatises of Augustine, Boethius and Cassiodorus Poetry is seen as a subordinate part of a science of numbers. This science reflects universal moral and esthetic values. Poetry's place is defined in musical terms, but that is not the full picture and the qualifying points are interesting, since they imply greater limitations on Poetry's

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52 ed. Mynors, p.142, "Clemens vero Alexandrinus(...)musicam ex Musis dicit sumpſisse principium, Musasque ipsas(...)appellatae sunt apo tu maso, id est a quaerendo, quod per ipsas, sicut antiqui voluerunt, vis carminum et vocis modulatio quaereretur."

53 ibid., p. 143, "Musica ergo disciplina per omnes actus vitae nostrae hac ratione diffunditur; primum, si Creatoris mandata faciamus et puris mentibus statutis ab eo regulis serviamus. Quicquid enim loquimur vel intrinsecus venarum pulsibus commovemur per musicos rithmos armoniae virtutibus probatur esse sociatum. Musica quippe est scientia bene modulandi..."

54 ibid., p. 148, 9.

55 p. 143.

independence than a simple association with the Art of Music would. Augustine emphasized the importance of the grammarian's judgement and the extent to which Poetry is simply part of the road to a further truth. Boethius established a hierarchy in the name of rational thought, weighted the odds against Poetry in favour of pure theory and, a very important point, implied that Verse tended to arise in the instinctive or irrational mind. Cassiodorus underlined, even more firmly than Boethius, the links between the moral and the metaphysical and gave poetry as the etymological source for the term 'music'. These technical, moral and scientific considerations possibly had a greater influence on the development of Poetry in the Middle Ages than Church attacks on it on the one hand or than the avowed respect for Virgil and Ovid on the other. This is an opinion that only detailed study would justify taking any further. It is worth mentioning J. Fontaine's cautious assertion that the generally unscientific nature of the writing in the medieval encyclopedias stems as much from the attitudes of the classical Latin authors like Pliny or Apuleius as from the triumph of Christianity<sup>56</sup>. It will become clear that much late medieval French verse is concerned with exploring the world of science to which poets felt their art gave them access, rather than with trying to imitate Virgil and Ovid in French. But it is far from clear to what extent this originates in the theories of the encyclopedists of late antiquity and to what extent it reflects the intake of Greco-Arabic science in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century.

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56 "Isidore de Séville et la mutation de l'encyclopédisme antique", Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale, t3, 1966, p.519-21. It is in the light of J. Fontaine's findings that the attacks on Poetry by the Church Fathers appear as witness to its position in the culture of late Antiquity, rather than as a cause of Poetry's demotion from the place it held in the teaching of Aristotle. It will be remembered that Martianus Capella's De Nuptiis gives the same minor position to Poetry, as an art, as the Christian encyclopedists.



Another question arising from Poetry's subordinate position in these treatises is whether Poetry should not in any case be considered as a means of expression like Prose. It participates in the other Arts and has no easily defined character of its own. This argument overlooks the extent to which the disciplines of the trivium are in any case instruments to an understanding of the quadrivium or to which Rhetoric is as much underpinned by Grammar, as Poetry is by Grammar and Music. On the other hand, it must be observed that Isidore gave Poetry the same subordinate position as earlier encyclopedists, while nonetheless defining Prose as a means of expression (producta oratio) followed by Poetry, under the heading De Metris (Etymologiarum, I, xxxviii, xxxix). Moreover he is at pains to explain that verse (carmina) was no longer to be considered the first and only respected means of literary expression<sup>57</sup>. Prose, in Isidore's view, had as much right to serious attention<sup>58</sup>. This is also implicit in the saturae (verse-prose works) of Boethius or Martianus Capella. The verse states succinctly what the prose develops at length. There is no means of assessing a subjective question such as the superiority of the one to the other. Martianus Capella limited consideration of Poetry to a short passage in the Ninth, and last, Book of his De Nuptiis. In the De Consolatione Philosophie Boethius banished the Muses from his bedside to make room for Philosophy. In neither case does the content of the work give Poetry the place that the author's use of verse throughout the work might suggest was owing to Poetry as an art.

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57 PL 82, 117C, "Praeterea tam apud Graecos quam apud Latinos longe antiquiorem curam fuisse carminum, quam prosae. Omnia enim prius versibus condebantur, prosae autem studium sero viguit."

58 117BC, "Prosa est producta oratio, et a lege metri soluta. Prosum enim antiqui productum dicebant, et rectum. Unde ait Varro apud Plautum prosis lectis significare rectis, unde etiam quae non est perflexa numero sed recta, prosa oratio dicitur, in rectum producendo (...) Primus apud Graecos Pherecydes Syrius soluta oratione scripsit (...) Jam ex hinc, et caeteri prosae eloquentia contenderunt."

On the face of it, Boethius, Martianus Capella and Isidore saw Poetry as a means of expression, and they allow it no privileged position within the tradition of teaching about the Arts. Poetry is a bevy of kept actresses (Boethius's scenicas meretriculas), an adjunct to Music (De Nuptiis, Book IX) or, Prose's equal, and no longer its superior, (Etymologiarum, I, xxxviii). It is evident that Poetry is not an Art in the academic sense of the term. It is either an adjunct to an Art or one of two literary means of expression to be pressed into service by authors whose own personal view of its worth may not be flattering.

Poetry, then, in late Antiquity or the early Middle Ages, was neither entertaining and intellectually testing as in Jean de Meun and Villon, nor was it the serious business that it became after the Renaissance discovery that the proper object of Poetry was to copy poets dead a millenium and a half earlier. It was an "accessory": to certain moral outrages (according to the Church Fathers), to some other Art (according to the encyclopedists, both Christian and Pagan), or simply to the business of expressing oneself in words (the view, apparently, of Boethius and Martianus Capella).

Something of this variety of views may be reflected in the variety of names used for it. Isidore defined it, in relation to Prose, by terms like carmina or metra. Diomedes, the grammarian, in the fifth century, used the term Poetica to describe the actual discipline (ars ipsa), poema described a genre such as tragedy, while poesis referred to an actual work of a poet<sup>59</sup>. These definitions are echoed by other grammarians<sup>60</sup>.

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59 ed. Keil, tI, p.473, "Poetica est fictae veraeve narrationis congruenti rythmo ac pede composita metrica structura ad utilitatem voluptatemque accommodata. Distat autem poetica a poemate et poesi, quod poetica ars ipsa intellegitur, poema autem pars operis, ut tragoedia; poesis contextus et corpus totius operis effecti, ut Ilias, Odysia, Aeneis."

60 Cornelius Fronto, ed. Keil, VII, p.525. Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum, ed. G. Goetz, 1894, t5, p.93. Papias, Vocabularium, Milan, 1476.

Isidore also considered poetry to be associated with music, and in his brief outline of the Arts (Etymologiarum, I,ii) he describes it as  
 musica, quae in carminibus cantibusque consistit<sup>61</sup>.

On the other hand, his Etymologies contain references to Poetry and Poets in the 1st, 3rd, 8th and 18th Books. The sum total of this learning is greater in quantity and in variety of views than in the other treatises mentioned, but where Poetry is concerned Isidore's collection of facts is only superficially analytical, and it does not bear comparison with the work of Augustine or Boethius. It did remain influential until after 1500. The Etymologiarum was published in Paris in 1499, in 1509 and in 1520<sup>62</sup>. Isidore's definition of poete as theologi was apparently used by Josse Bade in his commentary on Battista Mantuanus's Contra impudice scribentes in 1499<sup>63</sup>. The contribution made by the Etymologiarum to views on poets and poetry cannot therefore be neglected. It was considered of enough account to be referred to at this late date. In effect, nothing quite as extensive as the Etymologies' sum of references to Poetry - though much that was more illuminating - had become available in France in the course of the Middle Ages.

61 PL 82, 73B-74A.

62 Cf. Robert B. Brown, The Printed Works of Isidore of Seville, univ. of Kentucky, 1949. The 1499 edition was by G. Wolf and Thielmann Kerver (for Jean Petit) in good Italic typeface, with Greek words in Greek characters. The second edition was in the same type, with the same pagination, even though it was by a different printer, and with only the Greek characters modified. Georg Wolf was among the first of the Paris printers to use non-Gothic typefaces. Between 1490 and 1500 he also printed Ficino's De triplici vita. The typographical quality of the 1499 and 1500 editions is of the type more usually lavished on Humanist authors such as Ficino, rather than on encyclopedists such as Isidore.

63 Paris, D. Roce, 1499, f<sup>o</sup>XIIIv<sup>o</sup>, referring to the poets, "qui olim in summa veneratione erant. Quandoquidem primi Theologi poete erant. Nihil enim aliud est poetica quam priscorum theologia omni rerum scientia exornata." Cf. Etymoll PL 82, 309B, "quidam autem poetae theologi dicti sunt, quoniam de diis carmina faciebant". Isidore's definitions of poet as vates, divini and theologi (Etym. PL 82, 308B, 309B) must have appealed to the Humanist publishers, c.1500, as echoing similar definitions in Ficino and elsewhere: cf. De triplici vita, f<sup>o</sup>a.v.r<sup>o</sup>, on the poets, "Soli vero musarum sacerdotes, soli summi boni veritatisque venatores." (Paris, Georg Wolf, between 1490 and 1500)

In Isidore's encyclopedia the teaching of Poetry is dispersed into different sections of the work, such as De Metris, De Fabula and De Poetis. This breaking up of specific areas of knowledge into separate categories is usually thought to be part of Isidore's method. He has been criticized by some modern scholars for this reason<sup>64</sup>, but defended by others on the grounds that, whatever the merits of the form adopted, it preserved the remains of classical learning in an accessible form<sup>65</sup>. The references to Poetry form even more of a mosaic than the relatively precise headings like De Poetis might lead one to suppose. Isidore gives his definition of Music in what are in effect poetic terms of reference<sup>66</sup>. The three divisions of Music - harmonic, rhythmic and metric - allude to various poetic genres, to the relation of words and music and to particular metres<sup>67</sup>. It has, in consequence, been suggested that Isidore's view of music is artistic rather than scientific<sup>68</sup>. It might be added that Isidore's approach to the different aspects of Poetry is often philological. While the precise source of many of his references is unknown, particularly in his De Poetis<sup>69</sup>, this philologist's bias

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- 64 For a specimen criticism of Isidore's thought as the "débris" of earlier scientific knowledge, cf. E. Brehaut, An Encyclopedist of the Dark Ages, 1912, p.16.
- 65 J. Fontaine, art. Cahiers d'Histoire mondiale, 1966, p.531, defines one of Isidore's aims as "la connaissance scientifique universelle". M. de Gandillac, art., *ibid.*, p.94, speaks of Isidore's task as that of collecting "avec le plus grand soin possible ce qui lui restait accessible d'un savoir déjà en miettes."
- 66 Cf. J. Fontaine, Isidore de Séville, I, p.418-20: "la théorie mathématique traditionnelle est totalement absente." (p.419)
- 67 PL 82, 164B-169A.
- 68 J. Fontaine, Isidore, I, p.418-20, and on the possibility that the Greek method of noting music had by this time been lost in Visigoth Spain, *ibid.*, p.421. This is to overlook the fact that Isidore's "Nisi enim ab homine memoria teneantur soni, pereunt, quia scribi non possunt" (163B) may be a careless copying of Diomedes, ed. Keil, I, p.420, De Voce, "...quae, quamquam scribi non potest...": a reference to the problem of transliterating the sounds of the voice in song.
- 69 Cf. J. Fontaine, *op.cit.*, I, p.742-56. Regarding the hypothesis of Isidore's debt to Varro or Suetonius (E. Paratore, Una nuova Ricostruzione del de Poetis di Suetonio, 1946 and A. Rostagni, Suetonio De Poetis, 1956), J. Fontaine rejects "le mirage d'une source suétonienne ou varronienne(...)" and prefers "l'hypothèse d'un manuel tardif(...)" d'un manuel grec où se conservaient les restes d'une érudition fort ancienne." (p.756)

requires a brief comment, since it to some extent explains the fortunes of Poetry in the early Middle Ages.

Although Poetry had been considered an adjunct of Music in much of the work considered so far, Augustine also saw the grammarian as the judge of verse. This was a standard view in Classical and early Medieval teaching of language from the time of Quintilian onwards<sup>70</sup>. In Imperial Rome both Grammar and Poetry served in the training of the orator or administrator<sup>71</sup>. After the fall of the Roman Empire Grammar survived the debacle in a restricted form<sup>72</sup>. The grammarian came to play an important role in the system of education that remained, and notions of the origins of words took on a value<sup>73</sup> that may appear almost mystical<sup>74</sup>, but is possibly a witness to Grammar's role in preserving part of the Classical culture.

Nomen dictum quasi notamen, quod nobis vocabulo suo res notas efficiat. Nisi enim nomen scieris, cognitio rerum perit.<sup>75</sup>

(A name could almost be termed a description of that thing, because through the word it makes known to us the thing denoted. Unless you know the name, knowledge of the thing behind it dies).

Certain definitions given by Isidore reflect this search for the meanings behind words. He gives fabula as derived a fando<sup>76</sup>. Superficially

70 M. Roger, L'Enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin, 1905, p. 7-13.

71 Roger, op.cit., p.9. For Quintilian's description of the orator as a man, who, by definition, is good, cf. Institutionis Oratoriae, Teubner, 1971, p. 366-7, "Non posse oratorem esse nisi virum bonum..."

72 Roger, op.cit., p. 91, 95.

73 Fontaine, op.cit., I, p. 40-44.

74 E. de Bruyne, op.cit., I, p.75. Jules Combarieu, Les Rapports de la musique et de la Poésie, p. 181f.

75 PL 82, c.82B. Cf. also the definition of letters, ibid., 74B-75A, "Litterae autem sunt indices rerum..." and 81BC, Isidore's assertion that "Grammatica est scientia recte loquendi, et origo et fundamentum liberalium litterarum."

76 121AB, "Fabulas poetae a fando nominaverunt..." For words derived from fari cf. Varro, De Lingua Latina, ed. R.G. Kent, 1938, VI,52, who makes no mention of the term fabula.

this justifies the distinction between history and fable, that is between things that actually took place and the fictitious stories told by the poets:

non sunt res factae, sed tantum loquendo fictae<sup>77</sup>.

Isidore describes two types of fables: those in the manner of Aesop, and those others - delectandi causa - found in the work of Plautus or Terence<sup>78</sup>. Elsewhere, he uses fabula to denote metaphors of non-Christian inspiration<sup>79</sup>. The term allegoria denotes Christian metaphors<sup>80</sup>. In the Classical period there had been considerable confusion between the different terms used for some form of extended metaphor<sup>81</sup>. In Isidore the fable is used to refer to Pagan writing and the term allegory to Christian. The distinction proved to be of use to many other authors.

Among the genres of poem included by Isidore a number of those mentioned were not used in verse in the vernacular until after 1500<sup>82</sup>, but of the other distinctions on the subject of Poetry, that between poesis and poema is to be noted, as is the description of poets as contrivers of fiction (factores poetae)<sup>83</sup>. Isidore called the three main types of poetry characteres dicendi:

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77 PL 82, 121AB. J. Fontaine, Isidore, I, p.176,n1, supposes that the distinction between ficta and facta was established at a much earlier period.

78 121BC, "Quae ideo sunt inductae, ut ficto mutorum animalium inter se colloquio imago quaedam vitae hominum nosceretur(...)apellanturque Aesopicae..." and "Fabulas poetae quasdam delectandi causa finxerunt, quasdam ad naturam rerum, nonnullas ad mores hominum interpretati sunt, Delectandi causa fictae..."

79 PL 83, 685A, Sententiarum, "Ideo prohibetur Christianis figmenta legere poetarum, quia per oblectamenta inanium fabularum mentem excitant..."

80 PL 83, 97-98, "Quaedam notissima nomina legis evangeliorumque, quae sub allegoria imaginariae obteguntur, et interpretatione aliqua egent, breviter deflorata contraxi celeriter, ut plana atque aperta lectoribus redderem."

81 Jean Pégin, Mythe et Allégorie, 1958, p.90, mentions a number of these.

82 PL 82, 118A-121A, carmen elegiacum, bucolicum, epithalamia, epitaphium, epigramma. Cf. J. Fontaine, I, p. 161-74.

83 PL 82, 308B, "Id genus, quia forma quadam efficitur, quae poesis dicitur, poema vocitatum est, ejusque factores poetae."

unus in quo tantum poeta loquitur, ut est in libris Virgilii Georgicorum. Alius dramaticus, in quo nusquam poeta loquitur, ut est in comoediis et tragoediis. Tertius mistus, ut est in Aeneide. Nam poeta illic et introductae personae loquuntur.<sup>84</sup>

This division of Poetry was used also later date as a means of comparing Pagan and Christian verse (notably by Bede). Together with the distinction between allegory and fable, and the discovery of the meaning of fable and Music in cognate words like fando and musa<sup>85</sup>, this division represents an analytical approach to the subject of Poetry that was to hold the field, until in the twelfth century the new learning increasingly looked for Poetry's meaning among the natural sciences. This grammarian's analytical approach - mastery of a subject through the establishment of a limited number of categories - must have been attractive and simple, both to teach and to learn. In the work of the great encyclopedists of the early Middle Ages - Bede, Alcuin and Rabanus Maurus - it replaced the more sophisticated manner of describing Poetry by reference to instrumental music and musical theory, favoured by Augustine and Boethius. Their method<sup>had</sup> explained the meaning of Poetry, by conceptual associations, in the context of physical and metaphysical phenomena. Musical instrument, voice and divine harmony related to each other on a value scale. The poet had a place within that hierarchy. In Isidore's account (Etymologiarum, Book VIII) the poet's is one of a number of professions or callings<sup>86</sup>.

The chapter De Poetis is the seventh of those included in the Book entitled De Ecclesia et Sectis diversis. In France it was the fullest description of the attributes of the poet that could be readily consulted until the end of the fifteenth century. Its subject matter

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84 PL 82, 309B.

85 Isidore's definition (PL 82, 163A) - "Musae autem appellatae(...)a quaerendo" is borrowed from Cassiodorus, ed. Mynors, p.142.

86 Isidore's source is of interest. I have mentioned J. Fontaine's well documented conclusion that this is more probably Greek than Latin (supra, p.31, n69).

was presented in concentrated and easily assimilable form and, as I have already suggested, it may have proved attractive to the early Humanists<sup>87</sup>. The chapter contains reference to a number of classical poets, and it has a certain historical or "antiquarian" interest. The role of the poet is shown in its original religious sense. There is a definition of the term vates. Various categories of poet are mentioned. Finally there is an interesting definition of the poet's approach to his work: the officium poetae. The material in the chapter is therefore quite varied.

The chapter opening goes some way to justifying the inclusion of material on poets in a book entitled De Ecclesia.... It describes how the poets gave an articulate form to religious feeling<sup>88</sup>, and how in consequence,

ut templa illis domibus pulchriora, et simulacra corporibus ampliora faciebant, ita eloquio, etiam quasi augustiore honorandos putaverunt, laudesque eorum, et verbis illustrioribus, et jucundioribus numeris extulerunt<sup>89</sup>

(as they made finer temples for the shrines of their gods and greater statues for them, they thought their gods would be honoured by a nobler form of eloquence, and they sang their praises with finer words and more pleasing harmonies).

Varro is given as authority for deriving vates from vi mentis, and from the weaving or composing of songs (a viendis carminibus)<sup>90</sup>. The passage goes on to associate their prophecies with a madness of divine origin. This is apparently supported by an etymological link between words like

87 supra, p. 30. Isidore's views on Poetry continued to be consulted, as references in Bede, Gundissalinus and Jacques Le Grand (VIIIth, XIIth and early XVth centuries) show.

88 PL82, 308A. "Poetae unde sint dicti, sic ait Tranquillus, 'Cum primum homines, exuta feritate, rationem vitae habere coepissent, seque ac Deos suos nosse, cultum modicum ac sermonem necessarium commenti(...) excogitaverunt.'"

89 308AB.

90 ibid., "Vates a vi mentis appellatos, Varro auctor est; vel a viendis carminibus, id est, flectendis, hoc est, modulandis..."



vaticinia, vi, vesania, viere and vincire<sup>91</sup>. This philologist's unity is certainly more detailed than the conceptual links used to place poetry within the framework of music, but it appears naive and it is in any case sustained by a slender basis of historical fact. This uneasy association of historical analysis with analysis through word origin means that the poeta-vates is spoken of in De Ecclesia, but so too are Tragoedi and Comoedi while the lyrici, comici and tragici appear in the chapters De Theatro and De Scena<sup>92</sup>. Undoubtedly there is an underlying logic in this division of different types of poet (or speakers of poetry) into separate categories within different areas of specialization, but it is not strict enough. The disreputable Tragoedi and Comoedi appear in the book De Ecclesia, while the definition of the poet's aims - the officium poetae - might be taken to refer to both the poeta-vates and the comoedus<sup>93</sup>. The definition runs,

Officium autem poetae in eo est, ut ea quae vere gesta sunt in alias species obliquis figurationibus cum decore aliquo conversa transducatur<sup>94</sup>

(The role of the poet consists in giving actual events another appearance by means of metaphor and of a certain elegance of expression).

It must be presumed from the place occupied by this definition at the end of the chapter on the different poets that Isidore saw it as equally valid for both the priest-prophet and for the writer of comedies. This can only be presumed, because Isidore's method is enumeration over a wide area of knowledge, rather than concentration on specific points of fact. There is usually a link between chapters following on one from the other (De Metris then De Fabula; De Poetis followed by De Sibyllis), but

91 PL82, 308B, "et proinde poetae Latine vates olim, et scripta eorum vaticinia dicebantur, quod vi quadam et quasi vesania in scribendo commoverentur, vel quod modis verba connecterent; viere enim antiquis pro vincire ponebant. Etiam per furorem divini eodem erant nomine, quia et ipsi quoque pleraque versibus efferebant."

92 Etym., XVIII, xlii, xliii. On mini and histriones, cf. 659A, 658C.

93 XVIII, xlvi, "Comoedi sunt qui (...) stupra virginum et amores meretricum in suis fabulis exprimebant." & 309A.

94 PL82, 309B.

discrepancies appear in individual books<sup>95</sup>. The definition of vates is echoed by that of the Sibyl - femina prophetans - in the following chapter<sup>96</sup>, but the chapter after that, entitled De Magis, uses the name Divini for certain magicians. This was the term already used to describe the poet-prophets<sup>97</sup>. Perhaps for Isidore there was no contradiction implied in the use of the word divini for both poets and magicians, but his very eclectic approach to the subject of Poets and Poetry does suggest one reason why, in France in the course of the Middle Ages, so little was written specifically on this subject. It is clear from a reading of Isidore that there is a link between the callings of Poet, Prophet and Prophetess, and Magician (magus), at least as great as the differences between them. The magician works with the irrational and the violent elements in Nature, much as Boethius's poet composed according to quodam naturali instinctu. The magi of the Etymologies

elementa concutiunt, turbant mentes hominum, ac sine  
ullo veneni haustu violentia tantum carminis interimunt.<sup>98</sup>

The Poets, or more precisely the poeta-vates of Isidore's definition, work within a more reasoned framework of belief. Isidore calls them theologi, when they are seen to act in that framework.

Quidam autem poetae theologi dicti sunt, quoniam de  
diis carmina faciebant<sup>99</sup>

95 On these, cf. J. Fontaine, Isidore, passim.

96 Etym., VIII, vii, viii, ix: De Poetis, De Sibyllis, De Magis. The Sibyl is described, 309C, as the female of the species: "Sicut enim omnis vir prophetans vel vates dicitur, vel propheta, ita omnis femina prophetans Sibylla vocatur. Quod nomen ex officio, non ex proprietate vocabuli est."

97 Compare 308B, "Etiam per furorem divini<sup>erant</sup> eodem nomine, quia et ipsi quoque pleraque versibus efferebant" and 312B, "Divini dicti, quasi Deo pleni."

98 PL 82, 311C. The quotation begins "Magi sunt qui vulgo malefici ob facinorum magnitudinem nuncupantur. Hi, et elementa concutiunt..."

99 309B.

The theologi had already been included by Isidore among his philosophers, when they were identified as physici<sup>100</sup>.

In the Etymologiarum the definitions of professions and callings offer a constant inter-relation of disciplines. That of poet is defined by reference to theologus, to vates and physicus at one end of the value scale, and to magicians and to authors of comedies at the other. The substance of the poet's work is rather more clearly defined in the chapters, De Metris and De Fabulis, though even here this is due as much to the brevity of exposition as to any inherent clarity. The mentions of poets and their work in the chapters on theatre in Book XVIII (De Spectaculis) can be seen in so far as they actually concern poetry as little more than<sup>a</sup> historical footnote to the more substantial points. This is a brief summary of the points that concern poets and poetry in the Etymologiarum. Two other important points should be borne in mind.

The first is the generally antiquarian flavour of Isidore's writing about poets. If poetry - metre and fable - is not considered a thing of the past, the poets themselves tend to be. Would it be going too far to see in the profusion of treatises about versification or pagan mythology in medieval France and in the almost total lack of writing about the nature and role of the poet the direct influence of Isidore of Seville? Or is Isidore merely the indirect cause of this state of affairs, in that he saw the role of the poet relating to so many other areas of intellectual activity, including theology, music, prophecy and the natural sciences, that it became an embarrassment in later more circumspect ages to take the matter further? To answer this question, one would have to know more about the precise nature of his influence, particularly towards

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100 PL 82, 307AB, "Theologi autem idem sunt, qui et Physici: dicti autem Theologi, quoniam in scriptis suis de Deo dixerunt; quorum varia constat opinio, quid Deus esset, dum quaerent. Quidam enim corporeo sensu hunc mundum visibilem ex quattuor elementis Deum esse dixerunt, ut Dionysius Stoicus."

the end of the medieval period. The fact remains that there is no apparent good reason for the medieval emphasis on verse technique and on mythology and for the neglect of the poet's role. One should be aware of the phenomenon, rather than of preconceived answers. The Church, for instance, disapproved of mythology, which might even be seen as an alternative theology, yet writings on the subject continued to appear. Did the Church see in the Poet a rival savant, who was the more dangerous for being less ossified than the writings on Pagan gods put out by the mythographi? The example of Dante and Petrarch in fourteenth century Italy tends to discredit this hypothesis as well. Where France is concerned, it must be remembered too that the opening and closing lines of the Anticlaudianus by Alain de Lille, a theologian and man of letters, give great importance to the poet's role. Yet during the Middle Ages in France there is almost no theoretical writing on the subject, not even by Alain de Lille. The scattered references that can be found to poets as factores, offset by the lip service paid to Virgil, Ovid and Horace, are even more superficial than what Isidore wrote. It may turn out to be wrong to underline Isidore's possible contribution to this state of affairs, but for want of any study of poetry in relation to the role of the poet in the Middle Ages his own writing on the Poet's role cannot be overlooked.

The second point arising from this study of the Etymologiarum is Isidore's tendency to view Poetry from a grammarian's stance. For Isidore the substance of Poetry is seen to be metre and fable. His description of terms like vates or fabula or mimi is also done partly from a basis in grammar. Poetry, as Jacques Fontaine has remarked, is reduced to the state of an ancilla grammaticae<sup>101</sup>. While this may be

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101 Isidore de Séville, II, p.742.

true for Isidore of Poetry as a discipline, it is certainly not the case with the role of Isidore's poets. Even if they are relics of a classical past, rather than positive elements in the culture of his day, Isidore allows them an importance that has nothing to do with a status as Grammar's handservants. There are many contradictions in the Etymologies, and this is not the least of them. A great deal has been made of Isidore's establishing Poetry as a branch of Grammar, but not enough of the contradiction - always supposing that it is one - between the position of Poetry and the role of the Poets. Whether this fact can in turn be related to the later eclipse of writing about the poet's role requires far more study. It can only be noted here that Isidore's view of Poetry as an aspect of the study of Grammar became the initial medieval view of the subject.

A century after Isidore's death (636 AD) the dependance of Poetry on Grammar was made even more explicit in the De Arte Metrica, written by the Venerable Bede (675-735). The opening chapter makes it clear that an understanding of verse can only be obtained through a study of Grammar, beginning with the rudiments of that Grammar<sup>102</sup>. The symbolical values in Bede's treatise are specifically Christian<sup>103</sup>. The chapters on metre and figures of speech include examples from both Classical poets and later Christian authors. Bede also used Books of the Old Testament as exemplars in his division of Poetry into three main categories.

Isidore had divided the subject matter of verse into the narrative, the dramatic and a mixed genre derived from the other two. His description was brief and quoted as examples of each of these categories the Georgics,

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102 ed. Keil, Gramm. Latini, tVII, 227, "Qui notitiam metricae artis habere desiderat, primo necesse est distantiam litterarum syllabarumque sedulus discat. sunt autem latinae litterae omnes XXI, e quibus quinque vocales appellantur, aeiou, ceterae omnes consonantes..."

103 cf. ibid., p.228, on the phrase "ego sum A et S".

then comedy and tragedy, and finally the Aeneid<sup>104</sup>. Bede's more detailed description of these categories is probably derived from Diomedes, and not from Isidore<sup>105</sup>. Diomedes had given Greek, as well as Latin, titles for each category. Bede also uses Greek terms, but sets Christian texts against Pagan. For the first of them, concerned with dramatic art, Bede placed the Song of Songs, seen as a dialogue between Christ and the Church, alongside the comedy and tragedy of classical theatre<sup>106</sup>. He suggested Ecclesiastes as an equivalent to the Georgics<sup>107</sup>. For the mixed genre, combining the narrative and the dramatic, he set the Book of Job against the Odyssey and the Aeneid<sup>108</sup>. He ends by declaring that the ars metrica might be of help in studying the Scriptures<sup>109</sup>.

Superficially, Bede's De Arte Metrica might appear an attempt to reconcile Pagan and Christian values within a common esthetic framework. In fact the spirit behind the work is competitive rather than conciliatory.

104 Etym., VIII, vii (PL 82, 309B).

105 Isidore has been credited, for example, with a reference to dramaticon vel mimeticon in Papias, Elementarum doctrinae erudimentum (c.1053) by W. Cloetta, Komödie und Tragödie im Mittelalter, Halle, 1890, p.24. The source is probably either Diomedes or Bede. In Diomedes, ed. Keil, Gramm.Lat., I, p.482, the definition begins, "Poematos genera sunt tria. aut enim activum est vel imitativum, quod Graeci dramaticon vel mimeticon, aut enarrativum vel enuntiativum, quod Graeci exegeticon vel apangelticon dicunt!.." Bede, ed. Keil, VII, p. 259, has "Quod tria sint genera poematos(,)aut enim activum vel imitativum est, quod Graeci dramaticon vel mimeticon appellant; aut enarrativum..."

106 ed. Keil, VII, p.259, "drama enim(...)que apud nos genere cantica canticorum scripta sunt, ubi vox alterians Christi et ecclesiae tametsi non hoc interloquente scriptore manifeste reperitur."

107 ibid., "ut se habent tres libri georgici toti et prima pars quarti, item Lucretii carmina et his similia. quo genere apud nos scriptae sunt parabolae Salomonis et ecclesiastes, quae(...)metro constat esse conscripta."

108 ibid., "ut sunt scripta Ilias et Odyssea Homeri et Aeneidos Virgilii et apud nos historia beati Job, quamvis haec in sua lingua non tota poetico, sed partim rhetorico, partim sit metrico vel rhythmico scripta sermone."

109 p.260, Bede to his disciple on the bringing together of material "ex antiquorum opusculis scriptorum(...)ut(...)in metrica arte, quae divinis non est incognita libris, te solerter instruerem."

Something of the same is true of the work of Alcuin (735-804) on the liberal arts, though in his view forms of Beauty may be found in mythology as well as in Christian Truth<sup>110</sup>. The arts are means of approaching that Truth<sup>111</sup>. Like Isidore, Alcuin believes that Grammar is the basic discipline offering a key to the others<sup>112</sup>. Poetry is again excluded from the list of the Arts. This is not surprising, but it is surprising to find Philosophy laying claim to the fruits of the seven arts in the way that Poetry was to draw on other disciplines in the sixteenth century<sup>113</sup>. Philosophy is knowledge of the Creation<sup>114</sup>. Neglect of the Arts is therefore neglect of the works of God<sup>115</sup>. The philosophers are not inventors (conditores) of these Arts within the Creation, but only their discoverers<sup>116</sup>. In this light, the traditions of learning inherited from the classical period are seen as a necessary part of the new Christian account of the world. This is not eclecticism in the sense of the Renaissance desire to gather as widely as possible in different fields of learning. It is single-minded, in the way that Augustine's search for an ulterior truth along life's vilem viam in the company of poets and grammarians was a single-minded disregard for the subjects of his study. In the Latin and Christian Latin traditions of learning there was no apparent way by which Poetry could change its subordinate role for something more important.

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110 PL 101, 853B, "...epulas deorum esse rationes. Magister. Verius o filii! dicere potestis, rationes esse angelorum cibum, animarum decorem, quam epulas deorum."

111 PL 101, 853B - 854A.

112 857D, "Grammatica est litteralis scientia, et est custos recte loquendi et scribendi" 858D, Prosa, Metra, Fabula, Historia are examined in the same order as in Isidore, Etymologiarum, PL 82, 117-122C.

113 952A, "Philosophia est naturarum inquisitio, rerum humanarum divinarumque cognitio, quantum homini possibile est aestimare..."

114 *ibid.* The context is specifically Christian. The passage continues: "Est quoque philosophia honestas vitae, studium bene vivendi, meditatio mortis..."

115 ~~PL 100~~, "Solebat magister meus(...)haec scire studentes."(271A)

116 ~~PL 101~~, "Nam philosophi non fuerunt conditores harum artium, sed inventores..."(271D)

Rabanus Maurus (c.780-856) makes the same point about knowledge being knowledge of the Creation as Alcuin had done. He closely followed Isidore's definitions of the Poets and even of the various types of magi. In the same chapter, entitled De Poetis, of his De Universo he closed with a verbatim borrowing from Bede on the three main divisions of Poetry.

He sees the Scriptures as the primary source of all teaching<sup>117</sup>, but he does not allow this to detract from the possible value of non-Christian learning: that is, of those things which are quae in libris gentilium utilia<sup>118</sup>. More surprisingly, his view of Grammar is that it is a means to the understanding of the poets and historians.

Grammatica est scientia interpretandi poetas atque  
historicos, et recte scribendi loquendique ratio.  
Haec et origo et fundamentum est artium liberalium<sup>119</sup>

Isidore's and Alcuin's definitions of Grammar did not have this mention of the poets and historians. The fact that Rabanus Maurus does - and his was the last great encyclopedia of the early medieval period - requires comment. In the first place the importance given the writings of these authors, in relation to Grammar, seems to run counter to the scheme of the Arts, developed by the Latin authors of classical Antiquity and approved by later teachers, both Pagan and Christian. In the second place Rabanus Maurus tended to insert whole passages of other encyclopedists, notably Isidore, in his own work, with practically no changes. Yet here he implied that Grammar was a means to another end, as much as an end in

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117 De Clericorum Institutione, PL 107, 379B, "Fundamentum autem, status et perfectio prudentiae, scientia est sanctarum Scripturarum(...)per vasa Scripturae lumen indeficiens, quasi per laternas orbi lucet universo..."

118 *ibid.*, 379CD, "ac ideo ad unum terminum cuncta referenda sunt, et quae in libris gentilium utilia, et quae in Scripturis sacris salubria inveniuntur ut ad cognitionem perfectam veritatis et sapientiae perveniamus, qua cernitur et tenetur, summum bonum."

119 *ibid.*, 395B. Also on Pagan History: "ea quae appellatur historia, plurimum nos adjuvat ad libros sanctos intelligendos..."



itself, and that the first of the seven Arts - origo et fundamentum of the others - was, also a way to the poets. By the "Poets" Rabanus Maurus must have meant the Christian Poets, as much as those of Classical Antiquity. He showed Pagan verse as the enslaved woman (typus mulieris captivus)<sup>120</sup>. He thought that only those aspects of profane verse useful to an understanding of Church teaching should be given further study<sup>121</sup>. The rest was to be disregarded<sup>122</sup>. Yet the use of the term poetas in the phrase scientia interpretandi poetas atque historicos, without any qualification, allows one to assume that such a stock reference must also include the non-Christian poets.

The source of this reference to Grammar as preparation for the Poets and Historians is probably Diomedes. Little is known about this author. It can be supposed from his treatise that he had a knowledge of Greek. Whether this placing of Grammar in a position where it appears almost as a handservant of Poetry reflects a view that is Greek rather than Latin cannot be said simply on a study of Diomedes' Grammar. The fact has been disputed. Jacques Fontaine assumes, on the contrary, that this treatise follows the view of Poetry or Metrics as an appendix to the study of Grammar<sup>123</sup>. Diomedes describes the third Book of his treatise as the "necessary conclusion" of the work, the summam totius operis<sup>124</sup>. The precise title - De Oratione et Partibus Orationis et Genere Metrorum -

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120 PL 107,396A, "Poemata autem et libros gentilium si velimus propter florem eloquentiae legere, typus mulieris captivae tenendus est..."

121 395D, enumeration of various tropi, "sicut allegoria, aenigma, parabola, Quorum omnium cognitio propterea Scripturarum ambiguitatibus dissolvendis est necessaria." And on the poemata gentilium, 396B, "si quid in eis utile reperimus, ad nostra dogma convertimus."

122 396B, "superfluum de idolis, de amore, de cura saecularium rerum haec radamus."

123 Isidore, I, p.55-6. A little ambiguously, he characterizes an understanding of verse as "le couronnement de l'art du grammairien". It is not easy to accept that Poetry can be both this and an ancilla grammaticae (J. Fontaine's own phrase).

124 ed. Keil, I, p.473, "tertio quoque libro, qui summam totius operis implebit, quid sit poetica et quibus <sup>officiis</sup> digeratur tractabimus."

implies, at the very least, a sort of equality where grammar, syntax and metrics are concerned. It does not lead one to think following J. Fontaine's view that the first two books are the substance, and the third a mere appendix. Another reference to the relation between Grammar, Poetry and Historical Writing justifies one in thinking that the third book's material is at least as important as that of the other two books, where Diomedes is concerned.

Grammatica est specialiter scientia exercitata lectionis et expositionis eorum quae apud poetas et scriptores dicuntur, apud poetas, ut ordo servetur, apud scriptores, ut ordo careat vitiis(...)Tota autem grammatica consistit praecipue intellectu poetarum et scriptorum et historiarum prompta expositione et in recte loquendi scribendique ratione. 125

The italicized phrases can be seen to relate to Rabanus Maurus's declaration that

Grammatica est scientia interpretandi poetas atque historicos, et recte scribendi loquendique ratio.

It will be remembered that the Venerable Bede's juxtaposition of Pagan and Biblical Poetry was also based on Diomedes' three categories of Poetry.

It can therefore be said that at the end of the early medieval period Poetry was not as firmly relegated to a subordinate position as it had been in late Antiquity, but that it was now seen to depend on Grammar rather than on Music. This evolution away from Music had, within the encyclopedic tradition, two further consequences.

The first of these, which became apparent in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, was that verse technique was studied together with an analysis of the figures of speech used in both Poetry and Prose. The so-called Poetrie of that period were written under the aegis of analytical grammar. They served to emphasize Verse's dependance on Grammar. In turn this attached it to the Trivium, rather than to the Quadrivium.

The second consequence, which became equally marked in the twelfth century, was a tendency to describe Poetry's subject matter as mythological, and to stock treatises on mythology with references to the practice of the poets. This distinction between subject matter and technique was already present in Isidore's chapters entitled De Metris and De Fabulis (Etymologiarum, I, xxxix and I, xl). This division of form and content must be partly a result of Poetry's attachment to the Art of Grammar.

The references to the categories of Poetry in Bede and to Grammar as preparation for the Poets in Rabanus Maurus, show that the early medieval encyclopedists may well have been in favour of Poetry, and against the direction taken by Latin erudition. Alcuin's accomplishments as a poet are sufficient for one to find in one of the poems attributed to him almost all the themes of late medieval Death Poetry<sup>126</sup>. However these teachers did not change the traditional order of things. A general feeling of respect for verse expression is to be found in Bede and Rabanus Maurus. Although this is already more coherent than the variety of views to be found in Isidore, it still follows the general direction taken by those views: Poetry might be a technique alive in the present, but the Poet was an antiquarian mythologist.

Unless this is kept in mind, the variety and the ingenuity of medieval attempts to find the Poet a new role will not be appreciated. Here we shall be concerned only with those made by the poètes savants, who wrote in the medieval period. To put the matter properly in perspective: the Renaissance notion that the Poet's role might best be

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126 PL 101, 801BC, Epitaphium, "Hoc rogo paucillum veniens, <sup>subsiste</sup>viator..." For the problem of attribution, cf. L. Wallach, Alcuin and Charlemagne, 1959, p.256-9, p.255. For the possible ultimate source of Villon's "Freres humains...", cf. PL 101, 800C, "Tu quicumque cupis..." ending "Nunc fratres animam..."

understood by a proper study of Classical Poetry was merely one of a series of such attempts. Historically speaking, it was the least original of the series. This is a subject that only further research into the meanings and intentions of medieval verse, rather than into the better known verse theory of the Renaissance, can clarify<sup>127</sup>.

B. Poetry's Place among the Arts: 12th and 13th centuries.

It must now be clear that Poetry did not fall from grace in the early Middle Ages. Where Rome was concerned, the teaching of Poetry had not occupied a place of importance for some centuries before the Fall of the Empire<sup>128</sup>. Poetry's renewed importance as an Art came about through knowledge of Greek theory, available from the mid-twelfth century in Latin translations of Arab texts. It is this generally overlooked fact - the existence of what might be termed un tournant gréco-arabe in medieval poetic theory - which explains a great deal about later medieval poetry. Unless it is kept in mind, medieval poetry will continue to be seen by many as a stop-gap before the coming of a "Godot-like" Renaissance. This tournant may have been of only limited importance for medieval Latin literature<sup>129</sup>. Where French literature is concerned, this change of direction, and the importance of the new learning to French poetry, has been, in my opinion, seriously underestimated or disregarded.

The major change in the scheme of the Arts was introduced in the first half of the twelfth century. In Hugh of Saint Victor's Didascalicon

127 There is a large literature on the subject of "Renaissance", mainly on those subjects like Humanism, which are easier to illustrate with examples than is the case with poetry. For a general view, cf. Wallace K. Ferguson, The Reinterpretation of the Renaissance, New York, 1963.

128 This is the view of E.R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, 1953, p. 147.

129 *ibid.*, "The concept of a poetics as an autonomous discipline is lost in the West for a millenium and only reappears briefly c.1150..."

the old scheme of seven liberal arts, divided into trivium and quadrivium, was replaced by a division into four categories of learning. These scientiae were divided into the following categories: theorica, practica, mechanica and logica<sup>130</sup>. In this new classification the theoretical sciences were the quadrivium with the addition of theology. The scientia practica included domestic economy, ethics and politics. The scientia mechanica added seven trades and productions. The logical sciences were the trivium with a new emphasis on Logic and discourse<sup>131</sup>. As for poetry, it was described as one of the appendicia artium. Indeed the passage in which Hugh of St. Victor describes these appendicia including painting as well, amounts to a series of arguments for keeping poetry in its place as an adjunct to one or other of the Arts<sup>132</sup>. Since the scientia logica and the scientia theorica are in effect the trivium and quadrivium, but with a new emphasis on dialectics and theology, it could be argued that, for poetry, the new classification is merely confirmation of the teaching of the old. The Didascalicon was written in the second quarter of the twelfth century.

The treatise which first gave poetry a place of its own among the other arts is the De Divisione Philosophiae (c.1150)<sup>133</sup>. It is

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130 Cf. G. Paré, A. Brunet, P. Tremblay, La Renaissance du XIIIe siècle, p. 100-102.

131 Didascalicon, ed. C.H. Buttmer, p.24, "Philosophia dividitur in theoreticam, practicam, mechanicam et logicam: hae quattuor omnem continent scientiam (...)logica, sermocinalis, quia de vocibus tractat. theorica dividitur in theologiam, mathematicam et physicam." On the quadrivium, *ibid.*, p.34 and trivium, p.44.

132 *ibid.*, p.54-5, "huiusmodi sunt omnia poetarum carmina, ut sunt tragoediae, comoediae, satirae, heroica quoque et lyrica, et iambica, et didascalica quaedam, fabulae quoque et historiae, illorum etiam scripta quos nunc philosophos appellare, solemus, qui et brevem materiam longis verborum ambagibus extendere consueverunt, et facilem sensum perplexis sermonibus obscurare. vel etiam diversa simul compilantes, quasi de multis coloribus et formis, unam picturam facere. nota quae tibi distinxi. duo sunt, artes et appendicia artium. sed inter haec tanta mihi distantia esse videtur..." Finally, philosophy is defined in terms of the seven liberal arts, "sine quibus nihil solet aut potest disciplina philosophica explicare et definire."

133 Cf. R.W. Hunt, "Introduction to the Artes...", In honorem Gosephi Martini, 1948. Manuel Alonso, De Scientiis, p.26.

assumed that this work precedes Bernardus Silvestris's Aeneid commentary, which is of the same period, and in which Poetry also receives a separate place<sup>134</sup>. The De Divisione Philosophiae by Dominicus Gundissalinus, who worked in Spain as a translator on Arabic texts until the last quarter of the century, has been held instrumental for poetry's autonomy in the work of other authors<sup>135</sup>. It has also been suggested that it served as precedent for the versification treatises, or Artes Poeticae, written during the later twelfth century and the thirteenth<sup>136</sup>, beginning with Matthieu de Vendôme's Ars Versificatoria (c.1175). This work, together with the Poetriae of Geoffroi de Vinsauf (c. 1210) and Jean de Garlande (c.1250) and other similar artes have been edited<sup>137</sup> and examined in relation to medieval poetry<sup>138</sup>. The view seems to be that they were guides to verse composition, sharing part of their substance (the figures of speech) with rhetoric and with little understanding of poetry as an independent discipline. For these reasons, it has been implied, they were ignored by Dante, while Geoffroi de Vinsauf was mocked at by Chaucer<sup>139</sup>.

Both E. de Bruyne and the author of a recent study on these Poetriae have suggested that the linking of Poetry with Rhetoric goes back to the classical period and that the association of Poetry and

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134 The terminus ante quem for the Aeneid commentary is thought to be 1159-60, date of completion of the Policraticus, in which views of the Aeneid similar to those held by Bernardus Silvestris can be found.

135 E. de Bruyne, op.cit., t.III, p.398, p.419, for Gundissalinus's influence on Raoul de Longchamp and Dante.

136 P. Bagni, La Costituzione della poesia nelle artes del XII-XIII secolo, 1968, p.41, "probabilmente è proprio il Gondissalvi il responsabile teorico..."

137 Principally by E. Faral, Les Arts Poétiques du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle, Paris, 1924. For a fuller list, cf. Bagni, op.cit.

138 Cf. C.S. Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric and Poetics (to 1400), New York, 1928; A.C. Spearing, Criticism and Medieval Poetry, London, 1964; D. Kelly, Speculum, t41, 1966.

139 C.S. Baldwin, "Cicero on Parnassus", PMLA, 1927, for "Gaufred, dere mayster soverayn".(p110)

Music is of an Arab source<sup>140</sup>. In fact the reverse seems to have been the case. Apart from Isidore's negative rapprochement of prose and poetry, none of the works examined so far analyze the two disciplines under the same headings, as became the practice of the authors of the Poetriae, while it was the Latin authors like Augustine, Boethius and Cassiodorus who looked at Poetry and Music together. On the evidence available, Poetry and Rhetoric were not linked at a theoretical level until the middle of the twelfth century, and this was brought about by the example of the Gundissalinus De Divisione Philosophiae. This work, like the anonymous De Ortu Scientiarum and two translations, both with the title De Scientiis, derive from a single Arab work, the Kitab i'l Ulum or Livre de la statistique des sciences<sup>141</sup> by Al Farabi. There is some doubt as to the order in which these reached the West, as also to the authorship of one of the translations. But the combined influence of the translations and of the encyclopedic works deriving from Al Farabi's treatise (he was incorrectly credited with the authorship of both the De Divisione and the De Ortu Scientiarum by Vincent de Beauvais) was considerable<sup>142</sup>. Of the four works both the De Ortu Scientiarum<sup>143</sup> and

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140 Bagni, op.cit., p.44, n51, "Di ben vecchia data...". E. de Bruyne, op cit, II, p.399, Western tradition considered Poetry as depending on either Grammar or Rhetoric, "de l'une ou de l'autre de ces deux branches du trivium. Les Arabes la rattachaient plutôt à la musique et leur exemple sera bientôt suivi en Occident par un Roger Bacon". In fact Bacon (Opus Tertium, p.230f, ed. Brewer) knew both the Augustine and the Boethius De Musica, and his opinion seems clearly to derive from them rather than from an Arab source. This still leaves unexplained E. de Bruyne's assertion, which runs counter to the evidence he had himself assembled on the place of Poetry in the Arts. I can only think that he was reproducing, perhaps unconsciously, an untidy remark by Baur (De Divisione Philosophiae, 1903, p.279), who linked the teaching of Poetry with Music in the Arab countries. Baur did not specify any Latin sources. Al Farabi's treatise on Music, like Boethius's De Musica considered Music and Poetry together, but this was not translated in the West until 1930 by R. d'Erlanger, La Musique Arabe.

141 Cf. M.Bouygues, "Sur De De Scientiis d'Alfarabi", Mélanges univ. St. Joseph, Beyrouth, tIX, 1923.

142 In Alfarabi, Catálogo de las Ciencias, Madrid, 1932, A. González Palencia translated the original into Spanish and added texts of both of the De Scientiis translations. Roger Bacon, like Vincent de Beauvais, also thought that the De Divisione was by Alfarabi, and not by Gundissalinus (Opus Majus, ed. Bridges, tI, p.100).

143 ed. Baeumker, 1916. For Poetry, cf.p.22. This De Ortu Scientiarum is  
(continued on next page)

the De Divisione Philosophiae have a considerable amount of material that was not in Al Farabi. In the De Ortu, for instance, Poetry is only briefly spoken of as a scientia in its own right.<sup>144</sup> In the De Divisione Philosophiae it is one of the public arts, connected to Rhetoric:

Genus huius artis est, quod ipsa est pars civilis sciencie, que est pars eloquencie. non enim parum operatur in civilibus, quod delectat vel edificat in sciencia vel in moribus.<sup>145</sup>

Gundissalinus borrowed here from Al Farabi, but most of his material on the nature of Poetry came from Isidore, Bede, Horace and Diomedes<sup>146</sup>. Of the two translations, the one that has been attributed to John of Seville and Gundissalinus is an abbreviation of the original text. The other translation, also entitled De Scientiis and known to have been translated in Spain in the second half of the twelfth century by Gerard of Cremona, is thought to be the truest to the Arabic original<sup>147</sup>.

Of these four works it was probably the least influential and has only survived in three manuscripts, but something must be said of it here, because it related poetry to rhetoric, and considered rhetoric as a form of inspirational expression. The theme of divine inspiration is to be found in both Pagan and Christian verse and prose works of an imaginative type, for example in the De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii and in Alain de Lille's Anticlaudianus, but none of the early encyclopedists examine the question.

In the Gerard of Cremona translation of the De Scientiis inspiration is the affair of the orator, rather than that of the poet. A certain type of orator (legista et loquax) may speak truths that are

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not to be confused with another of the same title by R. Kilwardby (BM, Cotton Vitellius, AI, f<sup>o</sup>199r<sup>o</sup>b) which attaches Poetry to Grammar in the traditional manner.

144 "Quarta vero est scientia poeticae..." (ed. Baumker, p.22).

145 ed. Baur, 1903, p.54.

146 Baur, p.278-80 and P. Salmon, Medium Aevum, t30, 1961, p.2-10.

147 cf. Gonzalez Palencia, Alfarabi, p. xiii.



beyond the grasp of rational argument.

quoniam sunt altioris ordinis eis cum sint assumpte ab  
 inspiratione divina, quoniam in eis sunt secreta divina  
 a quorum comprehensione debilitantur rationes humanes,  
 nec consequuntur ea.<sup>148</sup>

(since these truths are perceived through divine  
 inspiration, they are of a higher order than other  
 truths, and because in these truths there are divine  
 secrets human reason is weakened by the effort of trying  
 to understand them, and fails in its attempt.)

This passage is only to be found in the Gerard of Cremona De Scientiis.

It is hardly alluded to in the other translation attributed to John of  
 Seville and/or Gundissalinus<sup>149</sup>. The interest of this passage lies in  
 the association of rhetoric, rather than poetry, with inspiration<sup>150</sup>.

Of the three extant manuscripts, only one (B.N.lat.9335) is in France  
 and marginal notes show that the inspirational theme was remarked on<sup>151</sup>.

It is not possible to say whether this text had any bearing on the  
 subsequent development of inspirational theory, but the very circumstantial  
 accounts of dreams and visions in later medieval literature make this  
 unlikely<sup>152</sup>. On the other hand it is at least possible that poetry's  
 place in the De Scientiis, immediately after an account of inspirational  
 rhetoric, may have influenced the development of the terms first and  
 second rhetorics, as terms of relative importance, for Rhetoric and  
 Poetry, Poetry followed on from Rhetoric as the last of the scientie  
logicales.

The Gerard of Cremona De Scientiis also describes Poetry, very

148 ed. González Palencia, Alfarabi, p. 172-3.

149 *ibid.*, p. 112-3.

150 For Alfarabi's views on prophecy and inspiration, with prophecy as  
 an "auxiliary to the rational faculty", cf. R. Walzer, Greek into  
Arabic, 1962, p.206f. On the Greek view, E.R. Dodds, The Greeks and  
the Irrational, 1951.

151 González Palencia, p.173, prophetia is inspiratio secte inspire.

152 The only detailed work that I know of on this much alluded to, but  
 strangely neglected, subject, is an unpublished thesis: F.X. Newman,  
 "Somnium: Medieval theories of Dreaming and the Form of Vision Poetry",  
 Princeton, 1963, p.253-330.

precisely, as a function of the imaginative faculty. Alfarabi, as understood by Gerard of Cremona, supposes that imaginative representation is at least as powerful as the representation of actual things<sup>153</sup>. The ideas on Poetry in the Gerard De Scientiis are at several removes from the Aristotelian views. Aristotle's Poetica had been translated from Greek into Syriac, and from Syriac into Arabic in the ninth century. Scholars have emphasized to what extent the translation obscured the sense of the original<sup>154</sup>. Aristotle's view of imitation, and of the purification of the mind through dramatic representation, was part of an analysis of both the dramatic and poetic arts. The Arabs had no dramatic art. What is given in the De Scientiis is a dramatized view of poetic representation within the mind. The intentions are moral, so that Alfarabi's description of Poetry is similar to the theory behind Prudentius Psychomachia, where the good and the evil, the true and the false, clash to the ultimate furthering of the good and the true. The Aristotelian parentage is distant, but real<sup>155</sup>. The listener is more impressed by the images conjured up in his mind than by his awareness that they only exist in his mind:

operationes multociens plus secuntur eius imaginationem quam sequantur eius opinionem aut ipsius scientiam. Nam sepe est eius scientia aut ipsius opinio contraria eius imaginationi non secundum eius opinionem aut ipsius scientiam, sicut accidit nobis cum aspiciamus ad imagines representantes nobis rem et ad res similes rei.<sup>156</sup>

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153 Ed. González Palencia, p. 139-40, for Scientia Poetica.

154 J. Tkatsch, Die arabische Uebersetzung der Poetik, Vienna, 2t, 1928, 1932 and F. Gabrieli, "Estetica e Poesia Araba" in Rivista Studi Orientali, t12, 1929, p.291f.

155 The treatise on Poetry by Alkindi, the first great Arab philosopher, has not survived. The teaching of Alfarabi's Canons of the Art of Poetry (translated by A.J. Arberry in Rivista Studi Orientali, 1938, t17, p.266-78) is only known in the West through Gerard of Cremona's translation of his encyclopedic De Scientiis. For their work as a continuation of that of Aristotle's Poetics, cf. R. Walzer, Greek into Arabic, p.131f.

156 ed. González Palencia, p.140.

(actions more often follow the lead of the imagination than that of reason or knowledge. And often a person's knowledge of something or his view of it is contrary to the way it is conjured up in his imagination(..)So that his actions in that respect follow his imaginings and not his opinion of that thing nor his knowledge of it, as happens to us when we look at images expressing a thing to us and things similar to that thing)

This dry account of the power of the imagination is based on the sermones poetici:

facimus ergo in eo quod immaginari nobis faciunt sermones poetici, quamvis sciamus quod res non est ita sicut esset nostra operatio in eo....<sup>157</sup>

(we therefore do in that respect what the language of the poets has us imagine, though we know that the thing is not as our behaviour suggests it is)

Poetry's separate place among the arts, shown in the translations of Alfarabi and in Gundissalinus's De Divisione Philosophiae, can be found repeated in the commentary on the Aeneid by Bernardus Silvestris and in Raoul de Longchamp's commentary on the Anticlaudianus. The former belongs to the middle of the twelfth century and the latter to the early thirteenth<sup>158</sup>.

Hugh of Saint Victor's categories of the Arts divided them into the theoretical, the practical, the mechanical and the logical sciences. In this fourfold classification the first and last categories were the quadrivium and trivium, respectively, though with a change of emphasis. Guillaume de Conches, who was a contemporary of Bernardus Silvestris, retermed them sapientia and eloquentia<sup>159</sup>. When Bernardus Silvestris set

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157 ed. Gonzalez Palencia, ibid., p.140.

158 Raoul's commentary is thought to have been written in the period 1212-1225, and probably c.1215: cf. M.Th. d'Abvergy, Alain de Lille, Textes Inédits, p.12. On R. de Longchamp, in general, A. Birkenmayer, "le rôle joué par les médecins et les naturalistes dans la réception d'Aristote" (in Pologne au VIe Congrès des sciences historiques. Oslo, 1928, publ. Warsaw, 1930, p.5-9); M. Grabmann, W. de Conches, in Sitzungsbericht. Bayerischer Akad. Wissenschaften, 1935, Heft 10, p.31-39; S. Viarre in Classical Influences on European Culture, ed. Bolgar, p.204, n13.

159 In his commentary on Boethius, De Consolatione (Royal 15 B III, f<sup>o</sup>7.r<sup>o</sup>2). Cf. also Gundissalinus, De Div.Phil., for the same classification and John of Salisbury, Metalogicon, ed. Webb, p. 30f, for a similar distinction.

out the categories of the sciences in the Aeneid commentary, sapientia took the place of the theoretical sciences, and eloquentia of the logical, in the following order:

sapientia, eloquentia, mechanica, poesis<sup>160</sup>

In this way Poetry displaced the practical sciences of Hugh's classification and occupied a place entirely its own. It was not even attached to the category of the logical sciences as it had been in the De Divisione Philosophiae. Hugh of Saint Victor's Didascalicon was written towards 1140 and the Aeneid commentary towards 1150, so that few years in time separate Poetry's being classed as one of the appendicia artium and Poetry's having a category entirely to itself. Possibly not too much significance should be given to this fact. In addition to the difference in outlook between the Abbey of Saint Victor and the Schools of Chartres, the wide diffusion of the Didascalicon and the limited spread of manuscripts of the Aeneid commentary<sup>161</sup>, it must also be considered that this is a commentary on poetry and not primarily an encyclopedic work in the same sense as the Didascalicon or the De Divisione Philosophiae. Moreover Bernardus sees Poesis as both Poetry and Prose. He associates them in the way that they were associated in the satura form he used for the De Mundi Universitate, as the expression of a poet's art.

Poesis vero est poetarum scientia habens partes duas,  
metricum poema et prosaicum<sup>162</sup>

The classification followed by Raoul de Longchamp in his commentary on the Anticlaudianus has four categories. These are Philosophia (Theoretical and Practical), Eloquentia (Grammar, Logic and Rhetoric),

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160 Commentum(...)super sex libros Eneidos Virgilii, ed. G. Riedel, Greifswald, 1924, p.32.

161 E. de Bruyne does not include the Aeneid commentary among those works which gave Poetry an independent role (Études d'Esthétique Méd., II, p.419, 398).

162 Super 6 Lib. Eneidos, p.32.

Poesis (Fable, History and Satire), then finally Mechanica<sup>163</sup>. Raoul's actual definition of Poesis resembles that of Bernardus Silvestris, but expands on it, setting up Poetry as Virtue's aid in the battle against Vice.

Restat dicere de 3a specie sapiencie, sc. de poesi.  
Poesis igitur est scientia claudens in metro vel prosa  
orationem gravem et illustrem(...) In fabula vero et  
argumento, quamvis ficta habeatur narracio, hortantur  
tamen ad contemptum viciorum et appetitum virtutum.  
Expellit itaque poesis vicium et informat virtutem, tum  
per ystoriam, tum per fabulam, tum per argumentum.<sup>164</sup>

This view of Poetry as a mainstay of Virtue is supported with reference to satire and tragedy.

Satira vero est tota in extirpandis viciis et informandis  
virtutibus. Tragedia est tota in contemptu fortune.<sup>164</sup>

Poetry as an aid to Virtue no doubt reflects the nature of the poem commented by Raoul, while the reference to Poesis as either metre or prose appears to go back to Bernardus Silvestris's definition. Poetry and Prose do not appear to have been linked in this way, in didactic works, before the translations from Alfarabi<sup>165</sup>.

Poetry's "independent" position, then, is limited by its association with Prose in both these cases. In the Raoul commentary it is given a moral role, in much the same way that in the Gerard de Cremona De Scientiis its role is that of an art based on the imagination, and used as a scientia civilis. Its "independence" is not as real as a cursory reading of Bernardus Silvestris or Raoul de Longchamp might suggest and this independence seems in any case to have been disputed. In his Metalogicon,

163 Oxford, Balliol 146B, f<sup>o</sup>99r<sup>o</sup>. Cf. M. Grabmann, Geschichte der scholastischen Methode, II, p.48 and Bruyne, op.cit., II, p. 378-9.

164 Balliol 146B, 101v<sup>o</sup>. Raoul de Longchamp apparently gives Poetry the role of opus virtutum, which Alain de Lille briefly described, but had not specifically given Poetry, in his summa, Quoniam homines (ed. Glorieux, AHDMA, 1953, p.270).

165 There is no mention of Poetry in Thierry de Chartres, Summa super Rhetoricam, ed. W.H.D. Suringar, Historia Critica Scholiastarum Latinorum, Pars Ia, Leyden, 1834, p.213.

completed around 1160, John of Salisbury discussed attempts to alter traditional views of Poetry's position. The chapter in question is headed, Quod et in poetica naturam imitatur (I, xvii). The attempt to imitate nature is to be expected, since all created things are, in a sense, from Nature:

cum omnia a naturae officina proveniant. Adeo quidem assidet poetica rebus naturalibus, ut eam plerique negaverint grammaticae speciem esse, asserentes eam esse artem per se, nec magis ad grammaticam quam ad rethoricam pertinere; affinem tamen utrique, eo quod cum his habeat precepta communia<sup>166</sup>

(...since all things come from Nature's workshop. In this way the Art of Poetry is close to the things of Nature, so that certain people deny that it is part of Grammar, and say that it is an Art in its own right, and that it no more belongs to Grammar than to Rhetoric; it is similar to both of these, however, for the reason that it is governed by the same precepts that they are)

John of Salisbury concludes a trifle brutally that Poetry will either have to be attached to Grammar or dismissed altogether from the company of the Arts<sup>167</sup>. Apart from clear evidence that the place of Poetry is under discussion, this passage shows that it is being associated, perhaps with the natural sciences<sup>168</sup>, more probably with Nature in an abstract sense and obviously with Grammar and Rhetoric. These new alliances suggest that for some scholars Poetry might belong to an indeterminate area, where eloquence and knowledge of the real world overlapped in a way unacceptable to a particular type of academic thought.

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166 ed. Webb, 1929, p.43.

167 *ibid.*, "aut poeticam grammatica obtinebit, aut poetica a numero liberalium disciplinarum eliminabitur."

168 For contemporary definitions of the sense of naturalia and scientia naturalis, cf. *De Div.Phil.*, p.10, "Naturalia sunt, que motu nature visibiliter operantis de potencia ad actum prodeunt, ut omnia (... ..) que vel ex complexione vel ex compositione vel ex conversione elementorum sunt...." and, *ibid.*, p.20, "Materia vero naturalis science est corpus, non secundum quod est ens, nec secundum quod est substantia, nec secundum quod est compositum ex duobus principiis, que sunt materia et forma". The scientia naturalis is medicine and the body relative to the physical world.

Poetry's links with Rhetoric, put forward by Bernardus Silvestris in the twelfth century, but ruled out by John of Salisbury, his contemporary, are put forward more and more in the thirteenth century. John of Garland identifies Tullian Rhetoric as a sort of quasi-poetical prose: the style of the vates prosayce scribentes

in stilo tulliano non est observanda pedum cadentia,  
sed dictionum et sententiarum coloratio; quo stilo  
utuntur vates prosayce scribentes et magistri in  
~~scholasticis~~ dictaminibus.<sup>169</sup>

This link between Poetry and Ciceronian Rhetoric may explain later references from persons like Chaucer's Franklin to Cicero as a poet<sup>170</sup>.

In other respects the roles of poet and rhetorician seem to be almost interchangeable. In Cicero's De Inventione the man who brought knowledge to his fellows was a speaker, a man of reasoned discourse<sup>171</sup>.

In Chalcidius's commentary on the Timaeus, which was known in its Latin translation in Western Europe at least as early as the twelfth century, this was, at a lower level, the role of poets working for material gain<sup>172</sup>.

Jean d'Antioche in his translation of Cicero described these men as philosophers, living the life of ascetic prophets<sup>173</sup>, so that in a work dealing with Rhetoric the philosopher, speaking in the medium of expression dignified under the name of rhetoric, was a medium for divine inspiration.

These brief notes go some way to showing how, from the middle of the twelfth century, with the new classification of the arts, poetry became associated with rhetoric, while rhetoric began to take on some of

169 ed. G. Mari, as Poetria magistri Johannis anglici de arte prosayca, metrica et rithmica, in Romanische Forschungen, 1902.

170 Cf. C.S. Baldwin, PMLA, 1927, for "I sleep never on the mount of Parnaso, Ne lerned Marcus Tullius Cithero."

171 ed. Friedrich, I, ii. p. 118, "propter rationem atque orationem..."

172 ed. Wassink, p. 171, "propter cupiditatem lucri versibus suis..."

173 La Rhétorique de Cicéron, ed. L. Delisle, p. 215, "Et por ce convenoit as philosophes amaigrir le cors, que l'arme fust esclarie et veyst meaus leg raisons et les causes" (Notices et Manuscrits, t. 36).

of the attributes of the seer which, in classical times, had belonged mainly to the poets<sup>174</sup>.

What has been said so far does not show how Rhetoric became, academically, the senior partner and Poetry, or rather Verse, merely la seconde rhétorique. This would in any case require a separate study of Rhetoric, and this lies outside the scope of this study. However there are points de repère within the encyclopedic tradition. I have not discussed the Poetrie of Jean de Garlande or Geoffroi de Vinsauf, but their influence seems present in Brunetto Latini's placing of Rhetoric before rime in the Tresors. He sees the two of them as parliers, definable in the same way, with allowance for the problems of measured or rhyming language.

La grant partison de tous parliers est en .ii. manieres, une ki est en prose et .i. autre ki est en risme. Mais li ensegnement de rectorique sont commun d'ambes .ii., Saue ce que la voie de prose est large et pleniere, si comme est ore la commune parleure des gems, mais li sentiers de risme est plus estrois et plus fors, si comme celui ki est clos et fermés de murs et de palis, c'est a dire de pois et de nombre et de mesure certaine de quoi on ne puet ne ne doit trepasser.<sup>175</sup>

Brunetto Latini elaborates on these restrictions, then adds,

Mais comment que ta parleure soit, ou par rime ou par prose, esgarde que ti dit ne soient maigre ne sech, mais soient replain de jus et de sanc, c'est a dire de sens et de sentence.<sup>176</sup>

Account must be taken of the fact that Rhetoric occupies seventy two chapters of Book III of the Tresors, and that rime is an aspect, arguably a secondary aspect, of only one of them. On the face of it, Verse sits well behind Rhetoric on the pie shop counter.

On the other hand the greatest encyclopedia of the medieval period, the books written or planned by Vincent de Beauvais, give Poetry a place

174 Cf. Luis Gil, Los Antiguos y la "Inspiración" Poetica, Madrid, 1967.

175 Li Livres dou Tresor de Brunetto Latini, ed. F.J. Carmody, 1948, p.327, III, x.

176 *ibid.*, the two parliers appear as aspects of a summa of language, written by Grammarians, to the greater glory of analytical grammar.



of far greater importance than that allowed Rhetoric. In Book III of the Speculum Doctrinale Logic is given the first 98 chapters, Rhetoric a mere 10, while Poetry is allotted 33. Of these latter chapters a certain number are Grammarian's subject matter covering figures of speech. Vincent de Beauvais's authorities for Poetic theory include Isidore and "Alphorabius"! The latter is held to be author of both Gundissalinus's De Divisione Philosophiae and of the anonymous De Ortu Scientiarum, which also owed something to Alfarabi<sup>177</sup>.

In the thirteenth century one can find therefore the view that Poetry is an independent art or discipline (the opinion of Alfarabi and Gundissalinus, reproduced by Vincent de Beauvais) and an opposite viewpoint which attaches it to Rhetoric (the opinion of Brunetto Latini, following the authors of the Poetrie). The views of two major encyclopedists are opposed to each other. The situation is further complicated by the different attitudes taken up by Roger Bacon and by Thomas Aquinas.

The latter practically denies that Poetry could be considered in the company of the Arts. He called it infima inter omnes doctrinas<sup>178</sup>, and criticized it not because there was traditionally no place for Poetry among the seven arts, nor on the customary moral grounds, but indirectly in comparison with the Scriptures. Aquinas discusses the question, Utrum sacra Scriptura debeat uti metaphoris, and argues that similes and metaphors have no place in the Scriptures, which are the highest form of human learning. These similes and metaphors are for him the stock of Poetry (proprium poeticae):

Illud enim quod est proprium infimae doctrinae non videtur competere huius scientiae, quae inter alias tenet

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177 Cf. the Douai, 1624 edit., col. 287f, "Post artem Rhetoricam dicendum restat de Poëtica, quam & Alpharabius in libro de divisione scientiarum, inter logicae partes ultimam ponit: & ipsam in libro de ortu scientiarum ita describit. Poëtica, inquit, est scientia ordinandi metra(...) sermonibus suis facere imaginari aliquid pulchrum vel foedum, quod non est ita, ut auditor credat, & aliquid abhorreat, vel appetat; quamvis cum certum sit non ita esse in veritate, animi tamen audientium eriguntur ad horrendum vel appetendum quod imaginantur."

178 Summa, I, qI, 9 (ed. Caramello, p.9).

locum supremum, ut iam dictum est. Procedere autem per similitudines varias et repraesentationes, est proprium poeticae, quae est infima inter omnes doctrinas. Ergo huiusmodi similitudinibus uti, non est conveniens huic scientiae.<sup>179</sup>

It is not clear whether Aquinas is attacking a particular view of Poetry. To say that Poetry is based on similitudines and repraesentationes, instead of referring it to fables and myths, might imply knowledge of the theory of Poetry as imaginative representation in the Alfarabi De Scientiis. On the other hand the links with Scripture may reflect the position of the Pseudo-Dionysius in the Celestial Hierarchies, and possibly of the lengthy discussion of scriptural and profane metaphors in Scotus Eriugena's commentary on that work (mid-ninth century). Closer to Aquinas in time is the rapprochement in Gundissalinus's De Divisione Philosophiae. Here Poetry is divided into res gesta and res ficta. After defining the first, Gundissalinus continues by stating that both the parables of the Scriptures and the fables of the Poets are forms of fiction - true fiction and false fiction.

Res autem ficta alia est, que fieri potuit et dicitur argumentum ut parabole evangelii, alia est, que fieri non potuit et dicitur fabula.<sup>180</sup>

This comparison between Scriptural and poetic metaphor, within the category of res ficta, and in a standard text may well reflect the position that Aquinas was attacking. His rejection of Poetry is, in harsher terms, the same view as that taken by John of Salisbury and Hugh of Saint Victor.

To the views of Brunetto Latini, Vincent de Beauvais and Thomas Aquinas that Poetry was part of Rhetoric, an Art or Science in its own right, or scarcely an Art at all, one must add a new-found link with Music, proclaimed by Roger Bacon. He flatly rejects the dependence of Poetry

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179 Summa, I,qI,9 (ed. Caramello, p.9); it may also be worthy of note that Aquinas rejects the notion that fantasy is one of the inner senses (ibid., I, q78, art.4).

180 ed. Baur, p.54-55.

on Grammar, which, a century earlier, John of Salisbury had continued to uphold. In a passage of the Opus Tertium which recalls Boethius's hierarchy within the musical profession (where the composer was above the poet who was in turn above the instrumentalist) Bacon described harmony, rhetoric and poetry as parts of the science of Music, and the grammarian as mere mechanicus to the composer's artifex principalis. Like Boethius, he uses the term musicus for composer<sup>181</sup>. The fourfold division of music - prose, metre, rhyme and melos - can be found both in the Opus Tertium and in the Opus Majus, with acknowledgement to Alfarabi<sup>182</sup>. The relation between higher things and lower can be appreciated through a knowledge of measure (quantitas), that is to say, through poetry, music, astronomy and mathematics<sup>183</sup>.

Bacon writes most fully about Poetry in that part of his work known as the Moralis Philosophia. Poetry, like Rhetoric, is part logic, part moral philosophy<sup>184</sup>. Bacon is clearly interested in the theoretical background to Poetry. He mentions Horace, though merely to quote as many other medieval texts the aut prodesse, aut delectare and the Omne tulit punctum... He adds that for lack of Aristotle's Poetics in translation from the original, reference can be made to the Averroes commentary, although he recognizes that it is not an easy text:

quoniam vero non habemus in latino librum Aristotilis (... ) illi, qui diligentes sunt, possunt multum de hoc argumento sentire per Commentarium Avenrois (... ) licet non sit in usu multitudinis...<sup>185</sup>

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- 181 Opus Tertium, ed. Brewer, 1859, p.230, "Melica in cantu consistit, quae nota est. Alia tria sunt in sermone, prosaico, metrico, et rhythmico. Nec obstat hic grammaticus, musicam ignorans, sibi vindicans rationes prosae, metri et rhythmici. Nam auctores musicae docent quod hae partes musicae, quae dictae sunt..." and "grammaticus est mechanicus in hac parte, et musicus est artifex principalis." (p.231).
- 182 Cf. Al Farabi's Arabic-Latin Writings on Music by H.G. Farmer, Glasgow, 1934.
- 183 Opus Majus, ed. J.H. Bridges, I, 99-103, "grammatica dependet causaliter ex musica." (p. 100).
- 184 Cf. also Opus Tertium, p.307-8, "Prima est pars logicae; secunda est para moralis philosophiae." (p.308).
- 185 Moralis Philosophia, ed. E. Massa, 1953, p.255.

This is the earliest reference, that I know of, to the Hermannus Alemannus translation of the Commentary. (In this translation it was often referred to as the Poetria Aristotilis.) The translation in the earliest surviving manuscript is dated 1256 (B.N.lat.16673). Roger Bacon's reference to the Averroes commentary was made some ten years later<sup>186</sup>. In his short list of works on poetic theory and on Poetry's position among the ~~other~~ Arts, he mentions therefore both Horace and the Poetria Aristotilis, the latter being the Latin translation of an Arabic commentary on the Arabic translation of a Syrian text from the Greek original. Roger Bacon also makes note of Alfarabi (De Scientiis) and Avicenna and Algazel, both on Logic<sup>187</sup>.

At approximately the time when Jean de Meun was to write his sequel to the first four thousand lines of the Roman de la Rose, this list may be noted as an interesting insight into what an inquiring mind might turn to for knowledge of the Theory of Poetry. Only one of these texts deals with Latin verse practice. Two of the others are works on Logic by Arab philosophers, in which Poetry is shown as an art of discourse. Yet another is an Arabic encyclopedic work, in which Poetry, though still within the category of scientiae logicales, is discussed in relation to the activities of the imagination and to the effect of the poet's mind on those of his hearers. Lastly, the Averroes commentary, which is supposedly concerned with a Greek view of Poetry, is in fact a survey of what might be termed Greco-Arab theory, with only passing mentions of Homer among the Greek poets, and numerous allusions to, or quotations from, the Arab poets<sup>188</sup>. This fact has been as neglected as

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186 The Opus Majus, to which the Moralis Philosophia formed a conclusion, was written 1266-8 (cf. A.G. Little, Roger Bacon, Essays, 1914, p.379 for the date).

187 Algazel, Logica, Venice, 1506, f<sup>o</sup>b.4.v<sup>o</sup>, places rhetoric and poetry within the same category of the scientie logicales. For Avicenna's reference to the man of learning's need to be divinely inspired (divinitus inspiratus), cf. Logyca, 1508, f<sup>o</sup>2.v<sup>o</sup>b - 3.r<sup>o</sup>a.

188 Cf. Aristoteles Latinus, t33, 1968 edition (ed. L. Minio-Paluello).

the commentary in which these poets are discussed. W.F. Patterson makes no mention of it in his study of late medieval verse and the only scholar or historian of Western ideas to have given an account of the Poëtria Aristotilis - though with some condescension - is M. Menéndez y Pelayo<sup>189</sup>.

Even though the two were contemporaries, it may seem rash to suppose that Jean de Meun's views of the theory of Poetry could bear any relation to those of Roger Bacon. Jean de Meun, apparently, has nothing to say on the subject of poetic theory and, in any case, Roger Bacon's views on the subject may be suspected of being markedly anti-Latin, pro-Greek and pro-Arab<sup>190</sup>, and therefore a distortion of any more widely accepted view. I shall deal with the first objection in Part III of this study. As for the "excentricity" of Bacon's views, and their Greco-Arabic bias, it is noteworthy that the first text mentioned by him is the Horace Art of Poetry. In the circumstances, it would be hard to argue that he shows a disregard for Latin theories of poetry, unless by this term one understands not classical Latin work, but the twelfth and thirteenth century Poëtria, and these are, to all intents, technical treatises, only indirectly concerned with Poetry's aims and the deeper meaning of the Art. At least where Bacon is concerned, Poetic theory can be seen to be based for the greater part on Greco-Arabic precept, in much the same way that it was for Vincent de Beauvais. Their view of a largely independent concept of Poetry is at variance with Thomas Aquinas's rejection of Poetry and with its subordination to Rhetoric in the Brunetto Latini encyclopedia. In the second half of the thirteenth century one can therefore find Poetry described as a second Rhetoric, Poetry as an Art of no account at all (infima inter Artes), and, finally,

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189 Cf. *infra*, Part V.

190 Cf. G. Théry, *AHDLM*, t25, p.130, on the Greeks and Arabs as "peuples civilisateurs".

Poetry as the fruit of Greek and Arab learning.

The first two views have had a measure of attention paid them. It is with the third view, and notably with its psychological and physiological aspects, relating mind and body, that the rest of this study is to be concerned. It could be argued that either Poetry as Rhetoric, or Poetry as Music, are of greater importance than this other view. Yet the former is mainly directed to an understanding of technique, while the relationship between verse and musical theory seems to be of a mainly technical nature. This is not the case with Poetry as seen by Alfarabi or by Averroes. Poetry as a separate discipline and Poetry as learning or science define subject matter and aims. In this sense they are at least as important as questions of expression and rhyme. The study of Poetry's place among the Arts allows this to be fully appreciated.

Both the Alfarabi De Scientiis, considered in this part of the study, and the Averroes commentary on Aristotle to be described fully in Part V, explain Poetry as a precise function of the imagination, that is to say, the operations of the imagination partly determine the ways in which Poetry is written, and hence some of the subject matter of that Poetry. Poetry's material can be determined through knowledge of the poet's mind and body, in the same way that knowledge of rhetorical figures allowed Jean de Garlande to describe patterns of expression in the language of the poets. It is all the more surprising then that the commonplaces of medieval verse (the dream sequence and the use of the locus amoenus, for instance) have been set down principally as literary clichés, which they may well be, rather than as integral parts of a theory linking the poet's mind and body with contemporary scientific knowledge, which they certainly were.

To understand the theory it is necessary to know something of the way in which the mind was described by the authors of late Antiquity and

of the Carolingian period. These descriptions took on a more formal character in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Theories of the mind up to about 1200 are the subject of the second part of this study, and lead to a discussion of the way in which theories of mind were affected increasingly by new theories of the natural sciences.

II. THE IMPORTANCE FOR POETRY OF THEORIES OF THE MIND FROM LATE ANTIQUITY TO c. 1200.

In Isidore's Etymologies the chapter on fabulae (Poetry's content) followed that on metra (Poetry's form). This sharp distinction between form and content is reflected in the writing of separate treatises on mythology and versification.

The treatises of mythology - in effect, summae of pagan religious belief - have been hardly considered as an aspect of poetic theory in the middle ages. They have been treated quite separately from the surveys of versification. Superficially, this is acceptable. The grammarian treated versification as an aspect of grammar or rhetoric. The mythographus or encyclopaedist or compiler of mythological material indulged in a genre which resembled belles-lettres, but which in fact came to have a deeper meaning. Towards the end of the middle ages mythological names and events were being increasingly drawn on by the poets. Then the two aspects of "poetry" combined in practice, and research has begun to emphasize the importance of this mythological material in Renaissance poetry<sup>191</sup>. In the Latin verse of the twelfth century, however, and in vernacular verse from the time of the Roman de la Rose, mythological material had already

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191 F. Joukovsky-Micha, Poesie et Mythologie au XVIe siècle. Quelques mythes de l'inspiration chez les poètes de la Renaissance, Paris, 1969, cf. pp. 7-8: "On reproche à la Pléiade une érudition difficile à pénétrer. On critique surtout son emploi de la mythologie, ce froid et poussiéreux appareil de divinités, d'allégories et d'attributs symboliques. (...) on ne retient que les pièces d'une facture plus simple, les cueillettes de roses ou les chants de l'alouette. On élimine la poésie hautaine, approche d'un monde supérieur. Ainsi se crée la légende selon laquelle la poésie du XVIe siècle, à part quelques erreurs regrettables, serait le plus souvent descriptive. C'est négliger une des plus belles sources de poésie au XVIe siècle, le jeu des correspondances entre l'univers divin et l'univers humain (...) C'est dans la fable que cette poésie de la fable cherche tout naturellement son propre visage. Le mystère de l'inspiration poétique est évoqué par un ensemble de mythes."



established a strong indirect influence on verse practice, so that the tendency to reintegrate the two began at a much earlier date than recent research on the Renaissance implies.

