2016

"Englishing" Horace: The Influence of the Horatian Tradition on Old and Middle English Poetry

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“ENGLISHING” HORACE: THE INFLUENCE OF THE HORATIAN TRADITION ON OLD AND MIDDLE ENGLISH POETRY

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO

THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PROGRAM IN ENGLISH

BY

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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

DECEMBER 2016

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Hic intermitto ut gratias referam pro debita in propositum efficiendum suscepta. Tribunis meis primum gratias ago, praesertim Professori Thomas Kaminski et Professori Eduuardo Wheatley, consiliis sine cuius hanc thesem doctoream numquam perfecissem. Et Professor Iudoca Wexler, praeses generis litterarum Anglicarum, et Professor Iacobus Knapp, director studiorum doctoreorum, me per privataque artemque sustinebant. Simile debitum Professori David Townsend, Professori Ioanni Bienz, Professori Andreae Price, Professori Katerina McMahon, et Professori Iudith Makens debeo. Fondatioque Arturus J. Schmitt Academiaque Medievalis Americae munera donarunt. Parentibus meis causa hortandorum studiorum scribendorumque plurimis sine quaestionibus syngraphorum gratias ago. Amicis meis ob amicitiam patientiamque infinitimam gratias ago: in primis gratias profundas habeo Andreae Eastman, Barbarae Hanselman, Guiniverae Frey, Andreae Ryken, Mariae-Franciae Garciae, Barbarae Lyons, Johannae Tillitski-Clark, et Melissae Powell. Donaldo Miller ob eius auxilium in hora vitae meae difficillima gratias ago. Discipulis meis denique, qui me semper commonent cur educatio sit vocatio mea, gratias ago, et illis hanc disputationem dedico: vere, "homines dum docent discunt."

Quivi, secondo che per ascoltare,
non avea planto mai che di sospiri
che l'aura etterna facevan tremare;

ciò avvenia di duol sanza martìri,
ch'avean le turbe, ch'eran molte e grandi,
d'infanti e di femmine e di viri.

Lo buon maestro a me: "Tu non dimandi
che spiriti son questi che tu vedi?
Or vo' che sappi, innanzi che più andi,

ch'ei non peccaro; e s'elli hanno mercedi,
non basta, perché non ebber battesmo,
ch'è porta de la fede che tu credi;

e s'e' furon dinanzi al cristianesmo,
non adorar debitamente a Dio:
e di questi cotai son io medesmo.

Per tai difetti, non per altro rio,
semo perduti, e sol di tanto offesi
che sanza speme vivemo in disio."

Dante, *Inferno* IV.25-42

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INTRODUCTION

More than ninety years ago, Grant Showerman eulogized the Middle Ages as a period of "ignorance" and "gross darkness" inhospitable to the poets of Augustan Rome, whom he asserted a medieval audience would have found intellectually, syntactically, and metrically inscrutable.[1] Contrary to Showerman's assertion, however, scribes throughout the Middle Ages copied the works of the three most important Augustan Age poets—Vergil, Ovid, and Horace—along with paratextual accretions meant to guide medieval readers through the potential morass of harmonizing pagan poetry with Christian doctrine. The paleographer Ludwig Traube famously divided medieval literary production into three distinct periods based on what he perceived to be the relative popularity of these three Roman poets: the *aetas Vergiliana* covering the eighth and ninth centuries, the *aetas Horatiana* covering the tenth and eleventh centuries, and the *aetas Ovidiana* attending the transition into the High Middle Ages.[2]

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[1] "Their substance, never grasped without effort, was now not only difficult, but became the abstruse matter of another people and another age" (90); Showerman's evaluation sharply inscribes a cultural and linguistic alterity between the classical and medieval worlds that was impermeable.

[2] "Einleitung in die lateinische Philologie des Mittelalters" 113. It is, however, worth noting that Traube's ordering occurs within the context of his discussion of prosody.

The Middle Ages inherited Augustine of Hippo's belief, which was repeated in the Servian commentary, that the *puer* first mentioned in the eighth line of Vergil's fourth *Eclogue* referred not to Augustus but to Christ, thereby authorizing Vergil's status as the exemplar of the virtuous pagan poet. Vergil's corpus, consequently, has exerted an influence throughout the entirety of the Middle Ages, as many scholars have noted, and the commentaries attributed to Servius on *The Aeneid* provided the exemplar for those produced for other pagan authors. Nicholas Trevet produced a fourteenth-century commentary on Vergil's *Bucolics*, and a commentary on *The Aeneid* attributed to Bernard Silvestris exists.[3] In many ways, the *Historia destructionis Troiae* of Guido delle Colonne (Guido de Columnis) can be thought of as an extended *ordo gloss* on the entire issue of the Trojan War, of which *The Aeneid* forms the kernel. Indeed, Old French, Middle Dutch, Middle High German, Middle Irish, Middle English, Norman French, and, of course, Italian vernacular adaptations survive, dating from the mid-twelfth century through the end of the medieval epoch.

So extensive is the body of extant scholarship on Vergil in the Middle Ages that the citation of a few seminal works must serve as a sort of a bibliographic synecdoche. First published in 1872, Domenico Comparetti's *Virgilio nel Medio Evo* was reissued in the English translation of E. F. M. Benecke along with a new introduction by Jan Ziolkowski in 1997. Ziolkowski along with Michael Putnam edited the excellent and

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[3] Julian Jones's "The So-Called Silvestris Commentary on the *Aeneid* and Two Other Interpretations" is a particularly concise and lucid summation of the crux and its interpretive implications.

comprehensive volume *The Virgilian Tradition: The First Fifteen Hundred Years.* Margaret Erhart's *The Judgment of the Trojan Prince Paris in Medieval Literature* stands as a good example of the way medieval vernacular authors adapted not only ancient texts but also the commentary tradition in their literary production. With respect to English vernacular specifically, A. C. Friend's 1953 *Speculum* article remains a useful point of entry into Chaucer's use of the *Aeneid*. Far and away, however, it is in the work of Christopher Baswell that appreciation for the influence of Vergil over vernacular medieval literature in Britain finds its clearest and most thorough expression; indeed, his 1995 monograph *Virgil in Medieval Britain: Figuring the Aeneid from the Twelfth Century to Chaucer* has provided a useful paradigm for considering how the manuscript contexts of a pagan poet can provide concrete evidence for his influence over vernacular poetry.

The influence of Ovid on the Middle Ages has received even greater attention. The Ovidian corpus attracted a great deal of attention from Late Antique and medieval commentators. The Italian Humanists attributed to Lactantius Placidus a set of Late Antique commentaries known as the *Narrationes* and transmitted by an important branch of manuscripts within the Ovidian corpus (the so-called Lactantian manuscripts).[4] Manegold of Lautembach (Manegoldus Lautenbacensis) produced an eleventh-century commentary on Ovid that augmented a score of anonymously authored scholia from the

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[4] The summary provided by Richard Tarrant in his article "The *Narrationes* of 'Lactantius' and the Transmission of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*" is a particularly concise yet thorough assessment of the manuscript tradition of the "Lactantian" commentaries.

eleventh and twelfth-centuries, and Arnulf d'Orléans (Arnulfus Aurelianensis) produced late-twelfth-century commentaries on both the *Metamorphoses* and the *Fasti*[5]*;* his c.1170 *Allegoriae* exerted considerable influence over medieval reception of Ovid in that it was the first to offer both extensive philological glosses as well as allegorical explication.[6] Orléans, as R. H. Rouse has noted, emerged by the end of the twelfth century as the preeminent European center of study for the classical *auctores* (131). Consequently, it is unsurprising that the next significant commentary comes from another *magister* of that city: Guillaume d'Orléans (Willelmus Aurelianensis) produced his *Bursarii Ovidianorum* in the early thirteenth century.[7] In England, the *Integumenta Ovidii* of John of Garland (Johannes de Garlandia) was in existence by c.1230; it provided a thorough allegorical and moralizing interpretation.[8] By the middle of the thirteenth century in the Loire valley, the "Vulgate" commentaries on the *Metamorphoses* coalesced from various earlier glosses into a recognizable scholium consisting of a full commentary, *accessus*, and glosses. This important commentary tradition forms the kernel of Frank Coulson's scholarship, whose 1991 monograph on the "Vulgate" commentaries provides a key exemplar for understanding the impact the commentary tradition had on medieval

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[5] The commentary of Manegold of Lautembach exists in one manuscript, Munich Clm 4610 (Coulson, "Ovid's Transformations" 43).

[6] Minnis gives a thorough chronology of Arnulf's importance (*Magister Amoris* 36-8).

[7] For a full discussion of the *Bursarii Ovidianorum*, see Alistair Minnis's "Latin to Vernacular: Academic Prologues and the Medieval French Art of Love" and especially the first chapter of his *Magister Amoris* as well as H. V. Shooner.

[8] Minnis, "Latin to Vernacular" 154.

understanding of the *auctores* more generally. In the late thirteenth century, Ovid's *Heroides* and *Metamorphoses* both attracted the attention of the Greek monk and *grammaticus* Maximus Planudes.[9] By c. 1340, Pierre Bersuire (Petrus Berchorius) had produced his influential *Ovidius moralizatus*. The Ovidian corpus, especially the *Metamorphoses*, also produced a number of vernacular summaries and adaptations. The most important of these was the *Ovide Moralisé*, which was likely completed by 1328.[10] The *Ovide Moralisé*, which survives in twenty-one manuscripts, takes the form of 72,000 lines of French Burgundian verse that paraphrase, gloss, expand, redact, and moralize the Ovidian poetic corpus.

Perhaps the most significant scholarly work on Ovid's place in the Middle Ages—and one that has provided an elegant exemplar for considering the role of the commentary tradition in understanding the way medieval curricula interpreted the *auctores* generally—is Ralph Hexter's seminal *Ovid and Medieval Schooling: Studies in Medieval Commentaries on Ovid's Ars amatoria, Epistulae ex Ponto, and Epistulae Heroidum*. As noted above, Frank Coulson's extensive scholarship on the commentary traditions has added considerably to our understanding of how late medieval audiences received and interpreted Ovid. In addition to the scholars named above, others whose work on medieval reception of the Ovidian tradition is worth noting include Jamie Fumo,

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[9] Annalisa Rossi has worked extensively on the translations and commentaries of Planudes; see especially her *Translatio Ovidii: note paleografiche sulle traduzioni medievali delle Metamorfosi* as well as *Ricognizioni sulla tradizione manoscritta delle Metamorphoses di Ovidio* for a thorough analysis. She is currently producing a critical edition of the *Narrationes*.

[10] See Pairet and Possamaï-Pérez.

Marilynn Desmond, Suzanne Conklin Akbari, John Fyler, Siegfried Wenzel, James Clark, and Kathryn McKinley. Scholars like Jonathan Bate, Charles Martindale, A. B. Taylor, Gordon Braden, and Niall Rudd have all ensured that Ovid's survival into the Early Modern period has been amply documented.

In comparison to Vergil and Ovid, Horace has received comparatively little attention from scholars despite manuscript evidence demonstrating that the Horatian tradition was alive and well during the Middle Ages: approximately 850 manuscripts exist today, dating from the ninth century to the 1470 *editio princeps*.[11] These manuscripts evince a complete range of paratextual commentary accretions to help medieval readers lift the *integumentum* of the literal meaning to gain access to the underlying allegorical truths; these accretions included *accessus*, explanatory and metrical notes, *ordo* and lexical glosses, and prose summaries transmitted as paratextual marginalia. In a series of articles spanning twenty years of scholarship, Karsten Friis-Jensen has examined at length the place of Horace within medieval pedagogical practices, focusing especially on the twelfth century, to explore the commentary traditions that became a part of the Horatian poetical tradition as known to its medieval audience. The scholarship of Suzanne Reynolds has also considered the medieval scholia associated with the *Satires* of Horace and their place within medieval reading practices. The increased importance of the classical *auctores* in twelfth-century France—especially

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[11] Friis-Jensen, "Medieval Commentaries" 55. It is important, however, to note that this does not include those manuscripts which transmit separate commentaries on the Horatian corpus, a class of manuscripts Friis-Jensen enumerates at about thirty.

at pedadgogical centers like Orléans, Tours, Chartres, and Paris—saw not only the copying of existing commentaries along with the Horatian corpus but also the composition of poetical treatises based on the *Ars Poetica*, most importantly the *Ars Versificata* by Mathew of Vendôme. Geoffrey of Vinsauf carried this momentum into the thirteenth century with his *Documentum de modo et arte dictandi et versificandi* and *Poetria nova*.[12] At the same time that Geoffrey of Vinsaulf and Matthew of Vendôme were composing their treatises, the florilegia that transmit many *sententiae* derived from Horace circulated on both sides of the English Channel.

Although the influence Horace exerted over vernacular poetry in humanist Italy has received extensive attention, few scholars have taken up the issue for vernacular poetic production in England during the Middle Ages despite Horace's importance as a poet, the scope of the commentary traditions his corpus attracted during the period in question, and the influence he exerted over Latin medieval versification; it is precisely this lacuna that this dissertation seeks to begin to address. Indeed, much modern scholarship evinces a general attitude that Horace's poetry was too difficult for medieval

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[12] The works by Matthew of Vendôme and Geoffrey of Vinsauf complicate our modern understanding of the text vs paratext distinction. Friis-Jensen argues persuasively that medieval readers of the *Ars Poetica* found its chronology and didactic utility too oblique without extensive commentary. The extent to which these commentaries challenge our modern distinction between text and paratext is evinced by the fact that when both Matthew of Vendôme and Geoffrey of Vinsauf based their own treatises on poiesis on Horace's *Ars Poetica*, they used material from the commentary traditions as though it were authentically Horatian. Because the treatises by both Matthew of Vendôme and Geoffrey of Vinsauf are essential to understanding how later medieval audience understood the Horatian tradition, I give no bibliography here, as the subsequent chapters give a fuller consideration to these treatises.

audiences to comprehend;[13] as Friis-Jensen and Reynolds have demonstrated, however, the Horatian corpus was subject not only to copying but also extensive commentary commensurate with its use as a pedagogical text. A notable but brief exception to this lacuna is Sebastian Sobecki's essay in *Notes and Queries*, which posits Horace's Ode I.3 as the source for Horn's apostrophe to his ship in *King Horn*. To be certain, the issue of anonymous authorship for most of the vernacular literature that survives from the Middle Ages is an important consideration. However, even for Chaucer, little of the extant scholarship has addressed his knowledge and use of the Horatian tradition, and the paucity of sources that have considered it have largely declared Horace to be the lone triumvir of the Augustan Age poets to have been unknown to Chaucer. Edgar Shannon, in his *Chaucer and the Roman Poets* concludes trenchantly that "it is … quite possible that Chaucer may have become acquainted with [Horace's] poems, but we find no evidence that he did" (359). Harriet Seibert's still-cited 1916 article lists only eight instances of Horace reflected in Chaucer and further argues that Chaucer knew five of those secondhand. C. L. Wrenn, writing in 1923, argued *Troilus and Criseyde* evinces familiarity with Horace's epistles and "at least one (perhaps two) of his Odes" (292). John Scattergood argues in a 1982 article that Chaucer's poem "Balade de bon conseyl" may owe a debt to Horace's *Epistula* I.10 (33). In a 2001 article, Craig Berry gestures toward the place Horace's *Ars Poetica* had in medieval literary *imitatio* (296). This

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[13] As Tarrant succinctly summarizes, Horace's "greater metrical and linguistic difficulty" rendered Horace's lyric poetry unappealing even to educated medieval audiences ("Horace" 182).

paucity of scholarship is disproportionate to the manuscript evidence for Horace in the Middle Ages both generally in Western Europe and more specifically in Britain. My contention in this dissertation is that a more careful consideration of the Horatian tradition, one that is more sensitive to the rhetorical work the scholia and commentaries perform, will yield evidence of its influence over vernacular poetry written in medieval England.

Before moving forward to consider the place of Horace in the intellectual heritage inherited and adapted throughout the Middle Ages and its influence on vernacular poetry in England, it is crucial to define both what the "Horatian corpus," "Horatian tradition," and "influence" signify. I use the phrase the "Horatian corpus" to refer strictly to the poetry written by Horace as it survives for us today. This includes 103 odes spread across four books and called in the manuscripts, straightforwardly enough, the *Odes*. These poems are chiefly written in Alcaic, Sapphic, Greater Sapphic, and the four Asclepiadean meters. The corpus also includes seventeen epodes in one book; these, too, are titled simply in the manuscripts. The last seven epodes are metrically diverse, but the first ten are written in iambic strophes. The *Carmen Saeculare* is an imperially commissioned hymn written in largely Sapphic meter with some Adonic stanzas. Called *Sermones* ("dialogues" or "colloquies") in the manuscript tradition, the Satires are spread across two books, ten in the first and eight in the second. The twenty-two *Epistulae* are likewise spread across two books, twenty in the first and two in the second. This numbering does not include the *Ars Poetica*, technically also an epistle and sometimes called in the

manuscripts the *Epistula ad Pisones* (or even simply the *Ad Pisones*). The *Ars* has exerted a profound influence over European poiesis and frequently circulated independently of the rest of the Horatian corpus.

By the Horatian tradition, in turn, I mean the textual *Nachleben* of the corpus of Horace along with the scholia and other works that seek to explain it. It is essential to note that as this corpus was transmitted, copied, and adapted over the last two millennia, "Various Horaces," as Lowell Edmunds aptly phrases it, "have come and gone" (348). This plurality is the result not only of a manuscript culture in which every copy is by definition and necessity unique but also by nature of the commentary traditions that surround the Horatian corpus itself. These commentaries, which as will be discussed more fully below served to authorize the study of pagan literature in christianized settings, exerted a profound influence over the way Horace's poetry was understood to signify; consequently, rather than considering the paratextual accretions of the commentary tradition to be corruptions requiring purgation and emendation, as Classicists and textual scholars tend to view them, this dissertation gives the commentaries full attention to begin to understand which of the "various Horaces" a vernacular poet might have known. With respect to "influence," Hexter reminds us that the matter is equally complicated when, writing about Ovid, he asserts:

> It is not enough to recognize Ovid's popularity in the "aetas Ovidiana" : one must anatomize it. One must attempt to distinguish between various forms of popularity and influence, between various spheres in which Ovid was variously received, and between the different means by which Ovid exercised his influence (*Medieval School Commentaries* 5).