The disassociation of metrical theory and general poetic theory (allied to mythological symbols) goes back to the late classical period, or perhaps earlier, and is already clear in the different frames of reference used by Diomedes in his Grammar, and by Macrobius in his Saturnalia. These separate viewpoints saw Poetry as technique and Poetry as knowledge. For this study the implications are considerable. E.R. Curtius has outlined the development of mediaeval poetics but he makes no reference to the subject of mythology. He suggests that if, for instance, Horace's Ars Poetica had no great influence on the Middle Ages, this continues a tendency already established at a much earlier date<sup>192</sup>. Horace's Poetics were known in mediaeval Europe while a commentary on them known as the Scholia Vindobonensis described as a reworking of earlier commentaries<sup>193</sup> dates from the Carolingian period<sup>194</sup>.

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192 European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, London, 1953, p.147. "Only scanty fragments of the original treatises remain to us (i.e. of earlier arts of poetry). But their substance is preserved in the Ars Poetica of Horace. Like Aristotle's Poetics, this too represents at once the culminating and terminal points of a development. After Horace, there are no more Roman didactic poems on the art of poetry, just as all the 'great' Roman literary genres fall silent after the end of the first century(...)As early as the beginning of the Imperial period, the teaching of poetry passes into the curricula of grammar and metrics(...)The concept of a poetics as an autonomous discipline is lost in the West for a millennium and only reappears briefly c.1150 in Dominicus Gundissalinus' treatise De divisione philosophiae, together with the other branches of the Aristotelian system, which our author had received from Islamic tradition." E.R. Curtius supposes that Latin verse survived as a discipline because of its position in the curricula of the schools (ibid.)

193 Cf. O. Brink, Horace on Poetry, Cambridge, 1971, pp.38-40, describes the earlier commentaries by Helenius Acro, Porphyrius, and a later version of these two called the Pseudo-Acronian: "the Tractatus Vindobonensis is a Carolingian rehash of one set of ps.-Acronian scholia".

194 Ed. J. Zechmeister, Vienna, 1877.

The earliest extant manuscripts of the Ars Poetica, more than ten in all, also date from the same period. If, as the most recent edition of the Poetica supposes, it was preserved because of its author's illustrious name<sup>195</sup>, it is surprising that its influence has mainly been recorded in the field of Latin verse<sup>196</sup>, and that it was not until the sixteenth century that it is much mentioned by poets writing in French<sup>197</sup>,

The Viennese scholia mentioned above describes the author's aim in the following way:

in hoc libro est intentio Horatii tractare de poetica arte, id est, arte fingendi et componendi. poesis enim graece, latine dicitur figmentum; inde poetae, id est, compositores dicuntur.<sup>198</sup>

The sense given fingere and figmentum is often pejorative, and in a passage of Isidore's De Natura Rerum, for instance, a reference to the linking of planets with deities, and hence to the "gentilium stultitia, qui sibi finxerunt tam ridiculosa figmenta"<sup>199</sup> might be loosely interpreted as the ability "to work up worthless fictions". However, in the introduction to the Vienna commentary on Horace the term ars fingendi is clearly not pejorative. It bears comparison with a similar phrase in an earlier commentary, which held that,

omnes quidem poetas potestatem habere fingendi<sup>200</sup>.

The sense of ars fingendi and of the earlier potestas fingendi seems to be the power to create illusions. It is doubtful whether this can be accepted unquestioningly. In the first

195 Brink, Horace on Poetry, p.xi, "Apart from Aristotle's Poetics Horace's work is the only comprehensive Ars Poetica that has come down to us from antiquity."

196 Cf. J. Hammer, "A Monastic Panegyrist of Horace", Philological Quarterly, Iowa, XI, 1932.

197 Cf. M.T. Herriek, The Fusion of Horatian and Aristotelian Literary Criticism, 1531-1555, Urbana, Univ. Illinois Studies, tXXXII, p.1.

198 ed. Zechmeister, p.1.

199 ed. J. Fontaine, Bordeaux, 1960, p. 185.

200 Porphyrius, Commentum in Horatium, ed. A. Holder, 1894, p.162.

place the terms poesis, poetria and poeta, as also fingere (the poet's activity), figmentum (a concept or development to be found in the work of the poets) and factor (a poet) underwent various changes of meaning in the course of the period we are studying<sup>201</sup>. And the history of literary terminology which would help to elucidate a given meaning is lacking<sup>202</sup>. It might also be objected, and with more reason, that a phrase like "the power to create illusions" reduces Horace's different arguments - that on the relation of technical mastery to inspiration, ars to ingenium, for instance - to the status of props in a theatre of illusions set in the imagination<sup>203</sup>. One must beware, though, of supposing that terms like figmenta and fingere are necessarily derogatory. Saint Augustine, for example, as will be seen, used fingere as an objective technical term to describe the ways in which the fantasy or imagination re-creates images within the mind<sup>204</sup>. It can be asserted, therefore, that the Horace commentary's description of Poetry as the

ars fingendi et componendi;

makes an objective distinction between content and form (much as Isidore did in his chapters De Fabulis and De Metris), and that content and form are, respectively, the images that the poet conjures up in the mind, and versification.

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201 E.R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, 1953, p.145.

202 Cf. Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch, ed. Wartburg, tIX, p.122, also P.Zumthor, Neophilologus, t39, p.179-83 and p.241-9 and id., Zeitschrift Rom.Phil., t72, 1956, p.340-62.

203 For Horace, AP, 295-9, "ingenium(...)nomenque poetae", cf. Zechmeister, p.35. The commentator of the Schola Vindobonensia tends in any case to be pedantic: he uses Horace's "scribendi recte sapere est et principium et fons" (AP,309) for a lesson on the trivium and quadrivium (cf. Zechmeister, p.37).

204 This has already been noted, *supra*, n.26 - n.31.

This view of the function of content has identifiable links with mythology and with the mythological treatises. Just as Isidore distinguished between fables and versification, the numerous works on mythology known to late Antiquity and the Middle Ages together with the treatment of versification, were detached, but complementary, parts of a seemingly obsolete Ars Poetica. Content and form might continue to exist together in Ovid or in any other major Latin poet, but in medieval teaching they were separate. "Poetry" no longer existed in the original sense of the term. Nor for that matter did "The Poet" who had created that form of Poetry. It may have been this state of affairs which prompted a compensatory development of the ars fingendi. This came to denote not simply fables, but a creative function of the imagination.

Latin Poetica, as they reached the medieval period, were "split down the middle". In French Poetry no poets seem to have seriously attempted to put the two halves together again until the sixteenth century. In medieval verse the ars fingendi (seen as an imaginative process) became the driving force of the poésie savante. To understand this more fully something must be known of the work of the mythographi. Of these authors, from Fulgentius on to the third mythographer, only the latter gives a view of his subject that is at all systematized, and I shall consider his work in detail<sup>205</sup>.

The work of a mythographer of the classical period, such as Hyginus, had little direct, or acknowledged, effect on mythological learning in the Middle Ages<sup>206</sup>. The works generally thought to have been influential are those of Fulgentius and of the three mythographers, originally edited

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205 Cf. T. Munckens, Mythographi Latini, 1681; Scriptores Rerum Mythicarum Latini Tres ed. G. Bode, 1834; Fulgentius, ed. Helm, 1898; R. Raschke, De Alberico Mythologo (Breslauer Philolog. Abhandlungen, 1913); Iohannis Scoti Annotationes in Marcianum, ed. C.E. Lutz, 1939 and Remigii Autissiodorensis Commentum in Martianum Capellam, ed. Lutz, 2 vols, 1962, 1965.

206 Cf. H.J. Rose, Hygini Fabulae, Leyden, 1934; G. Pennisi, Fulgenzio e la Expositio Sermonum Antiquorum, Florence, 1963.

from a manuscript in the Vatican by A. Mai<sup>207</sup>. The three mythographi and Fulgentius offer an accumulation of material on certain Greco-Roman myths. The third mythographer, drawing both on his predecessors and on a wide variety of other sources, is, compared even to Fulgentius, relatively comprehensive. His work represents an explicit effort to explain the myths in terms of the physical world or of the human mind. Estimates as to the dates of composition vary considerably.

While Fulgentius' compilation is assigned to the early sixth century<sup>208</sup>, that of the first mythographus has been dated as early as the fifth, and as late as the eighth century<sup>209</sup>. Its scope is more limited than that of the second mythographer who has been identified with Rémy d'Auxerre (c.841 - c.908). P. Courcelle supposes that the work of the "second mythographer" is by Rémy and that it is a conscious effort to improve on the material offered by the mythographus primus<sup>210</sup>. Where the third treatise, entitled De diis gentium et illorum allegoriis, is concerned, the date of composition has been placed, quite late in the Carolingian period<sup>as</sup> by a disciple of Rémy, or as late as the twelfth century and ascribed to Alexander Neckam<sup>211</sup>. An outline of the material assembled on Apollo, Mercury, Minerva and Venus by the third mythographer can give some idea of the scope of the ars fingendi, in respect of mythological content.

The passages dealing with these four figures - chapters 8 to 11 in the work of the third mythographer - are held together in a way that emphasizes theme, rather than episode. A mythological work surviving from Antiquity - that of Hyginus, for instance, - or even that of Fulgentius -

207 Rome, 1831. For a revised edition, cf. G. Bode, Celle, 1834.

208 Fulgentius (468-533), Opera, ed. R. Helm, Teubner, 1898.

209 For a general introduction to the works, Friedrich von Bezold, Das Fortleben der antiken Götter im mittelalterlichen Humanismus, Aalen, 1962 (reprint of 1922 edit.), pp. 14-15.

210 AHDLMA, 1939, tXIV, pp.2011.

211 For a summary of the question, H. Liebeschütz, Fulgentius Metaphoralis, in Stud.Biblio.Warburg, 1926, p.16, n.28.

from the very end of the classical period seems relatively thin and episodic in comparison. In his introduction to Fulgentius Metaphoralia (composed 1333-4 by the Franciscan John Ridewall) H. Liebeschutz supposes that this difference is due to the introduction of material and interpretations from Greek sources in the ninth century<sup>212</sup>. The work done by R. Rashke on the sources of the third author has the merit of showing both the variety of the Third Mythographer's supposed sources and the relative skill with which he put together his extensive borrowings<sup>213</sup>. The prologue to the work is to be found in a thirteenth century manuscript (though not in the Vatican ms. used by A. Mai and G. Bode), shows both independence of mind in respect of the Augustinian tradition and a conviction that these myths can be interpreted in a way that may be less lofty and less 'true' than the Augustinian view - "Ille (Augustine) altiora et fortasse veriora proponit" - but still of value in that it sets out to understand these myths in specific, rather than general, terms<sup>214</sup>. The ars fingendi supplied by the third mythographer offers a series of studies or separate chapters on the main mythological figures: the four passages on Apollo, Mercury, Minerva and Venus can be studied as a Poetica relating to different aspects of the human personality. These are, broadly speaking, inspiration or understanding in the case of Apollo, the gift of speech or eloquence with Mercury, wisdom or harmony in Minerva, love in Venus.

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212 Op.cit., pp.14-15, "Die patristische Deutung der Götter(...)in die gelehrte Tradition des Mittelalters eingefügt."

213 Raschke notes as principal sources: Fulgentius, Servius, Macrobius, Martianus Capella, Remigius Autissiodorensis. Secondary sources include Cicero (De natura deorum), Hyginus (Astronomica), Chalchidius (comm. Timaeus) and Isidore.(p2-7)

214 Cf. Liebeschutz, op.cit., p.15, "Nec te moveat, quod ab admiranda beati Augustini traditione, quam in libro de civitate dei promit, in aliquibus videor dissentire, ego nec illum in scribendo prae manu habui, neque catholicae fidei traditores in his imitari aggressus sum. Ille altiora et fortasse veriora proponit; sed et haec vel non mediocres apud antiquos viri tradiderunt, vel perspicacibus juniores ingeniis pro suo singuli captu dedita opera suppleverunt. Nam a nobis quoque, si quid mixtim novi excogitatum est, id sine assertionis certitudine prolatum assensu dignum sit, in medio reliquimus."

"On the authority of the poets"- the terms poetae fingunt... or a poetis dicitur... are frequently found in the mythologies, though less commonly than as introduction to mythological explanations in other texts - Apollo is the creator of living things<sup>215</sup>, identified with the sun as a source of life<sup>216</sup>, but allowed other attributes. Among these are the powers to heal or to inspire prophecy, as well as identification with the world he has created or with the harmonies of the universe<sup>217</sup>. The human voice is rendered by nine parts of the body<sup>218</sup>, which correspond in number to the nine Muses. These in turn correspond to the seven spheres, always providing that Urania and Calliope are seen as syntheses of the other seven<sup>219</sup>. Apollo, the sun, creator of life, is the harmony of the universe and of the spheres, therefore of the Muses, and of the human voice<sup>220</sup>. This progression links the divinity as source of life, by means of a series of correspondances, physical and metaphysical, to his expression in the human voice.

A form of poetic inspiration mentioned in the Apollo chapter puts man in contact with the gods without the series of linking ideas<sup>221</sup>.

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- 215 Scriptores Rerum Mythicarum Latini Tres, ed. Bode, Myth. I, p.201, "Apollinem etiam poetae nonnumquam parentem dicunt, id est omnium creatorem, quod videlicet quicquid in terra vel in mari nascitur, operante solis colore procreatur."
- 216 Ibid, "Sed et Phoebus, id est novus vocatur, vel quod ~~revera~~ sol in ortu suo quotidie novus appareat, vel quod secundum Epicureos de atomis constare, et cum die nasci et cum die perire tradatur."
- 217 Ibid, "Hunc philosophi et poetae nunc pro ipso sole, nunc pro augurii sive sapientiae sive medicorum deo, nunc pro divinatore aliquo, nunc pro ipso mundo, nunc pro quolibet sapiente viro, nunc pro humanae votis modulatione ponere consuerunt."
- 218 Ibid., p.210, "duo videlicet labia, quatuor dentes, plectrum linguae, gutturis cavitas, pulmonis anhelitus. Si enim ex his aliquid defuerit, vox perfecta non erit."
- 219 Ibid, p.211, "Addunt quoque physiologi, novem Musas nihil aliud intelligendas, quam VII sphaerarum musicos cantus, et unam illam, quae ex omnibus consonantibus conficitur, harmoniam."
- 220 Ibid, "hujus harmoniae sol princeps(...)in medio VII sphaerarum, ut diximus, constitutus(...)Inde etiam apud Graecos Μουσα ἄρχηγος, id est Musarum principis, dictus est."
- 221 Ibid, p.202, the laurel with three roots gives the power of divination, insight into present, past and future: source, Remigius, In Mart.Cap., ed. C.E. Lutz, tI, p.85, 10.8.

In the story of Orpheus these are dispensed with and man treats directly with the gods of the underworld. The interpretation of this fabula artis musicae derives from Fulgentius and from Remigius' commentary on Martianus Capella<sup>222</sup>. Orpheus is described as the voice, Eurydice as musical theory<sup>223</sup>. In Fulgentius, in the commentary on Martianus Capella attributed to Scotus Eriugena and in that by Remigius, the underworld is described as an allegory, the secretiorem artis ipsius profunditatem, which Orpheus leaves behind him<sup>224</sup>. Servius's commentary on Virgil is also quoted to show Orpheus as the power to summon with quibusdam carminibus<sup>225</sup>. The various interpretations together with the introductory passage on Orpheus as a civilizing power in a primitive society are some indication of the importance given Orpheus. This myth occupies a substantial part of the section on Apollo. The different interpretations or myths loosely gathered round the figure of Apollo, though generally associated with inspiration, show that there is no single dominant motif.

The description of Mercury follows the opening definition of him as the god of speech and eloquence<sup>226</sup>. The chapter sets out the various types of eloquence, beginning with that of the merchants, and passing on to consider Mercury's union with Philology that is, the union of eloquence

222' Myth. III, pp. 211-3. For Fulgentius, ed. Helm, III, x. Remigius, I, p. 310.

223 Myth. III, p.212, "Orpheus enim optima vox(...) Euridice profunda dijudicatio".

224 Ibid. Cf. Fulgentius, ed. Helm; Iohannis Scoti Annotationes in Marcianum, ed. Lutz, 1939, 480, 19. Remigius, ed. Lutz, p. 310:- "Eurydice interpretatus profunda inventio. Ipsa ars musica in suis profundissimis rationibus Euridice dicitur, cuius quasi maritus Orpheus dicitur, id est ωπιoc φωνη id est pulchra vox. Qui maritus si aliqua neglegentia artis virtutem perdiderit velut in quondam infernum profundae disciplinae descendit, de qua iterum artis regulas iuxta quas musicae voces disponuntur reducit. Sed dum voces corporeas et transitorias profundae artis inventioni comparat, fugit iterum in profunditatem disciplinae ipsa inventio quoniam in vocibus apparere non potest, ac per hoc tristis remanet Orpheus, vocem musicam absque ratione retinens."

225 Myth. III, p.213, "Si potuit manes arcessere conjugia Orpheus. Si potuit Arcessere enim, inquit, proprie evocantis est."

226 Ibid, pp.213-19, "Secundum Jovis filium Mercurium volunt, sermonis videlicet et eloquentiae deum. Hunc medium currentem, quod serme inter duos seritur..."



and wisdom<sup>227</sup>. As to the meeting of the divine and the human, Mercury, born of Jupiter and a mortal mother, is involved in the affairs of men<sup>228</sup>. Philology represents that human prudencia, which with Mercury's aid can become divine<sup>229</sup>. Human wisdom can attain a form of Apollinian clarity, which even Mercury does not enjoy. This is an interesting point. Eloquence may have the power to persuade, but Mercury's gifts may take on forms that are obscure - not necessarily a virtue in this context<sup>230</sup>. - and described as superfluous sermonis ornatus. This is a reference to the genre of "Hermaphroditic" eloquence, resulting from Mercury's union with Venus. The same theme can be found in the De Flanctu Naturae by Alain de Lille, much as the Third Mythographer's linking of Philology and prudencia recalls the Anticlaudianus. Obscure rhetoric is linked with pederasty, while learning or moderation rejects extreme forms of rhetoric<sup>231</sup>. The ideal is the marriage of wisdom and eloquence in men

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- 227 Myth.III, p.213, "secundum Fulgentium merces curantem interpretantur (verba). Praeest enim mercatoribus, inter quos sermonis virtus et cautela maxime viget. Dicitur in Arcadia natus, quod haec regio praecipue, ut ait Remigius, eloquentiae studuit. Dicitur deorum nuptiis interesse, quod in nuptiis sermo plurimum valet(...).Fingit eum Martianus Philologiam uxorem duxisse, atque VII artes liberales in dotem contulisse."
- 228 Ibid, p.214, "Sed eum Juno mox natum uberibus suis applicavit, sicque divino lacte perfudit, ut fieret immortalis. Sermo igitur et ad divina, id est ardua et subtilia, et ad humana, id est humilia et minus, subtilitatis habentia, aptus est explicanda. Unde parentibus altero immortalis, altera mortali dicitur procreatus."
- 229 p.213, "Philologia igitur studium vel amor rationis interpretatur; ponitur autem in persona rationis.."; p.214, "Atque ideo ipsam Philologiam mortali matre progenitam, nisi αποθεωσις, id est deificationem, nancisceretur(...)prudencia saecularis per se quidem mortalis et caduca est, nisi studiis verae sapientiae immortalitatem consequatur."
- 230 p.215, "Sed et galerum habere dicitur propter involutam verborum obscuritatem. Nec ab his quidem Remigii dissentit auctoritas, potentias Mercurii ad haec verba designantis. Themis, inquit, obscuritas vel caligo interpretatur. Erigone contentio vel litigiosa. Hae plerumque Mercurii sunt comites, quia haec rhetori conveniunt. Sermo namque rhetorum aliquando obscurus est, aliquando clarus, nonnumquam lites et jurgia provocat."
- 231 p.214, "Hermaphroditus autem significat quandam sermonis lascivitatem, quia plerumque, neglecta veritatis ratione, superfluous sermonis ornatus requiritur. Hinc est, quod Sophiam legimus Mercurio nubere noluisse. Licet enim sermo magnum sit rationalis creaturae ornamentum, sapientia tamen superfluum verborum ornatum respuit; non quod facundiae jungi refugiat, sed immoderatae verbositati misceri non consentit."

of learning<sup>232</sup>. Mercury is described as a planet that can travel more quickly than the others, and change its course in the skies<sup>233</sup>. Thought or speech, identified with Mercury, is equally adaptable. At birth man receives from Mercury the power of understanding<sup>234</sup>. Much of the second part of the chapter deals with the organization of the stars and their influence on us. The author-editor describes belief in this as pagan<sup>235</sup>. He remarks that there is nothing unreasonable in it, but quickly adds that he is giving, not an orthodox view, but gentilitatis opiniones et figmenta<sup>236</sup>: beliefs and allegories from a pagan source.

The two shorter chapters on Minerva and Venus offer the same balance between anecdote and interpretation. The former's supposed discovery of the flute (the third most importance source of music after voice and lyre) establishes a link between divine inspiration and expression in music or knowledge.

dea est sapientiae, id est sapientem hominem formans,  
ei ut viveret animam esse necessariam vidit, quam ei  
velut de caelo tractam divinitus inspiravit<sup>237</sup>.

Minerva's role as giver of knowledge, linked to the soul through music, and described as divinum ignem, is similar to Apollo's. In the mythological verses of the fifteenth century both Apollo and Minerva can be found as sources of inspiration for the poet.

232 Myth. III, p. 213, "Quum ergo in sapiente haec duo convenerint (...) tunc quoque ad VII liberalium artium scientiam facillime pervenitur."

233 Ibid, pp. 216-8, "Quod vero talaria habeat Mercurius, et petasum (...) Sed in ratione deorum fabulae sequendae sunt, quia veritas ignoratur".

234 Ibid, p. 217, "A Sole spiritum sortiri (...) a Mercurio ingenium".

235 Ibid, "gentilium tamen opinio habet, actuum nostrorum proventuumque varietates vel vi et potestate siderum evenire."

236 Ibid, "Nec mirum, nostras sideribus adscribi dispositiones, quum omnes dum vivimus omnia ipsis physica ratione debeamus. Nec nunc quidem catholicam in his veritatem, sed gentilitatis expono opiniones et figmenta."

237 Ibid, p. 227. This is from Fulgentius, II, 6.

If the mythographus tertius asserted his independence of view in the prologue of one of the ms., in the actual text he frequently qualifies this, pointing out that he is dealing with fables which have no concern with truth<sup>238</sup>. As author-editor he seems less concerned with determining conflicting points in his material than with making it readable and attractive. Whether this is homage to the literary ideal of varietas<sup>239</sup>, or whether he is taking care not to appear as a "theologian" in a profane discipline is not clear. In early sixteenth century France mythological matter was openly called a pagan form of theology:

la Poësie, qui est la Theologie des Payens"<sup>240</sup>.

It should also be remembered that Isidore used the term theologus to describe the religious poet of poetry's beginnings<sup>241</sup>. The word is used by the third mythographus for Orpheus in the same sense:

Fuit autem Orpheus, ut pauxillulum expatiemur, vir maximus tam ingenii claritudine quam eloquentiae suavitate praefulgens. Sacerdos dictus est, quia et theologus fuit et orgia primus instituit. Ipse etiam homines irrationabiliter viventes rhetorica dulcedine ex feris et immanibus mites reddidit et mansuetos et ex vagis durisque composuit<sup>242</sup>.

The term theologus can be defined from its relatively precise context. In the prooemium to the Third Mythographer's work, mythology is also seen as a form of alternative or parallel theology.

Nam philosophi, quorum in plerisque vel veritatis viam vel rationis assertionem tradidit auctoritas, unum dicunt deum esse, caeli et terrae rerumque omnium procul dubio creatorem. Hic tamen ab iisdem pro multiplici dispositione, qua diversis modis

238 Myth. III, p.220, "Talibus figmentorum ridiculis operam semper adhibuit inveniendis pulchre mendax Graecia et poetica garrulitas, semper de falsitate ornata", source, Fulgentius, I,18. Cf. Raschke, p.96.

239 Cf. Macrobius, Saturnalia, V,i.

240 Claude de Seyssel, Hist. universelles de Trogue Pompée, Paris, M. de Vascosan, 1558, prologue. This was in fact written (cf. Cl. de Seyssel, Diodore Sicile, in which the prologue is dated 1511, and in which he speaks, f a.ii.v<sup>o</sup>, of this other work which he had "naguères translatee de Latin en François").

241 "Quidam autem poetae theologi dicti sunt".

242 Myth. III, p.211.

regitur mundus, variis item vocabulis appellatur. Dicitur enim Vitumnus, quod vitam praestet; Sentinus, quod sensum. Vocatur Jovis sive Juppiter in aethere, Juno in aere, Diana in terra; multaque sunt alia ejusdem dei tamquam plurimorum vocabula. Plerumque et unus idemque non solum diversis nominibus, sed et vario sexu dicitur<sup>243</sup>.

Theologi may well be understood in this same para-theological sense in a reference in Siger de Brabant's De Aeternitate Mundi (c.1270) where the author mentions

aliqui poetae, theologi et aliqui naturales<sup>244</sup>,

In the examples from the chapters on Apollo, Mercury and Minerva, pagan theology can be seen to be illustrated by references to the faculties of the mind (understanding, knowledge and the power of speech) and to the natural or physical world.

The care taken by the compiler of this material to show that analogies should not be drawn with the truths of the Christian faith implies more than this. It supposes that the ars fingendi constitutes a thought system in its own right, with its own themes and inner logic. To say that these themes and anecdotes are fables may force a comparison, not necessarily between truth and falsehood, but between two widely differing systems as systems of thought. By 'system' should be understood, not just the apparent order given the material assembled in chapters - the work of the mythographer - but the innate order that the mythographer finds in that material. He uses the phrase

in ratione deorum<sup>245</sup>,

when actually attacking their fables.

sed in ratione deorum fabulae sequendae sunt, quia veritas ignoratur".

Ratio, here, has a sense that is somewhere between logic and *raison d'etre*.

243 Myth.III, p.152.

244 P. Mandonnet, Siger de Brabant, 1911, t2, p.139, also I, p.193. Mandonnet expresses surprise at this rapprochement: "il place les théologiens à côté des poètes parce que les uns et les autres admettent la fable de la création." He does not take into account the probable use of theologus in this other sense.

245 Myth.III, p.218.

It implies a system, which the mythographus tertius rejects on absolute or on moral grounds: quia veritas ignoratur. Yet at the same time he submits that it must be examined in the light of its own ratio.

But if there is no question of setting these fabulae poetarum against Christian teaching, what is the standard or inner logic by which they can be examined? As can be seen from the brief analysis of the chapters on Apollo, Mercury and Minerva, these anecdotes are examined in relation to the body, the mind and the physical universe. The organs of speech give value; song links them to the physical universe to the Muses, to the deity.

The tradition that links the early mythographers, particularly Fulgentius, to the sixteenth century has been noted<sup>246</sup>. The links between this tradition and the natural science of the period have received little or no attention.

In the two commentaries on the De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii of Martianus Capella, dating from the ninth century, the later one by Remigius Autissiodorensis, the earlier ascribed to Joannes Scotus Eriugena<sup>247</sup>, reference to myth is often introduced by phrases, such as poetae fingunt, figmento poetico dicit or poetica deliramenta sunt<sup>248</sup>. These phrases are more common as criticism of a myth on moral grounds than when the commentator is explaining the physical world and the aspects of it symbolized by the pagan deities.

Iovem quippe universitatem totius mundi sensibilis philosophi qui de mundo disputant conantur asserere; cui eternitatem quandam distribuunt per quasdam revolutiones rerum ac temporum(...) Quam formulam dico aeternitatis veluti quandam filiam Iovis, id est mundi visibilis, Martianus quippe Platonius existimat esse<sup>249</sup>.

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246 F. von Bezold, p.14; K. Heitmann, Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, tXLV, 1963, p.257ff; H. Liebeschütz, p.21.

247 On the problem of attribution, cf. W.H. Stahl, article, Speculum, tXL, p.102-9.

248 ed. C.E. Lutz, 1939, 1962, 1965, passim.

249 Scotus in Marcianum p.10, commenting M. Capella, ed. Dick, p.7,I,13.

Here Jupiter is identified with both the visible and the unseen worlds<sup>250</sup>. Martianus Capella had described him as factor arbitrarius of the visible world<sup>251</sup>. Remigius of Auxerre gives compositor as a synonym for factor, while the ability to act of one's own free will corresponding to arbitrarius<sup>252</sup>, is developed in the Scotus commentary on Martianus Capella to show Jupiter creating the world and all things in it, according to his own design, that is in rationibus suis<sup>253</sup>. For Remigius the world is an idea born in the mind of the Creator, taking on various forms of energy or substance.

Causa quae in mente Dei semper fuit, quam Plato ydeam vocat, ad cuius similitudinem mundus iste visibilis formatus est. Quam subaudis ydeam nostri nunc sapientiam, nunc vitam, nunc etiam artem.<sup>254</sup>

It is clear here, that whatever scorn Augustine may have had for tonantem Iovem et adulterantam, the figure of Jupiter may be given serious consideration as a figure in Platonic or pagan science in the early Middle Ages, Jove the Creator is equated with this world and with the universe, and this in turn can be explained by reference to pagan myths. These however were not used indiscriminately, and one particular concept from pagan learning - the polyvalent voûs - came to be identified with the divine or the human mind<sup>255</sup>, with wisdom (sapientia)<sup>256</sup>, and with Genius<sup>257</sup>

250 Remigius, ed. Lutz, I, p.121, "Iovis enim universitatem totius mundi significat..."

251 ed. Dick, p.32, I.15.

252 ed. Lutz, I, p.126.

253 Scotus cf. p.43.

254 Remigius, I, p.126.

255 ibid., II, p.119, "Sacer NOYC id est animus vel sacra mens, excellentior videlicet pars animae vel consilium".

256 ibid., I, p.169, "...NOYC id est mens vel ratio. NOYC Grece enim dicitur summa pars animae quam vocamus mentem, et est sensus; Virtus sapientiae quae tantum decorum erat per vos descendit ad homines, id est per studium et naturam."

257 M.Cap.ed.Dick, 39.13, reads: "Nam nostra ille fides, sermo ac benignitas / ac verus Genius", Scotus' comm. ed. Lutz, p.52, "Ac Verus Genius verum nomen naturale", and ibid., "Honor Sacer honor sanctus vel ô voûs sacer, ô articulus, voûs mens, sacra mens."

In view of the subsequent literary fortune of Genius, from Alanus to the Roman de la Rose, and to Jean Lemaire's Concorde des deux langages, these references are particularly interesting<sup>258</sup>. It is still necessary to consider any equation of the terms Mind and Genius with caution. The author of a recent study of early mediaeval allegory has established that the sense of a particular allegorical figure alters, not merely from poem to poem, but within particular poems, and could be understood in varying ways by different commentators<sup>259</sup>. There is therefore nothing fixed in the sens allégorique of a particular figure. But the various meanings of the name Genius, in one of the most widely copied commentaries of the early Middle Ages, are noteworthy. Genius is described by Remigius as adiuter vel angelus<sup>260</sup>, as interpres meae mentis<sup>261</sup>, as the force transmitting ingenium (intelligence) to each being<sup>262</sup>, and in this last role, in another of Remy's commentaries, as a deus naturalis<sup>263</sup>.

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- 258 Cf. G. Raynaud de Lage, "Nature et Génies, chez Jean de Meung et chez J. Lemaire de Belges" in Le Moyen Age, 1952, tI; this, like another article on Genius and Nature (T. Silverstein, "The Fabulous Cosmogony of Bernardus Silvestris" in Mod. Philology, t46), was written before publication of Miss Lutz's edition of the Remigius commentary.
- 259 M-R. Jung, Etudes sur le poème allégorique en France au moyen âge (Romanica Helvetica, 82, Berne, 1971).
- 260 Remi, In Mart. Cap. I, p.139, l.27.
- 261 Ibid., Interpres Meae Mentis id est meorum consiliorum, unde et Grece Hermes vocatur, et ipse est Sacer Honos".
- 262 M. Capella, ed. Dick, 65.14, "Ideoque dicitur Genius, quoniam cum quis hominum genitus fuerit, mox eidem copulatur. hic tutelator fidissimusque germanus animos omnium mentesque custodit, et quoniam cogitationum arcana superae annuntiat potestati, etiam Angelus poterit nuncupari. hos omnes Graeci daemones dicunt..." Cf. Remigius, ed. Lutz, I, p.184, "Quare Genius dicitur? Quia videlicet Cum Quis Hominum Genitus Fuerit, Mox Eidem Copulatur ad tutelam sui. Hic subaudis Genius, Tutelator, id est protector..."
- 263 Cf. J.M. Burnam, Commentaire anonyme sur Prudence d'après le ms. 413 de Valenciennes (attrib. Remigius), Paris, 1910, p.162, "Aut Fatum Aut Genus, a) Genium deum naturalem dicebant quem prosperitatem et vitae felicitatem sibi dare autumabant: genius quoque constellatio vocabatur hinc genitura dicitur, et genethliaci mathematici." Also Remigius, ed. Lutz, I, p.184, "Genius naturalis deus sive angelus..."

With these different attributes, Genius appears as an intellect common to both God and man, as the means by which God speaks to man, and man receives the powers enabling him to see beyond simple appearances. There is a potential confusion between his task and that given Apollo, Mercury or Minerva. For Bernardus Silvestris and for Jean de Meun after him, Genius, along with Nature, evidently offered the advantage of not being too closely associated with the mythological canon, while remaining for any reader of Martianus Capella, part of learned speculations:

nam nostra ille fides, sermo, benignitas  
ac verus Genius, fida recursio  
interpresque meae mentis δ vous sacer.  
hic solus numerum promere caelitem,  
hic vibrata potest noscere sidera,  
quae mensura polis, quanta profunditas <sup>264</sup>

In Adversus Symmachum by Prudentius there is a further sense to the name Genius with a long development on the genius of Rome - urbis genius<sup>265</sup>.

For both Christian and non-Christian poets, therefore, Genius was connected with poetria through mythological associations. He was an aspect of divine or of human psychology, and hence an instrument of philosophical investigation, in the very general sense that this came to have in the twelfth century, even if in Martianus Capella this role was also filled by Philologia<sup>266</sup>, and in Remigius's commentary on him by the philosophers<sup>267</sup>. The parts played by Prudentia and Martianus

264 Ed. Dick, 39.13-18.

265 Prudentius, Adv. Symm. II, 11.370-487. Also Remigius, I, p.184, Genius Populi.

266 Philologia - Reason or Wisdom - can penetrate the unseen or the divine: "doctissima virgo/conscia Parnaso, cui fulgent sidera coetu,/ cui nec Tartareos claustra occultare recessus,/ nec Iovis arbitrium rutilantia fulmina possunt;/ fluctigena spectans qualis sub gurgite Nereus,/ quaeque tuos norit fratrum per regna recursus,/ pervigil immodico penetrans arcana labore,/ quae possit docta totum praevertere cura,/ quod superis praescire datum..." (ed. Dick, 16.8).

267 In Remigius it is the philosopher who is given some of the powers of prophecy that the poets were to regain in the Renaissance. Cf. De Nuptiis, ed. Dick, 54.10-16, "noscere semet/quis valere/quisque videntes/lumine claro/numina fati/et Geniorum/et nescere vultus" and Rémy's comm. "Hoc est enim praecipuum, et hoc requirunt summi philosophi ut se ipsos cognoscant. Iuvenalis: '[NOTI CEAYTON]'. Hoc, inquit, proverbium 'Scite te ipsum' de caelo descendit. Quicque id est quicumque, Videntes hoc est philosophi. Videntes et cognoscentes dicebantur(.) Quicumque valuerunt



Capella on the one hand and by Scotus Eriugena and Remigius of Auxerre on the other in outlining the different aspects of Genius should not be underestimated. It is the theoretical basis for the later imaginative use of the figure. This figure - ingenium and deus naturalis - was abundantly defined by the ninth century. Through Alain de Lille and Jean de Meun, Genius was given an imaginative expression that ensured the figure's later currency. This must be partly because at a much earlier date Genius was already understood as an aspect of closely discussed theories of knowledge.

The mistake has been to try to identify Genius as a XII/XIII century independent "poetic" allegory, brought to life and literature by Alanus, and identifiable only through the use made of him by the same Alanus and by Jean de Meun<sup>268</sup>. In fact Genius, as will be shown, became identified with the concept of ingenium as defined in the texts of the period. Rather than mere "background", these accounts of the human mind in relation to the divine, and of this world in relation to the universe surrounding it, were the foundation and the substance of the work of certain poets from Bernardus Silvestris and Alanus onwards. They are the actual theory of which much prose or verse is the imaginative embodiment. To accept this is to follow the line taken by recent research<sup>269</sup>. To deny it is to risk perpetuating the dramatic, but superficial, notion that theories of poetry or understanding of these theories, were the preserve of the Renaissance.

The concept or figure of Genius is one aspect, though an important one, of a much fuller picture, that was initially neo-Platonic, but eventually Aristotelian, in concept and in purpose.

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(from previous page)

Cernere id est intelligere, Numina Fati et Vultus Geniorum id est deorum, Claro Lumine. Quicumque, inquit, philosophi se et Deum intelligere poterunt per te acceperunt sacra dogmata."

268 Still evident in the otherwise excellent study on allegory by M-R. Jung, op. cit., p.67, "A vrai dire, cette apparition de Génius est plutôt inopinée".

269 Cf. in particular, T. Silverstein, art. cit. Modern Philology, t46, 1948.

Macrobius was an important source of neo-Platonic theory in the Middle Ages<sup>270</sup>. At the coming of the printing press his commentary on Cicero's Dream of Scipio went into a large number of printed editions. The later popularity of this commentary, coinciding with the new interest in Plato's thought taken by the followers of Marsilio Ficino, is noteworthy. In the Carolingian period and, particularly in the twelfth century it helped to introduce in an easily assimilable form a number of neo-Platonic ideas, such as theories relating to the monas, to ideas as emanations of the divine essence, to the chain of being, to man and the physical world as microcosm and macrocosm, to the ideal of self-knowledge, and to the Muses as expressions of universal harmonies.

In both text and commentary, the soul (anima or mens) is the principle of life<sup>271</sup>, affected by its contact with the body<sup>272</sup>. It is the real man as distinct from the appearance of man given by the body<sup>273</sup>. It is the ingenium or faculty of understanding (to be termed L'engin or entendement in fourteen and fifteenth century verse) which enables man to perceive what the senses offer no evidence for<sup>274</sup>.

- 270 M. Schedler, Die Philosophie des Macrobius und ihr Einfluss auf die Wissenschaft des Christlichen Mittelalters in Beitr. zur Gesch. der Phil. des Mittelalters, tXIII, Heft I, 1916; E. Jeuneau, "Macrobe, source du platonisme chartrain" in Studi Medievali, 1960, 3a ser. tI, pp. 3-24, idem, "Gloses de Guillaume de Conches sur Macrobe" in AHDLMA, 1960, t35, p.17-28.
- 271 Cicero, In Somnium Scip., ed. Willis, p.162, "non esse te mortalem, sed corpus hoc. Nec enim tu is es quem forma ista declarat, sed mens cuiusque is est quisque, non ea figura quae digito demonstrari potest." "non corpus esse, sed mentem..."
- 272 The body, which Macrobius calls, p.45, "carcer" and "animae sepulcrum" is a form of material hell, or (I, xii) of Lethe, in which the soul forgets what it knew, "priusquam materialis influxio in corpus venientes animas ebriaret".(p.49)
- 273 On being as animate matter, on the soul as movement, and for proofs of the immortality of the soul derived from Plato's Phaedrus, cf. II, p.134.
- 274 I, xx, "ad rem quae natura incomprehensibilis videbatur, viam sibi fecit ingenium, et per terram, qui caeli modus sit, raperit."(p.81)

In the Macrobius commentary the term mens is both the mind of God and the mind of man, though frequently it is the divine mind<sup>275</sup>; the soul or anima, as it enters the body, is also a reflection of the divine, while the word vous describes the aspect of that divinity which man can know at least indirectly. In Alain de Lille's interpretation of Macrobius, mens implied Christ:

Macrobius videtur Filium vocare mentem de summo  
Dei natam<sup>276</sup>

In these views there is nothing that does not relate to some aspect of orthodox Christian thought.

Macrobius's views on theories of numbers in arithmetic and music, on geometry and on astrology, amount to a form of quadrivium. It is this scientific aspect of Neo-Platonic thought which is of particular interest here<sup>277</sup>. It is in those passages where he describes man as a being with the attributes of a god, that this thought draws away from parallel orthodox interpretations. Admittedly it is also said that man cannot know the divine mind other than through similitudines et exempla<sup>278</sup>. But this merely allows it to be emphasized that, within the limits of his body, man rules in much the same way that God governs the physical world. Cicero used this as a proof of the immortality of the soul<sup>279</sup>. In Macrobius's commentary, the mind is seen as ennobled by

- 275 In Somnium Scip., I, i, p. 6, "Ceterum cum ad summum et principem omnium Deum (...) vel ad mentem (...) originales rerum species, quae IDEAL dictae sunt, continentem, ex summo natam et profectam Deo..."; I, vi, p. 19, "Haec illa est mens ex summo enata Deo..."; I, xiv, "cum ex summo Deo mens, ex mente anima fit..." (p. 58).
- 276 Quoniam Homines..., ed. Glorieux, AHDLMA, 1953, t28, p. 169.
- 277 E. Jeaneau, Studi Medievali, 1960, sees Macrobius's commentary as one source of the Platonism of the école de Chartres, along with the De Consolatione of Boethius, Chalcidius' In Timaeum and Martianus Capella; cf. p. 7.
- 278 I, ii: "Sed si quid de his assignare conantur, quae non sermonem tantum modo, sed cogitationem quoque humanam superant, ad similitudines et exempla confugiunt." (p. 7)
- 279 Cicero, Som. Scip., I, viii, "Deum te igitur scito esse si quidem est deus qui viget, qui sentit, qui manet, qui providet, qui tam regit et moderatur et movet id corpus cui praepositus est, quam hunc mundum ille princeps deus, et ut ille mundum ex quadam parte mortalem ipse deus aeternus, sic fragile corpus animus sempiternus movet. nam quod semper movetur aeternum est..." (ed. Willis, p. 162).

its own virtues, returning (as of right) to its origin in heaven<sup>280</sup>.

There is also a more material assumption that the soul remains in control of the body it inhabits. In this context (II, xii), the body is the microcosm in contrast to the macrocosm of the real world. The notion 'microcosm-macrocosm', as a received idea in mediaeval thought, was often a passive notion, a means of explaining man's place in the universe with a conceit<sup>281</sup>. In Macrobius it has a dynamic sense, relating to the soul's power to command the body, much as God commands the working of the physical world. The microcosm contains its own motive force (a se animatur):

anima autem, qui verus homo est, ab omni condicione mortalitatis aliena est, adeo ut in imitationem Dei mundum regentis regat et ipsa corpus, dum a se animatur. ideo physici mundum magnum hominem et hominem brevem mundum esse dixerunt. per similitudines igitur ceterarum praerogativarum, quibus Deum anima videtur imitari, animam Deum et prisci philosophorum et Tullius dixit.<sup>282</sup>

Macrobius's gloss on the 'Know yourself' (attributed elsewhere by Remigius to Juvenal), can be understood to suggest that a form of absolute knowledge is available to man through self-knowledge (nec se quaesiverit extra)<sup>283</sup>. The soul, then, is potentially similar to the God, whose operations it reflects. The extent of this similarity must depend on the ability of the individual soul to consciously dispose of itself or to express itself in creative terms.

280 In Somn.Scip., I, xiv; I, xii, p.55, p.47.

281 Cf. F. Rico, El Pequeño Mundo del Hombre, Madrid, 1970.

282 In Somn.Scip., II, xii, p.132.

283 Ibid., I, ix, "De coelo descendit Γνωθι σεαυτον. nam et Delphici vox haec fertur oraculi. consulenti ad beatitatem quo itinere perveniret: si te, inquit, agnoveris. sed at ipsius fronti templi haec inscripta sententia est. homini autem, ut diximus, una est agnitio sui, si originis natalisque principii exordia prima respexerit, nec se quaesiverit extra. sic enim anima virtutes ipsas conscientia nobilitatis induitur, quibus post corpus evectora eo unde descenderat reportatur, quia nec corporea sordescit oneratur eluvie, quae puro ac levi fonte virtutum rigatur, nec deseruisse unquam caelum videtur, quod respectu et cogitationibus possidebat." (ed. Willis, p.40).

This idea underlies, in my view, the poésie savante that developed in France in the Middle Ages. For a fuller understanding of it reference can be made to Macrobius's Saturnalia. There Virgil's work is discussed in a religious, or para-religious, sense. One of the guests present, a certain Evangelus, attacks Virgil saying that the respect given him is without consideration for his failings, and that his reputation is uncritically protected by academic tradition. Evangelus takes exception to the description of Virgil as pontifex maximus<sup>284</sup>. The larger part of Book III is devoted to Praetextatus's defence of Virgil's knowledge of religious ritual<sup>285</sup>. In Books IV and V, another guest, Eusebius offers a more general defence of the poet. One of the grounds on which Evangelus first attacked him was the tendency to read philosophy into his verse. This Evangelus saw as a form of Greek self-indulgence<sup>286</sup>. In his comparison between Virgil and Cicero Evangelus had suggested that Cicero's own reputation suffered as soon as he abandoned eloquence for mythology, or for philosophical arguments on predestination or divination<sup>287</sup>.

In the fifth book Eusebius takes up the parallel between Virgil and Cicero raised by Evangelus in the first. It allows him to describe Cicero's work as written in a single manner, while Virgil's is constantly varied<sup>288</sup>. The comparison is offered in such a way as to suggest that,

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284 "Vergilius noster pontifex maximus", Saturnalia, ed. Willis, p.131.

285 cf. P. Boyancé, La religion de Virgile, 1963.

286 Sat.I, xxiv: a tendency to be avoided, "nisi forte, ut Graeci omnia sum in immensum tollunt, nos quoque etiam poetas nostros volumus philosophari.!" (p. 128)

287 Ibid., "cum ipse Tullius, qui non minus professus est philosophandi studium quam loquendi quotiens aut de natura decorum aut de fato aut de divinatione disputat, gloriam quam oratione conflavit incondita rerum relatione minuat". (p.128)

288 On the apparent satire of Christianity, cf. P. Courcelle, Les Lettres grecques en Occident, De Macrobe à Cassiodore, 1948, p.7, n.3. Sat.V; i, "ad comparationem Maronis et Tullii(...)hec solum audebe dixisse, quia facundia Mantuani multiplex et multiformis est et dicendi genus omne complectitur. ecce enim in Cicerone vestro unus eloquentiae tenor est. ille abundans et torrens et copiosus. oratorum autem non simplex nec una natura est, (...)tenuis quidam et siccus et sobrius amat quandam dicendi frugalitatem; alius pingui et luculenta et florida oratione lascivit. in qua tanta omnium dissimilitudine unus omnino Vergilius invenitur qui eloquentiam ex omni genere conflaverit." (p.240)

on this strength, Virgil's work is self-evidently greater. Variety is evidence of virtuosity and is a literary ideal. More might be said of this with reference to late medieval and Renaissance poetry. The point of interest here is the means by which praise for variety is justified.

Virgil's work is that of an intellect which is divine rather than human<sup>289</sup>. It is work that brings together opposing elements in a harmonious whole and, as in Le Roman de la Rose, Nature is the author's guide to creation:

rerum omnium matrem naturam<sup>290</sup>

It is quite understandable if these ideas appear as so many clichés, but in Macrobius's day, they were, according to E.R. Curtius, a new prise de conscience in Western literature and thought. Curtius speaks of the origins of this theory in late Antiquity and, after mentioning Longinus and Plotinus, he goes on:

None of the authors named advances the proposition that poetic production can be compared with that of the creator of the universe. Yet one writer of declining Antiquity drew this comparison in respect of Virgil, and developed it(...)he is Macrobius(...)there is a deep historical meaning in the simple fact that the Virgil cult of late paganism first expressed the idea of the poet as creator, if only gropingly. It gleams like a mystic lamp in the evening of the aging world. For almost a millennium and a half it was extinguished. It shines once again in the dawning radiance of Goethe's youth.<sup>291</sup>

Correctives to this view have supposed that the theory of poet as creator was again current in Italy in the Quattrocento<sup>292</sup>. In my view this

289 Saturnalia, V, i, ed. Willis, p.243, "Videsne eloquentiam omnium varietate distinctam? quam quidem mihi videtur Vergilius non sine quodam praesagio, quo se omnium profectibus praeparabat, de industria permiscuisse idque non mortali sed divino ingenio praevidisse."

290 *ibid.*, "atque adeo non alium secutus ducem quam ipsam rerum omnium matrem naturam, hanc praetexuit velut in musica concordiam dissonorum."

291 European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, 1953, p.400-401.

292 Cf. E.N. Tigerstedt, "The Poet as Creator", Comparative Lit. Studies, Urbana, 1968, n° 5.

particular lamp was relit well before the time of Cristoforo Landino or Ficino, to say nothing of late eighteenth century Germany. It was replenished, not with Platonic brightness, but with Aristotelian derivative. The pictures that it threw onto the mind's screen (often by courtesy of Avicenna and Algazel, rather than the original Aristotle) were amusing. To this extent E.R. Curtius is quite right: the lamp's light was no longer mystic. In the Roman de la Rose or in Villon's Lais the poet creates, or re-creates, within his own microcosm.

In Macrobius's Saturnalia the relation of God's world to the poet's is that of the major work to the minor, or, to return to the metaphor from the Cicero commentary, that relating the mundum magnum and the brevem mundum, that is man. For the author of the Saturnalia there is an identity between God's world and that found in Virgil's work.

Quippe si mundum ipsum diligenter inspicias,  
magnam similitudinem divini illius et hujus poetici  
operis invenies.<sup>293</sup>

The speaker from the Saturnalia goes on to describe the variety to be found in Virgil's style,

nunc brevis, nunc copiosa, nunc sicca, nunc florida,  
nunc simul omnia, interdum lenis aut torrens<sup>293</sup>,

which offers a copy of the real world, or, as Macrobius actually puts it, the real world is similar to Virgil's:

sic terra ipsa hic laeta segetibus et pratis, ibi  
silvis et rupibus hispida, hic sicca harenis, hic irrigua  
fontibus, pars vasto aperitur mari.<sup>293</sup>

The variety of Virgil's verse allows the speaker, Eusebius, to compare him favourably with any of the poets of Greece<sup>294</sup>. The parallel between God and the poet, in the sense that both are creators, is heavily underlined, though with intended sarcasm, by Evangelus in the Saturnalia (V, ii):

<sup>293</sup> ed. Willis, p.243. (V,i).

<sup>294</sup> *ibid.*, "infra ipsum enim mihi visum est, si dicerem decem rhetorum qui apud Athenas Atticas floruerunt stilos inter se diversos hunc unum permiscuisse."

Tunc Evangelus irridenti similis, 'Bene', inquit,  
'opifici Deo a rure Mantuano poetam comparas.<sup>295</sup>

It has been suggested that the Macrobian references to Virgil represent a late pagan attempt to give traditional beliefs a new life.<sup>296</sup>

In general terms, the work of Macrobius is part of a neo-Platonic tradition which became wishfully identified in the twelfth century with the thought of Plato himself or with a body of thought that seemed true to the doctrines of the master<sup>297</sup>. Particularly important, in this respect, and where poetry is concerned, are the five categories of dreaming from the Scipio commentary,

somnium, visio, oraculum, insomnium, visum.<sup>298</sup>

For Macrobius, the last two had nothing to do with divination or revelation (nihil divinationis apportant).<sup>299</sup> Insomnium is associated with the pangs of love or overeating, and it leaves no lasting impression on the mind, while visum is described as the state of mind between wakefulness and sleep<sup>300</sup>. But by means of the three other categories we come to understand what is meant by divination,

in ingenium divinationis instruimur<sup>301</sup>

Of these three other categories, oraculum is linked with the appearance of a person of authority in the mind of the sleeper<sup>302</sup>. Visio is a portrayal

295 ed. Willis, V,ii.

296 P. Courcelle, op.cit., p.3, "Les Saturnales de Macrobe révèlent en effet l'existence d'un milieu païen très homogène." Also p.35.

297 Cf. E. Jeuneau, Studi Medievali, 1960, p.4, on "Nos Platonem diligentes" and idem, AHDIMA, 1960, p.17, "A côté du De Nuptiis(...)le Commentaire de Macrobe sur le Songe de Scipion est l'un des maîtres-piliers du platonisme latin au Moyen Age."

298 In Somnium Scipionis, ed. Willis, I,iii, p.10.

299 ibid., "his duobus modis ad nullam noscendi futuri opem receptis, tribus ceteris in ingenium <sup>divinationis</sup> instruimur."

300 p.9-10, "Haec et his similia(...)cum somno avolant et pariter evanescent (...)post somnium nullam sui utilitatem vel significationem relinquit." "est visum, cum inter vigiliam et adultam quietem in quadam, ut aiunt, prima somni nebula adhuc se vigilare aestimans, qui dormire vix coepit aspicere videtur irruentes in se vel passim vagantes formas..."

301 ibid., in ingenium divinationis, upon an understanding of the subject of divination.

302 ibid., "et est oraculum quidem cum in somnis parens vel alia sancta gravisve persona seu sacerdos vel etiam Deus aperte eventurum quid aut non eventurum, faciendum vitandumve denuntiat."



of future events<sup>303</sup>. In both oraculum and visio the truth of the dream is to be found in the literal sense of what was dreamed. Somnium is the type of dream which needs to be interpreted and Macrobius divides it into various sub-categories<sup>304</sup>. Despite the fairly precise definitions that Macrobius gives, the difference between dreams of divine and non-divine origin depends on individual judgement, as does that between dreams of divine origin that must be taken literally and those others needing interpretation. The interest shown in the subject of divination by commentators of the ninth century<sup>305</sup> may owe something to Macrobius's example. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Macrobius's five categories of dream were absorbed into a handbook of school psychology, which was attributed to Saint Augustine<sup>306</sup>. Thus it was that fundamentally pagan views were known through a work that was mistakenly supposed to be Augustinian so that some of Macrobius's teaching became part of orthodox teaching in the second half of the twelfth and for much of the thirteenth century<sup>307</sup>.

There was, however, a body of Christian teaching on the subject of revelation that forms a parallel to the theory of divination through dreams found in the commentary on Scipio's Dream. In the ninth century this Christian tradition became known through Johannes Scotus Eriugena's translations from, and commentaries on, the work of the author known as

- 303 In Somnium Scip., ed Willis, I,iii, p.10, "Visio est autem cum id quis videt quod eodem modo apparuerat eveniet."
- 304 ibid., "somnium proprie vocatur quod tegit figuris et velat ambagibus non nisi interpretatione intellegendam significationem rei quae demonstratur, quod quale sit non a nobis exponendam est." There are five sub-categories.
- 305 Scotus in Marcianum, ed. Lutz, p.10, "Omnis quippe divinatio si veridica est non aliunde formatur nisi a sapientia, non inrationabiliter quoque." Remigius in Marcianum, ed. Lutz, I, p.76, "Divinatio(...)prophetia instinctu divino fit et semper vera est."
- 306 This was the work later attributed to Alcher de Clairvaux (c.1160), De Spiritu et Anima (ed. Migne, PL 40), which I shall discuss at length below.
- 307 Its Augustinian authorship was questioned by both Albert the Great and Aquinas, cf. M. de Wulf, Histoire de la Philosophie médiévale, tI, p.174-75, 1924. For its acceptance by Jean de la Rochelle (c. 1230) and Vincent de Beauvais, cf. M. Schedler, Beitrag zur Geschichte der Phil. des M.A., t13, Heft I, p.123-4.

as Dionysius Areopagitica. The parallel offered is a general one, as the Dionysian Celestial Hierarchy is concerned with a theology of the mind in which man can transcend himself, and in which imaginative symbols are purposely avoided<sup>308</sup> or eliminated. In this respect Dionysian revelation is very different from the didactic, metaphorical explanations of Macrobius's Cicero commentary. On the other hand, there is one very precise respect in which a work like the Celestial Hierarchy can be discussed here, and this is in its references to metaphor, to the imagination and to Poetry, which both the author and the translator-commentator discuss in negative terms, seeking to prove that Christian revelation is of a type that ultimately bears no relation to the metaphors of Poetry and divinatio. This may appear to be yet another confrontation of Christian and profane Poetry as in Bede or Rabanus Maurus. In fact the whole debate is conducted at a far higher level. Scotus Eriugena's own fine drawn position in it can only be understood by reference to Augustine's theory of the imagination and to the same theory in Scotus Eriugena's De Divisione Naturae.

Reference to the latter massive work and to Augustine may seem to make up a massive detour. However, unless it is made, it will be hard to understand how there came to be a Christian poesie savante in the twelfth century. And unless the nature of that is fully understood, it will be even harder to understand Jean de Meun's own jeering casuistries.

At the origins of the Roman de la Rose there is the history of the confrontation between the Christian and Pagan traditions in Poetry, and between the notions of intellectio and divinatio as paths to a higher knowledge. Before examining at length the development of intellectio in relation to Poetry between the ninth and twelfth centuries, the substance of the theory of divinatio could bear repeating.

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308 Cf. introduction to La Hiérarchie Céleste, Paris, 1958, p. xxxiii, on the notion of l'inconnaissance, described by the translator-editors as "véritable sortie de la condition humaine(...)l'extase dionysienne n'élimine pas seulement les produits de l'imagination(...)mais les racines mêmes de tous ces produits, à savoir l'imagination elle-même et jusqu'au vous lui-même."

At the risk of over-simplifying, I have described it almost entirely with reference to two works by Macrobius: the commentary on Cicero's Somnium Scipionis and the Saturnalia, with brief mentions of the De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii. This is because the two former texts are the only ones to be patently unorthodox in a number of places. The De Nuptiis was partly absorbed into school learning as early as the ninth century through the commentaries written on it. Of the other works that might be said to belong to the tradition of divinatio, the De Consolatione Philosophiae passed as being the work of a Christian philosopher, Boethius, while the final great work of the neo-Platonic tradition, Chalcidius's commentary on the Timaeus, was drawn on by Alanus de Insulis, along with the De Nuptiis for his poem the Anticlaudianus. The main texts of the neo-Platonic tradition<sup>309</sup>, the De Nuptiis, the De Consolatione Philosophiae and the Timaeus commentary all offered something to Alanus's imaginative use of intellectio, as the aim of Poetry and the Poet. Macrobius's work, which was more concerned with the meaning of divinatio and with the idea of Poet as Creator, has a whole range of notions which are foreign to Alain de Lille's picture of the human transcending itself in the Anticlaudianus. I shall attempt to show this in relation to his main theoretical source for the Anticlaudianus. And that was the work of Scotus Eriugena.

Divinatio, which could be described in the Cicero commentary as man's being able to gain knowledge of God in sleep, and in the Saturnalia as the poet's ability to recreate, almost divinely, a second world, is a fairly simple dual concept. The reality of either of its twin aspects can be justified by referring to the links between macrocosm and microcosm, to the way in which God allows man to participate in knowledge beyond the reach of man's senses through the vous/ingenium, and to the truth of

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309 The view of E. Jeauneau, cf. supra, note 297.

certain divinely revealed dreams (somnium, oraculum and visio). The first and third of these justifications for divinatio are based in the physical sciences, the second in physiology or psychology. Intellectio, in the sense that Alain de Lille showed it in the Anticlaudianus, was based on psychological points of reference. All the physical and physiological coordinates are shown through the activities of the mind, and for Alain everything in the poem unfurls within the mind. From the time of Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun onwards, the reader is made aware that mind is subject to the restraints of the body. This fairly simple distinction between a poetry of the mind and a poetry of the mind and body, between Christian intellectio and an essentially Pagan divinatio, has never to my knowledge been made. It can only be allowed here with a series of reservations. At their effective starting point, both traditions, Christian and Pagan, the Anticlaudianus as much as the Roman de la Rose, already contained extensive borrowings from the other. Alain de Lille owed a great deal to the Neo-Platonists, as much or even more than to Scotus Eriugena and Prudentius's Psychomachia. Jean de Meun apparently owes more to the Doctors of the Church and to the Islamic mysticism of Algazel, than he does to Macrobius. The simplicity of idea in the Saturnalia or in Scotus Eriugena's commentary on the Celestial Hierarchy has, it seems inevitably, been lost. Chapter one of Book five of the Saturnalia is an act of piety towards Virgil rather than a manifesto for a new poetry. The arguments in the Scotus commentary for Christian intellectio as a state superior to knowledge through poetry are intellectually inspiring, but offered in such a rarefied atmosphere that the scheme linking the commentary to the Anticlaudianus has not been remarked on previously by scholars (and this despite allusions in Alain de Lille's Quoniam homines or in the early thirteenth century commentary on the Anticlaudianus by Raoul de Longchamp).

To understand intellectio as an intellectual or spiritual ideal

based on translation and commentary of the Pseudo-Dionysius's work<sup>310</sup> something must be known of Scotus's other work and of its influence on medieval thought<sup>311</sup>.

The manuscript of the Greek text of the Celestial Hierarchy was sent to France in 827. It was first translated by a monk by the name of Hilduin, then translated and commented by Scotus Eriugena<sup>312</sup>. Unlike Scotus's major work, the De divisione naturae which was condemned in 1225, both translation and commentary had a continuing influence. The translation was the basis for that of Jean Sarrazin<sup>313</sup>. Robert Grosseteste offered a further translation, done between 1239 and 1243, while Sarrazin's translation was the basis for a commentary by Thomas Gallus (the Extractio, 1238) which further helped to popularize the work<sup>314</sup>.

Yet another commentary on Dionysius's work was written by Petrus Hispanus (c.1270-1277), who became Pope John XXI. Among the Dionysian treatises included by Migne in his edition of Scotus (PL, t.122) was an In mysticam theologiam<sup>315</sup>. Petrus Hispanus's editor, following the view that this was not by Scotus, but a much later work<sup>316</sup>, offered evidence for attributing it to his author<sup>317</sup>. It is written in a Latin that could

310 For doubts on the authenticity of this, expressed as early as 533, taken up again by Valla and Erasmus, Cf. La Hier.Cel., edit.cit.p.vii-viii.

311 To the basic idea of theophania other categories were added. On the use of epiphania, hyperphania and hypophania in the 12th century, H.F. Dondaine, "Cinq citations de Jean Scot chez Simon de Tournai" in Rech.Théol.anc.méd., tXVII, 1950. These categories were ascribed, though the text source is not known, to J.Scotus by Simon, Alanus and Raoul Ardent.

312 M. Cappuyns, Jean Scot Erigène, p. 158ff.

313 G. Théry, "Jean Sarrazin, 'traducteur' de Scot Erig." in Studia Medievalia in honorem Raymundi Josephi Martini, Bruges, 1949.

314 H.F. Dondaine, Le Corpus Dionysien de l'univ. de Paris au XIIIe s., (Storia e Letteratura, t44, Rome, 1953), p.31-34.

315 J. Chapman, article "Catholic Mysticism" in Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, 1917, tIX, sees this treatise as mere "mystical" than what he describes as the unmystical theology of the XIIIth century.

316 For a summary of doubts on the subject, cf. F. Ruello, "Un commentaire Dyonisien en quête d'auteur" in AHDLMA, t27, 1952, pp. 151-9.

317 Expositio librorum beati Dionysii, ed. Manuel Alonso, Lisbon, 1957.

be described as mystical rhetoric and bears a resemblance to the pompous prose style later used in French by fifteenth century rhétoriqueurs like Jean Molinet and Andre de la Vigne<sup>318</sup>. The point of interest here lies in the author's justification for his use of this style. He says that while a treatise on the divine essence, such as the De Divinis Nominibus, also by the pseudo-Dionysius, requires a simple language to express its meaning, this is not the case with work concerning the imagination. He includes the In Mysticam Theologiam in this latter category, and suggests that it calls for a rich style and for the

verborum copia proportionalis eidem sensui<sup>319</sup>.

For Petrus Hispanus, therefore, understanding through the intellect and understanding through the imagination are to be expressed in different ways.

It will be seen that understanding through the intellect is the poetry of the intellectio explored by Alain de Lille; understanding through the imagination is the poetry of divinatio developed by Jean de Meun and writers in the vernacular. It is with the latter that this study is mainly concerned, and hence in particular with the study of the imagination.

The standard work on theories of fantasy and imagination in this period is still M.W. Bundy's The Theory of Imagination in Classical and Medieval Thought<sup>320</sup>, However, it is wanting in a number of respects. It fails to show the importance of the memory to these theories<sup>321</sup>. M.W.

318 ed. Alonso, also PL 122,1171C. For other examples, Jean de Limoges, Morale Somnium Pharaonis, ed. C. Horváth, Veszprém, Hungary, 1932, and a XVth century work in Spanish, by Alfonso de la Torre, La Visión Delectable, Toulouse, H. Mayer, 1480(?) (cf. ms. esp. B.N.39 and E.R. Curtius, Eur.Lit. and Lat. Mid. Ages, p. 542).

319 ed. M. Alonso, p.488-9, "Erat enim necesse quod libri(...) De divinis nominibus minus essent in verbis prolixiores quam habeant Simbolice Theologie tractatus. Et ratio ista est, quoniam, quanta materia, de qua agitur est altior et a sensu remotior aut ab ymaginatione longinquior, tanto minus utendum est verbis sensilibus et magis exercendus est oculus v intellectualis(...) Quanto tractabam inferiora et sensibus propinquiora, tanto magis habundabat verborum copia proportionalis eidem sensui".

320 Urbana, Illinois, 1927, Studies in Language and Literature, tXII.

321 Frances Yates, The Art of Memory, London, 1966.

Bundy also moves straight from Augustine to the Latin Avicenna and fails to give any account of imagination in the Carolingian period. This abrupt transition from Augustine to Avicenna and then, almost immediately, to Albert the Great, allows little chance for examining one of the most interesting points that Augustine established in mediaeval theories of psychology. This is the idea of an imagination that, in a very precise sense of the term, can 'create'. The significance of Augustine's work was underlined as long ago as 1862 by M. Ferraz.

A la théorie de l'imagination représentative, telle qu'Aristote l'avait établie, il ajouta celle de l'imagination créatrice, telle qu'on la comprend aujourd'hui.<sup>322</sup>

The research on the subject since then has done little either to disprove this point, or to trace its subsequent developments<sup>323</sup>. The theory of a creative imagination is described by Augustine in enough different works, for confusions to seem inevitable. However, the form given the idea by Scotus Eriugena in the ninth century is clear. Scotus quotes Augustine in a number of places, and it may be supposed, for want of any evidence to the contrary, that the theory's source for mediaeval literature can be found in Saint Augustine, and that the first author to have expressed it within the wider framework of an account of the mind was John Scotus in the De Divisione Naturae<sup>324</sup>.

In describing the powers belonging to the animae imaginanti, as

322 M. Ferraz, De la Psychologie de Saint Augustin, Paris, 1862, p. 195.

323 The texts and passages taken by M. Ferraz - principally De Trinitate, De Genesi ad Litteram, Ep. ad Nebridium - are also those on which subsequent comment has been based. Cf. M.W. Bundy, op.cit., p. 157-165; Kate G. Moore, "Aurelius Augustine on Imagination" in The Journal of Psychology, t23, 1947, p.161-8; Lope Cilleruelo, "Teoría Augustiniana de la Imaginación" in Revista de Psicología General y Aplicada, Madrid, t4, p.451-74.

324 The article by Kate G. Moore, Journal of Psychology, 1947, t23, p.169-78, on Scotus Eriugena is disappointing. The usual accounts of Scotus's psychology overlook the role of the imagination, cf. for example, H.Bett, J.S.Eriugena, Cambridge, 1925, p.51-56, p.62. The only study of the subject that I know of is in A. Schneider, Die Erkenntnislehre des Johannes Eriugena, Berlin/Leipzig, 1921, 1923 (Schriften der Strassburger Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Heidelberg, neue folge 3,7) and this has been overlooked by most subsequent writers on Scotus.

he calls it in the letter to Nebridius (Epist.VII), Augustine distinguished three types of phantasia. The first consists of scenes or objects impressed on the senses: unlike the two further categories, these impressions belong to a previously experienced reality and may still exist independently of the mind that took note of them. Augustine gives as examples the face of his correspondent, Carthage, or some mutual friend<sup>325</sup>.

The second category of fantasia refers to objects or scenes for which we imagine the existence, in a particular form. To describe this second activity of the imagination, Augustine uses the term ingere. Thus it is that the word most commonly used to describe the activity of the poet in late Classical and Medieval texts is also used by Augustine to describe the mind creating visually within itself. There are other instances of the word used in this sense, in Augustine's work:

quae putamus ita se habuisse vel ita se habere,  
vel cum disserendi gratia quaedam ipsi ingimus nequaquam  
impedientia veritatem vel qualia figuramus, cum legitur  
historia et cum fabulosa vel audimus vel componimus vel  
susplicamur. ego enim mihi, ut libet atque ut occurrit  
animo, Aeneae faciem ingo....<sup>326</sup>

Augustine puts such subjects on a higher level than the baser myths of the underworld<sup>327</sup>, even though this function, which involves conjuring up things known to us only through description, is common to all kinds of image. The term ingere therefore characterizes a mental process which may be (though is not necessarily) of a mythological bent. The term can obviously be applied to the pagan, as well as to the Christian, metaphorical

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325 Ad Nebridium in Epistulae, ed. Goldbacher, 1895, p.15: "tuam faciem vel Carthaginem vel familiarem quondam nostrum". Cf. also De Trinitate, Lib.IX.

326 Ibid. In De Trinitate, PL 42, Lib.IX, cap VI, col. 966-967, ingere is again used for the creation or recreation of objects or scenes not previously seen: "Nam et cum recolo Carthaginis moenia quae vidi, et cum ingo Alexandriae quae non vidi(...)Ista vero aut praesentia sensu corporis tangimus, aut imagines absentium fixas in memoria recordamur, aut ex earum similitudine talia ingimus, qualia nos ipsi, si vellemus atque possemus, etiam opere moliremur...."

327 Ad Nebrid. ibid., "ut est tartareus Phlegethon et quinque antra gentis tenebrarum(...)et alia poetarum atque haereticorum mille portenta."



image. In both cases it is an ars fingendi. Augustine's view goes beyond this. For him fingere is in some degree an art of intellectual exploration, prone to error unless restrained by the use of reason. This can be realized from Augustine's description of the third category of fantasy. In it visual imagining combines with the reasoning process: imagination is potentially the stronger partner, but reason properly used will check the imagination's tendency to err<sup>328</sup>. In a very precise sense, then, the imagination is capable of creating with images originally received from the senses. By altering these images, by enlarging or reducing them in size, it can give birth - Augustine uses the term gignere - to other images that have never existed outside the human mind. He questions to what extent these powers are inherent in the mind itself: vim quamdam minuendi et augendi animae insitam<sup>329</sup>.

This passage from one of the letters to Nebridius is among a number of very perceptive Augustinian analyses of the relation of reality to fantasy. The latter may seem to be an entirely distinct "reality" within the mind. Though much has been made of the degree to which Augustine remained indebted to the teaching of Plato, in fact where this clearly stated link between reality and 'original' imaginings is concerned, he has apparently moved far from the Ancients<sup>330</sup>. Even the preoccupation of Aristotelian thought with the thought processes of the mind appears

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328 Ep., VII, ii, 4 p.16, "nam de rebus, quod ad tertium genus adinet imaginum, numeris maxime atque dimensionibus agitur, quod partim est in rerum natura, cum totius mundi figura invenitur et hanc inventionem in animo cogitantis imago sequitur, partim in disciplinis tamquam in figuris geometricis et rhythmicis musicis et infinita varietate numerorum. quae quamvis vera, sic ut ego autumo, comprehendantur(...) disciplinam disserendi carere hoc malo facile est, cum in divisionibus et conclusionibus quosdam quasi calculos imaginamur."

329 Ibid., VII, iii, 6, p.17, "licet igitur animae imaginanti ex his, quae illi sensus invexit, demendo, ut dictum est, et addendo ea gignere, quae nullo sensu attingit tota..."

330 For imagination in Plato, Bundy, op.cit., p.21-58.

mechanistic in comparison. The Aristotelian De Anima is undoubtedly drier and less inspiring in its account of fantasy than Augustine is. It is hardly surprising then that these notions from Augustine should have had so strong an appeal for Scotus Eriugena and for others after him. The theory's underlying influence on poetae fictores of the Middle Ages can be partly explained by the use of the term figere to characterize both poetical and other mental activity and by use of imagines fictae for those figments without which our minds are incapable of thinking.

But in a theological sense the theory of imagining developed by Augustine also proved to be an illustration of the working of the free will<sup>331</sup>. It was a reflection of man's power to form in his own mind images for which he was fully responsible. Only in the more superficial type of didacticism were fantasies either totally wilful or totally erroneous.

Augustine's view was influential in that he clearly stated in other parts of his work that our fantasies could be for either good or evil<sup>332</sup>; Prudentius's Psychomachia is an embodiment, but an optimistic and uncritical one, of this same notion<sup>333</sup>. Alain de Lille's Anticlaudianus is equally optimistic in the scale of virtues it allows its homo novus. The Roman de la Rose, on the other hand, offers a critique of the notion of free will and puts the implicit question: to what extent are we responsible for the figures which appear to us in our dreams? For Jean de Meun the struggle is within us and yet, arguably, out of our control. To understand the background of this layman's view of a theological

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<sup>331</sup> Bundy, p.165, "What Augustine accomplished was to give ~~the~~ emphasis to the freedom of the imagination to make its own syntheses of sense-experience, to connect this with the freedom of the will..."

<sup>332</sup> Ibid., ("Man is no victim of his impressions: a power of will enables him to be master of them, to transform into phantasies conducive to right conduct, or into phantasms - in the language of De Musica - leading to his damnation") misunderstands Augustine's distinction between phantasiae and phantasmata. In the De Musica Augustine distinguishes, on technical, not moral, grounds, between first hand sense evidence (phantasiae) and imaginings based on hearsay (phantasmata).

<sup>333</sup> For recent views on Psychomachia, cf. M-R. Jung, op.cit., p.25-34.

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question, it should be recalled that in the notions of Aristotelian physiology and psychology - particularly those in the De Anima and in the Parva Naturalia - were increasingly used as a corrective to the more general scientific ideas of the Platonic or of the Augustinian tradition.

Both as an "ars fingendi" and as an explanation of the working of the free will, Augustine's account of fantasy's role in the mind is worth close attention. In the Roman de la Rose, despite the long and ponderous passage on predestination<sup>334</sup>, the reader is faced with an extremely readable form of popularized theology. However, before this was possible, the original idea of the creation of images in the mind had to be considerably developed in the work of Scotus and other authors.

This doctrine of free will is only compatible with a mind that is freely able to decide its own actions in full knowledge of what it is doing. This capacity to choose freely and consciously is a form of creation of self, or within self. Saint Augustine's theory of the role of the fantasy is an illustration of the doctrine of free will, but it is also the basis of quite another set of ideas allowing man the attributes of a creator within his own imagination.

One of the few persons to have commented, briefly but perceptively, on these ideas as they appeared in Scotus Eriugena was Samuel Taylor Coleridge. He noted as a "sophistry" Scotus's idea that virtues and vices are both related to states of the will and that Vices - like bronze statues melted down and recast - could be transformed into Virtues<sup>335</sup>; he professed himself shocked by Scotus's idea of a universe based on the

334 II,17071-17844. Cf. M.F. Lyons in F.Whitehead Memorial Volume, 1973.

335 De Div.Nat., ed T. Gale, 1681 (Brit. Mus. Printed Books, C.126.1.II), p. 285 ms. notes on V, ch. 36 ("Vide quantum ornamenti laudisque perfectarum animarum virtutibus comparatur...Quae ratio docet non omnino vitia mala esse, sed illicita") - "the sophistry by which moral acts, i.e. vitia, which have their several forms or names from excess or defect, and their proper essence in the state of the will, are here...transformable into other things (in virtutes mutari possunt)...is to me highly interesting."

relation of the monas to a multiple creation, which he thought was not far from pantheism<sup>336</sup>; finally, on the fly leaf of his copy of the De Divisione Naturae, he noted:

For to will causatively with foreknowledge is to create, in respect of all finite products.<sup>337</sup>

These three ideas, firstly the coexistence of Good and Evil within the will, secondly the relation of a multiplicity of phenomena to a single reality that could be Nature or Soul or God, and thirdly the question of whether one is responsible for the fantasies or images that possess the mind - are coincidentally the ideas that are at the basis of medieval poetry of allegory and dream. The poetry deriving from it is a "para-theology" (sometimes serious, sometimes mocking) to a degree that has not been appreciated.

Augustine developed understanding of the role of the fantasy. John Scotus linked it to the concept of man as microcosm, and established a parallel between the way in which God creates through ideas and Man through fantasies.

At a number of points in the De Divisione Naturae he is at pains to emphasize that the parallel is no more than a parallel, that the powers to be perceived in both God and man are in no way shared powers, but powers that exist separately and by analogy. From a theological viewpoint this must be considered obvious enough: which makes Scotus's insistence all the more surprising. At the beginning of Bk II he comments that the view held by Gregory of Nyssa that pars Dei simus is to be understood metaphorically.<sup>338</sup> A passage in III, ch. 12, is Scotus's

336 De Div.Nat., op.cit., Scholia in Gregorium Theologum, p.ii, p.I. "How is it to be explained that so comprehensive and subtle an Intellect, as Scotus Eriugena, should not have seen that his 'Deus omnia et omnia Deus' was incompatible with moral responsibility...."

337 Ibid., ms.note on flyleaf at end of book.

338 PL 122; 523D, "non enim Deus genus est creaturae, nec creatura species Dei, sicut creatura non est genus Dei, neque Deus species creaturae: eadem ratio est in toto et partibus(...)quamvis altiori theoria juxta Gregorium Theologum pars Dei simus, qui humanam participamus naturam, quoniam in ipso vivimus, et movemur, et sumus, metaphoricque Deus dicatur et genus, et totum, et species, et pars."

account of the relation of monas to the reality deriving from it and is a denial that the intellect or reason can in any sense create with the numbers received from God.

Et ne me existimes velle suadere, ipsos numeros ab intellectu vel ratione multiplicari et creari, et non ab ipso omnium conditore, multiplicatore, ordinatore. Si enim ab ullo creato intellectu multiplicationem suam numeri primum paterentur, non eis divina et ineffabilis immutabilitas et harmonia rationum inesset. Proinde non ideo intellectus intellectuales numeros creare putandus est, quia in seipsos contemplatur. Ab uno autem Creatore omnium in intellectibus, sive humanis sive angelicis, fieri credendum, a quo etiam in monade aeternaliter substituti sunt(...)non enim intellectus naturalium artium factor est, sed ingentor, non tamen extra se, sed intra eas invenit.<sup>339</sup>

Scotus goes on to describe the descent of knowledge from above, through the intellect and reason, into the memory, where it is joined by fantasies translating knowledge received through the senses. This double intake, within the unity of the soul, allows him to speak of the monas creata in us, as distinct from the monas creatrix, source of life<sup>340</sup>. It is not clear from the text whether Scotus was explicitly rejecting Macrobian-type theories of man-as-God current in his time, or whether he was taking care to push away conclusions that he felt could follow from his own theories. Theories of a form of parallel creation can be implied either from Scotus's theory of cognition or from the more passive concept of theophania. An underlying idea of creation, in this theophany (the manifestation of God in the creation), has been assumed by at least one scholar<sup>341</sup>. Moreover Scotus was not content to call the relation of

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339 PL 122, c.65 8A,B.

340 c.659B, "Non enim de ipsa monade, quae est causa sola et creatrix omnium visibilium et invisibilium, nunc agitur, sed de illa creata monade, in qua omnes numeri causaliter, uniformiter, rationabiliter et semper subsistunt, et ex qua multiformiter erumpunt."

341 T. Gregory, "Note...teofanie...Eriugena" in Studi Med, an.IV,1963, p.76: "Nello schema eriuginiano della, 'processione' della natura(...)la teofania diviene un modulo efficace per fondare il rapporto creatore-creator all'interno di un processo dinamico che supera l'ipostatica giustapposizione immagine-modello, facendo del creato non una copia ma l'espres-

God to man that of model and image. Quoting Maximus the Confessor, he remarks that the beholder can take on the attributes of the thing that he beholds<sup>342</sup>; just as air takes on the characteristics of the light which penetrates it<sup>343</sup> and metal changes form in fire<sup>344</sup>, so too the creature can be transformed into God.

ut et deus, qui per se ipsum incomprehensibilis  
est, in creatura quodam modo comprehendatur, ipsa vero  
creatura ineffabili miraculo in deum vertatur.<sup>345</sup>

This supposes that man can be drawn into the Godhead. This view is only superficially comparable to the aggressive Deum te igitur scito esse... of the Somnium Scipionis.

Scotus draws parallels between the divine mind and the human mind, between the manifestations of the former and the creation of an independent reality within the latter. The work of the human imagination is given common ground with the manifestations of the divine in suis fantasiis, quas vocant theophanias (that is, in the phantasies called theophanies), through the shared Greek etymology of φανίω<sup>346</sup>, but both theophany-truth and fantasy-subjective-reality share more than an etymological link. They are brought together visually in the memory.

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(continued from previous page)

sione della realtà più autentica che in essa 'si crea' (...) abbiamo il riconoscimento del positivo valore della realtà molteplice che, proprio come 'manifestazione' di Dio, costituisce un momento ineliminabile così del descensus come del reditus."

342 Iohannis Scotti Eriugena Periphysion, ed, trans, I.P. Sheldon-Williams, tI, Dublin, 1968, "quodcumque intellectus comprehendere potuerit id ipsum fit. In quantum ergo animus virtutem comprehendit, in tantum ipse virtus fit." (p.54)

343 Ibid., p. 54, "Sicut enim aer a sole illuminatus nihil aliud videtur esse nisi lux..."

344 Ibid., p.56,58; "Nam cum ferrum conflatum in igne in liquorem solvitur..."

345 Ibid., p. 58.

346 Id, PL 122, V. ch.36, 962D, "phantasia ex verbo graeco, quod est φανίω cuius interpretatio est appareo, etymologiam ducit. Qua igitur ratione phantasia veritati opponeretur, cum et ipsa veritas per seipsam inconspicua in suis phantasiis, quas vocant theophanias, quaerentibus se occurrit et ineffabili modo manifestat?"