In other words, "influence" functions as a sort of sigil or cypher for the complexities of the interplay between transmission and reception of classical *auctores*. This dissertation focuses on the influence the Horatian tradition exerted over the *memoria* (discussed in the first chapter) from which vernacular poets in England during the Middle Ages composed their own works. Consequently, in seeking to understand how English vernacular authors made use of the Horatian tradition, this dissertation concerns itself with understanding the place of Horace within medieval educational praxis; considering how this medieval educational praxis accommodated the *auctoritas* of the Horatian tradition through the commentaries; articulating briefly how changes in medieval curricula altered the ways in which the Horatian tradition were used; remaining sensitive to how the interplay of orality and literacy through textuality alter the reception of the Horatian tradition; and, lastly, considering the complexities of the relationship between Latin and the vernaculars in medieval England.

The first chapter, entitled "Reading, Authority, and the Classical Tradition," considers the ways in which the Middle Ages inherited and adapted Roman models of education and reading practices. It begins by considering how Neo-Platonic thought in Late Antiquity approached language and the distinction between *res* and *verbum*; from there, it argues that the idea of the *integumentum* empowered *ennaratio* as the primary hermeneutic disposition such that allegoresis became the dominant reading strategy. The commentary tradition visible in medieval manuscripts of the *auctores* bears witness to the

recuperative hermeneutics employed by medieval audiences of classical poetry. From here, I turn to consider how reading practices of the *auctores* varied through the Middle Ages, focusing on the transition from monastic education through the cathedral schools and their culmination in the medieval universities. This trajectory necessarily demands a consideration of the *artes liberales* as transmitted through the Roman grammarians and into medieval curricula, which in turn forces attention on the transition throughout the Middle Ages from a largely oral culture to one in which textuality and literacy became more normative. This chapter also sketches generally the implications of residual Neo-Platonism for translation theory in the Middle Ages and considers how translations of the *auctores* function within the Scholastic commentary tradition. Lastly, the first chapter surveys the place of Horace in latinate medieval culture before establishing, in the language of the *accessus* tradition, the *modus tractandi* for the subsequent chapters.

The second chapter, entitled "The *Exeter Book* and the Pagan Poets," explores the influence of the pagan poets generally and of Horace specifically on the elegiac poetry in one of the most important codices that transmit the Anglo-Saxon poetic corpus. Additionally, this chapter considers codicological evidence to argue within the *Exeter Book*'s pages we may glimpse the reimportation into England through Abbo of Fleury of educational reforms that stressed the *auctoritas* of the pagan poets and that, consequently, Horace's presence within the poems of the second booklet of the codex represent realpolitik vis-a-vis King Edgar's *Romanitas.* This chapter uses Codex Bernensis 363, a complete text of the Horatian corpus with demonstrable insular provenance and features,

to construct the way a late tenth-century monastic audience would have likely read Horace. Finally, the chapter places Horace at the center not only of the Benedictine Reform movement but of the Investiture Controversy.

From there the dissertation moves into the fourteenth century. In the third chapter, "Horatian Satire and Salvific Alimentation in *Piers Plowman*," considers William Langland's poem and its ruminative uses of the second book of Horace's *Satires*. The earliest work of Horace known for certain to have been used in the cathedral schools was his *Satires*. In an often-cited quotation, even for Dante, Horace was *Orazio satiro*. *Piers Plowman* includes one quotation from the other Roman satirist commonly known to medieval audience, Juvenal, in the B-text at XIV.305; however, as Jay Martin summarizes, "no evidence exists that [Langland] knew Horace" (535). To the contrary, this chapter argues that Langland knew Horace's *Satires* well and used the second book to construct a discourse of consumption that resituates ancient Roman *sententiae* against overindulgence into a larger Christological framework. The chapter further argues that Langland's processes of *ruminatio* draw on Geoffrey of Vinsaulf and that careful attention to his poetic methods locates a Horatian source for a previously unidentified Latin floscule in *Piers Plowman*. The chapter concludes with a reassessment of what Horace's status as *satirus* meant in the fourteenth century.

The fourth chapter, entitled "Horace and Gower on Patronage and Rulership" focuses on the *Confessio Amantis*. It considers the influence of Horace's *Odes* on the poem to argue that Gower uses them in two key ways: first, to inflect his source texts

with Horatian material to alter their moral register, and second, to construct the narrative framework for the *Confessio Amantis*. The chapter posits a series of odes as the impetus for Gower's narration of his having received the royal commission for his great Middle English poem and then argues for *Odes* IV.10 as the source for the Venus's mirror. Through this use of Horace to inflect his largely Ovidian *materia*, Gower enables in his poem an admonition to Richard II about his royal duties. Gower's use of the *Poetria nova*, in turn authorizes the disposition that morally correct fiction fortifies *memoria*.

The final poet, Geoffrey Chaucer, is the subject of the fifth chapter, "Going Off-Script: Chaucer's Complicated Use of the Horatian Tradition." As much scholarly attention as Chaucer has received, his knowledge of Horace has not been the focus of much twentieth- and twenty-first century scholarship. Harriet Seibert's still cited 1916 article lists only eight instances of Horace reflected in Chaucer and further argues that Chaucer knew five of those secondhand. C. L. Wrenn, writing in 1923, argued *Troilus and Criseyde* evinces familiarity with Horace's epistles and "at least one (perhaps two) of his Odes" (292). John Scattergood argues in a 1982 article that Chaucer's poem "Balade de bon conseyl" may owe a debt to Horace's *Epistula* I.10 (33). In a 2001 article, Craig Berry gestures toward the place Horace's *Ars Poetica* had in medieval literary *imitatio* (296). The *Ars Poetica*, either through Horace directly or Geoffrey of Vinsauf as an intermediary, provides, of course, the "ernest and game" duality of the *Canterbury Tales*. This chapter, however, will argue that closer reading of Chaucer, particularly of *The Canterbury Tales* and *The House of Fame*, suggests that Chaucer knew Horace directly,

and not just the *Ars Poetica* and *Epistulae* but the *Odes*, too (and different odes from those Wrenn cites). Chaucer's divergence from his sources offer the most tantalizing evidence of his complicated reworking of classical texts.

Michael Twomey's essay serves as a call for a radical reassessment of the idea that Chaucer was limited only to a command of cartulary Latin and was not, therefore, capable of directly engaging with Latin sources. Jamie Fumo and Kathryn McKinley provide compelling arguments for Chaucer's direct knowledge of Ovid as well as the French moralized versions. Is it impossible to believe that if Chaucer could handle Ovid he could not also handle Horace in a manuscript containing thorough scholia to assist him? It is also worth bearing in mind that Barbara Nolan compellingly argues that Chaucer was adept enough in his handling of classical sources to rework the *Teseide* in *The Knight's Tale* to have effected a systematic replacement of "Boccacio's Aristotelian system with the less optimistic Ciceronian and Senecan system that had, until the mid-thirteenth century, typically informed medieval treatises on virtue" (250). This chapter will continue this line of scholarship by enriching our understanding of the subtle and sophisticated ways in which Chaucer made use of Horace in his own poetry.

The primary analysis of the Horatian tradition's influence focuses on Fragments VII and IX as well as the *Retraction* of the *Canterbury Tales*. A trajectory through the *Tale of Melibee*, the *Nun's Priest's Tale*, and the *Manciple's Tale* shows Chaucer deftly inflecting his source texts with Horace to alter their ethical resonance in a way similar to Gower but doing so in a way that allows coherence into a broader discourse about tale-

telling and linguistic instability. Drawing on the *Poetria Nova*, Chaucer shifts the moral impetus of *ruminatio* from poets to their readers to assert the importance of intellectual discrimination in the feeding of *memoria* through ingestion of the *Canterbury Tales*. Further, this chapter argues that Chaucer's sharing of ethical responsibility for licit interpretation between poet and reader reflects his response to Nominalism and its threat against the linguistic stability presupposed by the *accessus ad auctores* and the *ennaratio* of the pagan poets. The dissertation concludes with a recapitulation of the arguments and considers the broader issues at stake.

CHAPTER ONE

READING, AUTHORITY, AND THE CLASSICAL POETS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

In seeking to explain the purpose of sacred scripture, the Apostle Paul wrote in his epistle to the Romans:

> Quaecumque enim scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt:
> ut per patientiam et consolationem scripturarum spem habeamus.[1]

Gregory the Great, as revealed by an epistle to the bishop of Solona in 592, recognized in this passage a way to reconcile the Old and New Testaments through *allegoresis* as a hermeneutic mode.[2] In Gregory the Great we witness a figure who straddles the limen between Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages; his disposition toward classical learning, consequently, is revelatory. In the introductory epistle to the *Moralia in Iob*, Gregory remonstrates that he will not apply the rhetorical rules advocated by Donatus to the exegesis of sacred scripture.[3] A closer look at the sources, however, reveals the

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[1] Romans 15:4. "Indeed all things whatsoever that have been written have been written toward our instruction so that we might have hope through the patience and consolation of scriptures."

[2] "Quae utraque Veteris Testamenti, quia ita sunt gesta per historiam, ut tamen signarent aliquid per allegoriam, utinam valeamus sic res gestas legendo percurrere, ut possimus etiam gerendas providendo sentire." *PL*, vol 77; *Sancti Gregorii magni registrum epistolarum*, Book II, Epistola LII.

[3] Nam sicut hujus quoque epistolae tenor enuntiat, non metacismi collisionem fugio, non barbarismi confusionem devito, situs motusque et praepositionum casus servare contemno, quia indignum vehementer existimo, ut verba coelestis oraculi restringam sub regulis Donati. *PL* vol 75.

depths of Gregory's classical learning. Both the Whitby hagiographer and Paul the Deacon comment on Gregory's excellence in secular literature, and even Gregory himself gives a clear indication that the "antiquorum dicta" were important to him during his papacy, for in an epistle to the bishop of Syracuse, Gregory asks for these to be read during the monastic *lectio*.[4] Indeed, the *registrum* of Gregory's epistles shows amply his debts to classical authors: his allusions, as John Martyn and John Moorhead have shown, include Lucretius, Seneca, Ovid, Vergil, Homer, Juvenal, Persius, and Horace while his prose style exhibits influence of Ciceronian *clausulae*.[5] Such classical influences are unsurprising for someone of Gregory's position, for as his earliest extant vita attests, he was the son of the Roman senator Gordianus and received the education typical of aristocratic Roman men.[6] This classical education combines with Gregory's pragmatism.[7] Consequently, in Gregory's teachings we get the resolution of the Patristics' anxiety *vis-à-vis* classical literature, for the same allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament to bring it in line with the salvational precepts of the New Testament of Romans 15:4, and his explication of that verse authorizes the transmission and study of

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[4] *PL*, vol 77; *Sancti Gregorii magni registrum epistolarum*, Book VII, Epistola IX. It is interesting to note that a quick search of the PL reveals that this locus is one of only two in which Gregory uses the phrase "antiquorum dicta" without the qualifier "patrum." The other of these loci occurs in chapter 31 of his exposition on Job, where the context makes clear that the *antiquorum dicta* are the works of classical antiquity that can be yoked to scriptural exegesis (*PL* vol 75).

[5] Martyn, 110-11; Moorhead "Gregory's Literary Inheritance."

[6] Whitby *Life* of Gregory the Great, chapter 1.

[7] It is worth noting that Gregory's pragmatism encouraged him to retract his earlier command to destroy pagan temples and instead to instruct that if the structures were well built that they instead be cleansed and appropriated for Christian worship. Bede copies this letter of 18 July to Abbot Mellitus in I.30 of his *Historia Ecclesiastica*.

classical literature as a propaedeutic for scriptural exegesis.[8] Gregory's medieval biographers also transmit the story of the baptism of Trajan, which effectively instantiates the category of the virtuous pagan, whose impeccable conduct in life requires only baptism for inclusion among the saved in heaven.[9] The story is illustrative of the tension implicit in medieval attitudes toward the classical past: a profound reverence for the classical Roman Stoic virtues and the literature that transmits them that exists alongside an anxious awareness of their pagan origins.[10] Through the liminal figure of Gregory, the Middle Ages inherits two things necessary for an allegorical approach to classical literature able to appropriate what it found useful in the classical tradition: a disposition toward language that draws heavily upon Neoplatonic thought, and a pedagogical system

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[8] Minnis pushes this too far to argue that the medieval understanding of Romans 15.4 came to encompass "'almost anything,'" by which he seems to mean almost any interpretation of almost any text (*Medieval Theory* 205); Minnis's phrasing implies a frivolity to the medieval exegetes that strikes me as going too far, but certainly the medieval understanding of Romans 15:4 authorizes for the Middle Ages a flexible yet rigorous approach to dealing with non-sacred literature that enables a wide range of viewpoints and texts to be brought into hermeneutics without disturbing unduly Catholic dogma.

[9] The story is first told by the Whitby author in chapter 29. John the Deacon (Johannes Hymonides), writing in the ninth century, includes the story but notes his suspicions about the veracity of the story, attributing it to Anglo-Saxon superstition. Despite John's incredulity and the unorthodoxy of the idea that vexed many theologians during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Jacob of Voragine (Jacobus de Voragine) relates the story in chapter 46 of his *Legenda Aurea*.

[10] As Alcuin Blamires rightly points out, the systematic appropriation of the Classical and Late Antique ethical tradition by Christian morality means that there exist "accommodations negotiated between ethical concepts and the moral systems into which Christianity sought to assimilate them" (8). Central to this ethical tradition are the four cardinal virtues enumerated in Book I of Cicero's *De officiis*: *prudentia*, *temperantia*, *iustitia*, and *fortitudo*. Ambrose adopted this ethical framework in his *De officiis ministrorum*, thereby initiating the process of Christianizing the Stoic ethical inheritance. The four Stoic cardinal virtues were joined by the three theological virtues, *fides*, *spes*, and *caritas*, a schema ubiquitous by the Middle English period. The three theological virtues are enumerated in 1 Corinthians 13:13, which also establishes *caritas* as the highest of the seven virtues: "Nunc autem manent fides, spes, caritas, tria hæc: major autem horum est caritas."

that was an evolutionary outgrowth of Augustan Age practice in which Horace and the other pagan poets were central.

Boethius and Macrobius, who Tullio Gregory argues were always read in reference to Plato's *Timaeus*, are the two most important sources for the transmission of Neoplatonic theories of language (55). The most important of these Neoplatonic ideas is the distinction between *res* and *verbum*: evolving from Plato's discussion of universals, this distinction posits a difference between the words (*verba*), which are ephemeral and mutable, and reality (*res*), which is transcendent and immutable. Certainly, it is this idea that underlies the fourfold meaning of sacred scripture (the literal or historical, the allegorical, the tropological, and the anagogical) as enumerated by John Cassian (Johannes Cassianus) and popularized by Origen; as established in the previous paragraph, studying the figurative language of classical literature became the appropriate propadeutic for scriptural exegesis. A key difference, however, is that while the divine inspiration of the New Testament provided the ultimate authority, the situation for the pagan poets was less immediately obvious. The keenest of the medieval *grammatici*, however, found a way. Peter Abelard (Petrus Abaelardus), in his *Theologia Christiana*, identified the Platonic world-soul with the Holy Spirit and claimed for the writers of classical antiquity prophetic inspiration (Gregory 60); as a result, *philosophia* came to encompass the entirety of written texts that guide one in proper conduct. Abelard, drawing on Macrobius, asserts in the *Theologia Christiana*, furthermore, that *philosophia* expresses through *fabulosa involucra* (story-telling wrappings) essential truths whose

plenitude could only be understood after their original moment of composition and after Christ's Incarnation in much the same way that the Old Testament was understood as typologically prefiguring the New Testament (Gregory 58-9 and Wetherbee, "Philosophy" 37). In his glosses on the *Timaeus*, Abelard equates *involucrum* with *integumentum* (covering or veil), a word which a set of glosses on Martianus Capella attributed in the Middle Ages to Bernardus Silvestris associates directly with *fabula* (Gregory 59 and LeClerq 148). As the *accessus* to these glosses make clear, *allegoria*, which is the mode of figuration proper to scriptural exegesis, and *integumentum*, which is that appropriate to classical literature, both seek to look beyond the *verba* of a text to access the *res* that underlies them (Wetherbee, "Philosophy" 43, and Copeland, "Medieval Poetics" 853-4).

William of Conches (Guilielmus de Conchis) furthers these ideas both in his glosses and in his *De Philosophia Mundi*. In his commentary on Macrobius, William interpolates his source with Horace to arrive at an understanding of *fabula* as "imaginary narrative that has a significance beyond the simple narrative" or literal meaning (Dronke, *Fabula* 16-7). His commentary also glosses *integumentum* such that it comes to cover all figurative language that simultaneously "veils and expresses philosophical truth" (Wetherbee, "Philosophy" 36). Dronke expresses this idea even more succinctly: the *integumentum* means both a *fabula* that veils hidden moral meanings and these veiled moral meanings itself (*Fabula* 25). Consequently, what emerges from William of Conches's commentary on Macrobius is a hermeneutics that seeks to recuperate a *res* of

obscured moral meanings through possibly suspect or even heretical *verba* by means of the *integumentum*. In this context, then, William of Conches's commentary on the Timaeus reveals the author's purpose in compiling the *De Philosophia Mundi*: the study of *philosophia*, by which he means the entirety of human learning, helps one understand the natural world, which in turn allows one to understand God and the path to salvation (Gregory 63). Conrad of Hirsau (Conradus Hirsaugiensis), in his *Dialogus super auctores*, expands upon a passage of Horace to explain that virtuous behavior necessarily leads to wisdom and the study of *philosophia* equips a person to separate *res* from *verba*, thereby inculcating the kind of discernment necessary to live a virtuous life (LeClerq 147-8). Wetherbee, in writing about William of Conches's commentary on the *De Nuptiis,* succinctly expresses the disposition toward classical authors that obtains by the period of the so-called Twelfth-Century Renaissance: "the ancient authors appear as philosopher-poets, their common theme the intellectual and spiritual pilgrimage of a humanity which seeks always to transcend its condition by interpreting and passing beyond the distracting surface appearances of earthly life, the *integumenta* in which the order of things is veiled" and, thereby, to transcend the terrestrial and come to know God himself ("Philosophy" 44). "Philosophia," in the words of Remigius of Auxerre, "significat omnes artes." Consequently, the role of the *artes liberales* was to provide the set of tools necessary to derive meaning from terrestrial existence which could, in turn, be turned toward salvific ends.

As LeClerq succinctly asserts,"allegorical interpretation of texts could be undertaken but on condition that it would not become merely literary history" (149). In other words, any licit reading of the pagan poets could not be literal or ludic; it needed to be turned toward serious and salvific ends. The medieval commentary tradition sought to guide readers through the potential interpretive morass of engaging with pagan literature by helping them to achieve a licit understanding in harmony with Catholic dogma; understanding the literal text of a classical work as an integument produced a hermeneutics in which *ennaratio* became the prevailing discursive mode in the Middle Ages (Copeland, *Rhetoric* 60). It was the goal of such an *ennaratio* to extract sententiousness in both thought and expression from texts possessed of *auctoritas*, a term which functions as a sigil for the sagacity, veracity, and Latinity of a classical Latin poet, called an *auctor*.[11] Writing around the beginning of the thirteenth century, Huguccio of Pisa (Huguccio Pisanus) defined an *auctoritas* as "sententia digne imitatione" in his *Magnae Derivationes (*Carruthers*, Book* 236 and Minnis*, Medieval Theory* 10). Baptized as the *auctores*, the pagan poets attracted the full panoply of the commentary tradition: scholia, *accessus*, and glosses. The *accessus ad auctores*, in particular, became important because it is the *accessus* that in many respects "authorizes" the study of the pagan poets by carefully establishing the parameters for reading them, understanding them, and

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[11] The relationship between *auctor* and *auctoritas* is a bit tautological. Minnis, however, phrases the situation most succinctly: "an *auctoritas* was a quotation or an extract from the work of *an auctor*" (*Medieval Theory* 10). In this schema, an auctor is a textual personification of a sage whose wisdom offers instruction in *Latinitas*, understood properly as both proper Latin style but also proper conduct according to classical Stoic virtues, and an *auctoritas* is just such a textual utterance.

reconciling their teachings with scripture and the magisterium.[12] The *accessus ad auctores* were, in fact, modeled on the Patristics' prolegomena and e*nnarationes* on scripture (Minnis, *Medieval Theory* 6). The key difference, again, lay in the nature of the texts themselves: biblical scripture contains its own divine *auctoritas*, which consequently established its own place within human knowledge (or *philosophia*) as well as its own hermeneutic methodology. For the pagan poets, on the other hand, the *accessus* needed to establish a different kind of *auctoritas*. Consequently, the *accessus* served as a prolegomenon to the text, treating the life of the author (*vita auctoris*), the title of the work (*titulus operis*), the author's intent in composing the work, (*intentio scribentis*), the work's subject matter (*materia operis*), the utility of the work (*utilitas*), and to which part of philosophy the work could be ascribed (*cui parti philosophiae supponatur*) (Quain 215); all of these were intended to help guide the reader through a proper hermeneutic excursus. It is the commentary tradition that performs the work of recuperating the auctores. Within this schema, the primary exegetical mode became allegoresis. As Rita Copeland succinctly phrases the situation, "while allegoresis figures itself—even modestly—as disclosure, it in fact operates as a deep recausing of the text as if from within the text" (*Rhetoric* 81). Consequently, allegoresis blurs the classical line between *rhetorica* and *grammatica*, for as a mode it both reads a text but also produces text that constrains licit readings of the earlier text upon which it comments.

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[12] Minnis, *Medieval Theory* 10-3, and Wheatley, *Mastering Aesop* 75. Wheatley provides the most succinct assessment, when he asserts that the *accessus* are "part of the metalanguage that validates the study of the text they introduce."

Although Quain establishes a convincing argument that the grammarians and rhetoricians ultimately derived the form and approach of the *accessus* from the earliest Greek commentators on the Peripatetics (256-60), a medieval commentator on classical *auctores* would have understood Servius's commentary on the *Aeneid* to be the definitive exemplar for a *modus tractandi*. Importantly, the pagan poets were always "ethice subponuntur," such that the *accessus* serves to provide a place for them within a moralizing Christian framework in which they instruct the *pueri* not only in the "recte loquendi et scribendi scientia" (to borrow Quintillian's schema) but also "recte vivendi." By the late twelfth century, this idea had undergone further refinement: the *poetae* were subsumed under *ethica* "because it teaches about proper love" (Copeland, "Academic Prologues" 154). Consequently, *ethica*, as Karsten Friis-Jensen asserts while referencing the work of Delhaye, was understood to signify "a non-theological morality ... found in pagan authors" ("The Reception" 292). By extension, *philosophia* can be thought to encompass all learning about the natural world, which itself is an *integumentum* for God's plan in creation; this body of knowledge, then, offers instruction in moral conduct, which when combined with proper belief in Christ and observation of the Catholic sacraments lead to salvation.[13] In other words, the *accessus* establishes a pagan poet as an *auctor* who instructs students in grammar and rhetoric, the first two of the liberal arts, which led

[13] Perhaps the single clearest example of the medieval understanding of *philosophia* comes from Canto IV of Dante's *Inferno*, where he places the virtuous pagans, who include Horace as well as other *auctores*, in Limbo. In other words, if we grant that the *auctores* instructed one in *ethica* and that this instruction itself is *philosophia*, these were sufficient to keep one out of Hell by guiding a person through right conduct in life; however, without the Grace effected through baptism, proper belief in Christ, and the sacraments, they were insufficient for getting one into Heaven.

of course to the study of theology, and in proper conduct, which helped the students take their places in the medieval courtly and ecclesiastical worlds.[14] Additionally, the *accessus* established the *utilitas* of the work and the *intentio* of the author; it is important, however, to note that the "intentio auctoris" as defined by Albertus Magnus in the thirteenth century concerns the literal sense embodied within a text.[15] Bernard of Clairvaux (Bernardus Claraevallensis) enlarged the scope of the *lectio divina* to include the *auctores*, which simultaneously drew upon and pushed further the metaphor of the *integumentum* for hermeneutics: because the Holy Spirit was ultimately responsible for all writing that could have a salvific message, it was the duty of the interpreter to "unveil" the hidden truths underlying the literal language and thereby show harmony with revealed Christian truth.[16] The *accessus*, then, allows for a work whose style was admired but whose content on a literal level might seem incompatible with Christian doctrine to be safely reframed for pedagogical use. It is the *accessus*, in short, that presents the *auctoritas* embedded within the text of an *auctor* as a salvific text veiled by the *integumentum*, which a skilled *grammaticus* will lift through *ennaratio*.

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[14] With respect to Horace specifically, the *Ars Poetica* when it circulated independently of the Horatian corpus, was not assigned to ethics: according to Friis-Jensen, the *Ars* was understood to be entirely didactic and did not, therefore, need to be brought under the *cordon sanitaire* of the "ethice subponitur" schema ("The Reception" 300).

[15] This is what allows Carruthers to assert that "the auctores were, first of all, texts not people" (*Book of Memory* 190). While I think this is an interesting conception, it sits at odds with the anxiety vis-a-vis textuality other scholars, mostly notably Michael Clanchy, have demonstrated existed in the Middle Ages. In short, I think Carruthers pushes the implications of Albertus Magnus's definition farther than the evidence allows.

[16] This is essentially a Christianization of the veil metaphor used by Macrobius, who had used the idea to explain mimesis (Wetherbee, "The Study" 104).

With the influx of Aristotelianism from the late twelfth century, the accessus changed its format, as the Aristotelian *accessus* took up the four causes. The first of these was the *causa efficiens*, which was the *auctor*; this essentially took over the question of the *nomen auctoris* and the *vita auctoris* of the earlier C-type *accessus*. The second was the *causa materialis*, which corresponded to the *materia libri* of the older form. The third was the *causa formalis*, which made the distinction between the *forma tractandi* and *forma tractatus,* both of which helped the reader understand the way in which the *auctor* had structured the work. Lastly, the *causa finalis* considered the *finis* to which the *auctor* strove; in the case of the pagan authors, this served the function of *ethice subponitur* in that he allowed for the allegorical and moralizing understanding of the *auctores* (Minnis *Medieval Theory* 28-9). As Edward Wheatley rightly asserts, though, the Aristotelian *accessus* never fully supplanted the older C-type *accessus*, such that what obtains is a fluidity between forms of the *accessus* (*Mastering Aesop* 70-2). Regardless of the form the *accessus* took, its function remained consistent: to authorize the study of an ancient text and to guide the reader through the process of *ennaratio* to arrive at a licit understanding.

The rest of the scholia, likewise, helped guide medieval readers through the hermeneutic morass. Suzanne Reynolds posits that the glosses preserved in the manuscripts are "the written traces of a much fuller reading practice" orally conducted in

the classroom.[17] The bulk of her evidence is drawn from three manuscripts: London BL Harley 3534, a late-twelfth century copy of the entire Horatian corpus with origins in northern France; Cambridge Peterhouse 229, also a twelfth-century French copy of Horace, whose scholia make clear that the manuscript had migrated across the Channel by the beginning of the next century; and Paris BNF lat. 8216, a late-twelfth-century manuscript with extensive glossing. Reynolds draws a useful distinction between original intention at the moment of scribal copying and eventual use ("Glossing Horace" 104). In the glossatorial practices of these three manuscripts, Reynolds sees the evidence of pedagogical practice to help the *pueri* master Latin vocabulary, morphology, and syntax. With respect to helping the students acquire a useful working vocabulary, the glosses provide a more familiar term for a less familiar Latin term; this can take the form of a more common Latin synonym, a vernacular word, or an etymological explanation. The glosses also help the *pueri* acquire deeper understanding of morphology. For example, for nouns that might be unfamiliar, the gloss will provide the genitive form to help with identification of declension. The "hic, haec, hoc" glosses provide information on gender. It is interesting to note, however, that even within an ostensibly purely grammatical gloss, the moralizing work of the *accessus* tradition can be seen: to help elide the issue of pederasty, *puer* is interpreted as having common gender through a *hic, haec, hoc* gloss, where the glossator establishes "hic et haec puer" (Reynolds, "Reading,

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[17] *Medieval Reading*, 29. Reynolds, in fact, drawing on Stephen Jaeger, points out a key distinction between monastic schools and cathedral schools: where monasteries emphasized solitary *lectio*, the cathedral schools used a pedagogical practice that was more communal and, therefore, required that instruction be adaptable to suit individual learners of different abilities.

Literacy, and Grammar" 31). Finally, the glosses help the student master syntax. The *ordo* glosses, according to Reynolds' schema, are a written manifestation of the oral practice of paraphrasing that in the process of *constructio* (construal) rendered the *ordo artificialis*, whose difficulty actually authorized the reading of a pagan poetic work, into the *ordo naturalis*. All of these were, again, meant to help the process of *ennaratio* whereby the integumentum could be lifted and the *res* beyond the *verba* could be known.[18]

Philosophia **and the** ***Artes Liberales:*** **Medieval Curricula from the Monastery to the Cathedral School and University**

In considering medieval pedagogical praxis, the liminality of Gregory the Great is yet again key, for in him we may see the way in which monasteries in the early Middle Ages inherited two strains of pedagogical practice. First, they inherited the educational program from Late Antique Rome and its training of aristocratic men in grammar and rhetoric as well as conduct. Seneca's *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* inflects and defines the classical system of education bequeathed to the Middle Ages. In Letter CVI of the collection, Seneca asserts that the human body is caught between wickedness and virtue and that it is the human mind that chooses a course of action. He goes on to assert that literature's natural end is the improvement of the mind.[19] This resonates with Seneca's

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[18] Carruthers, *Book of Memory* 87.

[19] "est ad mentem bonam uti litteris." *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium*, vol III.

pronouncement in Letter LXXXII that "Otium sine litteris mors est et hominis vivi sepultura."[20] Seneca's medieval audience would have understood these passages to mean that literature could discipline the mind to resist the temptations offered by the soul's three enemies: the body, the world, and the devil (*caro, mundus, et diabolus*); secular learning, in other words, could impart wisdom. Seneca's *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium*, define the *artes liberales* as an important path to achieving wisdom. In its discussion of *grammatica*, Letter LXXXVIII asserts that such study can lead to wisdom but offers an important caveat: "Quemadmodum prima illa, ut antiqui vocabant, litteratura per quam pueris elementa traduntur, non docet liberales artes sed mox percipiendis locum parat, sic liberales artes non perducunt animum ad virtutem sed expediunt."[21] The *artes liberales*, in Seneca's schema, are a praxis that trains the mind in wisdom. In this same letter, Seneca makes explicit the distinction between *res* and *verbum* when he argues that wisdom "res tradit, non verba;" here we can see a direct reflection of the ideas implicit in the *integumentum*. In Letter LXXXVIII of Seneca's *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium*, the Middle Ages would find a place for classical learning: the *artes liberales* train the mind to focus on wisdom, and *Philosophia* becomes both a disposition to the world and a praxis. In short, the *artes liberales* become a pedagogy of discernment and virtuous

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[20] "Leisure without literature is death and a tomb for a living man." *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium*, vol II. This *sententia* circulated widely in the Middle Ages in a variety of contexts.

[21] "Just as the first of these, which the ancient called literature, through which boys are led to elementary understanding, does not teach the *artes liberales* but only prepares the place for receiving them, thus the liberal arts do not completely lead the soul to virtue but hasten it [that way]."

conduct that trains the mind to see the eternal beyond the ephemeral; when yolked with faith and the sacraments, this path of right-knowing and right-choosing led to salvation.

The key treatises for rhetorical training were Cicero's *De Oratore* and *Orator* and Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*; as the extent manuscripts show, these texts were known, copied, and studied in monasteries from at least as early as the ninth century. All three emphasize the importance of *inventio* and *memoria* for successful orations. The second strain the monasteries inherited traces its origins to the Patristics' scriptural exegetical practices, especially those of Origen, who promulgated allegorical interpretation of scripture. Origen's ideas would eventually grow into what became called the *quadriga*, or four senses of scripture: the literal (or historical), anagogical, typological, and tropological (or moral). The reappropriation of the term *quadriga* for this hermeneutic approach is apt, for it reveals the way in which the monastic tradition yoked classical antiquity to theological ends.

By the time the *Regula Benedictini* had established a firm hold on western Christendom, whatever anxieties about the use of classical literature are palpable in Gregory the Great and Augustine of Hippo found their resolution, as the Benedictines' renown for erudition in the classical *auctores* asserted itself.[22] The Benedictines, unlike the later mendicant orders, called themselves *monachi*, not *praedicatores* (21). The distinction is crucial, for it reveals that the Benedictines' focus was turned toward the

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[22] Clark, *Benedictines* 1. The process by which this firm hold was achieved is complicated and still disputed. Nonetheless, the clearest and best-defended narrative of this process remains that of Bernhard Bischoff (*Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*, 134-60).

monastic cloister: unlike the ancient Romans, for whom rhetoric was central because it allowed one to take part in political life, the Benedictines turned the *auctores* toward theological ends other than preaching. That end was *ennaratio*. Rita Copeland has addressed precisely this reprioritization of the pedagogical system inherited from ancient Rome, in which under the Benedictines *grammatica* came to supplant *rhetorica* as the more important branch of what would become known as the trivium. In her schema, *grammatica* becomes a sort of hermeneutic master-trope, and as a result, "grammatical ennaratio thus takes on the double function of historical recuperation and rhetorical interpretation of texts, and the grammarians provide the paradigm for the art of textual exposition" across all fields of intellectual endeavor (Copeland, *Rhetoric* 58).

The *Regula Benedictini* established fully the monastic practice of *lectio divina*, which likewise demanded the oral recitation and memorization of edifying works. Chapter 38 of the Regula commands: *Mensis fratrum lectio deesse non debet, nec fortuito casu qui arripuerit codicem legere ibi, sed lecturus tota ebdomada dominica ingrediatur*;[23] Chapter 42 also commands:

> Et ideo omni tempore, sive ieiunii sive prandii: si tempus fuerit prandii, mox surrexerint a cena, sedeant omnes in unum, et legat unus Collationes vel Vitas Patrum aut certe aliud quod ædificet audientes, non autem Eptaticum aut Regum, quia infirmis intellectibus non erit utile illa hora hanc Scripturam audire, aliis vero horis legantur. Si autem ieiunii dies fuerit, dicta Vespera, parvo intervallo mox accedant ad lectionem Collationum, ut diximus. Et lectis quattuor aut quinque foliis vel quantum hora permittit, omnibus in unum occurentibus per hanc moram lectionis, si qui forte in adsignato sibi commisso

[23] "At the tables of the brothers the *lectio* must not be lacking, nor must one who has by chance cause taken up a book read [it] there, but let the one who is about to read for the entire week begin on Sunday" (translation mine).

> fuit occupatus, omnes ergo in unum positi conpleant, et exeuntes a Conpletoriis nulla sit licentia denuo cuiquam loqui aliquid.[24]

In Chapter 48, Benedict commands: "Otiositas inimica est animæ, et ideo certis temporibus occupari debent fratres in labore manuum, certis iterum horis in lectione divina."[25] The Benedictine Rule, in short, makes the practice of *lectio divina* central to monastic discipline. The implications are profound, for, in the words of Paul Gehl, the goal of monastic education is nothing less than "to reform the individual and society through the right use of language" (*Moral Art* 137); as a result, language itself emerges as a vehicle of salvation (*Moral Art* 167). Thorough instruction in *grammatica* within the monastic curriculum, consequently, serves not simply to enhance verbal competence but to secure both the proper functioning of mundane sphere and the eventual attainment of personal salvation.