Scotus declares that fantasies which prove false<sup>347</sup> are no longer, strictly speaking, fantasies<sup>348</sup>, but umbrae proprie appellandae sunt<sup>349</sup>. Without "real" fantasies the memory has no existence. In a real sense they are the memory<sup>350</sup>. The two sources of images or material for the memory are the Intellect and the senses. The soul has knowledge of the origins of life through the Intellect, by means of cognitiones, quae a Graecis theophaniae, a Latinis divinae apparitiones solent appellari<sup>351</sup>. The soul knows the world around us from images transmitted through the senses<sup>352</sup>. When the power of reason receives these images directly from the senses, they are known as phantasiae; when they come to it from the senses, via the memory, they are termed phantasmata, that is phantasiae at second remove<sup>353</sup>. This was the distinction made by St Augustine in De Musica<sup>354</sup>. Scotus accompanies the distinction by a description of the soul (he expresses it literally as a form of ego) processing sensations received

- 347 Almost all the references in Scotus to phantasiae are objective, rather than pejorative. The few aspersions are cast by the Pupil, apparently playing the part of the Devil's Advocate (961D-962A), "Si igitur omnis phantasia falsa est, ac per hoc et falsitas: quis phantasiam veritati esse contrarium negarit?", allowing the Master to make a careful refutation of this view.
- 348 They are - and he singles out echoes, the reflection of an oar on water broken by ripples, the face in the mirror which is turned the opposite way to that of the owner facing the mirror - already a deformation of reality, before they become "fantasies" in the human mind (IV,10,784A).
- 349 Id, V,36,c,963A, also V,25,c.914A, "transitoriae imagines et resultationes" rather than "res substantiales vereque existentes".
- 350 Id, ed.Sh.-W,p.64, "Nam et noster intellectus prius quam veniat in cogitationem atque memoriam non irrationabiliter dicitur non esse. Est enim per se invisibilis et nulli praeter deum nobisque ipsis cognitus est; dum vere in cogitationes venerit et ex quibusdam phantasiis formam accipit, non inmerito dicitur fieri."
- 351 "sibi ipsi infigit, et per ipsas quandam de Deo notitiam percipit". In this sense the Intellect belongs to the divine as much as to us. (576D-577A)
- 352 III, ch.12, col.659B, "Ipsae autem phantasiae aut de natura memoriae, hoc est, de ea parte animae, quae formandis imaginibus est attributa, aut extrinsecus ex superficie corporum per sensus exteriores sumuntur."
- 353 Ibid, "Sed quae extrinsecus veniunt, phantasiae proprie appellantur, quae vero ex memoria, phantasmata!"
- 354 The importance which Scotus attaches to this (he acknowledges Augustine's authority here) makes misunderstanding of his position all the stranger. Cf. B.Stock, "The Philosophical Anthropology of Johannes Scotus Eriugena" in Studi Medievali, 1967, p.44-5.

through the senses. While other descriptions of the powers or faculties of the soul are expressed impersonally, Scotus, like Augustine, changes here to the first person singular to express the manner in which he orders these sensations.

Quod cogito...imagino...phantasia~~m~~ habeo, quam  
...accepi...imagines mille in memoria fingo majores  
vel minores...<sup>355</sup>

Scotus had refused the idea that the mind can create or re-create with the numbers of which it is composed<sup>356</sup>, but he accepted, following Augustine, that the mind can conjure up (imaginari), assimilate (accipere) or modify ( fingere majores vel minores) its mental pictures or phantasiae. These terms - imaginari, accipere, fingere - are three stages in the process by which the mind appropriates external reality and makes it something that is individually its own. In the De Divisione Naturae these terms are used for what has become a psychological process.

The fictor offers a representational reality distinct from external reality. Later, either literally or in a pejorative sense, the word came to imply that the creator, the fictor, created something other than "truth"<sup>357</sup>.

The term imaginari, applied to the creation of images in the mind, was neither potentially pejorative, as fingere, nor passive as the

355 III, ch.12, col.659C, "phantasia est imago, quam de certo corpore, seu colore, seu spatio a me viso per sensum videndi assumptam meae memoriae infligo((...)) Quae falsa non immerito dicitur imago, quoniam illud, quod cogite, aut penitus non est, aut si est, non ita est, sicut imaginor Ubi notandum, si sanctum sequimur Augustinum, quod phantasma non aliunde nisi ex phantasia nascitur. Est enim, ut ipse ait, imago imaginis, hoc est, imago ex alia imagine nascens. Verbi gratia, solis quotidie orientis phantasia habeo, quam de disciformi ipsius specie accepi, et iterum ad similitudinem ipsius phantasiae solares imagines mille in memoria fingo majores vel minores, juxta cogitationis meae arbitrium, ac per hoc falsae sunt, quia nil veri imitantur."

356 Supra, n.339.

357 Cf. mid-XIIc. Guillaume de Conches, Glosae super Platonem, ed. E. Jeuneau, Paris, 1965, p.316, 3 genera narrationum: Historia, fabula, argumentum. "Qui ergo tractant de historia dicuntur auctores, qui fabulam, vel argumentum poete, quia fictas narrationes tractant: poio enim interpretatur fingo, inde poesis id est figmentum."



descriptions of the memory as a storehouse, Imaginari - to conjure up or to conceive images - places the imagination in an area where it can be objectively valued. In the ninth century both Scotus and Remigius of Auxerre tended to see the imagination as a creative force, rather than as a moral danger. In his commentary on Donatus the grammarian, Remigius of Auxerre gave Greek Ποιῶν as facio, and looked on poetry in a positive sense.

dicimus enim "doctissimus poetarum Virgilius".  
 Poio (I. Ποιῶν) graece dicitur facio. Inde poeta <sup>358</sup>  
 dicitur factor carminis et opus illius poema vocatur.

But in his theories of imagination and memory Scotus is speaking of the human mind and not necessarily of that of the poet. In other parts of his work Remigius looked at poetry not as creation but as fiction<sup>359</sup>, as frivolity<sup>360</sup> or as that antiquarian 'theology' on which Isidore based his account of the poet<sup>361</sup>.

This being the case, there is apparently a gap between the poet seen as a purveyor of fiction and the well documented, but seemingly unrelated, account of creation in the mind of the thinking man. Scotus, in particular, made wide use of earlier philosophy as a source for his theory of imagination, but no use of the poets. Between Scotus's account of imagination's place in the mind and the general ninth century view of poetry there is apparently the same divide as between serious thought and a minor art form.

There is in fact a clearly stated link between Poetry and Imagination in Scotus's commentary on the Celestial Hierarchy. To understand this fully, more must be said of the view of sensual and intellectual imagining.

358 In Artem Donati, ed. Fox, Teubner, 1902, p.16.

359 In Mart.Cap. ed Lutz, I p.188, "Sub Plutonis Potestate Consistit. Hic enim fingunt esse poetae infernum."

360 Ibid., I p.66, "Poetarum enim est ludere et lascivire, philosophorum autem rerum veritatem subtili ratione investigare."

361 Ibid., p.207, "Linus poeta fuit Apollinis filius qui theologica carmina scripsit(...) Homerus vates Graecus qui primus heroica carmina scripsit."

developed in the De Divisione Naturae. Here the crucial distinction is that made by Scotus between monas creatrix and monas creata. (Scotus' rejected the idea that the latter can create through numbers like the monas creatrix.) In one passage Scotus describes all phantasies as composed of Numbers for this purpose he uses the same phrase as Augustine in De Musica - intellectuales numeri<sup>362</sup>. These numbers are a reflection of those others of which the universe is composed. The intellect (acies mentis) on the one hand, the senses on the other, receive these number-based impressions from outside the mind<sup>363</sup> in this dual process,

numeros intellectuales ex monade duplici modo fluere<sup>364</sup>  
(those numbers perceived by the intellect flow from  
the monas creatrix in a double stream)

The intellect processes them in an effort of understanding that resembles the work of the monas creatrix<sup>365</sup>, though in fact Scotus avoids the problem by describing the numbers as eternally created within the monas creatrix (in monade aeterni sunt), and thereafter, whether in fantasy or within the memory, these numbers, so to speak, re-create themselves. (veluti facti de seipsis facientes)<sup>363</sup>. This, too, is the sense in which God is source of life and yet omni-present<sup>366</sup>.

362 Preceding this passage, III, ch.11, 656B, "Omnia in mensura, et numero, et pondere fecit Deus." and 656C, "intellectuales numeri, secundum quos omnia, quae numerari possunt, numerantur, fiunt". For number in relation to fantasy, cf. 660B, "ipsas phantasias, in quibus numeri se interioribus numerantium oculis patefaciunt, non aliunde nisi ab ipsis intelligibilibus numeris provenire. Nam si numerositas formarum sensibilium, in quibus materia continetur, ut sensibus possit percipi; siquidem per se ipsam invisibilis est, atque in formis ab intellectualibus numeris/ducit."  
originem

363 660C, "Proinde et in monade aeterni sunt, et a seipsis in quacunque naturae parte apparuerunt facti, hoc est, sive in intellectu, sive in ratione absque ullis imaginationibus, sive in memoria ex speciebus rerum sensibilium formata phantasias quasdam, in quibus appareant, veluti facti de seipsis facientes."

364 660BC, "...et in memoria factos acie mentis multiplicari, dividi, compari, colligi, uniri."

365 Scotus described the intellect as working on material chosen by itself, and therefore as a craftsman, who "artem suam de seipso in seipso efficit" (577A). The intellect is also the image of the Trinity (571A). In this sense it rules the universe of the human mind: "universitati humanae naturae praesidet" (570C).

366 Col.661A, "Deus ipse at factor omnium est, et in omnibus fit."

Scotus was not loath to acknowledge his indebtedness in this area to Augustine<sup>367</sup>, but he seemed to regard the notion of the dual intake of fantasies as his own important discovery. For most of the De Divisione Naturae he limited the Discipulus to safe interpolations or careful resumés of the Master's points. On this occasion the Pupil bursts out in a flood of eulogy:

Jam in me ipsum redeo. Nam difficultate praedictorum,  
et adhuc incognita mihi rerum theoria stupefactus, sicut  
multis evenit, in extasi factus sum.<sup>368</sup>

The apparent explanation is that Scotus intended the passage to be taken note of, and - presumably - to be noted as his own work. The Pupil then summarizes the Master's points. He describes the intake of images through the senses and through the intellect and thence into the memory. He uses the term procreatio for the manner in which the reason orders the sensual images in a form of creation at second remove<sup>369</sup>. He emphasizes memory's role:

Conaris enim, ut opinor, suadere, omnes numeros ex monade veluti ex quodam fonte manantes, instar duorum fluminum ex una vena surgentium profluere, inque duos alveos segregatos, quorum unus per interiores poros naturae, hoc est, per intellectum, et rationem, alter vero per exteriores visibilium rerum species decurrit et per sensus, donec simul in memoriam confluant, in qua multipliciter formantur.<sup>370</sup>

The mind or the soul in Scotus appears then as a place of intense

367 659C, "Ubi notandum, si sanctum sequimur Augustinum, quod phantasma non aliunde nisi ex phantasia nascitur. Est enim, ut ipse ait, imago imaginis, hoc est, imago ex alia imagine nascens." This is from Augustine, De Musica, VI, xi. Scotus confirms this, De Div. Nat., III 36 732A, re. the numerorum ordines and the manner in which they are perceived by the soul: "De quibus omnibus quisquis plenius scire desiderat, legat magnum Augustinum in sexto de Musica et in libris Confessionum..."

368 II, ch.12, 661A.

369 661B, "deinde in naturam rationabilem secundam veluti procreationem, quoniam in ea suas virtutes manifestius propagant; deinde in memoria sensibusque phantasias, imo etiam theophanias accipientes - omne enim, quod ex natura rerum in memoria formatur, occasiones ex Deo habere non est dubitandum - quodam modo fieri non de alia materia, sed de semetipsis facti?"

370 661BC.

activity. He concludes a brief survey of the liberal arts - poetry is not mentioned - by placing them within the soul<sup>371</sup>. Man is called creaturarum omnium officina, since he reflects the angelic, the rational, and the irrational, as well as the vegetable world<sup>372</sup>. Man's mind or soul is therefore a place of knowledge of the world reflecting the other creatures and conditions of the universe. Man is the locus communis of God's creation. In the appendages of his being - hair, fingernails and bones - he reflects the physical world<sup>373</sup>, yet he possesses the reason denied to plant life. Through his intellect he can have knowledge of the divine, yet he also possesses resources of the mind denied to the angels, who have no "phantasies"<sup>374</sup>. There can be no doubt that Scotus views these "phantasies" as positive, even enriching, advantages for the mind. Falling back on the authority of Augustine (De Trin., IX, xi), he supposes that knowledge through fantasy is actually superior to direct knowledge of an object, and precisely because the former is held alive within the soul (in substantia vitali, sicuti est animus)<sup>375</sup>. Scotus adds, in a phrase that echoes Boethius' belief in the superiority of

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- 371 (ed. Sheldon-Williams, tI, p.112: "His rationibus cogor fateri non esse locum nisi in animo(...)necessario locus omnis, quia diffinitio est, non alibi nisi in animo erit."
- 372 III, ch.36, 733B, "Ac per hoc non immerito dicitur homo creaturarum omnium officina, quoniam in ipso universalis creatura continetur. Intelligit quidem ut angelus, ratiocinatur ut homo, sentit ut animal irrationale vivit ut germen, corpore animaque subsistit, nullius creaturae expers. Extra haec enim nullam creaturam invenis."
- 373 III, 37, 734A.
- 374 733C, "Non enim sensibilibus rerum notitiam per phantasias corporum accipiunt."
- 375 IV, vii, 766A, "Visibiles species melioris esse naturae notionibus earum dixerim, si sanctus Augustinus in ~~nome~~ de Trinitate undecimo capitulo talem sententiam non pronuntiaret: 'Cum per sensum', inquit, 'corporis discimus corpora, fit aliqua eorum similitudo in animo nostro quae phantasia in memoria est. Non enim omnino ipsa corpora in animo sunt, cum ea cogitamus, sed eorum similitudines. Melior est tamen imaginatio corporis in animo, quam illa species corporis, in quantum haec in meliore natura est, id est in substantia vitali, sicuti est animus. Non autem res intelligibiles notione sua, quae est in anima meliores esse audeo dicere.'" For the Augustine text (De Trin., IX, xi, 16), cf. PL 42, 969.

musical theorist over poet or musician, that reason shows the superiority of the understander to that which is understood<sup>376</sup>. It therefore follows, in the idea deriving from Augustine, that fantasies or concepts of objects are to be preferred to the outward appearances (visibiles species) of those same objects. In the same important chapter of Book IV (vii.col.766) Scotus says that knowledge such as this is parallel to divine knowledge, and is consequently older and superior to the objects it embraces<sup>377</sup>.

Man is thus a being reflecting within his mind and body the attributes of the creation. Through his intellect he can approach the divine. Through his senses and his reason he possesses a knowledge of the material world that is in itself "superior" to that world, in the sense in which first Augustine, then Eriugena, understood the term. This knowledge can only be fully possessed by the divine mind<sup>378</sup> but self-knowledge and knowledge of creation is in good part present in the mind of man<sup>379</sup>. This is because he has in himself attributes shared with all created things (omnem visibilem et invisibilem creaturam in solo homine esse conditam)<sup>380</sup>. In the view taken by Scotus (with textual references to Gregory of Nyssa's De Imagine), it is not simply a base of man finding passive correspondences between his own being and the material world. It is rather that God made Man consciously in His image<sup>381</sup>, so that Man finds in himself the active conditions of the creation that

376 Cf. 766B, "Quod enim intelligit, melius esse, quam quod intelligitur ratio edocet."

377 Ibid., "Nam si rerum omnium cognitio in divina sapientia subsistit, meliorem esse incomparabiliter eam rebus omnibus, quarum cognitio est, non temere pronuntiarim(...)et ipsa notitia dignitate naturae, in qua est, praecedit eam longe, cujus notitia est. Ac per hoc facilius dixerim, notitiam intelligibilium rerum antiquioram esse ipsis intelligibilibus rebus."

378 IV,7,768A, "Sola itaque divina mens notitiam humanae mentis peritia et disciplinalisque a se formatae et ad se, veram possidet in se ipsa."

379 Ibid., 770A, "Nemo enim scit quae sunt in homine, nisi spiritus hominis, qui in ipso est."

380 IV,8,773D, "...cum nulla substantia sit creata, quae in eo non intelligatur esse(...)vel cujus notitia in eo esse non possit."

381 IV,12,793C, "Recipiamus iterum divinam vocem: Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram..."

surrounds him<sup>382</sup>.

Dicunt enim, hominem μικροκόσμον, id est, parvum mundum esse ex iisdem, quibus universus elementis consistit.<sup>381</sup>

The truths that link man to the world round him can be perceived by the intellect, reason and senses in a number of ways. One of the most important of these lies in the harmonies and mathematical proportions of the world that the senses understand<sup>383</sup>.

Ideas on the harmonic relation of microcosm and macrocosm are thus linked to an Augustinian account of the power of the soul to re-create the images received through the senses. This power is based on fantasy as an element reflecting the macrocosm within the microcosm. The Augustinian - Eriugenian view emphasizes fantasy as visual creation, in much the same way as Al Farabi in the Arab original of the De Scientiis, but without the specific Greco-Arabic references to rhetoric and poetry as the form of that fantasy. The De Divisione Naturae does not attempt to establish this. It is the later, but less scientific, commentary on Dionysius's Celestial Hierarchy which links Poetry and Imagination.

The commentary Super Ierarchiam Caelestem was written some years after the De Divisione Naturae. In his commentary Scotus makes specific reference to the theories of mind he developed in the earlier work:

intellectus...ratio...sensus...ut...in libris ΠΕΡΙ ΟΥΓΕΩΝ discussimus<sup>384</sup>

He begins the commentary by describing the process of illumination as numerical enlargement out of God, or of return to the simplicity of God through the simplification of these numbers<sup>385</sup>. Knowledge of this

382 733CD, 735A, "Si ergo omnis species vitae in homine est..."

383 V, 36, 965C, "Ubi mirabile quiddam datur intelligi, et solo mentis contuitu vix comprehensibile, quod non soni diversi(...)qui quoddammodo sensibus percepti, in numero rerum esse videntur, harmonicam efficiunt suavitatem, sed proportiones sonorum et proportionalitates, quas, sibi invicem collatas, solius animi interior percipit et dijudicat sensus."

384 PL 122, 230AB. For the dating cf. M. Cappuyns, op.cit., p.189, p.220.

385 "Quemadmodum divinae illuminationis processio copiose nos multiplicat in infinitatem, iterum complicat et unificat et restituit in simplicem congregantis et deificantis nos Patris unitatem." (131B).

illuminationis processio is through those prophetic visions or divine apparitions, quas Graeci θεοφανείας appellant<sup>386</sup>. Two of the most important themes of the De divisione naturae - the universe as a numerical construction and knowledge of God through the visions of the intellect - are thus clearly re-stated. The important difference is the emphasis on symbol as knowledge. The essences of the other world are unknowable and can only be conceived as symbols<sup>387</sup>.

The first two chapters of the Super Ierarchiam Caelestem are an account of the nature of these symbols. The description of these symbols is the basis for a comparison of theological and poetic truths, framed in such a way that we appear to be dealing with the first great mediaeval ars poetica and, where France is concerned, possibly the most important until J. du Bellay wrote his Deffence almost seven hundred years later. The indirect influence of these pages must remain a matter of conjecture until further research can look into an area obscured by the notion that theology and profane literature in the Middle Ages evolved - with certain well defined exceptions such as verse hagiographies - in separate compartments of the human mind. It can be confidently asserted that this was not the case, where poésie savants was concerned. It has been possible to maintain this distinction, because mediaeval verse has often come to be considered synonymous with its epic or its lyric poetry. This tendency, which has predominated since the first half of the nineteenth century, clearly counterbalances the view generally held in the sixteenth century, both inside and outside France, that French poetry began with Guillaume de Lorris or Jean de Meun, found a disciple in Alain Chartier, and was continued by the poètes savants (rhétoriqueurs and classicisants) of the fifteenth and sixteenth century<sup>388</sup>. This early view was as historically

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386 132C.

387 Ibid., "apparitiones(...)non per se ipsas, verum per symbola, hoc est, per signa sensibilibus rebus similia."

388 A seldom mentioned list of the "names" of French poetry, including both Rhétoriqueurs and Renaissance poets, compiled without much apparent knowledge of the authors involved, can be found in Gian Maria Barbieri,

incomplete as the modern emphasis on epic or lyric verse. The links between poetry and theology and the rivalry between a mythology and a theology both with claims to man's "imagination", must represent one of the most important unwritten chapters in the history of Western literature. The account that follows here is a mere outline, and is designed to raise, in connection with the concepts of intellectio and divinatio, rather more questions than it will be able to offer solutions for.

For Scotus Eriugena, in his commentary on Dionysius's Celestial Hierarchy, the intellect has knowledge of the divine through forms seen within itself (sensibiles formas)<sup>389</sup>, and through identifiable symbols (sensibilia symbola)<sup>390</sup>. Scotus claims that these symbols are distinct from all images received through the senses and those other images seen in the visions of sleeping men, which he terms visiones sompnantium<sup>391</sup>. In this way he clearly marked out the difference between intellectual revelation, on the one hand, and visions seen in sleep on the other. The latter category corresponds to the description of divinatio in Macrobius. In the De Divisione Naturae Scotus describes the double flow of images meeting in the memory. In the Super Caelestem Hierarchiam it is made quite clear that only those from the intellect represent a higher truth,

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(continued from previous page) Dell'origine della poesia rimata, written in the mid-16th century, publ. Modena, 1790, p.84-5. This text is not mentioned in C. Dionisotti's interesting account of the scant attention paid French Poets and men of letters in 16th century Italy (Europe in Sixteenth Century Italian Literature, Oxford, Taylorian Lecture, 1971, cf. p. 17-18).

- 389 PL 122,142A, Dionysios "per sensibiles formas divinos descripsit intellectus divinatorum eloquiorum(...)ut(...)per symbola figurata in simplam caelestium virtutem excelsitudinem subveheret."
- 390 Ibid, 142B, "Ipsa igitur Sancta Trinitas nostra θεωσις est, hoc est deificatio; deificat enim nostram naturam, reducendo eam per sensibilia symbola in altitudinem angelicae naturae, et deificans eam in his, qui ultra omnia in ipsum Deum transeunt."
- 391 143B, "Longe enim a se discrepant, et penitus dissimilia sunt, quae sensu corporeo extrinsecus, vel quae phantastice interius apparent, ut sunt visiones sive sompnantium, seu mentis excessum quem Graeci εγκρασις vocant, patientium in spiritu et ea quae puro et intimo mentis contuitu, nulla phantasia seu sensibili specie interposita, per se ipsa intelliguntur."



and that the way to that truth is through them<sup>392</sup>. Dionysius described the relation between immanent forms and transcendental truths as an ascent towards the latter through the former (et ad qualem oportet ascendere per formas veritatem)<sup>393</sup> Scotus glossed this with the striking phrase

per figmenta in non figmentum.<sup>393</sup>

The ascent to truth forces the mind to leave behind the apparatus of figmenta, so that the intellect can soar unimpeded towards that truth:

ultra omnes propheticas visiones et formationes  
mentis contuitu supervolitare<sup>394</sup>

This cannot be regarded as a simple rejection of all imagery.

However the fact is expressed, it is apparent that the way to the spiritual lies through the sensual and that there is no sure initial guide to help us separate fables from truths (ficta<sup>que</sup> ex veris segregare)<sup>395</sup>. Both kinds of truth are initially caught up in the images of the mind. Scotus admits a link between "sensual" images and intellectual truth. The intellect, which lacks "formal" intuitions, uses "artificial" or "contrived" images in order to raise the mind above the level of these same images<sup>396</sup>. Once this fantasy and intellect relationship has been accepted, it would be hard to avoid the obvious parallel between the use of images in poetry and the search for intellectual truth through the images of the Scriptures.

392 144B, "oportet dicere, quales divinas formationes sanctorum eloquiorum sacrae descriptiones, hoc est, sancta formarum assimilatio ad caelestes ordines significantos figurant atque conformant, utrum absolutae sint et a se invicem naturalibus differentiis discretas, ut est hominis effigies, seu leonis, seu aquilae, an diversis naturalium rerum imaginibus una quaedam mixta et composita imaginatio sit, ut rota in rota, mixta quoque quatuor animalia, sibi invicem in singulis connexa". For further descriptions of these images, "boun irrationabilium(...)ferocium leonum" and the dangers they represent for the soul, cf. 144D 145AB.

393 144B, "Sequitur: et ad qualem oportet ascendere per formas veritatem, velut expressius transferri potest: per figmenta in non figmentum.

394 Ibid.

395 146A.

396 146AB, "Theologia(...)factitiis, hoc est, fictis sanctis imaginationibus, ad significantos divinos intellectus, qui omni figura et forma scripta et sensibili carent, usa est, tali namque arte fictarum imaginum animum nostrum relevans..."

Scotus makes no attempt to escape it. He sees Poetry, which he describes as the ars poetica, as exercising the mind, morally or didactically, through "contrived" myths or allegorical metaphors (fictas fabulas allegoricasque similitudines)<sup>397</sup> Theology (divina theologia) has something in common with poetry (veluti quaedam poetria), and is also based on "contrived" sets of images (fictis imaginationibus)<sup>397</sup>. Scotus's own theories of the human mind, set out in the De Divisione Naturae, and his task of commenting Dionysius led him to admit the common ground between sensual experience and intellectual knowledge contained in imaginative phantasies.

But if he allows poetry droit de cité, at least at a menial level, he is at pains to underline just how menial this is. He points out that Dionysios castigates those who carnaliter ac turpiter confuse these images with the truths they represent<sup>398</sup>. Even the telling of the names of the hierarchies (omne hoc angelicorum nominum theatrum) belongs to dramatic fable and to exaggeration, rather than to "essential" truth<sup>399</sup>. Scotus tries to describe the relation of the former to the latter, and introduces the exponents of that truth as theologos perfectes<sup>400</sup>. The qualification "perfect" appears to echo Isidore's reference to the early pagan poets

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397 146B, "Quemadmodum ars poetica per fictas fabulas allegoricasque similitudines moralem doctrinam seu physicam componit ad humanorum animorum exercitationem, hoc enim proprium est heroicorum poetarum, qui virorum fortium facta et mores figurate laudant: ita theologica veluti quaedam poetria sanctam Scripturam fictis imaginationibus..."

398 147A, "Dionysios(...) Postquam reprehendit eos, qui divina symbola divinasque imaginationes, quibus Sancta Scriptura propter nos confecta est, carnaliter ac turpiter accipiunt, arbitantes ipsa symbola ipsasque imaginationes neque imaginationes esse nec symbola, sed ipsas supercaelestes virtutes per seipsas, in suis propriis naturalibusque formis quae a conditore omnium factae sunt, in spiritibus apparuisse prophetis..." and 147B, "descriptio dicitur formaru formarum imaginatio simillima his, quorum descriptio est."

399 147C, "omne hoc angelicorum nominum theatrum durum et inconueniens est sanctis intellectibus, et plus theatra et monstruosa figmenta, quam supercaelestium essentiarum significativa iudicanda sunt."

400 148A.

as theologi<sup>401</sup>, and in Scotus's account of profane poetry there are other echoes of Isidore<sup>402</sup>. By perfect theologians it may be assumed that he is referring to Christian, or orthodox, theologians as distinct from the theologi-poetae of literary history or legend. These theologi perfecti are the orthodox theologi, to whom Scotus refers thereafter.

The commentary up to this point has been largely concerned with defining symbols and figments of the imagination in intellectual and spiritual, Scriptural and mythological terms. ~~The sections~~ that cover this lengthy definition of terms are more concerned with explaining the necessity of the profane imagination to the intellect than with examining the role of the intellect. The remaining ~~passages of chapters~~ I and II allow the theologi perfecti to define the nature of the images of higher truth. Just as mythology came to be a sort of alternative theology, theologia can be seen as a poetry of the intellect. The servants of this theology, the theologi, create images of the divine, in much the same way that reason created from phantasies in Augustinian psychology<sup>403</sup>. These images are seen as celestial, godly and simple. These are the attributes of the essences in the transcendental world, and it is these that the imagination should try to achieve (supereminentium essentiarum imagines fieri oportet)<sup>404</sup>.

This is Scotus's call for an essentially abstract poetry to transcend that of images of worldly creatures or of material shapes. Images based on air and fire are already closer to the transcendental than the material, and hence to knowledge of transcendental things, "caelestes(...)deiformes (...)simplicitates simplicium"<sup>404</sup>. These essences or virtues are lodged

401 *Supra*, n.99, n.100.

402 Compare *supra* n. 397, "Heroicorum poetarum..." and Isid. *Etym*, I, xxxix.

403 148A<sub>B</sub>, "Formare quidem prius, in spiritibus suis, in quibus primordialiter veluti visibiles angelicarum virtutum species administratione divini nutus figurantur; posterius vero manifestare, divinis videlicet scriptis ad nostrum animum erudiendum mundare."

404 148C.

in the heavens<sup>405</sup>. Scotus adds that no greater praise can be given than by a comparison of opposites - Nulla enim major laus est ea, quae ex contrariorum comparatione assumitur<sup>406</sup>. - The poetry of contrasts that he calls for is one of the significant and the apparently insignificant, not of the virtuous and the unvirtuous, nor of the beautiful and the grotesque. The unvirtuous and the grotesque run contrary to the theologian's vision of cosmic beauty, where both are out of place.<sup>407</sup> In visions Scotus describes the image of man as both beautiful and natural:

In sanctis visionibus sanctorum prophetarum  
lego humanam effigiem pulchram, absolutam, omnimodisque  
naturalem in significatione ipsius.<sup>408</sup>

The grotesque - a feathered man for example - corresponds to nothing seen, or known in the universe<sup>409</sup>. It is untrue to human nature<sup>410</sup>. Scotus consistently emphasizing that which is natural, adds that for this reason the poets did not dare to have Daedalus sprouting feathers, but had him try them on in the form of wings<sup>411</sup>. He concludes that the unnatural is contrary to virtue, to God, and to nature<sup>412</sup>. Yet he also ridicules the notion that caelestes substantias are gilded, shining creatures, finely dressed, gleaming with a pure, fiery light

405 "Si hoc theologi fecissent, id est, si ex sublimibus hujus mundi naturis sublimes imaginarent intellectus, futurum esset profecto, nostrum animum sublimius in cognitionem rerum intelligibilium exaltari" so that "patefacta sint supercaelestium virtutum habitacula." (148CD, 149D)

406 150B.

407 This is also the view taken by Alanus in the Anticlaudian.

408 155D/156A.

409 156A, "Dum vero in eisdem visionibus pennati hominis ac volitantis imaginem invenie(...)in natura rerum visibilium pennatum hominem et volitantem nec vidi, nec legi, nec audivi."

410 Ibid., "Est enim monstruosum, et omnino ab humana natura alienum."

411 156AB, "Nam et poetica figmenta in falsissima fabula de volatu Daedali non ausa sunt fingere plumas et alas de corpore ipsius hominis naturaliter crevisse; incredibile enim esset et deforme."

412 156B, "adducor ad negandum, tali imagine omnino divinas virtutes ipsumque Deum circumscribi et deformiter formari; omne siquidem, quod contra naturam est, turpe atque deforme est."

that does not burn<sup>413</sup>. The figures of the Scriptures are not to be understood for themselves, but for what they represent<sup>414</sup>. These divine essences, or virtues, are without linear form<sup>415</sup>. They should be pursued, not with violence, but with what he calls passionate calm<sup>416</sup>. Scotus goes on to describe divine love as a desire of that immaterial life, which lies beyond reason or intellect<sup>417</sup>.

This is a Christian view of Poetry, well removed from the Latin grammarian's tradition and in any case derived from the Greek thought of late Antiquity. The ideals described in the early books of the Super Caelestem Hierarchiam are sufficiently different from those of classical poetry to need no stressing, yet different enough to justify a brief summary.

Scotus describes a theological poetry which can only be realized by a mind attempting to rise above itself, and above the very concepts with which it started out on its journey of self knowledge. Against the formal perfections described by Horace in his letter to the Pisones, the perfection envisaged by Scotus Eriugena can be understood as an ultimate moral insight. The term "moral", however, is open to misunderstanding, particularly if these insights are thought to belong to the domain of ethics to a more marked degree than to the physical sciences. Admittedly, the theological poetry spoken for by Scotus was "dynamic" and directed towards an invisible world, and it started with a set of preordained moral values. But its insights are those of the physical world described in moral terms, because this poetry develops

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413 157C, "caelestes substantias aureas habere formas(...)fingunt..."

414 158B, "significativas esse, non autem substantivas".

415 Cf. 159BC.

416 161B, "immitis quies". For Christ symbolized as a panther, cf. 168AB.

417 162BC, "Quid divinus amor? Est laudabilis concupiscentia ipsius immaterialitatis, quae superat omnem rationem et intellectum."

in an individual soul which reflects that world. Linked by the microcosm-macrocosm analogy, both the upper reaches of the soul (the intellect) and of the air (the ether) enjoy a cosmic purity far from evil and struggle. This view of the mind offers a moral coordinate for each physical feature and takes it away from the struggles of the will. But this is ultimately a limiting view of the potentials of the mind and amounts, appearances notwithstanding, to a form of implicit *laissez-aller*, which Jean de Meun seems to have exploited to satirical ends.

The challenge of Scotus's <sup>(veluti quaedam poetria)</sup> divina theologia is breathtaking in theory. In practice it was limited by allegories and symbols, which his commentary demanded remain essentially simple. As for the physical world seen in moral terms, it needed a poet of Dante's genius to bring it to life.

The commentary on the Celestial Hierarchy is not an art of poetry in the banal sense of the word. It does not deal with metre, with the classification of figures of speech. It is unlike the mediaeval artes versificandi. It has something in common with Du Bellay's polemical Deffence. However its emphasis on poetry's effects on the human mind has less in common with either Du Bellay or the Latins than it has with an Aristotelian concern with the aims and the scope of poetry. Scotus's views take for granted that his reader knows something of profane poetry, and understands the background to his allusions to Poetry's fictas fabulas allegoricasque similitudines. His commentary therefore concentrates on one restricted area (the relation between symbol and truth) of a vast subject. Where that area is concerned, Scotus does not set out to analyse, but to advocate.

His commentary, therefore, is advocacy of a particular approach to poetry. It sees the traditional ars poetica, as an adjunct or "subject" or reflection of the lower physical world. The link between it and

traditional poetry - as Scotus' teaching on the two types of imagination - the sensual and the intellectual - makes abundantly clear is partly based on common ground in the phantasy or image. In this sense his divina poetria stems from the Hellenic tradition of concern with concept and purpose, rather than from the grammatical and classifying tradition of the Latins, still found in the early eighth century in Bede's De Arte Metrica, and later continued in the pedestrian Artes of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The Scotus commentary is thought to have been written about 866<sup>418</sup>.

The Super Caelestem Hierarchiam lays the foundations of an art of poetry based, initially, on an understanding of phantasy and imagination. It leads towards a poetry of psychological abstractions, in which the mind, considered as a place of activity and of becoming, is bound to a moral and physical vision of the world. It must be added that the enthusiasm with which Scotus defined fantasy's role in the De Divisione Naturae has made way in the commentary on Dionysios for a more circumspect, but also less balanced, view. As long as the fantasies were seen as part of a theory of cognition explaining the different functions of the mind, they retained a particular importance. In the De Divisione Naturae the three faculties - sensus, ratio and intellectus - were important parts of a whole, to which the world was related. The Super Caelestem Hierarchiam shifts the balance towards the intellect and towards the transcendental world that the intellect is instrumental in understanding. In the same way that intellect transcends the senses, the Dionysian commentary is clearly the upward extension of the account of the mind given in the Periphyseon.

In the Commentary the phantasiae, seen as products of the

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418 M. Cappuyns, Jean Scot Erigène, p. 220.

imagination, are the "grounded" elements in a mind that seeks only one part of itself. In the De Divisione Naturae they preserve the past through the memory, and relate the mind to an outside world that it could tend to deny. In this precise sense, rather than as dangerous figments of pagan belief, they appear as the substance of the mind's operations justifying Aristotle's contention that the mind cannot think without its fantasies. Hence in the De Divisione Naturae they hold the mind on a course.

They are the real substance of a mediaeval poetic theory, for which the dream framework and the allegorical device are merely accessories. The dream, as I shall attempt to show, allows the mind greater freedom for its fantasies, just as this freedom in turn allows allegorical representations the movement that there would otherwise be no clear reason to allow them. Both the dream and the allegory can be considered essential, for reasons that will become clear, to the divinatio, rather than to the intellectio, theory.

The first great mediaeval author to have given the role of the fantasy serious consideration, firstly as an integral part of his account of the mind, and secondly as an essential aspect of a Christian ars poetica, was Scotus Eriugena. The way in which his influence was felt after his death is therefore important.

It has been suggested that this influence made its most immediate impression through his teaching and through his commentaries on authors like Martianus Capella, rather than through his great original work, the De Divisione Naturae<sup>419</sup>. On the other hand Scotus's later influence on certain 12th and 13th century authors has been studied in detail<sup>420</sup>.

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419 Cf. G. Mathon, "L'Enseignement Palatin de Jean Scot Erigène" in Actes du IVE Congrès International de Philosophie Médiévale, 1969, Montreal/Paris, p.57ff.

420 M.Th.d'Alveray, "Le Cosmos Symbolique du XIIe siècle" in AHDLMA, t28, 1954, p.31-81; G.C. Capelle, Amaury de Bèze. Etude sur son Panthéisme Formel, Biblio. Thomiste, tXVI, 1932. G. Théry, David de Dinant, Biblio.Thomiste, tVI, 1925, p.50, p.94 takes the view that <sup>D</sup>de Dinant's pantheism was from other sources.



If it was of little account in the tenth and eleventh centuries, this influence reappeared in a climate of increasing doctrinal suspicion from the first part of the twelfth century until its condemnation in the early thirteenth century<sup>421</sup>, when few manuscripts of the De Divisione escaped the order to destroy copies of it. Mlle. d'Alverny has studied part of this influence in Honorius Augustodunensis's debt to Scotus in the Clavis Physicae<sup>422</sup>. Other of Honorius's texts are interesting in the extent to which they pursue Eriugenian lines of thought.

Like Eriugena he examines the correspondences between microcosm and macrocosm and the reflection of divine activity in the human intellect. In the Scala Coeli Honorius describes the twelve degrees of spiritual vision and accompanies his description of the twelfth degree, in which the spirit sees only within itself (ut in prophetis quondam factum est), with a metaphor of the soul as facsimile of the physical world<sup>423</sup>. He describes the geography of the mind, which the mind follows in its imaginings<sup>424</sup> as the same inward landscape as in the visions of prophets or videntes<sup>425</sup>. The guiding authority here is partly Scotus and partly

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421 M.Th.d'Alverny, AHDLMA, t28, p.32.

422 Ibid. The Clavis Physicae, all ms. of which are in Germany or Austria, except BNlat.6734, reproduces closely passages of the De Divisione. Cf. also Actes IV.Con.Int.Phil.Méd. p.66-7, for an interesting view of the historical importance of Scotus's theory of the liberal arts in De.Div.N. For an Eriugenian influence on Lull, cf. F. Yates, Art of Memory, p.178, n12. Also Journ.Warburg Courtauld, 1960, t23.

423 PL, t172, 1231A-1234A: "Duodecimus, cum Spiritus penitus a sensibus corporeis avertitur, et solis similitudinibus corporalium spirituali visione fruitur, ut in prophetis, quondam factum est. Haec visio spiritualis bonis et reprobis communis est..." (1232D). Cf. also 1233CD, "Disc. Utrum videt haec anima, intra se vel extra se? Mag. Sicut omnia corporalia intra corpus videntur ita cuncta spiritualia intra Spiritum cernuntur; et sicut hic corporeus mundus coelum et terram et universa corporalia intra se continet, ita quoque anima quemdam amplum mundum, coelum spirituale, et terram intra se continet..."

424 Ibid, "...in quibus cuncta spiritualia, corporibus similia videt; et ideo cum solem, lunam, et sidera coeli, urbes, regiones, insulas maris, vel similia caetera his contemplatur, non extra sed intra se imaginando vagatur."

425 1233D, "Itaque Joannes vel alii prophetae non extra se(=...)viderunt: unde et Videntes dicti sunt..."

the Augustine of De Genesi ad Litteram where Augustine described three distinct types of vision - corporal, spiritual and intellectual - which Honorius followed on his path to heaven<sup>426</sup>. But the description of the loci spiritus seems to derive not from Augustine, but from the De Divisione Naturae. Moreover Scotus's theory of the arts as topological features of the soul can be found echoed elsewhere in Honorius's work in the form of the various civitates and villae of the treatise, De Animae Exsilio et Patria, alias, de Artibus<sup>427</sup>. In this geography of the soul the spiritus or reason<sup>428</sup> links the body and the intellect by means of the fantasies stemming from the imagination<sup>429</sup>. In this Honorius again follows Scotus Eriugena, as in the Clavis Phisice he describes the intellect as able to rise above itself in search of God:

supra se ipsum omnemque creaturam potest ascendere,  
ut circa incognitum deum qui longe ab omni creatura  
remotus est suos substantiales motus valeat perficere.<sup>430</sup>

This search for the forms which are beyond the intellect runs parallel to another relationship: that of the written word and of the unwritten thoughts in the mind, which that word seeks to express. The latter notion is the relation of approximate truth (umbra) to the real truth, which lies within the mind, just as in the first case it is the relation of the approximate truths of reason and intellect to the divine truths which transcends them<sup>431</sup>.

- 426 F.X.Newman, "Somnium: Mediaeval theories of Dreaming and the Form of Vision in Poetry", Ph.D., Princeton, 1963, unpublished. On Augustine, p.110, and on Honorius's debt to him, p. 216. (Have consulted this in microfilm.)
- 427 PL 172,1243D, for the first city, that of Grammar, and for the villae, huic subditae which are the libri poetarum. Poetry was not mentioned among the arts in the De Div.Nat., but the view has been taken that this "geography" still derives from Eriugena, cf. R.Darwin Cruse in Actes IV Congrès Int.Phil.Méd., p.534.
- 428 Cf.M-D.Chenu, "Spiritus...", Revue des Sciences Philos.et Théol., tXLI,1957.
- 429 For phantasia among the visiones of the Scala Coeli Major, PL 172, 1231B-1232C.
- 430 BN ms.lat.6734, f<sup>o</sup> 41v<sup>o</sup>.
- 431 PL 172,1178C, "vita et veritas est Deus(...)creatura est umbra vitae et veritatis".

Dictamen a me compositum, et adhuc non scriptum,  
quodammodo in me vivit, quod quasi exemplar inspicio,  
dum illud in tabulis scribo: et illud, quod foris  
scriptum apparet, est umbra illius non scripti, quod  
intus latet.<sup>432</sup>

This interestingly Platonic view of the written word as a shadow of the truth it reproduces is only apparently contrary to John of Salisbury's view that the arts and the laws having their existence within the mind only survive through that word<sup>433</sup>. Because for John of Salisbury, as for Honorius, the written word is a fundamental reality, through which "transcendental" truths may be known. The Anticlaudianus of Alain de Lille, which is to be the subject of the rest of Part II of this study, relates immanent and transcendental truths in this way and, both in the verse prologue and in the closing lines of the poem, proclaims the importance of the written word, as a way to truth.

Studies of the Anticlaudianus's sources have been almost exclusively studies of the literary sources, not of the theoretical background to it<sup>434</sup>. It is not surprising therefore if the Super Caelestem Hierarchiam has been overlooked in this respect. Emphasis on literary merit may well have resulted in the greater interest that the historians of ideas have taken in the De Planctu Naturae, rather than in the less obscure, but possibly less interesting, Anticlaudianus. It has been suggested that the De Planctu describes man's fall from grace before his restoration to life and virtue described by Alain in the later Anticlaudianus<sup>435</sup>. Something must be said in general about the De Planctu Naturae here, though its view of literary creation seems to be based on metaphysics, rather than on the workings of the mind. Admittedly one commentator saw in the De Planctu

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432 1178C - 1179A.

433 Policraticus, ed. Webb, I, p.12, p.13, p.16.

434 G. Raynaud de Lage, Alain de Lille, 1951, p.103-9, p.162, and Anticlaudianus, ed. Bossuat, 1955, p. 32-3.

435 R. Hamilton Green, "Alan of Lille's De Planctu Naturae" in Speculum, t31, 1956, p.655.

the continuing shift of emphasis from cosmology to psychology, already apparent in another twelfth century work, Bernardus Silvestris's De mundi universitate<sup>436</sup>, and suggested that the sexual perversion with which the De Planctu is apparently concerned signifies a loss of philosophical vision and understanding<sup>437</sup>. But the forces at work in the poem are general cosmic forces, not specific faculties. I would add that Martianus Capella described man in the same terms of grammar and gender, as Alanus, and said that the catamite existed as an individual exception to the general laws of grammar or creation<sup>438</sup>. This is a probable (and so far unexplored) source for Alanus's treatment of the subject. Of the other literary sources the De Mundi Universitate is usually considered to have provided Alanus with the figures of Natura and Genius<sup>439</sup>. These important specific influences, and the more general influence of the other great satura, the De Consolatione Philosophiae, seem to account for the varied, and yet somehow intuitive, scheme of the De Planctu. It does not conform to any expected pattern, and attempts to make it fit into one have never, so far, been entirely convincing<sup>440</sup>.

To appreciate Poetry's privileged position in the Anticlaudianus

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- 436 W. Wetherbee, "The Function of Poetry in the De Planctu Naturae" in Traditio, tXXV, 1969, p.101.
- 437 Ibid, p.101. W. Wetherbee insists that perversion is the "literal subject" of the poem or the argument from which other lessons can be deduced.
- 438 De Nuptiis, ed. Dick, Lib.IV, Dialectics, p.161,6, contains the general proposition: "homo est animal grammaticum". V. the section De Genere, p.158: "Ut si homines dividas in masculos et feminas, item masculos in pueros, adulescentes, et senes, item pueros in infantes et loquentes; item puerum si velis dividere in Catamitum aut alium quempiam certae personae puerum, non est genus, quod iam ad individuum pervenit."
- 439 W. Wetherbee, art.cit., p. 100, p. 112.
- 440 W. Wetherbee, ibid; R. Hamilton Green, art.cit., p. 651-4. This is not to deny the real merits of these two studies, but since both are concerned, I take it, with the history of ideas, they do not explain the appearance of this strange text, the effect of which might be compared to the publication of a Fleurs du Mal, in France, in the second half of the seventeenth century.

something has to be said beforehand of the lowly position it occupies, to all appearances, in the De Planctu, where poets and figmenta are linked, without reservations, to the corruption of human nature<sup>441</sup>.

This seems to have been Alain's early view. In an early didactic work, the Quoniam Homines... (c.1160), Alanus also echoed Boethius's attack on the Muses with a condemnation of the liberal arts - which he called scenicas et teatrales scientias - and which he held responsible for introducing various heresies into Theology<sup>442</sup>.

In the Anticlaudianus on the other hand the figmenta of the poets are given the same form of acceptance that Scotus gave them in his Super Caelestem Hierarchiam. The different arts also work positively to build the allegorical chariot, on which Prudence will be carried upwards. The arts in general then participate fully at the lower levels of sense experience, where they are admitted on much the same footing that Scotus summed up in the phrase

per figmenta in non figmentum<sup>443</sup>

441 This corruption is polyvalent, taking in grammar, morals, the design of natural generation and, by implication, Art. PL t210, 451AB: the author asks Nature why she is so severe with human failings when the gods have the same weaknesses: "cum et eodem exorbitationis pede, deos claudicasse legamus?(...)Bacchus etiam et Apollo, paternae cohaeredes lasciviae, non divinae virtutis imperio, sed superstitionis Veneris praestigio, verterunt in feminas, pueros mentiendo." This leads Nature to reply with an attack on the myths and deceits of poetry, and to equate, quite clearly the ars poetica with figmenta: "an umbratilibus poetarum figmentis quae artis poeticae depinxit industria, fidem adhibere conaris? Nonne ea quae in puerilibus cunis poeticae disciplinae discutiuntur, altiori distinctionis lima, senior philosophiae tractatus eliminat? An ignoras, quomodo poetae sine omni palliationis remedio, auditoribus nudam falsitatem prostituunt, ut quadam mellita dulcedine velut incantatas audientium aures inebrient?" These works are credited, at most, with "quadam eleganti fictura", but their author remains, "poeta...degener" (451CD). Cf. also, c.449C, "et sub delirantis Orphei lyra..."

442 ed. P. Glorieux, "La Somme Quoniam Homines..." AHLMA, t28, 1953, p.119.

443 Cf. supra, n.393.

In this respect the author's ideas can be seen to have evolved from his earlier work - Quoniam Homines (c.1160) and De Planctu Naturae (possibly before 1168) - to the acceptance expressed in the Anticlaudianus (c.1182-84). These views allow poetry importance as a means of expression, but the lesson of real importance for this study does not concern praise for poetry as a medium of expression, but the manner in which poetry is used to express the intellect's progress towards revelation of the divinity.

While there is no doubt as to the subsequent influence of the Anticlaudianus<sup>444</sup>, the non-literary and philosophical influences on Alain de Lille have hardly been discussed. Mlle. d'Alverny has considered the matter ~~from another viewpoint.~~<sup>445</sup> She considers that the Eriugenic influence on Alanus derived as much from his translations of Dionysius, as from his commentary. As for the De Divisione, Alanus may only have known this in an abridged form<sup>446</sup>. She notes however with reference not to the commentary but to the translation of the Celestial Hierarchies:

L'en peut se demander d'autre part si l'influence de Jean Scot Eriugène ne s'est pas exercée sur la poésie sacrée.<sup>447</sup>

The evidence for the influence of the In Caelestem Hierarchiam on the Anticlaudian can be taken here under two headings. The first concerns the theme of the Homo novus, the second the extent to which

444 Cf. Anticlaudianus, ed. R. Bossuat, Paris, 1955, p.43, "Peu d'oeuvres ont été si souvent copiées du XIIIe au XVe siècle..." Bossuat notes that in addition to the commentaries by Raoul de Longchamp and Guillaume d'Auxerre, many ms. have gloses that amount almost to separate commentaries. There was a French version of the poem, XIII c., by a certain Ellebaut, ed. A.J. Creighton, Washington, 1944; also another Latin poem in imitation, Ludus super Anticlaudianum, which gave rise to a further French version.

445 Alain de Lille: Textes Inédits, Paris, 1965, in Et. de Philos. Méd., 52.

446 Ibid., p.36, p.61, p.86, p.97.

447 Ibid., p.86.

Alanus's poem bear out the aims outlined in ~~chaps.~~ I and II of Scotus's commentary.

There would be no point in describing the poem in detail. In outline it concerns the journey made by Prudence to heaven to ask for help in the making of a "new man". This man will be a paragon of all the virtues, and in the battle with the vices, on which the poem comes to an end, the homo novus triumphs. He is the apparent<sup>448</sup> subject of the poem, and his identity has been a matter of some speculations. Suggestions as to his identity have seen in him persons as far apart as Christ, a Second Redeemer, the juvens of the provençal poets and le modèle de "l'honnête homme" du XIIIe siècle<sup>449</sup>. None of these interpretations can be considered completely convincing. A probable source is to be found in the work of Scotus Eriugena. In Chap. III of Super Ierarchiam Caelestam, Scotus describes the rejection of the fantasies upon which man began his ascent to truth so that, finally all men

postremo renovati et reducti ex imperfectione et vetustate exterioris hominis in novitatem et perfectionem interioris qui ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei reformatur, veluti in consummationem perfectionis suae, in habitum ipsum incommutabilem scientie divinorum misteriorum ascendunt.<sup>450</sup>

The notion of moral renewal is the culminating point of a journey towards God within the soul.

Considering this passage as possible source of the concept of the homo novus must raise two objections. In the first place, Scotus's commentary deals with the renewal of an existing being, while the Anticlaudianus supposes a man untouched by the sins of this world. Such

448 'Apparent', in that he brings together a number of disparate elements - the council/in Nature's palace, the ascensus, the battle between virtues and vices - from different sources which otherwise would have no clear link to hold them together.

449 For a summary of the different theories, M-R.Jung, op.cit., p.76-89.

450 My italics. For the edition of this passage, cf. H. Dondaine, AHDLMA, 1950-1, p.245-302. P.259, "dissemblance(..)est in falsis cogitationibus phantasiisque(...)ex quibus omnibus purgari oportet eos qui ad divinam similitudinem et unitatem incipiunt ascendere..."

an objection is superficial: Alanus's poem is conceived in precisely contrary terms to the In Rufinum of Claudianus, and where the latter had conceived a man subject to all the vices, the Anticlaudianus takes a diametrically opposed and optimistic view; there would seem to be no alternative, but to conceive this ideal man divorced from the taints of the world.

The second objection is more serious. The passage, quoted above, is part of a passage ~~from~~ Chapter III which ~~was~~ missing at the time when Floss edited the Dionysius commentaries for the Patrologiae Latinae. These ~~pages~~ have since been rediscovered in a single manuscript, Douai 202. To ask whether a passage from that manuscript can have been known to Alain de Lille raises an interesting train of thought, but is no proof of Alain de Lille's indebtedness to Scotus. Moreover Alain could have developed this indirectly from a source deriving from Eriugena, or from a passage in Saint Paul or in one of the Church Fathers. The source might equally well be found elsewhere in Eriugena. There is a similar passage in the De Divisione Naturae, which refers to the soul (humana natura), rather than to the man (homo novus). The soul is in any case the real subject of the poem.

Si igitur humana natura non solum ad dignitatem  
angelicam in Christo renovata pervenit, verum etiam  
ultra omnem creaturam in Deum assumpta est...<sup>451</sup> (*my italics*)

The evidence for the influence of the Super Caelestem Hierarchiam in this area remains inconclusive, and a clear case can only be made out on the strength of the textual parallels between Scotus and the Anticlaudianus, which I shall now discuss.

The prose prologus to the poem must be marred for many by its

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451 PL122,575C, the passage continues: "et quod factum est in capite, in membris futurum esse impium est negare: quid mirum, si humani intellectus nil aliud sint, nisi ineffabiles incessabilesque motus? In his dice, qui digni sunt circa Deum, in quo vivunt, et moventur, et sunt. Sunt quidem per rationes quibus existunt; moventur per rationes virtutum, quibus bene existere possunt..."



display of false humility masking a very real arrogance. This was to become a feature of the introductions to many French fifteenth century poems<sup>452</sup>. Another feature of this prototype rhétoriqueur preface<sup>453</sup> is the metaphorical insistence on verse as an artisan's product<sup>454</sup>. Before we condemn this talk of craftsmanship and this disguised arrogance as merely tedious, it would be as well to consider possible reasons for it. In the first instance it is not impossible that, excluded from the seven major arts, Poetry found a form of moral support in the new importance given to the minor or ancillary arts: the so-called artes mechanice<sup>455</sup>. Hugh of St. Victor in the first part of the twelfth century divided philosophy into four divisions, and gave as the last scientiam mechanicam<sup>456</sup>. I have already noted the passage in his Didascalicon, where on the basis of an unspoken ut pictura, poesis Hugh of Saint Victor related poetry and painting among the appendicia artium<sup>457</sup>. Since another twelfth century scholar, Honorius Augustodunensis, described painting and sculpture as mechanical arts<sup>458</sup>, we are possibly faced here with a chain equation between scientia mechanica in one context and the appendicia artium in another, so that Poetry finally takes on attributes common to both it and Painting or Sculpture, that is to say, the attributes

452 Ed. Bossuat, p.55-6, "nullos reprehensionis morsus sustineat, quod modernorum redolet ruditatem, qui et ingenii preferunt florem et diligentie efferunt dignitatem, cum pigmea humilitas excessui superposita giganteo, altitudine gigantem preveniat(...)Hoc igitur opus fastidire non audeant qui adhuc nutricum vagientes in cunis, inferioris discipline lactantur uberibus."

453 M-R.Jung, op.cit., p.71, "Alain de Lille est et sera un rhétoriqueur, dans tout ce que ce terme implique d'adresse et de démesure, de savoir faire et de manque de goût." The rapprochement is interesting, but is only really possible, because the term rhétoriqueur is itself so loosely defined. The term has become synonymous with bad XVth century verse and does an injustice to Alain's talents and intellect.

454 Bossuat, p.55, "In quo lector non latratu correctionis insaniens, verum lima correctionis emendans, circumcidat superfluum et compleat diminutum quatenus illinatum revertatur ad limam, impolitum reducatur ad fabricam(...)in adulterino opere imperitie vestigium manus relinquat opificis..."

455 Cf.F.Alessio, Studi Medievali, 1965 (3a series, tVI),p.71-161 for a detailed view.

456 For mechanica, loco et dignitate novissima,cf.Epitome Dindimi in Traditio, 1955,p.100.

457 Supra, n.132.

458 PL 172,1245B, "Nona civitas est mechanica(...)manibus fiunt."

of an artisan's creation of image. This rapprochement is not as gratuitous as it might seem, since in the prose introduction to the Anticlaudianus Alain self-deprecatingly refers to his own work as adulterinum opus<sup>459</sup>. This may be an echo of a passage in the Didascalicon, where

Scientia vero, quia opera humana prosequitur, congrue mechanica, id est, adulterina vocatur(...)opus humanum, quod natura non est sed imitatur naturam, mechanicum, id est, adulterinum, nominatur.<sup>460</sup>

There are too many suppositions in this theory for one to be at all comfortable with it, but this was an important aspect of man's view of Poetry in the Middle Ages, and the whole subject should be worth further research. The aggressive modesty of the author should also be studied further. The substance of a poem like the Anticlaudianus is the poet's mind, and the poet is therefore involved in it as man, poet and theologian, to an extent to which he would not be in the description of a detached reality, but it is more probable that the phenomenon has respected classical precedents<sup>461</sup>.

In the prose introduction Alanus supposes a moral or imaginative universe divided into sense (relating the sensus litteralis of his work), into reason (embracing moral understanding) and into intellect (capable of perceiving the allegorical or transcendental meaning)<sup>462</sup>. Accounts of the different levels of understanding usually consider that in medieval literature, these were limited to two: the apparent and the real senses<sup>463</sup>, omitting the others. In fact the De Divisione naturae with its broad

459 Supra, n.454.

460 ed. Buttner, op. cit. 16, I, viii.

461 cf. E.R. Curtius, European Lit. & Lat. M. Ages, 1952, p.82-85.

462 ed. Bossuat, p.56, "In hoc etenim opere litteralis sensus suavitas puerilem demulcet/auditum, moralis instructio proficientem imbuet sensum, acutior allegorie subtilitas proficientem acuet intellectum."

463 For parole overte and parole coverte, cf. H.R. Jauss, "La Transformation de la forme allégorique..." in L'Humanisme Médiéval, univ. de Strasbourg Actes et Colloques, n° 3, ed. A. Fourrier, Paris, 1964, p.117-19.

view of the working of the human mind in relation to nature did not lend itself to these distinctions. The tradition of the division between real and apparent meanings, between the deeper sense and the literal reading, was a static concept explained by the exegetical tradition<sup>464</sup>. Bernardus Silvestris also related allegorical sense to the effort of understanding undertaken by the intellect<sup>465</sup>. His allegory is the integumentum or involucrum, which encloses or envelops the deeper sense. He described this as the method used by Plato et alii philosophi, as well as by Virgil in the Aeneid, but relates it only superficially to the structure of the mind<sup>466</sup>. This particular tradition, whether Christian or pagan, was exegetical and static and Rabelais' substantifique moelle seems a distant, but mocking, echo of this well-grounded, but limiting tradition.

The Eriugenan lesson, which Alain de Lille adopts in his Anticlaudianus, is dynamic<sup>467</sup>. It expresses the mind in the process of evolving, of attempting to know itself<sup>468</sup> by recognizing the various elements - phantasies, rational and irrational impulses, and desires to outstrip both imagination and reason - of which it is composed.

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- 464 Cf. M-R.Jung, op.cit., passim, but p.12, for the original orthodox distinction between Biblical and profane metaphor, which the authors, eclectics like Bernardus, or theologians like Alanus, usually disregarded ("L'histoire biblique est une vérité, tandis que les fables des poètes sont fausses. Pour les théologiens, le sens allégorique vient en second lieu; pour les poètes il constitue l'intention première").
- 465 Commentum super sex libros Eneides, ed.Riedel, Greifswald, 1924, p.3: "Integumentum vero est genus demonstrationis sub fabulosa narratione veritatis involvens intellectum unde et involucrum dicitur."
- 466 Ibid., p.50, "Vera veritatem enim per integumenta occultat. Intelligentia namque divina praecipuo docet, divinis vero integumenta praecipue congruunt, quia ut ait Martianus cuniculis verberum divina sunt tegenda. Unde Plato et alii philosophi cum de anima vel alio theologico aliquid dicunt ad integumentum se convertunt: ut Maro in hoc opere."
- 467 The term allégorie dynamique is used, in another sense, by M-R.Jung, p.19,310, to describe the changing sense of the allegorical narratives.
- 468 Cf. P. Courcelle, "Nesce Teipsum..." in Settimane di Studio(...)sull' Alto Medioevo, Spoleto, 1962, tIX, p.266f. E. Bertola, "Il secretismo cristiano nel XII sec." in Rivista di filosofia neoscolastica, tLI, 1959, p.252-64.

This is Scotus's contribution to the development of Western poetry, a profound Augustinian rationalization of the seemingly less ordered insights of Prudence, Boethius and Martianus Capella. It represents what I shall term the "vertical" drive, intent on taking the mind away from the pull of the faculties, an extremely articulate view of spiritual or poetic inspiration, based, not on mythological obscurities, but on a critical analysis of the powers of the mind. It should also be accepted that in the medieval period the term inspiratio generally appears in philosophical texts of Greek or Arabic, rather than Latin, provenance.<sup>469</sup>

The accepted view of poetic inspiration, at least where Renaissance studies were concerned, used to be that this was a characteristic of Renaissance, as distinct from Medieval, verse. Some scholars and critics have even regarded it as a sort of brevet of Renaissance letters. This view was fortunately modified in a recent study which allowed for references to inspiration in fifteenth century poetry, that is, in the generally forgettable verse of the Rhétoriqueurs<sup>470</sup>. Seen in this fuller perspective, inspiration appeared to develop from a rather perfunctory use of mythological material in the fifteenth century to a fuller appreciation of its meaning through a greater knowledge of classical verse in the poetry of the Pléiade. While this at least does justice to the Pléiade and is an advance on earlier views of a Michelet vintage, it still neglects the serious work done on inspiration in mediaeval literature, in particular that of F.X. Newman.

His study, Somnium, follows the theory of inspiration from

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469 This will become clear in the remainder of Part II, and in Parts III and IV. Cf. for example in the Chalcidius commentary on the Timaeus, ed. Waszink, p.260, the rejection of what Chalcidius understood to be Aristotle's view of the nature of dreaming, in favour of Plato's account: "quarum quidem beneficia satis clara sunt ex prodigiis et divinatione vel nocturna somniorum vel diurna(...)et prophetarum inspiratione veridica."

470 F.Joukovsky-Micha, Poesie et Mythologie au XVIe siècle. Quelques Mythes de l'Inspiration chez les poètes de la Renaissance, Paris, 1969.

classical poetry and thought through the Alexandrian authors - in this respect Macrobius is particularly influential - to the work of Dante and Chaucer. This chronological, but selective, development saw the dream emerge as the most common mode of inspirational expression in mediaeval literature. The conclusions of Newman's detailed study, which make the classic references to "inspiration" in literary manuals appear deservedly superficial, cannot be summarized here. It must be emphasized though that Newman's study neglects the psychological background to inspiration and in any case was undertaken with a view to explaining the background to literary inspiration in Dante and Chaucer. Inevitably, therefore, it does not take into account the emergence of an inspirational genre, accompanied by a wealth of physiological detail, in XIIIth century French poetry. It cannot, for instance, be stated firmly enough that the Macrobian categories of somnium, visio, oraculum, insomnium and visum<sup>471</sup> were much less important to French poetry than the Aristotelian teaching on the physical sciences. The inspirational poetry of the early 15th century can better be understood by reference to Avicenna, Averroes and Algazel, or to the Parva Naturalia, the De Anima, and the pseudo-Aristotelian Problemata, that is, to Greco-Arabic sources, than to Greco-Latin poetry.

Alain de Lille's poem is different from other poems in the inspirational tradition. It belongs to the intellectio branch of that tradition, as I have termed it, not to the divinatio branch, which was initially defined by the Macrobian dream categories, then developed by Aristotle's account of the soul. The former, intellectio, relates to the conscious mind, while divinatio deals with the mind in semi-wakefulness or in sleep.

Even though the Anticlaudianus contains within itself a vision sequence, in which Prudence sees heaven in the mirror given her by Faith,

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471 In Somn.Scip. I, iii. Newman, Somnium, p.60-80.

the poem taken as a whole shows the mind consciously trying to transcend itself. The effort undertaken by Prudence, with the aid of the Arts, Reason, Theology and Faith, as well as the struggle with the Vices, does not depend on a dream device within which the mind merely records impulses, ascent and struggle. Except for the vision of heaven, the mind seeks its own fulfilment, in full knowledge of what it is doing. In this respect the poem is true to the Super Cœlestem Hierarchiam. There is no question of the explicit *laissez-aller* or the passiveness to be found in almost all poetic narrative within the dream convention<sup>472</sup>. The mind conceives its journey of self-knowledge and its ascent to heaven in stages, which are not imposed on it by a power beyond its control. The sequence of events in the Anticlaudianus are coherent, in the sense that they follow naturally from an effort of will that knows its own aims. Only in the restricted vision sequence, when he sees heaven, does the poet's mind fade into a state of subjection to a higher vision. On the other hand, the lover in the Roman de la Rose is the passive subject of forces at work in his own mind. In the Divine Comedy the poet follows along behind others, seemingly confused, recording what he sees, rather than influencing the sequence of events. This is the major difference between the Anticlaudianus and almost all other poems in the inspirational genre, whether profane or sacred. The inevitability of much of it may be one of the reasons why it has been harshly judged<sup>473</sup>. Yet it is as a faithful reflection of the thought of Dionysios and Scotus Eriugena, that in France it clearly distinguishes its own approach to inspiration from what I have termed the rival divinatio: tradition and the Aristotelian

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<sup>472</sup> Newman, p.254ff.

<sup>473</sup> C.S. Lewis, The Allegory of Love, 1958, p.98.

influence that subsequently carried all before it.

Scotus's commentary was not the only theoretical account of the ascensus available in the mid-twelfth century. Another was given by Isaac de Stella in his Epistola de Anima<sup>474</sup>. Here the ascensional bias did not exclude "horizontal" descriptions of the working of the mind. In the Epistola de Anima Isaac began with the mind as memoria, ratio, ingenium. These are shown as faculties digesting the material of the past and interpreting the present. This view does not conflict with the following description of the mind in ascent, because the group ingenium-ratio-memoria is given as a reflection of the mind of God in which all time is present<sup>475</sup>. The author goes directly from it to the rational scheme: sensus corporeus, imaginatio, ratio, intellectus, intelligentia, through which man can approach divine knowledge with an effort consciously undertaken by the intellect. He describes reason chewing the matter cropped by the teeth of understanding

ratio vero(...)quasi in ore cordis semper aut  
masticat quod dentes ingenii carpunt; aut ruminat...

Isaac shows the mind (anima) rising through itself, mounting

sensu et affectu quasi internis quibusdam pedibus,  
quae spiritu vivit, spiritu ambulet, usque ad cherubim  
et seraphim, id est plenitudinem scientiae, et rogam  
charitatis.<sup>476</sup>

He compares each psychological stage in the ascent of the soul to an

474 PL.194, 1875-96. Cf. W.Meuse, Erkenntnislehre von I. von Stella, Freiburg, 1934; J. Oroz Reta, "L'Augustinisme de l'Épître du père Isaac de Stella" in Actes IVe Congrès Int.Phil.M.Age, p.1125-8; M.Th.d'Alverny, A.de Lille, p. 277-8.

475 PL.194, c1879BC, "Sensus vero de rationabilitate exurgens, propter, tempus praesens, praeteritum et futurum variatur, aut varie nominatur, ratio, memoria, ingenium. Ingenium vero ea vis animae dicitur, sive intentio, qua se extendit et excitat ad incognitorum inventionem. Ingenium ergo exquirat incognita, ratio judicat inventa, memoria recondit judicata et offert adhuc dijudicanda. Ingenium igitur quae adinvenit ad rationem adducit, memoria quod abscondit reducit, ratio vero tanquam praesentibus superfertur, et quasi in ore cordis semper aut masticat quod dentes ingenii carpunt; aut ruminat quod venter memoriae repraesentat. <sup>(...)</sup> haec tamen omnia in anima, non aliud sunt quam anima." (1180A)

476 1880B.

element in the physical world. So we have the couplings sensus-terra, imaginatio-aqua, ratio-aer, intellectus-firmamentum/ether and intelligentia-empyreum/ignis<sup>477</sup>. These pairings allow Isaac to show man as the image of the universe, superior to any other form of life, simply because he contains all properties within himself and akin to God through the intelligence reflected in him:

omnibus similis(...)angelis per intellectum, Deo  
per intelligentium.<sup>478</sup>

Just as the universe is subject to storms in the lower layers closest to earth, so the spiritual atmosphere, from the senses and the imagination to the reason (earth, water and air), that is everything below the ether and the empyrean fire, is subject to the turbatio occasioned by desire (concupiscentia or voluptas)<sup>479</sup>. The Epistola de Anima does not fade, like the rambling Liber de spiritu et anima, attributed to Alcher de Clairvaux, in a miasma of rhetoric. Following the lesson of the double flow of images from the De divisione naturae, the author returns to emphasizing those elements through which we know both earth and heaven: phantasiae and theophaniae.

Itaque sicut in imaginationem de subtus phantasiae surgunt, ita in intelligentiam desuper theophaniae descendunt(...)Intelligentia ergo ea vis animae est, quae immediate supponitur Deo, sicut phantasticum animae supponitur corpori; vel sicut sensualitas carnis supponitur infimo animae.<sup>480</sup>

At the upper and lower ends of the scale there are faculties able to receive images from sensual and divine sources. The horizontal drive from ingenium to ratio to memoria has rather little said about it. The upward drive from sensus corporeus to intelligentia, striving towards a revelation

477 1879D-1880A and 1885A, "Rationem vero superat intellectus(...)sicut aerem firmamentum...intelligentia pare incorporeum.!"

478 1886AB, "Habens itaque in se anima vires(...)scientia tua ex me."

479 1886C, "Illuminatis igitur tantummodo oculis concupiscentiae..."

480 1888B, On God as source of light, ~~see~~, "ita manens in Deu lux quae exit ab eo, mentem irradiat, ut primum ipsam consuscationem lucis sine qua nihil videtur, videat, et in ipsa caetera videat ..."(1888A)



through, and in, the intelligentia, is in the author's words, the poet's golden chain or prophet's ladder:

Ipsi quoque supremum corpus, id est ignis, quadam  
similitudine jungitur, et igni aer, aeri aqua, aquae  
terra, Hac igitur quasi aurea catena poetae, vel ima  
dependent a summis, vel erecta scala prophetae  
ascenditur ad summa de imis.<sup>481</sup>

The image of the prophet's ladder calls for no special comment, as it is a commonplace of mystical aspiration. The image of the aurea catena poetae is less expected. As the golden chain seems to bind the elements, it reappears as

la bele chaene doree  
qui les .iiii. elemans enlace<sup>482</sup>

in the Roman de la Rose. It does not appear in these terms in any other known text but the Epistola de Anima<sup>483</sup>.

This then is the background in thought to the vertical emphasis<sup>484</sup>. It starts with Augustine's distinction between the corporalis, the spiritualis and the intellectualis. Both this and the parallel between microcosm and macrocosm are related by Scotus Eriugena in the De Divisione Naturae. The three stages of ascent are expanded into four or five in Alain de Lille and in Isaac de Stella. Alain gives them imaginative expression in his Anticlaudianus.

This vertical emphasis - or the poet's golden chain to use Isaac de Stella's phrase - defines the opening books of the poem. Alanus says that his work is not for the man who confines his power to reason to the evidence of his senses<sup>485</sup>. He describes this evidence as sensualitatis

481 PL 194,1885C.

482 ed. Lecoy, 16756-7. Cf. III, p.165-6, note on possible sources.

483 M.F.Lyons, article in F.Whitehead Memorial volume, 1973, has shown this.

484 Another possible source, but without the precise relation of ascent in the mind and ascent in space, is Avicbron's Fons Vitae, translated in the XIIth century (ed. Baumker, p.204-5). For a similar Neo-Platonic text, the so-called Theologia Aristotelica, used as a theoretical source by the Arab poets, but not known to have been translated in the West until 1519, cf. P.Kraus, "Plotin chez les Arabes" in Bulletin de l'Institut Egyptien, t23, 1940-1. This Theologia was based on Plotinus's Enneades, in the same way that Alanus certainly made use of Dionysius by courtesy of Eriugena.

485 Ed. Bossuat, p.56: "Ab huius igitur operis arceantur ingressu qui,

imaginem, imaginationis sompna, and men who are attracted by such things as figmentorum artifices (creators of fantasies). These fantasies are apposed to the truths of reason. Then, like Scotus in the commentary on the Celestial Hierarchy, he compares our reason trapped in this type of image to our intellect's insight into higher forms (ad intuitum supercelestium formarum)<sup>486</sup>, which characterizes his own work. The prose introduction closes on a reference to the bond of understanding between the initiated, that is between poet and his reader<sup>487</sup>. There are further modest disclaimers and parallels with an ars fabrilis<sup>488</sup>.

The prose introduction to the Anticlaudianus is largely speaking true to the thought of Scotus. This is not the case with the nine hexameters which follow it in the verse introduction. The allusions are to mythology, and the author compares himself to the poets of antiquity; but with rather more enthusiasm than could be suggested by the use of poetic metaphors merely as launching gear.

Fente tuo sic, Phebe, tuum perfunde poetam.<sup>489</sup>

He seems to see himself as renewing their work<sup>490</sup>. This mingling of orthodox and pagan elements was, of course, common. It is of interest here, because the author was a theologian (the Anticlaudianus is thought to postdate much of his theological writing), and because these two introductions, the orthodox in prose and the profane in verse, define

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(continued from previous page)

solam sensualitatis insequentes imaginem, rationis non appetunt veritatem(...)infruniti homines in hoc opus sensus proprios non impingant, qui ultra metas sensuum rationis non excedant curriculum, qui iuxta imaginationis sompna aut recordantur visa, aut figmentorum artifices commentantur incognita..."

- 486 Ibid, "sed hii qui sue rationis materiale in turpibus imaginibus non permittunt quiescere, sed ad intuitum supercelestium formarum audent attellere, mei operis ingrediantur angustias..."
- 487 Ibid., "pensantes quid sit dignum in aures publicas promulgari vel silentio penitus sepeliri" and ref. to the need to keep the text to the initiated, "ne derogetur secretis, si eorum magestas divulgetur indignis".
- 488 Ibid., "Non enim tumor superbio(...)invitavit ad operam."
- 489 p.57.
- 490 Ibid, "Scribendi nevitata vetus iuvenescere carta/Gaudet, et antiquas cupiens exire latebras/Bidet, et in tenui lascivit harundine musa."

tendencies within the Anticlaudianus.

The narrative of the Anticlaudianus which follows these two introductions is concerned with the making of a new man. At a gathering in the palace of Nature it is decided to send Prudence to heaven to ask for help in this. The palace is built on a rock which rises from the middle of a woodland<sup>491</sup>. Nature's palace is finer than those of man<sup>492</sup>. Alanus makes particular mention of the paintings to be seen there. These are forms of truth more compelling than those of Legic<sup>493</sup>. The comparison allows him to set Aristotle's work, a sort of pictorial logic, against the greater truths depicted by Plato<sup>494</sup>. This in turn leads him to speak of paintings as both metaphors and as dreams of truth<sup>495</sup>. These parallels between verbal and pictorial metaphors, and between Aristotle and Plato in purely imaginative terms, must be partly accounted for by different passages of Chalcidius's commentary on the Timaeus, where Aristotle's explanation of dreams (from the Parva Naturalia) is dismissed as incomplete, and Plato's shown to relate to eternal truths<sup>496</sup>. In the context in

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491 Anticl., 107-151, "In medio nemoris evadit in aera montis..."

492 On "artifex Natura" (Bernardus Silvestris, De mundi universitate, ed. Wrebel, p.32), cf. T. Silverstein, Med. Philology, t46, 1948, p.104-7; H. de St. V., Didascalicon, ed. Buttmer, I, ix and I, x, on the "tria opera, id est opus Dei, opus naturae, opus artificis imitantis naturam"; M-D. Chenu, L'Homme et la Nature, AHDLMA, t27, 1952, p.39-66. On the relation of poetry to Nature, John of Salisbury, Metalogicon, I, 17, ed. Webb, p.42-3.

493 Anticl. 122, "O nova picture miracula(...) Sic logice vires artis subtiliter huius/Argumenta premunt logiceque sophismata vincunt."

494 Ibid., 131-34, "Illic arma parat logico logiceque palestram/Pingit Aristoteles, sed eo divinius ipsa/Sompniat archana rerum celique profunda/Mente Plato, sensumque Dei perquirere temptat."

495 152-3, "Has species rerumque tropos et sompnia veri/Regia picta tenet..."

496 For another comparison of poetic and imaginative images, Boethius, In Lib. de Interpretatione (PL.64, 406D), "Nam sicut pictores solent designare lineatim corpus atque substernere in corpore ubi coloribus cujuslibet expriment vultum, sic sensus atque imaginatio naturaliter in animae perceptione substernitur." In Chalcidius, comm. Timaeus, ed. Waszink, Warburg, 1960, p.198, "mentium delinatrix poetica(...) Quid pictores quoque et fictores, nonne rapiunt animos ad suavitatem ab industria..." For Aristotle and Plato, ibid., p.260-1, De Imaginibus, "Aristoteles, ut(...) tollat omnem divinationem negetque praenosci futura, unum genus somniorum admittit atque approbat(...) Sed Plato magna diligentia summaque cura discussis penitus latibulis quaestionis vidit atque assecutus est non unam somniorum esse genituram..." and supposes, p.262, that the matter, "quod perfunctorie posuit in Timaeo" is fully developed elsewhere.

which Alanus uses it here, Aristotle's purely physiological account of the nature of dream images corresponds to the lower images of the mind; Plato's to the higher images. This no doubt reflects a knowledge of Aristotelian teaching, limited to allusions and short quotations taken from De Anima or the Parva Naturalis. These allowed the poet to characterize Aristotle's work as confined to Logic and to the lower reaches of the imagination<sup>497</sup>. As for the "new man", he might be described as the "new mind"<sup>498</sup>, an outline, filled in by the images and concepts of this world, leading to the higher images of the other world. Apart from references to the anvil (incus mortalis<sup>499</sup>), the poem generally describes this art as the painter's, that is relating most closely to the pictures seen within the imagination. Alain sums up Prudence's description:

Hiis igitur verbis mentem Prudencia pingit<sup>500</sup>,

taking still further the parallel between images in words and paint.

As in the mythographers the fabulae and figmenta are painted in;

depinguntur or depicti sunt. They are umbracula rerum, in Alanus's

phrase<sup>501</sup>. The wall of the cave in Book I of the De Nuptiis Mercurii et

Philologiae or the mirror of the polished sphere of the same book find

an echo in the regia picta and the heavenly mirror of the Anticlaudianus<sup>502</sup>.

497 Chalc. In Tim. p.259f, and for the explanation of dreams from the Parva Nat. passim. For a similar passage, De Anima, cf. Boethius, In Librum de Interpretatione, PL 64,406C, "haec in libris de Anima(...)dicens(...) 'Est autem imaginatio diversa ab affirmatione et negatione, complexio namque: ~~intellectum~~ est veritas vel falsitas, primi vero intellectus quid discrepabunt, ut non sint imaginationes? Certe ~~haec~~ haec sunt imaginationes, sed sine imaginationibus non sunt."

498 ed. Bossuat, I,243-5, "Sit speculum nobis, ut nos speculemur in illo".

499 I, 372, "Incudem nostram corpus mortale fatetur".

500 I, 324.

501 I, 124.

502 De Nuptiis, ed. Dick, p.10,32; Anticl. I,153 and VI,119-132.

Guillaume de Lerris introduced the same images in the paintings of the wall of the garden and in Narcissus' pool, the first containing its own image, the second capable of reflecting any manner and number of objects.

In the first four books of the Anticlaudianus Reason chooses Prudence to undertake the mission, the Arts are summoned to build her a chariot and she begins her journey to heaven to ask for help in the creation of the new mind. In Book V, Prudence meets Theology and leaves behind Reason who had been her guide to that point. In this respect the scheme of the poem is more nuance than that of the Scotus commentary.

In the Commentary the figments with which the mind began its ascent are poetic and prophetic, and hence compose quite literally a theologica veluti quaedam poëtria<sup>503</sup>. But all of these are put aside, once the mind can pass beyond them (ultra omnes propheticas visiones... supervolitare<sup>504</sup>) and find its true theology - divina theologia<sup>505</sup>...

In the Anticlaudianus this is re-arranged. In the first stage the preparations for the journey are undertaken with the help of the senses, certain virtues and the Arts. In the second, on the journey from earth to the threshold of heaven, Reason acts as guide. There for the third stage, Prudence is met by Theology. For the final stage of the journey she is guided by Faith<sup>506</sup>. Alanus's own classification of the ascending powers of the soul varied from sensus-ratio-intelligentiã to sensualitas-ratio-intellectus-intellectuã<sup>507</sup>. The second grouping

503 PL 122,146B.

504 Ibid, 144C.

505. 160A.