Mary Carruthers has argued for a "pedagogy of memory" in the monastic curriculum (*Book of Memory* 8). In her arguments, *memoria* is not only an educated, trained, and disciplined faculty; it is, moreover, "the process by which a work of literature

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[24] "Therefore, at every time, whether of fasting or of mealtime, [let the brothers be silent]: if it should be the time of a meal, as soon as they will have arisen from their dinner, let them sit all in one [body], and let one read the Collections or the Lives of the Fathers, or some other thing which will edify the listeners, not however the Heptateuch or [Book of] Kings, for it would not be useful at that hour to hear this scripture with weak intellects, [so] let [these] be read at different hours. If however it should be a fast day, Vespers having been said, after a short interval let them soon gather for the reading of the Collections, as we have said. And the four or five folios having been read—or as much as the hour should allow—with all having been assembled in one [place] for the purpose of this reading, even if anyone shall have been occupied with a task placed upon him, let all placed therefore in one [location] sing Complines, and, leaving from Complines, let there be no permission henceforth to anyone to speak anything." Translation mine.

[25] "Inactivity is the enemy of the soul, and, therefore, at certain times the brothers ought to be engaged in manual labor and certain [other] times in the *lectio divina*" (translation mine).

becomes institutionalized—internalized within the language and pedagogy of a group" (*Book of Memory* 9). Monastic reading and pedagogy stressed the importance of *meditatio*, a process of cogitation upon the memorized passages possessed of *auctoritas* so that they might be fully internalized; this process involved the formulation of mental images (*imagines*) that were then mapped as loci onto a mental heuristic. As Carruthers succinctly summarizes, "*meditatio* is the stage at which reading is memorized and changed into personal experience" (*Book of Memory* 44). As a consequence of this, a memorized text functions as a "jumping off point" into exegesis, as the medieval commentary and glossatorial tools of medieval hermeneutics come into play to help remove the *integumentum* and expose the hierarchy of *historia*, *allegoria*, *anagogia,* and *moralia* within the text.[26] This monastic "mnemono-rhetorical praxis," whereby texts are turned into visual images indexed as loci, results not in verbatim recollection of texts but in *sensaliter* remembering (Carruthers, *Craft of Thought* 30).

Monastic *meditatio* results in an approach to textual *auctoritas* that differs fundamentally from our own. The relationship between the *res* (its essential "thingness," its idea or *sentence* in the Middle English sense) of a text and the *verba* (words themselves) used to express it gains a certain fluidity, as *sensaliter* remembrance subordinates expression to sententiousness. Indeed, if the primary exegetical operandi is

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[26] As Carruthers phrases the situation: "The triple-tiered ark is a triple mnemonic of medieval Scriptural study: *historia, allegoria, moralia.* Within its compartments are placed in orderly fashion all the gloss and commentary, the many *interpretationes,* together with the literal texts upon which they build, so that as one pulls forth one thing, a great many others are disclosed, in a systematic concordance and index" (*Book of Memory* 45).

to remove the *integumentum* of words to expose the eternal truths underlying a text (the *res* beyond the *verba*), then the language of *verba* itself does not matter. Consequently, because throughout the Middle Ages, "composition starts in memorized reading," as we look for traces of Horace in vernacular medieval English literature, these uses of Horace will not only be mediated by the commentary tradition but also by varying degrees of this *sensaliter* remembrance negotiated between Latin and the vernacular, for as Carruthers reminds us, although this *meditatio* was primarily applied to scripture, the pagan *auctores* were also remembered *sensaliter*.[27]

The other curriculum common to the Middle Ages was found in the cathedral schools. Although cathedral schools exist as early as the sixth century, in the ninth century they took on renewed importance under Charlemagne's program of educational and administrative reform. Two of the documents associated with this so-called Carolingian Renaissance have special relevance for the study of Horace: the *Admonitio generalis* and the *Epistola de litteris studiis*. The *Admonitio generalis*, a capitulary promulgated in 789 established, established standards for educational praxis and textual production as an articulated part of Charlemagne's *renovatio imperii*. The date of the second of these key texts, the *Epistola de litteris studiis,* is a matter of dispute, but current scholarly opinion accepts it as having been written on Charlemagne's behest by Alcuin to

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[27] "One even finds poetry of *The Aeneid* sometimes quoted approximately. Pierre Riché cites two Merovingian examples: *Aeneid*, I.90, 'Et crebris micat ignibus aether,' becomes 'Crebris micantibus ignibus ex aethere,' and *Aeneid*, II.794. 'Par levibus ventis volucrique simillima somno' is rendered as 'Par levibus ventis similisque somno volucri'" (*Book of Memory* 87).

Baugalf, Abbot of Fulda.[28] Although the study of pagan poets was certainly not anathema prior to this epistle, it does, however, give renewed urgency to the study of classical literature as the means of acquiring the skills essential to scriptural exegesis. Acting on Charlemagne's behalf, Alcuin bemoans a decline in literacy and cautions that even worse than infelicity in expression is the possibility of erroneous understanding;[29] consequently, as a panacea for these faults, the letter urges the careful study of classical literature as a proper preparatory exercise for the study of scripture:

> Quamobrem hortamur vos litterarum studia non solum non neglegere, verum etiam humillima et deo placita intentione ad hoc certatim discere, ut facilius et rectius divinarum scripturarum mysteria valeatis penetrare. Cum enim in sacris paginibus scemata,tropi et cetera his similia inserta inveniantur, nulli dubium, quod ea unusquisque legens tanto citius spiritualiter intelligit, quanto prius in litteraturae magisterio plenius instructus fuerit.[30]

Here, Alcuin's letter makes explicit that the value of studying the classical *auctores* lies in their ability to help master literary language so that the *integumentum* of scripture may be removed accurately and elegantly. Charlemagne's palace school became the model for

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[28] Luitpold Wallach's "Charlemagne's *De litteris colendis*" is a concise summary of the scholarly *status quo*. Wallach dates the letter's composition to 794-6, at which date Alcuin assumed the abbacy of Marmoutiers. Rosamond McKitterick, conversely, dates the letter to the mid-780s.

[29] "Unde factum est, ut timere inciperemus, ne forte, sicut minor erat in scribendo prudentia, ita quoque et multo minor esset quam recte esse debuisset sanctarum scripturarum ad intellegendum sapientia. Et bene novimus omnes, quia, quamvis periculosi sint errores verborum, multi periculosiores sunt errores sensuum."

[30] PL, vol 98, *Epistola* III. "On account of which, we urge you that not only must you not neglect the study of literature, [but] that you also with humble and God-pleasing intention eagerly learn to this end, so that you might be strong [enough] to penetrate the mysteries of divine scriptures more easily and correctly. For because metaphors, tropes, and certain other things similar to these may be found inserted in the sacred pages, [it is] doubted by none, that each person reading these things will that much more quickly understand them spiritually if he shall have been instructed more fully in the authority of literature beforehand" (translation mine).

the curriculum taught in the cathedral schools, and in this curriculum, the pagan poets had their place as models of elegance both in literary style as well as in courtly comport; from this point forward, with the appropriate paratextual accretions—*accessus ad auctores*, glosses, scholia, and commentaries—the classical *auctores* were increasingly common parts of the educational model. Consequently, the *Distica Catonis* and the Aesopian *Fabulae*, which formed the primer for pedagogy in Latin through the Middle Ages and into the Early Modern period, were joined by Vergil's *Aeneid*, Cicero's *De Inventione*, Lucan's *Pharsalia*, and Horace's *Satires* and *Odes*.[31] In other words, the Carolingian Renaissance established the *auctores* as a part of the *disciplinae ecclesiasticae* of both the monastery and cathedral curricula.

As Stephen Jaeger rightly reminds us, "The differences in rules of life of monks and clerics will have guaranteed some differences in the discipline […], but any differences that may distinguish the two in the teaching of letters do not register in the main sources on education" during the Carolingian period (27). This was a situation, however, that would change through the High Middle Ages. As early as the seventh century, Wandrille, founding abbot of the monastery at Fontenelle, was trained according to the anonymous *vita* of the saint in "militaribus gestis ac aulicis disciplinis." *Aulicae disciplinae* clearly signifies training in proper conduct at court; however, the Carolingian Renaissance changed the focus of court education. The *schola* at Aachen overseen by

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[31] This is the order of popularity, from most to least, of the five most commonly studied works in the cathedral school curriculum by the thirteenth century according to Birger Munk Olsen ("La popularité"). Marjorie Curry Woods has recently argued that the narrative poetry of Vergil and Lucan had especial value for medieval curricula (35-6).

Alcuin inculcated a sophisticated and refined culture marked by a heightened sense of *Latinitas* and *Romanitas*. As Jaeger notes, the imperial *schola* is best conceptualized as "a group with common characteristics, customs, and interests" that were fostered through an educational system modeled on the cathedral school curriculum (Jaeger 28). The palace school inculcated *mores* based on *ethica*, that is on the system of virtue transmitted by the pagan *auctores,* as a pair of key works by Alcuin demonstrate. The first of these is Alcuin's *De virtutibus et vitiis,* a tractate addressed to Count Wido. Before turning to the Ciceronian virtues, chapters 2-4 take up the three Christian virtues; moreover, the Mosaic Decalogue functions as a sort of gloss within the discussions of the virtues and vice.[32] This tractate addressed to a Carolingian aristocrat that seeks to incorporate Stoic *ethica* and the classical *auctores* functions as a sort of *liber manualis* for courtly behavior. The *Disputatio de rhetorica et virtutibus,* the second of these two Alcuinian works, demonstrates more directly the importance of the pagan poets for inculcating appropriate courtly *mores*.[33] Although the treatise begins by acknowledging God as the origin of all knowledge[34], the second chapter explains the methodology by which one ought to begin the quest for knowledge, acknowledging the medieval debt to the ancient world and the differences between the two epochs: "Pandam penes auctoritatem veterum."

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[32] For example, chapter 21 takes up the issue of *falsus testis* while chapter 15 presents a thorough discussion of the necessity of *timor Dei*.

[33] Jaeger nominates this tractate a "purely secular work" that treats of the four cardinal virtues as transmitted by Cicero's *De officiis* (31). This is, on the basis of the evidence, hyperbolic

[34] "Deus te, domine mi rex Karle, omni sapientiae lumine inluminavit et scientiae claritate ornavit."

With Alcuin as *magister*, the palace school at Aachen furnished the new paradigm for cathedral schools. Importantly, the curriculum established by Alcuin explicitly authorized the study of the *auctoritas veterum* as essential part of pedagogy. Therefore, while the monastic schools had always allowed the study of the *auctores*, and while the cathedral schools placed an emphasis on *memoria*, the educational reforms instituted under Charlemagne's *renovatio imperii Romani* served the purpose of aligning the cathedral schools with the exercise of *imperium*.[35] Indeed, the cathedral schools furnished administrators for the Empire who had all undergone a similar education and who, therefore, shared "common characteristics, customs, and interests" (Jaeger 28) that were based in no small part on the *ethica* transmitted by the *auctores*. Berengar of Tours, who for a time oversaw the cathedral school at Chartres, relied upon Horace's *Ars Poetica* to rebuff Adelman of Liege as a "ridiculus mus" (Jaeger 180). Goswin of Mainz likewise relied upon the Horatian tradition in writing his letter to his student Walcher (349-75). In consequence of this, Horace would seem to have become a favorite source of *bons mots* for this sophisticated and cosmopolitan group educated in this palace school tradition.

This situation continued through the Ottonian period and into the Salian, such that by the time of the Investiture Controversy, monastic schools and cathedral schools had

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[35] It is worth noting here, although it will be discussed in more depth in the final section of this chapter, that the other common phrase used to describe Charlemagne's reforms is *translatio imperii et studii*. As Curtius notes, the model for this conception comes from Horace, *Epistulae* II.1.156, but the phrase itself traces its provenance to Heiric of Auxerre (27-9, especially footnote 28).

become entrenched on opposite sides of the Caesaropapist divide, with the issue of episcopal investiture as the lynch pin. When the monastic-trained Gregory VII asserted that episcopal investiture was strictly a papal privilege, a polemical battle ensued when Emperor Henry IV deployed "the 'imperial church system'" of bishops, chancellors, and assorted *missi dominici* trained at cathedral schools under royal patronage (Ziomkowski 2). As I. S. Robinson reminds us, a favorite insult of the pro-papal, monastically trained faction was that their enemies were "proficient in the use of 'Horace's frivolous lyre.'"[36] This would seem to bring the retort of Berengar of Tours quoted above into fuller context: the monastic-trained coterie that argued the pro-papal position denounced the classical erudition of the cathedral-trained pro-imperial faction as frivolous.[37]

Begun under the direction of the Anglo-Saxon monk Alcuin, the curriculum of the palace school at Aachen was re-exported twice across the English Channel: first by Abbo of Fleury during the so-called Benedictine Reform movement in the tenth century and by William the Conqueror in the eleventh. In the Late Middle Ages, the cathedral schools who continued the intellectual heritage of the palace school at Aachen provided the Scholastic curriculum of the universities. The friars who were educated in the universities would, in turn, be censured by the curiate for the *nugae* of their training in

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[36] 231. The Latin reads "nugacem liram Horatii." Interestingly, this retort alludes to the *nugae* of Horace's second satire to denounce the Horatian corpus itself as trifling.

[37] It is interesting to note that one of the polemics produced during the conflict between Henry IV and Gregory VII, the *Liber contra Wolfhelmum* of Manegold of Lautembach, survives in a lone exemplar in Codex (Milan) Biblioteca Ambrosiana MS N.118 superiore, where it is preceded by the *Regula Benedictina* and, crucially, Horace with commentary.

the *auctores*. In this context, as Tarrant and Gillespie among others have remarked, Horace exerted a profound influence not only over Carolingian and Ottonian *poesis* but over realpolitik.

In the Later Middle Ages, the *studia generalia* that would become recognized by papal, imperial, and royal charters as the universities of Europe by the thirteenth century inherited both the monastic reading practices and the teaching of the *artes liberales*. Like the cathedral schools, the universities served to produce clerics and administrators of imperium, and consequently required curricula that addressed the broader range of concerns that existed beyond the monastic cloister; in short, both cathedral school and university evinced an educational program in which the *auctores* served not only to impart rigorous training in *grammatic*a, thereby ensuring the requisite levels of latinity and literacy, but also in the urbane and sophisticated milieu that the *auctores* transmitted vis-a-vis the understanding of *ethica* described above. The university curriculum also continued the work of the *accessus* tradition in that the *artes liberales*, whose heritage and utility trace their provenance to Seneca, were the preliminary steps to the study of theology. Under the medieval university curriculum, *grammatica* took its place with

logica (sometimes termed *dialectica*) and *rhetorica* in the trivium.[38] At the same time that the universities were receiving their official charters, contact with the Arab world through Sicily and Spain from the end of the twelfth century revivified Aristotelianism. This so-called Neo-Aristotelianism, which as the synod at Paris of 1210 demonstrates, had crossed north into France, where it challenged the largely Neo-Platonic disposition that had been operative in medieval Europe previously (Maccagnolo 440-1). This had implications for the *auctores*, for as discussed above, the *accessus* tradition adapted itself accordingly to continue to allow for allegorical and moralized readings of the pagan poets. Thomas Aquinas would eventually reconcile this Neo-Aristotelianism with Christian precepts and bring, thereby, scholasticism to its fullest expression.[39]

Methodologically, scholasticism emphasized the centrality of the *auctores*: after *lectio* of appropriate *auctores*, students engaged in a process of *meditatio*, whereby they memorized and internalized the *sententiae* of the *auctores*, from which proceeded both *quaestiones* and *disputationes*, whereby the contradictions presented by the *auctores* could be reconciled through argumentation. As a praxis, this process of *lectio* and

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[38] *Epistulae morales ad Lucillium*, Epist. 88. (Loeb, vol 2). Although I do not wish to rehearse here a complete history of the development of the *artes liberales*, I would, however, be remiss not to note here that the Middle Ages inherited much of its conception of them from the mid-fifth century *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* of Martianus Capella. Two centuries later, Boethius would use the term *quadrivium*, which he derived from book VII of Plato's Republic and its description of the education necessary to produce a philosopher-king. The term *trivium*, in turn, only appeared during the period of Carolingian education reform by back-formation on the Neo-Platonic term *quadrivium*. Although many of E. R. Curtius's assumptions and conclusions seem risibly outmoded, his *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* remains a concise and useful summary of this historical trajectory of development (see especially 36-9).

[39] Gerard Verbeke provides a useful assessment of the complexities of influence in Thomistic thought.

meditatio is monastic in its roots; however, in the universities and cathedral schools, it became the standard educational model that produced the clerics and administrators for royal courts both in England and on the Continent and served to ensure a discourse community whose members held similar standards of morality, literacy, and latinity. A key example of this can found in Anselm of Canterbury, widely considered the forefather of scholasticism: although he was educated at the monastery of Bec, he became Archbishop of Canterbury under Henry I, by whom he was exiled for supporting the pro-papal party during the Investiture Controversy. As taught in the universities, *grammatica* involved what Quintillian termed succinctly "poetarum ennaratio" (*Institutes* 1.4.2). The scholastic methodology of *lectio* and *meditatio* essentially creates an interplay in which the works of the *auctores* inform the understanding of one another in virtually limitless intertextual freeplay. As Curtius points out, *grammatica* comes to mean not only the study of language but also "the learned language, Latin" itself (26); consequently, the concepts of *grammatica* and *latinitas* are intertwined in that the *auctores* as a corporate body determined both.

Transmitting the Horatian Tradition: the Interplay between Orality and Literacy

As the discussion of *memoria* and *meditatio* above makes clear, *auctoritas* in the Middle Ages is a locus of the interplay between orality and literacy. Carruthers succinctly expresses the situation: "*Memoria* unites written with oral transmission, eye with ear, and helps to account for the highly 'mixed' oral-literate nature of medieval cultures that many of the historians of the subject have remarked" (*Book of Memory* 122).

As discussed above, the Benedictine Rule mandated the public recitation of text at meals. Even here can be glimpsed the tension between textuality and orality, for the communal quality of this *lectio* in effect transforms the written page into an aural experience shared by the members of the monastic community. Outside of the monastery, orality was even more ubiquitous, for as Brian Stock argues,"[o]ral discourse, as a means of communicating and storing facts, was well suited to a society that was regionalized, highly particularized, and more conscious of inherited status than of achievement through pragmatic roles" as obtained during the Middle Ages (14). However, what, exactly, we mean by orality needs to be articulated succinctly to avoid slippage. Consequently, by orality is meant a consciousness in which *res* are transmitted orally from a speaker aurally to an audience who endeavors to retain within the memory a set of visual images indexed as loci within an overarching system of heuristics. Defining orality in such a way allows for a definition of literacy as "the complex interplay of orality with textual models for understanding and transmitting" cultural *memoria* (Stock 30). Stock's definition of literacy, as a result, allows us to distinguish literacy from textuality, which is best conceptualized as a cultural or individual disposition toward texts' ability to communicate *res* and their utility to the transmission of *auctoritas*. In the early Middle Ages, the cultural disposition was, to use Carruthers's expression, fundamentally "oral-aural" (*Craft of Thought* 18). Moreover, it would not be until the Late Middle Ages that books were thought of as even potentially being the storehouses to be searched for

information; until then, it was individual human memory in which transmittable truth was thought to reside.

In contrast to the earlier period, the eleventh century evinces an increasingly textual orientation (Stock 16). However, as Carruthers cautions, "Medieval culture remained profoundly memorial in nature, despite the increased use and availability of books" (*Book of Memory* 156). The manuscripts which survive from the Middle Ages evince that a steadily increasing number of texts was produced. Nonetheless, as Michael Clanchy reminds us, the way the written word was esteemed and used differs tremendously from our own attitudes toward textuality; moreover, the ways in which we use the written word are markedly different from medieval uses. Both Clanchy and Carruthers rightly assert that the rise in literacy stems from practical concerns in administering increasingly more sophisticated and centralized realms, which demanded access to more information than could be stored solely within the memory of individual human beings. However, as distinguished in the previous paragraph, textuality, when conceptualized as trust in the ability of written texts to communicate with veracity, was a slower process that can be apprehended at three points along a temporal trajectory. At the beginning of this trajectory, which coincides with the early Middle Ages, a predominantly "aural-oral" disposition to the transmission of authority ensured that texts functioned as verbal icons that served as visual reminders of oral transactions. This disposition was ideally suited to the monastic milieu and speaks to the administration of power in smaller, decentralized polities. As kingdoms increased and power became more centralized, the

need for archives asserted itself, as textual records were maintained. Eventually, these textual records were queried for the information they contained, at which point something like the situation Stock makes *vis-à-vis* the difference between literacy and textuality obtained: the written record came to hold greater authority than the recollection of oral encounters.

Specifically within England, Clanchy asserts that the transition into fuller lay literacy by the end of the medieval epoch grew out of "bureaucracy, rather than from any abstract desire for education or literature" (19) as Norman and Angevin kings increasingly came to rely upon written documents in their exercise of *imperium*.[40] The trajectory Clanchy posits importantly differentiates the stages of literacy whereby these bureaucratic documents evolve from being visual reminders of oral transactions to becoming part of a bureaucratic mechanism that more fully exploited lay literacy by "producing authenticated documents, retaining them in archives and transcribing them on to rolls for ready reference" (71). Clanchy credits this creation and maintenance of an archive which could be queried for producing writs and other documents on behalf of the crown to Hubert Walter, the chancellor of King John. Prior to becoming chancellor of England, Hubert Walter had been the papal legate to England. Clanchy rightly asserts that the habit of relying upon an archive as, in essence, a databank which could be searched for data to support the exercise of royal authority "spread from the royal

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[40] As Copeland notes, both secular and religious potentates required highly literate bureaucracies that proliferated from the twelfth century forward ("The Trivium" 56). As Ian Cornelius notes, in time these bureaucracies became, in essence, machinery that functioned with ever increasing independence (299).

Chancery and Exchequer to provincial centres" (71) in both Angevin England and Capetian France as those two countries contested their competing claims for hegemony; however, he does not assert that Hubert Walter's archival innovations at England's royal chancery may well have been standard protocol imported from the papal chancery, which had begun the tripartite process of producing, maintaining, and referencing written records far earlier than had the kings of France and England. Indeed, as argued above, the Investiture Controversy marked the key shift in papal attitudes toward archival record-keeping. This greater willingness to trust in texts' ability to convey truth and authority will necessarily affect the way the influence of the Horatian tradition will manifest. In the Anglo-Saxon period, these influences will appear *sensaliter* through the "recombinatory engineering of meditative *memoria*" (Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought* 30). By the fourteenth century, however, the increase in textuality will result in more verbatim uses of the Horatian tradition.

Consequently, not only will it be crucial to consider which of the "various Horaces" are being transmitted by means of the commentaries but also to consider the vehicle by which these Horaces may have been transmitted. With respect to the Anglo-Saxon period, the monastic model of *meditatio* provides the mode of transmission. Although there can be no way of knowing what was conducted orally, we can glimpse in the extant manuscripts what was received aurally. As we move into the Middle English period, increased textuality affords us a potentially clearer picture of both the substance of the Horatian tradition operative for a given poet as well as for the means of

transmission. The manuscripts from the twelfth century forward are far richer paratextually and show, therefore, more fully the way Horace's poetry was understood; consequently, this opens up clearer paths for glimpsing Horace's influence over vernacular literature. Lastly, with respect to Chaucer and Gower, considering Horace's presence in the florilegia is a crucial concern for understanding the reception of the Horatian tradition in the fourteenth century and the influence it exerted over their poetry; the florilegia will have implications for either altering or reinforcing the Carolingian disposition toward Horace as the source of *bons mots* for courtly use.

Latin and the Vernacular

With respect to medieval uses of the *auctores*, it is important to bear in mind that Charlemagne's *renovatio* contained the geminated goals of the *translatio studii et imperii;* in other words, Charlemagne was seeking to appropriate both the power and intellectual prestige of ancient Rome. Geminated also is the meaning of *translatio*, for it means both to transfer to another place and to transfer into another language or mode of signification.[41] Consequently, a translation of a classical Latin source in the Middle Ages is to transfer the sententiae into a different mode of signification. As Gehl succinctly phrases the status of Latin's *auctoritas*, "Latin was the only perfect and certain instrument for attaining the wisdom and moral probity of the ancients" *(Moral Art* 27). There is a certain sort of axiomatic truth in acknowledging that every translation project is an adaptive process that negotiates a new work out of the original, one that seeks to

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[41] Lewis and Short, *translatio*.

recuperate something valuable from a different time, language, or culture. Nonetheless, the *integumentum* model of hermeneutics, whereby the interpreter's task is to remove the veil of the *verba* thus rendering accessible the truth of the *res* beneath it, fundamentally alters the nature of translation and the relationship between the original work and the adaptation.[42]

Adding to this complexity is a situation in which Latin and the vernacular languages in the Middle Ages possessed fundamentally different places in the hierarchy of the ability of *verba* to express truth. In such a milieu, we return to Huguccio's *Magnae Derivationes*, where *translatio* is defined as "expositio sententiae per aliam linguam." It is worth unpacking Huguccio's definition to understand the relationship an *auctor* like Horace would have for medieval poets working in the vernacular. That to translate is an *expositio* places translation firmly within the realm of the commentary tradition: it is an explanation, a sort of "gloss" on a text that helps the reader understand the original text. That this expository act concerns a *sententia* indicates clearly that the *verba* being translated are subordinate to the wisdom contained *sensaliter* through the language. Indeed, the translator uses the vernacular, the "alia lingua," to penetrate the *verba*, thereby exposing more fully the *res* of the *sententia*. As a result, translation of the *auctores* in the Middle Ages can be "as *expositio sententiae,* a kind of commentary [that] draw[s] on the resources of formal academic commentary to help it render an *auctor*'s

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[42] As Ralph Hanna et al. phrase the situation: "medieval 'translation' does not mean merely the production of a replacement text: exposition, exegesis, interpretation (however one wishes to denote hermeneutic process) is involved as well" (361).

words *in vulgari"* (Hanna et al. 362). If we accept that *ordo* glosses are an attempt to help the student lift the *integumentum*, thereby exposing the *res* hidden under the *verba*, by means of removing the artificiality of the original word order, then translation into the vernacular can be apprehended as the logical extension of the *ordo naturalis*. Bearing in mind Copeland's assertion discussed above that "the grammatical function of *ennaratio* becomes itself a metadiscourse," *ennaratio* is fundamentally "a dynamic, recreative engagement with the language of tradition" (*Rhetoric* 60-1). Translation, then, is a process of *ennaratio* in which "recombinatory engineering," to use Carruthers's apt architectonic metaphor, reveals the *sententia* of an *auctor* through another language.

Consequently, this dissertation must consider the relative status of Latin and the vernacular. With respect to Chapter Two, which takes up the *Exeter Book*, an interesting situation obtains that calls into question not only the text-paratext relationship between the *accessus* and the work it introduces but also the relative authority of Latin and Old English. Unlike the areas of Europe where the Romance languages evolved from Vulgar Latin, in England, Latin was always an acquired language, and speakers of Old English were aware of the separateness of their vernacular from Latin. Significant also for the relative authority of Old English was King Alfred's own program of *translatio imperii et studii* vis-á-vis the translation of "bec ða ðe niedbeðearfosta sien eallum monnum to wiotonne" from Latin into English. This translation program was not at all concerned with a slavish, literal translation of the *verba* by which the *sententiae* of these most necessary books were veiled: Alfred's translation not only made use of *abbreviatio* but

also used material from the commentary traditions that had accrued around the Latin works for *amplificatio* (Hanna et al, 363).

A key case in point that demonstrates both the text-paratext and Latin-vernacular dynamics at play in Alfred's translation program is the Old English Boethius. The Old English Boethius abbreviates the five books of the Latin original into only forty-two chapters and survives in two versions, one which renders the Latin metra as prose and one which renders them into Old English verse. The order of the original is not followed.[43] The Old English Boethius, moreover, is heavily interpolated with material from the commentary traditions (Hannah et al. 363). Most interesting of all, however, is the fact that Donaghey has offered a compelling argument for Nicholas of Trevet's use of the Old English Boethius in producing his commentary on the *De consolatione* in the early fourteenth century—long after Old English was thought be comprehensible to Englishmen.[44] What is noteworthy here is that Trevet was not at all troubled in using an Old English translation, which drew on extensive Latin commentaries in its *abbreviatio*

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[43] B. S. Donaghey aptly phrases the ordering of the Latin as "redistributed" and "drastically modified" (7).

[44] That this remained the standard disposition between text and commentary through the Middle Ages and into the Early Modern period is evinced by the fact that when William Bullokar prepared his phonetic English edition of the *Distica Catonis* in 1585, he freely interpolated the distichs themselves with the commentary of Remigius as transmitted by Robertus de Euremodio when necessary, as Filippa Alcamesi argues. A key example occurs at the beginning of the second book of the *Distica Catonis*, where Bullokar glosses Mars as the "god of rage," drawing on the Remigian "deus bellorum," for metrical reasons in his English translation. With respect to the comprehensibility of Old English after 1200, see Agnus Cameron's "Middle English in Old English Manuscripts." As he notes, fully forty-four of the 189 manuscripts in Ker's catalogue evince annotation between 1200-1540 (220). Cameron also refutes the assertion that a description of manuscripts as being *vetusta et inutilia* signified linguistic instead of codicological issues since the phrase was applied to French, Latin, and Old English manuscripts equally (219).

and *amplificatio* of the Latin work, as part of his own *ennaratio* on Boethius; indeed, Trevet seems to have been concerned only with the outmoded Neo-Platonic thought he found in all of the extant commentaries, as he systematically "Aristotelianized" his material. This is also a key illustration of Copeland's conception of the metadiscursivity of *ennaratio*. Indeed, just as Aristotle and Aristotelianism exerted an influence on the *accessus* tradition, so too do they influence the relationship between Latin and the vernacular. Beginning at Chartres in earnest in the twelfth century but achieving full flower at Paris in the 1240s, medieval Aristotelianism is a hybrid creature that retains Neo-Platonic residue and appropriates Aristotle to serve Christian, salvific ends.

The Aristotelian stance on universals differs in a key way from the Platonic, and my argument is that this distinction plays a central role in understanding the shifting attitudes toward vernacular languages in the Late Middle Ages. In Platonism, universals exist absolutely and are called Forms; every concrete terrestrial instantiation results from the Form, which exists absolutely and which governs these mundane exemplars. It is easy to apprehend why Augustine of Hippo found Platonism the form of philosophy closest to (Christian) truth, for it easily compatible with Catholic dogma vis-a-vis the Deity, the human soul, and human existence. With respect to language, I have already discussed how Neo-Platonism allows for the metaphor of the *integumentum* between *res* and *verba.* Injecting Aristotelianism into the hybrid mixture of Neo-Platonism and Catholic dogma results in an interesting disposition toward universals with implications for the vernacular. The Aristotelian disposition toward universals is that they do not have

an absolute existence beyond the terrestrial sphere but are instead mental constructs formed within the mind only by interacting with concrete objects. The implications for language are immense: a vernacular version and a Latin version essentially have equal potential to help the mind form the mental construct which, in an Aristotelian schema, is the *res* behind the *integumentum*. As Gehl succinctly and eloquently asserts, Latin universalizes the *sententiae*, whereas the vernacular particularizes them (*Moral Art* 130). A Neo-Platonic conception of language conceives of Latin as "stable, unchanging" while vernacular languages can only "at best approximate Latin" (Russell 11). An Aristotelian disposition toward language, on the other hand, removes the surety ascribed to Latin and, at least implicitly, reduces its ability to render Truth as no greater than that of the vernacular. Consequently, English emerges as a language capable of being more than gloss to a Latin text. In other words, Aristotelianism offers a subtle but pervasive and important shift in the status between Latin and vernacular as well as between text and paratext.

At stake in this discussion of the interplay between, on the one hand, Latin and the vernacular and, on the other hand, text and paratext is the concept of *auctoritas*. As discussed earlier in this chapter, Huguccio of Pisa defined *auctoritas* as thoughts worthy of imitation. Minnis pushes this definition to argue that the term signifies "intrinsic worth, "authenticity," and sententiousness of thought (*Medieval Theory* 10). What invested an *auctor* with *auctoritas* was, in many respects, the commentary tradition itself which helped readers of classical texts with their *enarrationes poetarum*. In other words,

it was the complexity of both the *verba* and the *res* that provided *auctoritas* for the classical poets.[45] In an illumination (f.32r) in the c.1180 *Hortus Deliciarum*, Philosophia, depicted as tricephalous in the manner of images of Prudentia, sits on her throne, surrounded by personifications of the *Artes Liberales* arranged in a mandorla; at Philosophia's feet within the space inscribed by the mandorla are two *philosophi*, identified as Socrates and Plato. The entirety of the space inscribed within the mandorla of the *Artes Liberales* rests literally and metaphorically upon the *poetae*, who are further identified as magi. The significance is clear: the *poetae* are wise men whose *auctoritas* as manifest in their textual corpora offers instruction in virtuous conduct. What is less immediately clear is who, exactly, the *poetae* are, for unlike the two *philosophi* who are names, the "poetae vel magi" are not identified. Medieval scholastic texts, however, make abundantly clear that the *poetae* refer to the canonical poets of classical antiquity. Those who wrote Latin verse in the Middle Ages were consistently called *versificatores*, never poets; nor was the term *poeta* applied to those who composed verse in the vernacular before the fifteenth century (Copeland, "Medieval Poetics" 854).

The final phase, then, of the *translatio imperii et studii* is the broadening of *auctoritas* of the *poetae* to cover the "thoughts worthy of imitation" written by poets in the vernacular, or in Minnis's apt phrasing, the *translatio auctoritatis* (*Translation* 1). This is a phase whose development is obscured in the English vernacular by the events of

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[45] The tautological relationship between *auctor* and *auctoritas* is explored by Tim Machan, who notes that "such circularity reflects the conservative, preemptive, and self-validating character of medieval views on authority, which made it difficult if not impossible for a contemporary writer to acquire auctorial status" (*Textual Criticism* 97).

1066 and only becomes clearer again toward the end of the medieval epoch. If Clanchy is correct to remind us that that the transition into fuller lay literacy by the end of the medieval epoch grew out of bureaucratic exigencies as Norman and Angevin kings increasingly came to rely upon written documents in their exercise of *imperium* (19), then we should also remember that despite the philosophical and intellectual developments sketched above that enabled the renegotiation of the dynamic between Latin and the vernacular, the *causa finalis* was the exercise of royal political authority: England's loss of hegemony over its French territories, beginning with the cessation of Normandy in 1204 and culminating with a decisive if protracted defeat by the end of the Hundred Years War, cemented the complicated process whereby Middle English emerged as a language possessed of *auctoritas*, or more precisely, *auctoritee*.[46] As a result, by the end of the fourteenth century, a work like Chaucer's *Boece* would seem no longer to occupy a place on the text-paratext continuum as an extended *ordo* gloss but rather as a separate work that draws, as Minnis argues, on the original Latin text of Boethius, the Latin commentaries of Nicholas Trevet and William of Conches, and Jean de Meun's French translation ("Glosynge") but does so with an authority and purpose that lie within Chaucer's Middle English. Certainly by the time William Caxton published his second edition of *The Canterbury Tales* c.1483, Chaucer was, according to the *accesus*-like *proheyme* both "a poete" and "the worshipful fader & first founder & embellisher of

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[46] Milward 122-3 and McCrum 60-2.

ornate eloquence in oure Englissh" (f.1r): the *translatio imperii et studii* has come full circle, as both verbal eloquence and political hegemony inhere in Middle English.