506 P. Dronke, "Boethius, Alanus and Dante", Rem.Forschungen, Bd.78,1966, p.120, n.4, has a different view on this.

507 Cf.M-D.Chenu, "Spiritus - Le vocabulaire de l'âme au XIIe siècle", Revue des Sciences Philos.et Théol., t.XLI, 1957, p.221. The second grouping is from Regulae, PL 210,674. Alanus's teacher, Thierry de Chartres (In Boethium de S.Trinitate, AHDLMA, t31, p.279) gave sensus-imaginatio-ratio-intelligentia-intelligibilitas. The order of ascent, described by the Cistercian Isaac de Stella (PL 194,1875-1896), ran sensus-imaginatio-ratio-intellectus-intelligentia. The Epistola de Anima was composed c.1160; its author was a contemporary of Alain de Lille.

comes closest to the scheme of the Anticlaudianus, with Theology corresponding to the activity of the intellect, and Faith to an understanding (intelligentia) of the divine order. What remains clear is that, up to a certain point, Alain maintained the division between the "figmental" and the "non-figmental" order of things. The first is expressed through Nature and Reason; the second through divina theologia (the meeting with Theology at the entry to Heaven), and Faith (symbolizing the divine order of things).

The meeting with Theology marks the passage from the lower to the higher order of things. This shows the survival of the Eriugenan scheme of the ascensus, onto which Alain has grafted the sub-divisions sensualitas-ratio and intellectus-intelligentia, but with the caesura (figmental - unfigmental) still clearly marked. The author recognizes this, because where the mind-intellect meets Theology at the entrance to heaven he sets aside the poet's art<sup>508</sup>, taking up the maiolem liram of the prophet:

Celesti Muse terrenus cedit Apollo<sup>509</sup>.

In this way he passes into the non-figmental order of things. At the same time <sup>this gives rise to</sup> divergences between the commentator and the poet. In the Super Celestem Hierarchiam prophetic images had been identified with the poetic figmenta, and both were to be left behind once the mind could pass beyond them to the simpler essences of divine vision. Alain, on the other hand, prefers to maintain the prophetic beyond the poetic and even to identify his role as prophet with the higher activities of the soul. He puts himself forward as the instrument of

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508 V, 265-69, "Hactenus insonuit tenui mea Musa susurro, / Hactenus in fragili lusit mea pagina versu, / Phebea resonante cheli; sed parva resignans, / Maiorem nunc tendo liram totumque poetam / Deponens, usurpo michi nova verba prophete."

509 V, 270.

these higher truths, no longer in conscious control of the movements of his mind:

Carminis huius ero calamus, non scriba vel actor.<sup>510</sup>

He addresses himself, as if from outside himself:

Es resonans, reticens scriptoris carta, canentis  
Fistula, sculptoris scalprum vel musa loquentis,  
Spina rosam gestans, calamus nova mella propinans,  
Nox aliunde nitens, lucteum vas, nectare manans.<sup>511</sup>

In the Anticlaudianus the role of the prophet grows out of the poet's role. Earthly wisdom, poetry, dialectics, mathematical science can only take the mind to a certain point<sup>512</sup>, though it must be said that even beyond it, terms and figures from mythology are still used for the things of heaven<sup>513</sup>.

This continuity shows two things - the author's desire to emulate the pagan poets and secondly the difficulties that he faces in trying to lay aside the traditional images and language of the poet. The ambitious nature of Scotus's per figmenta in non figmentum has been lost sight of, as, quite openly, prophecy and then, less explicitly, figures from "Poetry" are used to express a vision of Heaven, that follows Prudence's meeting with Theology.

In Book VI Prudence is overcome by drowsiness, but while her outer senses are dulled, she continues to see with her inner eye (oculus mentis)<sup>514</sup>.

510 V.273.

511 V,274-78.

512 V,369-72: "...heret/Intellectus, hebet ratio, sapientia nutat,/ Tullius ipse silet, mutescit musa Maronis,/Languet Aristotiles, Ptholomei sensus, obumbrat."

513 Cf. for example, V,193-5, Prudence, "Invadens, penetrare Dei talamumque Tenantis/Censiliumque Iovis nutans, vaga, sola pererrans/ Aggredior..."

514 VI,3-8, "Offendit splendor oculos mentemque stupore(...)sic somnus adulter/Oppressit Fronesis animam" and VI,14, "Mens plena tamen non redditur illi." It is hard to agree with P. Dronke's contention (Rom. Forsch.Bd.78,1966,p.121-2) that the letargo which overcomes Prudence is in some way negative and that the first positive type is to be found in the Divine Comedy. Cf.VI,113-4, "Sed quamvis oculus mentis resplendeat intra,/Languescit tamen exterior", and the ensuing vision (VI,119-215).

The beginnings of creation, things created and things to come, are shown to her in a mirror<sup>515</sup>. This is thought to be the first fully developed use of vision in imaginative literature in the Middle Ages, with different stages of physical awareness, and with different types of vision within them<sup>516</sup>.

The remaining Books - VII, VIII and IX (the same number as in Martianus) - see the return of Frudence to earth and the victory over the vices led by Alecto. In the closing lines Alanus claims his own victory over the forces of Jealousy<sup>517</sup>. He compares himself to the antiquos poetas, and ends with the cry:

Pagina.....vive.....!<sup>518</sup>

In the thirteenth century the Anticlaudianus was a text commented on in the schools. Two commentaries have come down to us from the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries. The first, by the theologian Guillaume d'Auxerre, dates from the years 1190-1200<sup>519</sup>. The second by Raoul de Longchamp is thought to have been written in the period 1212-1225<sup>520</sup>.

Raoul's commentary mentions Scotus Eriugena's division of theology into two. The division of knowledge into two stages - before and after the meeting with Theology - is contained in the distinction Raoul makes between the two theologies

Theologia itaque dividitur in duas species, scilicet, supracelestem, et subcelestem et ypotheticam, ut testatur Johannes Scotus super Ierarchiam.<sup>521</sup>

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- 515 VI,119-132. On knowledge of God, which men hold indirectly, "per medium et quasi per speculum, in enigmatem", cf. Quoniam homines, p.283.
- 516 Cf. F.X.Newman,"Somnium", unpubl. thesis, Princeton, 1963, p.143-155.
- 517 IX,425-6, "Et famam delere cupit laudesque poete/Supplantare novas, saltem post fata silebit."
- 518 IX,411-12. Another poem by a theologian in which the substance is markedly Pagan (Etienne Tournai, Quoddam Figmentum, ed. L. Auvray, in Mélanges Paul Fabre, 1902)ends with a reference to sententiam pagine divine (p. 290).
- 519 I ms.,BN.lat.8299,cf.C.Ottaviane, Guglielmo d'Auxerre(† 1231), Biblio. di Filos.e.Scienze, n° 12, Rome, n.d., p.34.
- 520 The dating accepted by Mlle.d'Alveray, A.de L.Textes inédits, p.12.
521. There are 4 ms. + unpubl.edit. by Mme.Cornet-Bloch,thesis, Ec.Chartes. For this text, Balliol 146B, f°100v°(cf.R.Mynors, Cat.ms.Ball.Coll, p125-7).



Raoul had been a pupil of Alain - possibly when the latter was in Montpellier<sup>522</sup>. The precise didactic tone of the commentary raises the possibility that it follows Alain de Lille's teaching with regard to his own poem. The gloss given above is in fact the beginning of a passage in Alain's summa, entitled Quoniam homines...<sup>525</sup>. This further strengthens ~~then~~ the link between Scotus Eriugena and the Anticlaudianus. On the available evidence the former's work appears to be the most important ~~identifiable~~ theoretical influence on the poem.

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522 M.Th.d'Alverny, A.de L., p.12 n9.

523 ed. Glorieux, AHDLMA, 1953, t28, p.121, "Theologia in duas distinguitur species: supercelestem et subcelestem, sive apotheticam et ypotheticam, ut testatur Johannes Scotus super Hierarchiam(...)Extaseos autem due sunt species: una inferior qua homo infra se est, alia superior qua rapitur supra se. Sed superioris due sunt species: una que dicitur intellectus, qua homo considerat spiritualia, id est angelos et animas; secundum quam homo fit spiritus, et supra se fit. Alia est que intelligentia dicitur, qua homo trinitatem intuetur; secundum quam homo fit homo deus, quia per hanc speculationem quodammodo deificatur. Unde et illa speculatio apotheosis, quasi divina censetur."

### III - THE MIND-BODY RELATIONSHIP IN THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES

#### a. The Psychological background to the Roman de la Rose

The Anticlaudianus views man in a state of becoming, expressed through the upward movement of the mind. The Epistola de Anima by Isaac de Stella also showed the upward surge of the mind, but added to it an explanation of the "horizontal" faculties, that is, of the working of ingenium, ratio and memoria: understanding, reason and memory. The horizontal emphasis became increasingly important:

In the first half of the twelfth century the horizontal view was based on the new medical and scientific knowledge derived from Aristotle and Galen. The Greeks had placed <sup>as</sup> much emphasis, in their mystical poetry, on evocation of the past as on interpretation of the future<sup>524</sup>. Partly inspired by learning from Greek sources with its emphasis on the role of a scientifically defined memory, Western poésie savante was to begin to do the same. The Memory came to have a singular importance in Western art and literature<sup>525</sup>.

Inspiration in medieval Western poetry apparently had a far more rigorous scientific basis than was the case with inspiration in Classical letters. Where Classical views of inspiration were only loosely scientific in substance<sup>526</sup>, medieval theories of inspiration, whether of the active or of the passive type (which I have described, respectively, as intellectio and divinatio<sup>527</sup>), were based firstly on Christian teaching derived from

524 E.R. Dodds, The Greeks and the Irrational, p.82.

525 Cf. the original study on memory in the Middle Ages and Renaissance by F. Yates, The Art of Memory.

526 Cf. Luís Gil, Los Antiguos y la Inspiración Poética, Madrid, 1967.

527 I am aware that what I have called the intellectio tradition is also, in a sense, "divinatory" (supra, n.523). Both terms are purely terms of convenience.

the Greeks, and secondly on Greek medical learning interpreted by the Arab men of science. What evolved in Alain de Lille, in Jean de Meun and in Dante was a poetry of striking originality which has never had full justice done to it in general Histories of Literature, always inclined to take the view that medieval authors were waiting, Godot-like, for the dawn of the Renaissance.

This third part of the study of medieval poetic theory is concerned with theories of the interplay of understanding, reason and memory in French literature. This particular interest reached the West through the Arab authors and their translators, either in medical treatises, or in works on the natural sciences describing the "internal senses".<sup>528</sup>

Poetry which concerned itself with the relation of phantasy, to reason or memory, with theories of the humours in relation to these three faculties, or with the relation of vision to sleep, can be generally described as originating in Aristotelian works, such as De Anima, De Memoria et Reminiscentia, De Somno et Vigilia, or the pseudo-Aristotelian Problemata. This raises the problem of Poetry's exact connections with these texts. It is quite obvious that there are many more references to Poetry in Aristotle's Rhetoric, than in these other works dealing with the physical sciences<sup>529</sup>. In fact, the only one of the texts mentioned to refer to Poetry is the medical text known as the Problemata, and mistakenly thought to be by Aristotle. If these Aristotelian texts did in fact influence Poetry, then it can be assumed that this was in conjunction with other views of poetry. At the outset these other views

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528 On the "internal senses" in Aristotle, Galen, cf. H.A. Wolfson, "The internal senses in Latin, Arabic and Hebrew..." Harvard Theol. Review, tXXVIII, 1935.

529 E.N. Tigerstedt, "Observations on the reception of the Aristotelian Poetics in the West", Studies in the Ren., tXV, 1968, p.10, considers it possible that Aristotle's theories on poetry were known through the Rhetoric and Politics. Cf. also James J. Murphy, Quarterly Journal of Speech, t52, 53, 1966, 67, p. 109, 334.

were neo-Platonic.

Knowledge of Plato in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was in good part knowledge of Chalcidius's commentary on the Timaeus. This offered a general view of inspiration but without specific reference to the text<sup>530</sup>, while mentions of, for instance, the Phaedrus with its highly interesting account of poetry do not, in the Chalcidius commentary, contain anything specifically related to verse<sup>531</sup>.

Chalcidius denies that Aristotle's physiological account of the origin of dreams is the only acceptable one<sup>532</sup>. He suggests that knowledge of the future and of unknown places and persons is due to contact with the divine<sup>533</sup>. According to some views, he says, sleep gives the freedom through which the mind can approach this:

Sunt qui nostrum intellectum et pervolitare conexas mundi putent miscereque se divinae intelligentiae, quam Graeci noyn vocant, et velut ex maiore disciplina minuscultas scientias mutuatas, quae summa et eminens imagnetur mens, nuntiare mentibus nostris invitante coetum animae nocturnae solitudinis opportunitate.<sup>534</sup>

He adds that the experience of certain types of dream

Non inreligiosa modo, varum etiam impia<sup>534</sup>,

shows that not all dreams can be of divine origin<sup>535</sup>. Chalcidius allows then that dreams are of different kinds<sup>536</sup>. There is a reference to the

530 ed. Waszink, p.171, 197-8.

531 Ibid, p.104-6, 243.

532 Ibid, p.260, "Aristoteles(...)unum genus somniorum admittit atque approbat, quod ex his quae vigilantes agimus aut cogitamus, residens in memoria movet interpellatque(...)conscias animas."

533 Ibid, p.260-1, "Heraclitus(...)asserit divinationis usum et praemoneri meritos instrumentibus divinis potestatibus."

534 Ibid, 261.

535 Ibid, "quae imaginari summam eximiamque intelligentiam sive mentem seu providentiam fas non sit putare, falsam esse hanc opinionem hominum".

536 Chalcidius, p. 265, mentions somnium, visum, admonitio, spectaculum, revelatio. For Macrobius's categories in the XIIIth century, cf. John of Salisbury, Policraticus, II, cxv.

inutiles cupiditates(...)nefaria somniorum, which recalls similar references in Christian theologians. This is followed by an extended discussion of dream and divine intervention<sup>537</sup>.

The link between Poetry and thought gradually evolved in the commentaries of neo-Platonic scholars like Guillaume de Conches and Bernardus Silvestris. Commenting the Chalcidian text, Guillaume de Conches took care to emphasize the physiological processes that made these dreams possible. The impressions left in the brain during the day are consigned to the memory. This enables us (in the manner that Augustine had suggested) to "recreate" absent forms. In sleep the soul looks into the brain and perceives the forms within it. In this manner the soul (anima) "sees" when it is detached from the senses<sup>538</sup>. This passage of the commentary begins to reflect the new medical theories. It places in Platonic fashion the "powers of the soul" (intellection) outside the brain<sup>539</sup>, but gives a role of importance to the memory. Guillaume de Conches' Timaeus commentary was written c.1140-50.

As much as Christian teaching, the neo-Platonic tradition tended to view the mind's faculties in moral terms. And in his De Eodem et Diverso, with its marked respect for Plato - he refers to him as Plato Meus - Adelard of Bath compared the weakness of the senses with the power of the reason (sensus hebetes et ratio dominatrix)<sup>540</sup>. But his Quaestiones

537 ed Waszink, p.261-5.

538 Glosae super Platonem, ed. E. Jeameau, Paris, 1965, p.243, "Dum enim videt aliquis in die rem quam diligit vel odit, formam eius et figuram sibi attrahit et cerebro, prout tesaurio memorie, insignit. Unde et rem absentem imaginamur: quod nunquam faceremus nisi quoque modo formam eius intus haberemus. Anima vero in nocte libera nec corporeis sensibus intenta, veniens ad cerebrum, videt ibi formam et colorem rei impressam: unde videtur homini ipsam rem in somniis videre, cum nichil videat."

539 As in, for example, Alfred de Sareshel, De Motus Cordis, ed. Bauenkner, 1923.

540 ed. H. Willner, Beitrage, tIV, 1903, p.14.

Naturales thought to have been composed between 1111 and 1116<sup>541</sup> show fuller appreciation of the physiological view. Adelard describes the first of the three chambers of the brain as the seat both of the ingenium (intuition or understanding) and of the motus phantasticus. The extent to which he identified the two functions is not clear, though they are certainly linked and precede the middle and rear cells, in which reason and memory are to be found. The role of the ingenium, which seems to be the faculty later called the engin (du poète), is important because it associates understanding with fantasy, that is with imaginative representation. Use of the term ingenium by Isaac de Stella has already been noted. In his treatise, as in Adelard, it has a place in the brain and a role in the mind. But this is some fifty years after the writing of the Quaestiones Naturales, which seem to have been a key text in respect of the threefold division of the brain. Adelard's Quaestiones Naturales have survived in some 20 ms., and were published several times in the late fifteenth century: the passage specifying the role of the ingenium/motus phantasticus can usefully be quoted in some detail.

In cerebro enim utitur phantastico motu, id est ingeniali, rationali etiam, id est iudicio, sed et memoriali, id est recordatione. Prius enim intelligit, deinde, quod intellectus est, indicat, tertio ipsum iudicium constantiae commendat. Sed et hoc et illud per aliud et per aliud est. Ingenium quippe per humiditatem viget, memoria vero per siccitatem. Quidquid enim humidum est, cuiuslibet sigilli impressione facile signatur, sed eiusdem humiditatis inconstantia facilius deletur (...) Itaque qui humidum habent cerebrum, ingenio quidem pollent, sed memoria fatiscunt. Qui vero siccum habent, hi memoria vigentes ingenio privati sunt.<sup>542</sup>

The Nepos-discipulus claims - wrongly, according to the text's editor<sup>543</sup> -

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541 ed. M. Mueller, *ibid*, t3, I, p.77.

542 *Ibid*, p. 22.

543 p.22, n.3. According to M.M., Aristotle placed phantasy and reason in the heart, not the brain.

as authorities for these views Aristoteles in Physicis et alii in tractatibus aliis<sup>543a</sup>. Adelard rounds off the argument by saying that the placing of ingenium, ratio and memoria in the front, middle and rear chambers of the brain, respectively, can be proved by the fact that damage to a particular cell indisposes the faculty that corresponds to it<sup>544</sup>. Who the other authorities for these views are it is not said, but a similar passage in the De Differentia animae et spiritus by the IXth century medical writer, Costa ibn Luca, translated between 1135 and 1153 by John of Seville<sup>545</sup>, has the use of an Arabic term - "acagum quem Graeci phantasiam vocant"<sup>546</sup> - in place of the Latin ingenium of the first brain chamber. It is always possible that the alii in tractatibus aliis were other medical authors writing in Arabic like Costa Ibn Luca.

Neither the Chalcidian commentary on the Timaeus, nor any of the passages from Adelard and Costa Ibn Luca associate the activity of the ingenium/phantasia specifically with poetry. The same is true of Hugh of Saint Victor who describes the activities of the cella phantastica and shows it to be controlled by the reason. He makes no mention of memory and moves on to the higher powers of the soul<sup>547</sup>. Later in the century, as E. Gilson has shown in his study of the Augustinisme avicennisant, the Avicennian influence - that is the influence of Avicenna as philosopher, rather than as physiologist - leads to the incorporation of both memory

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543a Ibid, "Nam et Aristoteles in Physicis et alii in tractatibus aliis sic discernunt, ut phantasiam exerceri dicant in parte cerebri anteriore, rationem in medio, memoriam in occipitio."

544 p.23, "quicumque igitur primus de cellis illis discretive egit..."

545 ed. C.S. Barach, Innsbruck, 1878. For the translator, G. Sarton, Introd. to Science, t.11, p.169-70.

546 ed. Barach, p.130, "Probatur ergo(...)quod ille spiritus, qui est in anterioribus ventriculis, operatur sensus, i.e. visus, auditus, gustus, odoratus, tactus et olfactus, et cum his operatur acagum, quem Graeci phantasiam vocant." For a similar account of the faculties of the brain, together with humours, also by this author, cf. P.Sbath, art. Bull.Inst.Egypte, 1941, p.150-3.

547 H. de St.V., De Unione corporis et spiritus, PL 177,287A-288D.

and ingenium into a far more ambitious account of the soul. But in this account ingenium was no longer the description of a basic physical function. It was, along with the ability to prophesy, a capacity dependent on the higher activities of the intellect<sup>548</sup>. As for memory, in this philosopher's account of the mind it had become one of several functions of the anima sensibilis vel vitalis. The development of fantasy in relation to mythology and to Poetry came about through the scientific teaching of Chartres and the new medical knowledge, particularly in Guillaume de Conches and Bernardus Silvestris<sup>549</sup>.

In Guillaume de Conches' Dragmaticon the two systems ("vertical" and "horizontal") are found. That of the tres cellulae is established with the usual precision<sup>550</sup>. Later in the treatise ingenium is associated with opinio, ratio, intelligentia and memoria<sup>551</sup>. In this case intelligentia is described as in Isaac de Stella<sup>552</sup>, while ingenium is shown as a faculty of intellection, rather than connected with the phantasy<sup>553</sup>.

Bernardus Silvestris's contribution is of greater importance. References to the three faculties of the brain are made in the De Mundi Universitate and in his commentary on Virgil. The former is a verse and

548 "Les Sources gréco-arabes de l'augustinisme avicennisant", AHDMA, tIV, 1929, p.55-74. R. de Vaux, Notes...sur l'avicennisme Latin..., Paris, 1934.

549 For the sources and diffusion of this view, T. Silverstein, "The Fabulous Cosmogony of Bernardus S.", Modern Philology, t46, 1948, 97-98.

550 Strasbourg, 1567, p.276 (BM. 536.a.6), "In capite sunt tres cellulae: una in prora, altera in puppe, tertia in medio. Prima vero cellula dicitur phantastica, id est visualis; in ea enim omnia videt & intelligit. ..."

551 Dragmaticon, p.307-8.

552 Ibid, 308, "Unde Plato, intelligentia solius Dei est, & admodum paucorum hominum..."

553 p.307, "Ingenium est vis animae naturalis, ad aliquid cito percipiendum". For the same definition, Super Platonem, ed. Jeauneau, p.65, p.83.



prose work. The latter is a fairly loose commentary on passages from the Aeneid.<sup>554</sup> The treatise on Poetry, known to have been written by him, has not survived. In the De Mundi Universitate the memory is well separated from the front brain chamber occupied by the phantasy. In this way the memory can preserve the universal forms filtered to it through the reason, lessening the constant intrusion of other sense data, ne(...)figurarum frequentissimis perturbetur incursibus<sup>555</sup>.

In the commentary on the Aeneid, the brain is considered to be the seat of knowledge (sapientia)<sup>556</sup>. Sapientia here corresponds to the knowledge available through the quadrivium, and is part of that scheme of the arts already discussed: sapientia (quadrivium), eloquentia (trivium), mechanica and poesis<sup>557</sup>. In Bernardus, as in Guillaume de Conches's Dragmaticon and his Timaeus commentary, the front chamber is occupied by ingenium, the faculty of understanding. Hence Guillaume de Conches's view, twice stated in the Timaeus commentary:

Ingenium est vis naturalis ad aliquid cito  
intelligendum: unde dicitur ingenium quasi 'intus  
genitum'<sup>558</sup>

Association of fantasy and intellection is limited to one instance in the Dragmaticon, and there it is a simple restatement of the view taken by Costa ibn Luca and Adelard after him. The original view from the Greco-Arabic medical texts has therefore been modified to allow ingenium, already

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554 J. O'Donnell, Actes IV.Cong.Int.Phil.Med, p.155, "That is hardly a commentary on Vergil(...)he knew the text, but he used it simply as a springboard for exercising himself as a virtuoso in allegory."

555 ed. Wrobel, p.64-5, "In sincipite provisum est, phantasia rerum formas anticipet et rationi renunciet quae viderit universa. In occipitis reductiore thalamo memoria conquiescat ne, si primo visionum iacuisset in limine, figurarum frequentissimis perturbetur incursibus."

556 super sex libros Eneidos Virgilii, ed. Riedel, p.15.

557 supra, n. 160.

558 Glosae super Platonem, ed. Jeauneau, p.65, 83.

linked with Genius and with the divine vous, sole occupancy of the front chamber of the brain, so that the first mention of the three faculties in the Virgil commentary reads:

arx corporis est caput, in quo sapientia sedem habet,  
quia in eo sunt instrumenta sensuum et tres ingenii et  
rationis et memoriae cellulae<sup>559</sup>

He repeats this a little further on:

Tria namque sunt quae sapientiam perfectam reddunt,  
ingenium instrumentum inveniendi, ratio instrumentum  
discernendi inventa...<sup>560</sup>

He next links memory with marble, coldness and slowness of response<sup>561</sup>, intellection with fire, heat and swiftness of response<sup>562</sup>. The central chamber is presided over by Minerva<sup>563</sup>, alias sapientia or reason. The mind as a whole is compared to a cave with memory lodged at the back<sup>564</sup>.

Finally, with reference to Orpheus and Eurydice, the commentary goes on to speak of the God Genius, the God of human nature, coming into being with each life it informs and dying with that life, but lodged for the duration of that life within the brain. Horace is quoted in support:

Unde in poematibus legitur genius quendam, humanae  
naturae deum, esse qui nascitur cum homine et moritur,  
unde Horatius,  
'naturae deus humanae mortalis in unum  
quodque caput'<sup>565</sup>

In the writings and commentaries of the period that runs from

559 ed. Riedel, p.15.

560 ibid, p.47.

561 ibid, p.47-8, "De marmore notat memoriae originem(...)memoria vero oritur ex frigore(...)memoria est tarditas et mora comprehensorum. Omnis enim tarditas ex frigore provenit."

562 ed Riedel, p. 47-8.

563 ibid, p.46-7, "Minerva quasi media et intima cognitio est. Sapientia in medio cerebri sedem habet."

564 ibid, p.50, "Antro mente remugit reiterat ut memoriae infigat."

565 ibid, p. 54.

Macrobius to Remy d'Auxerre it has already been seen that sapientia was associated with Minerva or the divine Nous, while ingenium was linked to Genius and interpretation of the divine order. Remy had described Genius as a deus naturalis. Here, in Bernardus's Virgil commentary, is evidence that the notions of ingenium and sapientia have become specifically associated with the front and middle cavities of the brain, and that they can be embodied, described and personified through the two mythological deities Genius and Minerva. Mythological and transcendental notions have thus been grafted onto functions of the brain or mind.

If the poets did not press the point with Minerva, is this because she represented an immortal, unaffected by the decay and death of the being? Genius, on the other hand, deus naturalis is no less an authority than Horace (Ep. II, ii, 188), linked the old learning to the new psychology, and may have appeared as something of a theoretical godsend. Alain de Lille in the De Planctu Naturae, Jean de Meun in the Roman and Jean Lemaire de Belges at the beginning of the sixteenth century made good use of this.

The first text which I have found linking poetry and the natural sciences is by David de Dinant and dates from about 1200<sup>566</sup>. It is similar to another in the pseudo-Aristotelian Problemata. David de Dinant describes the work of poets and philosophers and relates it to a wish for solitude, to the state of melancholy, and to a "sacred disease" like Epilepsy. Divine frenzy in the Middle Ages has been neglected, probably in the unconscious conviction that theories of the divine madness of the poet are the preserve of Renaissance theory. Yet the mediaeval poets who used these particular topoi did so presumably in response to some

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566 Davidis de Dinanto Quaternulorum Fragmenta, ed. M. Kurdzialek in Studia Mediewistyczne, t3, Warsaw, 1963. Cf. G. Théry, David de Dinant. Etude sur son panthéisme matérialiste, Bibliothèque Thomiste, Le Saulchoir, tVI, 1925. The important missing text is the De Tomis, condemned to be destroyed.

specific examples or treatise on the subject. It is usually thought they were drawing on Latin sources but it would be unwise to disregard a possible Greek influence<sup>567</sup>. The Phaedrus and the Ion, with their discussion of the poet's possession by a divine frenzy, are not known to have been translated until the late fifteenth century, when they appeared in the translation by Marsilio Ficino. A little was known of these theories almost three centuries earlier. David de Dinant quotes from his own translation from the Greek text<sup>568</sup>. He prefaces his remarks by saying that the manuscript in question came into his hands during a sojourn in Greece,

Cum essem in Grecia, pervenit ad manus meas liber aristotelicus De dubitabilibus problematibus in unaqueque arte. Inter cetera autem investigans Aristoteles in eo libro de effectibus nigre colere querit: Quare omnes precipui circa philosophiam aut circa curam civilem aut poesim aut alias artes intenti videntur melancolici fuisse et morbis colere nigre laborasse. Nam de heroibus videtur Hercules huiusmodi fuisse, quoniam et ipse epilepticus fuit et ab eo vocaverunt antiqui epilenciam sacrum morbum. Fiunt et hiis, qui huiusmodi sunt, ulcera ex colera nigra et immundam puererum venerem sectantur. De Aigæ autem manifestum quod amens fuit omnino. De Bellerofonte etiam dicit Homerus quod solitudinem sectabatur.

He then goes on to speak of the effects of wine and of the combined influence of Bacchus and Venus (post coitum triste...) on the humours:

nigra colera non inmutat eorum mores, sed tantummodo facit melancolicos morbes. Quibus vere inest ex natura, inmutantur eorum mores ex ea; et si fuerit multa et frigida, fiunt pigri et stulti; si autem fuerit multa et calida, fiunt maniaci et ~~bani~~ ingenii ad discendum, amorosi et cito mobiles ad iram et ad alios anime affectus, quidam autem et multum loquaces, multi autem et maniaci fiunt aut dementes, ut Sibilla et phitonici omnes.

The poets are singled out in this respect,

Nam et quidam poeta plus valuit in poesi, cum a mania caperetur.<sup>569</sup>

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567 On the Ovidian influence, Roman de la Rose, ed. Lecoy, I, p.277. But compare specifically I, 2413-29 and Phèdre, trans. Mario Meunier, Paris, 1926, p.110f.

568 This is the view of the editor, p.lx, "Sa connaissance de la langue grecque(...)profiter pour son propre compte des sources grecques."

569 ed. M. Kurdzialek, p.3, p.4.

This interesting, though mediocre, lesson has been quoted at length, because it speaks of poetry as a product of physical or mental change or aberration. There follows a passage giving the physiological causes of dreams, and relating dreams to melancholy. The majority of the sources are from Aristotle's treatises on the natural sciences grouped under the heading Parva Naturalis, but there is also a view attributed to Plato on the imagination registering the ydeas which are the forms of material existence<sup>570</sup>. Dreams are products of the imagination<sup>571</sup>. In this context poetry is one of a number of expressions given to the soul's activities. A final point of interest, relating to the view that the ingenium-phantasia was necessarily a passive, rather than an active, faculty, is made with the observation that the imagination is a passive intellect:

passivus intellectus (hoc est ymaginacio) non<sup>572</sup>  
comprehendit esse, nisi assimiletur rei sense,".

This 'recipio imagines, igitur imaginor' shows that, here at least, we are not dealing with a 'free' imagination in the modern sense of the term. Augustine had described three types of fantasia. They were the simple recognition of sense impressions, the recalling of those impressions at a later date, the free reworking of those impressions into forms that had no counterparts in reality outside the mind. The categories of fantasy and the faculties related to them are altered by the new enthusiasm for the Aristotelian libri naturales. In the thirteenth century terms like fantasiae, imagines and idola were used for the products of the imagination.

Aristoteles (.....) Non est intelligere sine fantasia.<sup>573</sup>

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570 p.35, "Visum est autem Platoni ymaginationem esse perceptivam ydearum et ydeas esse ymaginarias corporum formas". On this, see editor's note.

571 ibid, "Nam et sompnium nichil aliud est quam ymaginatio que fit in sompnis sive ex passione, que facta est in instrumentis sensuum, sive que fit in ipso somno vel ab interius, vel ab exterius." Also p.67.

572 p.70.

573 Quaternulorum, ed. Kurdzialak, p.67, p.35.

Control over these fantasies was exercised by either rational or imaginative faculties variously named vis estimativa, imaginativa, cogitativa or formativa. Terminology varied considerably from author to author (and also within the writings of particular authors, when they conscientiously noted the various theories on the subject) and also from generation to generation, as Aristotelian and other teaching was absorbed in successive waves<sup>574</sup>. The Anticlaudianus was written before this influx got underway. In this part of the study we are concerned with the degree to which it affected the second poem of real importance to be examined, the Roman de la Rose.

David de Dinant was writing at the beginning of the thirteenth century at a time when these theories began to reach France in quantity. His references to poetry are brief. Around the middle of the century they can be found more fully developed in Albert the Great's commentaries on the Parva Naturalia. These commentaries have been dated as being as between 1250 and 1270.<sup>575</sup> With reference to the Problemata, and in his Liber de Somno et Vigilia, Albert gives what is in effect a brief outline of the circumstances in which the mind of the poet creates. David de Dinant's treatise exists today in only four manuscripts, and its survival was probably affected by the condemnation of David's other writing in 1210. Albert's De Somno et Vigilia, on the other hand, is extant in a total of 44 ms. (9 from the XIII, 14 from the XIV and 20 dating from the XV centuries)<sup>576</sup>. The passage on poetry can be quoted at length. It begins with mention of

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574 For the position in mid-XIII century, cf. A. Schneider, Die Psychologie Alberts des Grossen, Beitr. zur Gesch., Bd. IV, 1903, 1906; P. Michaud-Quantin, La Psychologie de l'Activité chez A. le Grand, Bibl. Thomiste, 1966.

575 P. Michaud-Quantin, La Psychologie(...)chez A. le Grand, p.lff.

576 B. Gayer, "Die handschriftliche Verbreitung der Werke A. des Grossen als Masstab seines Einflusses", in In honorem(...)R. Martin, 1948.

the melancholic disposition. It should be remembered that melancholy was traditionally associated with any sort of imaginative activity.

Imaginatio vero, eo quod fortior est in melancholico, iuvat ad hoc, quoniam reddit res repraesentantes quod contristat et molestat et tabefacit.<sup>577</sup>

There is no sign here that Poetry was considered "excentric" to the main intellectual activities, that is to the various branches of philosophy and rhetoric,

philosophiam aut politicam aut poesim aut artes.<sup>578</sup>

The references in Albert are surprisingly full, though this was the period of Vincent de Beauvais's lengthy account of Poetry in his encyclopedia and of the interest taken in Poetics by Roger Bacon.

Melancholici enim propter horum motuum vehementiam qui fiunt in ipsis, quemadmodum in destitutis ab aliis qui minus propriis curam impendunt et minus propriis intendunt, et raro vel numquam profunde dormiunt, melius aliis somnia coniectant, et quoniam habentium symbolum facilius est transitus et permutatio, et habentium symbolum facilius est translatio, eo quod transferentes semper secundum aliquam similitudinem transferunt, ideo quod cite vicinius est somnio, per rationem symboli imaginantur, sicut docent Philegidae poemata, qui poetriam primo ordinavit et scripsit. Ars enim poetriae hoc modo secundum philosophiam super symbola conscripsit fabulas: et dicitur ideo composita fabula ex miris. Sunt enim melancholici, ut dicit Aristoteles in libro de Problematis, studiosi, praecipue si patientur melancholiam quae ex corpore per incinerationem facta est: illa enim est fumosa sicut vinum rubeum, et est adhaerentium multum phantasmatum, circa quae profundatur intellectus et conjicit ea. Et haec est causa quare illi qui sunt furiosi, dicunt futura adhaerentia per metaphoram illi quod imaginatur. Furor enim non omnino claudit intellectum et rationem, sed relinquit intervallum, et ideo somniantes venerea intelligunt verum tempus propter similitudinem caloris et humoris et laetitiarum et amoenitatis: venerea enim talia important, et per hunc modum coniectant omnia futura ad interiora phantasmata quae vident.<sup>579</sup>

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577 De Medicinis cordialibus in Avicenna Latinus. Liber de Anima, ed. S. van Riet, Louvain/Leyden, 1968, p.199.

578 Aristotle, Problemata, Venice, 1482, f<sup>o</sup> Mviii.r<sup>o</sup>a. The Latin text may be compared with David of Dinant's rendering (supra) and begins (30a Particula, Ium Prob.) "omnes quicumque excellentiores fuerint viri, aut secundum philosophiam, aut politicam aut poesim aut artes videntur melancholici esse..."

579 Opera, ed. A. Borgnet, tIX, p.205-6 (De Somno et Vigilia).

This brief lesson in a text modelled on Aristotle's treatise by a man of science gives, it will be realized, a possibly superficial but nonetheless more striking, account of mediaeval poetry than the lengthy classifications found in the twelfth and thirteenth century artes versificandi. The mention of spring and of something approaching the locus amoenus<sup>580</sup>, and of the link between the poets and dreamers, do not appear in the fragments of David de Dinant's treatise which have survived. They do not appear, either, in the Latin translation of part of the Problemata attributed to Bartholomeus de Messina, and dating from the thirteenth century. They are not in the second Latin version on which Petrus de Abano based his commentary (finished in 1310), nor do they appear in the commentary proper<sup>581</sup>. There is no allusion to spring nor amoenitas in Aristotle's accounts of dreaming. They come from a source which I have not been able to identify, or they are perhaps Albert's own commentary on the literary practice of his own period<sup>582</sup>. There is no satisfactory edition of this text.

In more specific terms, the importance given symbol and fantasy in Poetry is noteworthy. Generally symbols seem to refer to meanings of fantasies. Fantasies are the meanings by which the intellect deepens its understanding. His view of Poetry is as much concerned with sleep as with wakefulness. Among the states of the poet's mind are melancholy, a wild

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580 Cf. E.R.Curtius, European Lit. & Lat.M.A., 1953, p.195-200 on this theme.

581 Vetina, 1482, f<sup>o</sup>Ni.v(2), the comm. reflects the quarrel as to whether poetry is to be linked to grammar or to rhetoric. P. de A. declares in favour of the latter, the theory apud arabes, and adds that it is also pars logice quia primitus philosophia. "plurimi eorum qui se dederunt studio poetico et maxime metrizando fuerunt capti egritudinibus melancolicis propter excessum complexionis ipsius in eorum corporibus que complexio sive natura melancolica ostendebat eos decidere futuros in hominum passiones." On Nico quidam poeta, also <sup>on a maniacus de siracusi, who,</sup> "cum autem maniam incidit, cepit poetizare ut amplius quam prius..." , cf. Niii.r(b).

582 Cf. Vincent de Beauvais, Speculum Doctrinale, XV, cap.177 (Douai, col. 1500), "Apte vero & secundum tempus, aut corporis positionem diversificantur somnia. Circa ver enim & autumnum turbida fiunt & falsa."



fury and a tendency to dreams of love. Except for the importance of the fantasy, which is not given its due in accounts of mediaeval verse theory, the rest of these states of mind are immediately recognizable as commonplaces of mediaeval verse, of lyric verse as well as of poésie savante.

So far only the vertical and horizontal emphases in mediaeval psychology and the relation of the humours and sleep to fantasy have been discussed with regard to the mind-body relationship. The essential emphasis in the Roman de la Rose is that of ingenium-ratio-memoria. The relation of poetry and sleep to this account of the mind can be explained by reference to Greco-Arabic learning and to the interpretation given it by the Doctors of the Church. Of particular importance in this respect is, the relation of the vegetable to the rational soul, <sup>This</sup> had a determining influence on the Roman de la Rose, and hence on the subsequent development of the poésie savante in France. It is not possible to outline here the various theories of the structure of the soul which obtained in the second half of the XIIth century and the early XIIIth. Recent research has gone into this in detail<sup>583</sup>. Most of these accounts have only an indirect bearing on the poetry studied here. The Avicennian classification, and those of the ascensus and of fantasia-cogitatio-memoria (labelled as secundum medicos) are all three described in the Tractatus de Anima, composed between 1239 and 1239 by the Franciscan Jean de la Rochelle<sup>584</sup>. This eclectic recording of various accounts of the faculties

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583 In addition to the article by E. Gilson, "L'Augustinisme avicennisant..." and R. de Vaux, Notes sur l'Avicennisme latin, cf. P. M. Coutenson, "Avicennisme latin..." AHDLM, t34, 1959; D. H. Salmon, "J. de La Rochelle et les débuts de l'Averroïsme latin" AHDLM, t22, 1947; P. M. Quantin, "La Classification des puissances de l'âme au XIIe s." Rev. du M. Age Latin, t5, 1949; also the introduction to Gundissalinus, De Anima, ed. Muckle, in Mediaeval Studies, 1940, t2; to Aelred of Rievaulx, De Anima, ed. Talbot, London, 1952.

584 Tractatus de divisione multiplici potentiarum animae, Textes Phil. M.A. XI, 1964.

of the mind shows those of Greco-Arabic, Latin and Greco-Arabic-scientific origin side by side. In the Summa de Anima, the later treatise by the same author, the division secundum medicos is maintained. The front cell is occupied by phantasia, with no reference made to ingenium. Fantasy's function combines those of the sensus communis (the collation of the evidence of the five senses) and of the imagination<sup>585</sup>. The physiological nature of the brain's activity is emphasized at the expense of the mythological and Neo-Platonic associations with which both Guillaume de Conches and Bernardus Silvestris had endowed the brain's front cell. In fact, the triumvirate of faculties is part of an account of the working of the body, in which vis naturalis (liver, digestive organs etc.) is related to vis vitalis (centred in the heart controlling the circulation of the blood and the supply of air to the body) and to vis animalis (centred on the brain and governing imagination, reason and memory). The idea that the understanding, reason and memory are concerned with the needs of the body rather than with those of the intellect is ascribed by Jean de la Rochelle to Saint Augustine:

Sic ergo secundum Augustinum patet distinctio virium  
animae, quae ordinatur ad regimen corporis<sup>586</sup>

This is an important distinction. It is found in a widely circulated work by one of the two leading Franciscan theologians (Alexander of Hales was the other) teaching at the University of Paris in the first half of the thirteenth century. His work may be little known today,

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585 Jean de la Rochelle, Summa de Anima, ed. T. Domenichelli, Prato, 1882, p.224. The references to fantasy read, "Tres enim sunt ventriculi cerebri. Unus anterior, a quo sunt omnes sensus(...) In prima parte cerebri vis animalis vocatur phantastica, idest imaginativa, quia in ea rerum imagines et ximiliter imprimuntur. Unde phantasticum dicitur(...)In media parte rationalis(...) iudicat ea quae per imaginationem repraesentatur."

586 ed. Dominichelli, p. 223.

compared to that of Alexander of Hales or Saint Bonaventure. But he was acknowledged as an authority by Vincent de Beauvais and was one of the Franciscan theologians who drew widely on both Augustinian sources and on the teaching of the Arab philosophers. In actual fact in Jean de la Rochelle's two treatises on the soul there is a shift in emphasis. In the later Summa de Anima he is more circumspect when attributing opinions to Muslim authorities, even when those opinions are only concerned with medical matters. So it is that in the earlier Tractatus de Anima Jean de la Rochelle had been more willing to give credit for these theories to the Greeks and Arabs: Johannitius (Honein ben Ishaq), Galen and Avicenna in suo magno libro medicinali(bis)<sup>586<sup>a</sup></sup>. The Tractatus's editor has noted that the Summa de Anima adopted a much more cautious attitude towards Greco-Arab learning and gave credit, where possible, to an authority like Joannes Damascenus (qui fuit philosophus, medicus et theologus) or the pseudo-Augustinian Liber de Spiritu et Anima<sup>587</sup>. The magnus liber medicinalis referred to in the Tractatus is of course Avicenna's Canon of Medicine, which was the standard medical textbook in all of Western Europe from the time of its translation in the second half of the twelfth century until at least the fifteenth century. In the Liber Canonis, which offered an authoritative and detailed view of the subject, the organs known as the vires animalis, vitalis et naturalis by Jean de la Rochelle and applied by him ad regimen corporis are shown as brain, heart and kidney all involved in the generative and reproductive functions of the body (Lib.I, Fen I, Doct.5, Cap.i).

Avicenna describes in detail the concern of the powers (vires) of the body with reproductive functions. The fact that brain, heart

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586<sup>a</sup> ed. P.M-Quantin, p.104, p.106.

587 *ibid*, p.113. For "Alcher" in both Tractatus and Summa, cf. *passim*.

and kidneys are organs (membra)

que in corpore existunt, que ad hoc sunt necessarie,  
ut singularis aut species ~~perduret~~ principia habent.  
Secundum vero singularis durabilitatem sunt tria  
principia. Cor...<sup>588</sup>

follows quite naturally from their functions within the body. The natural function of the body, as seen by Avicenna, is to increase and prosper within its means, and to ensure, through the reproductive organs, the survival of the species<sup>589</sup>. This means that one account of the powers of the mind sees the "horizontal" faculties of the brain (fantasy, reason and memory) as subordinate to the ultimate need to reproduce the species of which the individual forms part.

Neither Isaac de Stella nor the pseudo-Archon saw the brain's faculties in this light. They described them in the context of the soul, as an alternative account to the "vertical" or transcendental effort of senses, imagination, reason, intellect and intelligence which had informed the Anticlaudianus. But the intake of the new natural sciences, at the end of the century<sup>590</sup>, and in particular the importance of Avicenna (philosopher, doctor and philosopher-theologian) altered the earlier certainties. Jean de la Rochelle in his Tractatus, for instance, gave the virtutes animae as duplices: they were cognitivas on the one hand, and by this he understood the axis intellectus-mens-opinio-ymaginatio-sensus,

588 Lyon, 1498, f<sup>o</sup>h.v.v<sup>o</sup>1-2, "Cor quod est principium virtutis prime et vite, et cerebrum quod est principium virtutis sentiendi et movendi, et epar quod est principium <sup>virtutis</sup>nutriendi." The commentary to this edition is by Jacques Despars (Jacobus de Partibus), the XVth century physician.

589 Lyon, 1498, f<sup>o</sup>h.v.v<sup>o</sup> 2, "Sed secundum speciei durabilitatem sunt principia hec tria (heart, brain + kidney) et est aliud quartum quod speciei existit proprium, et sunt testiculi qui uni rei sunt necessarii et ad ~~rem animam~~ <sup>reproductionem</sup> nutritivi (\* reproduction and nutrition)."

590 M. Th. d'Alverny, Avicenna, Accad. Lincei, 1957, p.77, "L'on peut donc admettre, nous semble-t-il, que l'introduction en Occident d'une importante part de l'oeuvre didactique d'Avicenne, Canon de Médecine(...) De Anima et Métaphysique a été élaborée à Tolède entre 1150 et 1190 environ."

and zoticas on the other. By zoticas, id est appetitivas he understood physiological and natural drives, called consilium and electio, in effect alternative terms for ingenium and ratio. These views were ascribed to Joannes Damascenus<sup>591</sup>. These virtutes zotice are faculties of enquiry, linked to the functions of the body. In a strictly literal sense both Reason and Understanding have a duty to further copulation and hence reproduction.

To sum up the argument which has led from Albert the Great's association of Poetry and dream to the new understanding of the faculties of the brain: the latter came to be in a position where, towards 1250, they were seen as

virtutes zotice.

As the new description implies, they are no longer concerned with the intellect so much as with the lower reaches of the mind, and etymologically with the animal, ~~as much as with the vegetable~~ or intellectual, soul. This association between the brain faculties, on the one hand, and either the vegetable soul or the reproductive function on the other implies further that, from one point of view, reason, understanding and memory share in the irrational. As will be seen, the irrational mind or a state in which reason no longer controls the mind's operations holds sway in sleep. So it is that the conscious drive toward truth in the Anticlaudianus can be seen to express the rational mind, while the poetry of figment-filled dreams belongs to the area of the irrational. Albert's description of the material of Poetry in the De Somno et Vigilia makes it clear that, in mid-XIIIth century, Verse was associated with fantasy, dream, spring and love. Undoubtedly this was in good part material inherited from

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591 Tractatus, p.113, De Divisione Potentiarum Animae secundum Iohannem Damascenum.

classical poetry<sup>592</sup>. But if one were to describe these themes in terms of thirteenth century psychology, then fantasy, love and dream would be linked with both the vegetable and irrational souls; spring with the vegetable soul only. The parallel is not as gratuitous as it may seem.

I have already pointed out that it is not clear whether Albert is using another source for his views or whether he is penning a brief description of literary practice at the time when he was writing. His treatise has been dated as between 1250 and 1270<sup>593</sup>. Guillaume de Lorris's part of the Roman dates from c.1240; Jean de Meun's conclusion is given as c.1270. While there is no reason to associate Albert's views with Romance, rather than Latin, Poetry, the time coincidence is interesting.

To understand the situation more fully, something should be said of allusions to the vegetable and irrational souls in texts available before the XIIIth century.

Reference is made to the activity of the irrational in sleep in the Chalcidius commentary on the Timaeus:

Inutiles minimeque necessariae cupiditates(...)quae se exerunt immanius per quietem, quotiens ratione sopita, quae est rector mansuetissimus, cetera pars animae agrestior immani quadam ebrietate luxurians pulsa quiete pergit ad incestas libidines.<sup>594</sup>

References to the powers of the vegetable soul and to the fact that the vegetable soul is able to govern the Nature it reflects are made in the

Fons Vitae, which Gundissalinus helped translate:

aspice in anima vegetabili, quia tu invenies eam agentem in naturam et dominantem ei, et invenies naturam comprehensam ab ea et patientem.<sup>595</sup>

592 On this question E.R. Curtius is constantly informative and deals with works like the De universitate mundi or the De Planctu Naturae, which I have avoided in the hope of making the association between poetry and psychology clear from only a few selected texts. On the subject of spring and fertility, p.185-202.

593 supra, n.574.

594 ed. Waszink, p.261-2.

595 ed. Baumker, Beiträge, tI, 1892, p.207, also p.185, "anima vegetabilis est agens in naturam."

The same Gundissalinus in his own treatise called De Anima develops the argument:

fortior est operatio animae quam naturae quia anima agit in naturam sed non e conveso ut apparet in plantis in quibus gravia feruntur sursum contra naturam. <sup>596</sup>

It is understood that the "Nature" referred to here relates to the lower reaches of Nature in the same way the vegetable soul represents those of the soul. Part of the ~~confusion involving ideas~~ about Nature in twelfth and thirteenth century texts comes from a desire to limit Nature, whether in the Roman de la Rose or in Alain de Lille's De Planctu Naturae, to a single meaning or to the state of an unvarying and easily identifiable figure. Yet Alain did define "Nature", and saw it as a series of concepts on a scale descending from God to the reproductive process<sup>597</sup>. It is therefore potentially misleading to try and portray Nature as a set allegory, as is generally the practice among commentators of the Roman de la Rose. It is necessary to show which aspect of Nature is under consideration. The Nature of the De Planctu Naturae is an ambiguous figure. The Nature of the Roman is both the butt of the vegetable soul and God's vicar in the world<sup>598</sup>.

The definition of Nature is from Alain de Lille's Distinctiones Dictionum Theologicalium. It is not a synthesis, but a series of separate definitions. It forms a direct, and interesting, parallel with a text of Avicenna's, translated into Latin as De Diffinitionibus:

<sup>596</sup> ed. Muckle, in Medieval Studies, tIII, 1940, p.67.

<sup>597</sup> PL 210,871AD, "Natura aliquando ita large sumitur, quod omne illud, quid quo modo potest intelligi (...). Secundum hanc expositionem et hyle et Deus potest dici natura(...)Dicitur etiam complexio(...) Dicitur vitium inolitum pro natura, unde in jure consuetudo dicitur altera natura(...)Dicitur potentia rebus naturalibus indita, ex similibus procreans similia, unde aliquis dicitur fieri secundum naturam."

<sup>598</sup> For the rape of the rosetree, Roman, 21676f; as God's chamberiere, 16742.

Distinctiones (PL 210,871CD)

"Dicitur etiam complexio..."

"Dicitur naturalis calor..."

"Dicitur potentia rebus naturalibus indita, ex similibus procreans similia, unde aliquis dicitur fieri secundum naturam."

De Diffinitionibus (Venice,1546,f<sup>o</sup>129v)

"natura pro complexione

et pro caliditate naturali

et pro formis membrorum,

et pro motibus,

et pro anima vegetativa..."

The parallel is noteworthy, because the De Diffinitionibus is not known to have been translated before the sixteenth century<sup>599</sup>. The Avicenna text, either in the Latin translation or in that done directly from the Arabic, has other points of resemblance with Alain's Distinctiones.

I would not labour the point here, were it not for the fact that Avicenna's text contains the definition of a spirit, known in the Latin translation as Gen seu spiritum and as Génie in the modern French translation of the Arabic text<sup>600</sup>. The description bears a startling resemblance to Jean de Meun's own particular concept of the priest Génius, and I have set it against a modern assessment of Génius's main traits as seen by another writer. The procedure is arbitrary, but will serve to give a little more weight to the hypothesis that both Jean de Meun and Alain before him may have known a translation of the Diffinitiones which has since disappeared.

G. Raynaud de Lage (Le Moyen Age, tI, p.134) De Diffinitionibus (ed.cit.f<sup>o</sup>132r)

J. de Meun(...)a élagué les constructions métaphysiques ébauchées par Alain(...)Nous ne sommes guère éclaircis de son être, il vole comme un ange, mais il porte les insignes d'un abbé ou d'un évêque; avant tout il est le chapelain de Nature et c'est par son intermédiaire(...)la présence et la parole du prêtre rappellent que l'ordre divin des choses est un ordre naturel."

Gen seu spiritus est animal aereum rationale, & habens corpus transparens, cuius natura est, quod figuratur figuris diversis. Et haec quidem non est eius descriptio, sed est intentio nominis."

599 The translation was by Andreas Alpagus, published by his nephew, Petrus Alpagus, Venice, 1546. See the interesting article by M.Th.D'Alverny, in Avicenna nella Storia della Cultura Medioevale, Rome, Accad.Naz. Lincei, 1957, p.85. For similar definitions, cf. Liber de Definicionibus (AHDLM, 1937-8, p.320)

600 trans. A-M.Goich n, Cairo, 1963, p.40. The cuius natura est of the Latin text is rendered as Qui a la propriété de revêtir diverses figures in the French translation.



Whatever the case, and that against this particular hypothesis is fairly heavily weighted, the origins of Genius can still be found in Martianus Capella's Genius:

Genius(...)interpresque meae mentis, δ vous sacer.<sup>601</sup>

As for Alanus's definition of procreative Nature,

potentia rebus naturalibus indita, ex similibus  
procreans similia...

this shows Nature as self-perpetuating in the same way as the texts already quoted from Jean de la Rochelle. The latter's view of the vegetable soul's functions gave them as seminativa, immutativa and plasmativa in the Tractatus de Anima and as generativa, plantativa and augmentativa in the Summa<sup>602</sup>. The terms are fluid, as the definition in the Summa shows; where they are brought up to four with the adding of vis vitalis<sup>603</sup>

Inobediens vero, quae non persuadetur ratione, subdividitur in quatuor, scilicet in virtutem vitalem, quae pulsativa vocatur, et seminativam sive generativam, et plantativam...<sup>604</sup>

This means that the reproductive functions, to which both Avicenna and Jean de la Rochelle after him saw the brain faculties directed, are parts of the irrational mind. This being the case, understanding, reason and memory may all in some circumstances be subject to the irrational impulses of procreation.

When Vincent de Beauvais spoke of the irrational in his Speculum Naturale, he gave two sources. The first of these is Jean de la Rochelle and the second is Albert the Great. The definition in Vincent de Beauvais's Speculum, which continued as a reference work throughout the Middle Ages, is more dramatic than in either of his acknowledged sources.

601, supra, n.264

602 ed. P.M-Quantin, p.72, and Dominichelli, p.246. The terms derive from Avicenna, not from Johannes Damascenus, but cf. De Fide Orthodoxa, ed. Buytaert, p.163.

603 ed. Dominichelli, p.223, "Vis vitalis est in corde(...)sanguinem(...) impellit per venas pulsates, quae arterie vocantur, ex quarum motu..."

604 ibid., p.235-6.

Aliquid enim nullo modo est ordinabile, eo quod nullo modo subiacet imperio rationis, et libertatis voluntatis, sicut commune plantativum, hoc est vegetabile, secundum quod est in hominibus ac brutis ac plantis.<sup>605</sup>

Jean de la Rochelle's view is based on medical texts. That of Albert the Great derives from Aristotle, in primo ethicorum. It is the moral tenor of Albert's treatise that gave the slightly dramatic note to Vincent's definition, led to Aquinas's almost unwilling recognition of fantasy in relation to moral judgement, and then - in my view - to the amusing conceits of the Roman de la Rose.

In the first book of Albert the Great's Ethics the role of the fantasy in moral life is given full value. He calls the vegetable soul, not "a soul", but part of "the soul" (non vocatur anima, sed pars partis animae)<sup>606</sup>. He then outlines, though without acknowledging his source, Scotus Eriugena's view of the intellectus artifex creating in the fantasy material received from the senses. He likens it, in the more recent understanding of the term, to what he calls the virtus formativa, that is to the faculty that puts in order the fantasies it receives<sup>607</sup>. He relates the vegetable soul to the power of that soul in sleep, to the fact that terms like good and evil have no meaning used about the vegetable soul, that reason is then powerless in what amounts to half of man's life span, that though fantasies may relate to the mind's activities when awake they have a life that is their own in sleep. He ends up by accepting that the irrationalis or plantativum bears no relation whatever to reason.

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<sup>605</sup> Douai, 1624, vol. 4, 1960.  
<sup>606</sup> ed. Borgnet, t. 4, p. 142.

<sup>607</sup> *ibid.*, p. 144, "Antiqui animam et intellectum vocabant ut artificem..." Compare with Scotus, PL 122, 577A, "Sicut enim quidam sapiens artifex artem suam de seipso in seipso efficit (...) sic intellectus de se et in se suam rationem genuit." and with Honorius Augustodunensis, Clavis Phisice, BN lat. 6734, f<sup>o</sup> 41v<sup>o</sup>, "sicut enim artifex..."

Haec igitur quidem plantativa pars animae, communis quaedam virtus est omnibus vivis: et ideo statim et parum consideranti apparet quod non est humana: cujus signum est, quia expresse videtur quod haec pars animae et virtus maxime operatur in somno(...) Bonus autem et malus nequaquam manifestatur secundum somnum, sed potius secundum operationes exteriores voluntarias. Unde dicunt in antiquo proverbio, 'Felices nihil a miseris differere secundum dimidium vitae'(...) Similiter et rationem et intellectum conturbat somnus(...) Verumtamen si aliquo quidem motu phantasmata paulatim pertranseunt ad operationem aliquam in somno factam, sic et re vera phantasmata justorum et studiosorum meliora sunt quam phantasmata quorumlibet: et sic etiam in somno differunt studiosi a pravis(...) studiosi ordinati sunt(...) et honesta somnia repraesentant: pravi autem in omnibus his inordinati sunt, et ideo turpia occurrunt eis somnia. Haec tamen differentia non est tanta, quae vel bonum faciat felicem in somnis, vel pravum felicem: quia (sicut diximus) omnium dormientium vires sensibilis et rationales ligatae sunt simpliciter(...) Irrationale enim quod plantativum est, nequaquam communicat ratione: impossibile est enim quod aliquam formam rationis recipiat.<sup>608</sup>

Aristotle's Ethics were translated by William of Moerbeke before 1269 and commented in that year by Saint Thomas Aquinas. Like Albert the Great, the Moerbeke translation used the term plantativum to describe the virtus, which is common to all men and yet does not appear human<sup>609</sup>.

Sleep (quies animae) is a state of meditation in which images are distorted (studiosa et prava)<sup>610</sup>. Saint Thomas comments the phantasmata studiosorum of the text as if it should read phantasmata virtuosorum. In this way the dreams of the studiosi will be better than the dreams of those who vani et inhonestis vigilantes se occupant.<sup>611</sup>

Unfortunately he does not develop this thinking man's charter, though Jean de Meun may well have done so, ironically, in the name of that poetry, which Aquinas openly scorned: infima inter omnes doctrinas, as Thomas called it<sup>612</sup> in the Summa.

608 ed. Borgnet, t.X, p.144-5.

609 ed. Spiazzi, 1964, p.63, "Irrationalis(...) et non humana apparet."

610 ibid., "Somnus enim est quies animae(...) quorumlibet."

611 ibid., p.64, "Et bonus et malus in somno differunt(...) se occupant."

612 supra, n.179.

This, I hasten to add, is speculation and only far more detailed research on the background to the period (totally neglected as regards the relation of fantasy to dream to poetry) will allow the question to be taken further. It was discussed by a number of medieval commentators, among them Averroes<sup>613</sup>. An early French source which clearly reproduces the scholastic view, but in a langage très peu nuancé, is Brunetto Latini's Trésor<sup>614</sup>.

To sum up: in both Albert and Aquinas the world of sleep is peopled with figments of the imagination (phantasmata). These respond to impulses and desires in which man is linked to the plant and animal kingdoms, and in which he is no longer guided by reason or in which, to bring back the Avicennian-Jean de la Rochelle lesson, both reason and understanding are subservient to the natural impulses:

ad regimen corporis.

There is clearly enough textual reference to underline the importance given the vegetable and irrational areas of the soul in the thirteenth century. I would like to suggest that on certain men of letters this revelation of a self-contained, self-ordaining world within themselves, may have had all the impact that Freud's theories had on the more impressionable writers of the 1920s. Freudian ideas of the subconscious are empirically expressed, rely for part of their appeal on literary analogies (such as the 'Oedipus complex') and appear unsophisticated in rational terms, however sophisticated the clinical basis on which they are founded. The notion of the irrational soul, deriving from Greco-Arab science, was related to a complex system of medical, scientific and theological knowledge, and was itself expressed in rational terms of some

613 Comm. Ethicorum in Aristotle's works, Venice, 1562, tIII, f<sup>o</sup>17v<sup>o</sup>a.

614 ed. Carmody, tII, p.180. F.J. Carmody gives reference to Aristotle's Ethics, I, 13 and I,15, not to the commentators.

sophistication. While the subconscious mind and the irrational soul are in some respects similar notions, the former is characterized by a descriptive poverty (Id, Ego, etc.) and by lay superstition, the latter by the dialectical brilliance of Aristotle's Arab and Western followers and by a degree of rationalization that excluded the merely superstitious. I may have loaded the case a little unfairly against the Freudian view of a subconscious mind, in order to suggest the impression that the concept of an irrational soul, related to a coherent and rationalized view of mind, body and physical world may have had in the thirteenth century. This degree of unfairness is necessary if one is to illustrate, in the face both of the general disregard for mediaeval science and of the attitudes usually engendered by that science in the modern mind, the extent to which the poets had to think of themselves and their art in scientific terms. The rational nature of that science was both a strength and a weakness. It allowed the degree of confidence in the competence of one's own rational faculty without which increase in knowledge is impossible. The disdainful way in which Guillaume de Conches slapped down certain flat-earthers, can be quoted in support of this.

Quidam bestiales, plus sensui quam rationi  
credentes, dixerunt, terram esse planam,<sup>615</sup>

This suggests the absolute importance attaching to reason, and the consequently greater importance that could attach to the irrational in such a context.

It can be argued, with reference to the Roman de la Rose, that Guillaume de Lorris, possibly, and Jean de Meun, certainly, understood the irony that could be drawn from the spectacle of the rational in prey

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615 Dragmaticon, 1567, p.213.

to the figments of irrational thought and the vegetable soul. It will be remembered that, in the mid-thirteenth century, the authors favourable to Poetry as a discipline (Vincent de Beauvais and Roger Bacon) both connected it with psychology or the natural sciences.

Of the treatises called De Anima and of those others on subjects akin to Aristotle's Parva Naturalia, which were written or translated between about 1150 and 1250, one deals, though briefly, with divinationes, poetry and what it terms inspiraciones. This is the Liber de Anima, seu sextus de Naturalibus, which appeared recently in a critical edition<sup>616</sup>. Avicenna's De Anima contains material, not only from Aristotle's De Anima but also from other Aristotelian treatises like De Memoria et Reminiscentia and the De Somno et Vigilia. The Avicennian De Anima reached the West at the same time, or perhaps earlier, than the Aristotelian De Anima.<sup>617</sup> The second chapter of the fourth part follows an account of the "internal senses" and is entitled Capitulum de Actionibus horum sensuum interiorum (...) in quo tractatur de somno et vigiliis et de somnio fallaci et vero et aliquantulum de proprietate prophetandi. It describes the imagination (imaginatio) and what might be called the creative or rational imagination (imaginativa) in relation to sleep, dreams and certain forms of prophecy. The imaginativa defined in the first chapter as enabling us to relate forms to each other<sup>618</sup> depends on the faculty of reason, when the soul is governed by the intellect. But when, for instance, the body and the senses are weakened through illness, in fear and in sleep, the imaginativa no longer responds to the power of the reason or that of the intellect, but to the animal soul and its different needs<sup>619</sup>. Avicenna points out

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616 ed. S. van Riet, Louvain/Leyden, 1968. For the ms. of the De Anima included among M.Th.d'Alverny's survey of Avicenna ms. in the West, cf. AHDIMA, tXXVIII-XXXIV.

617 ed. S. van Riet, p.2\*.

618 *ibid.*, p.6, "ut componamus sensibilia inter sem.."

619 p.6, p.17-18.

that there are those men, in whom the imaginative faculty is in any case very strong, and who see in their waking moments what others see only in their sleep<sup>620</sup>. Such imaginings may have the form of prophecy<sup>621</sup>. It is at this point that Avicenna examines the role of what he terms inspiraciones, introduced as aliae prophetiae (other forms of prophecy). This is a sophisticated account of that type of divinatio in dream, which Macrobius had classed mainly according to content. Macrobius had, in any case, given little importance to the workings through which the mind's mechanism might receive the somnia, visiones and oracula, listed in his commentary on Scipio's Dream. Avicenna's account is as follows:

Nullus autem hominum est qui non habeat portionem (=prophetiarum) in somniis et in apprehensionibus quae fiunt in vigilantibus: inspirationum etenim quae subito in animam cadunt, non est causa nisi aliquae continuitates quae non percipiuntur nec id cui continuantur nec ante illas nec post illas, et movetur anima ab illis ad aliud ab eo in quo fuerat. Et hoc aliquando est omnis generis, quoniam aliquando est ab intellectibus et aliquando est a divinationibus et aliquando est ex versibus, et fit hoc secundum aptitudinem et usum et mores. Illae autem inspirationes sunt ex causis quae adiuvant animam plerumque incognitae et plerumque sunt sicuti apparitiones subitae, quae non sunt residentes ita ut rememorari queant nisi eis succurrerit anima, <sup>cum</sup> retentione appetita quia, quod potius agit anima, hoc est scilicet retinere imaginationem circa genus dissimile ab eo in quo erat."<sup>622</sup>

(There is no man who does not have his share (of inspired insights) both in dreams and in the intuitions which occur in a state of wakefulness: the cause of those insights which suddenly come upon the soul is none other than certain unconscious trains of thought; these are neither that state of mind which preceded them, nor that which followed them, so that the soul is carried by these trains of thought from the state of mind in which it was previously to that other state of mind. This phenomenon takes different forms, so that it is sometimes expressed by intellectual inquiry, sometimes by prophetic insights and sometimes in poetry, and this depends on mental discipline, on habit

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620 p.18, "Isti habent in vigiliis quod alii in somniis..."

621 p.19, "Et haec est propria prophetia virtutis imaginativae; sunt autem hic aliae prophetiae."

622 ed. S. van Riet, p.19-20.

and on disposition. Many of these insights are nurtured in the mind, without the mind being aware of their presence, while others occur as sudden apparitions foreign to that mind, so that, in order for them to be remembered the mind must wish them to be remembered: the mind's ~~job~~ intent is to keep the imprint of that which is different from the impressions it entertained previously.)

This passage of Avicenna's De Anima gives an account of inspiration and of insight, attaching full importance to the role of the imagination at particular times and in certain types of people, among them the poets. The translation of Avicenna's De Anima by Gundissalinus and John of Seville dates from the middle of the twelfth century. It is the first widely diffused text I know of to have dealt with the subject at length. It makes the distinction between the different forms taken by these insights which are sometimes of an intellectual character, sometimes prophetic (divinationes) and sometimes poetic. Avicenna does not say whether they are of a specifically religious nature. The important point is that these follow from an account of the imagination, and that in one instance the Imagination is subject to the Reason, and in another is freed from Reason's control and able to express its own desires. It is clearly in the latter state that the unconscious trains (continuitates) of thought break in on the process of reasoned thought and express themselves in imaginative terms. The association of prophetic insights and poetry (divinationes and versus) is highly suggestive, while the mention of intellectual inquiry (intellectus) suggests the intuitions of the state of wakefulness (apprehensiones) as in the Anticlaudianus.

So it is that the texts of the philosophers and theologians - David de Dinant, Albert the Great and Avicenna - with views deriving mainly from Aristotle, give an account of the workings of the mind and body that are associated with poetic and with imaginative activity generally. Albert's De Somno et Vigilia and the De Anima of Avicenna have both



survived in a considerable number of manuscripts. The question whether Jean de Meun knew these texts is problematic, though the part of the Roman de la Rose written by him is permeated with views that link literary creation to its sources in body and mind. Both the beginning and the end of the Roman are particularly significant in this respect. I shall examine only those aspects of the work that are of concern to this study. These are firstly the relation of the work of literature or of the intellect to the mind that creates it, secondly the meaning of the dream convention in which the poem is set and the way it reflects the relation of mind and body, and thirdly the vexed question of whether it is possible to read specific meanings into the fantasiae of the poem.

b. The Roman de la Rose.

The malaise shown by scholars and literary critics concerned with interpreting particular points in the Roman de la Rose is striking. Among historians of ideas it raises the same sort of heated discussion as the work of Rabelais. The views taken of the poem have varied considerably, and were described in a recent article by M-R. Jung<sup>623</sup>. Since his article appeared, there has been a perceptive study by J.V. Fleming on the tradition of miniatures in manuscripts of the Rose and contributions by R. Tuve and W. Wetherbee mainly concerned with problems of thematic or literary unity<sup>624</sup>. The actual text is so rich in views and in developments of views that, unless comment is based on a particular aspect of the work such as the question of sources, it is fair to say that almost any conviction about Jean de Meun, whether as a Voltaire avant la lettre, as an academic Averroist, as an amuseur or as a good son of the Church, can be sustained by reference to the text.

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623 "Der Rosenroman in der Kritik...", Rom.Forschungen, Bd.78, 1966.

624 The Roman de la Rose, Princeton, 1969; R. Tuve, op.cit., W. Wetherbee, Medieval Studies, t32, 1971.

Even an apparently simple matter, such as the extent of Jean de Meun's learning has been the occasion of disagreement. He has been seen, quite literally, as embracing all the knowledge of his time. G. Paré rejected this view with scorn and held that if he was compared to his contemporaries, his learning could be seen to be de l'enfantillage, and that it was as unrealistic to judge his century by it as to look for modern science in nos magazines et nos almanachs<sup>626</sup>. It must be said, going on the evidence available in the Rose, and compared to encyclopedists like Vincent de Beauvais or even the less well known scholars and theologians like Jean de la Rochelle, that Jean de Meun knew relatively little. In my view, it is only a knowledge of medieval science based mainly on the Bestiaires and on manuals of alchemy that makes really flattering assessments of his learning possible. A hundred years after his death Pierre Col and Christine de Pisan were also at variance on the subject. Pierre Col looked on Jean de Meun as ung abisme in the Hugolian sense of the term<sup>627</sup>. Christine de Pisan felt that his sponsors had failed to make a case for the depth of his learning<sup>628</sup>. Where we are concerned many centuries later, the central problem must inevitably be one of sources: to discover what, if anything, he added to the texts he knew and absorbed and used in his own work. At the moment not enough is known about these sources, and this again exemplifies the range of disagreement on his account: it has been said, for instance, that Fr. Paré exaggerated the extent to which Jean drew on Aristotelian and Greco-Arabic sources<sup>629</sup>. I find that he underestimated their importance.

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626 G. Paré, Le Roman de la Rose, Montreal, 1947, p. 310-11.

627 "son livre de la Rose, pour lequel louer je n'ose ouvrir la bouche, ne que je feroye avancier mon pié pour entrer en ung abisme." (in Charles F. Ward, The Epistles on the Roman de la Rose, Chicago, 1911, p. 56).

628 *ibid.*, p. 91, "Et chascun cuide trop bien entendre(...)Et puis, <sup>quant</sup> ilz ont fait et fait et gasté leur temps, ilz y scevent autant comme devant."

629 D.W. Robertson, A Preface to Chaucer, Princeton, 1963, p. 101, p. 104.

The major contributions to our understanding of Jean de Meun have been made by E. Langlois and G. Paré<sup>630</sup>. These concerned his sources and the relation of the knowledge revealed by them to that of his contemporaries. Only when more is known about this should it be possible to draw conclusions about his 'beliefs' in the manner fashionable since the appearance of A.M.F. Gunn's study in 1952<sup>631</sup>.

On present evidence one can characterize Jean de Meun as an extremely clever schoolman, widely read rather than learned, a writer rather than a scholar<sup>632</sup>.

Guillaume de Lorris's four thousand odd lines have been the cause of less disagreement. The extent to which he created out of various elements a new type of literary work has been carefully analyzed<sup>633</sup>. Its incompleteness makes it difficult to guess the writer's intentions, though one obvious parallel for a work,

ou l'art d'Amors est tote enclose (l.38)

must be another work with similar encyclopedic pretensions on a single subject. One other work known at the period voices this type of pretension. This is the Canon of Medicine, the Liber Canonis of Avicenna. While other encyclopedias, compendia of learning or summas begin with expressions of becoming modesty, Avicenna was casually arrogant. In the Prologue to the Canon he begins by thanking God for his blessings; he includes himself by inference among God's prophets; he mentions that a friend had asked him for a treatise on medicine and that he was prepared to oblige<sup>634</sup>. The

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630 E. Langlois, Origines et Sources du R. de la R., Paris, 1891; G. Paré, Le Roman de la Rose et la scolastique rouennaise, Publ. Inst. Et. Med. n° 10, Ottawa, 1941 and id., Le Roman de la Rose, Montreal, 1947.

631 The Mirror of Love, Lubbock, Texas, 1952.

632 This is the view of E.R. Curtius, Eur. Lit. and Lat. M.A., p.486.

633 H.R. Jauss, "La transformation de la forme allégorique entre 1180 et 1240" in L'Humanisme médiéval (Univ. de Strasbourg Actes et Colloques, N°3), Paris, 1964; and M. Defourny, Mélanges Rita Lejeune, tII, p.1163-69; M-R. Jung, op.cit., 1971.

634 Lyon, 1498. Prologue, "In primis deo gratias agemus sicut sui ordinis

five volumes that follow this declaration of noblesse oblige must have seemed a massive achievement in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries<sup>635</sup>.

They study the powers of the soul as well as anatomy, illness, preventive medicine and cures.

It is possible that Guillaume was not the first author to have thought, seriously or comically, of rivalling Avicenna. The pedantic tone adopted by Andreas Capellanus in his De Amore suggests analogies with a scientific style and approach:

Amor est passio quaedam innata procedens ex visione et immoderata cogitatione formae alterius sexus, ob quam aliquis super omnia cupit alterius potiri amplexibus...<sup>636</sup>

Another work by an Arab author, the Andalusian Ibn Hazm, not however translated during the Middle Ages, also began by calling down God's blessings on his prophets, then went on to comply with a friend's request for a treatise on love, on its different aspects, causes and effects<sup>637</sup>. The parallel with the Canon is clear.

The dedication at the beginning of the Rose, in a slightly different order, claims to write an all embracing treatise on love, calls down God's blessing and mentions the person for whom it is being written.

(continued from previous page)

celtudo et beneficii ipsius multitudo meretur; cuius misericordie super omnes prophetas eius existunt. Et post dicam quod quidam de melioribus amicis quos habere videor cui in omnibus pro quibus me deprecatus fuerit satisfacere debeo de re quam possum, me rogavit ut ei librum de medicina faciam, eius regulas universales et particulares taliter comprehendentem, ut explanatio cum brevitate in eo coniungatur; et secundum plurimum afferam quantum est afferendum de declaratione in verbis paucis: quid equidem concessi. Et mihi placuit ut in primis loquerer de rebus communibus et universalibus utriusque partis medicine..."

635 Cf. A.C. Crombie, "Avicenna's Influence on Medieval Scientific Tradition" in Avicenna, ed. Wickens, p.89f.

636 ed. Trojel, 1892, p.3. Cf. Le R.de la R., ll. 4347-54.

637 El Collar de la Paloma, trans. E. García Gomez, Madrid, 1952, p.67, "impetrar la bendición divina(...)para todos sus profetas..." And to the friend: "Me has pedido, Dios te honre, que componga para ti una risala (Ar. treatise) en la que pinte el amor, sus aspectos, causas y accidentes y cuanto en él o por él acaece; y esto lo haga con veracidad..." (...a treatise in which I describe love, its different aspects, causes)

ce est li Romanz de la Rose,  
 ou l'art d'Amore est tote enclose.  
 La matire est et bone et nueve,  
 or doint Dex qu'en gré le receve  
 cele por qui je l'ai empris:  
 c'est cele qui tant a de pris  
 et tant est digne d'estre amee  
 qu'el doit estre Rose clamee. (ll. 37-44)

The poem is being written at Love's bidding,

Or veil cel songe rimeer  
 por vos cuers plus feire agueer,  
 qu'Amors le me prie et comande. (ll. 31-33)

The poem had in fact started with the explanation that the events in it were to take place within a dream (ll. 1-20).

Since within a dream the mind knows only itself, the events in the dream are the substance of that mind expressed in fantasies. J.V. Fleming made this point, but from a thematic standpoint:

The ultimate object of Amant's love is not the 'lady', not 'love itself', not even some fragile and immeasurable mystery of the human heart(...)but himself. Amant's object is seipsum.<sup>638</sup>

If it can be supposed that both Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun were acquainted with the school learning of their day (and in Jean de Meun's case there is no doubt on this score), then the greater part of the poem, at least, was written in the awareness that the object of love was part of self. This is not to advance a hypothesis, but only to mention a commonplace in the teaching of the day. J.V. Fleming's view might be ~~pedantically~~ rephrased: Amant's object is his own soul or an aspect of it.

Moreover,<sup>at</sup> approximately the time when Guillaume wrote his poem, it was possible to find the view that the soul could be compared to a beautiful woman.

Tibi, anima rationalis, proponitur verbum istud, quod es mulierum pulcherrima: quia omnium creaturarum speciosissima, tenes imaginem et similitudinem summae pulchritudinis et decoris.<sup>639</sup>

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638 Fleming, op.cit., p.167.

639 Jean de la Rochelle, Summa de Anima, ed. Dominichelli, p.103. Cf. *infra*, n.1005.

The notion that the Roman de la Rose is a competitor in the field of love to Avicenna's Canon in medical science is ~~an~~fairly acceptable hypothesis, ~~among those offered,~~ as to the initial inspiration behind its writing.<sup>640</sup> The view that the Rose of the title or the lady of the poem can be totally identified with the soul, on the other hand, is a doubtful hypothesis, though one worth pursuing through research into poetry and philosophy and theology in Latin and in the vernacular. In all probability the rose is a many-sided metaphor. In his commentary on the Aeneid Bernardus Silvestris pointed out that metaphors and allegories in poetry are seldom confined to a single sense<sup>641</sup>. As I shall attempt to show, with regard to the closing lines of the Rose, the reader is confronted with a wealth of metaphor and meaning. To suggest that only one of them is the acceptable sense is to do a disservice to further research. Various other lines of research could be entertained: among them, Abgazel's suggestion in his Metaphysica (translated by Gundissalinus in the twelfth century) that his treatise is itself a heavenly flower:

Tractatus iste quasi flos divinorum qui est id quod  
acquiritur ex eis...<sup>642</sup>

This point should be carefully considered, because the Metaphysica appears to be the serious theological treatise on desire of heavenly things and the impulses within the body that motivate this desire, on which Jean de Meun's closing lines are a ribald commentary. There can be little doubting the satirical bent of Jean's mind. The question is whether Guillaume too was only half-serious. It is possible however that Guillaume is developing

640 It is also known that Arab medicine considered love as an illness and described its symptoms with apparent seriousness, cf. E. García Gomez, El Collar de la Paloma, 56. In another Avicenna text, Le Poème de la Médecine, not translated in Guillaume's day, there is an interesting reference to Poets and Doctors: "Les Poètes sont les princes du Verbe, les Médecins règnent sur le Corps./L'éloquence des premiers réjouit l'âme..." (ed. and trans. H. Jahier, A. Nouredinne, Paris, 1956, p.11).

641 ed. Riedel, p.9, "idem nomen diversas designat naturas(...)ut Apollo" and p.108-9, "Jupiter multipliciter..."

642 ed. Muckle, p.119. This returns in Guillaume d'Auxerre's commentary on the Anticlaudianus, BNlat8299, f<sup>o</sup>13.v<sup>o</sup>, "Ut rosa, flos florum, sic est liber iste librorum, / Metra modernorum superans, et metra priorum/  
Verumt enim .....

a conceit in which the person for whom he is writing the poem - "cele por qui je l'ai empris" - is his soul, or his work as a reflection of his soul, or a symbol reflecting the liber animae unwritten within his mind. There was undoubtedly the material for such conceits within the literature of the period, as E.R. Curtius has shown<sup>643</sup>, with regard to Latin literature. Jean de Meun's use and abuse of the Rose metaphor in the closing lines show what was possible, for a man of mental agility and wit.

On the face of it, Guillaume's beginning shows no particular understanding of the dream convention, which he mentions briefly with reference to

un auctor qui ot non Macrobes,  
qui ne tint pas songes a lobes,  
ainçois escrit l'avisioin  
qui'avint au roi Scypion. (ll. 7-10)

Macrobius was not the author of Scipio's dream, and his commentary on the Cicero text distinguished sharply between different categories of dream, whereas Guillaume de Lorris appears to hold as a general principle that dreams reveals meaning:

quar endroit moi ai ge fiance  
que songes est senefiance (ll. 15-16)

These lines from Guillaume de Lorris suggest either that Macrobius was little more than a name in the mid-thirteenth century<sup>644</sup>, and that knowledge of his work was secondhand, or that there is some schoolman's joke in this allusion which escapes us. The theory that songes here is a translation of the dream category that Macrobius called somnium (that is,

643 op.cit., p.316, particularly n.26.

644 The De Spiritu et Anima, for instance, attributed to Saint Augustine, from the second half of the twelfth century until the mid-thirteenth century, contained all Macrobius's dream categories with only slight variations: insomnia are put down partly to changes in the humours (PL 40,798). This work has survived, it is estimated, in over a hundred ms. In the XIIIth century it is quoted far more frequently than the In Somnium Scipionis, and Macrobius may well have been effaced in this way, with his dream categories thought to be the work of Augustine.

a serious dream requiring interpretation) is not born out by the first supposition<sup>645</sup>. It could however be connected to the second. Guillaume's other references to dreams (ll. 26-30) are concerned with the relation of dream to truth, or with the substance of the dream to its real meaning (2065-74)<sup>646</sup>. On the evidence here Guillaume's ideas on dreams were limited to the classic distinction between apparent and covert sense. When he has finished his exposition he says,

La verité, qui est coverte,  
vos sera lores ~~toute~~ overte  
quant espondre m'oroiz le songe. (2071-3)

This is little more than repetition of his opening remarks on dreams and explanations.