The Horatian Tradition in the Middle Ages

At this point, an obvious question asserts itself: where is Horace in all of this? To recapitulate the fuller definition put forth in the Preface, by the Horatian tradition I mean the textual *Nachleben* of the corpus of Horace's poetry together with the commentary tradition transmitted along side it in the extant medieval manuscripts. Almost immediately upon public dissemination, the authors of what the nineteenth-century philologist Wilhelm Teuffel termed Latin's "aetas aurea" became canonical authorities for inculcating good Latinity, and their corpora were established as standard pedagogical texts.[47] The transmission of the Horatian corpus owes its success in no small part to two *grammatici* charged with educating Rome's elite during the Augustan Age: M. Verrius Flaccus, whom Augustus chose to tutor his adopted heirs, and Q. Caecilius Epirota, who established a selective school to teach patrician pupils what Suetonius termed "alios poetas novos" (*De Viris Illustribus*, xvi). The curricula of both *grammatici* centered upon Vergil, Terence, and Horace; as a result, these poets were well established within standard pedagogical practice when "the archaizing reaction at the end of the first century ... froze the canon of classical authors" (Reynolds and Wilson 24). It is from this very period that

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[47] Teuffel's schema established the zenith of Latin style as the reign of Augustus (216); consequently, Vergil, Ovid, and Horace are the exemplars of Latin prosody. Although subsequent scholarship has pointed out the limitations and generalizations of Teuffel's periodizations, it is worth noting that he justifies his nomenclature at least in part upon the influence these authors exerted over the Middle Ages.

the first known commentaries on Horace date. The earliest commentary on Horace is likely to be that of M. Valerius Probus, whose floruit was the last two decades of the first century CE. Although this commentary does not survive, its existence can be inferred--though only indirectly--from material preserved in later commentaries by Servius, Donatus, and Gellius (Reynolds and Wilson 25). References in a later commentary by Porphyry indicate that in the early second century the *grammaticus* Q. Terentius Scaurus employed Horace in the instruction of grammar (Edmunds 340, 361). Although this work is no longer extant, extracts from it are preserved in later commentaries (Friis-Jensen, "Medieval Commentaries" 52). Evidence in the form of subscriptions in three ninth-tenth century manuscripts (Paris lat. 7972, Paris lat. 7900, Leiden BPL 28) suggests that, at the limen between Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, Vettius Agorius Basilius Mavortius produced a text of Horace that included a commentary in the form of explanatory and textual notes appended to the end of the Horatian material (Reynolds and Wilson 33); the commentary has not survived, even in fragmentary form.

Two important Classical commentaries do, however, survive in admittedly complicated states of textual transmission: those attributed to Pomponius Porphyrio and Helenius Acro (Reynolds and Wilson 28; Friis-Jensen, "Medieval Commentaries" 51-2). The commentary of Porphyry was likely written in the third century, but survives in only two Carolingian manuscripts and "some fifteenth-century manuscripts" that descended from a third, no longer extant earlier medieval manuscript.[48] The Porphyrian

[48] Friis-Jensen, "Medieval Commentaries" 51. Edmunds clarifies that the two manuscripts are the ninth-century Vaticanus and tenth-century Monacensis (340).

commentary is limited in its scope, concerned primarily with the grammatical and rhetorical contexts of the Horatian corpus; the manuscript evidence would seem to suggest that it held either limited appeal or utility to medieval readers of Horace. The commentary actually written by Acro at some point late in the second century does not survive (Edmunds 340); however, the commentary attributed to Acro by the Italian Humanists and now assigned to pseudo-Acro is actually a bipartite hybrid of two incomplete late Antique commentaries, *Expositio A* and the *Paragraph scholia*, that together cover the entire Horatian corpus and provide explanatory and metrical notes, *ordo* and lexical glosses, and prose summaries transmitted as paratextual marginalia as well as an *accessus* appended to the beginning of the corpus.[49]

The survival of the Horatian corpus into the Middle Ages also owes much to a pair of Roman authors who would come to dominate instruction in grammar and rhetoric. Quintilian (Marcus Fabius Quintillianus), writing in the second half of the first century CE, praises Horace as the pinnacle of Latin poets in his discussion of rhetorical *inventio*.[50] As discussed above, training in rhetoric declined, though Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* does survive in medieval manuscripts, though often in badly

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[49] Friis-Jensen, "Medieval Commentaries" 52. Significantly, at the same time the Italian Humanists "authorized" this collection of commentaries by granting it unilateral authorship by Acro, they detached the scholia from the margins; henceforth scholia would typically circulate as physically separate paratextual entities.

[50] "Nam et eruditio in eo mira et libertas atque inde acerbitas et abunde salis. Multum est tersior ac purus magis Horatius et, nisi labor eius amore, praecipuus." "For his erudition and mastery in this is marvelous and indeed {his poems] abound in keenness and wit. Horace is much more polished and pure, and unless I err on account of my love for his [work], he is foremost [among the poets]." *Institutio Oratoria* 10.1.96

fragmented form, where his corpus awaited resuscitation by the Humanists. Far more directly influential on education during the Middle Ages was Aelius Donatus's *Ars Grammatica*, which became the standard medieval grammatical text.[51] Donatus draws frequently upon the Horatian corpus for exemplars of correct usage and style.

Horace's centrality to Medieval Latin scholarship is amply proven by the number of pedagogues, scholars, theologians, commentators, and poets whose own works make use of the Horatian corpus.[52] Alcuin of York (Alcuinus), the Anglo-Saxon cleric and scholar whom Charlemagne would import to the Continent to oversee his program of educational reform, benefitted from and also augmented the reputation of the cathedral school at York, which had an international reputation for its excellent collection of classical *auctores* as early as the episcopacy of Ecgberht in the early eighth century (Garrison 642). In homage to Horace, Alcuin adopted Flaccus as his pen name for the elaborate, urbane, and playful versified *jeux de mots* composed between the members of the Palace School at Aachen. The otherwise anonymous twelfth-century Archpoet skillfully interwove scripture and Horace in his verses (Dronke, "The Archpoet" 60-2).

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[51] It is worthing noting that as Gehl reminds us, a *Donatum* came to mean a "grammar book" generally (Moral Art 32); however, these texts frequently interpolated the material authentically by Donatus with later accretions (83).

[52] The debt of Gregory the Great to Horace received attention at the beginning of this chapter, but I would be remiss not to mention, even if in passing, the debts of both Jerome and Augustine, the other two Patristic thinkers whose attitudes to Classical literature in general and to Horace in particular are worth noting for their influence over medieval intellectual culture. As Copeland argues, Jerome's conception of the *fides interpres* derives from Horace (*Rhetoric* 49-51). Augustine's *De Doctrina christiana* makes frequent if morally ambivalent use of Horace in elaborating a theory of *inventio* for preaching (154-5).

Giovanni Orlandi has sketched out the influence of Horace on medieval elegiac poetry more broadly.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, Charlemagne's educational reforms were the key part of his program of *renovatio studii et imperii*, and it is illustrative that its intellectual architect was an Anglo-Saxon who consciously evoked the Horatian tradition in his selection of nom de plume. From the ninth-century forward, the Horatian poetic corpus was at the center of Latin intellectual activity in Europe generally and in Britain specifically. Walter of Speyer's (Gualterus Spirensis) curriculum included Horace (Curtius, *European Literature* 49). Gerbert d'Aurillac (Garibertus Aurillacensis), the one-time abbott of the manuscript-rich monastery at Bobbio who would become Pope Sylvester II, lectured on the *Satires* of Horace at the cathedral school of Rheims (Edmunds 343). The *Dialogus super auctores* of Conrad of Hirsau (Conradus Hiersaugiensis), in the first half of the twelfth century, placed Horace ahead of even Vergil for his ethical utility.[53] By the end of the twelfth century, Alexander Neckam (Alexander Coriniensis) recommended the entirety of the Horatian corpus (Curtius 49-50). In the *Metalogicon*, John of Salisbury (Johannes Sarasberiensis) defends the liberal arts against attack by the "Cornuficians;" in doing so, he alludes to and quotes Horace extensively (McGarry xxiii). Writing before 1068, Guy (or Wido) of Amiens (Guido Ambianensis) alludes to Horace in his *Carmen de Hastingae proelio* (Curtius 430). The *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum*, attributed variously to William of Conches

[53] Curtius 49; though it is worth noting that Conrad recommends only the *Ars Poetica* unreservedly (Curtius 466 and Friis-Jensen, "The Reception" 304).

and Walter of Châtillon (Gualterus de Castellione), quotes more than one hundred *sententiae* from Horace (Curtius 529). In the middle of the fifteenth century, a monk at Tynemouth Abbey named John Bamburgh assembled an anthology for rhetorical instruction that conjoined Horace and the *Ars praedicandi* of Alain de Lille (Alanus de Insulis) (Clark, *Benedictines* 208).

The Horatian corpus attracted the attention of medieval scholiasts, who have, in turn, attracted the attention of modern scholars. In the mid-twentieth century, Hendrik Johan Botschuyver produced editions in four volumes of key medieval scholia on Horace. They are, not, however, without problem: aside from a number of transcription errors, more serious problems arise with Botschuyver's dating and attributions for the commentaries.[54] The work of Suzanne Reynolds on the commentary tradition has been discussed more fully earlier in this chapter. However, it is worth recapitulating that a central tenet of her argument concerns the importance of *ordo* glosses in the scholia. The other modern scholar whose work helps us to understand the medieval Horace is Karsten Friis-Jensen, who unlike Reynolds considers both the Horatian corpus beyond the Satires. He also makes explicit a distinction between gloss and commentary that Reynolds leaves only implicit: a commentary, because it is copied with the text itself, is best considered an integral part of the scholium, in contradistinction to a gloss, which, because it is inscribed

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[54] Reynolds (*Medieval Reading* 14 and 160, n35) and Friis-Jensen ("*Horatius Liricus*" 82-3) both address these shortcomings; Reynolds in particular expresses doubt about Botschuyver's third volume, in which he presents his edition of a scholium he attributes to Heiric of Auxerre, which she dismisses as chronologically unlikely.

later, must be considered extrinsic to both text and scholia.[55] In all, Friis-Jensen provides evidence of eight separate traditions of Horatian commentary, most of which use as their point of departure the material contained within Pseudo-Acro. The "Phi scholia," extant in a number of manuscripts dating from the late tenth century on, represent a Carolingian commentary tradition that draws upon Pseudo-Acro.[56] It provides an *accessus* for the entire Horatian corpus along with glosses and notes for the individual poems. The "Scholium Vindobonensis," which survives in only one manuscript of the late eleventh century (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliotek Codex 223), also covers the entire corpus but does so with greater plenitude for the *Ars Poetica*, giving a clear indication of the place the Horatian tradition occupied in Carolingian Renaissance.[57] The "Aleph scholia" is contained in two manuscripts (Parisinus 17897 and 8223), which

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[55] "Horatius lyricus" 83-5. The distinction to be made is that a gloss is copied after the text, *accessus*, and commentaries and, therefore, can be seen as a later accretion that arises from use after the copying of the manuscript. By implication, glosses in exemplars becomes part of the scholia when they become copied at the same time into a new manuscript. Where the gloss can be seen as representing an adaptation to a later use after the moment of copying in the parent manuscript, when, in the daughter manuscript the same material is included into the daughter, it can no longer be thought of as a separate accretion and must be thought of as part of the *accessus* and/or scholia. In essence, this calls into question the suitability of the modern text vs. paratext distinction in seeking to describe the reception and transmission as evinced by the manuscripts themselves. Perhaps the clearest example of the paleographical erasure of the distinction between text and paratext can be found in catena commentaries where the scribe, rather than maintaining a clear distinction between biblical text and scholia, has copied the material in the same hand without any negative space or rubrication to mark the distinction. Often when such exemplars are recopied, the lines are broken differently in the daughter copy, and the text and scholia then become, for lack of more elegant expression, jumbled.

[56] Published as Botschuyver, H. J. *Scholia in Horatium* I. Amsterdam, 1935. The scholia are contained in the manuscripts referred to as Phi (Parisinus 7974), Psi (Parisinus 7971), and Lambda (Parisinus 7972).

[57] Published as Zechmeister, Joseph. *Scholia Vindobonensia ad Horatii Artem poeticam*. Vienna, 1877.

Botschuyver attributes to Heiric of Auxerre (Hericus Autissidorensi), an attribution long questioned.[58] Another important Carolingian scholium is the "St Gall" commentary, contained in a late-eleventh century manuscript (St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 868); likely composed near Liege, it covers only the Odes and includes paratextual material in Latin, Old French, and Old High German.

The fourth of these scholia, the so-called "Materia commentary," was composed in France, likely at Chartres, before 1175. It survives in more than twenty manuscripts, and according to Friis-Jensen, became the standard commentary on the Horace for the later Middle Ages, a point corroborated by the fact that Matthew of Vendôme (Matthaeus Vindocinensis) used material from it in composing his *Ars Versificatoria*.[59] The Materia commentary, indeed, covers only the *Ars Poetica*, and its lengthy *accessus* presents the corresponding virtues and vices of Latin versification.[60] The "Anonymous Turicensis" is a twelfth-century commentary that survives in two manuscripts (it takes its name from Zurich, Zentralbibliotek, MS Rheinau 76-II). Friis-Jensen posits that it may have been the hinge from the Scholium Vindobonensia and the Materia commentary because of the combination of material present in the Vienna commentary with the plenitude of the

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[58] *Scholia in Horatium* IV. Amsterdam, 1942. Friis-Jensen dates the scholium to the early twelfth century.

[59] "Medieval Commentaries" 54. In "Horace and the Early Writers," Friis-Jensen provides evidence of the manuscripts to bolster this claim, asserting that so far he has found twenty complete manuscripts of the entire commentary and another four that contain only the *accessus* (363).

[60] It is telling that Matthew's title presents him as offering instruction in versification, not poetic composition, amply demonstrating the medieval distinction between *poeta* and *versificator* and the *auctoritas* possessed by each.

Materia commentary. Also from the twelfth century is the "Oxford" commentary, present in Oxford MS Magdalen College lat. 15, which presents an *accessus* and glosses for every poem in the Horatian corpus.[61] Lastly, the "Auctor-iste Uenusinus" commentary takes the form of an *accessus* and glosses initially located in the margins of a Vatican manuscript and since found in two late medieval manuscripts, where they are detached from the Horatian corpus itself.

In seeking to reconstruct the medieval reception of the Horatian corpus, two Early Modern commentaries shed potentially useful light. Denis Lambin (Dionysius Lambinus)published an edition of Horace in 1561 that made use of the medieval commentaries. Over a period of years spanning 1565 through 1573, Jacques de Crucque (Jacobus Cruquius) published his editions of Horace, beginning with the *Odes*; in 1578, he issued his *Opera omnia* of the Horatian corpus. These editions are important for two reasons. First, they offer the only glimpses of a key manuscript witness, the Codex Blandinius Vetustissimus, which may well have been an early insular manuscript but was lost along with three other important codices containing Horace during a fire resulting from the iconoclastic riots in Ghent in 1566. De Crucque made use of the scholia contained within these manuscripts, publishing an edition of them along with his text of the Horatian corpus, attributing the composite scholium to the "commentator Cruquianus." Although nineteenth-century philologists cast doubt about de Crucque's

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[61] Published as Karsten Friis Jensen's "Horatius liricus et ethicus. Two Twelfth-century School Texts on Horace's Poems" in *Cahiers de L'Institut du Moyen-Age Grec et Latin* 57 (1988): 81-147.

methods, there is no reason to doubt that the commentary included authentic medieval scholiastic content; nor is there reason to exclude categorically the possibly ancient variant readings presented in his editions based on the no longer extant Blandinius Vetustissimus. In other words, by a sort of back-formation, the editions of both Lambin and de Crucque, aside from offering variant readings for the Horatian corpus itself, also provide evidence for the medieval reception of Horace through the commentaries their editions provide.

In understanding the textual Nachleben of the Horatian corpus in the Middle Ages, we must now consider two works that complicate the modern text/paratext distinction. The extent to which these commentaries challenge our own distinction between text and paratext is evinced by the fact that when both Matthew of Vendôme and Geoffrey of Vinsauf based their own treatises on poesis on Horace's *Ars Poetica*, they used material from the commentary traditions as though it were authentically Horatian. As discussed above, Friis-Jensen argues that the "Materia" commentary on the *Ars Poetica* had become the standard scholium for the *Ars* by the thirteenth century. He argues, *inter alia*, that the most successful of these new treatises, the *Documentum de modo et arte dictandi et versificandi* (often abbreviated as the *Ars versificandi*) and the *Poetria nova* by Geoffrey of Vinsauf, adapt the *Ars Poetica* by providing a schema that was for its medieval audience clearer and more consistent. The *Ars versificandi*, for example, elaborates "the doctrine of the six faults of poetic composition and their respective virtues," which could only have been found in their entirety in the "Materia"

commentary's explication of the beginning thirty-seven lines of the *Ars* and which Geoffrey presents as straightforwardly and authentically Horatian ("Horace and the Early Writers" 363). Moreover, in discussing amplification as the second rule of poetry, Geoffrey uses a direct question from the "Materia" commentary: "Est autem congrua orationis digressio que fit quando aliquis dimisso cursu sue orationis utilitatis causa ad commodum sue cause ad aliud digreditur."[62]

In a manuscript context, shorn of the quotation marks and citation from the *Ars* provided by the modern edition that Friis-Jensen quotes, the line between Horace and Geoffrey is blurred, suggesting that Geoffrey's work was understood as part of the commentary tradition on Horace, not a separate entity. This is further underscored by the fact that these treatises typically circulated in manuscript contexts together with Horace's *Ars Poetica*. To see the Horatian corpus, the commentaries, and the medieval treatises as all part of a text-paratext continuum might be problematic for a modern reader (who would not, for example, find Geoffrey of Vinsauf included in a modern scholarly edition of Horace) but would seem to have been quite natural to a medieval reader. If we grant Friis-Jensen's argument that medieval readers of the *Ars Poetica* found its chronology and didactic utility too oblique, then in many respects, the *Ars versificandi* and the *Poetria nova* must be considered as extended *ordo glosses* within the Horatian tradition.

The *Modus Tractandi*

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[62] The phrase from the "Materia" commentary is *congrua orationis digressio* (Friis-Jensen, "The Earliest Writers" 371).

Consequently, in homage to the questions of the *accessus* tradition, the following issues will serve to shape our discussion of the influences of the Horatian tradition over vernacular poetry in medieval Britain. What can reasonably be inferred about the method of transmission of the Horatian corpus; was it likely to be aural/oral or textual? What either demonstrable or probable evidence can be found in the manuscripts can provide contextual evidence for how Horace's poetry was understood? In what ways do the commentaries alter, perhaps even distort, the Horatian corpus? How, then, do verbal borrowings from both Horace's poetry itself and the scholia assert themselves in the vernacular poetry? What does this reveal about reading practices operative at the time of poetic composition and/or scribal compilation? What does the recombinatory use of the Horatian corpus reveal about the disposition of an author or scribe toward the classical tradition more broadly? It is hoped that with these questions focusing my analysis, I will be able to assess fairly and systematically the influence the Horatian tradition exerted over the vernacular poetry under consideration and to begin, thereby, doing for Horace what other scholars have ably done for Vergil and Ovid.

CHAPTER TWO

THE *EXTER BOOK*, THE PAGAN POETS, AND THE HORATIAN TRADITION

As Donald Scragg succinctly reminds us about source study, "for a source to be borrowed, it has to be possible for the borrower to have known the source" ("Source Study" 41). Consequently, this chapter seeks to construct the transmission history of Horace in Anglo-Saxon England, paying attention to the manuscript contexts in which a monastic audience would have encountered Horace and the scholia that attended his poetic corpus, and to consider the uses made of the Horatian tradition in the *Exeter Book*. As established more fully in the first chapter, Mary Carruthers argues that before the increase in textuality of the thirteenth century, the practice she terms *meditatio* relied upon "remembering *sententialiter*" (as opposed to *verbaliter*, or verbatim); this recollection of a passage's sententiousness then allowed for a "recombinatory engineering of meditative *memoria*" (*Craft* 30). Consequently, the *modus tractandi* of this chapter will be to consider the extent to which glimpses of Horace's poetry can be found in the "recombinatory" strategies at work in the three "homiletic elegies" in the *Exeter Book*. The *auctores* occupy a unique place within the monastic educational program. In discussing the use of textual *auctoritas* in the cathedral schools, Alistair Minnis argues:

> But no matter what the subject, the scholar did not compete (he did not even pretend to do so) either with his *auctores* or with the great works which they had left. One's whole ambition was directed to understanding the authoritative texts, 'penetrating their depths, assimilating them and, in the fields of grammar and rhetoric, imitating them.'" (*Medieval Theory* 14)

Scragg, however, also reminds us that this sort of concept of textual authority was more fluid in the Anglo-Saxon period ("Source Study" 44). Even the text of the Bible itself was in flux: the Vulgate had not yet become established as the received translation, and the Patristic Age commentaries relied upon the Vetus Latina. Consequently, in Anglo-Saxon England, even the most "authoritative" of texts existed in a state of fluidity that is less normative than for the High and Late Middle Ages. A case in point is the Old English poem *Judith*, which although based on sacred scripture, shows a willingness to adapt and innovate freely to create a work that transcends the idea of a vernacular translation of an authoritative source. The Alfredian translation program evinces a willingness to recontextualize a text possessed of *auctoritas* to suit the concerns of realpolitik: in translating the *Regula pastoralis*, Alfred adds a commentary on the *purpura* of which a priest's garments are made to adapt Gregory's ecclesiastical rulebook into a statement of sacral kingship.[1] If the Bible and Gregory the Great's *Regula Pastoralis*—arguably the two most important textual authorities in an Anglo-Saxon monastic milieu—are subject to *sententialiter* adaptation in the vernacular, Horace and the other pagan poets, when present, must surely show in such "recombinatory" uses.

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[1] "purpura, ðæt is cynelic hrægl, forðæm hit tacnað kynelice anwald." Scragg, "Source Study" 47. The Realpolitik of the *Exeter Book* will become clearer through the course of this chapter.

The *modus tractandi* for this chapter is four-fold: first, to explore the transmission of the Horatian tradition in Anglo-Saxon England, then to consider the *Exeter Book*, next to consider the sources and analogues typically proffered as informing the Old English elegies, and finally to offer close readings of the three elegies in the codex for evidence of Horatian influence.

Consequently, three primary trajectories by which the Horatian tradition may have asserted its presence in late Anglo-Saxon England exist. The first two are textual: directly through a manuscript of the Horatian corpus and indirectly through classical and Late Antique grammatical treatises as well as the patristic and early medieval authors who evince a knowledge of Horace. To this must be added a third, and surprising, vector for influence: that amorphous shibboleth "the Germanic oral tradition." Recent scholarly work has challenged the traditional polarity of "nativist" and "Latinate" influences on Old English literature by reminding us that our categories of "Germanic pagan" and "Roman stoic" fail to account for the tremendous cultural overlap between the aristocratic Germanic warriors who fought for Rome as *foederati* and the patrician Roman elites who paid them; Thomas Hill succinctly encapsulates the situation when he asserts that "the Western Roman empire and Germania were deeply intertwined" ("Beowulf's Roman Rites" 330); the cultural cross-fertilization was bilateral (331). Javier Arce argues that the imbrication of these Germanic warriors into the ethos of imperial Rome was so thorough that by the time of the contraction of the Western Roman Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries, when the *foederati* stopped receiving their pay, "frontiers and troops

simultaneously ceased to exist" as the distinction between Roman and Germanic elites had become too blurred to be meaningful ("Frontiers" 13). In support of this assertion, Arce analyzes the descriptions of the funerals in Jordanes *Getica* and *Beowulf* to argue that their details confirm that they conformed almost entirely to what we know about Roman funerals from both textual sources and the archaeological records ("Imperial Funerals"). As these scholars have demonstrated, the similarities shared between patrician Roman and heroic age elite cultures cannot be relegated to mere chance or human nature writ large. It is reasonable to assume that this cultural cross-fertilization applies to literary production as well. Consequently, when a scholar posits "oral tradition" as a source, we must remember that this is an artificial construct whose seemingly univocal simplicity obfuscates centuries of cross-cultural contact that render labels like "nativist" and "Latinate" uselessly problematic. In short, while it is impossible to prove demonstrably that the Horatian tradition informs "the Germanic oral tradition," one must be open to the possibility that it does.

We are on steadier ground with the textual transmission of the Horatian tradition in Anglo-Saxon England. An exemplar of direct manuscript transmission of the Horatian corpus exists in Codex Bernensis 363. Before turning to individual poems from the Horatian corpus and the ways in which they manifest their presence in the *Exeter Book*, it is worthwhile to consider Bernensis 363 more generally as a textual artifact. The codex

is written in a late-ninth-century Irish or Anglo-Saxon hand.[2] The scholia include lexical glosses in both Anglo-Saxon and Irish.[3] The Horatian material, including commentary from Pseudo-Acro and Porphyrio, occupies ff.167r-186v, sandwiched between the *Ars rhetorica* of (pseudo-)Clodian and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. The collection of Horatian texts calls the satires *Sermones*. The other texts include Servius's commentary on Virgil, Fortunatus's *Ars rhetorica*, Augustine's *De dialectica* and *De rhetorica*, Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, and a work on metrics. The obvious conclusion about the assemblage of texts contained within the bindings of this codex would seem to be that they represented a compendium of *auctores* on prose and verse style. The Servian commentary on Virgil served as the medieval exemplar for approaching the use of classical pagan poets, and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* was the exemplar for approaches to moralizing and Christianizing pagan antiquity.[4] Bede was regarded as the exemplar for Late Antique standards of correctness of prose style. Clearly, codex Bernensis 363 addresses "recte loquendi et scribendi scientia."

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[2] The facsimile edition's preface, however, asserts that the manuscript itself was likely to have been copied "semptrionale Italiae parte" (iii), possibly in Milan, where the emphasis on Augustine would have a context.

[3] As the facsimile edition's preface notes: "glossae Anglosaxonicae ... et Scottigenae" (iii).

[4] Fyler 412. Although both the *Ovidius Moralizatus* and the *Ovide Moralisé* are fourteenth-century works, the moralizing tradition is visible even in Bernensis 363: line 21 of the first book, "hanc d(eu)s m(e)l(io)r lite(m) natura dire(m)it," is glossed with the chi-rho *nomen sacrum* and the words "in principio," inviting the reader to understand Genesis 1:1 and Ovid to be describing the same moment of creation under the same godhead (f187r). Paleographically, the Christianizing gloss *in principio* is written between the *d(eu)s* and *m(e)l(io)r* in the same script and hand, but the chi-rho appears in the gutter between the columns of text.

The *accessus* to the Horatian material in Codex Bernensis 363 is remarkably brief. The *vita auctoris* establishes only that he was born in Apulia among the Sabines to a freeman father who sent him to Rome to be educated.[5] It lists the *tituli operum* as the *Odes* in four books, the *Carmen Saeculare*, the *Epodes*, the *Ars Poetica*, the *Epistles*, and the *Satires* (again, called *Sermones*) in two books.[6] It clarifies that it contains the commentaries of Porphyrio and (Pseudo)Acro. It also establishes that for the *Odes*, the *utilitas* is "varietas," and that its *intentio* is to instruct in "practical duty" (*officio pragmatice*); a separate *intentio*, notably, is provided for the Satires: "reprehendere humani generis vitiosam naturam" (f184v). The part of philosophy to which the texts are consigned is not prescribed. Immediately following this abbreviated *accessus* (the brevity likely due to its being ninth-century), *Odes* 1.1 commences. For each of the odes, the meter is noted. The scholia show a limited range of glossatorial practices: explanatory glosses take on the moralizing work absent in the *accessus*; there exist glosses to help with vocabulary acquisition; and *hic, haec, hoc* glosses to help with grammatical gender.[7] Although Bernensis 363 is complete in its text of the Horatian

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[5] *Vita horatii: Q(uintus) horatius flaccus lib(er)tino patre natus in Apulia cu(m) parente e(st) in Sabinos migravit[;] que(m) cu(m) pat(er) pueru(m) roma(m) missiset i(n) ludu(m) litt(er)aru(m), parcissimis erudit(us) impensis ANGustias patris uicit i(n)genio* (f.167)r.

[6] *Carminu(m) libror(um) iiii, carmen saeculare, epodon, de arte poetica, libri epistolar(um) libri ii, sermonu(m) libri ii* (f167r).

[7] Importantly, I cannot find any *ordo* glosses in the commentaries. This has, potentially, some interesting consequences vis-a-vis *sententialiter* remembrances: in such a "loose" sort of *memoria*, a gloss that naturalizes the *ordo artificialis* of the Latin would not be necessary.

corpus, the contents are scrambled; a subsequent rebinding is a hypothesis that explains most of this confusion.

We are also on firm ground with the indirect textual transmission of Horatian material in an eighth-century Northumbrian monastic milieu. Lactantius knew Horace at first hand, and his *Divinae insititutiones* transmits quotations from the corpus (Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library* 99). Alcuin's poem celebrating the bishops, kings, and saints of York lists Horace among the Classical authors known in the York library. Bede knew Horace, whom he quotes and adapts frequently throughout his works; his *De arte metrica* evinces the clearest evidence. Most tantalizing of all, the *vita* of Gregory the Great written by the so-called Whitby Anonymous, whose status as the earliest extant piece of English hagiography and the earliest *vita* of the pope confirms its significance, contains a single Classical allusion: in the twenty-fifth chapter, the hagiographer quotes Horace's *Epistulae*.[8] Andy Orchard asserts confidently that Aldhelm knew not only Horace's *Ars Poetica* but quite probably his *Satires* as well (145)—a point the *Fontes Anglo-Saxonic*i database confirms.[9] Aldhelm serves to return this overview to Wessex. The Horatian corpus features prominently in Abbo of Fleury's *Passio Sancti Edmundi*, which was written during his abbacy at Ramsey c. 968*;* significantly, the *Passio Sancti Edmundi* makes use of Horace's *Odes*. Abbo's student Byrhtferth of Ramsey also evinces

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[8] Colgrave 54, 118.

[9] Aldhelm's *Carmen de virginitate* and two of his riddles (98 and 100) make use of these Horatian works.

knowledge of Horace (Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* 121). This catalogue serves to demonstrate that Anglo-Saxons both knew the Horatian tradition and used it in their own literary production.

The *Exeter Book* as Material Artifact

The *Exeter Book* (Exeter Cathedral MS 3501) is likely the earliest of the four major extant codices that transmit the Anglo-Saxon poetic corpus, having been written by a single scribe at a southwestern scriptorium in the last half of the tenth century.[10] Unlike the other three major codices of Old English verse, whose copying and selection of texts Elaine Treharne calls "mechanical" ("MS Sources" 101), the *Exeter Book* evinces "great care with deliberate crafting of textual items' positions and relationships" (100). Scholarly consensus interprets the *mycel englisc boc be gewhilcum þingum on leoðwisum geworht* of the donation list appended to the will of Bishop Leofric conveying much of his property to Exeter Cathedral as referring to this codex.[11] Consequently, in the *Exeter Book*, we have a codex produced by a single scribe and possessed of a reasonably secure provenance for most of its life. The scribe of the *Exeter Book* also copied two other

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[10] The other three codices are the *Vercelli Codex* (Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare CXVII), which was copied c. 970 possibly by a single scribe); the *Nowell* or *Beowulf Codex* (London, BL MS Cotton Vitellius A. xv), which was copied c.1000 by two scribes; and the *Junius Manuscript* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11), which was also copied c.1000 but by four scribes. The dating of the *Exeter Book* is not without some disagreement amongst scholars. Robert Flower, in 1933, dates the codex to 970-990. More recently, Patrick Conner dates the codex to 950-968, while Bernard Muir asserts 965-975. Treharne diplomatically dates the codex to "the 960s or 970s" ("Manuscript Sources" 99). The location of the scriptorium has been identified as either Glastonbury, Crediton, or at Exeter itself.

[11] This has been the case since Humpfrey Wanley's identification in his 1705 *Antiquae Literaturae septentrionalis* (279-81). However, what the donation list actually accomplishes, whether it was a new bequest or a reconfirmation of monastic holdings after the transfer of the see from Crediton to Exeter, is a subject of greater scholarly debate (Muir *Exeter Anthology* 3-6).

extant codices, as demonstrably proven by Neil Ker and Kenneth Sisam: Lambeth Palace MS 149, which includes Augustine's *De adulterinis coniungiis* and Bede's *Ennaratio Apocalypsis*, and Oxford, Bodleian MS Bodley 319, whose primary text is Isidore's *De fide catholica*.[12] Codicological analysis suggests that although the codex is the work of a single scribe, the quires that now comprise it originally existed as three unbound booklets: ff 53r, 83r, and 98r all show wear consistent with this, and, consequently, many scholars recognize these three points as demarcating the separate booklets that currently comprise the bound codex.[13] There is some disagreement, however, about the interpretative consequences of these booklets. It is important to note that although the parchment is of poor quality overall and varies in quality from booklet to booklet, the codex is neatly copied in a clear and regular hand, uses minimal abbreviation, and shows meticulous planning in the page layout, indicating "deliberate crafting of textual items' positions and relationships" (Treharne "Manuscript Sources" 100) with "strong thematic links" between the poems (Muir, *Exeter Anthology* 26). In considering the anthologizing project of the *Exeter Book*, Muir concludes "that the scribe was not copying what he found in his exemplar(s) mechanically or *literatim*" (*Exeter Anthology* 43). The codex, then, was the work of a learned scribe who recorded *sententialiter* texts drawn from a variety of Latin and vernacular oral and literary traditions.

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[12] Joyce Hill argues that a damaged colophon in one of these manuscripts (Lambeth Palace MS 149) may well identify Exeter as its place of copying (the other possibility she identifies is Crediton); the other manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 319) was presented by the Dean of Exeter to Thomas Bodley.

[13] Significantly, each of these loci marks a loss of textual material from the preceding quires (Muir, *Exeter Anthology* 7, 12-6).

Patrick Conner, in his detailed analysis of the *Exeter Book*'s codicology, asserts that the codex was originally composed of three booklets written by the same scribe over a period of years. Based on the current foliation and wear, Conner argues that ff8-52, comprising quires I through VI of the current codex, were written last in a single stint.[14] In his schema, ff98-130, currently comprising quires XIII-XVII, were written second, also in a single stint. Written first, in Conner's argument, were ff53-97, currently occupying quires VII-XII of the codex; these were written over an unspecified length of time, but Conner asserts that there are six discernible phases within the copying of this second booklet.[15] Between and among these three booklets can be evinced what Conner aptly calls "changing sensibilities" (*Anglo-Saxon Exeter* 121). Conner argues that the poems contained within his second booklet "may represent a collection derived from Continental models and composed within a monastic environment before the Benedictine revolution" (*Anglo-Saxon Exeter* 148). He further argues that "the tastes in poetry

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[14] The basis of his argument concerns letter forms. His most interesting evidence concerns his analysis of the letter eth, which was not a letter used in Caroline hands; consequently, Conner uses the relative "smoothness" of the eth as evidence of a scribe primarily trained in the copying of Latin texts gaining ever-increasing competence and certainty with the letter. Muir largely dismisses Conner's argument, accepting only that the small excision on f53r (which begins what Conner calls the second—but first written—booklet) as proof of wear commensurate with circulation in booklet form (7-8). Muir also agrees that the codex is the work of a single scribe but does not provide a thorough relative chronology for the its copying; he does, however, note "a considerable concentration of northern features, suggesting either a Northumbrian or Mercian origin" for the texts which he asserts as being unlikely to date "from much before the Alfredian period" (*Exeter Anthology* 44).

[15] Conner is inconsistent in his terminology in describing the second stint (in more than one instance he refers to "stints" within this second stint, implying a division of labor below the stint). However, his Table IV (114) makes clearer that he further subdivides the second stint into six distinct phases: 2.i covers ff53-70r12; 2.ii covers ff70r13-75r; 2.iii covers ff75v-80r4; 2.iv covers ff80r5-82v; 2.v covers ff83r-84v; and 2.vi covers ff85r-97.

engendered by the Benedictine Revolution[16] were dictated by a point of view much more self-focussed" and that key to this revised point of view was "abolishing the sort of poetic expression generally accepted before the period of reform" (*Anglo-Saxon Exeter* 149); this change of attitudes and their implications for poiesis, Conner asserts, are visible within the texts of his second booklet.