Jean, on the other hand, appears to care little for the vision of Macrobius:

et ce n'est for truffe et mançonge,  
ainsinc con de l'ome qui songe,  
qui voit, ce cuide, en leur presances,  
les espritueX sustances,  
si con fist Scipion jadis. (18333-37)

This remark supposes at least some knowledge of the Cicero text. As far as can be determined Jean is contrasting it unfavourably with the new science, which, in this case, is based on Algazel's Metaphysica<sup>647</sup>. This connection is only advanced here, because no other satisfactory account for the passage relating mirrors to dreams and fantasies (18217-337) has been found. If Jean was really working from the Metaphysica, and not from a commentary, or some other text derived from Algazel, then it must be said that the occasional obscurities of the original text have been magnified by Jean's enigmatic tone. This tone sometimes suggests that he was working from memory.

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645 Cf. C. Dahlberg, "Macrobius and the Unity of the R. de la R." in Studies in Philology, 1961, t58, p.573 and J.V. Fleming, op.cit., p.54-55. J.V.F. considers that Guillaume intended irony.

646 On the exposition of the truth of a dream within a dream (G. de L's declared intention here) cf. Avicenna, De Anima, ed. S. van Riet, p.25-6.

647 M. Alonso, Al Andalus, tXII, 1947, p.331, gives a total of 11 ms. (Muckle used only six).



Le Roman de la Rose

Mes ne vueill or pas metre cures  
 en desclarer les figures  
 des mirouers.....  
 (.....)  
 (.....)  
 ne por quoi des choses mirees  
 sont les ymages revirees  
 aus euz de ceus qui là se mirent  
 quant vers les mirouers se virent,  
 ne les leus de leur apparances  
 ne les causes des decevances;  
 ne ne revueill dire, biau prestre,  
 ou tex ydoles ont leur estre,  
 ou es mirouers ou defores,  
 ne ne raconterai pas ores  
 d'autres visions merveilleuses,  
 soient plesanz ou doulereuses,  
 que l'an voit avenir soudaines,  
 savoir mon s'eles sunt foraines  
 ou, san plus, en la fantasie.  
 (18217-37)

Metaphysica, ed. Muckle

Et impressio formarum illarum in  
 anima ab illis substanciis cum ipsa est  
 coniuncta cum illis, est sicut  
 representacio <sup>(sigillatim)</sup> forme in uno speculo ab  
 alio speculo sibi opposito (...). Quicquid  
 enim apparet in uno speculo, apparet ex  
 alio secundum modulum suum. Si autem  
 ille forme fuerint singulares, ab anima  
 venient in imaginacionem, et servabit  
 eas servatrix secundum modum earum, et  
 virtus fantastica que adulatur rebus  
 non exemplificabit eas (...). Si <sup>vero</sup> fantasia  
 vicerit, vel anima in apprehendendo  
 formas, debilis fuerit, tunc fantasia  
 fiet velocior in sua natura, ad  
 commutandum exemplificando id quod  
 vidit anima. Sicut commutat hominem in  
 arborem et inimicum in serpentem  
 (p.189)

This particular passage of the Metaphysica, it must be added, deals with true visions (vere visiones). The next category, outlined by Algazel, consists, in the same precise order as in the Rose, of an attack on the vana sompnia. Jean continues to maintain that ceste merveilleuse science is for clers, rather than genz lais, and that he and they are unwilling to expand on its secrets.

Le Roman de la Rose (18257-70)

Ne des visions les manieres,  
 tant sunt merveilleuses et fieres,  
 ne porroient il otraier,  
 qui les leur voudroit desplaier,  
 ne quex sunt les decepcions  
 qui viennent par tex visions,  
 soit en vaillant, soit en dormant,  
 don maint s'esbahissent formant.  
 Por ce les veill ci trespasser,  
 ne si ne veill or pas lasser  
 moi de parler ne vos d'oïr:  
 bon fet prolixité foïr.  
 Si sunt fames mout annuieuses  
 et de parler contrarieuses.

Metaphysica (p. 190)

Sextum est de vanis sompniis scilicet,  
 que non habent radicem. Horum causa est  
 motus virtutis fantastice, et eius  
 instabilitas (...). Cum vero instabilitas  
 fantasie fuerit forcior, ex aliqua  
 causarum non cessat adulari et advenire  
 formas que non habent esse (...). quousque  
 evigilat et reminiscitur eius quod  
 vidit in sompnis; et adulacionis eius  
 sunt eciam cause aliqne disposicionis  
 corporum et aliqne complexiones quoniam  
 si complexione dominatur calera, tunc  
 exemplificabit visis rebus citrinis.

At this point Jean chooses not to follow the argument, slips in a proverb and uses the Algazel illustration of the element of fire within the humours

of the body as an excuse to browbeat women who are "contrariwise" by nature. This leads to the story about Dame Habonde (18395-468). There are further parallels between the Rose and the Metaphysica, always following the order established in the Algazel text. I shall deal only with the most important.

In Algazel they come under the heading cause miraculorum (Muckle, p.193-6) and cover the mind's ability to subject the elements to its will, a heretical notion<sup>648</sup> discussed at length in another Arabic text available in Latin in the medieval period, Alkindi's De Radiis Stellarum<sup>649</sup>. Jean treats this most circumspectly, and it should prove interesting to examine the exact extent of his debt here to Alkindi, to Algazel and possibly to some other source (18469-558). The second causa miraculorum is to use Algazel's words the virtus speculativa.

Secundum est virtus speculativa. Clarificatur enim anima in tantum, quod fit aptissima coniungi cum intelligencia agente, sic ut infundatur ei sciencie<sup>650</sup>

For the Roman de la Rose this new departure indicated by Algazel was of importance. Jean used it to launch his writer's or schoolman's manifesto, firstly for the dignity of the writer, secondly for that of mankind (18559-18860 and 18969-19088). In the first instance he places the clerc above the man whose position is due to birth alone; in the second, he develops a humanist's argument on man in the universe,

c'est uns petiz mondes nouveaux (l. 19023), .

who combines in himself the attributes of all the other forms of creation:

il a son estre avec les pierres,  
et vit avec les herbes drues,  
et sent avec les bestes mues;

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648 For the condemnation of this in 1277, cf. Gilles de Rome (or Egidius Romanus), Errores Philosophorum, ed. Josef Koch, Milwaukee, 1944, p.xliv-xlvi, also D. Salman, "Algazel et les Latins", AHDLMA, tX, 1935.

649 On Alkindi's treatise, cf. Thorndike, Hist.Magic, tI, p.643. I have consulted this in BM. ms. Harley 13. An edition of the text is being prepared by Mme. Hadry-Richelonne.

650 ed. Muckle, p.194.

oncor peut il trop plus an tant  
qu'il avec les anges antant (19016-20)

This is the argument majestically developed by Scotus Eriugena (supra, n372, n381) and there can be little doubt that Scotus is also the ultimate source for what is perhaps the most famous metaphor in the Rose: Jean de Meun's description of Nature at work in her forge (15861-16118). For Scotus, man was

creaturarum omnium officina.(supra,n.372)

At intervals through this humanistic manifesto Jean returns to speaking of the influence of the stars on men's fortunes, so that the influence of the first causa miraculorum -

Et qui voudroit plus bas anquerre  
des miracles que font en terre  
li cors du ciel et les esteles (18927-29)

- true to the thought of Alkindi and Algazel, continues to pervade this other humanism. The term Humanism, however, leads to so many misunderstandings - mainly because historians of ideas will insist on looking for simple teachable meanings in places where there are few to be found - that it is necessary to put the word into perspective. It is only possible to achieve this by going back to an earlier point in the poem. This study of the Roman de la Rose was introduced by a lengthy analysis of the place of the vegetable soul and of the irrational mind, of the powerlessness of understanding and reason in sleep and of fantasy's power over the sleeping mind.

It must be clear by now that Guillaume's Amant setting off into the green countryside corresponds to poets' delight in what Albert the Great called the vernum tempus, and that just as Albert saw this as the reaction of the humours to the pull of spring and Nature, so too Nature, the vegetable soul and the reproductive need are all implicitly linked.

The research done by H. Jauss and M-R. Jung makes it appear likely that the sources of the work were literary, rather than philosophical or scientific. I have added that, until another more reasonable explanation is offered, there is every reason to suppose that the definition of the Roman, the poet's programme (to write a work

ou l'art d'Amours est tote enclose )

suggests a conscious rivalry with Avicenna. There is no reason for this assumption to clash in any way with the other claim that Guillaume's sources were literary. While Jean de Meun's account of dreaming amounts to a complicated but not very successful version of Algazel, that given by Guillaume, on the other hand, is uncomplicated, at least in as far as the poem to line 4028 allows the reader to judge.

Jean de Meun set out to define his work in terms of a body-mind relationship, which allowed him to develop almost all the points made by the other, usually in the direction of double-entendre against a background of science and scholastic thought. The allusions to scientific and "naturalistic" thought actually seem to increase in number towards the end of the poem. Quite early on Raison advocates amour naturel, claiming that the usual moral judgements are not binding to it.

A ceste amor sunt presz et prestes  
ausinc li home com les bestes.  
Ceste amor, combien qu'el profite,  
n'a los ne blame ne merite,  
n'en font n'a blamer n'a loer.  
Nature les i fet voer,  
force leur fet, c'est chose voire,  
n'el n'a seyr nul vice victoire. (5745-52)

This was the point accepted by both Albert the Great and Aquinas in their work on Aristotle's Ethics. Reason also maintains a use of plain names for the genital organs, arguing that these are God-given and the names natural to them (ll. 6898-6944).

The description of Nature forging the singulieres pieces of creation,

which show her superiority to both Death and Art (also the superiority of her natural alchemy to the alchemist's art<sup>651</sup>) is a sophisticated argument for placing the poet's calling above those concerned with the other arts. There is no question of seeing Poetry or Learning as an aspect of Art. Whereas Art is shown on her knees in front of Nature, pleading for enlightenment, because she lacks knowledge and strength to accomplish her tasks:

don Art fesoit ses examplaires  
 qui ne fet pas fourmes si vaires;  
 mes par mout antantive cure  
 A genouz est devant Nature,  
 si prie et requiert et demande,  
 comme mandianz et truande,  
 povre de sciance et de force,  
 qui d'ansivre la mout s'efforce,  
 que Nature li veille aprandre  
 comment ele puisse comprendre  
 par son angin an ses figures  
 proprement toutes creatures;  
 si garde comment Nature euvre,  
 car mout voudroit fere autele euvre,  
 et la contrefet comme singes (15987-16001)

The clerc or poet - by Nature's own admission - is equal to the task of understanding and describing the world.

Les choses voit du monde escrites  
 si comme el sunt fetes et dites;  
 il voit es anciennes vies  
 de tous vilainz les vilanies  
 et touz les fez de courtais homes (18615-19)

That understanding is partly moral and partly scientific and places him in respect of nobility, as Jean chooses to define it, above the nobleman<sup>652</sup>. The poet is superior to other artists in the way in which, for Boethius, the composer was superior to the musician-instrumentalist. To understand in the sense adopted by Boethius was to possess knowledge, which in turn was to possess the thing of which you had knowledge. It is clear that

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651 On this Lecoy, tII, p.298-300, also M. Eliade, Forgerons et Alchimistes, Paris, 1956, p.54f, and on alchemy as a form of early humanism, A.Badawi, Studia Islamica, t6, 1956, p.84-5.

652 The view is implicit, and cautiously stated in 18559-18866, passim.

the Nature referred to here by Jean is Nature in her role as creator of living forms (15861-16004), and that Art is the practice of the plastic arts (16005-16034).

Moreover, since the author's nature shares in a Nature that he is capable of understanding, the author is superior to that Nature in the sense mentioned; while the author's share in Genius who is both ingenium and transcendental being gives him a partial understanding of the reality beyond the grasp of the senses.

Something should be said briefly here of the quarrels on the subject of the vegetable soul. The view that the soul is composed of an anima intellectualis, an anima sensibilis and an anima vegetabilis, in the sense that these were distinct entities, was modified by Albert the Great<sup>653</sup>. Earlier it had been rejected vigorously by Guillaume d'Auvergne, the bishop of Paris, in his De Anima, with reference to the influence of the body on the soul. The bishop of Paris refused what he termed

errorem Aristotelis qui hunc statum naturalem posuit  
animabus humanis<sup>654</sup>

He would not accept that the vegetable soul within man was of the same type as the vegetable soul within plant life<sup>655</sup>. This was part of his contention that the powers of the soul cannot be considered separately from the soul itself<sup>656</sup>. In this respect he defined naturalis amor as

desiderium animarum humanarum ad scientias & virtutes

which he contrasted with the ardores vulnerantes of sensual love.

This definition of natural love runs counter to that given by Jean de Meun (ll. 5745-52), while Jean de Meun's view of the landscape of the dream as a place of light and eternal spring is opposed to Guillaume

653 supra, p.606.

654 Opera, Paris, 1674, tIII, Supplementum, p.65.

655 ibid., p.107, "anima vegetabilis in homine, & in planta non sunt ejusdem speciei, sed neque ipsa vegetatio sive vita."

656 cf. O. Lottin, "L'identité de l'âme et de ses facultés", Revue néoscol. Philos. 1934, t36.

d'Auvergne's conviction that

In sensibilibus autem etsi nullum reluceat pulchritudinis  
 creatoris vestigium.<sup>657</sup>

There is some reason to mention Guillaume d'Auvergne here. His writing contains mentions of the estries and of Dame Habonde which occupy a place in the Rose (ll. 18395-468), and in general terms his position refuses all the assumptions that underlie Jean de Meun's work. There is as much reason to link him in the present state of our knowledge with Jean de Meun, as there is to link Jean de Meun with Averroes<sup>658</sup>. The matter should repay further investigation, but as this study is primarily concerned with the facts of the poem, the continuing echoes of academic squabbling found in the Rose must be mostly overlooked, and attention concentrated on the relation of the main characters to anima.

Most of the allegorical figures that appear in the dream are forces from within the vegetable soul, placed within the setting of the natural or vegetable world. Genius transcends them in both the literal and the figurative sense because, like Raison, he is a faculty of the mind, who in a state of wakefulness would look away from the stirring of forces within the soul's lower reaches. They are all of course, for the duration of a poem that is also the duration of a dream, fantasies or figments of the imagination. The same is true, in Jean's work, of Pigmalion. As a literary creation, he benefits from a background in mythology and from Ovid's use of him in the Metamorphoses<sup>659</sup>. But as a figment of Jean's imagination he is subject to the same limiting, yet self-indulgent, existence as Bel Accueil, Danger and the rest of the fantasy-forces who follow their natural bents.

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657 Opera, II, p.138.

658 Cf. F.W.Mueller, Der Rosenroman und der lateinische Averroismus, Frankfurt, 1947. This interesting work does not deserve J.V.Fleming's scorn (op.cit., p.214). Mueller does not mention Averroes's Latin texts, but concentrates mainly on Siger de Brabant and on Boethius of Dacia, most of whose work has disappeared. The case for Jean's Averroism is not properly made.

659 Metamorphoses, X, 242-97. Only the plot is Ovid's; the double meanings are Jean's.

Always supposing that Jean knew Algazel's Metaphysica in the original text, and not some intervening commentary or other text deriving its views from Algazel, there appears to be the native idea for inserting a Pygmalion figure in the Roman de la Rose in the following idea which links motus manus, imagination, and Sciencia sculptoris: knowledge of God in Algazel's view is desire for him through desire for, and knowledge of, Nature.

Cum enim accidit nobis imaginari rem amatam, provenit ex imaginacione virtus desiderii(...)ymaginacio igitur casus, et inquisicio forme eius in eadem hora, est causa nei ymagnate scilicet, casus(...)Motus igitur manus provenit ex virtute desiderii; motus vero virtutis desiderii provenit ex imaginacione et ex sciencia quod esse debeat(...)per scienciam sculptoris provenit forma sculpture quam adinvenit ex se ipso sine precedenti exemplo, et sculpsit eam, et ob hoc sculptura habet esse per eum.<sup>660</sup>

This is in outline the basis of the Pygmalion episode (ll. 20787-21144), while details from Jean de Meun's account - the reference to the miracle (21099) and to the festivities and the making of music (20991-21050) - seem to return to the third causa miraculorum in the Metaphysica. This, fittingly enough for the story of Pygmalion, is fantasy:

Tercium est fantastica virtus. Cum enim fortis est anima in vigilando coniungitur seculo proscienciarum, sicut predictum est, et id quod apprehendit anima, fantasia assimilat formis pulcris, et vocibus modulatis, et videt tunc, et audit vigilans, sicut solet videre, et audire in sompno propter causam quam diximus. Unde forma assimilata substancie nobili est forma mirabilis pulcherrima. Et hec est angelus quem videt propheta, vel sapientissimus, et revelaciones que fiunt anime propter sui coniunccionem cum substanciis excellentibus, sunt quasi verba ornata modulata que cadunt in sensum communem, et audiuntur.<sup>661</sup>

These two passages are, to all appearances, merely the outline of the idea: Within the story proper the heavier double-entendre is owed to Avicenna's Canon of Medicine. It is this text which ties both

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660 ed. Muckle, p.74, 78-9.

661 ibid., p.196. The prophet referred to is Mahomet; the angel is Gabriel.



the sculptor (in Ovid) and the discussion of the sculptor's science as a way to God (in Algazel) into the dream context of the irrational drives and the reproductive urge. In the Canon of Medicine the male organ is to the female as creator to artefact or to the material on which he works.

Necessitas vero est ad sperma generandum quod genealogiam servat. Iuvamentum vero est ad hoc ut complementum forme detur, et complexio masculina et femina conservatur...<sup>662</sup> (Lib.I, Fen I, Doct.5, Cap.I)

It is Avicenna almost certainly, and not Averroes as F.W. Mueller claimed in his study of Jean as an Averroist<sup>663</sup>, who is at the root of theories of generation and perpetuation of the species in the Roman de la Rose. Avicenna brings out the sculptural parallels, though the text in the Gerard of Cremona translation sometimes lacks clarity and can be usefully complemented by a modern translation direct from the Arabic.

Liber Canonis (I,I,VI,2)

Virtus vero formativa imprimens est illa ex qua precepto sui creatoris provenit membrorum lineatio et ipsorum figuratio et concavitates et foramina... (Lyon, 1498, f<sup>o</sup> t.vi.v<sup>o</sup> v<sup>o</sup>)

The Canon of Medicine (O.Cameron Gruber, trans.)

The informative or plastic faculty (lit. as in a sculpture or painting) is that (in the female element, tr.) whereby, subject to the decree of Allah, the delineation and configuration of the members is produced...(p114)

It is permissible to compare the twelfth century translation with a modern version in another language, because the latter shows the sexual connotations of sculpture, seen in a medical sense, which was apparently known to medieval commentators. I have not been able to discover their particular source, but I note that allusions in Albert the Great's Metaphysicarum Libri XIII to quidam Philosophi Arabum periti (and which I take to include both Avicenna and Algazel) suppose knowledge of the background to this subject. He compares the intellectus artifex as it was known in Scotus Eriugena, to the virtus formativa and to its imaginative function governing

662 Der Rosenroman, p.9ff.

663 Lyon, 1498, f<sup>o</sup>h.v.v<sup>o</sup>2.

copulation and procreation

haec virtus vocatur artifex, et propter vim creatricem quam habet in formis membrorum, et virtutibus earundem, a nonnullis vocatur divina(...)Artifex autem, quia omnia conducit et producit (664) ad modum intellectus artificis, qui est forma eorum quae producit non enim dicitur ars quae aliunde didicerit formam artificiatu (...)dictum est a quibusdam Philosophis Arabum peritis, quod comparatur ad substantiam spermatis sive seminis, sicut intelligentia comparatur ad suum orbem et materiam quam movet suus orbis<sup>664</sup>

Albert goes on to compare the forms within the mind of the craftsman (faber) to the real objects he creates<sup>665</sup>. It is possible that Jean de Meun established the link between the Avicenna Canon and the Algazel reading of the sculptor's role in the Metaphysica through this or another passage in Albert. Whatever the truth of the matter, there is little doubt that Jean de Meun knew the Canon, and used it for an obscene parody on Pigmalion's angin and the material he works on (*my italics*):

Liber Canonis (I,III,I,I)

Et dicemus quoniam propterea quod generationis nostrorum corporum principium res due fuerunt: quarum una est sperma viri cuius essentie certius est quod locum tenet factoris. Et altera est sperma mulieris et sanguis menstruus cuius rei certius est quod locum tenet materiei. (f<sup>o</sup> k.v.r<sup>o</sup>2.)

R.de la R. (ed. Leccy)

Pygmaliens, uns antaillierres, portreanz an fusz et en pierres, en metauz, en os et en cires et en toutes autres matires qu'an peut a tele entre trouver, por son grant angin esprouver (ll. 20787-92)

The sexual connotations of the Roman's imagery have been analyzed by J.V. Fleming<sup>666</sup>, particularly for the statue on the wall at which Venus fires her brandon and for the pilgrimage of the last 400 lines. He does not however bring out the manner in which Pygmalion is the generative force of the vegetable soul, decked out with Ovid's plot. There can be no question either of allowing that Pygmalion is first and foremost a frustrated artist, though undeniably he is that, and to some extent, is

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664 Lib.VII (Borgnet, t6,p.445). I have replaced Borgnet's producit by producit.

665 ed. Borgnet, t6, p.447, "Et ideo saepius(...)naturae."

666 op.cit., p.186-213.

a further embodiment of Art on her knees before Nature, powerless to create to the image of true life, unless aided by a miraculous intervention (ll. 21079-90): that of Venus, in this case.

This failure which is inevitable for both allegorical figure of Art and for the individual artist, is compared in my view to the success of the poet or man of letters, who creates in fantasies within the mind of his reader or listener. These fantasies - and Jean's view of their value seems to derive from Algazel - have their own individual truth, are at once particular and universal, live and develop within the mind of the beholder and are a form of microcosmic theatre. In this respect they belong to that theatre of the mind, which was brilliantly described by Averroes at the beginning of his commentary on Aristotle's Poetics, translated in Toledo in 1256, the original manuscript of which is to be found in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and which was to have a profound influence on late medieval poetry. It is not known whether Jean de Meun had knowledge of this<sup>text</sup>. What is certain is that his account of the powers of the poet is put so circumspectly that it is easy to drive past his meaning without realizing. It can however be stated quite simply.

The clerics and poets are guides to the past and the present (18610-28). They also determine the way the future will know the men and the events of the present to the extent that they set them down in writing. But as important as mankind's moral dependence on its men of learning is the cleric's ability to explain to mankind the meaning of his fantasies. The sense of the passage on the mirrors and fantasies can appear to speak of the former rather than the latter. It is possible that the ambiguity is intentional, and the matter has been touched on concerning Jean's source in Algazel.

ne ne revueill dire, biau prestre,  
 ou tex ydoles ont leur estre,  
 ou es mirouers ou defores,  
 ne ne raconterai pas ores  
 d'autres visions merueilleuses,  
 soient plesanz ou doulereuses,  
 que l'an voit avenir soudaines,  
 savoir/<sup>mon</sup>s'eles sunt foraines  
 ou, san plus, en la fantasia.  
 Ce ne desploieré je mie  
 n'il nou reconvient ores pas,  
 (.....)  
 et si seroit grief chose a dire  
 et mout seroit fort a l'antandre,  
 s'il iert qui le seüst apandre  
 a genz lais especiaument,  
 qui nou diroit generaument.  
 Si ne porroient il pas croire  
 que la chose fust ainsint voire,  
 (.....)  
 se clers livrer les leur voloient,  
 qui seüssent par demonstrance  
 ceste merueilleuse sciance.  
 Ne des visions les manieres,  
 tant sunt merueilleuses et fieres,  
 ne porroient il otraier,  
 qui les leur voudroit desplaier,  
 ne quex sunt les decepcions  
 qui vienent par tex visions,  
 soit en vaillant soit en dormant,  
 don maint s'esbahissent formant. (18229-64)

The term idole appears to be the translation of latin idola, which was frequently used and by scholars of very different persuasions as an equivalent for phantasmata, figmenta or imagines<sup>667</sup>. It can therefore be seen that the ydoles are the fantasies, to which the clercs hold the key. Jean de Meun gives examples of man's delusions (11.18274-484), and again reserves the right as a man of science to explain these to those who are possessed by them (18469-84). It is therefore as an interpreter of the substance of fantasies that he and his fellows set themselves apart from others. The greater part of the Roman de la Rose is taken up with the activities of just such fantasies, so that the passage mentioned is a claim to understand the type of human experience of which

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667 Averroes, Comm.Mag.in Arist.de Anima, ed F.S. Crawford, 1953; Petrus Hispanus, De Anima, ed. M. Alonso, 1941, p. 101.

the work as a whole is actually composed. The night journeys of individual souls with Dame Habonde (18395-468) are the darker side of the same fantasies which people the author's own mind. The other men are victims of these fantasies,

si recuident il por voir lores  
 que ces choses saient defores,  
 et font de tout ou deul ou feste,  
 et tout portent dedanz leur teste,  
 qui les .v. sans ainsinc deceit  
 par les fantosmes qu'el receipt. (18389-94)

To be able to perceive, and interpret, these phenomena the clerics, it is implied, are able to diagnose in others those weaknesses they can presumably identify in themselves. It is a point of note that when Jean identified these men of learning - philosophes (l. 18693) - they turn out to be poets, namely Virgil and Ennius (18694-702). Apart from Aristotle (l. 18167) and Horace (l. 18557), they are the only men of learning, clerics or philosophes actually identified in the whole passage (ll. 18123-724). This weighting of learning's scales in favour of poetry may be accidental, but it is interesting that it should have been possible. It does suggest that, for Jean de Meun, poets are specially qualified to judge the meaning of other men's fantasies. It would of course have been strange if the poets had been omitted from this particular specialisation. Algazel, to whom the theoretical substance of the long passage is owed is not mentioned directly, nor, as far as one can judge, even alluded to. While this may not be surprising when it is remembered that the supposed date of composition c.1270 antedates by a few years the massive condemnation of theses deriving for the greater part from Aristotle and the Arab philosophers in 1277, it still implies that Jean is claiming for the poets, or perhaps reclaiming, the science of conjuring up visions - the ars fingendi - which was recognized as theirs, but had been developed by writers of prose.

Seen in these terms, the argument put forward by Jean de Meun is more original than it is usually credited with being. It is also clear that in the relating of mind to poem, and of mind to the dream framework in which the poem is developed, that there is a degree of ambiguity, which often excludes the search after simple truths which has come to characterize so much interpretation of the Rose.

This ambiguity, or multiplicity of meanings, attaching to simple narrative, increases in daring towards the end of the poem. These last few hundred lines, from the end of the Pygmalion episode and the brief mention of Mirra (who was turned into a tree and who is also described in the Metamorphoses just after Pygmalion) have been recognized as obscene. They also appear - the point has not been made before - to be sustained sacrilege. This calls for qualification. It is hard for us to judge what men of the period might have thought sacrilegious. Some surprising things to be found in the work of Aquinas's teacher, Albert the Great, would probably have alarmed Chancellor Gerson as much as anything written by Jean de Meun. One particular passage in Albert concerns coitus in paradise<sup>668</sup>. The argument is not far from that which can be found in Algazel's Metaphysica. In the Metaphysica there are a number of references to the psychological mechanism of desire and to the mind's passing beyond sensibilia, but still possessed of the same desire with which it started. Algazel's intentions have been discussed elsewhere<sup>669</sup>. Here we are only concerned with the effect that his theories had upon the Roman de la Rose, and the closing lines in particular.

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668 In II Sent. Dist. XX, C, art 2, Borgnet, t27, p.342, "Esse enim divinum est maxime desideratum a natura: esse autem divinum est permanentia: ergo permanentia est maxime desiderata: sed coitu agit natura ad esse divinum: ergo maxime desiderabit coitum: ergo in actu coitus maxime delectabitur: quia tunc coniungitur desiderato secundum actum: ergo fuisset in paradiso maxima delectatio in coitu."

669 M. Bouygues, in Mélanges de la Fac. Orientale univ. St. Joseph, Beirut, 1921, t7, p.397-9. Manuel Alonso, Intención de los Filósofos, Barcelona, 1963, p.xxv-xliii.

H. Matzfeld suggested that throughout the Rose the reader could find evidence for a covert attack on the "fabric of Christian spirituality"<sup>670</sup>. In fact none of the parallels he put forward were convincing, though he looked carefully at the writings of Saint Bonaventura. He overlooked, however, the De Reductione Artium ad Theologiam, in which there is discussion of the intellectus artifex and the "pilgrimage" toward God or towards the Mother of God by means of attributes that are assembled in sets of three:

Unde ordo vivendi pendet in tribus.<sup>671</sup>

This could have suggested to Jean de Meun Amant's final journey with his three accompanying symbols (ll. 21316-56). The imagery in the De Reductione is almost as surprising as in Jean de Meun with its descriptions of the use of medium and rectum to achieve the union of soul and divinity, the divinity being feminine:

unio sponsi et sponsae<sup>672</sup>

But this is the generalized language of mystical thought, whether Christian or Muslim, if one is to base judgement on the Metaphysica of Algazel. There is all the evidence here for sacrilege and obscenity in the tradition of the fabliaux and burlesque sermons, but little enough for an attack on the fabric of "Christian spirituality". Bonaventure recognizes that a description of such a union can only be had through use of learning from all the artes or sciences<sup>673</sup>, and through the vocabulary of that learning, which included abundant use of the natural sciences. One finds in Bonaventure an oblique use of Algazel's theory that the way to God is

670 I have read this in the Italian translation, Delta, Naples, 1962, 3a serie, p.26.

671 ed. Quaracchi, Opera, tV, p.313-25, specifically p.324.

672 *ibid.*, p.325.

673 *ibid.*, "Patet etiam, quomodo omnes cognitiones famulantur theologiae; et ideo assumit exempla et utitur vocabulis pertinentibus ad omne genus cognitionis."

through the physical sciences:

Nos autem interponemus aliqua de naturalibus sine quibus non potest divina intelligi.<sup>674</sup>

And in Algazel the mechanism which drives the soul towards satisfaction is clearly stated, its mystical conclusions underpinned by school logic, much as in Bonaventure.

necesse est igitur ut anime celi insit apprehensio pulcritudinis illius amati ad hoc, ut ex imaginacione illius pulcritudinis, crescat fervor sui amoris qui facit eam contemplari superius, ut ex eo proveniat sibi motus per quem possit applicari ad id cui querit assimilari; igitur imaginacio est causa pulcritudinis fervoris amoris et fervor amoris causa est inquisitionis.<sup>675</sup>

Algazel is also, it should be noted, a possible source for Dante's idea that love is motor force of the universe<sup>676</sup>. And in an age where a reader of scientific texts dealing with mind and body could be forgiven for thinking that man was a soul with genital organs attached and all the other members of little interest<sup>677</sup>, Algazel's own particular contribution to Western thought seems to have been to relate the two areas within a logical account of man's drives towards perfection. There is admittedly a brief consideration of this in Avicenna's De Anima<sup>678</sup>, but the main source must be the Metaphysica, in which human seed is taken for a thing of beauty.

Cum commixtio elementorum fuerit pulchrioris, et perfeceioris equalitatis, qua nichil possit inveniri subtilius, et pulcrius sicut est sperma hominis.<sup>679</sup>

674 De Reductione, p.323-5 and Metaphysica, p.3.

675 ed. Muckle, p.113.

676 *ibid.*, p.112-3, "Motus enim celi(...)movens secundum amorem(...)prima."

677 This may sound like a slovenly parallel with the jibes made at Freud's expense. Yet the sheer volume of attention paid to procreation is striking, cf. Arnoldus Saxo, ed. E. Stange, Erfurt, 1906, chap. De natura generationis hominis quoting on reproductive powers Aristotle, Constantinus, Galen, Avicenna, Chalcidius and Macrobius.

678 ed. S. van Riet, p.29-30.

679 ed. Muckle, p.172.



and

omne enim sperma quod aptum est recipere animam,  
meretur adventum anime a substantia intelligibili,  
que est principium animarum merito quidem naturali  
non casu, vel eleccione.<sup>680</sup>

Finally, Algazel's passage on desire and its imaginative fulfilment in dreams of a higher reality reads like a manifesto for the last thousand lines of the Rose. Here Algazel parts ways with a scholar like Bonaventure or Albert, for whom this fulfilment is accomplished by and through the intellect, as in the Anticlaudianus. For Algazel he who knows may be unlearned (expers scienciarum), which, in the sense that he is lost in a world of dreams, Jean's Amant is; and even Dante shows himself to be lost and confused in the Algazelian sense:

Sicut si narraretur delectatio cohitus eis qui sunt immunes a cohitu, non solum non appetere~~nt~~ sed eciam abhorrerent formam cohitus; hec vero delectatio intelligibilis non est nisi anime que est perfecta in hoc mundo. Si autem abstinet a turpibus, sed est expers scienciarum, tunc tota eius intencio in imaginacionibus et fantasiis est. Unde non longe est ipsam aliquando imaginari formas delectabiles quasi in sompnis, et id quod dicitur sibi de paradiso, exemplificare secundum sensibilia, et tunc aliquod ex corporibus celestibus est subiectum sue fantasie, quoniam predictum est quod imaginacio non potest fieri nisi per corpus.<sup>681</sup>

I make no excuse for mentioning Dante here. It is perhaps time to look again at the conclusions of work on Italian literature by L. Valli, published in 1928. Examining what he took to be an Oriental influence on Dante, the author also looked at the sonnets written on the Rose and known under the title of Il Fiore. Supposing that Dante was in fact the author of the sonnets in question, he went on to speak of the frate Alberto who is twice mentioned, unflatteringly, in the Fiore<sup>682</sup>. I realize that there is no particular reason to associate the Brother Albert of the Italian sonnets with Albert the Great, Bishop of Ratisbon, but

680 ed. Muckle, p.182.

681 *ibid.*, p. 186.

682 Cf. Luigi Valli, Il Linguaggio Segreto di Dante e dei Fedeli d'Amore, Rome, 1928, p.444f.

feel that the possibility should not be entirely excluded. The Fiore is by far the most interesting early commentary that we have on the substance of the Rose, but very much a question for the Italian specialist, rather than something to be mentioned here. The question is worth raising because texts by Albert the Great are almost certainly responsible for the specific obscenities of Jean de Meun's closing lines. The further association of Dante's name with a mystical sect, Jean de Meun's use of Algazel's Metaphysica with its use of technical terms from Arabic mysticism like the anima perfecta in hoc mundo and the existence of a text ascribed to Dante, following Jean de Meun's poem and including references to an Albert, are isolated points, but ones which should be examined with an open mind. These points relate indirectly to the University of Paris, where Dante was a student. There are so many echoes in the Rose of what I take to be academic quarrelling that the topic cannot be neglected, even if it eventually proves to be negative.

Albert's involvement in the closing lines of the Rose stems from two texts by him: the De Vegetabilibus and the Missus est Gabriel Angelus. The analogies raised by the latter can be summarized briefly. It will be remembered that Amant set off on the final stages of his journey with bourdon and escharpe containing two martelez (21324-30). The Angel Gabriel in Albert also goes accompanied by a triple blessing: the Trinity. The Holy Ghost represents the

plenitudinis gratie infusio, id est summa virtutum  
gratuitarum<sup>683</sup>

and takes on a forma serpentina, in which the symbols of good and evil are mingled<sup>684</sup>. It is clear that Amant is Gabriel to Jean's symbolic Rose.

683 Rather than use the Borgnet edition which is to be superseded by the edition of B. Geyer, I have referred to the Milan, 1488 edit. (BM.IA.26709) for this particular text. Cf. chap. 17.

684 Ibid., chap. 18. "in qua specie apparuerit angelus. Et videtur quod in serpentina."

The parallels with Jean de Meun's staff and greine do not need labouring. It would still be possible to think that Jean's satire derived from some other source, were it not for other topics from the Missus est Gabriel, principally the colour of his garments and the time at which he appeared to Mary. Gabriel appeared to ~~to~~ Mahomet and is mentioned by Algazel (supra n661)

Videtur autem quod adhuc vestis alba debuit esse(...)  
 Candor enim vestimenti innocentiam designat angeli.  
 Nec congruit angelo vestis rubea et alba, quia nullo modo aptus natus est habere passionem cum innocentia. 685

As for the time at which he appeared,

Qua hora temporis, si in ortu diei. Post hoc queritur qua hora temporis facta fuit hec annunciatio, et videtur primo quod in die. Opus enim creationis incepit a luce (...).Item in incarnatione incepit dies gratie. 686

The Roman de la Rose ends,

Ainsint oi la rose vermeille.  
 Atant fu jorz, et je m'esveille. (21749-50)

Jean's insistence on the rose's colour (that of passio, not innocentia) and on the coming of daylight becomes plainer. They become quite clear, if reference is made to Albert's De Vegetabilibus and to his description of the rosa alba, the white rose, which he described in detail.

In Albert this has a thick trunk, many branches, and comparatively harmless thorns. All of this follows the needs of Jean's narrative for the final physical assault to be made on something which is more of a tree than a mere rose bush and on which, apparently, he avoids pricking himself<sup>687</sup>, Jean's rosetree is at variance with Guillaume de Lorris's rosebush, presumably for this very reason. Guillaume's seems to have been of nothing like the same size, had relatively few leaves, a slim

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685 Milan, 1488, f<sup>o</sup>b.i.r<sup>o</sup>, chap.27.

686 *ibid.*, chap.28.

687 ed. C. Jessen, VI, Tr.I, xxxii, De Rosa, p.445, "Illa tamen, quae fert rosa rosas albas multorum valde foliorum, pro certo arbor est, cuius stipes efficitur sicut brachium hominis, et est sine spinis. Et est arbor valde ramosa; et sunt rami eius spissi, sed parvi et longi sicut surculi rubi. Cortex autem ejus est planus satis sine scabrositate..." Another allusion may be to two works by Bonaventure cf. Laus Mariae, trans. P.Corneille, 1665, p.6, "Rosa sine spina," or the Arbor Amoris, ed. U. Kantsber, Berlin, 1964, p.44 "Quae est iste arbor, nisi amor dei?"

stalk rather than a trunk and was surrounded by a great many other thorny plants, making access difficult<sup>688</sup>. The reasons for Jean's adoption of the Albert rosa alba are a matter of surmise. The obvious colour question, and the time of day, but also a possible need to do violence to Albert's reputation, and the adopting of an alternative mysticism: all these points come to mind, but it is only honest to admit that we know very little about Jean's period and must know more to judge his poem and the intentions that underlie it. The way to this can only be through background research, particularly into the theologians and into the autores naturales translated into Latin from Greek and Arabic. It is no longer possible to assume that Jean de Meun is an Averroist, an Augustinian or any other convenient label. It is time that the serious work begun by Ernest Langlois and Gérard Paré was continued.

There are two many senses in the closing lines for any certainties to be found in them. I shall summarize them, well aware that there may be others.

There is the literal, narrative sense of the rape of the rosetree.

There is the physical sense. The whole work is contained within a dream. Jean's closing lines are quite explicit. He awakes as the dream ends. The events then are, in outline, a parade of figments of the imagination, culminating in a series of erotic images and a night ejaculation, brought on, it ~~must be~~ supposed, ~~unconsciously~~ (l. 21677). This raises in turn the moral problem described by theologians of the period as pollutio nocturna.

A third sense is the description of an act of love with a lady, symbolized as the Rose.

A fourth sense is the sacrilegious satire on texts that seem to be the Missus est Gabriel Angelus and, in all probability, the De Reductione

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688 Cf. Rose, ll.1660-65 and ll. 3339-52.  
689-692 not taken.

Artium, with allusions to Algazel or the Arbor Amoris. (supra, n. 687).

A fifth sense is the end of the dream. The mind returns to a state of consciousness and, presumably, to a world in which reason and understanding serve the needs of the intellect and not those of the animal or vegetable souls.

The link between all these senses is the notion of fantasy: fantasy relates to reality; and fantasies are related, sometimes dramatically, sometimes in debate, to each other. The point at which these products of the imagination are again brought into the focus of reality is the moment at which the action reaches its climax and they are extinguished. The concept of this theatre of the mind is perhaps less remarkable in realization than in theory. Like the Anticlaudianus, the Roman de la Rose is too often dull, for the brilliance of the ideas behind it. Only towards the end of the poem does Jean de Meun come into his own, and shows that he is not merely a literary hack copying ideas out of poems like the Psychomachia. If the poem had finished around 1.15860, he would have failed to do so.

It might seem that this study emphasizes the Greco-Arabic and the theological elements in the Rose and neglects the other Latin sources (such as Ovid or Macrobius or Andreas Capellanus) or the Romance literary sources which have been traditionally emphasized. This has been done partly to set the balance right, partly too in the conviction that the Greco-Arabic and theological elements are the most important if one is to begin to understand the deeper sense of much of the work. The research undertaken firstly by Langlois and then by G. Paré shows that to understand Jean, though probably not Guillaume<sup>693</sup>, one has to know more about the

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<sup>693</sup> Research on Guillaume undertaken by M-R. Jung, H. Jauss and others is so painstaking compared to the polemics indulged in by Jean de Meun's commentators that one is almost inclined to accept uncritically their 'general' conclusions on Guillaume.

milieu of the University of Paris in the thirteenth century. It is just possible that Guillaume too knew something about the theories of Algazel<sup>694</sup>, but this cannot much alter the traditional views of Jean and Guillaume as poète savant and poète lyrique, respectively.

In explaining Jean as a poète savant, I have perhaps emphasized the Greco-Arabic sources at the expense of the theological. The argument developed by historians like D.W. Robertson supposes that the Augustinian influence was of paramount importance. I would accept this with reservations for poems like the Anticlaudianus and possibly for the De Planctu Naturae, but it seems hard to maintain for the Roman de la Rose, unless it was argued, rather abstrusely, that Algazel's Metaphysica, as it appeared in the translation by Gundissalinus was more nearly related to Augustinian theology than to any other. This could be suggested with some appearance of reason, but on the basis of Augustine's emphasis on our fantasies and on our ability to give new meanings to them, and also on the basis of his preoccupation (supposed or real) with sin.

The guiltless enjoyment with which Jean describes his preparations for the assault on the rose (that is, Albert's rosa alba stained crimson) suggests a scientific enjoyment of precise description, but also a pleasure in the meaning of sin.

Par les rains saisi le rosier,  
 qui plus sunt franc que nul osier;  
 et quant a .ii. mains m'i poi joindre,  
 tretout soavet, san moi poindre,  
 le bouton pris a elloichier,  
 qu'anvis l'euſse san hoichier.  
 Toutes an fis par estovoir  
 les branches croller et mouvoir,  
 san ja nul des rains depecier,  
 car n'i vouloie riens blecier;  
 et si m'an convint il a force

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694 Cf. G. de L's description of the pool compared to a mirror, ll.1551-68, and Metaph., p.166-8, particularly p.168, on the eye as dimidiam speram celi and the air as an extension of the eye: "in aere qui est continuus oculo..."

entamer un po de l'escorce,  
 qu'autrement avoir ne savoie  
 ce don si grant desir avoie.  
 A la parfin, tant vos an di,  
 un po de greine i expandi,  
 quant j'oi le bouton elloichie.  
 Ce fu quant dedans l'oi toichie  
 por les fueilletes reverchier. (21675-93)

The historical background to this subject is usually seen to derive from Augustine<sup>695</sup>. In his De Genesi ad Litteram he wrote of it under the heading, Somnia Venera, relating dream, imagined coitus and ejaculation<sup>696</sup>. The widely read De Spiritu ad Anima, dating from the middle of the twelfth century, once attributed to Saint Augustine, more recently ascribed (though still on doubtful grounds) to a Cistercian by the name of Alcher de Clairvaux who was a correspondent of his fellow Cistercian Isaac de Stella, follows the Augustinian argument from De Genesi<sup>697</sup>. The view that man cannot be held responsible for his actions during sleep was modified to take into account the transition from wakefulness to sleep, and from what would otherwise be passing abruptly from a state of potential mortal sin to one of blamelessness<sup>698</sup>. The first theologian to have set the debate in the context of the vegetable soul was, according to M. Müller, Albert the Great<sup>699</sup>. The extent to which this question was taken out of its purely Augustinian context and set in that of the new science through the influence of Avicenna and Algazel is obviously of great importance

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695 Michael Mueller, "Ein sexual-ethisches Problem der Scholastik" in Divus Thomas, t2, 1933.

696 PL 34,466, "Unde aliquando(...)per genitales vias emittat."

697 PL 40,795-6, "Somnia lascivia(...)aliquo spiritu assumitur." On "Alcher", A.Wilmart, Auteurs Spirituels et Textes Dévots, Paris, 1932, p.175. For the earliest dated ms. (1158) cf. C.H.Talbot, in Aelred de Rievaulx, De Anima, 1952, p.49. For the suggestion that the work was by Petrus Comestor, cf. G. Raciti, Rivista di Filosofia Neo-Scolastica, 1961, t53.

698 M. Mueller, Divus Thomas, 1933, p.442-97.

699 *ibid.*, p.471-2. cf. also Leopold Brandl, Die Sexualethik des heiligen Albertus Magnus, Regensburg, 1955, and another work by M. Mueller, Die Lehre des hl. Augustinus von der Paradiese, Regensburg, 1954. I have said nothing about "paradise" in Jean de Meun.

to an understanding of the Rose. It would require a sum of textual analysis, which is quite beyond the dimensions of this study.

The Roman de la Rose has been considered here as an expression of the poet's mind, as a work set within a dream, and finally as an argument to which it may or may not be possible to attach precise meanings. In practice these three topics have proved too interlinked to be kept separate.

One overall fact is worth remembering, particularly in the light of claims that Jean de Meun is a Humanist or a man with deeply felt views on nature and society. The events in the dream are rounded off by a **night emission**. While this does not remove all value from the ideas expressed in the poem, it remains doubtful whether any writer who gave overriding importance to ideas on society, science, religious truth and love, would have chosen this sort of ending for them. What emerges from the Roman de la Rose is the self-admiring description of the breadth and sweep of a single mind.

A further point follows from this. In the free landscape of the dream the poet is responsible to no one, or he is only responsible to himself. Nor is he accountable to any aesthetic canons, in the sense that the figments of his imagination do not belong to an ordered and reasonable state of things. They belong to the lower reaches of the mind, and are based on the passions and impulses found there.

In this precise sense the history of medieval French poésie savante can be defined by the mind-body relationship. This relationship can in turn be explained by reference to the writings of the physiologists and the philosopher-psychologists, the former usually Arabic, the latter Greek and Western authors. Classical poetry played little direct part in the

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development of this theory of poetry: Ovid's influence, for instance, was mainly literal and literary. Because Arabic thought was in so many respects the extension of Greek thought, I have referred to this theory of poetry generally as Greco-Arabic.

The position changed in the later Middle Ages. Poetry, mainly through the influence of the Averroes commentary on Aristotle, gave increasing importance to aesthetic or formal considerations, rather than to the type of scientific inquiry undertaken by Jean de Meun. From about 1500 onwards poets began to consciously imitate the classical Latin poets. A Greco-Latin emphasis replaced the Greco-Arabic one. And it is this shift of emphasis, which most clearly explains the difference between the serious poetry of the Middle Ages and the serious poetry of the Renaissance.

IV - FRENCH MEDIEVAL POETRY AFTER JEAN DE MEUN

## a. Historical views of Late Medieval French Poetry

The research done by F. Simone<sup>700</sup> on the origins of French Humanism and of French Renaissance thought has shown a debt, at a comparatively early point in time, to Italian models<sup>700</sup>. Since I have shown, in Parts II and III of this thesis, the close connections between certain forms of poesie savante and their background in prose theory, it would not be surprising if French poetry also proved to have been influenced by Italian poetic theory and practice.

As it happens, some accounts of late mediaeval poetry have taken an almost opposite view. It has been suggested that the only traces of Italian influence are to be found in certain rondeaux of Alain Chartier or in Jean Robertet's adaptation of the Trionfi<sup>701</sup>. The view of late mediaeval verse taken by H. Guy was that XVth century poetry remained unaffected by the new tendencies<sup>702</sup>. On mediaeval poetry in general I. Siciliano insisted that it was literally unchanged in its interests and forms of expression from c.1200 until after 1500<sup>703</sup>. This view appears in scarcely modified form in some general histories of literature<sup>704</sup>. It has against it the appearance of probability.

700 Il Rinascimento Francese, Turin, 1967.

701 For the rondeaux, cf. La Belle Dame sans Merci, ed. A. Piaget, Lille/Genève, 1949. For the Triumphes, cf. M. Zsuppan, Jean Robertet, p.74-5, and F. Simone, op.cit., p.178-82 (for echoes of this, Molinet, ed. Dupire, tII, 586 and Gringore, Les Fantasies de Mère Sote, ed. Frautschi, 1962, p.143, "...efface la memoire.").

702 L'Ecole des Rhétoriqueurs, Paris, 1910.

703 François Villon et les Thèmes Poétiques du Moyen Age, 1967, p.115.

704 For unqualified approval of H. Guy's views, R. Morçay, La Renaissance, 1960, p.448, note.

Opposed to this monolithic view of late mediaeval poetry, there has been another which has seen it as "evolving" towards the Renaissance<sup>705</sup>. In a purely historical context, all periods must be transitional in some sense of the term. This can only have real meaning for those who have a deep belief in the division of history into periods. Those who have taken this view usually suppose that late mediaeval poets helped "prepare" the Renaissance, imbued with respect for the classics. I find that H. Guy's idea that the Rhétoriciens read Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Terence, the Bible and the Roman de la Rose is founded on no very firm basis, and it could be argued without difficulty that, until about 1500, most poets appeared to know little or nothing about Terence and Horace, a little about Virgil and Ovid and that, apart from Saint-Gelais, the translator of the Heroides, Molinet, André de la Vigne, Gringore, Bouchet and the other leading verse writers of that time remained generally indifferent to the classics. Italian influence does not seem to have been immediately felt after Charles VIII's expedition to Italy in 1494-5, and Bouchet's claim, c.1500, that

Aucun\* veulent pindariser<sup>706</sup>  
Chantz à la mode ytalique

remains something of a mystery.

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705 R.Rosières, Revue Bleue, 17 oct. 1891; A.Hamon, J.Bouchet, 1901, p.208-51; M.Augé-Chiquet, Revue des Pyrénées, t23, 24; H.Chamard, Les Origines de la Poésie Fr.de la Ren., 1920; M.Françon, Poèmes de Transition (XV-XVIIe siècles), 1938; F.Simone, Belgafor, 1949, tIV; A-M.Schmidt, Hist. des Littératures, Bibl.Pléiade, tIII, 1958. One writer who did take an interest in the classics was the Bishop of Angouleme, Octovien de Saint-Gelais, Cf. C.M.Scollen, The Birth of the Elegy in France, p.20-4. Octovien de Saint-Gelais finished his translation of the Heroides before 1496.

706 Section De Poetherie in Les Regnars traversans les perilleuses voyes des folles fiances du monde, c.1501, ed. K.Chesney, Fleurs de Rhétorique, 1950, p.60, p.108. These lines are part of a general attack on the poetes nouveaulx, whom Bouchet distinguishes from the poethes auctentiques. This reference to songs in the Italian style appears to be another thong with which to whip the "modernist" writers.

Neither the "monolith" nor the "transition" view of late medieval poetry is satisfactory. Both can be faulted on a number of counts and obviously a "subtler" explanation would be preferable. One of the main stumbling blocks has been the need to fit the peculiar verse styles of the poets known as the rhétoriqueurs into the picture. The most convincing attempt to date is that made by D. Poirion, who explained the almost legal turn of phrase used by many of the rhétoriqueurs, by connecting it to the increasing importance of the court secrétaire, often a man with legal training, who wrote as a duty, rather than for pleasure or to amuse others<sup>707</sup>. This was a new view of the subject and preferable to the theory that la grande rhétorique originated in Burgundy. The tentative adoption of this style by Eustache Deschamps at the end of the fourteenth century, and its high-powered development by Christine and Chartier, seems to have had nothing to do with "Burgundian" influence<sup>708</sup>. Undoubtedly the court of Burgundy adopted this manner, and the Burgundian court writers like Chastelain and Molinet made it their own, developed it (possibly in opposition to the mediaeval lyric tradition at Blois) and then saw it taken up elsewhere (including the court of Louis XI). But, on the available evidence, it was an earlier (and French) literary innovation, which ran roughly parallel to the early history of humanist Latin in France. Traces of what came to be known as the rhétoriqueur style can already be found in Machaut's verse, and that at a time when the Northern French and Walloon authors still favoured a thin trouvère

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707 Poirion, p.175, Le Poète et le Prince, Paris, 1965, p.175, on the "rhétorique des légistes" and p. 187, on Berthaud de Villebresme and Pierre Chevalier, "deux juristes exposés à la tentation humaniste" at the Court of Blois.

708 The view, originally, of Ch. d'Héricault, Rev. des Deux Mondes, sept. 1852.

manner far removed from the heavy periods of Chastelain<sup>709</sup>.

These facts and others have been obscured by the literary tour de force we owe to H. Guy entitled L'Ecole des Rhétoriciens. Writing like a tigerish editorialist in pursuit of his paper mice (the Rhétoriciens), he managed to give them the sort of notoriety that no literary manual is going to overlook, and at the same time succeeded in making them appear quite unworthy of further research<sup>710</sup>. However, a number of editions, an anthology and some articles and incidental chapters have appeared<sup>711</sup>, which show that the rhétoriciens do not have to be discussed on the basis of value judgements<sup>712</sup> in the manner of Henry Guy. H. Guy has set out, in any case, to write an introduction to XVth century verse, so that Christine de Pisan, Deschamps and Chartier are scarcely touched on in his study, and Chastelain only briefly mentioned, while the last figure of any consequence is Jean Bouchet<sup>713</sup>. The early period is incomplete by H. Guy's own admission.

In his study on Maurice Scève, C-L. Saulnier suggested that the later history of the grands rhétoriciens was equally incomplete. He described Scève as

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709 Cf. Gilles le Muisis (d.1352) Poésies, ed. K.de Lettenhove, 2t, 1882; Jean le Bel, Li Ars d'Amour de Vertu et de Boneurté, ed. Jules Petit, 1867, 2t; even Michault Taillevent, who went to the court of Burgundy in 1426, was closer to the old style de France than to the rhétorique bourguignonne of his successor, Georges Chastelain (cf. Moralité de Povre Commune, ed. J. Watkins, Fr.Studies, 1954 and C.S.Shapley, Studies in French Poetry of the Fifteenth Century, Hague, 1970, p.121-69.

710 One example will be enough: op.cit. p.211, on the other poets' work included in the Vergier d'Hommeur, publ. Paris early XVth cent. with the title poem by A. de la Vigne (a description of his travels in Italy with Charles VIII's expedition). As for the other faitistes, "Ils ne sont pas nommés, et je ne me charge ni de rechercher quels ils furent ni de discerner la part de chacun. A quoi bon d'ailleurs? Tout cela se ressemble(...)des mots et des rimes. Un vrai désert."

711 The editions of Molinet, Cretin and Jean Robertet by N. Dupire (1936), by K. Chesney (1932) and C.M. Zsuppan (1970). Fleurs de Rhétorique (1960), ed. K. Chesney.

712 As examples of judgement by value judgement, cf. on Gringore, C. d'Hericault, art.cit. p.1154 and H.Guy, p.279.

713 Guy's method, to avoid writing the history of XVth century poetry, as an introd. to the XVth, was only to speak of those poets who died after 1500.

le prince de la dernière génération des Rhétoriciens,<sup>714</sup> and saw him as a link between Chastelain and Ronsard<sup>715</sup>. He saw Molinet and the others who come between Chastelain and Scève as minor figures, But for him Chastelain had something approaching genius<sup>716</sup>. This had been suggested before with regard to Chastelain<sup>717</sup>, yet little real interest has been taken in him. And no real attempt has been made to describe the theory, if there is one, that underlies the work of the rhétoriciens and of Chastelain in particular.

The only serious attempt to describe the theory in Rhétoricien verse was outlined, but unfortunately taken no further, by F. Simone. For him it amounted to a movement, which set out to reinstate certain values of style at the expense of the logic that had dominated mediaeval education and thinking from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries<sup>718</sup>. This was carried on into the XVth century in F. Simone's view.

These are the general attempts made to characterize late medieval poetry, sometimes in comparison with earlier medieval poetry, sometimes in relation to Renaissance verse. The most perceptive is probably that parallel made with Humanist Latin by D. Poirion, the most far reaching F. Simone's view of the rivalry between Rhetoric and Logic.

Finally, a point from M. Saulnier's analysis must be raised. This is his remark that the movement was "initiated" by Machaut<sup>719</sup>. It is

714 Maurice Scève, 1948, p.559.

715 ibid., on "la chaleur créatrice", "Or, ce rayonnement-là, c'est précisément la vraie nature de l'influence de Chastelain sur Scève et de Scève sur Ronsard."

716 p.559-63.

717 M.Wilmotte, La Culture Fr. en Belgique, 1912, p.21-3.

718 Belgafor, 1949, p.534, "Lo sforzo di tutta la cultura letteraria francese del sec.XV ha avuto come scopo la riabilitazione della retorica di fronte all'imperante tirannico dominio della logica." Cf. also Schmidt, Hist.des Litt., tIII, p.183, for a less convincing view.

719 op.cit., p.559, "son histoire compte trois étapes, initiation (c'est Machaut), création (c'est Chastelain), exploitation (c'est Molinet et toute la suite)..."

true that certain aspects of rhétoriqueur verse can be found in his work<sup>720</sup> but they are incidental and are only developed to any degree by his disciple, Deschamps. To say that the first of the rhétoriqueurs was Machaut is almost as much of a misunderstanding as thinking that "rhetoric" began with Chastelain, at the court of Burgundy, in the mid-fifteenth century.

In the sense that it was a form of poésie savante, written in French, la grande rhétorique began with Jean de Meun. In the broader sense that it set out to ally scientia with rhetoric or bombast it goes back to Alain de Lille in France (and elsewhere to Martianus Capella). But in the more precise sense of scientific pretensions allied to a nascent French rhetoric, it cannot be found in French before the end of the fourteenth century, when it was developed, at the court of France, in the prose and verse of Christine de Pisan and Alain Chartier.

b. Guillaume de Machaut's Prologue and poetic theory.

In Guillaume de Machaut's work one can find elements that derive from both the trouvère and the poésie savante traditions. However these are not separate. His skills brought them together. Guillaume de Machaut made poetry into a practice, where both knowledge and technique had a place. His view of poetry was not austere but this very lack of austerity that must have made his work attractive to the grands seigneurs of the fourteenth century, and was partly instrumental in the popularity of verse as a form of communication and of agrément as late as the middle of the next century, laid it open to fresh attempts to create une poésie savante, separate from the craft of writing lyric verse. Poetry developed a new dichotomy between art and inquiry. This can be found in Alain Chartier,

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720 Poésies Lyriques, ed. Chichmareff, tI, 241, "Amours, tu m'as tant esté dure,/Et si m'as tant duré et dure/La durté que pour toy endure" and tII, 437, "Comment est ma douceur pure/Douce a tous et a moy sure/Et ne cure/de ma cure".

who could write agreeably with short formes fixes, or pretentiously as in the pieces copied by other rhetoricians. To anyone who dislikes the grande rhétorique it seems ungenerous to lay part of the blame for it on Machaut or on his lack of interest in fusing craft with intellectual inquiry. Though admired by his contemporaries, Machaut's work did not satisfy the new generation with its humanistic aspirations.

Pierre Col, Gontier Col, Jean de Montreuil and Laurent de Premierfait<sup>721</sup> looked past Machaut to other poets. In his exchange of letters with Christine de Pisan, Pierre Col made it clear that it was (among other things) as a man of learning that he admired Jean de Meun<sup>722</sup>. Christine made it quite as clear that, in those terms, she preferred Dante. This new humanist interest in poetry did not take lyric verse as an ideal. Machaut's more substantial works, such as the Remède de Fortune or the Confort d'Ami were in effect written to please, rather than from a humanist position. The ideals of excellence in them were as much social as philosophical. They offered no world view in the way that Jean de Meun had.

So it is that the manifesto in the prosimètre usually placed at the head of Machaut's work<sup>723</sup>, with the title of Prologue, is of interest. Though the exact date of composition is not known, it is thought to have been written late in life. Guillaume de Machaut died in 1377. It develops some of the ideas to be found in the Roman de la Rose, but in such a way that Machaut can be seen to refer to himself and not just to figmentalized aspects of his personality.

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721 Cf. P.N.Gathercole, Italica, 1963, for the translations of L.de P.; on Petrarch's influence, N.Mann in Humanism in France, ed.Levi, 1970; on Boccaccio's, cf.C. Pellegrini, Il Boccaccio nella Cultura Francesa, Florence, 1971.

722 Cf.C.F.Ward, Epistles R.de la R.,p.56, "ce tres devolt catholique et tres eslevey theologien; ce tres divin orateur et poete et tres parfait philozophe."

723 Both in Hoepffner's edition (1908) and Chichmareff's (1909).



In the Prologue's prose opening, Nature singles out the poet in person and

li ordene et encharge à faire sur ce nouviaux  
dis amoureux".<sup>724</sup>

To help him she offers three of her children, Scens, Retorique and Musique. The last two transcend Machaut's art, as the poem goes on to make clear, yet they are also the main components, word and music, of the dis amoureux he writes<sup>725</sup>. As for Scens, by which, Nature tells the poet:

....avras ton engin enforme  
De tout ce que tu vorras conformer,

this may not mean, as has been suggested<sup>726</sup> the discipline Logic which is the second or third of the seven liberal arts. Nature is speaking perhaps of that faculty (Knowledge), akin to the divine vous, by which the ingenium (sciens), the scens of the mind, comes to know the world. By means of Scens the engin or ingenium is fashioned, so that it may fashion other things in its turn. Here both physical and metaphysical meanings are implied, in contrast to a passage of the Remède de Fortune where Machaut likened the unformed mind to a state of innocence or to the bare surface on which the painter has not yet begun to work<sup>727</sup>.

In the Prologue on the other hand the formed mind is not so much a surface suited to receive impressions through the senses, but a faculty resembling Martianus Capella's vous, the Chartres philosophers' ingenium

724 Chichmareff, I, p.3.

725 *ibid.* p.3, l.10-12.

726 Poirion, *op.cit.*, p.193, re Nature, "une nature que Jean de Meung et Thomas d'Aquin s'accordaient à soumettre à Dieu, et dont les universités était censées étudier les lois. C'est ainsi qu'il acquit 'Scens, Retorique et Musique', trois arts nécessaires, après l'enseignement grammatical, à tout travail poétique."

727 *ed. Hoepffner*, II, p.2, "Car le droit estat d'innocence/Ressamble proprement la table/Blanche, polie, qui est/able/À recevoir, sans nul contraire,/Ce qu'on y vuet peindre et pourtraire;/Et est aussi comme la cire(...)Einsi est il certainement/De vray humein entendement/Qui est ables à recevoir/Tout ce qu'on vuet et concevoir/Puet tout ç'a quoy on le vuet mettre/Armes, amour, autre art ou lettre(...)Mais qu'il vueille faire et laboure/Ad ce que j'ay dit ci desseure."

and Jean de Meun's Génius, able to create (conformer) according to the knowledge it has previously received. This is a return to the cosmic optimism of twelfth century Chartres thought. Music too is able to change both minds and the courses of rivers<sup>728</sup>. This power is also reflected through her chosen poet and implies that his mind may contain both things created and the power to change them. Orpheus's power to change the course of rivers, to bring Eurydice up<sup>from</sup> hell, and, briefly, to perform miracles apertes<sup>729</sup> is similar to Love's power to change man through the working of the imagination<sup>730</sup>. Does this imply that it is not only Music, but also Imagination, which is a universal or metaphysical force? This is not clear, but while Music influences both the microcosm and the macrocosm, and is a form of language in heaven<sup>731</sup>, Imagination's role is apparently confined to the microcosm, where it is governed by Nature, by Music and by Love. Machaut describes the psychological process through which the imagination operates. He also emphasizes, as Jean de Meun had not done, the role of Memory<sup>732</sup>.

In what respects is the Prologue different from the account of imaginative creation in the Roman de la Rose? In the first place, it is no longer based on Aristotelian philosophy. It sets rhetoric and music on the same level as Scens-Genius. It gives Musique as the art which unites expression in this world and the next. It brings out the importance of Memory, when in the Roman the whole poem, in effect, was an act of memory. Generally speaking, it makes greater use of allegorized faculties

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728 p.10, "Et Musique est une science..." and p.12, Orpheus "Harpoit si tres joliamant".(ed.Chichmaref)

729 p.12, "Que ce sont miracles apertes/Que Musique fait..."

730 p.9, the picture of "La tres bele et la bien amée": "Plaisant ymagination/ Met en son cuer l'impression/De sa douce plaisant figure,/Dont son fait cent fois embelist..." making him alternately sad and joyful.

731 p.11, "...Dont ~~est~~ Musique en paradis."

732 p.9, "Car quant souvenirs recorder/Fait l'amant, par douce pensée/La tres bele et la bien amée..."

or arts than of allegorical virtues or vices (Doux Penser, Esperance and Plaisance make only brief appearances). Like the Rose, it has its double meanings on the vouloir des dames<sup>733</sup>. But unlike it, Machaut's Prologue seems to work mainly on one level and there is an absence of the amusing developments and triple or quadruple meanings of the Rose. While it is a little dangerous to compare a long poem with a short piece written intentionally as a preface to other longer works (the Dit deu Vergier, which follows in Hoepffner's edition, also takes up many things from the Rose), the impression remains that Machaut was trying to show that he had understood the sens couvert of the other poem. The main difference in approach lies in the way that Machaut puts himself forward as the poet.

It is<sup>made</sup> clear that the poet himself is Nature's personal choice: chosen to tell others of the truths of love, and to do so more fully than had ever been done before (plus que onques mais)<sup>734</sup>. The postscript to most of his work is set up as an introduction. Nature determines Guillaume de Machaut's vocation, and he is her special voice:

Je, Nature, par qui tout est formé  
 Quant a ça jus, et seur terre et en mer,  
 Vieng ci à toy, Guillaume, qui formé  
 T'ay à part, pour faire par toi former  
 Nouviaus dis amoureux plaisans.<sup>735</sup>

Just as the mountain to Mahomet, Nature comes to Guillaume, not Guillaume to Nature. She gives him a particular role. He feels that he has filled it sufficiently to be able to speak as the chosen poet among other men.

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733 p.8, "Je ne doy mie desvoloir/Leur plaisant gracieus voloir..." and p.12, "Li font avoir douce Plaisance..." and "Or pri a Dieu qu'il me doint grace/De faire..."(p.13).

734 p.3, "Comment Nature, voulant orendroit plus que onques mais reveler et faire essaucier les biens et honneurs qui sont en amours, vient à Guillaume de Machaut et li ordene et encharge à faire sur ce nouviaus dis amoureux..."

735 p.3.

Even the hubris of the Renaissance poet allowed him to mention others, whether contemporaries, predecessors or the poets of Antiquity. If one takes the allegorical sense of this passage literally, one can say that few poets have dared to speak in that manner, without at least a cursory nod in the direction of the others. The only other literary examples that I know of are to be found in Arab poetry in the work of poets like Montenabbi<sup>736</sup>. In the sense that no one had written in such a variety of forms before, G. de Machaut had created a new poetry of love in French, and it is in this literal sense that these lines must be understood.

It is also possible, by taking these lines out of context, to give them undue importance. The lines that follow, it must be said,

Ti fait seront plus qu'autre renommé,  
 Qu'il n'i ara riens qui face à blasmer,  
 Et si seront de toutes gens amé,  
 Soutils, loyaus, jolis et sans amer

have been taken to mean that Machaut is furthering the cause of letters or of poetry as a whole<sup>737</sup>. This interpretation does not concord with the literal sense of the text. It could certainly be argued that these apparently Messianic pretensions run counter to what we know of his life and to what we know of him through his work. But, as I have shown with the closing lines of the Rose, one neglects the literal sense at the risk of misunderstanding the work as a whole.

These lines show an explicit self-regard, which Jean de Meun had only shown, guardedly, when he argued the case for the clercs against the nobility<sup>738</sup>. A summary of some of the points in them bears this out.

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736 R. Blachère, Abou't - Tayib al-Motanabbi, Paris, 1935. Montenabbi saw himself both as having renewed Arabic poetry and as a man apart.

737 Poirion, op.cit., p.204-5.

738 R.de la R., 18559-19088.

The poet writes according to the dictates of Nature (though there is hardly need to say with what care the polyvalent term "Nature" should be regarded). He writes because he has been "chosen" for this task. This sets him apart from other men. There is no indication whether this might also be in the role of moralist and interpreter of past history or whether we must take the view that it is simply as guide to the ways of Love. The Prologue moves sharply away from the Isidorian view of the poet. This can be seen best perhaps in the references to Orpheus: câls poetes dont je vous chant.

c. Jean Froissart and the Orloge Amoureux.

When the editor of Froissart's L'Espinette Amoureuse described the poet's debt to G. de Machaut, he added that Machaut "avait subi l'influence profonde du Roman de la Rose". He understood by this "les récits à la première personne qui racontent un songe dans un jardin enchanteur et qui font apparaître des personnages allégoriques ou mythologiques"<sup>739</sup>. These aspects of the poem are the narrative sense or the ready meanings to be got from it. If there is a deeper sense to the poem this should be looked for in a critique of the mind as studied in the thirteenth century at the university of Paris. Both Machaut and Froissart used the ready meanings from the Rose. The use of these meanings was not always serious, nor was the interpretation given the Rose, as a critique of the mind, always serious.

In the Remède de Fortune, Guillaume de Machaut tells how, through the workings of the imagination, the heart becomes pregnant with love<sup>740</sup>. In La Prison Amoureuse Froissart uses prose to gloss

739 A. Fourrier, L'Espinette Amoureuse, Paris, 1963, p.34.

740 ed. Hoepffner, II, p.65-6, "Après tu ne fais chose nulle/Dont joie en ton cuer tant s'anulle(...)Et ce te destruit et affole;/Car tu penses et ymagine,/Ce m'est vis, songes ou devines,/Qu'elle pas n'entende ou congnoisse/L'amour qu'i en ton cuer s'engroisse."

his own verse (these are not verse synopses of the prose, as in most saturae). He links mythological allusions to the workings of the imagination to explain both his understanding of the imagination and his interpretation of a fable.

Chiers amis, j'entens par Climène, mère à Phéton,  
 l'imagination d'un amant, laquel engendre un desir et  
 dou quel amours est peres, et tant croist chils desirs  
 amourens et se nourist avoec sa mere ymagination qu'il  
 est tous espanis et tous fourmés; et pour issir d'ignorance  
 il voelt avoir le congnoissance qui l'engenra, car douls  
 regards, que je compere à Mercurius, l'en esmoet. Or s'en  
 vient desirs à sa mère ymagination par l'esmouvement dou  
 dessusdit, et voelt savoir qui l'engenra; et elle li dist:  
 amours. Dont quant il se voit nommer fils à amours, si  
 s'en tient plus fiers et dist qu'il voelt ensievir les  
 oeuvres de son pere; et s'en vient desirs, par l'esmouvement  
 de douls regart et le conseil d'ymagination, en la presence  
 dou dieu d'amours, que je compere à Phebus dieu dou solet,  
 et li remoustre elle qu'il li besongne et il li acorde  
 et jure qu'il est engenrés de li(...)Chiers amis, ceste  
 est l'exposition que de mon rude et ignorant entendement je  
 puis entendre sus la matere et ordenance de Phebus et de  
 Pheton et de la poésie qui est contenue en vostre songe<sup>741</sup>

Froissart is concerned with imagination's role. His commentary throws some light on the manner in which he satirized the Roman in his Orloge Amourens. Mythological narrative is set here against the operations of the mind, just as in the Orloge the workings of a clock explain the workings of both imagination and Love. If one is to judge by the Orloge, Froissart seems to have understood the points about free will, the powerlessness of reason in sleep or in other circumstances. Froissart also saw how Jean de Meun expressed the mind by means of allegorical or mythical personages and he proceeded to do the same on a mock scientific basis. While Jean de Meun took his material from mythology and natural science, Froissart looked for his in the artes mechanicae. The Orloge is probably the first poem written in French to use metaphors of this type. Froissart leaves little to the imagination: he begins by comparing

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741 I, p.344-6, Oeuvres, ed. A. Scheler, 3t, 1870, 1871, 1872.

himself to a clock<sup>742</sup>. The clock's workings and the way it marks the time are related to the body and its needs<sup>743</sup>. The body's mechanism is kept in motion by Beauty's weight at the end of the cord of Plaisance. In the same way the body obeyed certain impulses in the Rose. In each case it was for the same supposedly unavoidable reason: a mechanism which can be defined independently of the individual, and over which he has no power. Froissart writes his own epitaph in the manner of the one which Jean wrote for Guillaume de Lorris, then introduces his Pygmalion-figure, Tubulus (fr. Tubule) who, it is claimed, died of love<sup>744</sup>. Apparently to round off the parallel with the Rose, the love-mechanism is seen as passively or actively sanctioned by raison and by Nature, in wakefulness and in sleep, according to the call of duty (mon devoir),

Ensi qu'elle est par cè devant moustrée,  
A un orloge et à la gouvrenance  
Qu'il appartient à yceste ordenance;  
Car l'orloge, si com j'ai dit premiers,  
Est de mouvoir nuit et jour coustumiers,  
Ne il ne poet ne doit arrest avoir,  
Se loyalment voelt faire son devoir.

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- 742 II, p.53, "Je ne puis bien comparer à l'orloge,/Car quant amours, qui en mon coer se loge,/M'i fait penser et mettre y mon estude,/J'i aperçoi une similitude/Dont moult doi resjoïr et parer;/Car l'orloge est, au vrai considerer,/Un instrument très bel et très notable,/Et s'est aussi plaisant et pourfitable;/Car nuit et jour les heures nous aprent,/Par la soubtilleté qu'elle comprend,/En l'absense meisme dou soleil..."
- 743 II, p.54, "...Quant je l'ai à l'orloge comparée/Ensi amours, qui maint penser me donne,/A son plaisir presentement m'ordonne/Et me semont de mon estat trettier;/Et je, qui voeil, de vrai coer et entier,/Obefir a tout ce qu'il m'amoneste,/Car sa semonse est courtoise et honneste." p.56, "La premerainne roe qui y loge,/Celle est la mere et li commencemens/Qui fait mouvoir les aultres movemens/Dont l'orloge a ordenance et maniere(...)Le ploak trop bien à la Beauté s'accorde;/Plaisance rest moustrée par la corde,/Si proprement..."
- 744 p.85, "Et quant vendra de Dieu la saintisme heure/Que de mon corps il vodra oster l'ame,/Je voeil qu'il soit escript dessus ma lame/Que par amours amer, non estre ames/(Se l'ai esté, petit amans clamés),/Avec les amoureux dors et repose./Et ce sera, tant qu'à moi, moult grant chose/S'on le voelt faire ensi que je le di;/Car Tubulus, si com j'ai lu de li,/Qui fu, ce recommendent li aucteur,/Uns vrès amans, acquist moult haute honneur,/Quant pour amer par amours, vrès martirs,/Frans et loyaus, moru de coer entirs./Molt belle en est l'escripture et la bule/A recorder de la vie Tubule;/Car Tubulus sa dame tant ama/Que pour s'amour a la mort se pasma;/Ce fun pour lui une honnorable fin,/Et je le di, madame, a celle fin."

Tout ensi sui gouvrenés par raison,  
 Car je qui sui la chambre et la maison  
 Où mis est li orloges amoureux,  
 Sui de mouvoir telement curieus  
 Que n'ai aillours entente, soing et cure,  
 Ne Nature riens el ne me procure,  
 Fors que tous dis mouvoir sans arrester;  
 Ne je ne puis une heure en paix ester,  
 Meismement quand je sommeille et dors.  
 Si n'ai je point d'arrest qu'à vo gent corps  
 Ne soit tous dis pensans mes esperis;  
 Et, deufst estre ens ou penser peris  
 Se n'en poet il ne n'est aultrement voir.  
 Ensi appert que je fai mon devoir  
 Tout ensi comme l'orloge fait le sien.<sup>745</sup>

Was this really the direction in which gallica levitas had pushed the teaching of Aristotle and Avicenna on the powers of the soul, on their relation to Nature and on reason's role in the workings of mind and body? I have not been able to establish whether Froissart was writing a reply to a too serious commentary on Jean de Meun, whether he was pitting his wits directly against the Rose, or whether there was some particularly mechanistic account of body and soul that had aroused his scorn. At all events, it is a fairly light-hearted essay on what was essentially a serious subject<sup>746</sup>.

It has been suggested that the grande rhétorique came about partly because the verse of writers like Machaut and Froissart was unequal to satisfying the desire of the new clerics, lawyers and Latinists, for a poetry with humanist pretensions. If Jean de Meun's work retained some credit, was it because it was easier to endow with serious meanings than straightforward satire on the same subject, like the Orloge Amoureux? Jean de Meun's skill as a writer made it possible for him to be considered an abisme de science by some humanists. The interest taken in Jean de Meun by Humanist authors like Jean de Montreuil must show <sup>some</sup> interest in

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745 II, p.86.

746 Though hardly comparable, v. Jean Le Bel's account of the soul in Li Ars d'Amour, ed. Petit, tI, for a serious vernacular description of the soul.



Poetry. But if this was the case, why was it that so few full arts poétiques that we know of, apart from Deschamps's Art de Dictier and Jacques Le Grand's Archiloge Sophie (1392 and c.1405) were written between the time of Machaut's Prologue and the end of the fifteenth century? Part of the answer to this may lie in the increasing use of Averroes's commentary on the Aristotle Poetics, which I shall analyse below; part, too, must be looked for in the early history of French Humanism.

d. Deschamps' Art de Dictier and the Relation of Poetry to Music.

Of the arts poétiques or arts de versification<sup>747</sup> written between 1390 and 1500 the latter are in an apparent majority. They were, for the most part, concerned with rules for rhymes and verse forms<sup>748</sup>. D. Poirion has assumed that these arts de versifier were written as technical guides for those competing in the pays<sup>749</sup>.

The Art de dictier also differs from the others in that it sees verse dependent on music rather than as a form of seconde rhétorique. Its basic assumptions are therefore different from those arts that follow. Like Jacques Le Grand's Sophilogium it continues the mediaeval Latin tradition of placing poetry within the scheme of the arts. The treatises of Eustache Deschamps and Regnaud Le Queux (usually identified with the anonymous author of the l'Instructif) develop a view of poetry, deriving from music in the first instance, from rhetoric in the second, and therefore appear as sections of a larger encyclopaedic work, which might

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747 For the distinction between the two, cf. J. Le Grand, Archiloge Sophie, BN.fr.24232, "Poetrie aussi ne monstre point la science de versifier. Car telle science appartient en partie à grammaire, et en partie à rethorique..."

748 Recueil d'Arts de seconde rhétorique, ed. Langlois, 1902, p.vii, "Il importe de ne pas se méprendre sur la nature des Arts(...)Ce ne sont pas des Arts poétiques(...)Leur attribuer d'autres prétentions serait commettre(...)une injustice."

749 Poirion, p.147-8.

have included poetry as an appendage of the sixth or seventh art, of the second or third. Seen from this angle, the Art de Dictier and the Instructif, both pedestrian works, follow the tradition of Boethius's De Musica or Gundissalinus's De Divisione Philosophiae.

Emphasis has been placed here on the extent to which they continue the traditions of encyclopaedia learning. Deschamp's Art de Dictier opens with a brief survey of the seven arts. He calls them liberaulx and adds that originally the arts were the preserve of the nobility<sup>750</sup>. This is not the only unexpected definition. Geometry is defined in terms of building science; Arithmetic is concerned with measurement of earth and space; Astronomy becomes astrology and prognostication<sup>751</sup>. The description of Music as medicine for the weary soul goes back, in appearance at least, to Cassiodorus<sup>752</sup>, but it is linked, in practical terms, to the other six arts: when the mind is tired from the labours of the day implied by the practice of the other six arts, music refreshes it so that it can return to them with renewed understanding<sup>753</sup>. This decidedly practical view of the value of music, together with the unexpected definitions of Geometry and Astronomy, comes from a tradition different to that which has been looked at in Part I between late Antiquity

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750 Oeuvres, VII, ed. Raynaud, p.266, "qui sont appellez ars liberaulx, pour ce que anciennement nul, se il n'estoit liberal, c'est a dire fils de noble homme et atrait de noble lignie n'osoit aprendre aucun d'iceuls ars..."

751 *ibid*, p.266-69.

752 ed. Mynors, Institutiones, p.148.

753 VII, p.269, "Musique est la darreniere science ainsis comme la medecine des .vii. ars; car quant le couraige et l'esperit des creatures ententives aux autres ars dessus declairez sont lassez et ennueyez de leurs labours, musique, par la douçour de sa science et la melodie de sa voix, leur chante par ses .vi. notes(...)tant que par sa melodie delectable les cuers et esperis de ceulx qui auxdiz ars, par pensée, ymaginaison et labours, de bras estoient traveilliez, pesans et ennueyez, sont mediceinez et recreez, et plus habiles après a estudier labourer aux autres .vi. ars dessus nommez."

and the XIIIth century. The appearance of Geometry-Architecture and Astronomy-Astrology, followed by the far longer development on the two Musics - artificiele and naturale - are of note.

It is possible that Deschamps was working on the basis of a single encyclopaedic view of the seven arts, but as the development allowed Music is proportionately greater than that allotted the other arts - only naturally since he was writing a treatise on the relation of poetry to music, and on the verse forms in use at the Puy in his day<sup>754</sup> - it is also possible that the section on Music derives from another source. Analyses of the Art de Dictier have attempted to relate the distinction between natural and artificial music firstly to Deschamps' practice as a writer of verse and secondly to the growing divide between poetry and music, that is between the spoken word and musical notation<sup>755</sup>. The former supposition (that he was intent on obtaining "natural" effects in his verse) is not supported by enough evidence. The latter (that his distinction between the two musics reflects his own lack of skill as a musician) seems to want to impose practical considerations on a theoretical viewpoint. While this is conceivable, it is largely refuted by Deschamps' expressed view that the two musics are perfectly matched:

Et aussi ces deux musiques sont si consonans l'une avecques l'autre, que chascune puet bien estre appellée musique(...)et est de ces deux ainsis comme un mariage en conjunction de science...<sup>756</sup>

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754 p.271, "Ceuls qui avoient et ont acoustumé de faire en ceste musique naturele serventois de Nostre Dame, chançons royaulx(...)portoient chascun ce que fait avoit devant le Prince du puy..."

755 I.S. Laurie, Modern Language Review, 1964, t59, p.561-70; K.Varty, Fr.Studies, 1965; D. Poirion, *op.cit.*, p.165-7, 170-4.

756 VII, p.271.

Medieval verse with scientific pretensions had, as far as is known and unlike lyric verse, never been accompanied by music, and Deschamps' verse for the greater part seems to have pretensions of this type, even if he writes mainly in formes fixes. His own lack of musical attainments may have determined to some extent the type of verse he chose to write, but it is unlikely that he elaborated the theories of the two musics as a justification for his own weaker points. The theory of the two musics was a staple part of views of music in the mediaeval encyclopaedias.

As to earlier "encyclopaedic" distinctions on the different types of music, R. Dragonetti has argued that the reference to musique naturele echoes Boethius's three categories of music (mundana, humana and instrumentalis) and his three categories of musician (the theoretician, the poet and the instrumentalist). In the Boethius De Musica the poet is seen as working, not according to the lights of reason like the theoretician-musicus but quodam naturali instinctu<sup>757</sup>.

This is a tempting theory, since Boethius's treatise remained a source of reference for subsequent authors<sup>758</sup>. However, the context of his remark makes it clear that Boethius uses this natural or instinctive quality as an argument for placing the poet whom he sees as a "contriver" of songs (fingit carmina) on a humbler level than the musicus or theoretician. While this type of poetic activity relates to a form of self-knowledge which is not to be overlooked - humanam vero musicam, quisquis in sese ipsum descendit, intelligit - Boethius concludes that the poet's role has no concern with true music: hoc quoque genus a musica segregandum est. If there is a Boethian influence on Deschamps' theories, it is of the most indirect kind and amounts, if anything, to a misunderstanding of

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757 Boethius, De Musica, PL.63,1195, cf. Mélanges R. Gouette, 1961, p.49-64.

758 H. Potiron, Boèce. Théoricien de la musique grecque, 1961, p.258.

Boethius, who placed reasoned knowledge of the art above any form of verbal expression, saw the poet as a "verbal accompanist" and said nothing of the supremacy of voice, as Deschamps was to do.

Theories of the supremacy of the voice may have a biblical origin<sup>759</sup>, but Al Farabi's distinction to be found in the Gerard of Cremona translation of the De Scientiis between the two musics and its subsequent influence on Vincent de Beauvais, Raymond Lull and other encyclopaedists has been studied as part of Alfarabi's influence on mediaeval musical theory<sup>760</sup>. The Gerard of Cremona translation reads:

Quam una est scientia musice activa, et secunda scientia musice speculativa. Musica quidem activa, est illa cuius proprietas est ut inveniatur species armoniarum, sensitivarum in instrumentis que preparata sunt eis aut per naturam aut per artem. Instrumenta quidem naturalia, sunt epiglottis, et uvula, et que sunt in eis, deinde nasus. Et artificialia sunt sicut fistule et cithare et alia.<sup>761</sup>

This lesson reappears in the treatise of music by Jerome of Moravia, who lived in Paris in the first half of the thirteenth century and compiled his work with references culled from Boethius, Isidore, Alfarabi and others<sup>762</sup>. The difference between artificial and natural music was again made by Joannes de Muris in the first half of the fourteenth century. On this occasion the text clearly implies (as did Jean de Meun with Art on her knees before Nature) that the natural is inherently superior. It

759 Cf. R. de Zamore, Le Miroir de Vie Humaine, Lyon, B. Buyer, 1477, f<sup>o</sup>h.vi.r<sup>o</sup>, "Et come il est escript en ecclesiastiques, grande est la douceur de la trompe et de la harpe, et la melodie, mais sur toutes choses est douce la melodie de la langue."

760 Henry G. Farmer, Al-Farabi's Arabic-Latin Writings on Music, Glasgow, 1934, p.15, 16. He also examines the influence of the anonymous De Ortu Scientiarum, but concludes that this was negligible (p.51). Cf. id., The Influence of Music from Arab Sources, London, 1926.

761 BN.lat.9335, f<sup>o</sup>143.v<sup>o</sup>.

762 On Jerome of Moravia, cf. E. Coussemaker, Traites Inédits sur la Musique du Moyen Age, Lille, 1865. For the text, id., Scriptorum de Musica Medii Aevi, Paris, 1865, tI, p.10, "Activa secundum ipsum, proprietas est invenire armonias sensitivas ex instrumentis que preparata sunt eis, vel natura, vel arte. Instrumenta naturalia sunt ut epiglottis, et uvula, et que in eis sunt. Deinde vero vasa artificialia sunt, ut fistule, corde, verba et alia hujus modi..."

is still clear that the text derives from Alfarabi, not from Boethius or any other source known to me: J. de Muris is speaking of "natural" instruments such as tongue and teeth.

Non tacui inter instrumenta musicalia naturalia numerare instrumenta, non solum quia musica non tantum consonanciarum sonis expressis inspicit, sed et vocibus, verum quia naturalia instrumenta perfectiora sunt artificialibus. Ars enim naturam imitatur; non modica melodia continetur in vocibus naturalibus formati instrumentis, quibus nulla attingunt instrumenta artificialia. <sup>763</sup>

Eustache Deschamps' Art de Dictier clearly reproduces this distinction, and the lesson of the superiority of the natural instruments drawn from it. It comes to him from Alfarabi and is possibly filtered through authors like Jerome of Moravia and Joannes de Muris. On the other hand, these three references do not entirely explain the association of poetry with natural music. It can be supposed that this was made in some other source. I know of only one other text devoted to music, in which poet and musician are compared and the poet declared the superior of the latter. This is Alfarabi's important work, the Grand Traité de Musique, in which the author neatly reverses the Boethian position and proclaims the superiority of the poet, precisely on the grounds of the superiority of the human voice to the musical instrument. This might suggest knowledge of the same Greek or Alexandrian sources available to Boethius <sup>764</sup>. The Traité de la Musique is not known to have been translated in the West until R. d'Erlanger included it in his volumes on Arab musical theory. The only known mentions of Al-Farabi's musical theories are in that version of the De Scientiis translated into Latin by Gerard, in Gundissalinus, in the allusions apparently derived from these in the De Ortu Scientiarum, and in the borrowings made from these

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763 W. Grossmann, Die...Kapitel des Speculum Musicae von Johannes de Muris, 1924, Leipzig, p.86-7 (in Sammlung musikwissenschaftlicher Einzel-Bearstellungen, Heft 3).

764 Cf. P. Courcelle, Boèce et l'Ecole d'Alexandrie (Mélanges de l'Ecole Fr.Rome, t52, 1935, p.185-223).

texts by Jerome of Moravia, Roger Bacon and Vincent de Beauvais in the thirteenth, and by Raymond Lull and J. de Muris in the fourteenth century. H.G. Farmer's thesis, however, is that Western music took some musical instruments and techniques of playing from the Arabs and that Western musical theory owed something to Arabic or Spanish Mozarabian theorists<sup>765</sup>. The Grand Traité de la Musique is of interest because it contains the assertion that verse rhyme was an Arabic invention which other peoples went on to borrow from the Arabs: Al-Farabi who was writing in the tenth century is not more specific than that<sup>766</sup>. The theoretical content may be briefly summarised, as follows.

Music is a form of imperfect poetry<sup>767</sup>. It gains from being used in conjunction with a poem. The most perfect form of expression is that of the human voice, to which instrumental music can only approximate and to the extent that certain instruments reproduce the voice's qualities<sup>768</sup>. It is made clear that this music of the voice refers to recognized verse forms and not to humbler forms of song<sup>769</sup>. There are three levels of musical ability, varying from the instrumentalist's or a degree of skill as a composer to an imaginative understanding of the meaning of music: these categories correspond to Boethius's player, his poet and his musicus. Like Boethius, Al-Farabi sets his third category apart from the other two<sup>770</sup>. Instruments like the flute, which come

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765 ~~Al-Farabi's~~ Al-Farabi's Arabic-Latin Writings on Music, p.vii-viii, p.3. On Al-F's preeminence as a theorist, p.4.

766 Cf. R. D'Erlanger, Paris, 1930, La Musique Arabe, III, 64, "Les poésies arabes, anciennes ou modernes, sont presque toujours rimées. Celles des autres peuples, et surtout les plus anciennes, dont nous ayons eu occasion de connaître quelques exemples, sont au contraire rarement rimées. De nos jours ces peuples, imitant les Arabes, sont enclins à rimer leurs vers".

767 Ibid, I, 15-16.

768 I, 17.

769 I, 17, romance, lamentation, élégie.

770 I, 11-12, "la troisième où sa faculté de conception devient assez forte pour qu'il puisse raisonner intellectuellement sur tout ce que son imagination a conçu(...)car la science implique la connaissance du pourquoi des choses."

closest to the voice in quality, are the most estimable<sup>771</sup>. Another aspect of the voice's perfection is that it is natural<sup>772</sup>, given us at birth<sup>773</sup>. To the three kinds of musical ability correspond qualities that are practical, acquired and innate<sup>774</sup>. It is not difficult to see in the attributes of the voice, in its expression in poem and song, in the poet's understanding of the meaning of music and in the innate or natural qualities that belong to voice and poet a fairly clear argument of the type that emerges in garbled form on the basis of a sharp divide between natural and artificial music in Deschamps' Art de Dictier. This brief account of Alfarabi's treatise is given here because it appears to be the only source that could have associated the natural instruments with the work of the poet. The difficulty is the lack of a translation of the text in the medieval period. In an appendix, "A", I shall suggest a possible translator, who, at approximately the time of the appearance of Deschamps' Art de Dictier (1392) was living in Tunis, was a man of letters and poet himself, had acquired a knowledge of Arabic by about 1390, was in contact with the Franco-Genoese forces at Mahdia in 1390 and was a propagandist for Islam.

e. Jacques Le Grand's Sophologium and its defence of Poetry.

In the Humanist context the treatment of poetria as a discipline within an encyclopaedic account of the sciences might seem old-fashioned. Jacques Le Grand's Sophologium (end XIVth/early XVth century) is an

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771 I,23, "Le rabāb et le genre de flûtes appelées urnayat peuvent imiter (accompagner) la voix de la façon la plus parfaite."

772 I,27, "les sensations naturelles sont celles qui, lorsqu'elles atteignent le sens, réalisent la perfection qui leur est propre..."

773 I,32.

774 I,66, "En résumé, certains principes nécessaires à la science musicale proviennent de connaissances innées; d'autres appartiennent à la Science Naturelle, la Physique; d'autres à la Géométrie, à l'Arithmétique; d'autres, enfin, à la pratique musicale (à la tradition)." This qualification of the knowledge needed for the second category reflects Deschamps' introductory survey of the seven arts.



encyclopedia with an account of poetry included, as in Vincent de Beauvais, but, like Isidore, it describes historical attitudes to poetry from late Antiquity and in the Church Fathers, and also mentions Boccaccio, poeta novellus, as part of its case for a defence of poetry against poetry's detractors. His work is less objective than the mainly descriptive view taken by Vincent de Beauvais' Speculum, and in effect the Sophologium contains active propaganda on poetry's behalf. This sets it apart from the other arts of poetry or manifestoes discussed here.

The Sophologium is remarkable in another respect. Written first in Latin, it was adapted into French by the author. The adaptation has come down to us in two sections entitled the Archiloge Sophie (the first two books of the Sophologium comprising thirty three chapters) and the Livre de Bonnes Meurs (the balance of the text, one book)<sup>775</sup>. Of these three related parts the Latin Sophologium has survived in a large number of manuscripts, and was published some twenty times before 1500<sup>776</sup>. It seems to have had a success over a period of more than a century comparable to that of Vincent de Beauvais. It can hardly be compared with the latter's Speculum as a summa of learning, yet it was possibly better suited to the late mediaeval and early Renaissance taste for learning furnished with moral examples. Of the French versions the Livre de Bonnes Meurs was printed on a number of occasions, but there has been no edition, either ancient or modern of the Archiloge Sophie<sup>777</sup>. Neither of the other two texts has been given a critical edition. Only the section of the Archiloge Sophie, entitled Des Rimes, has been edited by E. Langlois in his Recueil de seconde rhétorique.

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775 A. Coville, De Jacobi Magni Vita et Operibus, 1899, p.62.

776 F. Roth, Augustinians, 1957, tVII, p.325.

777 Langlois, Recueil, p.xvi-xvii.

In view of the diffusion of the Latin text of the Sophologium I shall discuss it here in preference to the Archiloge Sophie. The French translation of the relevant chapters is of sufficient interest for poetry to be quoted incidentally. But it will be understood that Jacques Le Grand's view of poetry comes closer to that of the Humanists in many respects and cannot be adequately dealt with in a study of Poetry's scientific background in the medieval period.

The first book of the Sophologium, comprising sixteen chapters, is mainly concerned with the nature of knowledge<sup>and</sup> with a description of philosophers and philosophies, but finishes with an attack on the magice artes. There are a large number of references to Greek philosophy, though these seem to come from sources like Aulus Gellius,<sup>or</sup> Saint Augustine<sup>778</sup>. The second book, de inventione scientiarum, contains a total of seventeen chapters. The first eleven of these amount to an extended scheme of the arts, the remaining six are on law, government and domestic economy. The opening chapters of Book II are as follows: grammar, logic, rhetoric, poetry, poets, arithmetic, geometry, music, musicians, astrology, medicine; so that the arts of poetry and of music are both treated at greater length than the others. Those on poetry, chapters iv and v, form a defence against poetry's detractors. The arts, as outlined here, with poetry in fourth place, reflects Al-Farabi's scheme and chap. iv begins with a reference to the de divisione scientiarum (by Gundissalinus, but attributed here, as in Vincent, to "Alphorabius")<sup>779</sup>. The reference to Boccacius novellus poeta is to his Genealogie.

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778 cf. Summa Collationum Johannis Gallensis, Paris, 1516, I, cap. xiv, De Famosis illustribusque philosophis, f<sup>o</sup> vii. v a.

779 II, iiii, "Alphorabius in libro de divisione scientiarum dicit poetriam esse ultimam partem logice..." (1516 edit., f<sup>o</sup> xii. r<sup>o</sup> a-b).

Rursus sciendum quod poetria non est inventa propter mentiri, aut propter turpia de diis fingere. Quinimmo Bocatius novellus poeta, li. de genealo. deorum illos poetas redarguit, qui suorum deorum canunt illecebras. Finis ergo poetarum non est mentiri, vel irritare, sed ex similitudinibus rerum unam pro alia intelligere, et ita veritati semper intenta ficto sermone suum conceptum exprimere. Quis enim crederet argum habuisse oculos centum(...)He enim omnes fictiones fuerunt, non tamen mendacia. Quinimmo aliquas hystorias veras ad mentem actoris referunt, et nos alias hystorias per illas intelligimus, quia ut plurimum mentem poetarum ignoramus(...)His enim similitudinibus fictiones rationabiliter invente fuerunt et ex bona scientia procedunt ingenioque sano.<sup>780</sup>

Jacques Le Grand follows Vincent's definitions of the seven poetic genres - comedia, tragedia, invectiva, satyra, fabula, hystoria, argumentum - almost verbatim, then defines in the same order as him carmen bucolicum, heroicum, elegiacum, trenos, epithaphium, epigramma<sup>781</sup>. He goes on to claim that poetry is not poetry, if it is indecent, and that true poetry has a moral aim:

turpia quedam in poetis legerunt: que turpia poetrie non pertinent, nisi fine bono terminentur.<sup>782</sup>

Book II, chapter v, develops this argument using a florilegium of authorities. Quomodo poetria non est contemnenda, et qualiter poete claruerunt includes one unexpected authority. The source for Virgil as necromancer is Alexander Neckam. All the known manuscripts for Neckam's De Naturis Rerum are to be found in England: this fact must be responsible for the erroneous view that Neckam (1157-1217) had no general influence whatsoever beyond the XIIIth century<sup>783</sup>. Not only is he quoted here, but he may have had an unexpected influence, presumably through the prominence given him by Jacques Le Grand, or Chastelain. The Virgilian

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780 These particular references to the Gen. Deorum G. summarize the argument of the last two books, XIV, XV. Known to Laurent de Premierfait (cf. P.N. Gathercole, Italica, t40, 1963, p.226), the Genealogie were translated into French in the late XIVth century. (The Latin Genealogie were finished towards 1370.) The translation of two books was done before 1399 by J. Mielot, and in that year another was undertaken of the whole text, cf. C. Pellegrini, Il Boccaccio nella Cultura Fr., p.11.

781 f<sup>o</sup> xii.r<sup>o</sup>b - v<sup>o</sup>a.

782 f<sup>o</sup> xii.v<sup>o</sup>a.

783. For the 14 ms. of De N.R., cf. M. Esposito, Eng.Hist.Review, 630, 1915. As for P.Michaud-Quantin, Petites Encyclopédies du XIIIe siècle,

legends concern ridding Naples of the leaches and the building of bridges and walls in the air<sup>784</sup>. Le Grand quoting Boethius on the Muses as scenicas meretriculas, notes that Plato had them expelled from his city, and that this was approved of by Cicero, but, nothing abashed, Le Grand adds that this proves that certain men hated poetry but that poetry in any case is of use<sup>785</sup>. He supports his contention that poetry is useful by citing Augustine (Confessions, I)<sup>786</sup>. He uses Macrobius to prove that not all fables are without meaning<sup>787</sup>, as well as Ambrose twice<sup>788</sup>, Cicero<sup>789</sup>, Augustine a second time<sup>790</sup>. He returns to the charge that poetry is a kept woman (meretricula)<sup>791</sup>, states that Plato did not disapprove of all poets<sup>792</sup> and gives examples of the use of fictiones covering truths by other authors<sup>793</sup>. This allows him to conclude:

sic omnes scripture tam poetarum quam gentilium  
legi possunt ad utilitatem...<sup>794</sup>

783 (continued from previous page)

- p.584 (in Cahiers d'Hist.Mondiale tIX,3), "épisodiquement cité par deux ou trois auteurs du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, le De nat.r. ne sera jamais utilisé comme source par un ouvrage postérieur."
- 784 Neckam, ed.Wright, 1863, p.309-10, "Mantuano vati servivit Neapolis, quae, cum infinitarum sanguisugarum peste lethali vexaretur, liberata est projecta a Marone in fundum putei hirudine aurea(...)Quid quod dictus vates hortum suum, aere immobili vicem muri obtinente, munivit et ambivit? Quid quod pontem aerium construxit, cujus beneficio loca destinata pro arbitrio voluntatis suae adire consuevit."
- 785 f<sup>o</sup>xiii.r<sup>o</sup>a, "Quibusdam igitur videtur poetriam detestandam fore, quorum imaginationi non credo, quia poetria utilis est, si debito innititur fini, si licito exerceatur usu."
- 786 f<sup>o</sup>xiii.r<sup>o</sup>a, "Aug(...)didici in eis multa verba utilia"(cf.Conf.,I,xiii).
- 787 ibid., "fictionum(...)alae autem utiles" (In S.S., I,i,ii).
- 788 ibid., Ambrose, De Officiis,III (PL16,lib.III,cap.v) and super Lucam, ix (PL.XIV,XV; lib.ix,c.1893-1804) does not contain this reference.
- 789 ibid., Cic. De Officiis, III (Teubner,ed.Klotz,III,cap.25-6).
- 790 The reference is to Sermons, II, xxvi.
- 791 f<sup>o</sup>xiii.r<sup>o</sup>b, "Ex his ergo apparet quod fabularum quoddam est genus utile et in sacris eloquiis quandoque honestum. Sed quid dicemus ad ea quae in contrarium obijciebantur? Dicebat enim Agellius quod poetria meretricula est: ratione cuius Plato poetas expulit..."
- 792 ibid., "Alios autem poetas repudiare non intendit, quorum seque fictiones veritatem pretendunt."
- 793 ibid., Apuleius, Livy, John of Salisbury, Book of Genesis.
- 794 f<sup>o</sup>xiii.v d.

As a defence of Poetry, this is less than that offered by Albertino Mussato a century earlier<sup>795</sup>, and compared to the works of Dante and Boccaccio its sum of learning is negligible. Compared to Alfarabi, and even to Vincent de Beauvais, its view of poetry is moral and proselytizing. It may be evidence, where France is concerned, of a humanist attitude to Poetry<sup>796</sup>. In general, though, the intention is more interesting than the material assembled to support it. As for the contention that poetry is useful (utilis is the term used on several occasions), the implications are moral rather than aesthetic and belong to the tradition of moral exempla. The rapport fiction/truth as an explanation of the two levels at which poetry works was already a well worn argument by 1400.

There are indications in the text of Nicolas de Gonesse's version of Boccaccio's views on poetry that Humanist understanding of the role of Poetry went further than this<sup>797</sup>. But there is little evidence that Jean de Meun's Humanist admirers admired him as a poet. Pierre Col or Jean de Montreuil, who praised Jean's learning, more probably understood him far less well than Chancellor Gerson, who disliked the impieties of Jean's Rose. All the letters from Jean de Meun's supporters in the Quarrel of the Rose testify to admiration for his learning. Christine pointed out that they were hard put to it to justify this in specific terms, yet her own contribution to the new tendencies is a vernacular rhetoric<sup>sired</sup> out of the old grammar by an admiration for Boethius, Cicero and other established

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795 A. Galletti, "La ragione poetica di A. Mussato" in In Onore R. Renier, Turin, 1912, p. 442-59.

796 On J. de Montreuil's admiration for J. Le Grand cf. E. Beltran, "Jacques L. (†1415) prédicateur" in Analecta Augustiniana, t30, 1967. D. Poirion, Poète et Prince, p. 174, speaks of the Archiloque Sophie and "les principes d'une 'poésie', qu'il a peut-être puisée à son pays d'origine, à Toulouse". I suspect that Deschamps' Art de Dictier with its slightly Southern prose style and echoes of the Toulousain art poétique known as Las Leys d'Amors may also reflect the learning of that milieu.

797 Cf. C. Pellegrini, op.cit., p. 43f. I have not examined the text here. It is only partly related to the type of poésie savante, discussed here.

models. Poetry (as an activity with commendable moral aims in certain cases), reflects this new seriousness, as does the new style in Christine de Pisan and Alain Chartier.

With the exceptions of Villon and Charles d'Orleans the fifteenth century author takes self seriously, has a superstitious respect for learning and a conviction that style is une valeur morale. Even in mid-century, when Chastelain comes to view poetry as a means of exploring self through imagination, he is still encumbered with pedantry. French scholarship and historiographical writing seem to have gained from the introduction of humanist preoccupations<sup>798</sup>. It took French poetry, and by this I mean the average competent verse writer, like Christine or Guillaume Grévin, or Bouchet and not the writers of genius, until well into the sixteenth century, to begin to recover from this. It could be objected that the average poet knew little of the values central to humanist thinking, and that if they took the chaff for the wheat - style for thinking enquiry - this showed their enthusiasm for the new style. On the other hand, prologues to several verse works of the time, in which the poet may actually regret the heavy task he is about to undertake can, allowing for some exaggeration, indicate that the new seriousness was unwanted in many cases<sup>799</sup>. The mind was unwilling to put too much effort into manoeuvring a siege cannon of resounding subordinate clauses round its targets<sup>800</sup>. As a compromise, it usually fired a few rounds in the approved style noble and then settled for something that would be neither witty nor pleasing

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798 F. Simone, Il Rinascimento Francese.

799 Cf. J. Lemaire, La Couronne Margaritique, prologue (Steher, IV, 15-16): as much as a refusal of the complainte, this is a refusal of the style in which the complainte is written. J.L.'s reference to "labeur ingrat, et oeuvre tedieuse" shows that he cannot conceive the subject in any other style, at least at the outset.

800 For an early example, cf. Ward, Epistles R. of the R., 1911, Christine to Pierre Col, p. 87-8.

nor had any real polish<sup>801</sup>. The new rhetoric seems to have gradually forced French verse into a sort of hybrid mould, in which verse rhythms adapted imperfectly to prose models of eloquence.

In one respect the Humanist influence was positive. It advanced the notion that the author had public responsibilities as an arbiter of conduct. Men are described in posterity through his writings. The idea goes back at least to Jean de Meun<sup>802</sup> in French poetry and to Jean de Meun's assertion that clerics could be more than the equal of noblemen. This had something defensive about it. With Machaut in poems such as the Confort d'Ami, poet spoke to noble as to friend or disciple. The genre was established with the introduction into France of a work like Petrarch's De Remediis, (~~ten Petrarchan~~ *ms.* appeared in the Papal library at Avignon between 1375 and 1379)<sup>803</sup>. It was translated in 1378, the year following Machaut's death, for Charles V: the translator supposes that it is possible to cure moral ills in the same way that a doctor tackles those of the body, and he declares that Petrarch is the equal of the Classical authors, or their superior, en rethorique et en poeterie<sup>804</sup>. The view taken of the De Remediis evolved over the next century and a quarter<sup>805</sup>, but initially, Daudin's preface makes it clear, he is introducing "a kind of morale laïque, and one eminently suitable for a king."<sup>806</sup> The style and the content of humanistic prose writing presented

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801 Cf. J. Marot, Prières(...) Anne de Bretagne, ed. Guiffrey, 1860, who spoke of writing in a style lequel appartient plus à sublimité héroïque ou résonance tragédiale, que au petit et humble stalle de bas maternel langage" (p.60). The actual work is uneven, often ridiculous.

802 Roman de la Rose, 18577-18820. Cf. Watriquet, ed. Scheler, Li Mireoirs aus Princes.

803 N. Mann, "Petrarch's Role as Moralist" in Humanism in France, ed. Levi, p.9.

804 L. Delisle, Anc. Trad. Fr. Traité de Petrarque sur les Remèdes, 1891, p.24, 25-6.

805 N. Mann, "Petrarch's Role...", p.15-25.

806 *Ibid.*, p.16.

a challenge to the writers of verse at the end of the fourteenth century, and this is reflected in the chapters on poetry in the Sophologium's defence of poetry as a "moral" means of expression.

- f. Christine de Pisan and Alain Chartier;  
Renewal of the Vision Poem.

To what extent was the new rhetoric that developed first in prose, and then in verse, a rhetoric based on humanist prose models? Mlle. Pinet in her study on Christine took almost for granted that her poet knew both Cicero and Boethius in translation, rather than in the original Latin text, and that her knowledge of them was probably gained through florilegia. She added that any Ciceronian passages were in imitation of the very general forms of Ciceronianism assimilated by mediaeval authors through artes predicandi and the like<sup>807</sup>. This allowed her to assume that Christine's style, that is, son style (as distinct from the style courtois in which she began writing, but left increasingly to one side by the time of the Avision-Christine of 1405) was a style based on the legal rhetoric that she absorbed from the milieu in which her husband, the notaire Etienne de Castel, lived and worked, and in which he was followed by her son, Jean de Castel<sup>808</sup>. In Mlle. Pinet's view,

ce langage de chancellerie, ce style clergial, suivait des règles. Il y<sup>a</sup> un rythme prosaïque en grand honneur au Moyen Age(...)Ce sont bien, en effet, les Latins de la décadence, plutôt que des beaux temps, qui ont influencé les inspirateurs mêmes de Christine(...)c'est de Christine,

807 C. de Pisan, 1927, p.389, n2, "Elle est très peu claire sur Cicéron orateur; comme Sénèque, elle le connaît par des intermédiaires et des apostrophes"; p.390, "je ne crois pas qu'elle ait eu entre les mains des ouvrages entiers de Cicéron. Comme Virgile, elle doit le connaître uniquement par ce qu'elle entend dire et par les florilèges dont elle se sert"; on Boethius, 393-4, "Celui-là encore qu'elle le connaisse indirectement, à travers une traduction, on peut affirmer qu'elle le connaît bien."

808 *ibid*, p.449, "Ce désir d'élever le français, le vulgaire, aux subtilités de la phrase latine me paraît venir, chez Christine, non de la fréquentation directe des auteurs latins - elle ne lisait guère que des traductions - mais de ses relations constantes et très étroites avec les notaires et secrétaires royaux(...)tous les défauts de la prose la plus officielle(...)l'écriture de Christine est masculine."



autant peut-être que de Gerson, que procède Alain Chartier(...)Et c'est de Christine plus que de Gerson que procède Georges Chastellain...<sup>809</sup>

While not wishing to quarrel with the main points of this analysis<sup>810</sup>, it is necessary to underline that there was more than one type of rhetorical model available. When Christine wrote to Isabelle de Baviere in 1405, or to the Duke of Berry in 1410 on the state of the kingdom, she took up, particularly in the second case, a rhetorical style that seems directly modelled on a Latin discourse<sup>811</sup> for public occasions. The opening passage of the Avision-Christine copies the bombast of the opening of the Consolatio<sup>812</sup>. Whether she absorbed them through translation or through florilegia or even through the original text, these different rhetorics, one public, the other personal, are as different in intention as the rondeau is different from the chant royal. The public style is relatively light. The Consolatio was probably the most widely circulated Latin work to <sup>have</sup> given its author's ego a personal (and extensive) airing. The latter parts of the Avision are less ponderous and are in keeping with the corresponding lighter passages of the Consolatio.

The beginning of the third book in which she speaks to Philosophy leads on to a writer's profession of faith<sup>813</sup>. She uses the same metaphor

809 p.450.

810 Cf. Poirion, op.cit., p.173-75.

811 M. Thomassy, Essai sur les Ecrits politiques de C.de P., 1838, p.133-40, p.141-9, p.142, "Pour Dieu! pour Dieu! princes très haulx, ouvrez les yeulx par tel savoir(...)sy y appercevrez ruynes de citez, destruccions de villes et chasteaulx, forteresses ruées par terre." p.145, "Dévotes femelettes, criez miséricorde pour ceste grief tempeste. Ha! France! France! jadis glorieux royaume! Hélas! comment diray-je plus? Car très amers plours et lermes incessables déchièrent comme ruisseaux sur mon papier..."

812 Lavision-Christine, ed. M.L. Towner, 1932, p.73, "Ja passé avoye la moitié du chemin de mon pelerinage. comme un jour sus lavesprir me trouvasse pour la longue voye lassée(...)entray en lit de repos travaillable."

813 Poirion, p.254, on Nature's "Or vueil que de toy naiscent nouveaulx volumes" calls this "Citation qui annonce déjà l'orgueil de la Renaissance."

of the senses as doors, used by Bonaventure in the Itinerarium<sup>814</sup>, closing them to concentrate on her books<sup>815</sup>. It is in the poets, she says, that she finds le stile a moy naturel, which was belle et polie rethorique aournee de soubtil language<sup>815</sup>. She feels this is not enough,

Ne souffist pas atant à mon sentement et engin.  
Ains volt que par lengendrement destude et des choses  
veues nasquissent de moy nouvelles lectures. Adonc me  
dist prens les outiliz et fiers sur lenclume la matiere  
que ie te bailleray si durable que fer ne feu ne autre  
chose ne la pourra despecer...<sup>815</sup>

That work that will be born out of her mind like children from her womb<sup>816</sup>. Is Christine to be seen as her own "Nature", and her books as the pieces she works on in the forge of her mind? This is probably to try and derive the passage too literally from a particular source. Christine is using the prose language of the Consolatio and her interlocutor is Philosophie, not Jean's Nature. But even the/Boethius does not convince totally. Philosophie addresses her, not as the arrogant creature of Boethius's imagination did his author, but rather in the complimentary manner which Machaut's Nature reserved for his poet in the Machaut Prologue. Machaut and Christine both cast themselves as the chosen children of Nature and Philosophy. Hence there appears to be a mingling of metaphors from Boethius, Jean de Meun and Guillaume de Machaut. It cannot be excluded either that Christine had knowledge of the preface to the Anticlaudianus, in which Alanus uses metaphors from the artes mecanicae to explain the process of poetic creation. Her own view of writing evolved.

Adonc me pris à forgier choses iolies à mon commencement  
plus legieres et tout ainsi comme louverrier qui de plus en  
plus en son oeuvre saboubtille comme plus il la frequente.  
Ainsi tousiours estudiant diverses matieres mon sens de plus  
en plus simbuoit de choses estranges amendant mon stile en  
plus grant soubtilleté et plus haulte matiere...<sup>817</sup>

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814 Quaracchi, V, 295.

815 ed. Towner, p.163, "mes portes cest assavoir mes sens que plus ne fussent tant vagues aux choses foraines et vous happay ces beaulx livres..."

816 ibid, p.163, "...si forge choses delictables ou temps que tu portoes les enfans en ton ventre..."

817 ibid, p.163-4.

One final point of note in the passage from the Avision is the emphasis given memory. Following the parallel between the child of the womb and the children of the mind, Memory appears both to have that same importance which Machaut gave it in his Prologue and to be as important as any other part of the writer's mental processes.

The passage reads,

or vueil que de toy naiscent nouveaulx volumes lesquieulx  
le temps avenir et perpetuelment au monde presenteront ta  
memoire devant les princes et par lumiers en toutes places  
lesquieulx en ioye et delit tu enfanteras de ta memoire  
non obstant le labour et travail lequel tout ainsi comme  
la femme qui a enfanté si tost que ot le cry de l'enfant  
oublie son mal oubliera le travail du labour oyant la  
voix de tes volumes.<sup>817</sup>

We have seen that though the role of the memory is implicit in the Roman de la Rose<sup>818</sup>, it plays no active part in the way that the ingenium (Genius) and ratio (Raison) did. This conforms to what we know of mediæval psycho/logy. The philosophers described the active mind with memory as the third element, but memory did not play a part in the descriptions of the irrational mind or anima vegetabilis. Jean's immediate imitators did not add much to the context of the parts they took from the Rose. Froissart described how the imagination became pregnant with love. Christine's view of the memory giving birth to the children of her imagination or her curiosity is yet another addition to imaginative readings of the mind. This tends to suggest that even in dealing with the conscious mind writers are still referring to the accepted accounts of it, from academic sources. Accounts of the conscious mind had to include the memory and the growth of the role of memory in literary theory has been the subject of good, separate studies.

At one time or another it is associated with the memory systems

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817 *ibid*, p.163/4.

818 Cf. references to books as records, 18605-25; 18681ff. To the Rose as record, 28-30, 10618-21.

studied by Miss Yates or with literary fame (renommée immortelle)<sup>819</sup>.

D. Poirion has pointed out that there was a growth of writing concerned with memory, partly verse, partly prose chronicling, at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century: Deschamps speaks, c.1379, of composing a Livre de Memoire, though it is not clear what this consisted of<sup>820</sup>. Memory, whether intellectual discipline or literary theme, came to play an important part in the Middle Ages. The references in Christine bring out the idea of the book as an object of value in se as much as they do that of memory preserved in memory. Undoubtedly there was a cult of the book beautiful<sup>821</sup>, and research has done justice to this with a renewed interest in iconography<sup>822</sup> but the literary aspect of this cult should not be overlooked.

The two notions - the enthusiasm of the bibliophile and the preservation of past deeds - came together in a text of the mid-fourteenth century, Richard de Bury's Philobiblon<sup>823</sup>. It exemplifies interest in Memory from a non-scientific and literary viewpoint.

The author met Petrarch at Avignon in 1333: the latter judged him favourably<sup>824</sup>. It has been said that the Philobiblon is untouched by the new learning, and that its humanism is that of earlier medieval scholarship.<sup>825</sup> For the author, books keep alive the world of the past<sup>826</sup>. Learning

819 F. Yates, The Art of Memory; F. Joukovsky-Micha, La Gloire dans la Poesie Française et néolatine du XVIIe siècle, 1969.

820 Poirion, p.103-112; p.220.

821 Poirion, p.170-1.

822 Less to the illuminated ms. as things of beauty as to the illustration they offer of the actual text; cf. J.V.Fleming's study of the Rose.

823 ed. E.C.Thomas, London, 1888. For the question of authorship, Smalley, English Friars, p.67 and Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum, 26, 1956, p.8-9.

824 English Friars, p.69.

825 R. Weiss, Humanism in England during the 15th century, 1957, p.9-10.

826 ed. Thomas, p.10, "In libris mortuos quasi vivos invenio; in libris futura praevideo; in libris res bellicae disponuntur; de libris prodeunt jura pacis. Omnia corrumpuntur et intabescunt in tempore; Saturnus quos generat devorare non cessat: omnem mundi gloriam operiret oblivio, nisi Deus mortalibus librorum remedia providisset."

demands knowledge of Greek, Arabic and Hebrew as well as Latin<sup>827</sup>. There is a defence of poetry similar to that later found in Jacques Le Grand<sup>828</sup>. Finally it is through books that the mind can journey in imagination through space and time, as if it actually possessed them<sup>829</sup>.

Per libros praeteritorum reminiscimur, de futuris  
quodammodo prophetamus, praesentia quae labuntur  
et fluunt scripturae memoria stabilimus.<sup>830</sup>

The Philobiblon contains not a few of the aspects of literary fame and of the cult of memory that are to be found in the verse and prose of Froissart, Deschamps, Christine and Chartier. The sources of this theme are still imperfectly understood where the late Middle Ages are concerned. More of substance should be found in the translations of, and renewed interest in, the Latin historians, at approximately the same period as the composition of the Philobiblon<sup>831</sup>.

Questions of style have been emphasized here in order to show how a would-be Humanist influence came to affect vision poetry. This new account is not only from Greco-Arabic sources, but from others like the Consolatio closer to the new tastes.

- 827 p.94. Cf. p.97 note, on same demand by R. Bacon and Lull. Also G.di Stefano, "L'Hellénisme en France à l'Orée de la Renaissance", Humanism, ed. Levi, p.29-42.
- 828 chap.xiii, Quare non omnino negleximus fabulas poetarum.
- 829 p.117-9, "Quanti pendenda est mira librorum potentia, dum per eos fines tam orbis quam temporis cernimus, et ea quae non **sunt**, sicut ea quae sunt, quasi in quodam aeternitatis speculo contempnamur. Montes scandimus, abyssorum voragines perscrutamur, species piscium, quos communis aer nequaquam similiter continet, intuemur codicibus(...)Quod si nos caelicolas visitare delectat, suppeditantes Taurum, Caucasum, et Olympum, Iunonis regna transcendimus, ac septena territoria planetarum funiculis et circulis emetimus. Ipsum tandem firmamentum supremum, signis, gradibus et imaginibus varietate maxima decoratum, lustramus. Ibi polum antarticum, quem nec oculus vidit nec auris audivit, inspicimus; luminosum iter galaxiae et animalibus caelestibus picturatam zodiacum delectabilē jocunditate miramur."
- 830 p.120.
- 831 For the translation of Livy, 1354-56, cf. J. Rychner, "Observations sur la traduction de Tite-Live par Pierre Bersuire" in L'Humanisme médiéval dans les Litt. romanes, ed. A. Fourrier, univ. Strasbourg, Actes et Colloques, 3, 1964, p.167ff.

Guillaume de Machaut and Froissart used the cadre of a dream which takes place when the poet lies down to sleep/<sup>or</sup> to rest in a garden or meadow. At the beginning of the 15th century this becomes less stylized. In the Livre du Chemin de Long Estude of 1402 Christine introduces her vision with a detailed description of time, place and state of mind. This follows from the sadness she still feels from the loss of her husband.<sup>832</sup>

Voulentiers suis solitaire  
 Pour le ~~deuil~~ <sup>dauil</sup> qu'il me fault taire  
 Devant gent, à par moy plaindre.  
 Et pour moy ainsi complaindre,  
 Un jour de joie remise  
 Je ~~me~~ <sup>me</sup> estoie à par moy mise  
 En une estude petite,  
 Ou souvent je me delite  
 A ~~regarder~~ <sup>regarder</sup> escriptures  
 De diverses aventures.  
 Si ~~cherchay~~ <sup>cherchay</sup> un livre ou deux,  
 Mais tost je m'amuiaiy d'eulx,  
 Car riens n'y trovay au fort  
 Qui me peust donner confort  
 D'un desplaisir que j'avoie,  
 Dont voulentiers queisse voie  
 De m'en oster la pensee,  
 Ou trop estoie appensee.  
 Le jour que j'ez cel opprobre  
 Fu le Vmedoctobre  
 Cest au mille quatre cens  
 Et deux. Fust folie ou sens,  
 Mais nul qui ne l'eust sceu  
 Ne s'en fust apperceu,  
 Par semblant que j'en feisse.<sup>833</sup>

The details accumulate here in what seems to be an attempt to "circumstantiate" the vision that makes up the body of the work.

Et ja estoit nuit serree,  
 Si huchay de la lumiere  
 Pour le dueil qui anuy m'iere.<sup>833</sup>

She turns to another book - Boethius's Consolatio - muses over it, then, finally, falls asleep with her thoughts still fixed on the ideas it has aroused in her.

Ainsi pensant je m'endormi,  
 Mais je n'oz pas gaires dormi

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832 ed. R. Püschel, p.5, "Moult me fu le cas amer/De perdre cellui qu'amer/Devoie".

833 ibid, p.7, p.9.

Que j'oz estrange vision,  
 Ce ne fu pas illusion,  
 Ains fu demonstrance certaine  
 De chose tres vraie et certaine;  
 Si com à dormir je beoie,  
 Avis m'estoit que je veoie,<sup>834</sup>  
 Une dame de grant corsage.

The opening of the Consolatio Philosophiae in which Boethius meets the figure of an imposing woman is supposedly the setting which suggests the dream to Christine. There the parallel stops, because the woman Christine meets is Pallas or Sapience<sup>835</sup>. The parallel between what follows and the scheme of Dante's Divine Comedy has been examined<sup>836</sup>. It is also possible that the author may have been influenced by Alanus's Anticlaudianus<sup>837</sup>. The circumstantial nature of the opening and the way in which reflection on the book of the Consolation which she starts to read lead to the dream seem to have been carefully established. Vision, not illusion, she asserts, and she had worked to establish the point.

This greater "naturalism" is founded on circumstantial detail. Equally interesting are attempts to increase the psychological naturalism of the dream setting, by closer reference to the workings of the mind at the moment of falling asleep or awaking. This reads like a text derived from the Parva Naturalia. No attempt has been made, to my knowledge, to comment on this type of opening. It is, or at least appears to be, so pedestrian as to need none. A good early example (1422) is from the Quadrilogue Invectif by Alain Chartier. After the Prologue-sermon, the poem:

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834 ed. Püschel, p.20.

835 p.21.

836 A. Farinelli, "Dante nell'opere di Christine de Pisan", Festschrift H. Morf, 1905; id. Dante e Francia, Milan, tI, 1908.

837 The similarities are at least as great, in general terms, as between the Chemin de Long Estude and the Divina Commedia. However, all vision literature worked within limited imaginative limits, and there is reason to suppose that Dante was himself influenced by the Anticlaudianus. Cf. P. Dronke, art. cit., Rom.Forsch., 1966.

L'Acteur commence: Environ l'aube du jour, lors que la première clarté du soleil et nature contente du repos de la nuit nous rappellent aux mondains labours, n'a gaires me trovay soudainement esveillie et, ainsi que a l'entendement apres repos se presente ce que l'en a plus à cuer, me vint en ymaginacion la douloureuse fortune et le piteux estat de la haulte seigneurie et glorieuse maison de France...<sup>838</sup>

The first part of the mind to return to its normal state is that on which the impressions from the five senses and all unconnected images register, namely the imagination. Chartier says that the imagination offers the picture of a saddened France to the understanding. He then brings back from his memory the reasons for this state of affairs, so that the three main areas of the mind - imagination, understanding and memory - have all entered into play, and the reason begins to judge the situation:

Et comme je recueillisse en ma souvenance la puissance et diligence des ennemis, la desloialté de plusieurs subgiez(...)qui me fait durement ressongnier l'issue de ceste infortune, je contrepensoye et pensoye à l'encontre<sup>839</sup> la grandeur et distance des parties de ce dit royaume...

As conflicting opinions form in his mind, he falls asleep again, meets a lady in the manner of the opening of the Consolatio, and the poem proper begins:

Tandis que en ce debat entre espoir et desesperance mon entendement traveilloit, ung legier sompme me reprint comme, apres la pesanteur du premier repos, il advient souvent vers le matin. Or me fut advis en sommeillant que je veisse en ung pays en fresche une dame dont le hault port et seigneury maintien...<sup>840</sup>

The dream that follows is as circumstantially justified as that in the Chemin de Long Estude.

Time: early morning; place: bed; thought process: light strikes senses awakening the imagination, on which an image registers, transfers to the understanding, then to the memory and from there back to the understanding, which is now set in motion.

838 ed. Droz, 1923, p.5.

839 ibid, p.5-6.

840 p.6.



The intention seems clear: the poet wants to justify presenting the elaborate figments and contrived speeches which follow. But this begs the question of why, in any case, they need to be justified. If the work of fiction obeys its own laws, there should be no need to recall to the reader in such detail that the work is in fact obeying another set of operations which can be observed to function within the mind of each of us. Yet there is an apparent need to relate the events of a poem or prose narrative to the mind which lives those events. The Quadrilogue Invectif is one example of a whole literary trend. It is doubtful whether the critical, satirical or burlesque motives which produced the Roman de la Rose or L'Orloge Amoureux can be invoked here. Chartier was capable of taking this type of dream vision lightly<sup>841</sup>, but, generally speaking, the description of the writer falling asleep was circumstantial evidence that the matter of the dream was not to be set aside as illusion (Christine's term) or mere fantasy. So, to state the obvious, serious matters were presented circumstantially and seriously in order that they should prove the seriousness of whatever was to follow. In the case of the Quadrilogue Invectif there must be other motives, and chief among them the prophetic tone that author took up in his prologue<sup>842</sup>. This is the rhetoric of a preacher speaking of the future.

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841 Excusation de Maistre Alain Chartier, in Oeuvres, A. Du Chesne, p.525.

842 ed. Droz, p.2, "Et lui, qui est infiny en hault povoir, met commencement, moyen et fin en toutes ses ~~oeuvres~~ soubz le mouvement des cieulx, comme le potier qui a tour de sa roe fait d'une mesme masse divers pots de differentes facons et grandeurs et les grans ~~de~~ casse et derompt, se bien ne lui plaisent, pour en faire des petit, et de la matiere des mendres refait il les plus grans." p.4, "Comme doncques, en l'an mil*l*ic xxii, je veisse le roy anglois, ancien adversaire de ceste seigneurie, soy glorifier en nostre ignominieux reproche, enrichir de noz despoilles et despriser noz faiz et noz couraiges et des nostres(...)Et entre autres escriptures, comme je leusse le tiers chapitre de Ysaie, le cuenn m'est trouble de freeur et les yeulx obscurciz de larmes, quant je voy sur nous les coups feruz qui sont signes de mort et donnent ensaignes de la divine indignacion, se nous n'ly guerons briefves medicines."

Chartier's Livre d'Esperance, written in 1429-30<sup>843</sup>, has the form of the Consolatio: prose developments summarized by short verse pieces which follow them. It is Chartier's last major work and its composition was broken off by his death. It is notable for the way in which it adapted theories of psychology to literary expression.

To begin with, the poet shows how the workings of the mind affect the body<sup>844</sup>. He is concerned here with the effects of melancholy (Melancolie). In accordance with the new desire to be quite explicit, he quotes Aristotle or, more probably, one of Aristotle's commentators:

Par elle, selon la doctrine de Aristote, ont estoy et sont souvent lez haulx engins et eslevés entendemens des parfons et excellens hommes troubles et obscurcis, après frequentation de trop parfondes et diverses pensees. Car les quatre vertus sensitives dedens homme que nous<sup>845</sup> appellons sensitive, ymaginative, estimative et memoire.

If any particular text is being quoted here, and not just opinions from a florilegium, it would appear to be a commentary on the De Anima, on the Parva Naturalia, or on the pseudo-Aristotelian Problemata. Jacques Despars (Jacobus de Partibus) was the author of the standard fifteenth century commentary on Avicenna's Canon: his commentary, which was composed towards this period, contains long passages both on melancholy (with reference to the Problemata) and on the links between melancholy and fantasy, which Chartier goes on to deal with<sup>846</sup>. This shows that such problems were discussed at the time, though not Chartier's source for the references.

843 ed. F. Bouy, roneotyped edit., 1967, p.ii. 36 ms. listed.

844 ibid, p.3, "En ceste dolente et triste pensee, qui tousjours se presente a mon cueur et m'accompaigne au lever et au couchier, dont lez nuys me sont longues, et ma vie ennuieuse, ay ja par long temps travaillé et foulé mon petit entendement, qui tant est surprins et environné de desplaisans frenesies, que je ne le puis exploicter a chose dont me vienge liesse ne confort(...)je demouray comme homme esperdu, le visage blesme, le sens trouble, et le sanc meslé ou corps."

845 ibid, p.4.

846 p.5, "Dame Melencolie tormentoit entre ses dures mains(...)la partie qui au meillieu de la teste(...)que aucuns appellent fantasie." Cf. J.de Partibus, Explanatio in Avicennam, Lyon, 1498, f<sup>o</sup>f.iv.v<sup>o</sup>b, "Assumptum supponere(...)" f<sup>o</sup>f.v.r<sup>o</sup>a.

Another possible source is the translation-commentary of the Problemata by Evrart de Conty, doctor to Charles V, but again there ~~is~~ not seem to be any real parallels<sup>847</sup>. The Conty Problemata, unlike the work of Jacques Despars, was in French. The figures conjured up by the effect of Melancolie on the ymaginative or fantasie are Defiance, Indignation and Desesperance. They appear as troys horribles semblances en figures de femmes espoventables<sup>848</sup> to the left of the poet's bed. His constitution is so affected by the thoughts of death that their speeches arouse in him that his body's reaction finally arouses his rational faculty (Entendement) to a shocked state of wakefulness:

quant Nature, toute foible et abatue par melencolie et par douleur, se print à fremir et hericer contre la terrible freour de la mort, comme celle qui ne peult souffrir ne veoyr la violente destruction de son ouvrage, mais tousjours rapareille et soustient en estre de son povoir ce que fortune, maladie ou l'elementaire/contrarieté y deffait, pour nous faire durer nostre droit perioude. Si s'esvertua tellement et esmeut toutes ses vaines, ses nerfz et ses arteriques, spondilles et musculles, que par son esbranler et debatre elle esveilla Entendement, qui coste moy soumeilloit, et le bouta si vertueusement que en sursault il se leva, ses yeulx à paine demy ouvers, et la parolle tremblant et bauboyant, et se print à guermenter disant ainsi:

Ha a! vray Dieu, en quelle reverie ay je esté, ne quel fantasieux somme m'a ainsi surpris...<sup>849</sup>

This pedantry makes such dismal reading if it is compared to Jean de Meun's famous description of Nature at her forge renewing the species, or of the links between Nature and Génius (the "Entendement" of the Rose), that it raises the question of whether Chartier was as serious as we suppose him to be. The nature of the subject, the references to France's misfortunes, the very weight of applied learning, all make one suppose that he was. Chartier was working far too hard here, and for most of the work, to be other than serious. Yet the doubt as to his total seriousness persists. He seems

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847 Cf. BN.fr.211, f<sup>o</sup>393v<sup>o</sup>a, XXXa Partic., "Par ce que dit est ausi que la complexions melancolique fait l'ame ainsi retraire en soy et ausi comme fuir les choses foraines, c'est adire qu'elle fait convertir as fantasies et as similitudes des choses du monde qui sont entour li, ou elle se occupe et se exercite comme continuelement..."

848 ed. Rouy, p.5.

849 p.22.

to enjoy his style despite his shocked protests at the state of France. This is a problem which the rest of the text does not help to solve.

When Entendement is fully conscious, he opens the door that leads through to the Memory, its bolts rusted up with disuse (dont les varroux estoient compressés du rooil de oubliance) and lets in the light of Faith<sup>850</sup>. Foy describes Entendement as a form of reasoning power, treated by God for particular purposes.

Or es conjoint à corps humain pour gouverner la partie vegetative despotiquement et l'appetit sensitif par seigneurie royal et politique. Nature que Dieu t'a baillié en ayde n'est pas oyseuse en sa commission, ainçois par ses belles vertus qui lui ministrent chacun en son ordre, s'estudie a continuer l'espece humaine et conserver l'individuel suppost: car la Puissance Vegetative jamais ne repose, avecques ses filles Nutritive, Formative, Assimilative et Unitive, qui sont en continuel oeuvre en leurs forges, dont les souffleiz bouffent par les membres esprits de vie, de mouvement et de congnoissance, pour repaisier le dommage de l'umeur radical...<sup>851</sup>

This reference to the teaching of Avicenna's Canon seems to confirm that Alain Chartier is set to make explicit, in prose, what Jean de Meun preferred to suggest. Further on there is reference to Avicenna,

qui profondement attainoy les secrés de nature et vous laissa les belles distinctions de phisique et medicine en son livre dez Canons.<sup>852</sup>

The short verse passages of the Livre d'Esperance, written in one instance on a single rhyme<sup>853</sup>, do not follow the rhetorical rhythms of the prose. As a poet, Chartier writes more simply than as a prose orator. Poetic rhetoric, it seems, was the particular contribution of Georges Chastelain, and he made his task that of transferring themes and style (and the allusions to the working of the mind) from Chartier's prose to his own verse ectosyllables and decasyllables.

I have described this "new seriousness" as rhetorical expression,

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850 p.23 (Prose V).

851 p.24 (ibid.).

852 p.73 (Pr. IX).

853 p.168 (Pr. XVI).

that is "legalistic", Ciceronian or a French equivalent of the style used by Boethius at the beginning of the Consolatio. The content depends to a great extent on Boethian satura, on Boethian personifications like Philosophia, and on the literary exemplification of theories of mind and body. There is also the clear and explicit regard for Biblical themes. It allows Chartier to cast himself in the role of a minor prophet. To explain this would require knowledge of other religions and of the history of other nations than France<sup>854</sup>. An earlier prophetic stance can be found in the poems of Deschamps<sup>855</sup>, and it must also be asked whether it does not have origins in the role of clerc-moralist that Jean de Meun took up. It is possible to argue that Chartier saw this prophetic or historical stance as the lot of the prose writer, rather than that of the poet. The problem remains, untouched, and all that can be done here is to outline it briefly and pass on. The Livre de l'Esperance is an unfinished work, but Chartier was an influential writer and almost everything that he attempted, in either verse or prose, was later imitated. There is another probable theoretical source of his writing, that is, the Averroes commentary on Aristotle. This will be dealt with in the next Part. Chartier's use of it is by no means certain.

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854 ed. Rouy, p.142, 143 (Pr. XIV). The references to Mahomet and the spread of Mohammedanism (Rouy, p.117-26: Pr.XIII) are a subject in themselves. On this, cf. Vita Mahometi, PL.171,1343-66; for the author of this, G. Cambier, Latomus, t16, 1957. M.T.d'Alverny, "Deux Traductions Latines du Coran au M.A." AHDLMA, t22, 1947. On the Libro della Scala, E. Cerulli, Dante el' Islam, Accad.Naz.Lincei, Atti Convegni n° 12, 1957, and for the French translation, id. Il Libro della Scala, Vatican, Studi e Testi, n° 150.

855 Poirion, p.109.

V - THE "POETRIA ARISTOTELIS" AND LATE MEDIEVAL VERSEa, The Fortunes of Averroes's Commentary on Aristotle's Poetics before 1456.

When one refers to Aristotle's Poetics and to the French Middle Ages, three texts can be considered under this heading. They follow; in order of translation.

The translation of Averroes's commentary from Arabic into Latin done by Hermannus Alemannus in Toledo and completed in 1256.

That done directly from Greek into Latin in Viterbo in 1278 by Guillaume de Moerbeke<sup>856</sup>.

The 1337 translation from the Arabic of Averroes into Hebrew by Todros Todrosi, a Jew living in Southern France, which was also put into Latin but only towards the middle of the sixteenth century<sup>857</sup>.

Only the first translation seems to have had any influence in France in the mediaeval period, though this is a provisional conclusion and is clearly subject to correction. The Guillaume de Moerbeke text was only discovered comparatively recently and almost nothing is known of its subsequent history, beyond the fact that it has survived in two manuscripts<sup>858</sup>. Indeed a recent article suggested that Thomas Aquinas knew the Aristotle Poetics through the Hermannus text and not through that of his collaborator, Guillaume de Moerbeke<sup>859</sup>. Nothing is known,

856 De Arte Poetica. Guillelmo de Moerbeke interprete, ed. E. Valgimigli, Bruges-Paris, 1953. Cf. L. Minio-Paluello, Riv. Filosofia Neo-Scol., t39 and idem, L'Occidente e l'Islam nell'alto Medioevo, Spoleto, Settimane di Studio..., XII, 1965, p.613.

857 M. Steinscheider, Cat.Lib.Hebraeorum Bodl., 1860, II, col.2680-2; M. Grabmann, Beitr. Gesch. Ph. MA. Bd.XVII, 1916, p. 257; E. Renan, Oeuvres, tIII, p.157.

858 Eton College 129; Toledo Chapter Library 47,10.

859 E.N. Tigerstedt, "Luther and Aristotle's Poetics" in Lychnos, 1960-1, p.153-4.

either, of the Hebrew text until it was published in Latin translation in 1562 in the Venice edition of Aristotle's works<sup>860</sup>. The Hermannus Alemannus translation, on the other hand, has survived in some twenty manuscripts, and it is with this text that we are concerned here. It was first published in Venice in 1481<sup>861</sup>.

Three recent studies have dealt with the subsequent influence of the Hermannus text: two deal with borrowings from it by the English Franciscan, Robert Holcot, in the mid-fourteenth century; the third with references from the early Italian Humanists, like Albertino Mussato and Benevenuto da Imola onwards, but really only with regard to Italy<sup>862</sup>. Where France and French literature are concerned, the subject has not been touched on. The list of manuscripts of the "Poetria Aristotelis" (to give it its most usual title) shows that, apart from the BN.lat.16673 dated 1256, the others shown in the Aristoteles Latinus belong at the earliest to the very end of the thirteenth century, and probably to the early fourteenth<sup>863</sup>. The spread of copies of the text belongs to the XIVth century. There is an earlier reference to Aristotle's view of poetry in Albert the Great's Metaphysica. This reads:

Sicut enim in ea parte logicae quae poetica est ostendit Aristoteles: poeta fingit fabulam ut excitet ad admirandum, et quod admirandum ulterius excitet ad inquirendum.<sup>864</sup>

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- 860 Junta, Venice, tII, Cf. F. Heidenhain, Averrois Paraphrasis in librum poeticae Aristotelis, J. Mantino interprete in Jahrbucher für Class. Philologie, supplementband 1889-90, p.351-82, for Venice text, with refs. to Aristotle's original text.
- 861 For the other published editions of the Averroes commentary, cf. Lane Cooper, A. Gudeman, A Bibliography of the Poetics of Aristotle, New Haven, 1928 (Cornell Studies in English, XI). Re. the Arabic text, Fausto Lasinko, Il Commento Medio di Averroè, Annali univ. Toscane, Pisa, tXIII, 1873.
- 862 J. Engels, "Middeleeuwen en Latijn" in Neophilologus, t44, 1960, p.221-33 and B. Smalley, English Friars, p.159. For Italy, cf. O. Hardison, The Enduring Monument, 1962.
- 863 Arist. Lat., ed. G. Lacombe, 1957, 1955. Apart from BN.Lat.16673, the two other ms. described as late XIII/early XIVc. are both to be found in French libraries (St. Omer, Bibl. mun. and BN.lat.16709).
- 864 Metaphysicorum, ed. Borgnet, t6, p.30.

The terms of the reference ("Just as in that part of Logic which is called Poetry...") seem to refer to the scheme of the arts rather than to Aristotle's Poetica or to the Hermannus translation. Quite possibly this is a summary of the view of Alfarabi or of another Aristotelian commentator<sup>865</sup>. Equally possibly it could be a summary of the views put in Aristotle's Rhetoric<sup>866</sup>.

Averroes wrote his commentary c.1175<sup>867</sup>. It antedates by a few years the supposed date of composition for the Anticlaudianus (1182-4). It should be pure coincidence, but a number of features that distinguish the Anticlaudianus are outlined in Averroes's commentary<sup>868</sup>. Jean de Meun's part of the Roman was written a hundred years later and the theory of poetry's derivation from the natural sciences and from theories of the soul, that is to be found in the Roman, is set forward in the Poetria Aristotelis in several instances: (*my italics*)

oportet ut ars in hoc imitetur naturam, videlicet ut, omnia que agit, agat secundum unum propositum et ad unum finem<sup>869</sup>

ideoque ars poetrie propinquior est philosophie quam sit ars adinventicia proverbiorum. Et hoc est quod ipse dixit secundum consuetudinem ipsorum in poetria que imitativa videtur nature et apud gentes naturaliter se habentes<sup>870</sup>

865 For a view of this type, c.1300, put by Petrus de Abano, who follows the "Arabic tradition", placing poetry, together with rhetoric: "Per poesim vero scientiam quamdam suspositionis inductivan(...)que apud arabes viii<sup>o</sup> ponitur cum rethorica" (Venice, 1482, f<sup>o</sup> N.i.v<sup>o</sup>b). This is in his commentary on the Problemata, XXX, i: "Declarat id. tertio, in poetica, dicens quod plurimi eorum qui se dederant studio poetico et maxime metrizando fuerunt capti egritudinibus melancolicis propter excessum complexionis ipsius in eorum corporibus que cum complexio sive natura melancolica ostendebat eos decidere futuros in hominum passiones." For P. de A. cf. Lynn Thorndike, History of Magic..., t2, p.876f.

866 These are extensive. Cf. Rhetorica Aristotelis cum Egidii Romani commentariis, Venice, 1515, and the informative study by Bernd Schneider, Die Mittelalterlichen Griechisch-Lateinischen Übersetzungen der Aristotelischen Rhetorik, Berlin, New York, 1971.

867 Renan, op.cit, gave 1174. Lasinio has the date of completion as 1175.

868 Notably the definition of the poem or tragedia as optima ars laudandi (the essence of the view of the soul adopted by Alanus) and the Poetria's analysis of structure; 3 parts, the first ad modum exordii in rethorica, secondly the laus proper, thirdly the commendatio carminis impensi in



et prout ei competit, ita quod imitetur quod exprimat mores & habitudines anime. Et ipse circa huiusmodi mentionem fecit poete Homeri et carminis sui in quo expresserat mores viri cuiusdam. Et huius maneriei dico carmen imaginari faciens et representans anime dispositionem.<sup>871</sup>

There is only the most general of parallels to be observed between the art of poetry that we have described in the Roman and these very general utterances on the nature of poetry. If it could be shown that a copy of the Hermannus Alemannus text was available in the university of Paris from shortly after 1256 (and the references in Roger Bacon make this at least possible), the matter would be worth pursuing further.

Apart from the references to the commentary in Robert Holcot<sup>872</sup>, it is possible that Averroes is ~~linked to~~ the similar references to Poetry in Richard de Bury's Philobiblion, since Holcot is supposed to have had at least a hand in the finished state of the work<sup>873</sup>. The most notable use of Averroes's views after the mid-century is found in the introduction to Benvenuto da Imola's commentary on Dante, when he defined tragedia and comedia as laudatio and vituperatio, and developed these terms at some length in relation to the Divina Commedia<sup>874</sup>. There is no proof that this introduction was known in France, and the researches undertaken by A. Farinelli on Dante's influence in France, do not mention the commentary<sup>875</sup>. It may be thought however that a passage inserted in the

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(continued from previous page) laudem ipsius. These correspond to Anti-claudianus, ed Bossuat, p.55-6/p.57-197/197-8. For the outline of these terms in the Poetria Aristoteles, cf. De Arte Poetica, ed. Minio-Paluello, 1968. The text is in the second edition of the De A.P., in Aristoteles Latinus, XXXIII, p.54. I refer to this henceforth as Poetria Arist.

869 ed. Minio-Paluello, p.51.

870 Poetria Arist, ibid., p.52.

871 ibid., p.58.

872 Engels, op.cit. There are two references: one to gifts as fetters (compedes), the other to the deserted palace.

873 B. Smalley, Archivium Fratrum Praedicatorum, t26, 1956, p.8-9.

874 Comentum, ed. W.W. Vernon, J.P. Lacaita, 1887, 5t, 1p.7ff.

875 Dante e la Francia.

French translation of Boccaccio (known as Le Boccacce de Jean sans Fear) echoes two passages from **Benvenuto** da Imola's introduction. These concern the Divine Comedy in relation to Averroes, and Dante's wanderings.

Hic namque poeta peritissimus, omnium coelestium, terrestrium et infernorum profunda speculabiliter contemplatus(...) Ut enim testatur Aristoteles in sua Poetria, Omne poema et omnis oratio poetica aut est laudatio, aut vituperatio; omnis enim actio et omnis mos non versatur nisi circa virtutem et vicium....<sup>876</sup>

Nam cum autor iste in viridiori aetate vacasset philosophiae naturali, morali, et artibus in Florentia, Bononia et Padua, in matura aetate jam exul dedit se sacrae theologiae Parisius, ubi adeo alte emicuit quod ab aliquibus vocabatur poeta, ab aliis philosophus, ab aliis theologus. Nullus autem fuit poeta qui paradisum poetice describeret nisi hic poeta mirificus(...). Nemo unquam poetarum, nullum excipio, habuit unquam tam altam phantasiam, aut tam nobilem materiam scivit, vel potuit invenire, in qua tam eleganter tradit cognitionem rerum humanarum, et divinarum virtutum, et morum.<sup>877</sup>

The French translator of Boccaccio, thought to be Laurent de Premierfait<sup>878</sup>, covers the same points - Dante's search for knowledge but with emphasis on the importance of Paris, his work as a compendium of divine, human, and moral learning and his role as moral censor - evoked by the Imola introduction. His words sound like a courteous reply by a French Humanist to the categorical "Nemo unquam...", with which **Benvenuto** da Imola had praised Dante.

Pour ce ~~toute~~voies que j'ay parlé de Dant, noble poète florentin, savoir affiert que cestuy Dant, qui environna les regions du monde et enquist et conversa les hommes renommez en sciences divines et hummaines, entre plusieurs nobles et anciannes cites il ensercha Paris, en laquelle lors estoient et encores sont maintenant, vraies ou contrefaites, trois choses les plus resplendissans et ~~notables~~ qui soient en quelconque aultre partie du monde. sc'est assavoir: le general estude de toutes sciences divines et hummaines, qui sont figure de paradis ~~terrestre~~ tiercement, les deux cours judiciaires qui aux hommes distribuent la vertu de justice, sc'est assavoir Parlement et Chastellet, qui portent la figure par moitié de paradis et d'enfer. Cestuy poète Daut, qui, entre

876 Comentum, I, p.7-8.

877 Ibid., I, p.12-13.

878 Henry Martin, Le Boccacce de Jean sans Fear. Des Cas des Nobles Hommes et Femmes, Bruxelles, 1911. <sup>A</sup> summing up of the reasons for attributing the passage in question to Laurent, p.10.

pluseurs volumes nouveaulx et proufitables estans lors a Paris, rencontra le noble livre de la Rose, en quoy Jehan Clopinel de Meung, homme d'engin celeste, peigny une vraye mapemonde de toutes choses celestes et terriennes; Daut donques, qui de Dieu et de nature avoit receu l'esperit de poetrie, advisa que ou livre de la Rose est souffisamment descript le paradis des bons et l'enfer des mauvais en langaige françois, vould en langaige florentin, soubz <sup>livre</sup> autre manière de vers rimoeiz, contrefaire au vif le beau de la Rose, en ensuyvant tel ordre comme fist le divin poète Virgile ou sixiesme livre que l'en nomme Enéide. Et pour ce que le poète Daut, selon sa profession, dampnoit et reprenoit les vices et les hommes vicieux en les nommand mesmement par leurs noms, il, qui estoit nobles et bien-méritz, fut dechacier de Florence et ~~for~~ bannis d'illeuc, et mourut finablement en estrange contrée. <sup>879</sup>

In this scholar's equation Jean de Meun plus Paris equals Dante, and to the greater glory of all concerned.

Averroes's distinction was based on a misinterpretation of the words tragedy and comedy by the translator responsible for putting the text from Syriac into Arabic, which finally became laudatio and vituperatio in Hermannus Alemannus's version. What in the Greek was a distinction between genres had thus become a moral distinction, obliging the poet, as a man with a conscience, to act as moral arbiter to society. Dante, with some reason, Jean de Meun with less, could be cast in this role, which replaces Isidore's officium poetae and its oblique truths. Increasingly, theorists and poets stressed this moral view of their work.

Something must be said at this point of the nature of the Latin Averroes commentary. Either as a guide to poetry or as a rendering of Averroes's treatise, it has had few good words said about it. Its distortion of Aristotle's distinctions and the inadequacy of the translation from Arabic into Latin have been examined in detail by E. Renan, M. Menéndez y Pelayo and F. Gabrieli <sup>880</sup>. I would like to suggest that from another angle altogether the only way in which to understand its influence

879 *ibid.*, p.11.

880 E. Renan, Oeuvres, tIII, p.157f. M. Menéndez y Pelayo, Hist. Ideas Estéticas en Espana, tI, p.375-88, 393-4. F. Gabrieli, "Estetica e Poesia Araba", Rivista degli Studi Orientali, tXII, p.291-331.

on fifteenth century poetry is to read it without prejudice. It may then appear as a rather difficult Latin text, full of obscurities, but appealing to the mediaeval taste for a dialectical or categorizing approach to aesthetic matters and endowed with the prestigious names of Aristotle and Averroes. Even today, there are a number of points based either on Averroes's view of Arab poetry, or representing misunderstandings of the original accumulating across several translators' interventions (three in the case of the Hermannus text, four for the Mantinus one) which can hardly fail to interest. There is now a ~~walden~~ edition of the Hermannus translations, though F. Lasinio's promised translation of the Averroes text was never published. The Latin text should prove invaluable to the increased understanding of late mediaeval poetry evident in recent studies. The Averroes commentary has been analyzed at length by Menéndez y Pelayo, but it still seems that there is a place for a short account in which certain features distinguishing the Poetria from other Arts of Poetry may be picked out in, if possible, a positive light, as guides to poetic theory and practice, and not seen simply as translators' blunders or historical oddities.

The single point most frequently made about the commentary is its rendering of tragedy as praise, and of comedy as vituperation. While it is central to an understanding of the Poetria, it is not the only important thing in the treatise. Equally important is the other point made at the outset when, in describing poetry in relation to music and dance, the text defines poetry as imagination or imaginative activity:

Et sermones poetici sermones sunt imaginativi. <sup>881</sup>

Without doubt the Jacobus Mantinus translation, from the Hebrew fourteenth century translation, giving

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881 Poetria Arist., p.42.

Fabulae autem poeticae sunt sermones imitatorii,<sup>882</sup>

is closer to the Aristotelian notion of poetry as imitation, and may seem correct compared to the Hermannus version. However, Hermannus also translated the notion of imitation by the terms imaginari, imaginativus or imagines and this follows quite logically from the initial distinction between poetry and the other stage arts in which imitation of reality takes place within the mind, hence imaginatively, while instrumental music and dance are likened to those

artibus representativis, que imitatrices sunt poetrie.<sup>883</sup>

In this sense, if one takes the mind as the place of creation in a real sense of the word, the art most directly related to the mind's activity is superior to the others. Poetry then is superior to music, dance and the artes imitatrices, which only reflect the mind at second remove. This insight into the sense of the Aristotelian text might even be responsible for Aquinas's irritated dismissal of poetry as the lowest (infima) of the "arts". Amid much that is turgid the Hermannus text contains other insights of this type. Poetry is the means of communication which brings to life objects imprinted on the senses<sup>884</sup>. The poet or theorist is set above the actor or speaker of his verses<sup>885</sup>. In the sentence which describes the tragedia-laus as composed of actions directed by the will and the understanding - Et laus quidem oportet ut non sit nisi actionum prodeuntium a voluntate et scientia<sup>886</sup> - one can already

882 Aristotle, Opera, II, f<sup>o</sup>217<sup>v</sup>b. (Venice, 1562).

883 Poetria Arist. p.41. Cf. p.42, where Hermannus has: Modi autem imaginationis et assimilationis sunt tria...", for which Mantinus gives, f<sup>o</sup>89<sup>r</sup>b, "genera vero imitationis et similitudinis sunt tria..."

884 p.45, "quedam assimilationes ad res que iam ceciderunt in sensum."

885 p.49, "Et ars scientialis que monstrat sive docet ex quibus et qualiter componuntur poemata principalior et perfectior est quam ipsa operatio poematum."

886 p.57, also p.52. "Carmina namque laudativa intentionem habent promovendi actiones voluntarias."

find an outline of the "non-tragic tragedia" of the Spanish theatre, of Guillen de Castro amongst others, and eventually of plays like Le Cid, Cinna and Horace. A valuable account of the origins of the modern theatre might show how the identification between mind, stage and world has its source to a considerable extent in Arabic literary theory. It is one of the disappointments of literary history that M. Menendez y Pelayo, a scholar whose knowledge would have enabled him to undertake this, ~~never in fact did so, whatever the reasons involved.~~ He ~~did examine, however,~~ the Arabic contribution to ~~medieval~~ culture. Indeed one of the ~~interesting~~ aspects of research into Spanish literature is the extent to which the Arab contribution has been ~~increasingly emphasized, and~~ by historians like Menéndez y Pelayo and Americo Castro<sup>887</sup>, ~~this despite~~ attacks on the Poetria: aberración y contrasentido, written up in a salvaje y desconcertado latín by Herman the German and his translator team (algunos mudéjares de Toledo). ~~These are~~ justified by reference to points in the text<sup>888</sup>. However, to view the Poetria in this light alone is to risk missing the extent of its influence on European literature, and, as we hope to show, on French poetry in particular.

It has been suggested that the type of rhetoric which came into being in French literature around the year 1400 owed much to legal rhetoric. In the Poetria rhetoric is discussed as a form of poetry, and the only form of rhetoric that the Hermannus text specifically mentions is in fact the language of the law. The passage which suggests that the tragedia should be written up in metro prolixo, non in curto<sup>889</sup>, as

887 España en su Historia, 1948.

888 Hist. Ideas Estéticas, I, p.365, 393. For the final comparison with the more elegant Martinus text, cf. p.394.

889 p.46, "Et bonitas artis laudandi consistit in metro prolixo..."

890 p.50, "Sermones autem rethorici quorum usus in controversia..."

\* tragedia as in Poetria Arist.

benefits a poem of praise (carmen laudativum), goes on to discuss the uses of debate in this form: rhetorical controversia and altercatio<sup>890</sup>.

tragedia consistens in collatione altercationis  
(...)oportet ut se habeat in sermonibus poeticis. Et  
proprie in duabus manieribus representationum; quarum  
una fit permutando a representatione contrarii ad  
contrarium, altera autem representando ipsam rem non  
connotando contrarium.<sup>891</sup>

Et tu reperies plures representationum incidentium  
in sermonibus legalibus secundum hunc modum cuius fecit  
mentionem, cum talia sint sermones laudativi instigantes  
ad opera laudabilia, ut quod inducitur de historia Ioseph  
et fratrum suorum, et alia consimilia de narrationibus  
gestorum preteritorum que nominantur exempla exhortativa.<sup>892</sup>

And, on the historical genre,

Et representatio huiusmodi similiter parum reperitur  
in lingua Arabum, et est valde frequentata in libris  
legum...<sup>893</sup>

These examples establish a general parallel between the suggested models of the Poetria, and works like the Quadrilogue Investif or the Livre de l'Espérance, in which use is made of rhetoric in the form of a public debate on the state of France or the misfortunes of the day.

Of note is the introduction of the figure of the Acteur in both the Quadrilogue and in Chartier's final work. He represents the author's point of view, setting the scene or explaining changes in mood in the Quadrilogue<sup>894</sup> and acting as narrator in the Livre de l'Espérance<sup>895</sup>.

On the face of it, Chartier has done no more than put a name to the figure which, from the time of the Consolatio onwards, had appeared in both Latin and French verse as a first person singular narrator. There is possibly a degree of pretension in this, since the evolution of the term from classical latin actor (facteur) to the mediaeval notion of Auctor/Auctoritas (person of authority, whose opinions are of account) resulted

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891 p.50-51.

892 p.55.

893 p.71.

894 ed. Droz, p.5ff.

895 ed. Rouy, p.3 and passim. The role assigned him in this work often overlaps with that of a commentator, cf. p.86(Pr.X) on theological matters.

finally in the term authentique being applied to a standard text<sup>896</sup>. However, the slightly apologetic, even withdrawn, figure, whom we find in Chartier's late works, suggests the minor character, whose task it is to set the scene in some fifteenth century or sixteenth century religious or historical drama. This corresponds to the minor role of interpreter of human reactions and credulity, when faced with events of moment, that the Hermannus text assigns those who recitant et representant the material of the poet<sup>897</sup>. The text speaks out against those who speak with exaggerated delivery and gesture, in order to impress their listeners<sup>898</sup>. Here too, then, there seems to be an Averroistic precept for an otherwise unexplained change in poetic method around the beginning of the XVth century. There are other parallels<sup>899</sup>.

Despite them, the questions of rhetorical style, of legal disquisition and the role of the actor - all common to Averroist theory and the new poetic practice - the case is far from proved in favour of the Poetria's influence. The fact is that no attention has been paid to these details. There is a poverty of work on late mediaeval background<sup>900</sup>: there are few studies which are not a collection of monographs (in contrast, for instance, to the excellent work on the background to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries) and a general conviction that, apart from Villon

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896 On this, cf. M-D.Chenu, "Auctor, Actor, Autor" in Archivium Latinitatis Medii Aevi, 1927, p.81-6 and G. Paré, Le R. de la R., 1947, p.14-18.

897 <sup>47-8</sup> "Et habitudines eorum qui recitant et representant complete ymaginationum inventarum in ipsis orationibus poeticis ex parte istorum trium, scilicet assimilationis et ponderis et toni, que elementa sunt representationis, sunt in summa due habitudines, quarum una est habitudo significans morem et consuetudinem, ut qui loquitur sermonem intelligentis aut sermonem iracundi; et altera est habitudo significans hominis credulitatem seu opinionem(....)Et propter hoc dictum est quoniam sermones poetici fabule sunt. Recitatores, <sup>ergo</sup> et renunciatores, ut in summa dicatur, sunt illi qui potentiam habent representandi consuetudines et credulitates hominum."

898 p.52, "Neque ~~etiam~~ indiget poeta peritus seu perfectus ut compleat representationem suam per ea que extrinsecus sunt, ut est in gestibus theatralibus et vultuum dispositionibus; hoc enim non utuntur nisi poete illi qui ostentant se esse poetas, licet poete non sint."

899 The regrets for the state of the House of France: parallel with the metaphorical example (n<sup>o</sup> 6) of the ruined domus egregia regretted by



and Charles d'Orléans, it was a bore anyway. So it is an easy matter to argue a case against the Poetria Aristotelis. The rhetorical taste might prove to derive from the vogue of the ars dictaminis, well established in fourteenth century Italy. The debate framework of the Quadrilogue might be seen to go back to the general university training received by all students at the time. The figure of the acteur could be a borrowing from mediaeval moralités. It would, even if the Poetria were shown to be a source for Chartier's ideas, be probable that these other influences confirmed the precepts set out by Averroes.

One final objection to the theory of an Averroistic influence in the early fifteenth century is Chartier's lack of regard for Averroes. Towards a figure, whose beliefs were as suspect as those of Averroes at the university of Paris, one would not expect effusions of respect. But Chartier does mention Averroes in the Livre de l'Espérance and contrasts him unfavourably with Avicenna, whose doctrine profundement atteiny lez secrés de nature. Averroes is seen as the latter's enemy,

Avicenne(...)et son envieux Averrois, commentateur d'Aristote.<sup>901</sup>

This damning with faint praise, in contrast to the open enthusiasm for Avicenna, for whom there is every reason to suppose the influence on Chartier's poetic theory<sup>902</sup>, is strange. One would expect silence or studied indifference, with regard to Averroes, if Chartier were in fact trying to disassociate himself from the precepts of the Poetria. It is always possible that he thought it to be by Aristotle - a frequent title, after all, is the Poetria Aristotilis - and did not realize that he was

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(continued from previous page) poets (Poetria Arist., p.61). The text calls this locus sextus, famosus sive vulgatus.

900 But cf. C.S. Shapley, Studies in Fr. Poetry 15 c. for whom pioneer scholars have "dredged up background" without understanding the verse. Who were these pioneers? The studies of H. Guy and P. Champion are really assemblies of monographs on individual authors. Miss Shapley may well have a point, but it is unsubstantiated.

901 ed. Rouy, p. 73 (Pr. IX).

902 Supra, n. 851, 852.

faced with a work that owed much to Averroes. Moreover, in BN.lat.16673 and also in the Venice 1481 edition Averroes is given his unlatinized, Arabic name, Ibnrosdin.

The arguments for Chartier to have made use of the Poetria Aristotilis are too general to be entirely convincing. If the parallels between the commentary and French poetry in the middle part of the fifteenth century were as general as those for the beginning of it, it would cast serious doubt on the theory. However the influence that the commentary can be argued to have had on both Chastelain and on the century's greatest poet, François Villon, should make further research worthwhile. The interesting thing is that whereas Chartier may be presumed to have used the text as a theoretical guide to an entirely serious type of poetry, Villon certainly used it in a quite different sense. The tangled strands of argument in the Poetria offer guidance to eulogy, lyric verse, a form of satire, writing for the stage, rhetorical prose-poetry, amorous verse (known as elegy), narrative verse, historical narrative: they come up in no particular order. This is probably one of the reasons why the Poetria's influence is so hard to detect. It can seem to be all things to all men, though the two guiding lines are poetry as imagination and poetry as a moral activity. These run contrary to what used to be the accepted picture of the povre Villon's verse, but it will be seen that it was quite possible for Villon to use the Poetria as a technical guide and the examples (from the Arab poets) as a source of inspiration.

Finally, it can be noted in regard to its lyric content that the Poetria was possibly the source of Arab verse, to which Petrarch had access, when he said of it that he knew nihil blandius, nihil mollius, nihil enervatius, nihil denique turpius<sup>903</sup>, than the poetry of the Arabs.

903 F. Gabrieli, Il Petrarca e gli Arabi in Studi in onore A.Schiaffini, Rome, 1965, p.487-94. E.Cerulli, "Petrarca e gli Arabi", *ibid*, p.331-6. F.Gabrieli p.491, remarks that it was not possible for P. to judge per competenza diretta, since there are no known translations of that period. The Poetria goes some way to filling the gap, since it was known to P's contemporary, Robert Holcot.

b. The Poetria Aristotilis and Villon's Lais and Testament.

It may seem perverse to consider Villon in a study that concentrates on poésie savante. At least it would have seemed so, until recent studies of his verse began to suggest that there was more to him than remarkable lyrical qualities and a measure of wit<sup>904</sup>. Clément Marot suggested that Villon was, in addition to his other virtues, "le meilleur poète Parisien qui se trouve" and that as for

l'industrie des lays qu'il fait en ses testamens,  
pour suffisamment la cognoistre et entendre, il faudroit  
avoir esté de son temps à Paris, et avoir congneu les lieux,  
les choses, et les hommes dont il parle: le memoire desquelz  
tant plus se passera, tant moins se congnoistra icelle  
industrie de ses lays dictz.<sup>905</sup>

Interest in Villon over the last century has tended, quite naturally, to clear up these obscurities surrounding the persons and places of which he spoke. This effort has been continued with often marked success, not only on the Parisian background to his verse, but also on the jargon. A negative result of the priority given this fundamental effort of understanding has been a tendency to view him as the medieval equivalent of a scholarship boy who turned to larceny, and worse. Biography has tended to direct the research effort. It became something of a habit to respect him as a poet and as a publisher's find, but to write down to him in other respects. It is perhaps invidious to mention particular examples, but to say, as I. Siciliano did, that

Une palpitation intense, suggestive, la palpitation  
vague et magique de l'infini, vibre dans le lyrisme  
d'un pauvre souillon...

is a form of intellectual condescension, even if one does add...

du plus grand poète lyrique de la France.<sup>906</sup>

904 Notably A. Burger, "L'Entroubli de Villon", Romania, t79, 1958, p.485-95. D. Kuhn, La Poétique de François Villon, Paris, 1967.

905 Paris, 1533, f°Aiv.v°, Aiii.r°.

906 François Villon et les Thèmes Poétiques du Moyen Age, Paris, 1935, p.524.

The literal sense of Villon's poems go a long way to supporting this view. Yet it seems to me wrong in principle and in practice to suggest that a person with his mental and imaginative resources can be spoken down to or pitied, and equally possible that povre Villon is yet another piece of irony from a man (supposedly thirty years of age at the time of writing his Testament)<sup>who</sup> was both a poet and successful housebreaker. We still know comparatively little about him, and what we know comes to us in the equally opaque forms of poetry of unparalleled mental agility, or of the unemotional statements of legal proceedings. The stanza where he regrets his jeunesse folle and the maison et couche molle, follows a passage where he condemns the self-righteous people that he sees around him. In human terms this may be comprehensible, but in literary terms it is part of a poem so full of paradoxes that questions of sincerity, or lack of it, seem out of place. Is it a shade disingenuous to raise the question and to add just as quickly that, in the present state of our knowledge, it is unanswerable? As with Jean de Meun I would suggest that we are only just beginning to understand a little of his art, but I would add quite categorically that Villon's intellect has almost certainly been grossly undervalued<sup>907</sup>.

Of the persons named in Villon's verse least attention, probably, has been paid to the authors. They are few in number, and the references are explicit compared to those to Parisian figures of his time. The reference to "Macrobes" is almost as vague as that at the beginning of the Roman de la Rose (Test. CXLV), though an interesting case has been made out for an explicit allusion<sup>908</sup>. The allusion to Vegece does seem to have a specific, though obscenely angled, sense<sup>909</sup>. That to the

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907 D. Kuhn, op.cit. passim, and J. Dufournet, Recherches, tI, 1971, make the point simply.

908 Kuhn, p.381, p.397, n20.

909 Lais, I. I do not agree with Kuhn, p.221, that this is a "fausse référence". Cf. infra, n. 924.

commentaries of Averroës on Aristotle is vague enough - it has usually been passed off as a casual comparison with school learning - since neither are any texts mentioned, nor is the allusion taken up elsewhere<sup>910</sup>. The reference to Aristotle as probable authority for men suffering from madness once a month might be to the ubiquitous Problemata, but the intention seems mocking, rather than serious<sup>911</sup>. Chartier is made fun of<sup>912</sup>. Abélard and Buridan are shown to disadvantage<sup>913</sup>. Only the Roman de la Rose and Maistre Jehan de Mehun are given any due.

None of these scant references to writers amount to an appreciable display of knowledge on Villon's part. This is an assessment of the obvious. If Villon was<sup>a</sup> man of learning, then on this evidence, he wore his learning so lightly that it is invisible. An indication that his intentions perhaps went beyond lyricism and a quick revenge on certain of his contemporaries came in an article dealing with the sense of entroubli in the closing verses of the Lais<sup>915</sup>, but if one does go by the basis of solid discovery on which many of the allusions in his poems have been fully or partly explained, then it is hard not to see him merely as the product of a certain milieu and as Marot's poète parisien, full of fine sentences and wit and a good model for would-be poets<sup>916</sup>. Marot felt that the industrie des lays was harmful to at least one aspect of Villon's reputation<sup>917</sup>, then he concluded:

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910 T,XII: "Travail(...)M'ouvrit plus que tous les Commens/D'Averröys sur Aristote".

911 L,XXXVII, "Je l'ay leu, se bien m'en souvient,/En Aristote aucunes fois".

912 T,CLXVIII, cf. J.Dufournet, Recherches, 1967, tI, p.104, on goupillon and benitier.

913 T,337-44. Buridan's work, ~~some of its~~ early editions, is worth examining.

914 T,XV, "Le noble Rommant de la Rose". T,1178.

915 A.Burger, Romania, t79.

916 "qu'ilz cueillent ses santences comme belles fleurs, qu'ilz contemplent l'esprit qu'il avoit, que de luy apreignent à proprement d'inscrire..." (Paris, 1533, f°Aiv.v°)

917 "la memoire desquelz tant plus se passera, tant moins se congnoistra icelle industrie de sex lays dictz."

Le reste des œuvres de nostre Villon (hors cela)  
est de tel artifice, tant plain de bonne doctrine,  
et tellement painct de <sup>mille</sup> belles couleurs, que le temps,  
qui tout efface, jusques icy ne l'a sçeu effacer.

This has been, until recent years, the basis on which we have continued to look on Villon: appreciation of his craftsmanship, research on the historical background to the industrie des lais and some rhetoric about the belles couleurs. Yet Marot's view of the Roman is so limited that it casts doubt on his judgement, where, not craftsmanship, but subject matter is concerned. Villon, like Machaut, Froissart and probably Gerson seems to have had an understanding of Jean de Meun's ironies that Marot gave us sight of having. It must be asked therefore whether Marot is any better guide to Villon, to whom he was much closer in time. On the face of it he was, but the matter needs closer attention. Possibly Marot took much for granted that we rediscover, or think that we rediscover, slowly. The structure of the Lais and of the Testament, in which recent research has come to take a close interest, is one of those subjects.

It has been suggested that the Lais and the Testament follow the same plan: prologue - Amours - testament burlesque - retour sur soi, with the insertion in the Testament, between the first and the second, of a passage that might be termed Regrets<sup>918</sup>. C. Gothot-Mersch goes on to suggest that the Lais is in fact an outline for the Testament, and that this is the more mature work of the two<sup>919</sup>. It does seem possible to show, however, that two poems were written to different intentions.

The opening and the close of the Lais echo at a number of points the opening and closing lines of the Roman de la Rose. The Roman calls on Macrobius (l. 7), the Lais cites Vegetius (l. 6). The Roman praises the anonymous lady: cele por qui... (l. 41); the Lais takes to task the another anonymous woman: voyant celle devant mes yeulx/Consentant a ma

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918 C. Gothot-Mersch, "Sur l'unité du Testament de Villon", Mélanges Lejeune II, p.1413-24.

919 *ibid.*, p.1424-5. "Les deux poèmes présentent la même facture".

desfaçon (l. 18-19). The optimism of the first is reflected in the season: el tens enmoureux, plain de joie (l. 48); the pessimism of the second likewise: sur le Noel, morte saison (l. 10). The Amant thinks of leaving his house and setting off into the woods to hear the bird song (l. 94f.); Villon stays by the fire and thinks of the wolves outside (l. 11-13). Guillaume de Lorris describes a world where all looks to love and which he will show in dream (l. 84-6); the Lais shows its author as an amant martir (l. 47) and he apparently stays awake to think over his grievances. Thus far the Lais has the tone of a Contrediz Guillaume de Lorris. The beginning of the Lais is tied to an ending in which Villon parodies Jean de Meun, though knowingly, rather than in the retailing of opposites as with Guillaume's opening. The link between the start and the close of the Lais, which are apparently separated by the list of bequests making up the most substantial part of the poem, is provided by the reference to Vegetius.

A. Burger, in an article on Villon's state of semi-wakefulness or forgetfulness (entroubli) at the end of the poem, noted the parallels between the events narrated by him in the poem and what is known of the circumstances of the theft from the College de Navarre, which was also undertaken circa festum Nativitatis Domini by Villon and certain accomplices: they entered the College decima hora de nocte vel circa (in the Lais he speaks of the Sorbonne clock striking nine), and left when it was almost twelve (Villon in the Lais awakes to find his fire out)<sup>920</sup>. The mingling of reality, fantasy and literary allusion, in the retelling of the events in termes couverts is skilfully done. It has to be supposed that Villon undertook the theft partly to satisfy his lady's desires, and that when at the beginning of the Lais he sees her before his eyes, luring him on,

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920 Romania, t79, p.489-93.

Consentant a ma ~~des~~façon (l. 19),

he identifies breaking into her heart with breaking into the College de Navarre, spurred on by his mental image of her:

Me vint ung vouloir de brisier  
La tres amoureuse prison  
Qui souloit mon cuer debrasier (l. 14-16)

Entering the college and entering his lady's heart are thus identified in an erotic dream. The parallel is a little daring, but it will be remembered that in the Lais the lady is identified as celle or elle, as in the Roman de la Rose, where the enigmatic cele is also the occasion of an erotic dream. What is more, in the Testament the verses which make the bequest to his Rose,

Item, m'amour, ma chiere Rose,  
Ne luy laisse ne cuer ne foye;  
Elle ameroit mieulx autre chose  
Combien qu'elle ait assez monnoye.  
Quoy? une grant bource de soye, <sup>921</sup>  
Plaine d'escuz, parfonde et large,

make her appear as mercenary as possible. None of the other women of either Lais or Testament appear quite as mercenary. The key to the heart of the chiere Rose and of the anonymous celle, who willingly consented to Villon's

!.....desfaçon,  
Sans ce que ja luy en fust mieulx;  
Dont je me dueil et plains aux cieulx,  
En requerant d'elle venjance (l. 19-22)

is money<sup>922</sup>, and the way to obtain the money is by theft. This is the clue to the naming of Vegetius in line 6 of the Lais. Just as Macrobius introduced the dream framework in the Rose, it falls to Vegece, Sage Romain, grant conseiller to serve as introduction, at once obscene and semi-serious, to the Lais. In his translation of the De Re Militari,/ entitled L'Art de Chevalerie, Jean de Meun, when dealing with names of the winds, admits his own inability

921 T,XC. The following ballad contains the acrostic François-Marthe (or Martheos). On the possible pun, Mar-theos/Mar-got, cf. Deroy, F.Villon, p.21.

922 This interpretation does not exclude the accompanying obscenities which are common to both L,17-20 and to T,913-914.



to name them all in French:

Je Jehans de Meun, translaterres de cest livre,  
ne voel dou tout ensivir ne les uns ne les autres...<sup>923</sup>

Le Lais begins:

Je, François Villon, escollier,  
Considerant, de sens rassis.... (l. 2-3)

Previously, Jean de Meun developed a slightly inaccurate burlesque translation of Vegetius's description of means of undermining a city's walls. Book IV, xxiv, is entitled,

"Li xxiiii~~e~~ devise la maniere des connins par coi on  
effondre les murs et perce les fondemens des cites"<sup>924</sup>

Connin is a mistranslation of lepus in the De Re Militari. In the passage that follows there are references to vaines des metaus d'or et d'argent sous terre worked by multitude d'ommes and to the types of undermining practised in Paris, where fire is followed by collapse of the walls, so that assailants can enter<sup>924</sup>.

Once again, the ideas of entry into a guarded place, need for money and the taking of a woman are all mingled. This is the work of one of the authors of the Rose, which Villon was parodying in the Lais, and which he intentionally introduced. Here is corroboration of A. Burger's thesis of the parallel between the Navarre theft and the events of the Lais. The introduction of Parisian siege practices, in an obscene sense, in a passage where the original makes no mention of Paris, is satire to Jean de Meun, and material for the obscene conceits and triple or quadruple meanings - narrative, love fantasies, theft realities and his casuistic plea of entroubli (absent mindedness, semi-wakefulness, torpor, forgetfulness).

If the opening of the Lais parodies Guillaume de Lorris, the close

923 ed. U. Robert, SATF, p.166.

924 "Une autre maniere d'assaut y a que on fait par ~~de~~ sous terre, qui moult est secree, et est apelee connin(...)comme li Bessien quièrent les vaines des metaus d'or et d'argent sous terre, aussi par multitude d'ommes et par grant travail cruese on et fuet la terre(...)et ceste maniere d'apuiier apelent il a Paris estagier et le gardent ensi de trebuchier. Lors i ajoustent seremens et autres choses qui legierement ardent". (p.154) Cf. Li Livres du Gouvernement, ed. Molenaer, p.450, for fodere and fendere.

makes a parody of Jean de Meun. It supposes that the poet, who was sitting by the fire in the opening lines, writing, has in fact finished the lais, which we have just read (IX - XXXIV):

Finablement, en escripvant,  
Ce soir, seulet, estant en bonne,  
Dictant ce laiz et descripvant,  
J'ofs la cloche de Serbonne,  
Qui tousjours a neuf heures sonne  
Le Salut que l'Ange prédit;  
Si suspendis et y mis bonne  
Pour prier comme le cuer dit. (XXXV)

Villon hears the clock strike the Angelus, si suspendis (he both listened and was sexually aroused), y mis bonne (put an end, borne, to his lais) in order to pray according to his inclinations. These, as we have seen, in the opening lines are morbidly concerned with a certain lady, to whom in the meantime he has left his heart (st.X)

.....enchassié,  
Palle, piteux, mort et transy:

He adds, supposedly referring to her demands for money and his need to break into the College de Navarre,

Elle m'a ce mal pourchassié (l. 77-79).

Villon prays according to the dictates of his heart. These show him bent on fulfillment of his appetites. This is suggested, when he describes, as ponderously as Chartier in the Livre de l'Espérance (supra, n.850, 851) how the parts of his soul select their aim and drive on towards self-gratification. What should be serious in Chartier's case is burlesque in Villon's, even if all forms of légereté have an underlying seriousness.

The casuistry here, as at the end of the Rose, lies in suggesting that the narrator is not entirely responsible for what happens. It is a pastiche both of the Rose and of the thief's plea that he was not fully aware of what he was doing at the time of the incident. The breaking and entering job has become a cas de conscience, and Villon says he regrets (l. 56) his present situation, though not the crime. The emphasis was

on misfortune, rather than regret (III-VIII) at the beginning of the poem, and the end continues in the same vein. Listening to the sound of the Angelus, Villon says, as if he were half-conscious,

Ce faisant, je m'entroublé,  
Non pas par force de vin boire,  
Mon esperit comme lié (l. 281-3).

He enters a state of semi-awareness, not because he has been drinking, but because

Ce faisant....mon esperit comme lié,

ce faisant being either the equivalent of entretemps, or in accordance with the deeper pun, ceci (= the sound of the Angelus bell and his sexual excitement) lequel laisse mon esprit comme lié<sup>925</sup>. For a fuller understanding of the sense of the passage, it should read:

(.....)ce faisant, (je m'entroublé,  
Non pas par force de vin boire)  
Mon esperit comme lié.

But even this does not do justice to the meaning, nor to the further pun on lie de vin and the sediment of desires and impulses with which as in Jean de Meun the poem is now concerned. The dregs of the mind have been stirred up and the conscious mind - l'esperit - is powerless. The active intellectual powers (l. 286-8) which decide the wrongs or rights of particular acts - oppinative faulce et voire - disappear into Dame Memoire's cupboard. They are dependent for their activity on the memories of previous actions that proved good or bad and of opinions that were shown

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925 Evrart de Conty, BN.fr.211, for melancholy's effect on the mind, "la complexions melancolique fait l'ame ainsi retraire en soy et ausi comme fuir les choses foraines, c'est a dire qu'elle fait convertir as fantaisies et as similitudes des choses du monde qui sont entour li, ou elle se occupe et se excercite ausi comme continuelment, et est en ce ausi comme ses plus grans delis; nous sçavons secondement que cele ame est plus preste de recevoir la impression de la vertu du ciel que celle qui ha l'eil au vent et as choses foraines et sensibles desus dites." (393v<sup>o</sup>b). Still on the subject of melancholy, Evrart de Conty goes on to speak of la naturele prophecie inspired either in sleep or in wakefulness by this state of imagining (f 394r a). The references to melancholy, state of imaginative activity opposed to contact with <sup>n</sup>ature (that is, not having l'eil au vent) and finally the idea of natural prophecy inspired by the images of the mind form an interesting parallel with Villon indoors, absorbed in his thoughts, and finally aroused by the bell associated with the Angel's coming.

to be true or false. Without the assistance of the necessary reasoned comparisons from the memory to guide it - and this was the essential lesson of Avicenna's De Anima which through the teaching of the theologians and through the commentaries of the medical and scientific scholars on the Canon<sup>926</sup> continued to influence the whole of mediaeval thought - the reason has no power over the sense data which continues to be fed into the sensus communis or the imagination. With the path to the memory closed - the Lais does not use Chartier's ponderous description of the petit guichet, though it seems likely that Villon's Question au Clerc du Guichet refers to it and to Villon's defence regarding the Navarre incident<sup>927</sup> - all the other functions of the intellect are forced to suspend their activities,

Et mesmement l'estimative,  
Par quoy prospective nous vient,  
Similative, formative,  
Desquelles souvent il advient  
Que, par leur trouble, homme devient  
Fol et lunatique par mois. (l. 289-94)

The similative and formative functions are related to prospective, but once cut off from the activity of the rational mind, they merely reproduce in visual metaphors disordered sense data, the fantasie, beloved of mediaeval authors<sup>928</sup>. Madness, temporary or permanent, is related to disordered fantasies and to the state of melancholy according to the teaching of the Problemata (Particula XXX, Prohema i). It is this

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926 For memoria and estimatio, cf. De An., ed. van Riet, Pars IVa, p.4-5, p.39-40, 43-44. These theories were developed at length in the XVth century by Ugo Benzi in Italy (cf. D.P.Lockwood, Ugo Benzi (1376-1439), Chicago, 1951) and Jacobus de Partibus in France (cf. D.Jacquart, thèse, Ec.Chartes, 1971).

927 Longnon-Foulet, p.98-9. Chartier, Espérance, ed.Rouy, p.23 (Pr.V).

928 Villon prepared for this passage in which the vegetable soul imposes itself at the very beginning of the Lais, l. 31-2, "Planter me fault autres complans/Et frapper en ung autre coing". The part of this multiple pun that interests us is the reference to what G. de Moerbeke in the Ethics (Spiazzi, p. 63) translated as anima plantativa, a gift for any satirist. On later teaching on the vegetative soul, cf. J.S. Spink, French Free Thought from Gassendi to Voltaire, London, 1960, p.75f.

melancholic state which was Villon's at the beginning of the Lais (l. 9-13), but which gave way to a more positive rancour against his lady (l. 14-16) and to a need to prove himself in some way:

Me vint ung vouloir de brisier  
 La tres amoureuse prison  
 Qui souloit mon cuer debrasier.  
 Je le feis en telle façon,  
 Voyant celle devant mes yeulx  
 Consentant..... (l. 14-19)

It is to this point in the psychological process that Villon returns in the last four stanzas of the poem. His fixation is with his lady's favours, with money and with the means of obtaining the latter to procure the former. The fixation has him break contact with the present, sever the link between reason and imaginative aims and slip into the state of entroubli. This is humorously and pedantically summed up in stanza XXXVIII:

Dont le sensitif s'esveilla  
 Et esvertua Fantasie,  
 Qui tous organes resveilla,  
 Et tint la souveraine partie  
 En suspens et comme amortie  
 Par oppression d'oubliance  
 Qui en moy s'estoit espartie  
 Pour monstrier des sens l'aliance.

This particular stanza has been ably commented by A. Burger<sup>929</sup>, though without the explanations from Avicenna, Albert, Aquinas and above all from Jean de Meun, which this really requires. The two final stanzas form a parallel to Jean de Meun's assault on the rosetree. Instead of rosetrunk and male organ, we have candle and organ, and instead of success and relief, self-mocking failure. Encre replaces greine (Rose, l.21690):

Je cuidé finer mon propos;  
 (.....)  
 Et ne peus autrement finer (l. 307-12)

Possible reasons for Villon's inadequacies have been suggested by D. Kuhn<sup>930</sup>.

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929 op.cit., p. 487.

930 op.cit., p.124, p.136 n28.

If we are to note seriously, as he does, impotency, brought on by emasculation (puns on the words escollier and escouvillon), one can add to the list of possibilities impotency for emotional reasons: Villon's protests at the treatment given him in the prison of Meun by the bishop, Thibault d'Aussigny, whom Villon implies was a pederast (Testament, v.I-IV), are directed against the man rather than the methods<sup>931</sup>. His protests are calls for revenge, and one is reminded of Boule de Suif's objections to Prussian officers: it might be hercalling, but they were Prussians. This type of biographical hypothesis must be kept in distal perspective, well in the background, while both homosexuality and physical impotency are possibilities that might be discussed, neither can be as important in shaping the end of the poem as the need to continue the "writing" metaphor (realistically, his candle burns out and he runs out of ink), the sexual metaphor and the very evident pleasure that he took in writing a follow-up to the "Contreditz Guillaume de Lorris" (much the easier task) of the opening verses. In these closing verses he pits his wits against Jean de Meun, startlingly in my view, though the Lais, as a poem, is hardly to be compared with the Rose. It is another type of work altogether, despite similarities of tone, content and method. The obvious distinguishing feature - the lais (bequest in one of its several senses) - is important not only in this respect, but occupies a dominant position in Villon's verse.

Despite similarities between Villon's verse-bequests and the genre of the congé or of Jean Regnier's Testament<sup>932</sup>, despite the vogue for the équivoque obscène in a wide range of poets, Villon developed the bequest to an extent, and in a manner, which has no equivalent<sup>933</sup>.

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931 Kuhn, p.297f; Dufournet, 1971, tI, p.131-194.

932 Fortunes et Adversitéz, ed. Droz, 1923.

933 However much one dislikes the homme moderne condescension with which I. Siciliano discusses Villon (and mediaeval poetry) in his F.V. et les Thèmes Poétiques du M.A., his study remains the only serious attempt to relate Villon's verses to that of the other poets before him. As a discussion of literary themes in the Middle Ages it is invaluable.

If one accepts this as a fact without any attempt to explain it, one returns to the idea that Villon's art was simply better than that of any other mediaeval poet. I. Siciliano found this to be a main reason for whatever unity existed in the Lais or the Testament. If it is accepted, on the other hand, that the beginning and the end of the Lais are tours de force, written with a view to comparing his skills with Guillaume and Jean, what then is to be made of the use of the bequest? What was Villon trying to show by its use?

Both E. Kuhn and C. Gothot-Mersch suppose that the Lais as a genre and the Lais and the Testament as poems have origins, and probably a model, that we have since lost sight of, that the genre and the works have an aesthetic, rather than a technical, *raison d'être*<sup>934</sup>. Yet if Clément Marot, some seventy years after Villon's disappearance, was unable or unwilling to describe the relation of Villon's verse to the Roman de la Rose, and was so far removed (for whatever religious or aesthetic reason) from the underlying sense of Jean de Meun's work, we have at least as much chance of understanding the aesthetic or technical source as Marot. A gap of fifty years, or one of five hundred, may well prove to be immaterial, where ideas and concepts, rather than contemporary allusions, are concerned. It is doubtful whether we can ever fully understand the range of Villon's puns, but it may be possible to do rather better with the theoretical background, if only because most of it must have survived somewhere in manuscript or in printed edition.

This argument admittedly overlooks the extent to which puns are

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934 Kuhn, p.465, "L'antiquité n'avait pas légué à Villon une poétique cohérente. Villon en a eu une, mais aucun écrit théorique ne l'a légué à nous non plus." C. Gothot-Mersch, p.1411, "Oeuvre qui se réfère à un genre vieilli, obéissant à des règles que nous ne connaissons plus (...)Le secret de Villon paraît bien être son naturel. Il rit, il s'indigne, il se lamente, il s'attendrit."

often the substance of that background and to which form and content may be inseparable in Villon's case. However, in view of the neglect of the mediaeval scientific and philosophical background by research concerned with poetry, and the assumption that this science is not relevant to it, that particular objection may prove less fearsome than at first sight. As with so much in mediaeval poetry, exploration has not even begun.

The source for the use of the lais-bequest by Villon seems to be various definitions in the Poetria Aristotelis. Several ways in which the Poetria may have made a positive contribution to the literary theory of Western Europe have been suggested. These concerned stage theory, and the possible influence on Alain Chartier. I described these above (p.263-9).

The rhetorical figure enigma had been treated in the first major ars poetica of the middle ages, that of Matthew of Vendome<sup>935</sup>. Examples of it were usually limited to a brief definition and to some examples<sup>936</sup>. Averroes's description was ampler, but confused.

The enigma for him is a figure of speech which is difficult for a certain type of listener<sup>937</sup>. This is cautious enough, but the surprising thing is that he advises using the names of notable persons<sup>938</sup>. This is the conclusion to be drawn from the ambiguous reference to nominibus que preeminentiam habent usitatam. The method involves saying the opposite of what one really means to say<sup>939</sup>, while the things said should be neither too ambiguous, too vulgar, too strange or too contrived<sup>940</sup>.

935 Faral, Arts Poetiques, p.177, "Aenigma est sententiarum obscuritas..."

936 Also Gervais of Melkeley, ed. Gräbener, p.149, "...probans ingenium divinandi."

937 Poetria Arist, p.68, "Enigma quippe est oratio que comprehendit intentiones quarum continuatio aut impossibilis est aut difficilis ad unum certum aliquem intellectum."

938 *ibid*, p.68, "Et nobilis sermo poeticus moderatus seu modestus est qui componitur ex nominibus que preeminentiam habent..."

939 *ibid*, "Et cum voluerit afferre aliquid admirandum et delectabile, inducet nomina illius alterius speciei."

940 *ibid*, "...nomina ambigua seu communia aut extranea aut adinventata..."



The sermo enigmaticus should not occupy the whole work<sup>941</sup> of which it is part.

Here we are faced with a genre entitled enigma, using the names of people of note, advising contraries and suggesting that the enigma should not occupy the whole work. Villon uses the enigmatic form copiously, names names and avoids filling all the Lais with his bequests. It is true that Villon in fact uses the enigma for the best part of the Lais, not merely for bequests. But the Hermannus text merely asks what sermo enigmaticus not be used for the whole work, and adds that the poet should be careful not to use too much common speech, in case he succumbs to vulgarity<sup>942</sup>. Villon inserted the passages of amorous rhetoric (l.14-64) and scholastic psychology or medical learning (v.XXXVI-XXXIX). The quotations from the Arab poets in the Poetria <sup>in</sup> support of this type of enigma are, in at least one case, pieces of proverbial wisdom,

Crescit largitas ad crementum largorum, et multiplicantur  
largi ad crementum largitatum<sup>943</sup>

Earlier in the treatise, the first example of the six types of metaphor (representatio rerum sensibilium per res sensibiles) was the giving of a present by which means the beneficiary is shackled to the donor by the gift. The relation of metaphorical object to metaphorical intention is

quando habuerint res ille actiones proportionatas rebus  
illis intellectualibus per quas potest estimari quod sint  
res ille; prout soliti sunt dicere de beneficio quoniam est  
torques colli, et de denariis quoniam sunt compedes ei qui  
dona recipit(...) Qui dona seu beneficia invenit compedes  
invenit.<sup>944</sup>

When the amount of research done without marked success on the sources of

941 *ibid*, "Indiget ergo moderate assumptionis sermonis enigmatici, ne sit totus sermo quasi enigma."

942 p.68, "caveat etiam superfluitatem usus sermonis cotidiani, ne egrediatur a via poetrie ad sermonem vulgarem."

943 *ibid.*, p.69. Other examples include "antropos(...)quasi arbor inversa".

944 p.59.

the Lais and Testament is taken into account, the above parallels are to date the only real account of these sources. It may well be that further research will prove that Villon used either a complementary source, or knew the Poetria only at second hand. Until then it can be supposed that he took the notion of the dónum or beneficium from Averroes's commentary on Aristotle. Villon spoke of having read all the Averroes commentaries on Aristotle. It is not even a question of one commentary as in Dante

Travail, mes lubres sentemens,  
Enguisez comme une pelote,  
M'ouvrit plus que tous les Commens  
D'Averroy's sur Aristote (l. 93-9)

It is dangerous to take literally anything said by Villon, but if it is allowed that he may have read the commentary by the Commentator on Poetry, this will make it possible to examine the possibility in some detail.

If the request fiction is used even more extensively in the Testament than in the Lais, there is also more engouement for Arab metaphor than in the Lais. Villon's pride in taking on both Jean de Meun and Guillaume de Lorris, and proving himself their match, which is a characteristic of the earlier poem, gives way to a more complicated pattern in the Testament. This will be analyzed in a moment. Something more needs to be said of the Poetria's influence on the Lais. The two correspond in a number of ways, apart from genre and structure.

The Averroes Poetria differs from other arts of poetry known in the West in several ways already mentioned: it sees poetry in terms of, principally, imagination; it is an art of recital and a guide for actors as much as for poets; it covers a wide range of subjects in almost unique disorder. It gives constant emphasis to the contact between poet and listener. It reflects a view of poetry, based on a community of interest, that one looks for in vain in other arts poétiques, and that one just possibly

finds in Spanish Renaissance dramatic theory<sup>945</sup>. The Poetria relates poet to listener<sup>946</sup>. Averroes shows how poets can dispose of the minds of others,

et quocumque volent, ducant animum auditoris<sup>947</sup>

He remarks that Arabs prefer, or should prefer, poems about prowess and generosity to elegies portraying actus coituales<sup>948</sup>. He admits though that a poet's skill can be measured by his ability to conjure up images, and that this can be done mostly through the same carmina elegiaca<sup>949</sup>.

Villon may appear to have mocked Averroes in the Ballade de la grosse Margot,

Species vero poetrie quam elegiam nominant non est nisi incitatio ad actus <sup>oportet</sup> coituales, quos amoris nomine obtegunt et decorant. Ideoque <sup>et</sup> ut a talium carminum lectione abstrahantur filii, <sup>et</sup> instruuntur & exerceantur in carminibus que ad actus fortitudinis <sup>sive liberalitatis</sup> ~~et largitatis~~ incitant ~~et inclinant~~; non enim instigant Arabes in carminibus suis nisi ad has duas virtutes...<sup>950</sup>

Villon's view of the Paris of his time, and of its people, is that of

- 945 Cf. Lope de Vega's El Arte Nuevo de hacer comedias, which emphasizes questions of audience reaction.
- 946 This is done by inference in the passage on the role of the actor. p.71, plain statement is not for the knowledgeable poets, "Et istud non invenitur <sup>nisi</sup> apud elegantes et doctissimos poetarum; ideoque signum peritiae ipsorum est quando verisimiliter et apparenter uti possunt istis. Tunc enim facilius accipiuntur ab ipsis, et intelliguntur ea que intenduntur per sermones poeticos, et quocumque volent, ducunt animum auditoris."
- 947 This is the part of the poets who are elegantes et doctissimi, not of the simpler authors.
- 948 p.44.
- 949 p.62, "Et bonitas narrationis poetice ~~et~~ perventio(...)poeta in relationibus et narrationibus suis sic certitudinaliter narrat, ut rem narratam quasi presentem sub sensu et aspectu auditorum ponat(...)Et hoc quamplurimum reperitur apud poetas peritos ~~et~~ exercitatos. Verumtamen non reperitur ~~modus iste vehementer~~ imaginari, faciens rem representatam, in poematibus Arabum, nisi aut in carminibus elegiacis, que scilicet sunt de actibus seu gestibus amantium."
- 950 p.44. For an interesting Margot situation in an Arab poet, cf. E. García Gómez, Ben Guzmán, 1972, tI, p.469.

an entente between individuals who may dislike each other, but who understand les mots de la tribu, in the same way that the tribesmen (nationes) mentioned by Averroes who speak of the snakes and lizards of a desert place find that these are taken for fishes by strangers who from a distance think they see a lake where there is only sand<sup>951</sup>.

There are also instances of images in the Lais that seem to translate metaphors from the Poetria. The metaphors in question belong to the section on the enigma. The early verses of the Lais develop a form of amorous or courtly rhetoric (v.III-VIII). They are followed by the lais proper (v.IX-XXXIV). The first of these (v.II-XVIII) continue the courtly rhetoric, in a manner of speaking, with mock-chivalrous bequests. The amorous rhetoric of verses IV and V has been described as provençal, though no particular sources have been found for it: it would seem to be in the tradition of La Belle Dame sans Mercy, if it was not for a strange gaucheness. Yet in the Testament (CLXVIII) he gives a polished pastiche of the Chartier manner. In the event this gaucheness may be an attempt to adapt translator's rhetoric into French:

Alkameitu poeta in dicto suo dum  
commendaret amasiam suam ex vultus  
serenitate ~~sive~~ securitate et osculi  
suavitate sic dicens: 'Completa est  
in ipsa vultus sui serenitas, et  
salivalis osculi sui suavitas';  
propterea quod non habent similitudinem  
aliquam serenitas vultus et serenitas  
salive (69-70)

Et se j'ay prins en ma favour  
Ces doulx regars et beaux semblans  
De tres decevante saveur  
Me ~~trespersans~~ jusques aux flans  
(l. 25-28)

If the Arabic metaphor of sweetness of look and sweetness of saliva is the source of Villon's lines, then this would explain the otherwise puzzling sense of semblans De tres decevante saveur Me ~~trespersans~~ jusques aux flans. This has no logical explanation in the French association of ideas. To mock his lady, Villon calls her saveur decevante. Finally, there is another sense that may or may not have been intended by the Arabic poet. The

verses that precede and follow verse IV have images that could also derive from a metaphor in the enigma section<sup>952</sup>. Here the case for a parallel between Villon's Lais and the enigma section of Averroes's Poetria will have to rest. It will be taken further in relation to the Testament.

In the Lais there is a mingling of personal views and preoccupations and what amounts to a pastiche of Guillaume de Lorris, Averroes and Jean de Meun: broadly speaking, the courtly tradition, formal theory or example, and scientific poetry. The way in which the poet superimposes senses and images leaves countless possibilities for additional understandings. To describe a poem is to try and identify the parts in a way that almost certainly does not relate to the way in which it was 'put together'<sup>953</sup>. Any 'critical' approach bears as much relation to the poem it considers as the bric-à-brac of the Poetria does to the actual Lais.

In her analysis of the structure of the Testament C. Gothot-Mersch noted the following sections:

- 1 Prologue (1 - 88)
- 2 Regrets Villon (89-328)
- 3 Regrets (329-568) ("compositions poétiques qui à l'origine étaient peut-être autonomes").
- 4 Amours (569-712)
- 5 Testament burlesque (713f)
- 6 "retour sur soi" (Épitaphe, "Ballade de Mercy", Autre Ballade)(1884-2023)

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952 V's text presents much more usual images, L, 18-19, "Voyant celle devant mes yeux/Consentant a ma desfaçon" (allusion, amongst other things, to his inability to finer at the end of the poem) and l. 33-37, "Le regart de celle m'a prins/(...)/Veult et ordonne que j'endure/La mort, et que plus je ne dure". Cf. p.70, Perstitisti, et non erat dubitatio de morte persistentis, ac si conclusus esses intercilia periculi dormientis, transierunt per te fortissimi tui vulnerati et evicti et vultus tui a propria<sup>constantia</sup> non sunt derelicti".

953 At least one poet was prepared to say it about another as a compliment, cf. Jacques Le Lieur to J. Bouchet, Ep. Fam., XCIX, "Parquoy pensant qu'ouvrier qui tant bien oeuvre/Prend volontiers plaisir a aultruy oeuvre,/.../Je t'ay transmis de nostre part des pieces/Qu'il conviendra que brises et despees."

She added:

Le découpage, on le voit, est extrêmement précis, ce qui ne laisse pas d'impressionner; il semblerait qu'il s'établisse de lui-même, que les différentes césures soient assez évidentes pour ne pas prêter à discussion.<sup>954</sup>

It would be possible to note sub-divisions within the Testament proper and to describe the conclusion, either in different terms or merely as an extension to the Testament. As a general description however this is acceptable.

There are two descriptions of poem structure in the Poetria. The first is that which we have already - very tentatively - related to the structure of the Anticlaudianus<sup>955</sup>. The second, which is clearer, precedes the definition of enigma, of the bequests and of certain of the metaphors which we have described speaking of the Lais. It is this second section, which refers specifically to carmen, rather than tragedia, and with which we are concerned here.

DIXIT, 'Et omnium carminum laudativorum quedam sunt quorum partes habent colligationem, et quedam quorum partes habent dissolutionem(...)carmen, quod apud nos nominatur consecutivum; <sup>et</sup> est carmen in quo colligatur pars elegiaca carmini tragediaco, et est, ut universaliter dicatur, premissio quasi prologi alicuius alterius materiae carminum laudatio, quatinus laus speciosior videatur.<sup>956</sup>

Averroes comments the remark he attributes to Aristotle, to the effect that in certain carmina laudativa there is a break in the poem's development. For Averroes this shows in the way that the Arabs use different types of poem to follow each other, so that, in effect, the pars elegiaca - and we have already seen <sup>that</sup> by this Averroes was referring

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954 Mélanges Lejeune, II, p.1413, 1424.

955 For the text, Poetria Arist., p.54, "Prima est que se habet apud ipsos in poemate ad modum exordii in rethorica, et est ea in qua mentionem faciunt mansionum sive edificiorum nobilium et ruinarum et vestigiorum, post hec et quedam preludia et solatia tractitant in ea. Et pars secunda est ipsa laus. Et tertia pars est que habet se ad modum conclusionis in rethorica; et huius partis plurimum est apud eos aut invocatio et deprecatio aliqua pro eo quem laudaverunt aut commendatio carminis impensi in laudem ipsius..."

956 p.62-3.

to the versifying of actus continuus - follows the carmen tragediacum within the premissio of the actual work. So that one obtains the following order:

Premissio = carmen tragediacum/pars elegiaca.

In the Testament the two parts of the premissio are the attack on Thibault (I - IV), followed by Villon's wishes for the King's progeny (VII - XI)<sup>957</sup>.

Averroes continues:

Et dissolutio est disiunctio unius partis ab altera,  
id est ut inducantur disiunctim,<sup>et</sup> ut plurimum invenitur  
colligatio in poematibus modernorum....<sup>956</sup>

For Averroes there is no need, in the light of the modern practice, to effect a transposition between different parts of the poem, since the sense caesura (to use C. Gothot-Mersch's term) can be emphasized, can be brought in disiunctim as a feature of the poem. There follows an example:

....in poematibus modernorum prout invenitur apud Abytemin:  
'Annus meus cum anno gregis camelorum transactus est inter  
calores ferventissimos et antra desertorum, donec festa  
plurima avibus celorum in desertis exhibui ex carnibus  
mortuorum(...)Sic tandem incubui studio carminum  
laudativorum.<sup>956</sup>

An example of this time or subject caesura can be found in the change from a particular year to a particular month. Averroes mentions a poem set in the summer months, in the caves of the desert, where the poet showed the scavenger birds of the desert eating carrion in the songs he wrote about dead men.

Villon seems to have found here part of his inspiration for the opening of the Testament (the antra desertorum become the gaol at Meun-sur-Loire where Bishop Thibaut fed him on bread and water for a whole summer) while the reference to carrion birds perhaps carried him later to the Epitaphe Villon (l. 21-28).

La pluye nous a debuez et lavez,  
Et le soleil dessechiez et noircis;

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957 On Louis XI's children, cf. J. Deroy, F. Villon, Recherches, 1967, p. 9f.

Pies, corbeaulx, nous ont les yeux cavez,  
 Et arrachié la barbe et les sourcis.  
 Jamais nul temps nous ne sommes assis;  
 (.....)  
 Plus becquetez d'oiseaulx que dez a couldre.

The Arab poet brooded over the material of his poem (incubui studio carminum laudativorum) in the same way that Villon's summer, soubz la main Thibault d'Aussigny (T, 1.6), taught him more than all the commentaries of Averroes on Aristotle (l. 96).

Having delivered the example, Averroes comes back to poem structure, which he refers to the example (time - place - emotions) just offered.

Sic tandem incubui studio carminum laudativorum';  
 Hoc prologo habito, inceptit...<sup>958</sup>

If this is to be interpreted literally, the events of the summer and the poet's brooding over his material are in fact the prologus to the poem.

...hoc prologo habito, inceptit a principali proposito  
 laudibus suis extollens, <sup>eum</sup> quem laudare intendebat.<sup>958</sup>

This new addition to the structure of the poem gives us a further coupling of ideas - prologus then praise for the person for whom the poem is intended - which reproduces almost exactly the opening of the Testament followed by praise for Christ with whose suffering Villon compares his own (XII - XIV). We thus have a prologus-laus that corresponds to the first section of C. Gothot-Mersch's analysis:

Prologue (l. 1-88): a summer in prison and praise in elegia for Louis,

modelled on the summer inter(...)antra desertorum and the carmen elegiacum.

His own sufferings prepare the transition to the mention of Christ (quem laudare intendebat) in ll. 89-112.

Averroes then goes on to introduce two metaphorical notions which he has already explained. They are circulatio and directio seu directiva significatio<sup>959</sup>, and refer to the ideas of linear and returning time. In

958 p.63.

959 <sup>p. 53</sup> "Et est ut verbum Abyraibi poete siccedentis..." (p.54)



the Ballade, Dictes moy ou, n'en quel pays, the two metaphors appear as the linear decline of human life and the return of the different seasons. In the section on poem structure the text runs:

DIXIT. Carminis itaque laudativi quattuor species,  
quarum tres sunt simplices et sunt ille que  
precesserunt: una earum est circulatio, altera est  
directio.<sup>960</sup>

In the Testament Villon seems to have also assimilated the metaphors circulatio/directio to the prologue's tragediacum/elegiacum, in which in effect the ideas of part of a year's suffering fulfills the requirements of the prima species, namely circulatio, while the species secunda or directio is mockingly exemplified in the idea of a king without an heir (Louis XI in 1461) procreating ~~illegitimate~~ or female offspring<sup>961</sup> to perpetuate the line. Villon has thus already dealt with the first two kinds of carmen laudativum in the Prologue/Premissio. Averroes's commentary continues:

...una earum est circulatio, altera est directio, Tertia  
passionalis prout dicitur de illis qui sunt in inferno,  
ibi enim continua est tristitia, et meror inconsolabilis.  
Et quarta est composita ~~ex istis~~...

Following on the two component parts of the prologue, one thus has a third section (passionalis) filled with suffering (tristitia, meror). Here we have Mlle. Gothot-Mersch's second category,

Regrets Villon (l. 89-328),

though initiated by the figure of Christ on the road to Emmaus (XIII).

With stanzas XII - XLI, Villon follows Averroes into the species tertia, the passionalis or Regrets Villon:

Or est vray qu'apres plainz et pleurs  
Et angoisseux gemiss~~mens~~<sup>mens</sup>,  
Après tristesses et douleurs,  
Labeurs et griefz cheminemens,  
Travail mes lubres sentemens.... (l. 89-93)

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960 p.63.

961 On this J.P. Deroy, F.V.Recherches, p.13.

The species quarta of the Averroes text, composed of the different carmina that have preceded - namely, metaphors of linear and circular time together with a measure of the species passionalis - rounds off the different types of poem that Averroes sees as the staple of the genre. Villon has followed the Averroistic outline of the carmen consecutivum. He placed this fourfold section in such a way as to include the Amours (pars elegiaca) and the Testament proper (carmen tragediacum) in the fourth section.

1./2 Prologue/Laus, corresponding to circulatio/directio (l. 1-88)

3. Pars passionalis (l. 89-328)

4. Pars Composita (l. 329-ff), composed of two further sections

Pars Elegiata, partly concerned with actus cotuales (l. 329-712)  
and

Carmen tragediacum (l. 713f). The structure, method and allusions are of the same type that he had already tried out in the Lais.

I shall mention other borrowings from the theory of the Poetria, that seem to have been used by Villon. Those from the section on metaphors in the Poetria appear, interestingly enough, in the pars passionalis of the Testament.

There are six metaphorical headings in all in the Averroes commentary. The first of these, concerned with gifts as shackles, has already been mentioned. It underlies the sense of the bequests in both the tale of Alexander and Diomedès (st. XVII-XXI), which Villon concludes, by saying that he wished he had met

Ung autre piteux Alixandre<sup>962</sup>  
Qui m'eust fait en bon eur entrer. (l. 162-3)

The second metaphor is exemplified by Averroes as follows:

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962 To the sources for the Diomedès story mentioned by R. Wagner in Mélanges R. Guiette, I would mention another, called the Fictions of the Philosophers and mentioned by the translator of the story in a Catalan text, Joan de Galles, Breviloqui, ed. Ordal, Barcelona, 1930, p.25-7.

Nos sumus homines non contenti medio, vel pectus erimus omnium que in mundo sunt, vel quiescentes in sepulchris pro obtinenda gloria parvipendimus animas nostras, sicut parvipendit dotem eximiam desponsaturus quis speciosam et ingenuam.<sup>963</sup>

The sight of the men that he knew, struggling for their place in society, winning or losing, or long since dead, is told by Villon (XXII - XXXIV).

The third type of metaphor is one that became a stock image in the late middle ages and Renaissance:

Et species tertia representationis est per quam inducitur cuiuspiam rememoratio, ut cum poeta ponit aliquid in carmine suo per quod rememorari facit alicuius alterius; ut, cum videt quis scriptum alterius et recordatur ipsius et dolet et tristatur de ipso si mortuus fuerit, aut desiderat ipsum, si vivens fuerit. Et istud reperitur frequenter in poematibus Arabum, prout dixit Temimin poeta, 'Ut quid subsistens super quolibet sepulchro lacrymans deploraturus super sepulchro amici tui quod est ultimum in serie sepulchrorum? Quibus respondi: 'nam communia mali proprii sunt recordativa; ideoque sepulchrum quodlibet sepulture Meliki renovans memoriam fletus proprio extorquet.' Huiusmodi carminum rememorative apud poetas Arabes plurima consimilia exempla reperiuntur dum luctuosas mortuorum memorias volunt inducere aut amantium calamitates et miseras exprimere. Unde apud eos hec maneries poematum in elogia et lamentationibus plurimum est frequentata.<sup>963</sup>

This example corresponds to Villon's lament on his own origins:

Povre je suis de ma jeunesse,  
De povre et de petite extrace;  
(.....)  
Povreté tous nous suit et trace.  
Sur les tombeaulx de mes ancestres,  
Les ames desquelz Dieu embrasse!  
On n'y voit couronnes ne ceptres. (XXXV)

This is a striking and independent use of the Averroes example. The following verses (XXXVI-XXXIX) are on the same theme. They lead through the famous "Et meure Paris ou Helaine..." (v. XL-XLI) to the ballade des dames. D. Kuhn's remark that the women named by Villon are all associated with some sort of disaster - "Villon a nommé des femmes fatales"<sup>964</sup> -

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963 p.60.

964 Op.cit., p.86.

might be thought to be an exemplification of Averroes's amantium calamitates & miserias.

It is a matter of wonder that Villon managed to see so much in the examples and confused arguments of the Hermannus translation. A good illustration of this is the ballad Dictes moy ou.... This poem echoes the arguments of the circular and linear metaphors, but, in addition, the ballad is concerned with the arguments of Aristotle's Physics, probably with reference to the Averroes commentary, or even with the Buridan Questiones. The eighth book of the Physics is concerned with the relation of matter to time and with whether it is possible to say that any substance is of a particular type at a given moment. The element theory of matter (breaking down into fire, water, earth and air) was defended by Aristotle against the opposing theory of the atom structure of matter defended by others. The Aristotle text seeks to disprove the atom theory with arguments based on variations in temperature and variations in colour. The examples most frequently used are hot and cold, white and black. This brings Averroes to comment the Aristotle theory in terms of the theory of movement and decay<sup>965</sup>.

The literary background to this poem was considered in detail by E. Gilson<sup>966</sup>. In addition to the Averroes commentary, earlier texts could be examined<sup>967</sup>, which speak of echo and water. Buridan speaks of the different problems at length in his Questiones, uses the term homo albus (though not mulier alba) with regard to the indivisibility of time<sup>968</sup>, and explains the

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965 Venice, 1489, f<sup>o</sup>p.vii.v<sup>o</sup>b, and *ibid*, f<sup>o</sup>q.iv,r<sup>o</sup>a, "Ergo impossibile est ut tempus dividatur in tempora indivisibilia".

966 Les Idées et les Lettres, Paris, 1932, "De la Bible à F.V."

967 Alexander Neckam, De Naturis Rerum, ed. Wright, p.66-7.

968 ed. J. Dullaert de Gand, Paris, D. Roche, 1509, IV, xiv, f<sup>o</sup>lxxx.r<sup>o</sup>a.

notion of an echo by using the metaphor of a stone dropped into the water, whose ripples spread out towards the bank. Material waves explain sound waves. There is reason to wonder whether the legends about Buridan<sup>969</sup> did not include one about his death offering proof for his theories.

Sufficient evidence has been given in this consideration of Villon for saying that the background to this poetry, in particular that of the Testament, needs to be carefully considered. The end of the Testament does not fit any description of structure that I have been able to identify in the Poetria Aristotelis except in so far as both the Epitaphs (l. 1884-1903) and the final Autre Ballade (l. 1996-2023) are an extension of the bequest form: the poet's gift of himself to Mother Earth and his own last wishes. It could also be argued that the set pieces at the close of the Testament reflect the third part of the three-part division of the tragedia that Villon may possibly have used in the Lais (though this is by no means certain), but did not use in the Testament:

Et tertia pars est que ~~habet~~ ad modum conclusionis in rethorica; Et huius partis plurimum ~~est~~ apud eos aut invocatio et deprecatio aliqua pro eo quem laudaverunt, aut commendatio carminis impensi in laudem ipsius.<sup>970</sup>

It remains hard to accept that this single text, the Poetria Aristotelis, was mainly responsible for the widely varying views of verse to be found in Chartier, Villon and Chastelain, though Chastelain's use of the Poetria is more explicit than that made of it by the other two.

### c. Georges Chastelain and Verse Rhetoric.

Rhetoric (la rhétorique) in Christine de Pisan and Alain Chartier was prose rhetoric. In Georges Chastelain's prose Chronique, rhetoric

969 E. Faral, Hist.Litt.de la Fr. t38, 1941, p.480f.

970 p. 54.

served his view of history<sup>971</sup>. He also used it to praise his masters in the verse eulogies or in the Dit de Verité and Exposition sur Verité mal prise. This would need no comment, if Chastelain did not imply that both in prose and verse he was

proféreur de vérité sainte.<sup>972</sup>

Probably Chastelain saw no inconsistency in what may appear an attempt at objectivity on the one hand and servile praise on the other<sup>973</sup>. At the end to Book VI of his chronicle he roundly reminds his reader that he is French first and foremost<sup>974</sup>, and that this governs his view of events and of people<sup>975</sup>. Moreover, in addition to the ambivalent feeling that he is subject both of a French-speaking Duke and of a French-speaking king, there is an overriding feeling that as a writer he allows men to see events through his eyes, through his own imagination de tous temps:

Rois meurent; régnations s'esvanoysent; mais seule vertu et méritoire oeuvre sient l'homme en sa bière, et lui baille gloire éternelle. Vecy mon ymagination de tous temps. O vous François, vecy la cause et la fin prétendue en mes labours. Et qui de main de Bourgongne ay pris ma nourrisson et essourse en la clarté des François,...<sup>976</sup>

and that in this sense he stands above considerations of impartiality.

Within the limits of this view Chastelain persuades us that there is an almost Aristotelian identification between himself as beholder and that

971 VI, p.11, his view of those he describes and the need to give them their just deserts, *ibid*, "et pour mettre ceste affaire en style desservi et requis, et à fin que loyers et titres de chascun soyent plus appropriés aux mérites de leurs faits..." Cf. too, VI, p.167-202, La Complainte d'Hector for the same approach to a more distant past.

972 VI, p.245.

973 For the latter, in prose, VI,421, addressed to Charles VII, "O le soleil des princes(...)moy ton très-humble orateur, serviteur indigne et escabeau de tes pieds(...)viens aourer sa face..."

974 tIV, p.21, "Donques qui Anglois ne suis, mais François, qui Espagnol, ne Ytalien ne suis, mais François, de deux François, d'un roy, l'autre duc, j'ai escript leurs oeuvres et contentions."

975 tI, p.11-12, regarding his task, "combien que de moy-mesme me repute non digne de ce entreprendre, toutesvoies, au plaisir de mon souverain seigneur non querant sa privéé gloire, mais celle de la sacrée maison française..."

976 tIV, p.22...

beheld by him. The author's imagination of the past is an identifying of events and persons with his mind. Thus in the Epistre au bon duc Philippe de Bourgogne:<sup>977</sup>

J'ay tourné l'oeil en sceptre et en couronne,  
 Par l'univers circuit de cestuy monde.  
 Les cieux je perce et le siècle avironne,  
 Mais n'y congnoy siecle royal, ne tronne, <sup>978</sup>  
 Qui prenne à toy aujourd'huy, ne responde.

This personal view of history corresponds to what Averroes, in the Poetria terms the processus poematum historialium or representatio of events.

This goes beyond the limits of chronicling:

representatio non est gestorum in ipsis sed temporum  
 in quibus gesta sunt. Non enim representant in istis  
 nisi qualiter dispositiones et status fuerint eorum  
 qui processerant respectu eorum qui subsecuti sunt, et  
 qualis fuerit transmutatio potestatum et regnorum et  
 etatum et dierum<sup>979</sup>

The poemata historialia, are themselves part of the art of eulogy in Averroes's opinion. They are portrayals of period, not of precise events, as in Chastelain's Chroniques. In the passage quoted Averroes adds:

Et representatio(...)<sup>est</sup>valde frequentata in libris legum.  
 Et fecit (Aristoteles) mentionem ~~bene~~ se habentium  
 in hac manerie poetarum ipsorum et extulit laude ~~commani~~ Homerum  
 in hoc genere<sup>979</sup>

Chastelain offers himself as guarantor for the glory of Philippe le Bon, par sentence legale:

Ne crains Troyen, ne haut César en Rome,  
 Règne emprès eux et monte en gloire égales:  
 Nul toy meilleur par sentence légale.  
 Meurs quant voulras, tes gloires ne mourront.  
 Tu vivras mort et régneras sans estre;  
 Les parfons coeurs par pleurs te raviront...<sup>980</sup>

It would be unacceptable to suppose that these passages in the Poetria do more than partly explain the marked difference in attitude and aim shown by the prose chronicles and the verse eulogies. In the verse

977 Dated as after 1456 by Urwin, and by K. Hemmer, Georges Chastellain, p.28.

978 VI, p.162.

979 Poetria Arist., p.71.

980 VI, p.164.

Chastelain seems to work to rhetorical models, of which nothing has been so far discovered (unless, that is, one supposes the style was developed quite independently of any model). This explanation is always possible, though in view of the mediaeval and Renaissance respect for precedent of one type or another, it is not likely<sup>981</sup>.

An identifiable rhetorical model from the Poetria does appear in two of his other works. This is the metaphor described by Averroes as

hic locus sextus famosus ~~seu~~ vulgatus quo utuntur Arabes, scilicet cum rei inanimate attribuitur quod est rei animate ut loqui vel ratiocinari et est figura que grece prosopop~~ia~~<sup>ia</sup> nuncupatur, idest nove fictio persone, ut cum rebus insensatis ascribitur collocutio et responsio; ut dixit quidam poeta deplorans cuiusdam palatii habitatores sic inquiring:

'O domus egregia, compungor ad lacrimas tuam intuens solitudinem; ~~at~~ illa contremuit compassa michi propter lacrimarum multitudinem, cui inquit: 'ubi queso sunt qui quondam ~~in te~~ habitaverunt, et iocundam vitam cum securitate et temporis amenitate duxerunt? (... ..) et me quoque suberte temporis quandoque transituram dimiserunt; res nempe nulle stabiles, que cum fluxu/<sup>huius</sup> temporis fluxibiles fuerunt'.

Et huius figure plurima exempla in diversis man~~er~~<sup>er</sup>ibus apud poetas arabicos reperiuntur. Et ipse quoque mentionem eius fecit in Rethorica, et dixit illic quoniam Homerus in multis locis utitur ipsa.<sup>982</sup>

The figure of the noble maison, fallen on evil times, is quite discreetly introduced in the Throne Azure<sup>983</sup>. It suggests the kingdom of France, fallen prey to the English invaders, but already partly redeemed at the time when the poem was written<sup>984</sup>, after the freeing of Normandy in 1450. This is an allegorical use similar to that noted in Alain Chartier's le Quadrilogue Invectif, where the house is again France.

981 Little help in solving this is offered by the views that his contemporaries took of him. Jean Castel (VI, p.142-5) and Jean Robertet (ed. Zsuppan, p.114-35) went in awe of Chastelain's accomplishments, and described their awe of his rhetoric in rhetorical terms. Montferrant (Les Douze Dames de Rhetorique, ed. L. Batissier, 1838, f 10b-13b) was critical of the master, pointed out that, unlike Robertet, he had never been to Italy, was indoct and lent a labour, and generally damned him with faint praise. Montferrant ironically, one supposes, called his own style Ebrieu, "tant pour la gravité des sentences, comme des mots qui hault comprennent" (13b).

982 Poetria Arist., p.61.

983 VI, p.133-4, "O! que j'ay fait méditations(...)fameuse".

984 VI,134, loup, villain hausaire; p.137, "De vray soleil de justice..."



A use of the locus vulgatus, which is apparently closer to the literal sense of the Arabic example - the ruins of the house reflecting the fallen power of the family that formerly lived there - can be found in the Deprecation pour Pierre de Brezé, supposed to have been written in 1461/2<sup>985</sup>. This is by way of being a literary curio. It is almost the only mediaeval work that reads like a product of the Romantic period: reads in places like a pastiche of The Bride of Lammermuir, rewritten with conscious archaisms. It seems hardly likely that the only source could be the brief, but striking, passage in the Poetria. The opening is similar to that of the Exposition sur Vérité mal prise, which is thought to be earlier by a few years<sup>986</sup>.

Comme, n'a gaires, je seisse en mérancolie, durement pensif en un mien amy, que fortune avoit mené à dangier, et que tout compressé d'annuy, abstenir ne me pouvoie de me ruer sur un lit, plus pour ~~du~~ bubi que pour repos, advint lors que ainsy que l'angoisse de mon coeur fort surmontoit ma contrestance, et que mes pensées se multiplioent diverses en un: tantost, ne sçay comment, dormant ou veillant, me trouvoy ravy en vif esprit et transporté en une marche longtaine, ce me sembloit, pres d'une forest...<sup>987</sup>

The description that follows is of the house of the Brezé, "abandoned" through the imprisonment of the master. Averroes's winds have become the winds of fortune, hence the reference to Fortune in the opening passage.

It continues:

....près d'une forest, là où avoit assise une maison plaitte qui bien sembloit de haut repaire et que jadis ancienne noble seignourie l'avoit habitée(...)mais en gisoient ~~maintenant~~ les portes desgonnées, chambres et salles vagues et à l'abandon, fenestres descloses, et tout le surplus en ruyne...<sup>988</sup>

The son of the house regrets its present state.

O Manuy, maison ancienne, maison vague maintenant et désolée, maison trassée des vents de fortune.(...)Esgarde, et ne

985 Urwin, p.21; Hemmer, p.48.

986 After September 1458.

987 VII, p.37.

988 VII, p.37-8.

vont tes fenestres battant contre leurs propres postaux  
et n'y viennent pluye et tempeste, sifflans parmy, par  
non avoir qui les ferme?(...)989

Then comes the Arabic "O domus egregia..."

O noble maison, encore as-tu en réserve au moins aucuns  
de tes joyaux; et encore n'es tu de tous poins privéé de  
ce qui peut refrescir ta fame. Ne vellà encore le cor de  
ton maistre dont les forests normandes retentissent du  
bouter et dont les cerfs et senglers des vallées fuyoient  
ès hautes roches par espoentement? Ne vellà aussi la  
perche où les sacres de l'ille de Candie, où les gerfaux  
et faucons pélerins, concueillis en diverses régions...990

Another of the clichés of classical Arabic verse also makes its appearance.

This was described by Averroes, earlier in the Poetria: the ensis preciosus991

ne vellà encores, qui pend au clou, l'espée qui a fait  
trembler les frontieres angloises...?992

The Déprécation is continued with an address to the French nobles, and closes  
with a panegyric for Louis XI,

ymage de Dieu(...)son crist seul oint en terre.993

The opening of the Déprécation had a circumstantial telling of the  
poet's state of mind and body immediately before his vision. This tendency  
has been noted with regard to Christine de Pisan and Chartier994.

Chastelain also used it in one of his earliest poems, also concerned  
with Pierre de Brezé, L'Oultré d'Amour. In this work the state of half-  
wakefulness, which in the Déprécation was given as dormant ou veillant,  
has similarities with Villon's state of entroubli. Chastelain in the Oultré  
d'Amour showed this as the state of mind in which thoughts are superimposed  
on each other, rather as in Villon's Lais.

989 VII, p.40, 41.

990 VII, 41.

991 Cf. Poetria Arist. p.51, concerning "materia laudandi ut aliquis equus  
strenuus aut ensis preciosus..."

992 VII, p.42.

993 VII, p.58.

994 For another example from Chastelain's predecessor at the court of  
Burgundy, cf. Michault Taillevent, Le Songe de la Thoison d'Or,  
(Silvestre, 1841), f<sup>o</sup>A.ii.v<sup>o</sup>, "Et mendormy, le chief enclin/Une de mes  
mains soubz maseille,/Et l'autre desoubz ma maxelle,/Comme aucunesfois  
m'avint"

Pensant, songeant à demy trouble,  
 Ne trop joyeux, ne peu de hait,  
 Sique par plus de trois fois double  
 L'un pensement sur l'autre double,  
 Malgré tel fois que l'on en ait  
 Ou par douleur ou par souhait  
 Ou par plus de mille autre points,  
 Comme les divers coeurs sont points.<sup>995</sup>

The Cultré d'Amour is thought to have been written before 1450<sup>996</sup>.

Another poem, begun in the 1450s, but finished in 1463<sup>997</sup>, the Temple de Bocace, has even more striking similarities with the Lais. This describes the state of being half-wakeful as entre-oublié, and has Georges rise in response to a mysterious voice to find himself, (perhaps as Villon in the College de Navarre, unwittingly and all surprised)

ne sçay comment(.) en un cymetièrre plein de tombes, richement  
 dépeintes d'or et d'azur...<sup>998</sup>

In the Déprécation, the Cultré d'Amour and the Temple de Bocace there is then a fairly clear pattern of a vision happening to the poet while he is in a state of semi-wakefulness, variously described as dormant ou veillant, songeant à demy trouble and entre-oublié. There is a well-defined process where thoughts accumulate on a single idea or state of mind. This puts explicitly what Villon suggested in the Lais:

mes pensées se multiplioient diverses en un.<sup>999</sup>

The regularity with which this model is used supposes a source in some handbook of psychology.

This also emphasizes Chastelain's general interest in vision forms. The work that states this interest most clearly, though very pedantically, is the Exposition sur Vérité mal prise. This is the prose commentary, or justification, that he wrote in answer to criticism from

995 VI, p.67.

996 Urwin, p.18.

997 Urwin, p.19.

998 VII, p.77.

999 VII, p.37.

the French court, when his verse Dit de Vérité became known there. Chastelain focusses attention, in the opening passages, on the workings of his mind. He introduces allegorical qualities, but centres interest on the faculties of the mind. The work is an intelligent exploration of the genre initiated by Jean de Meun. It leaves the centre of the stage to the personifications of faculties, like Entendement and Ymagination, in the way that Jean de Meun kept the major parts for Nature and Genius. But whereas Jean de Meun's Nature represented not only the natural world and God's design for that world, but also, with greater ambiguity, the hidden while drives within the body and mind of the author, and Jean's Genius corresponds more nearly to Avicenna's djinn than to ingenium, Entendement and Ymagination, along with Volonté and Mémoire, are clearly defined faculties from psychology.

These "faculties" are the centrepieces of the argument that Chastelain develops in order to justify après-coup his Dit de Vérité. According to this argument, the poet is not to be accused of being anti-French, since he said no less than the truth<sup>1000</sup>. For Chastelain it is a historian's concern to decide, in the light of historical fact, whether the Dit did speak the truth.

Yet from a psychological or poetic or literary viewpoint, the French do not get a fair hearing. The Burgundian view in point is put by Entendement, who can rely on Mémoire and Volonté in supporting roles, while the French case is entrusted to Ymagination (Française) alone. This is a limiting factor, as Entendement points out:

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1000 VI, p.244, "Donc, et pour ce que ledit livret fut divulgué en diverses mains(...)pourroit estre le dit livret imputé à charge au facteur, d'avoir esté contamineur du glorieux thrône françois, dont envis porteroie le titre et plus encore le délit..." and p.245, concerning the "gloire et splendeur de mon dit maistre et prince, que François, en celuy temps, par envie de sa clarté excelse et de sa très-haute fortune, héoient...."

moult certes t'est bien séant ce nom, et moult **es proprement** baptisée en icelui, quand proprement il est tout tel que ta nature. Tu as des fantaisies beaucoup en toy et des ymaginations que tu estimes de grands poids, lesquelles revisetées par autrui main, se trouvent de très-povre effet. <sup>1001</sup>

Chastelain's prose ploughs an honest enough furrow for it not to be too noticed that the matter is being argued out within his (Chastelain's) own mind. The opening makes this clear.

Comme n'a guères séisse en mon estude, là où, en diversité de matières à moy presentées me prirent diverses ymaginations moult parfondes, et pour les aucunes d'icelles mettre escrit, je prisse la plume entre les dois et disposasse tourner mon entendement à labour, comme qui très-hautes et très-dangereuses matières avoie entre mains... <sup>1002</sup>

comme lors je séisse en cest estat, et variasse entre faire et laisser, entre accuser et parer, et que le percogiter tout et comprendre me donnast de soussi beaucoup pour en faire bien: soudainement lors, comme si le tonnoire cheist du ciel, vinrent à la croisure de mon estude crier quatre impetueuses voix moult aiguës; et disant icelles: 'Ouvre cy! Ouvre!', fellement frappèrent sur huys et fenestres qui toutes churent du coup, et y entrerent quatre dames moult espoventables en regart, lesquelles, avecques horreur de figure, me donnèrent frémison aussy en leur survenue, jusques à retraire tous mes esprits emprès le coeur, et laisser le corps privé de ses movemens(...) moy surpris en ce point, comme homme à demi mort et qui n'avoie riens en vigueur, fors seulement la fantasie ou tout je recueilloie(...) commençay à ficher mon regart en icelles, et à noter leurs semblances et compositions moult estranges. <sup>1003</sup>

They are Indignation, Reprobation, Accusation and Vindication. They speak in turn <sup>1004</sup>. Since only the fantasie is working at this point, and the fantasie is the faculty where these personages are registered (où tout je recueilloie), these are figments of the imagination. Identified with such elements, and with an area of the being over which the reasonable mind has no control, the Imagination **is** unfavourably characterized at the beginning of this lengthy work.

Then the poet sees a beautiful apparition which declares: "Suis ton âme raisonnable" <sup>1005</sup>. His soul claims that she makes it possible

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1001 VI, p.356.

1002 VI, p.247.

1003 VI, p.248-9.

1004 VI, p.250-61.

1005 VI, p.262.

for him to think, to imagine and to write, as he does. This rational creature is the source of his work, as well as the subject of the

Exposition sur Vérité mal prise.

Je t'ai fait voler ta pensée et circuir en la rondeur de la terre, ta fantasie en sa circonscription universe, et pris et recueilli beaucoup ça et là, comme tout ne se peut en un homme comprendre. Je t'en ai fait vuidier tes méditations; je t'en ai fait mettre par escrit tes conceptions, et fait composer livres et traités, plus à l'utilité et salut du monde que à propre et privée gloire. <sup>1006</sup>

Ame raisonnable vanishes to make way for the persons of Entendement, Mémoire and Volonté.

The last is dressed in purple and stands for worldly power <sup>1007</sup>.

The figure of Memory is snow white, but covered de diverses peintures et d'impressions infinies. Entendement comprises two functions - Entendement possible and Entendement besongnant - in one. These are the intellectus possibilis and intellectus actualis of mediaeval philosophy within a single person, the latter below the head illuminated by the potential or divinely informed intelligence from above <sup>1008</sup>. Chastelain gives importance to Mémoire (là se trouve le miroir par lequel on s'adresse) and describes at length the relation of intellect and reason to the process on which an act of will depends. The core of the work, the debate between Entendement and Imagination Française, who takes the place of the quatre ennemies shown at the beginning of the vision, is not without interest, but is not of importance for the present study.

Before the Oration au Roy, with which the work ends, the humain engin is shown as an instrument with which the individual works on subject matter in the same way that the smith works on different metals <sup>1009</sup>. Earlier in

1006 XI, p.267.

1007 VI, p.273, "...une dame moult spécieuse, toute vestue de pourpre. Portoit sceptre et royal vestement; et décorée de couronne luisant, usait d'empire comme empereis sur les autres; et se nommoit ceste dame Volonté." Memory is "vestue(...)d'un manteau tant délié..."

1008 ibid, "estoit en forme de jouvencel angélique, riens tenant de terre, ne de matière corruptible, lequel, de tout le corps estoit clair comme de cristal, de la teste en dessous(...) De la teste en dessus estoit en regard comme un escharboucle rayant, jettant ses rays contremont du ciel dont recevoit sa clarté, et en dessous au cristalin corsage donnoit lumière."

the Exposition Chastelain had referred to le grand Alain en ses paraboles<sup>1010</sup>, and although there is no explicit reference to the Anticlaudianus in the Exposition, there is a parallel here between the mind as an instrument and the notion that poetry is a form of ars mechanica that Alain developed in his Anticlaudianus prologue.<sup>1011</sup>

Vérse on the links between the mind and the natural sciences belongs mainly to Chastelain's early work. It clearly shows mind and body influencing each other. In addition to a detailed account of the physical circumstances in which the vision takes place, the Oultré d'Amour has various accounts of the effect of the passions on the body, or of the way in which the body protects itself against the forces which threaten it from within.<sup>1011</sup> Thus the lover (identified with Pierre de Brezé):

Posé qu'il y eust desconfort,  
Douleurs et cris à tel effort  
Que nul n'y scüst trouver le bout, (.....)  
Tout ainsy luy bouillait le coeur.

Et convenoit par surondance  
D'amertume trop entassée,  
Que la insouffrable abondance  
De douleur et de desplaisance,  
Parmy les yeux fust enchassée;  
Ou s'elle ne prenoit passée  
Parmy les yeux pour estre hors,  
Le coeur crevoit dedans le corps.

Lors rendit larmes une mer...<sup>1012</sup>

Of similar type, emphasizing the interdependence of poetry and theories of body or mind, is the long opening of the Exposition<sup>1013</sup>. But Chastelain's later work seems to avoid this particular emphasis. In part there seems to be an anti-academic bias. He is at pains to point out that some of his poetry is not to be judged by clerc or archiprestre, if it deals with matters like the dignité of the Virgin Mary:

1009 VI, 418-9, "comme le marteau est instrument au fevre diversement, à l'un pour rompre fer et le planier par force et vigueur, à l'autre est instrument pour ouvrer en or et argent qui sont metaux precieux, là où le ferir dessus est doux et amiable: pareillement est-il ainsi de l'humain engin. En matieres roides et rigoureuses, il convient ferir dessus..."

1010 VI, p.332.

1011 P.Michault, Le Doctrinal du Temps Present, ed.T.Walton, p.5, "Des Plaintes de Nature..."

1012 VI, p.84-5. Cf. Livre de l'Espérance, ed.Rouy, "elle fust crevée, se elle ne se desgorgast par tençons..." (p.6)

1013 VI, p.247-9.

Considéré que clerc, ne archiprestre  
 Autrement point n'y voit ne qu'en la lune  
 Ainsi tendant d'impossible à possible  
 Et comme plus se peut trouver loisible  
 Ciel, terre et mer et paradis terrestre,  
 Je t'œuvre tout, visible et invisible,  
 Substance pure et matèrè sensible. <sup>1014</sup>

Interestingly enough, he had previously referred to this subject matter as Subject haultain de science augustine<sup>1015</sup>. Whether Chastelain is using augustin as a synonym of auguste, or to emphasize that this type of learning does not belong to the Aristotelian tradition of the schools, is not clear. The former is more probable, though it must be emphasized that the poem from which these lines are taken - the Louenge à la très-glorieuse Vierge - is in the tradition of Franciscan mysticism, in so far as it is possible to characterize it, and therefore in keeping with an Augustinian, rather than a scholastic, view of the divinity. The Louenge bears only a superficial relation to the numerous poems written for the puys. The great majority of the latter are in a dry rhétorique dévôte. Chastelain's poem is both much longer than the chants royaux generally used for the puys competitions, and is more than a litany of attributes.

He admits the failure of his vision and puts this down to the pull of his lower nature<sup>1016</sup> - this is outside the terms of the usual puys work - and makes a pointed assertion that his mind can take him where reason

1014 VIII, p.277.

1015 VIII, 272, "O splendeur sainte en la court seraphine,/Subject haultain de science augustine".

1016 VIII, p.269, "Querant un oeil envers les cieulx estendre,/Dont le regard m'est trop foible et trop tendre/Pour y voler non empenné de grâce/L'autre oeil donne à rude et gros entendre,/Sans enquérir trop avant, ne contendre./Craintif nientmoins sous le divin attendre,/J'offre à la terre et lui fléchis ma face;/Tendant au ray d'aveuglissant lumiere/Me vient l'object de terrestre fumièrè/ Qui mon arc fait d'escorder et destendre..."

1017 VIII, 284, "J'ay fait un vol qui ma nature passe...."

1018 Superficially, this belongs more to the tradition of Jacopone da Todi or to Lull's De Amicoët Amato than to French mysticism.



cannot<sup>1017</sup>. Another passage of the Louenge uses the language of profane love to address the Virgin<sup>1018</sup>:

Rayant ymage, o vierge mignolette,  
 Ton propre corps, ta façon gentelette,  
 M'ont l'âme esprise et toute enamorée,  
 Mais quant j'avise au vol où je volette  
 Et que mon ele est foible et rudelette,<sup>1019</sup>  
 J'entre en tristeur de povreté seulette.

Finally, there is the image of the alouette used to express the flight of the mind<sup>1020</sup>. The source (or sources) of this work is not known. The same themes can be found in the religious verse written by Chastelain's disciple, Molinet.

The same desire to emphasize the distance separating him from academic learning can be found in the Dit de Verité. Chastelain describes the universe as a place of struggle between primitive forces and the control that the gentle and the diminutive can exercise over them. These opening verses already have something of Scève about them.

Un temps tranquille, un vent doux et paisible,  
 Fléchit l'orgueil de la mer furieuse,  
 Et le chéoir de la goutte visible  
 Souvent et dru sur le marbre insensible,  
 Y gagne enfin fosse mystérieuse.  
 Toute rien dure, haute et laborieuse,  
 Où effort n'a puissance que flaistrie,<sup>1021</sup>  
 Douceur d'engin le convaint et maistrie.

The Dit de Verité is a reproach to the French, ostensibly political. It is with some self-satisfaction that Chastelain closes his prologue describing the powers at work in the universe's entier fabrique<sup>1022</sup>, and observes in st. XIII:

Pardonnez-moy, François, de ce prologue,  
 Dont la sentence est d'assez loing quérue;  
 S'il y a riens qui point, ne qui déroque,  
 Vous avez clercs, mettez-les en dyalogue.  
 Le clerc se trouve en raison debattue;  
 Mais toutesfois, sans que je desvertue  
 Vostre honneur viel...<sup>1023</sup>

1019 VIII, p. 282.

1020 VIII, p. 284, "Je suis comme est l'alouette ramage".

1021 VI, p. 221.

1022 VI, p. 222.

1023 VI, p. 223.

This 'follow me if you can' attitude is taken a stage further in the prose Exposition. The latter may be politically more conciliatory, but because it all takes place within the poet's mind and French objections are put by the figure of Imagination, this prose commentary to an already condescending piece is, if anything, even more condescending than the verse had been.

It is possible that Montferrant's contribution to the Douze Dames de Rhetorique in which the ladies - Eloquence, Science, Profondité, etc. - tell Montferrant in vision that Georges is not all that is he made out to be (Montferrant wakes up and feigns astonishment at what he has just heard, since according to him everyone thinks so highly of Chastelain)<sup>1024</sup>, is some sort of retaliation for the Dit de Vérité and for the Exposition. If it is, it is an ingenious replica of Chastelain's own special pleading - the attack is mounted by personified qualities or faculties, with the difference that in the Douze Dames the apologia for Chastelain is made by Montferrant himself after he has heard Georges criticized in vision. The opinion of the ladies are, he says,

contraires à nostre cuidier, qui l'avons tenu  
jusques au jour d'huy homme d'un élégant parler  
et dont l'engin espany entre nous autres nous  
rendoit fleurs non communes. Quant à sa faculté  
ne sçay quele elle est; (...) il y a eu grant grâce,  
Dont se l'effect lui vient purement de nature  
sans art, ce lui est tiltre dont de grande gloire  
d'avoir tel don sans science.<sup>1025</sup>

Montferrant sent the ladies' "attack" and this feline rejoinder to Chastelain. Chastelain's reply was dignified. In a final missive to his

1024 ed. Batissier, 10b-13b.

1025 *ibid.*, f<sup>o</sup>12a-b.

admirer, Robertet, Chastelain again refers to the gap separating himself from the learned men of the university of Paris<sup>1026</sup>. The practice of mounting a literary debate, in which part of the argument is put by a figment of one's own mind, can be found in Gerson's use of a law court fiction in the 1401-2 querelle de la Rose, in the Exposition sur Vérité mal prise and in the Douze Dames, before Clement Marot sent Sagon a reply through the good offices of his valet Frippelippes. The whole tradition derives recognizably from Jean de Meun's practice of expressing opposing points of view through disembodied faculties, which are clearly faculties of one's own personality, and not the vaguely transcendental qualities they are sometimes thought to be. It is also interesting that, **in this case**, Chastelain and Montferrant are **both** at pains to say that they are not clerics in the academical sense. Chastelain implies that his insights are superior to those of the professional men of learning. He says of the affection linking him to Robertet:

Ne vous soit grief, o haulte seignourie,  
Docte en Paris, ou giron d'éloquence,  
Se ceste amour en parolle flourie,  
Moy honnourrant, vos haulteurs injurie,  
Qui n'y puis mettre obstacle ne deffense.  
Au fort s'il chiet amende en telle offense;  
Puis qu'amour est la cause de la playe,  
Moy, pour l'amant, j'en veulx porter la paye. 1027

Love, other than physical love, is also the theme of the verse that passed between Chastelain and Jean Castel, Christine de Pisan's grandson.

Chastelain makes the latter a castel aérien.

Castel aerin, tout cymenté d'estoiles,  
Fondé sur ciel d'espurée nature,  
(.....)  
Castel, vers toy mes entrailles souspirent;  
Vers toy s'en vent volitant, mes pensées,  
Comme envers cil que les haulx Dieux aspirent,  
Et dont la bouche et langue qui respirent,  
Produisent fleurs plus souef qu'encensées.  
Castel s'en moy sont vanités pensées  
Que d'avoir l'oeil en toy un si haut oeuvre,  
Pardonne un casP ce fait amour qui oeuvre. 1028

1026 *ibid*, f<sup>o</sup>26d.

1027 *ed. Batissier*, 26d-27a. Cf. also VI, p.238, "Ne tous vos clerics, ne toutes leurs contreuves, / Ne tous les haulx engins qui vous soustiennent..."

1028 VI, p.139.

In his reply Castel supposes that Chastelain is divinely inspired: without that inspiration it would be impossible for him to write as he does<sup>1029</sup>.

The implication found in many of Chastelain's poems is that there is a level of experience, which reasoned thought cannot reach. This was also implicit in Chartier's Livre de l'Espérance, but where the latter saw himself as the voice of his times and a sort of moral conscience to those times, explaining reasoned examples within a framework of reason, Chastelain assumes that not everyone will follow him. The operative word is follow, rather than understand.

Villon and Jean de Meun wrote within a tradition that supposed their intellectual equals would understand, and that tradition was Aristotelian or scholastic, even when, or particularly when, they mocked Aristotelian, Avicennian, or some other school, authority.

A poet like Chastelain who points up the differences between himself and the school tradition, does not suppose that his literal sense is beyond the doctors (though in the Dit de Vérité he did open in almost hermetic manner), but he does suppose that his work is spiritually apart from theirs. It enters areas, where traditional learning has no sway:

Ne vous soit grief, o haulte seignourie(...)Se ceste  
amour(...)voz haulteurs injurie... 1030

The mysticism of the Louenge à la Vierge was that of one man trying to contemplate the mysteries in which he believes, even when he uses the language of profane love. The lines to Robertet and Castel, just quoted, are those of a shared feeling. The implication in the Louenge, as in the Dit de Vérité and in the Epistre au bon duc Philippe, is that the expression of those sentiments is at variance with accepted learning. None of the studies of Chastelain have tackled this point, and one can only guess at

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1029 VI, p.144, "Dont te procede et dont te vient ce bien/Dont tous facteurs ont admiration?/Est-ce de toy? Nenny, tu le sçais bien./Point ne t'en fault la déclaration:/Car tu ne peux faire opération,/Ne homme vivant, rien qui soit fructueux,/S'il n'est permis par l'inspiration/Du Tout-Puissant qui tant est vertueux."

1030 Les Douze Dames de Rhétorique, f<sup>o</sup>26d.

the sources for it<sup>1031</sup>.

Finally, there is the prophetic stance that, unlike this particular mysticism, was taken up by Deschamps and Chartier before Chastelain. In both Le Miroer des Nobles Hommes de France and the Epistre au bon duc Philippe Chastelain lectures the French nobility on their duties, and on the glories of Burgundy. It would have been more impressive, if, instead, he had lectured the Burgundian nobles on their duties to Burgundy. Chastelain's prose may make him appear less of a time-server than certain other rhétoriqueurs, but the verse of this proféreur de sainte vérité seems to deal with truth in a spiritual, and not in a political, sense. It would be surprising if this were not the case, and it is only his protestations in the Exposition sur vérité mal prise, which make one wonder whether he would have spoken about the doctors of Paris, even in guarded terms, if he had not lived at the Court of Burgundy.

Chastelain seems, in some ways, a remarkable figure. None of those usually associated with his style - Pierre Michault, Jean Robertet, Montferrant, Castel or, at times, André de la Vigne and Créatin - are as impressive. If, on the other hand, one compares him to Villon, as one is quite justified in doing - they were contemporaries and Villon's Lais and Testament cover much of the same ground as the Burgundian court poet - Chastelain appears mediocre. In saying this, one glosses over the differences that separate them: intellect and satirical intent in the one case, seriousness and sense of mission in the other. It also overlooks the fact that Chastelain's contemporaries and disciples found his verse stimulating and suggestive. In Chastelain there is a turning away from the Aristotelian tradition in which poetry had been linked to enquiry,

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1031 For the background to spiritual eroticism of this type, cf. Luigi Valli, Il Linguaggio Segreto di Dante e dei Fedeli d'Amore, Rome, 1928; also J. Ribera, "Orígenes de la Filosofía de R. Lulio", Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo, tII, p.197f.

and evidence that the poet is in search of something beyond the limits supposed by that tradition.

The opening lines of Pierre Michault's La Dance aux Aveugles with their description of the poet's state of mind before his dream vision<sup>1032</sup> echo L'Oultré d'Amour, L'Exposition and other works by Chastelain. The prose introduction brings in Entendement, who speaks to the poet in the same slightly familiar terms as Chastelain's Ame raisonnable to Chastelain<sup>1033</sup>. The Dance aux Aveugles dates from 1464<sup>1034</sup>.

ainsy reposant de corps seulement, je vis sourdre devant  
 moy mon Entendement en forme humaine, qui de prime face me  
 volst arraisonner & me dist: 'Il me semble, mon amy, que  
 tu presumes muer les naturelles ordonnances, ou tu cuides  
 faire tout seul ung nouveau monde. Mais il t'est expedient  
 de temporiser comme les aultres, & laisser les choses en  
 leur estre, sans travailler ton esprit & moy en continues  
 meditations.' 1035

The "universal" allegories of Love and Death that Michault later introduces do not have the same relation to Entendement that the closely related faculties of Imagination and Volonté had to Chastelain's Entendement.

Robertet's Responce de Robertet au Seneschal is a pot-pourri of Chastelain images and ideas. The poem is addressed to Jacques de Brezé, but concerned for the greater part with praising Anne de France. Lines 1-2 echo the opening of the Louenge à la très-glorieuse Vierge<sup>1036</sup>.

Line 7 - "Si me convient gesir dessoubz ma tente" - takes us back to the Oultré d'Amour that Chastelain had written for Pierre de Brezé the father of Jacques, and in which he described himself lying, strangely enough,

Dessoubs un pavillon de soie<sup>1037</sup>.

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1032 ed. A.J. Panckoucke, Lille, 1748, f<sup>o</sup>A4r<sup>o</sup>v<sup>o</sup>; "Actain au cuer par un courroux terrestre/Ou point secret d'une nuyt nette & clere/(..)Si fus longtemps en ce penser austere;/Mais en la fin sommeil tant me pressa,/Que mon penser en dormir se dressa,/Dormant ainsy & de corps alité,/Comme il avient souvent apres grand veille,/Se reposoit la sensualité/Car le corps fut las & debilité/Par trop veiller, qui mains hommes travaille;/Senty l'esprit, qui jamais ne sommeille,/Estre ententif à faire veille & guet,/ Et se tenir pour le corps en aguet."

1033 VI, p.272, "Dea! mon ami..." 1034 Doctrinal, ed. Walton, p.xxv.

1035 Lille, Panckoucke, p.1.

1036 VIII, p.269, and Robertet, ed. Zsuppán, p.103-7, for the other text.

1037 VI, p.67.

Lines 63-77 follow the eulogy for Jean Castel<sup>1038</sup> and the closing lines, with their contrast of light and darkness, the passage at the end of the Epistre au bon duc Philippe<sup>1039</sup>. The relation of other of Robertet's poems to Chastelain's work has been analysed by M. Zsuppan<sup>1040</sup>.

d. Jean Molinet and Inspirational Rhetoric.

The case of Jean Molinet who was Chastelain's disciple and who worked both at the Burgundian court, and for Maximilian of Austria, is different. He does not apparently make any use of the Averroes commentary on Aristotle. There is only a limited use of physiological descriptions to precede vision-poems of the type written ever since the Roman de la Rose<sup>1041</sup>.

Molinet's eulogy pieces and his poèmes de circonstance, edited by N. Dupire under the title Pièces Politiques<sup>1042</sup> are complicated by use of allegory, letter and number symbolism and correspondances between the physical and allegorical worlds that are very different from Chastelain's almost austere rhetoric. The taste for mythological figures is another feature of his verse, of which there was little in Chastelain<sup>1043</sup>.

Molinet's religious verse does use the same themes as those of Chastelain - religious experience as an experience that can be expressed in both religious and profane terms - but with less mesure in both language and idea. The poems addressed to other artists, mainly musicians, are épîtres naturelles, to use the term coined by H. Guy, but the love they express is not the rhetorical respect and admiration that Chastelain used for Robertet and Jean Castel, but is usually homosexual. Finally, the

1038 VI, p.139-42.

1039 VI, p.164.

1040 Ouvres, p.71-2.

1041 The only lengthy opening of this type is in the Miroir de Vie (Faictz et Dictz, II, p.670-1), thought in any case to be a reply to Chastelain's Miroir de Mort (VI, p.49): cf. Urwin, op.cit., p.57.

1042 There would be reason for placing at least one of these pieces, the A Monseigneur de Ville, among the Pièces Familières, as it belongs to verse of the type edited, II, p.778-830.

Roman de la Rose finds a place in Molinet's work that it did not have as far as can be judged, in Chastelain's. Quite apart then from Molinet's rhétorique sauvage, which already sets him apart from Chastelain, there is a marked difference in material and choice of theme. In respect of the Rose, this marks Molinet as out of sympathy with the scientific approach to it.

Molinet's commentary on the Roman de la Rose makes clear his respect for the poem and in particular for Jean de Meun. Two points concern this study.

The first is Molinet's avowed intention to reinterpret (moraliser) Jean de Meun. This is not a simple question of misreading the original or of following a literary trend<sup>1044</sup>.

The second point concerns a short poem about a clock in Valenciennes entitled the Devise de Maistre Jehan de Gaughier, which makes fun of Froissart's L'Orloge Amoureux, and suggests that Molinet was not the victim of a delusion as to the moral content or the meanings of the Rose. Molinet makes it clear that he intends to approach the Roman from one point of view only. He notes three types of love,

amour divine, amour naturelle, et amour fatuelle<sup>1045</sup>,

and gives examples of them from authors including Ovid, Dionysius ("Saint Denis"), Seneca, Augustine and Eneas Silvius's Eurialus et Lucrece. After remarks on the Roman's fame and on changes in the style of French since it was written, he concludes:

1043 Cf. F. Joukovsky-Micha's "La Mythologie dans les poèmes de Jean Molinet" (Romance Philology, t21, 1968, p.286) shows the use made by J.M. of Ovid, Virgil, and Boccaccio's Genealogie Deorum Gentilium, also the extent to which this is superficial. It could be argued, though, that, far from lacking Ronsard's awe of the supernatural forces in nature (p. 294), J.M. saw both those of the underworld and of classical mythology as expressions of an animated natural world, in which the Greco-Latin were the better known and less frightening of those forces present.

1044 On the Ovide Moralisé en Prose of 1466/7, cf. C.de Boer, edit., 1954.

1045 C'est le romant de la rose moralisé..., Lyon, G.Balsarin, 1503, f<sup>o</sup> b.i.v b.



Et affin que je ne perde le froment de ma labour et que  
 la farine qui en sera mölue puisse avoir fleur salutare,  
 j'ay intencion, se Dieu m'en donne la grace, de tourner  
 et convertir soubz mes rudes meules le vicieux au vertueux,  
 le corporel en spirituel, la mondanité en divinite, et  
 souverainement de le moraliser. Et par ainsi nous tirerons  
 le miel hors de la dure pierre, et la rose vermeille hors  
 des poignans espines, où nous trouverons grain et graine,  
früct, fleur et feuille, tressouefve odeur odorant, verdure  
 verdoyent, flouriture florissant, nourriture nourrissant,  
früct et fructifiant pasture. 1046

It is possible to take exception to the form that his moralisation of  
 the Roman adops, but one cannot accuse him of labouring under misapprehensions  
 as to the real nature of the poem. The references to the work's mondanité  
 and to the vicieux and the corporel are clear enough.

Molinet's other variation on the theme of the Rose has gone unnoticed.  
 This is a short poem on the subject of a clock, with complicated mechanism,  
 figures to strike the hours and an angel set above them, that was to be  
 found in Valenciennes<sup>1047</sup>. The figures that strike the hours - the  
martelleurs or bateleurs - are there, in their own view, for a reason:

Nous donnons l'heure aux amoureux<sup>1048</sup>

The poet makes much of the fact that they are cold ("Nous avons froit" etc)  
 and ends up with a final obscene nod in the direction of Froissart:

Humblement nous recommandons<sup>1048</sup>  
 Aux horologeurs du bas mestier.

It is then the turn of the angel:

Ne sçay pourquoy du Gaughier prisrent  
 le tiltre et surnom souverain,  
 Car issus sont, quoiqu'ils s'admirent,  
 De Jean de Mine, dict d'airain. 1049

Gaughier is noyer in modern French<sup>1050</sup>. N. Dupire did not give any  
 description of the person referred to as Jean de Mine. It must be  
 supposed that this is all part of the laboured pastiche on Froissart and

1046 Ibid, f<sup>o</sup>b.ii.v<sup>o</sup>b.

1047 Cf. N. Dupire, Jean Molinet. La vie. Les Oeuvres, Paris, 1932, p.137.

1048 Faigtz et Dictz, II, p.757.

1049 ed. Dupire, II, p.759.

1050 ibid, III, p.1102.

Jean de Meun, on the Orloge Amoureux and on the Rose, though this does not exclude there being a citizen of that name<sup>1051</sup>, or a Jean de Mine connected with fifteenth century Burgundy. If one sees in the walnut tree the equivalent of the rosetree, the Réplique Angelique given here supposedly refers to the Angel Gabriel, perhaps even to the Ange of Villon's Lais<sup>1052</sup>.

Froissart's poem recast all the acts of the vegetable soul as those of a mechanism. The perfunctory way in which Jean Molinet attempts another pastiche suggests that he at least is not particularly interested in exploring the resources of the mind as poets from Alain de Lille to Villon had done with a greater or lesser degree of seriousness, and that he looks to technique rather than to the insights which were the glory of the earlier poésie savante. This, together with his modernist approach to the Roman de la Rose (a reader will be almost as much struck by the mellifluous style as by the bowdlerization of the material) suggests something of a change in poets' outlook.

The nature of this change can be best described in relation to the work of poets like Molinet and André de la Vigne, but the change in the view of inspiration in the late fifteenth century has discernible roots at an earlier point in time.

By this other form of inspiration I understand the notion - literary and confused - of inspiration as a divine madness, which is often, and not too fairly, described as Platonic or neo-Platonic. This is the type of inspiration referred to by Franco Simone, in a striking description of rhétoriqueur verse, as

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1051 Jehan de Mine is the name of a merchant, presumably French-speaking and having some link with the Court of Burgundy, who helped an emissary of the Duke Phillip in Damascus in 1432-3 (cf. C.Schefer, La Voyage d'Outremer de Bertrandon de la Brocquière, in Recueil de Voyages, tXII, p.59-60). Further research is needed on this possible nabob of Valenciennes.

1052 For Villonesque verse in Molinet, tII, p.432-35, Complainte des Trespassés, "Arrestés vous, qui devant nous passés..." This supposes knowledge of at least one of Villon's poems.

una versificatoria alla ricerca dell'ispirazione.<sup>1053</sup>

This form of inspiration does not relate to a precise description of the mind, which is the rational framework for the irrational or uncontrolled impulses described by Jean de Meun and others. It is intent on expressing truths or insights which might escape the rational mind. This is principally true, in the fifteenth century, of some of Chastelain's poetry, of some of Molinet's and of some of André de la Vigne. These men begin to reach after truths, which Chastelain thought beyond the docte eloquence of the masters of the Sorbonne. This is one aspect of the new style and, in a general sense, it<sup>is</sup> as much, or more, concerned with style as with content. In a general way, this new development was linked to the increasing prestige of the Humanist scholars. Humanism remained indifferent to complex accounts of the mind, which emphasized universal characteristics as much as individual. There is little evidence that the new disciplines were interested in the unconscious mind. At most it allowed the unexplained recesses of the mind a place in the semi-mystical treatises like the Phaedrus and the Ion<sup>1054</sup>. Here there is no attempt to press substantiated definitions onto the irrational in the way that Avicenna and his followers in the West had tried to do. Inspiration, rather than the inspiraciones precisely described by Avicenna, was the vaguely defined science infuse, a freely chosen gift of God. An early example in French literature is found in the work of a certain Jean de la Fontaine (of Valenciennes) who wrote a Fontaine des Amoureux de Science in Montpellier in 1413<sup>1055</sup>.

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1053 Belgafor tIV, 1949.

1054 This declared lack of interest was perhaps compensated for by the cult of magic. Marsilio Ficino, Plato's translator and commentator, combined both interests, cf. his De Triplici Vita, Paris, Georg Wolf (between 1490 and 1500), his De Sole et Lumine, Venice, 1503 and the De Arte Chimica, ed. J.J. Mangetus, Biblioteca Chimica, 1702, t2.

1055 Cf. Louis Karl, Revue des Bibliothèques, 1928, f38, p.45-62, also F. Hoefler, Histoire de la Chimie, Paris, 1842, tI, p.407, who calls the Fontaine a grimoire alchimique.

Science sy est de Dieu don,  
 Qui vient par Inspiration.  
 Ainsy est science donnee  
 De Dieu, et en l'homme Inspiree?  
 Mais avec ce aprent on bien  
 A l'escolle par son engien.  
 Mais avant qu'onc lettre fust veue,  
 Sy estoit la science sceue  
 Par gens non clercs, mais inspirez  
 Qui doibvent bien estre honnorez:  
 Car plusieurs ont trouvé science,  
 Par la divine sapience:  
 Et encor est Dieu tout puissant  
 Four donner à son vray servant  
 Science telle qu'il luy plaist:  
 De quoy à plusieurs clers desplaist,  
 Disans qu'aulcun n'est suffisant  
 S'il n'a esté estudiant.  
 Qui n'est maistre es ars, ou docteur  
 Entre clercs reçoit peu d'honneur.  
 Et de ce les doit on blasmer,  
 Quand autruy ne savent louer.  
 Mais qui bien punir les voudroit  
 Les livres oster leur fauldroit. 1056

There is a hint here of the opposition between clercs and inspirés to be found in Chastelain. The only account of inspiration in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries looks for sources in classical and Italian letters<sup>1057</sup>. On the evidence of this passage and of the allusions in Chastelain to the doctors of the Sorbonne who are unlikely to understand the poet's intuitions, it would be as well to look, where France is concerned, to academic debate on the subject of knowledge and understanding. References to science infuse can be found in Molinet<sup>1058</sup> and in other rhétoriqueurs<sup>1059</sup>. The well known allusions in Jean Lemaire's La Concorde des deux langages have been discussed by J. Frappier, who considers them to be of either classical or Italian origin<sup>1060</sup>.

1056 BN.fr.nouv.acq.19074, f<sup>o</sup> III. v<sup>o</sup>. The first edit. was Lyon, Clamades, 1488.

1057 F. Joukovsky-Micha, Poésie et Mythologie au XVIIe siècle. Quelques mythes de l'Inspiration chez les poètes de la Renaissance, 1969.

1058 ed. Dupire, II, p.460, "Que mon engin ta science enlumine." II, p.478, "Science infuse en toy..." Both poems are addressed to the Virgin Mary.

1059 J. Bouchet, Temple de bonne renommée, 1517, f<sup>o</sup> xlv. r<sup>o</sup>, "science infuse".

1060 Paris, 1947, speech made by Genius in the Temple de Vénus, p. xli, p<sup>18</sup>.

Inspiration in Molinet (in the sense that F. Simone understood the term: a searching after sources of inspiration) is complicated by allusion to prophecy and the physical world. The prophetic role uses images that usually seem Biblical. The references to the physical world link Nature, the elements and symbolic meaning. The substance of prophecy in Molinet has links with the rhetoric of Chartier<sup>1061</sup> and with the political stance of Chartier and Chastelain<sup>1062</sup>.

The Complainte de Grèce, the first poem in N. Dupire's edition, contains both elements. Warning of the peril to the East can be found in other authors attached to the Court of Burgundy<sup>1063</sup>, Molinet's Complainte de Grèce<sup>1064</sup> is not only to be understood in a prophetic or political sense<sup>1065</sup>. Both the title and certain passages in it refer to the author's state of health<sup>1066</sup>. To a mind which saw the macrocosm reflected in the microcosm there would be nothing unacceptable in this. Greece's Complainte (or that of a sick man covered in ointment)<sup>has</sup>/at least one stanza of alliteration, rime couronnée and rime enchaînée.

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- 1061 Cf. Le Livre de L'Espérance, p.124, "car l'esperit prophetique qui procede dez cieulx ne se donne fors en cuers netz et eslevez en hault..."
- 1062 Chartier, Le Quadrilogue Invectif and Le Livre de l'Espérance, and Chastelain, VI, p.203, Le Miroer des Nobles Hommes de France.
- 1063 On Philippe le Bon's interest in the Holy Land, cf. C.Schefer, "Le Discours du Voyage d'Oultremar (...) prononcé en 1452 par Jean Germain, évêque de Chalon", Revue de l'Orient Latin, t.III, 1895, p.303ff.
- 1064 N. Dupire, J. Molinet, dates this as 1464. Both H.Guy, P.Champion differed.
- 1065 The editor of the Faictz et Dictz was faced with a considerable problem in this respect that, on the whole, he overcame successfully.
- 1066 To be covered in ointment was a treatment for the mal de Naples which reached Paris about 1496 or 1497, cf. G. Torella, Dialogus de dolore cum tractatu de ulceribus, Rome, 1500, f<sup>o</sup>.e.vi.r.:  
 "dico quod primi in curatione pudendagre ussi sunt unguento sarracenicis posito a Guidone cyurgico, in capitulo de Scabie, in quo non pauca quantitas de argenti vivi ponitur, ubi dicit quod argentum vivum nocet membris principalibus, dentibus et gingivis. Operatio istius unguenti est educere superfluitates per os banando, et per subascellas, resudando, ex quo sufficit ut extrema inungantur ad solem aut circa ignem..." On Molinet's use of mercury and its failure to cure him, see "Mercure cure et n'y procure cure..." Part of the poem seems, then, to have been written between c.1496 and his death.

Que feray je de ma laidure dure?  
 M'ardure dure et ma foiblesse blesse,  
 Mon corps s'encline à corrompure pure,  
 Mercure cure et n'y procure cure,  
 Morsure sure à moy l'adresse dresse,  
 Ricesse cesse et trop m'opresse presse,  
 Leesse laisse en la presente sente,  
 Car mort me mort, la tres pullente lente. <sup>1067</sup>

It is this type that Molinet seems to refer to at the end:

Pour la pitié que j'en pris,  
 Au pourpris  
Entrepris  
De fabriquer ce langaige;  
 Se j'ay, comme mal appris,  
 Riens mespris  
 Par despris,  
 Reparer veul le dommage,  
 Cest ouvrage,  
Lourt, sauvaige,  
 Sans parage, ou riens n'est net,  
 Mollu d'un gros mollinet. 1068

He describes his style as artificial, as a langage fabriqué, and the work itself as weighty, wild, without adornment, devoid of the customary forms. The artificiality has a certain skill in it, while the shapelessness supposes an intention that can only be guessed at.

Molinet brings together the plight of Greece and the West threatened by the Turks with the illness he finds in himself. Noel Dupire's estimate that the work can be dated as 1464 (this, on political grounds) and P. Champion's view that it was composed towards 1501<sup>1069</sup> could be reconciled if there was further evidence that at the end of his life, overcome by the mal de Naples - for which there is evidence in a number of poems<sup>1070</sup> - Molinet reworked a poem that he had written in another form at an earlier date. There is another poem - much shorter than the Grèce - entitled La Complainte de Constantinoble. This is attributed to Molinet, is also an attack on the Turks and survives only in an early printed edition<sup>1071</sup>.

1067 ed. Dupire, I, p.12.

1068 I, p.26. *My italics*.

1069 Histoire de la Poésie Française au XVe siècle, t.II, p. 403.

1070 Ballade de la Maladie de Naples, A Mons. de Ville and others.

1071 La Complainte de Constantinoble, composee par Molinet (BM C.107.c.9).

Only Greece, France and England are mentioned in the published Complainte de Grèce<sup>1072</sup>. This Complainte is an interesting development in the verse that linked body to mind, a sort of physician's or apothecary's curio.

Another feature of Molinet's "political" verse is the dueil universel, in which classes of nations, forces of Nature come together to weep for a dead person. He presses this convention into the service of prophecy:

Horribles tempestes,  
Foudres et molestes  
(.....)  
J'en suis le prophetes. 1073  
Il n'est rien plus vray.

The Trosne d'Honneur, the Temple de Mars, Le Naufrage de la Pucelle and La Ressource du Petit Peuple all describe a Nature threatened by forces within itself. Using other metaphors from Nature, he symbolizes princes or noble houses with a plant. Thus, for the death of Philippe le Bon, in the Trosne d'Honneur:

Je m'endormis assés souefvement soubz ung beau chesne  
foeullu et, en dormant, me sembloit que je me trouway en  
ung gratieux vergier(...) 1074

The vergier is the work of Dame Flora and in it he sees Dame Noblesse:

je cognu que c'estoit Dame Noblesse, qui ceste tres  
~~ex~~cellente fleur avoit en demaine; et ainsy qu'elle la  
regardoit par admiration prospere en son haultain bruyt  
vallenex, comme Dieu le vult, et que le temps de meurison  
estoit venu et que Nature luy defailloit de chaleur nutritive  
en retirant son ~~es~~peitt vegetatif, ceste tres ~~ex~~cellente et  
glorieuse fleur de noblesse, qui tant estoit chier tenue,  
chut par terre et lors me souvint de la prophétie que dist  
~~Esaije~~: exsiccatum est fenum et cecidit flos. Alors toute  
clarté fut estainte. 1075

L'Arbre de Bourgogne symbolizes the House as

1072 If the poem had really been finished in 1464, it would be surprising to find the Burgundy of Philippe le Bon playing no part.

1073 I, Le Bergier sans Solas, p.215. For the popularity of the prognostication in W.Europe before 1500, cf. A.C. Klebs, Incunabula Scientifica et medica, Hildesheim, 1963, p.262-4, 292, 294, 295, 299-300.

1074 I, p. 36-7.

1075 I, p. 37.

ung gros arbre de admirable altitude, fort aorné de  
precieuses vertus, 1076

which suffers from the incursions of certain tame birds called Galli<sup>1077</sup>.

This Nature is visited by wild animals in the Temple de Mars, among them

Guerre à queue d'escorpion<sup>1078</sup>

and in the Naufrage de la Pucelle by

hideux marsuins, fluvieux ypotames, serpens aquaticques,  
coeulleuvres marines, monstres detestables et autres  
grans poissons difformes et enormes, qui, pour perpetuer  
leur insurrection ja pieçà bastie et precogitées,  
s'assemblerent par legions et multitudes de cohortes...<sup>1079</sup>

The creatures conjured up by Molinet are similar to those that A. de la  
Vigne names in the Complainte du Roy de la Bazoche<sup>1080</sup>. The names are

often found in Le Livre de l'Eschiele Mahomet, the text concerned with  
Mahommed's vision of the other world, which was translated in Seville

in 1264 and which has survived in two Latin manuscripts and in one in

French<sup>1081</sup>. There does not seem to be any question of a direct influence,

but the idea of sea and infernos beneath the earth's crust inhabited by

peiscions de feu, by escorpions, by tatas, by serpens de l'enfer, by

dragons, while

ceste terre où nos homes si est assise et espandu  
sor les flancs d'un pescion.... 1082

suggests that Molinet's monster lore is from a Muslim imaginative source.

Molinet also evokes the Turk in terms of hell and monster. Thus in the

Complainte de Grèce:

Erit autem bestia horribilis, il sera une beste venant  
d'Orient, de qui le rugissement sera oy de la gent punicque  
(...)O Grece, ma chiere amie, qui sera celle horrible beste

1076 I, p.232.

1077 I, 236. Instead of a house in ruins, as in Chastelain's Deprecation,  
that of a tree, I,235, "Pour la decadence ruineuse de ce hault,  
sumptueux gros arbre(...)de la maison et jardin de Bourgonne..."

1078 I, 69.-

1079 I, 96-7.

1080 A. de Montaiglon, Recueil de poesies francaises, tXIII, p.389-90.

1081 J. Muñoz Sendino, La Escala de Mahoma, 1949, gives the Latin text facing  
the French. The French text has been reedited, separately, by P.Wunderli,  
1968.

1082 Le Livre de l'Eschiele Mahomet, ed. Wunderli, passim and p.92.



venant des parties d'Orient? N'est ce mie ~~de~~ tresfurieux dragon, le Turc infidelle, le prince des tenebres, le patron de tyrannie, le pere des mescreans sathalites... 1083

There is nothing unusual in this association of Turk with peril from the East but it is most interesting to note that the Muslims of the Mahgreb spoke of them in similar terms<sup>1084</sup>.

Molinet's rhetoric, in these politico-prophetic poems, does not correspond to the expected models, such as Cicero, the Old Testament prophets, or the legal turn of phrase found in Chartier and Christine. It belongs to a form of amplificatio, which is almost perversely varied.

At the beginning of La Ressource du Petit Peuple Molinet says he is hard put to it to find new material for the calls made on his pen:

Pour ce que naguaires vent failli aux volans de mon molinet, qui multitude de nouvelles histôres devoit tourner entre ses meules, pour en tirer fleur et farine, pensant oublier merancolie, je me tiray aux champs... 1085

The following takes place in the usual rustic or garden setting, but instead of a vision, in the traditional dream sense, Molinet tells how the earth opens before him and he is face to face with a composite monster:

et ainsi que, par admiration, je regardoye les plaisanz flouritures, dont les preaux herbus estoient ricement parez, soubdainement s'ouvrie la terre, se vis ung tres profond abisme, duquel, avec feu, flame et fume qui premiere en sailli, sourdi sur plez une tres laide, espoentable satrape, fille de perdicion, fiere de regard, horrible de face, difforme de corps, perverse de coeur, robuste de bras et ravissant des mains: elle avoit le chief cornu, les oreilles pendans, les yeux ardans, la bouche moult tortue, les dens agua, la langue serpentine, les poings de fer, la pance boursoufflee, le dos velu, la queue venimeuse et estoit puissamment montee sur ung estrange monstre à maniere de leuserve fort et corageux à merveilles, jettant feu par la gueule, chaulx et soufre par les narines, chargié à tous letz d'espees, couteaulx(...).

1083 ed. Dupire, I, p.17. (punicque = de Tunis?)

1084 Ibn Khaldûn, Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle (Al-Muqaddima), trans. V. Monteil, Beyrouth, 3t, 1967-8, II, p.704-5, "... Que de troubles! Regarde:/precedes par un Q, les Turcs viendront d'Orient./ Avant cela, malheur, malheur a la Syrie."

1085 I, p. 137.

Quand ceste plutonique matrosne se trouva sur les rendz,  
 accompagnie de Crudelité, Famine(...)lesquelz impetueusement  
 yssus de ce tres puissant gouffre, hydeux, crueux et  
 fantasticques, crochus, bochus et noirs que Moriens....<sup>1086</sup>

Rather than amplification, this is diversification as a means of expressing the horrible and the dramatic.

The argument might run that to express anything as varied as the dark forces at work in human nature or the natural world, a rhetorical sum must be made from descriptive parts. This device may come to have a meaning in certain fifteenth century artists even those as different as Pisanello and Bosch, but in a verbal art it remains a device as coherent or as incoherent as the sum of those parts. The earliest dated example of this world of monsters known to me is in Regnaud Le Queux's Doléance de Megère, composed in 1469<sup>1087</sup>. The poet meets the Megera at the entrance to hell: the description is done with greater economy than in Molinet.

Molinet, in turn, is more economical than André de la Vigne. The latter's Complaintes et Epitaphes de la Bazoche, composed in 1501, has been much remarked on but little analyzed. Whereas Molinet's similar attempts like La Ressource du Petit Peuple are daylight visions, La Vigne introduces his visions with his state of mind and body at the moment of meeting. Both in the Bazoche and in the introduction to the Vergier d'Honneur he seems to follow a rhetorical model or an account of body and mind preceding vision.

Vergier d'Honneur

Au point du jour quant Aurora se lieve  
 Et peu à peu son exquis lustre eslieve,  
 Pour esclarcir l'essence diurne,  
 Ung reposant volontiers se soublieve  
 Et sa cellule totalement relieve,

Complaintes de la Bazoche

Au point perfis que spondille et  
 muscule,  
 Sens vernacule, cartillage,  
 auriculle  
 D'Isis aculle Dyana crepuscule  
 Et l'heure aculle pour son lustre  
 assopir,  
 Aurora vient, qui la cicatricule

1086 I, 137-8. There are relatively few non-dream "visions" in late mediaeval literature. The Ressource and the Temple de Mars are two of them.

1087 Le Jardin de Plaisance, tI, SATF, f c.iii.r<sup>o</sup>b. For the date, tII, ed. Droz, Piaget, p.60.



The attack on Atropos that follows the opening of Complaintes de la Bazoche (A. de la Vigne's other piece of inspirational rhetoric) uses the same turns of phrase as Molinet had done, to put his own dilemma, in the Complainte de Grèce. Part of the la Vigne tirade runs,

Amere mere, qui, decevante, vente  
 Et tors faitz faiz, car en patente tente,  
 Tu abas bas soubz la morsure sure,  
 Par desroy roy d'euvre exigente, gente,  
 Gent preffis filz, issu d'excellente ente,  
 Et surpris pris de ta dardure dure,  
 Dure, hellas! Las! O quelle injure jure,<sup>1093</sup>  
 Rompure pure, et quelle obscure cure....

The Complaintes de la Bazoche belong to 1501. If one accepts P. Champion's supposition that the Complainte de Grèce was also written around the year 1501 - and, for the reasons given, it is probable that at least a good part of it was written between c.1496 and Molinet's death in 1505 - there is no way of knowing which author initiated this type of rhetoric. Even if there was, it would seem at least as probable that both were using the same rhetorical model. I have suggested that on the available evidence this model is more likely to be of Oriental (or Maghrebian), rather than of Western, origin. It is of note that, in the Vergier d'Honneur, de la Vigne goes on to preach a crusade against the Turks. This is the political justification for Charles VIII's invasion of Italy, which forms the most substantial part of the Vergier d'Honneur.<sup>1094</sup>

The notions of hell, disorder in mind and landscape, intrusions by monsters and political foes are part of the manner in which Molinet sees a cause and effect relation between forces of evil and forces in the physical world. He explains this quite lucidly in the Roman de la Rose moralise. The moralisation, which was the basis, so far unrecognized, for some of Jean Lemaire's more passable verse<sup>1095</sup> is, within its own

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1093 Recueil, tXIII, p.392-93.

1094 Verard, Paris, S.d. B.M. C.107.c.1.

1095 For the pastoral scenes in the Temple d'Honneur et de Venus and for Genius's speech in Lemaire's Concorde des Deux Langages, cf. P.Jodogne, Studi Francesi, 1966, p.272, with ref. to Petrarchan influence.

high-minded terms of reference, a guide to Molinet's own poetry. The storms and floods he describes in a number of poems are shown in his Rose moralisé as reactions of the elements to events on earth, or as metaphors for those events. The sufferings of the poor are reflected in the way that storms beat around the heads of the rich<sup>1096</sup>. The English invasion of France is similar to water flooding across the countryside<sup>1097</sup>. The style in which Molinet wrote his moralisation of the Rose is not that of the langage fabrique nor of the lourt et sauvage style usually associated with his name<sup>1098</sup>. The moralisations of Molinet's Rose show to what extent poetry's references have passed away from academic psychology and into a sort of layman's symbolic cosmos, in which the Aristotelian mind-body relationship seems to be of little account.

The Instructif de seconde rethorique, published as an introduction to the Jardin de Plaisance, and said to be by Regnaud Le Queux, contains praise of Alain Chartier and an attack on the nouveaulx charpentiers<sup>1099</sup>.

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- 1096 Lyon, 1503, f<sup>o</sup>y.iv.v<sup>o</sup>b, "Ainsi comme les corps celestes gouvernent & dominent sur les terrestres, si font les fors, grans et puissans personnaiges sur le foible, petit et debile populaire. Mais quant les povres mendians & innocens sont par yaeulx piteusement traittez & oppressez, vapeurs s'eslievent au ciel qui sont cause de brasser les tonnoirres, c'est a entendre que les complaints & clameurs des povres indigens tormentez par les riches penetrent les cieulx & s'adresser au souverain gubernateur pour en avoir vengeance. Et adonc le soleil, la lune et les estoilles qui tout voyent & regardent tant de jour que de nuyt tesmoignent devant la face de L'eternal juge les voix des oppressez estre justes & veritables et les delinquans dignes de grant punission." *ibid*, "Et ainsi comme ces trois elements deschirent les nuees, brassent bruynes & brouillent tonnoires, fouldres & tempestes, tellement que les clochiers des eglises qui sont les haulx prelatz, les tours & les guerites qui sont les nobles gens, les chenes et les saulx qui sont les fors tyrans...."
- 1097 (*ibid*, f<sup>o</sup>z.i.r<sup>o</sup>b, "N'avons-nous veu du temps de nos peres le gros poisson d'Angleterre trescouper la mer, nager en noz fleuves & advironner le royaume de France(...)Et qui plus est les porcz de mer et les grandes balaines estendirent leurs esles & getterent leurs alaines es palais royaulx & haulx throsnes, comme princes portans couronnes."
- 1098 For Molinet's view of the French language, c.1500, *ibid*, f<sup>o</sup>.b.ii.v<sup>o</sup>b, "nostre langage est fort agency, fort mignon et renouvelle." (i.e. since the time when the Rose was written.)
- 1099 Jardin, SATF, I, f<sup>o</sup>b.iv.r<sup>o</sup>b.

Their names are not mentioned. Jean Bouchet's Les Regnars traversans les perilleuses voyes des folles fiances du monde contains a much more specific attack on the new tendencies. It is either an attack on Molinet among other authors or on Molinet in particular.

The Regnars contains a section in which Bouchet examines in turn the work of the theologians, the astrologers, then geometry, arithmetic, music and poetry. The poets are concerned with pindarisacion, chanterie and entertainment which is

plus fabulatoire que veridique<sup>1100</sup>.

Rather than a description of Poetherie as one of the arts and sciences, the verse is criticism of the new styles

Les ditz des poethes sont tresbeaulx  
Et de tresgrande conscience.  
Mais ungtz tas de sutz cuydereaulx<sup>1101</sup>  
Se disent poetes nouveaulx,  
Qui gastent toute la science,  
Et cuydent sans intelligence  
Faire balades & rondeaulx,  
User de grans termes & chaulx,  
Composer dictez & chancons.  
Et si n'en scavent les facons,  
Et font poetheries nouvelles  
En mettant masles pour fumelles.<sup>1102</sup>  
Mais il suffist a gens pou saiges  
Qui ne congnoissent choses telles,  
Qu'on leur baille des motz sauvaiges.  
  
L'ung rime à tort & à travers,  
L'autre ne besongne qu'en prose,  
L'autre fait des ditz parvers  
Ou raille en beaulx termes couvers,  
Tant que c'est une belle chose,<sup>1103</sup>  
L'ung scait le rommant de la rose.  
L'autre allegue Matheolus,<sup>1104</sup>  
Ou parle du vent d'Eolus,  
D'aucunes nimphes ou driades

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1100 Paris, A. Verard, c.1501, f<sup>o</sup>h.i.v<sup>o</sup>b - h.ii.r<sup>o</sup>a, cf. *infra*, p.353.

1101 Cf. C. Marot, ed. Mayer, II, p.96, "ung tas de Rymasseurs nouveaux, / Qui cuydent".

1102 This might possibly refer to faults of versification, more probably to R. de la R., 19618-21, on the disciples d'Orphee and to the idea of excepcions anormales, which J. de M. inherited from Alanus's De Flanctu opening. Numbers of Molinet's poems are on this theme (II, p.778, 795, 804, 810, 826; I, 399).

1103 Reference to previous line, "L'autre ne besogne qu'en prose"?

1104 Common reference, cf. for ex. Langlois, Recueil, anon. art, p.70, "Eolus.!"

Pour sauvaiges ballades.<sup>1105</sup>  
 Et aucunement ne congnoist  
 De terme qu'il parle que est;  
 Et cuyde dire tresbien,  
 Mais ceste orateure si plaist  
 A gens qui n'y entendent/<sup>1106</sup>  
 rien.

Bouchet seems to make a distinction between poethes and poetes, on the basis of the spelling. There is one mediaeval text, printed in the early sixteenth century, in which the form poethes is twice used to refer to heavenly beings, possibly angels<sup>1107</sup>. As for the poetes nouveaulx, whom he goes on to attack, their use of termes grans et chaulx, of motz sauvaiges and the probable allusion to poems of love addressed to men rather than women, all this corresponds to aspects of Molinet's verse. It is possible that Molinet alone was the object of this vendetta. Clement Marot's Epître de Frippelippes also uses the formula "L'ung...l'autre...", when the poem is mainly, if not entirely, an attack on Sagon<sup>1108</sup>. In a later epître Bouchet himself leads with an attack on a number of poets before settling on one in particular<sup>1109</sup>. However, the formula, "Ille...hic..." can be found in Latin poetry of the end of the fifteenth century<sup>1110</sup>, and there is no solid evidence to suggest that just Molinet, and no other poet, was being considered here.

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- 1105 On nymphes and driades in Molinet, cf. F. Joukovsky-Micha, "La mythologie dans les poèmes de Jean Molinet", Romance Philology, t31, 1968; there is a reference to Eolus and to other deities in Le Bergier sans Solas; in one of the ms. studied by N. Dupire for his Molinet edition (ms. J. de Rothschild 471), Le Bergier sans Solas is entitled L'a.b.c. sauvaige. Molinet also refers to his Complainte de Grece as written in a language that is sauvaige (supra, n.1068).
- 1106 Verard, Regnars f<sup>o</sup>hii.r<sup>o</sup>a.
- 1107 Cf. Le Cueur des secretz de philosophie, f<sup>o</sup>c. l.v<sup>o</sup>, "Et aultres creatures fist Dieu es cieulx, si comme les poethes, les anges, la lune et les estoilles..." and f<sup>o</sup>f.i.r<sup>o</sup>, "car archange si veult dire prince des anges, des poethes." (Paris, Ph. Le Noir, 1520: B.M. cat. C.97.bb.25).
- 1108 ed. Mayer, Epître de Frippelippes, II, p.97.
- 1109 Epistres Familieres, LXI, f<sup>o</sup>xli.v<sup>o</sup>, "Et non ung tas d'envieulx detracteurs/Comme est celuy dont hier te parloye..."
- 1110 Simon Nanquier, De Lubrico temporis curriculo, Paris, A. Denidel, s.d.; f<sup>o</sup>a.iii.v<sup>o</sup>, "Ille est astridicus, tellurem sed metit alter,/Hic..."

Of greater interest to this study is the possibility that Bouchet was delivering his attack on the basis of a reading of Aristotle's Rhetoric, or of a commentary on it. The Rhetoric has survived in three medieval translations and in three commentaries<sup>1111</sup>. One of the latter, by Egidius Romanus based on the Guillaume de Moerbeke translation<sup>1112</sup>, is unfavourable to Poetry<sup>1113</sup>, which the commentator attempts to place, against the spirit of the Aristotelian text, in a position subordinate to rhetoric. Egidius Romanus, who taught at the University of Paris in the second half of the thirteenth century and was concerned with the condemnations of 1277, showed poetry as concerned with superficialities<sup>1114</sup>, with the ampliosum et ornatum<sup>1115</sup>, with facta locutio(...) ad fraudulentos, sicut ad vina mixta<sup>1116</sup>, with circumlocutio and nomina extraneas<sup>1117</sup>, with metaphore indecentes and turgitas<sup>1118</sup>. The commentary also insists that doublets or synonyms are the affair of poetry<sup>1119</sup> and supposes that the aim of poetry, not rhetoric, is to astonish:

quod extraneum eloquium est admirabile(;) quia singuli sunt admiratores advenarum et extraneorum. Talis ergo locutio non est rhetorica, sed poetica, et non est proprie persuasiva, sed solum demulcet et delectat auditum. 1120

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- 1111 Bernd Schneider, Die Mittelalterlichen Griechisch-Lateinischen Übersetzungen der Aristotelischen Rhetorik, Berlin/New York, 1971.
- 1112 Egidius Romanus used mainly the G.de M. translation, cf. Schneider, p. 7.
- 1113 On E.R.'s reinterpretation of Aristotle's divinum enim poesis, Rhetorica Aristotelis cum E. Romani...comm..., Venice, 1515, f<sup>o</sup>99.v a.
- 1114 Rhetorica Aristotelis...., f<sup>o</sup>92r<sup>o</sup> a, as against the ponderositas sententie of rhetoric.
- 1115 *ibid*, f<sup>o</sup>92v<sup>o</sup> a.
- 1116 f<sup>o</sup>93r<sup>o</sup> a.
- 1117 f<sup>o</sup>95r<sup>o</sup> b.
- 1118 f<sup>o</sup>96r<sup>o</sup> b.
- 1119 f<sup>o</sup>93r<sup>o</sup> a-b.
- 1120 f<sup>o</sup>92v<sup>o</sup> b.



This emphasis on the ornate, on the bizarre, on the improper and on the need to shock or astonish, bears a general resemblance to Molinet's work as a poet, with its persistent use of synonyms. The stanzas from Bouchet's Regnars seem to reflect this constant and ill-balanced criticism of poetry.

Egidius Romanus characterized poetry as obscure and rhetoric as clear. The commentary ran:

et si talia dicta sunt obscura cognoscentibus, multo magis sunt obscura ignorantibus. Non ergo sunt rhetorica, quis omnino rhetorica debet esse clara. 1121

Bouchet spoke of the termes couvers, used by the poet of the sauvaiges ballades to people who understand nothing of these things<sup>1122</sup>. The Egidius Romanus commentary went on to criticize those whose failing is to:

grecizare, id est barbalogizare.<sup>1123</sup>

The fourth stanza of the Bouchet text prolongs the attack on the poetes nouveaulx in the following terms:

Aucuns veulent pindariser<sup>1124</sup>  
Chantz à la mode ytalique<sup>1125</sup>  
Qui ne sçavent pas adviser  
Que par tant le font despriser  
Entre ceulx qui ont la pratique,  
Car c'est usaige barbarique<sup>1126</sup>

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1121 f<sup>o</sup>96r<sup>o</sup>a.

1122 The following stanza in the Regnars follows the author of L'Instructif in regretting the loss of the masters. L'Instructif's refrain - "Plus sont de maistres que d'ouvriers" (Jardin, f<sup>o</sup>b.iv.r<sup>o</sup>a-b) - supposing that the minor authors see themselves as major - comes up in the Regnars:

"Ainsi va de toutes sciences.  
C'est pourquoy les maistres les laissent."

1123 f<sup>o</sup>97r<sup>o</sup>a, "principale vitium locutionis est grecizare, id est barbalogizare sive committere barbarismum."

1124 Cf. A. Delboulle, "Historique de trois mots: Pindariser, Philologie et Sycophante", RHLF, 1897, p.283.

1125 No suggestions are yet available as to their identity, despite the amount of work done on the origins of the sonnet in France, cf. W. Mönch, Das Sonett, 1955. The earliest example of a French poem, a quatorzain, in approximate sonnet form (abbacdcdcdcd) that I know of is in Germain Colin, <sup>Bucher</sup> ed. Denais, Paris, 1890, p.182. For a reference to une epistre...enlangaige ytalic cf. Jardin, f<sup>o</sup>ccxxv.v<sup>o</sup>. On the épigramme, cf. Robertet, ed. Zsuppan, p.52-3.

1126 cf. Le Livre de Politiques d'Aristote, Verard, f<sup>o</sup>DD.i.r<sup>o</sup>.

De quoy les poetes musent.  
 Mais les coquars qui en abusent,  
 Plusieurs tant françois que latins,  
 Four dire j'auray les patins  
 Ou les grans(1127) de belle eloquence,  
 Usent ce terme sans science,  
 Scabreux(1128), ainsi qu'ilz veulent mettre.  
 Et ainsi par folle apparence  
 On tient souvent varlet pour maistre. 1129

Toutesfois rethoriciens  
 Ne mettent gueres de distance  
 Entre eulx & les musiciens,  
 Tant soient beaulx praticiens,  
 Pour trouver terme d'elegance.  
 Fors que poethes ont fiance  
 En leurs ditz, en leurs comedies,  
 Farceries ou tragedies, 1130  
 En leurs subtiles fictions,  
 Fondees en locutions,  
 Appologique & estranges.... 1131

If Bouchet was following the Egidius Romanus text, as seems possible, then pindariser would appear to be a synonym for Egidius Romanus's grecizare, equated by the latter with barbalogizare, and by Bouchet with usage barbarique.

There is reason to ask whether, for Bouchet, pindariser is not in fact synonymous with muser, or with composing poems with mythological material.

The prose introduction to De Poetherie tends to suggest this:

Pour ce que poetherie est une science particuliere qui suyt art de mesure et de orature, qui aussi est recreative, et requiert aucunement maniere de pindarisation, et facon de prononcer qui descent en partie de chanterie, en cestuy lieu, comme par maniere incident, nous en parlerons et verrons aucunes des folles fyances que les poethes & orateurs peuvent prendre en soy à cause de leur facette & jolye science, qui, pour les subtiles invencions & choses admirables en elle contenue, est reputée plus fabulatoire que veridique. 1132

1127 Probably gans. For the rhyme, patin/latin, Jardin, II, p.312.

1128 Apparently a reference to muser - De quoy les poetes musent."

1129 Substance of the Instructif's complaint--"Plus sont de maistres que d'ouvriers" (Jardin, f<sup>o</sup>b.iv.r<sup>o</sup>a) - and of its author's respect for Chartier.

1130 For the stage genres, Rhetorica, f<sup>o</sup>91r<sup>o</sup>a; Instructif, f<sup>o</sup>c.ii.r<sup>o</sup>a ff.

1131 Regnars, f<sup>o</sup>h.ii.v<sup>o</sup>a.

1132 ibid, f<sup>o</sup>h.i.v<sup>o</sup>b - h.ii.r<sup>o</sup>a.

The quinzains, which make up De Poetherie, close with a lament for the vanity of poetry or of rhetoric and with a brief ubi sunt for the poethes aucthenticques.

Où est Ovide, où est Virgille  
 Et Tulles, poethes aucthenticques?  
 Où sont des autres plus de mille  
 Qui ont eu la façon habille  
 De user des termes poethiques?  
 Où sont les facteurs de croniques,  
 Salomon en ses parabolles  
 Et ceulx qui ont tenu escolles  
 De composer et de bien dire  
 En rethoricque & bien escrire,  
 Qui se fioyent à composer,  
 Motz estranges à exposer?  
 Leur fiance les a trompez,  
 Car il n'ont sceu si bien gloser  
 Que de mort soient reschapez.

Puis que nous avons parlé de poetherie & rethoricque...<sup>1133</sup>

Bouchet's De Poetherie was firstly an attack on certain poets, but secondly a survey of poetry and rhetoric. Both are arts of this world and powerless against death.

In attacking l'école sauvage Bouchet shows disapproval for some of their material and for most of their technique. This technique does not have the authority which he allows the poethes aucthenticques of Antiquity. He supposes that the poetes nouveaulx do not know how to write verse in the customary way, and that it is this lack of technical proficiency which makes them a subject for scorn ("Que par tant le font despriser/Entre ceulx qui ont la practique").

What Bouchet considers to be true poetry is not made clear. The author of L'Instructif published his admiration for Chartier, but the only poets whom Bouchet names in this passage are Ovid and Virgil. It seems likely that these are prestigious names with which to weight his argument against the new poetry, rather than models to be followed. In

Bouchet's verse there is very little that seems to be modelled on the poets of Antiquity<sup>1134</sup>. The Regnars, and indeed most of his later poetry up to the Triomphes de Francois Ier, which appeared in 1550, is in the same slightly awkward manner with the same tendency to moralise.

Whether or not Jean Bouchet was using Aristotle's Rhetoric as his basic authority, the fact that he was indulging in a literary quarrel over questions that mainly concerned style in poetry is significant. While it is true that Molinet's style invites comment (few French poets can have set out to shock in the same aggressive way), it should not be lost sight of that this quarrel concerns technique as much as anything else. Questions of form have gained in importance. Poetry seen in the framework of the seven arts is a matter of versification, vocabulary and polish. In one sense this is a return to the priorities of the Latin artes or of the arts de seconde rhetorique. Yet style here shows signs, however crude and unsophisticated, of belonging to the area where the grammarian gives way to the poet with aesthetic aims in mind.

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1134 Some neo-Ovidian pastiche (after O. de Saint-Gelais' translation of the Heroides) in L'Amoureux transy sans espoir, Verard, n.d. and in Les Angoysses et remedes d'amours, Poitiers, 1536.

### CONCLUSION

French Poetry of the late Middle Ages has been discussed here only in terms of its learned verse (poésie savante) and an attempt made to describe it in relation to the place of Poetry in the encyclopedias, to the poetry of the mind developed by Alan de Lille, to the interaction of mind and body shown in the Roman de la Rose, to the manner in which the ideas of the Rose were taken up by later poets and, finally, to the growing concern in the fifteenth century with formal considerations. The first part of the study showed to what extent Poetry remained a fringe discipline, until it was given a place of its own within the Arts, following the precepts of the Arab philosophers. The second part described an attempt to write a specifically Christian poésie savante. The third part showed the birth of French learned verse in the Roman de la Rose, mainly in response to the influx of Aristotelian learning in commentaries by the Arab philosophers. The fourth part gave in outline an account of how this new learned verse still in response to Greco-Arab science, established a genre savant in French poetry. The fifth showed the move away from poetry as inquiry into the relation of mind to body and a leaning towards formal or aesthetic concerns.

The main influence on the development of French learned verse in four of these five respects can be described as partly Greek and partly Arabic. This much seems irrefutable, unless startling new facts about the science and theology of the period begin to emerge. In the fifth respect - the Christian poetry of Alain de Lille - the main influence derives through Scotus Eriugena out of the work of the Greek Fathers of the Church, such as the pseudo-Dionysius and Gregory of Nyssa.

It can be concluded, therefore, that French poésie savante in the

late Middle Ages was founded on, and gradually modified by, Greco-Arabic or Greek precepts. The Renaissance of Poetry in the sixteenth century, seen in general terms, was the replacement of the Greco-Arabic influence by a respect for Greco-Latin models. Emphasis shifted away from intellectual inquiry in the direction of aesthetic concerns.

This is less than fair to Renaissance poetry. It overlooks the great tradition of verse inquiry continued by the great XVIth century poets. It also overlooks the extent to which the Humanist element was already present in early fifteenth century poetry even though its influence appears to have been mostly a question of style as bombast (the opening of the Consolatio or empty Ciceronics) rather than style as a formal discipline enabling the mind to express its meanings more clearly. Little is known about fifteenth century Poetry and, in an Appendix (A), I offer suggestions as to the direction that future research into this background might profitably take.

In the framework of this Greco-Arabic influence the poetry linking mind and body stands out as an absorbing chapter in the history of French Poetry. However much the poets failed to do justice to it, it remains the only precisely definable attempt that I know of, in the history of French Poetry, to use verse as an instrument for probing the mind's hidden truths. It was possibly too rational in inspiration, aim and content to produce much great verse, but a greater understanding of it should eventually lead to a clearer picture of what the XVI century "Renaissance" of Poetry really was and to a deeper appreciation of the verse of the Middle Ages.

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APPENDIX A

The account given here of the Greco-Arabic background to French medieval poetry has led me to suppose that in the late Middle Ages French poets came to have an interest in Arabic poetry. There seems to have been a period stretched over about a hundred years in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries when this was the case. I suggest that it can be noted in Villon at the outset and later in Clément Marot's épîtres and, outside France, in the canciones of Garcilaso de la Vega. To speak of such an interest or of the existence of this influence supposes two things. Firstly, contacts between the two cultures, Western and Arabic, and secondly, knowledge, in the case of the French poets, of Arabic theory and Arabic texts. Petrarch's reference to Arabic poetry and the use of the Poetria Aristotelis by French poets have already been sufficiently emphasized.

Of contacts between the two cultures there is ample evidence in the accounts of travellers, both Muslim and Western, written in the fifteenth century<sup>1135</sup>. There are also mentions by French authors of travellers in France who were said to have knowledge of Arabic literature.

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1135 cf. the various journeys edited by C. Schefer in Recueil de Voyages et de Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de la Géographie, including those of Jean Thenaud (t5), Bertrand de la Brocquière (t12) and the anon. account in t2. Also Jean Germain in Revue de l'Orient Latin, tIII, p.303. In an early printed edition: Breydenbach, Des saintes Peregrinations..., Lyon, 1488 and Voyage d'Outremer par le Seigneur de Caumont, ed. de la Grange, Paris, 1858. In general, cf. Geoffrey Atkinson, La Littérature Géographique Française de la Renaissance, Paris, 1927. From the Muslim side, N. Iorga, Les Voyageurs Orientaux en France, Paris, 1927, while B. Lewis, "The Muslim Discovery of Europe" in Bulletin of SOAS, tXX, 1957, mentions the general disinterest in the Frankish North, compared to the keen interest in all things Greek.

These mentions are general and can be quickly summarized.

At the end of the fourteenth century, Honoré Bonet includes in his Apparicion Maistre Jehan de Meun mention of a Saracen. The poem is narrated in a dream framework in a garden near Paris, supposed to have belonged to Jean de Meun. The author asks the Saracen why he is in France and hears the reply,

"Car je sçay parler tout langage,  
Et sy suy homme de paraige  
Et suy bon clerc en nostre loy;  
En tous estas m'entens un poy,  
Et sy sçay faire ryme et vers  
Et le droit retourner envers,  
Et pour ce nos seigneurs de là  
Sy m'ont envoyé par deça  
Pour véoir l'estat des crestians  
Et tout especial des Frans." 1136

The reference to his ability as a poet is certainly surprising, though it may refer solely to specimens of Arabic writing (with the curiosity value of being written from right to left) evident in the following line (le droit retourner envers). The Saracen goes on to say that he has visited Rome, and his description of the Romans echoes to some extent that given in an Arab text recently edited<sup>1137</sup>.

However against the temptation to read too much into these references is the dream convention in which they are set and the fact there was a literary tradition in which representative figures, such as Christian, Muslim, Jew and Pagan were made to debate. The Saracen's ambassadorial qualifications are not unlike these mentioned in Le Songe du Vieil Pelerin<sup>1138</sup>.

A Spaniard, whose visit to Paris in the years 1446-1447 was particularly well documented, and who wrote and read Arabic among other

1136 ed I. Arnold, 1926, p.18.

1137 Maria Nallino, "Un'inedita descrizione araba di Roma" in Annali Istituto univ. orient. di Napoli, 1964, tXIV, p.295f. One authority dates this text as late XIVth century. The Apparicion dates from 1398.

1138 ed. G.W.Coopland, II, p.422-8. Prof. Coopland has pointed out to me that H. Bonet could have had contact with Muslims in his native Provence. The literary setting of l'Apparicion is no argument for contacts in Paris or Northern France.

languages was a certain Fernando de Córdoba<sup>1139</sup>. He also went to the court of Burgundy, and Chastellain refers to the astonishment he aroused there in the Recollection des Merveilles<sup>1140</sup>.

The most that can be deduced from these two references is that there was a certain curiosity regarding, at least, Arabic script<sup>1141</sup>, though not necessarily of an interest in Arabic poetry.

Nor is there any reason to suppose official interest. References in the Averroes commentary to the Coran showed Islam to disapprove of poetry<sup>1142</sup>.

Chastelain gives a vivid description of the French trade presence in the Eastern Mediterranean in the heyday of Jacques Coeur<sup>1143</sup>. He also refers briefly to a 1461 embassy of estrange gent from the haut Orient and Persia, among other places, to the Burgundian court<sup>1144</sup>. In this latter respect it is relevant to point out that Jean Robertet refers, in a poem of the same period, to tous poetes soient d'Inde ou de Perse. The passage, addressed to Chastelain, reads:

En toy reluit la satire de Perse,  
De Juvenal, aussi celle d'Orace;  
Ton elegant parler Terence perse,  
Et tous poetes soient d'Inde ou de Perse;

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- 1139 Cf. J. Havet, Fernand de Cordoue et l'Université de Paris au XVe siècle, 1883 and A. Bonilla y San Martín, edit. of Fernando de C.
- 1140 ed. K. de Lettenhove, VII, p. 191, "J'ay vu par excellence/Jeune homme..."
- 1141 Cf. B. de la Brocquière, ed. Schaefer, p.63, "je regarday en mon escript(...)dix ou douze Turcs s'assamblèrent autour de moy et se prindrent à rire quant ilz virent ma lettre et en furent aussy merveilliez que nous sommes de la leur".
- 1142 For example, Poetria Arist., p.61-2, "Ideoque prohibitum fuit in Alkorano, ne legerentur figmenta poetica preter quam pauca carmina illorum qui tendebant ad reprehensionem satyricam vitiorum..."
- 1143 VII, Le Temple de Bocace, p.91, "Tout le Levant il visita atout son navire, et n'y avoit en la mer d'Orient mast revestu sinon des fleurs de lis. Alexandrie et Al Kaire lui estoient cottidiens ports..."
- 1144 VII, Recollection, p.200-1, "J'ai vu de Géorgie..."; K. Urwin, G. Chastelain, dates this part of the poem as finished in 1462. Cf. N.Iorga, op.cit., p.9.



Bour reciter ne fault querir Bocace:  
 J'en parle cler, il ne me chault qui face,  
 Mais pour tissir langage triumphant  
 Tu monstres bien que tu n'ez pas enfant. <sup>1145</sup>

The objection to giving any significance to these lines is that the demands of rhyming verses on the abaabbcc model leads to the use of Perse in the third ending, and so by association to Inde. This argument is possibly less convincing now than it was to a generation of scholars who transferred their own memories of Hugolian rhetoric or Victorian jingle, quite uncritically, to the verse of another age, but this cannot be discounted. These are the only specific references to contacts in France between men of letters and visitors with a knowledge of Eastern literature I have been able to find.

The second phase of this argument - that for knowledge of Arabic poetry in translation - can be stated first in a general sense, then secondly in relation to certain textual parallels.

One is first of all justified in asking why, from Chartier to Marot and the Fléiade, something like a century and a half went by before a passing interest in Humanist thought or ideals became something more positive than that. A reading of the poets of the period, good and bad alike, does suggest that they were attempting something other than a revival of classical letters or classical poetry. A comparison of the work of almost any of the verse written in France between 1400 and the early poetry of Ronsard and Du Bellay leads one to suppose that the so called poètes de transition were in fact working with a different, or various different, ideals in mind. There is no single fifteenth century poet, with the possible exception of Octevien de Saint-Gelais in his

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1145 J. Robertet, ed. M. Zsuppán, p.121-2, (Les Douze Dames de Rethorique) For the date of composition, between 1461 and 1464, cf. Urwin, p.20 and Zsuppán, p.112-3. For Inde, Indois as possible synonyms for Abyssinia and its people, cf. Itinerarium Fratrum Symonis et Hugonis, ed. Golubovich, Florence, 1918, p.30, p.33, p.43.

translation of the Ovidian Heroides, of whom it might be said that he was working with a mind to recreating, or equalling, the qualities of classical poetry<sup>1146</sup>. In this sense the term 'transitional' applied to these poets is of doubtful value.

If it is accepted that they were not working with the model of classical poetry before them, then they are only transitional, providing one accepts the notion that literary history can be divided into periods. They then provide a transition, in the sense that most fifteenth century verse does not fit satisfactorily into either the context of mediaeval or Renaissance verse. A period is a term of convenience, and as P. Jodogne has convincingly shown, the term école des rhétoriciens is itself a relatively recent label used to describe many different types of verse written in a particular period<sup>1147</sup>, and with no particular regard for the many different aspects of verse within that period. It is precisely this practice of labelling poets, according to period, rather than according to the intentions with which they wrote, that leads to a misunderstanding of their poetry. Mediaeval poetry probably suffers more than most from this 'period' view. It has led, for instance, to the view that Villon had more in common with Rutebeuf than he did with his contemporaries like Chastelain.

In view of the respect that poets of the period showed for precedent of some sort or another, it is unlikely that Molinet for instance, developed his particular type of rhetoric without some form of example or theoretical justification. I have not been able to find any trace of this in French or Latin mediaeval thought. It is for want of any alternative explanation that I suggest a source in Arab literature. The relation of

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1146 Even O. de St.G. probably had the ideal of the elegia (poem of love, as described by Averroes in the Poetria) before him as much as the Ovidian model.

1147 "Les 'Rhétoriciens' et l'humanisme" in Humanism in France, ed. Levy, 1970, p.150-58.

Avicennian thought to the Roman de la Rose and of the Averroes commentary on Aristotle to the verse of Villon and Chastelain make such a source at least acceptable as a possibility.

Among the many Arab arts of poetry one, written towards 1400 as the closing section of an introduction to the history of the Arab peoples, deserves special note. Its author, Ibn Khaldun, travelled widely, visited the Moorish kingdom of Granada on two occasions, and was also sent as ambassador to the Court of Pedro the Cruel at Seville<sup>1148</sup>. No translation of his Prolegomena is known to have circulated in the West at this period, but Ibn Khaldun was known to historians in the West. He provided an eye witness account of Tamberlaine's siege and sack of Damascus and Aleppo in 1400-01, and was the only historian of note to have met and spoken to Tamberlaine at that time. It has been suggested that a short Vita Tamerlani, written in 1416, was partly based on Ibn Khaldun's account of the Damascus events<sup>1149</sup>, and the author of the Vita in question was a Siennese who lived for a long time in the Muslim world, and who in addition to acting as an interpreter and translator from Arabic, also took to writing after returning to his native Italy<sup>1150</sup>. There is therefore at least a slender historical basis for connecting Ibn Khaldun's Prolegomena or Discourse

- 1148 He visited Granada in 1363-4, Seville at the end of 1364, Granada again in 1372 (Cf. H. Pérès, Le Siècle d'Ibn Khaldoun, Algiers, 1960, p.7). On Ibn Khaldun's own word (and he had a high opinion of himself) his fame had gone before him on his Seville visit. He was then 31. Pedro offered to return to him his family's ancestral lands in Seville, if he would stay at the court, cf. C. Sanchez-Albornoz, La España Musulmana, tII, p.22-3.
- 1149 W.J. Fischel, "A new Latin source on Tamerlane's Conquest of Damascus 1400/1401 (B. de Mignanelli's Vita Tamerlani, 1416)" in Oriens, t9, p.227 nl.
- 1150 B. de Mignanelli attributed the following views on Arabic to the Sultan but includes them in one of the printed works noted by W.J.Fischel, Oriens (t9, p.207); they are a comparison of Arabic and other languages as means of expression. "In audientia vero, & in iudicio utebatur Arabico, qui, interroganti & ammiranti quia sic, respondit: sic convenit; quia Graecum, & Persicum sunt dulcia, mitia, & muliebria; Turcum vero rude, tonans, & acerbum; Arabicum autem magis diffusum, vocabulis abundans, & compendiose bene distinctum..." (S. Baluzius, Miscelanea, Lucca, 1764, tIV, p.133.)

on historical method with Western thought. On its own this would hardly be enough to justify discussing it here, any more than his fame in the Muslim world or his visits to Seville or Granada<sup>1151</sup>. There are however, a number of parallels between poetic examples and theoretical points in the Prolegomena and lines in Villon and Molinet. These, together with the historical contacts mentioned justify using the Prolegomena as support for a supposition. I shall mention finally another writer who lived in Tunis and whose work can be suspected to have provided something of a bridge between the two cultures.

The parallels between Ibn Khaldun's Muqaddima (variously translated as the Prolegomena and the Discours sur l'Histoire universelle)<sup>1152</sup> can be briefly noted. After the amorous rhetoric of the first six stanzas of the Lais Villon begins the seventh by saying that to avoid the dangers present he is leaving for Angiers,

Puis qu'el ne me veult impartir  
Sa grace.... (ll. 44-5)

In st. XXXV he describes how, as he writes,

J'oïe la cloche de Serbonne,  
Qui tousjours à neuf heures sonne  
Le Saint que l'Ange predict;  
Si suspendis... (ll. 276-9)

The obscene parody (Si suspendis...) makes it clear that this circumstantial detail is not necessarily to be taken in a literal sense, or as a piece of conventional piety. Ibn Khaldun's section on Perception supernaturelle has the following

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1151 The visits to Southern Spain took place well before Ibn Khaldun wrote his Prolegomena (the title given the work by the XIXth century translator, Slane). His own account of that visit is so brief, and allows him to show himself in such a good light that the immediate reaction is one of caution. He does not make any mention of an exchange, other than that of gifts of cloth and mounts, though he implies that the cordial welcome given him was due to his literary fame.

1152 I have used the translation by V. Monteil, Beirut, 3t, 1967-8, Discours.....

L'apparition d'un ange qui s'adresse à un prophète indique que celui-ci doit être un messager. C'est un plus haut degré dans la perfection. C'est ainsi que le Prophète expliquait la révélation à Al-Hârith b. Hishâm: 'Parfois, c'est comme une cloche qui sonne - et c'est ce qui me touche le plus; quand le bruit cesse, j'ai retenu ce que j'ai entendu. Parfois, c'est un ange qui m'apparaît sous les traits d'un homme: il me parle.... 1153

There is similarity between the quatrain that Villon wrote on the rhyme oise:

Je suis François, dont il me poise,  
Né de Paris emprès Pontoise,  
Et de la corde d'une toise  
Sçaura mon col que mon cul poise (Divers, XIII)

and an odd four lines quoted by Ibn Khaldun about un Juif de Fès:

Ces vers sont écrits par un Juif de Fès,  
qui sera pendu, là, un jour de liesse.  
Les gens y viendront, du fond des deserts,  
et une rixe causera sa perte. 1154

There are those who would argue that coincidence in literature is perfectly natural. To take only the second parallel: the fact that two quatrains on similar subjects, in which the poet names or describes himself, writes in a mock-prophetic manner about his own death at the end of a rope, names his place of birth, starts with a present tense and finishes with a future, could be, in view of the linguistic barrier, a tribute to the manner in which the human mind can, in certain situations, describe its predicaments in similar terms. Nor is there any need to labour the obvious point that literary coincidence can be established in other ways than by a poet sitting down at a table with a text, or in a tavern with a tame translator. Travellers' tales, reminiscences at third or fourth hand, misunderstandings of the spoken word, any of these could help lead to the type of parallel noted here.

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1153 Discours, I, p. 195.

1154 ibid, II, p. 700.

Further discussion of these points awaits evidence that Ibn Khaldun's work was known in France in the middle of the fifteenth century, always providing that some more convincing account of the sources of Villon's work is not forthcoming. This is a possibility. Villon's work may have stimulated intense interest over the last century and a half, but it is symptomatic of the literary approach to his work that no single piece of research, to my knowledge, has attempted to check Villon's assertion that he had read all the commentaries of Averroes on Aristotle. The view of him as a prototype urchin is partly responsible for this, but there are other factors too, such as the view that he was a true man of the Middle Ages in an "age of transition". It can be said again that a view of literature, based on historical periods, has come to operate with a rigour unknown to other forms of thought.

This theory of some of Villon's sources can only seem profoundly inaccurate or improbable to those who "know" what Villon did not: namely, that he was a man of the Middle Ages in a period of transition and that an interest in Arabic or Oriental poetry is not to be found in French literature until a much later (or, just possibly, at a much earlier) date. Seen, then, in a rather more sanguine light, the theory of some of Villon's sources that we have explored here can be seen to be a perfectly countenanceable proposition to be accepted or rejected on its merits. Our present state of knowledge of the background to the fifteenth century, is so threadbare that the merits of the proposition are unlikely to be examined with any authority for a fair length of time. We have stressed this point at length, because Villon is one of the yardsticks not just of French poetic culture in the Middle Ages, but of what the Middle Ages meant to Europe as a whole. Beside Dante and, to a lesser extent, Chaucer, he is "mediaeval", with all the virtues and failings that is supposed to imply. Philo-Arabism was not supposed to be part of the poet's baggage

in the late Middle Ages. The same is true of the early Renaissance. It is to be hoped nevertheless that outright disbelief will be suspended long enough to allow other parallels to be considered.

For Ibn Khaldun, as for most other Arab writers on the subject, poetry occupies a particular place in Arab culture, to the exclusion, early on, of music<sup>1155</sup>, though not necessarily at a higher level than prose eloquence. Poetry was one literary activity among others<sup>1156</sup>. But its place in the culture of the pre-Islamic tribes meant that it obtained at least token respect in later periods.

Les Arabes se ~~faisaient~~ une très haute idée de la poésie. Ils en ont fait les archives (diwân) de leurs sciences et de leur histoire, le critère de leur notion du bien et du mal, et la référence principale de leurs connaissances et de leur sagesse. 1157

Allowing for the difference in intention - satirical to a great extent in Villon's case - this, in the first person singular, would be a fairly acceptable description of Villon's view of his own art and of the Paris he knew, as shown in the Testament, though not in the Lais, where the reaction to the earlier theories of Jean de Meun is evident. A further point of similarity is in Ibn Khaldun's description of the language of poetry as being la langue de la tribu in its simplest and purest form, and not that of the lawyers and theologians:

L'<sup>suprême</sup>éloquence ne peut résulter que d'un bagage supérieur. C'est pour cela que les juristes et les docteurs sont de piètres orateurs. En effet, cela tient au caractère particulier de leur discipline, aux règles scientifiques, aux expressions juridiques qu'ils apprennent, et qui sont si éloignées de l'éloquence, et d'une qualité si inférieure. Les tournures scientifiques n'ont rien de commun avec l'éloquence. Aussi, celui qui commence par les retenir en abondance, et en colore son esprit, en acquiert un

1155 Ibid, II, p.668, "L'harmonie tirée des vers et des rimes n'est qu'une goutte dans l'océan des sons, et il existe toute une littérature sur la musique. Mais les Arabes bédouins ne connaissaient d'autres art, d'autre science que leur poésie."

1156 Ibid, III, p.1295.

1157 III, p.1297. For further references to the tribal register, cf. C.J. Lyall, Translations of Ancient Arabian Poetry, 1930, and Ibn Qotaiba, Introduction au Livre de la Poésie, ed. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 1947, p.36. On the tradition of praise of contemporaries, H.Pérès, La Poésie andalouse en arabe classique, 1937, p.88f.

exercice imparfait et des locutions qui n'ont rien à voir avec les modèles du discours arabe. C'est ce qui se passe, en ce qui concerne l'art poétique, pour les légistes, les grammairiens, les théologiens dialectiques, les philosophes et tous ceux dont la mémoire n'est pas imprégnée du pur et noble génie de la langue arabe. 1158

It is clear from this passage that eloquence is not to be confused with gradiloquence. The latter is neither good poetry, nor good rhetoric<sup>1159</sup>.

Ibn Khaldun defines eloquence as follows:

Or, l'éloquence est la meilleure façon de communiquer sa pensée. Les critiques littéraires la définissent<sup>1160</sup> comme la conformité de la parole avec les circonstances

This view of clear, simple expression, unencumbered by technicalities of any kind, corresponds generally to Villon's practice as a poet. It would be unwise to state the case any more strongly than that.

Where Molinet is concerned, the notion of the death of a person of note as being a catastrophe of universal dimensions is briefly noted in the Discours:

On peut insister sur la gravité d'un événement:

'N'as tu pas vu celui qu'emporte la civière,  
et que notre tribu a perdu sa lumière?' 1161

or again

On peut vouer au malheur toute la création, pour la perte d'une seule personne:

'Le pâturage est sans gardien et sans défense,  
depuis qu'est mort le grand guerrier porteur de lance.'

On peut reprocher aux objets inanimés de rester insensibles; comme dans les vers de la poétesse khârijite (sur la mort de son frère):

'Vous, arbres de Khâbûr, avec vos vertes feuilles,  
de mon frère Ibn Tarif ne portez point de deuil!' 1162

1158 III, p.1315.

1159 There are passages in the Discours, which might seem to contradict this point as will be evident in our discussion of parallels between the Khaldun's views and those of Molinet.

1160 III, p.1319.

1161 III, p.1299.

1162 III, p.1300.



The use of the metaphor of the tree for a prince and of an estate for his kingdom is frequent in Molinet, as has been shown. Lemaire de Belges uses the latter in the Temple d'Honneur et de Vertus<sup>1163</sup> with Pan as the dead prince. Lemaire's Plainte du Désire<sup>1164</sup> is an assembly of tirades on the subject of a dead master carried away on his bier. Ibn Khaldun also compares the poet to a mason or weaver, and their forms or métiers to the mental forms that the poet must possess<sup>1165</sup>. These forms are interpreted as words or verbal forms, rather than what Ibn Khaldun slightly calls the ideas common to all mankind without distinction. Hence it is by his use of words that a poet proves his worth, not by the ideas that he offers: he returns to the purity of original tribal poetry:

Finalement, il devient comme un des leurs, pour ce qui a trait au langage. Voici comment: le langage est une des habitudes de la parole, que l'on acquiert par la pratique constante de la langue. Or, la langue et la parole ne peuvent fournir que des mots, tandis que les idées sont dans l'esprit. D'autre part, tout le monde peut avoir des idées et chacun a la faculté de saisir, avec l'entendement, ce qu'il désire et ce qu'il aime. Il n'est besoin d'aucune technique pour cela. Au contraire, pour combiner les mots qui expriment ces idées, il faut une certaine technique. Les paroles sont les moules des pensées. On peut puiser l'eau de mer dans des vases d'or, d'argent, de nacre, de verre ou d'argile: l'eau restera toujours la même. 1166

This view of poetry as verbal forms, skilfully put together in a way that reveals the craftsmanship of the poet, existing independently of the claims of sense and meaning imposed by ideas, is the only approximate statement of Molinet's use of words to express sound and feeling that I have been able to find. The notion that verbal forms are to be treated like independent entities, complete in themselves, related technically rather than by their sense, is an interesting approximation to Molinet's standpoint.

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1163 ed. Hornik, 1957, p.68ff, "Le pasteur Pan..."

1164 ed. Yabsley, 1932.

1165 III, p.1300, "C'est ainsi qu'on apprend le moule universel, par la pratique constante de la poésie arabe. Ce moule est une abstraction de l'esprit, tirée des combinaisons verbales particulières, mais qui les embrasse toutes. Celui qui parle est comme le maçon, ou le tisserand(.) Si le maçon abandonne son moule, ou le tisserand son métier, l'échec ne fait pas de doute."

1166 III, p.1312, "On écrit avec des mots et non des idées."

It must not be supposed that these parallels between Arabic theory and Western poetry display an interest in Oriental thought particular to the end of the fifteenth century, but this was a period that, even after the expedition to Italy in 1494-5, showed little apparent interest in Italian, or even classical, poetry. Jean Lemaire's prose may seem to<sup>be</sup> influenced by Humanist models (though his debt to Molinet's Roman de la Rose moralisé would bear closer examination), but his main poetic works have other intentions. The Temple d'Honneur and the Plainte du Désiré are both non-classical in form and inspiration. The Concorde des deux langages has a heavy debt to the Roman de la Rose, probably through Molinet's moralisation. The two Epîtres de l'Amant Vert seem to have derived their initial idea from the references to psitaci and other birds capable of speech described in the thirteenth century Latin translation (via the Arabic and the Hebrew) by a certain Joannes de Capua of some Persian fables known as Calila and Dimna, but known under the Latin title of Directorium Vitae Humanae<sup>1167</sup>. Though there had been translations of this book available in France since 1313, there was evidently a revival of interest towards the end of the fifteenth century, since the manuscript was copied afresh in 1496<sup>1168</sup>.

As a final point to this appendix, I add the name of a scholar who had knowledge of Arabic, Catalan and Spanish, and probably French, and who lived in Tunis at the end of the fourteenth and at the beginning of the fifteenth century. This was the Catalan renegade, Anselm Turmeda. He was evidently a man of some importance<sup>1169</sup> in view of the attempts made to have him return to the Christian West almost thirty years after he had

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1167 ed. J. Derenbourg, Paris, 1887, p.130-1, p.232.

1168 D. Delisle, Journal des Savants, mars 1898 on L. Hervieux's fables latines d'origine indienne. Cf. also L. Hervieux, Les Fabulistes Latins, Paris, 1899.

1169 M. de Riquer, Història de la Literatura Catalana, Barcelona, tII, p.274, considers this something of a mystery, if Turmeda is assessed only on his extant work.

originally gone to Tunis. Turmeda was both poet and theologian. In his latter role, he wrote a refutation of Christianity, in Arabic, which is still important<sup>1170</sup>. He continued to write Catalan verse until about 1420.

Anselm Turmeda was born about 1352-5<sup>1171</sup>. He studied in Italy and is thought to have gone to France as well. He may have reached Tunis about 1386. What is certain is that he was there at the time of the Franco-Genoese expedition against Mahdia in 1390 and acted as interpreter for the ruler of Tunis in negotiations with the leaders of the expedition.

There are several reasons for connecting Turmeda with French literature.

First is an account of the negotiations between Tunisian and Franco-Genoese leaders which appears in Froissart, yet is written from the Tunisian viewpoint. Even the jibes made by one side against the other come from the Muslim camp and not the Christian<sup>1172</sup>. The light enjoué tone of the Mahdia episode corresponds to that of Turmeda's other writing, such as the Disputation de l'Asne, which is now only known in a French translation and ~~with the translator's preface dated Lyon, 1514.~~<sup>1173</sup>.

Second is the form of the prophecy genre, found both in the Disputation and in Chastelain's Merveilles advenues<sup>1174</sup>.

Third is the form of a huitain in Taillevent, which reproduces lines from a poem by Turmeda, or supposes a common source<sup>1175</sup>.

1170 M. de Epalza, La Tuhfa, Rome, Accad. dei Lincei, 1971.

1171 *ibid.*, preface, p.230, "Asistí entonces a la expedición naval de los genoveses y franceses."

1172 Froissart, Oeuvres, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, tXIV, p.211f. Allusions make the role of at least one interpreter clear. That interpreter mentioned, p.241-2, is not apparently a Saracen himself (on the life of the Christian merchants in fifteenth century Tunis, cf. Anselme Adorné, De Affrica in Robert Brunschvig, Deux Récits de Voyage inédits...au XVe siècle, Paris, 1936, p.186-92). Cf. also L. Mirot, Revue des Etudes hist., t97, 1931.

1173 cf. Revue Hispanique, t24, 1911, p.358f.

1174 *Ibid.*, p.472 for the "merveilles de Bourgogne".

1175 Jardin de Plaisance, ed. Droz, Piaget, f°lviii.r<sup>o</sup>, "Car au champ avoit deux entrees(...)Lyma d'une lyme de voirre": for the attribution to M. Taillevent, *ibid.*, tII, p.94-104. For the Catalan text, cf. Cobles de la divisio del Regne de Mallorques, in M. Aguilo y Fuster, Cançoner de les

Fourth is the coincidence in dates between the Mahdia expedition (1390) and the appearance, not long after that, of Deschamps's Art de Dictier (1392) with its apparent reference to the theories of Alfarabi on music. The Art de Dictier, moreover, seems in some respects to be written in the prose of Southern, rather than of Northern, France.

A ballad attributed to Deschamps begins,

J'ay demouré entre les Sarrazins...<sup>1176</sup>

though the reference is to Syrie (Surie?) and not to le pays de Barbarie.

Fifth is the coincidence, not directly concerning Turmeda, but with Michaut Taillevent with whom I have already connected Turmeda of the appearance in Taillevent's verse of the épître naturelle<sup>1117</sup>. The early master of this genre was the Cordoban Muslim poet, Ibn Guzmán, and we are fortunate in having his work in a recent Spanish translation.<sup>1178</sup> The extent to which the various predicaments expressed in Clément Marot's work are recounted here - from imprisonment for sacrilege to the art of begging with grace and wit - ~~may seem tedious~~, but should not be lost sight of.

The points made here in outline should be examined in detail by an Arabist with a knowledge of Romance literature. I have raised the case of Anselm Turmeda, his presence in Tunis and the increasing number of points in French verse which seem to come from a related source, in order to suggest one means by which the French poets of the fifteenth century could have come to have knowledge of the work of Ibn Khaldun, and of Arabic Poetry.

(continued from previous page) obretes...mes divulgades, st.16,17,20,26. M. de Espalza, op.cit., dates the Cobles as 1398 (p.20). Cf. M. De Riquer, op.cit., p.281.

1176 Jardin de Plaisance, f<sup>o</sup>c.iiii.r<sup>o</sup>a, and Oeuvres, V, p.217. Cf, also Droz, Piaget, II, p.92-3, on le morisque, its vogue in XVth century literature.

1177 La Destrousse M. Taillevent in Jardin de P., p.98-102.

1178 Todo Ben Guzmán, ed. & trans. E. García Gomez, 63, Madrid, Editorial Gredos, 1972. All the previous translations were incomplete. The parallels are not only with Marot. For an Arab Ballade de la Grosse Margot, narrating the same events and using even the same metaphors, cf. Guzmán, I, p. 469, st. 11-15.