Conner's argument as regards the codicology and relative dating on the three component booklets of the *Exeter Book* is compelling. I also agree that this codex reflects changing attitudes toward literature vis-a-vis the Benedictine Reform. However, I think he turns the Reform movement into a unidirectional motion toward "monastic purity" and away from "royal polity" and "secular concerns." As Conner himself notes, the "Carolingian poets had a strong tradition of satirical verse deriving from an interest in Horace" as well as Juvenal and Persius (*Anglo-Saxon Exeter* 156). As Codex Bernensis 363 evinces, an Anglo-Saxon monastic audience of the ninth century would have known Horace, and by the tenth century, the Benedictine Reform drew upon a revivified interest in the Horatian corpus and its attendant scholia on the English side of the Channel. It is my argument in this chapter that the poems contained within the second booklet of the *Exeter Book* show this renewed interest in Horace. Scragg's reminder that it must be possible for the borrower of a earlier work to have known the source is crucial; however, to this I would add that in the case of medieval literature, it is essential to understand how the borrower would likely have encountered the source.

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[16] The changes in capitalization of *Revolution* are Conner's; he is inconsistent in his use, which suggests a period of reassessment of his own thoughts.

Before turning to close readings of the three Old English elegies contained in this second booklet of the *Exeter Book*, it is incumbent here to comment briefly on the importance of Benedictine monasticism generally and of the Benedictine Reform in particular to the transmission of the Horatian tradition in Anglo-Saxon England. The first chapter established two crucial facts about the Benedictines generally: first, by the first century of the Middle Ages, the Benedictines were renowned for their expertise in the classical *auctores* (Clark, *Benedictines* 1); second, they were cenobitic monks who lived under the explicit precepts of the *Regula Benedictini* (21). It is also crucial to bear in mind that the tenth-century reform movement's impetus was entirely practical (Barrow 142). As James Clark succinctly summarizes, "the *studia litterarum* was a perennial theme in the monastic discourse of reform" (58). Consequently, the first pragmatic aim of the reforms was to promulgate the educational program codified at the palace school at Aachen; in many ways, this represented for Anglo-Saxon England a reimportation of the golden age of Northumbrian learning from the age of Bede and Alcuin; however, and crucially, the Carolingian model of education had standardized, codified, and documented this native Northumbrian tradition. Bishop Æthelwold's school emphasized *studia litterarum* in both Old English and Latin; the Latin curriculum emphasized, not surprisingly, the classical *auctores*, including Horace (Gretsch 2). The second pragmatic goal of the tenth-century reform movement involved the exercise of *imperium* in Britain. After King Edgar's remarriage to Ælfthryth, Æthelwold exerted ever greater influence at court. In implementing the educational and administrative reforms imported from

Carolingian Francia, Æthelwold systematically removed non-cenobitic clerics from positions of authority in administering the realm, replacing them with Benedictine monks (Barrow 146). The justification for these expulsions was that non-cenobitic clergy, by refusing to live under the *stabilitas* of the monastic rule, lacked sufficient obedience and discipline to serve as effective and pious administrators (150). The context having been established, we may now turn to consider in detail the fresh impetus for the Horatian tradition over Anglo-Saxon verse on the cusp of the Benedictine reform of the tenth century.

The Old English Elegies in the *Exeter Book*

A fruitful locus in which to search for this renewed importance of the Horatian tradition over Old English poetic production, consequently, occurs in the three elegiac poems contained within Conner's second booklet of the *Exeter Book*: *The Wanderer*, *The Seafarer*, and the *Rhyming Poem*. An essential first step is to define what, precisely, the term elegy means in the context of the Exeter Book and Old English poetry, for although the concept of "elegiac poetry" has been loosely applied to certain works in the corpus as early as the nineteenth century, the relationship between classical Latin elegies and the Anglo-Saxons' "elegiac poetry" is oblique. Classical Latin elegies, borrowing heavily from Greek models, consistently use a distich as the common form with a hexametric verse followed by a pentametric verse, often with a caesura between them and frequently enjambing the lines. Themes often include unrequited love and commemoration. Horace, in the *Ars Poetica*, describes elegy as the mode suited for expressions of both

lamentations for things lacking and gratitude for granted prayers.[17] Anne Klinck, consequently, defines elegy generally as "a meditation upon absence, loss, or transience" expressed in literary form (*Old English Elegies* 224). She further tailors this broader definition to the Anglo-Saxon milieu when she asserts that "Old English elegy is a discourse arising from a powerful sense of absence, of separation from what is desired, expressed through characteristic words and themes, and shaping itself by echo and leitmotiv into a poem that moves from disquiet to some kind of acceptance" (246). Much of this definition is useful for articulating similarities between and among the nine poems of the *Exeter Book* that Klinck calls elegies. Equally useful is her further refinement of the taxonomy of these elegies; specifically, she nominates the triad of *The Wanderer*, *The Seafarer*, and the *Rhyming Poem* as "didactic" or "homiletic" elegies (24). She also enumerates three broad sources of influence at work on the Old English elegies: Latin literature (including Boethius and the classical authors), Celtic texts and oral traditions, and Germanic (which also includes Scandinavian countries) oral traditions (242). Less helpful and more problematic is Klinck's assertion in the quote above that the elegies of the *Exeter Book* are "expressed through characteristic words and themes" (246) which she, furthermore, posits are "part of the common Old English poetic stock" (32). The problem of this tautological definition of elegiac diction is immediately obvious: one cannot argue for a unique vocabulary whose presence marks the establishment of the genre of Anglo-Saxon elegiac poetry and simultaneously hold that this vocabulary is

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[17] *Versibus impariter iunctis querimonia primum, / post etiam inclusa est voti sententia compos* (lines 75-6).

common to all Old English poetic diction. My contention in this chapter is that Klinck is correct to have asserted that these elegiac poems in the *Exeter Book* do, indeed, share a vocabulary but to insist at the same time that Klinck is rather blithe in her unpacking of whence this diction might derive. Specifically, I take issue with her discussion of the issue of classical Latin sources, and I assert that particularly for the three elegies contained within the second booklet of the *Exeter Book*, which Klinck calls didactic or homiletic, in fact owe much of their vocabulary and ethos to Horace's poetry.[18]

In assessing the influence of the Horatian tradition on these three homiletic or didactic elegies, a prudent place to start is with these "characteristic words and themes" of Klink's, paying close attention to the sources posited by other scholars for them and seeing if there are instances where Horace can address any lacunae that exist, beginning generally for the shared vocabulary and then looking at each of the three Old English poems in more detail; these are "exile, solitude, the wintry sea, the … delights of the hall, [and] the contrast between earthly and heavenly values" (Klinck, *Old English Elegies* 32). When querying source texts in the Middle Ages, the centrality of biblical scripture demands starting with the Vulgate. When the Bible fails to accommodate fully all details, the next step down in the hierarchy is Patristic sources. Consequently, a thorough search of sacred scripture and the Patristic commentaries for this elegiac lexicon is a prudent point of entry. The word *exul* appears only twice in the Vulgate: in Numbers 35, forced

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[18] Klinck, to use a sports metaphor, punts on the issue of classical Latin influences, stating simply that "specific connections between the Old English elegies and classical poems are hard to prove" (237) and then including in her appendix three excerpts from Ovid (254-67).

exile is established as an accepted form of punishment.[19] More common biblically is language of wandering, especial in deserted or geographically isolated places. The occurrences begin as early as Genesis: Hagar *errabat in solitudine* in 21:14, and a man finds Joseph *errantem in agro* in 37:15. *Errare* is used to describe the Israelites' peripatetic time in the desert in Deuteronomy 13:5; Psalms 106:4 recounts that the Israelites *erraverunt in solitudine*, while the following verse adds that they were hungry and thirsty (*esurientes et sitientes*) as they did so. In Deuteronomy 27:17, malediction is called down upon anyone who causes a blind person to wander from his intended path.[20] Job 12:25 uses *errare* to describe the motions of drunkards (*inebrios*); Job 34:32 introduces the verb in a metaphorical sense that can be corrected by instruction.[21] The book of Psalms uses forms of the verb four further times. In Psalms 57:4, the psalmist uses the verb to describe the unnaturalness of sin.[22] To this sense of unnaturalness of sin, Psalms 94 adds the idea of the desert as a place of temptation (t*emptationis in deserto*, 9) that causes one to wander in the heart (*errans in corde*, 10); verse 40 specifies that this wandering is a form of divine punishment for prideful disobedience. Psalm 118 furthers

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[19] *Si interfector extra fines urbium quae exulibus deputatae sunt fuerit inventus et percussus ab eo qui ultor est sanguinis absque noxa erit qui eum occideri* (35:26-7): "If the murderer should be found outside the boundaries of the cities that have been appointed for exiles, and should be struck by him who is the avenger of the blood, not guilty shall be the one who should kill him." *Exules et profugi ante mortem pontificis nullo modo in urbes suas reverti poterunt* (35:32): "Exiles and fugitives before the death of the high priest should by no means have the power to return into their own cities."

[20] *Maledictus qui errare facit caecum in itinere*.

[21] *Si erravi tu doce me:* "If I have wandered, you [must] teach me".

[22] *Alienati sunt peccatores a vulva erraverunt ab utero loquentes mendacium*: "Excluded from the womb are sinners; speaking lies, they have wandered from the womb."

this connection between sinfulness, wandering, and the heart.[23] In Proverbs 10:17, to refuse moral instruction is to wander (*disciplinam qui autem increpationes relinquit errat*) while Proverbs 14:8 ties wandering to the imprudence of fools (*imprudentia stultorum errans*). The Book of Judith specifically adds the idea of wandering souls (*animarum errantium*, 11:5). A passage from Wisdom specifically yokes wandering and darkness: *ergo erravimus a via veritatis et iustitiae lumen non luxit nobis et sol non est ortus nobis*.[24] Lastly, Wisdom 17:1 also establishes that it is undisciplined souls (*indisciplinatae animae*) who wander.

The language of wandering continues into the New Testament. Matthew's narration of the parable of the sheep who wanders from the flock introduces to the stock of scriptural citations the idea of redemption for those who wander (Matthew 18:12-14). Matthew 22:29 and Mark 12:24 both use the same language to describe the power of scripture and of God's might to protect one from wandering. The Pauline epistles develop at great length the trope of wandering and sinning. 1 Corinthians 6:9 cautions against wandering from the path that leads to the kingdom of God: *an nescitis quia iniqui regnum Dei non possidebunt nolite errare*. 1 Timothy 6 cautions that the love of money brings many sorrows and causes one to wander.[25] Titus 3:3 furthers this idea, adding that

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[23] *In toto corde meo exquisivi te ne errare me facias a mandatis tuis:* "In my whole heart I have sought you; let yourself not cause me to wander from your commandments" (10).

[24] "Therefore we have wandered from the path of truth, and the light of justice has not shone for us, and the sun has not risen for us" (5:6).

[25] *Radix enim omnium malorum est cupiditas quam quidam appetentes erraverunt a fide et inseruerunt se doloribus multis* (10).

the lack of wisdom inculcates subservience to desires and pleasure, thereby causing a person to wander from righteousness.[26] This sense is continued in the Epistle of James.[27] Hebrews 3:10 revisits the Old Testament idea of wandering in one's own heart (*errant corde ipsi*). Hebrews 11:38, in a scene of cataclysm, recuperates the idea of wandering in solitude in deserted and remote places (*in solitudinibus errantes et montibus et speluncis et in cavernis terrae*). 2 Peter 2:15 concretizes the idea of wandering from the path of righteousness and introduces the idea of the "wages of iniquity" (*mercedem iniquitatis*). Jude 1:13 provides a locus not only for wandering itself but also for the fierce waves of the sea (*fluctus feri maris*), the stars (*sidera*), and a storm of shadows (*procella tenebrarum*).

Patristic and early medieval Latin sources continue this development of the language and themes of exile. Patristic exegesis found in the expulsion from Paradise in the third chapter of Genesis an allegorical understanding for humankind's terrestrial misery, and the scriptural *emisit eum* (3:23) took on greater nuance of exile and banishment. Just such a sense is present in Alcuin's *De clade Lindisfarnensis monasterii* (Calder, *Sources* I 141). A similar sentiment exists in Sermon 68, attributed spuriously to Augustine in the Middle Ages; the sermon explicity warns against the dangers of gluttony, desire, and pride, which caused Adam's expulsion from Eden and threatens a

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[26] *Eramus enim et nos aliquando insipientes increduli errantes servientes desideriis et voluptatibus variis in malitia et invidia agentes odibiles odientes invicem*.

[27] *Deinde concupiscentia cum conceperit parit peccatum peccatum vero cum consummatum fuerit generat mortem; nolite itaque errare fratres mei dilectissimi:* "Consequently, when desire has conceived it, it brings forth sin; when sin is consummated, it begets death; and so, my dearest brothers, do not wander" (1:15-6).

man's exclusion from heaven (146). Caesarius of Arles, in Sermon 151, calls the human condition an "earthly pilgrimage" through the land of exile (149). This idea of *peregrinatio* has wide currency in Hiberno-Latin literature; ever since Dorothy Whitelock's highly influential article posited that the narrator of *The Seafarer* is a "peregrinus pro amore Dei," many of these works have been posited as sources and analogues for the three homiletic elegies of the *Exeter Book*. Ida Gordon specifically argues for the influence of Columbanus in the images and vocabulary of the Old English elegies (14-23). Colin Ireland adds evidence from other Celtic sources, especially *vitae* of St. Patrick by Murichu and Tírechan (5-6); he also argues for the influence of two Old Irish work, the *Cambrai Homily* and the *Cain Adomnàin* (8-9). Among the Old Norse sources put forth as possible influences on the three homiletic elegies, only "Guðrum's Chain of Woes" from the *Poetic Edda* discusses a transmarine journey as an exile (Calder, *Sources* II 36); the other journeys by boat in Old Norse literature have straightforward and pragmatic purposes.

The second of Klinck's "characteristic words and themes" is solitude. The Vulgate uses forms of *solitas*, *solitudo*, and *solitarius* frequently. Genesis uses *solitudo* in contexts that imply a barren or deserted location, as in 14:6 where the relative clause *quae est in solitudine* is used to refer to the plains of Pharan, stressing its remoteness. Similarly, an angel finds Sarah *iuxta fontem aquae in solitudine qui est in via Sur* (Genesis 16:7), where the word refers to a desert or wilderness traversed by a road to Sur with an oasis along it. Cisterns and springs of water are found *in solitudine* in two other

passages in Genesis: 36:24 and 37:22. Genesis 47:18 makes explicit the idea that a *solitudo* is the antithesis of productively arable land.[28] This idea of non-arable land takes on further nuance in Exodus 16:2-3, where *solitudo* threatens to kill *omnem multitudinem fame* ("the entire multitude with hunger"). Exodus 3:18 deploys the term *solitudo* in such a way that the quality of the land being uninhabited comes to the fore, a sense duplicated in Exodus 5:3.[29] In Exodus 14, the idea of the wilderness and death appear together.[30] A further use of *solitudo* in Exodus introduces a hoar-frost (*pruina*) in the desert into the stock of themes with biblical sources.[31] In describing the ritual of the scapegoat, the priests receive the instruction to let it run in *terram solitariam* (into uninhabited land), thereby removing the misdeeds (*iniquitates*) from the populace (Leviticus 16:22); this passage makes explicit the connection between solitary, uninhabited places, and the expiation of sin. A later passage in Leviticus combines the ideas of wilderness, desolation, and quietude.[32] In 1 Kings 23:14, David hides from Saul *in monte solitudinis*.

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[28] *Cur ergo morimur te vidente et nos et terra nostra tui erimus eme nos in servitutem regiam et praebe semina ne pereunte cultore redigatur terra in solitudinem*; "Why therefore will we die, seeing you; we will be yours, both we (ourselves) and our lands. Buy us in royal servitude, and give us seeds so that the the lands not regress to wilderness for lack of a cultivator."

[29] Eamus viam trium dierum in solitudinem; "Let us take a three-day path into the wilderness." This sense is repeated five times in Exodus: 8:27,

[30] *Et dixerunt ad Mosen forsitan non erant sepulchra in Aegypto ideo tulisti nos ut moreremur in solitudine quid hoc facere voluisti ut educeres nos ex Aegypto. onne iste est sermo quem loquebamur ad te in Aegypto dicentes recede a nobis ut serviamus Aegyptiis multo enim melius est servire eis quam mori in solitudine (11-12).*

[31] *Cumque operuisset superficiem terrae apparuit in solitudine minutum et quasi pilo tunsum in similitudinem pruinae super terram*; "And when [the dew] had covered the surface of the earth, it appeared small in the wilderness, and as though beaten with a rod into the likeness of a hoar-frost above the ground" (16:14).

[32] *Et requiescet in sabbatis solitudinis suae eo quod non requieverit in sabbatis vestris quando habitabatis in ea* (26:35).

In 2 Chronicles 1:3, the tabernacle is located *in solitudine*. A passage in Job yokes together the ideas of a whirlwind (*turbo*), shadows (*tenebras*), and a solitary night (*nox solitaria*) (3:6-7) while a later verse deploys the word *solitudo* such that it takes on a greater sense of mental quietude.[33] Psalm 101 speaks of an *avis solitaria*, watching from a rooftop (8). Isaiah introduces a context in which the sense of *solitudo* conveying a natural state of being uninhabited is troped to become imbued with destruction and annihilation.[34] The New Testament adds little further nuance. Mark 8:4-5 is the locus for the parable in which Jesus feeds the multitudes with the bread and fish his disciples gleaned *in solitudine*. Lastly, although the synoptic gospels do not use the word *solitudo* as the locus for Jesus's temptation, that he was alone in the desert may well exert an influence over the three Old English elegies this chapter will examine closely.

An eremitic tradition in Christianity emerged forcefully from the fourth century C.E. Consequently, the Patristic sources here are too vast to catalogue in a way that is useful or manageable in the scope of this chapter. It must suffice here to comment that this tradition stressed a solitary and ascetic life in a geographically remote place where the penitent mortification of the body forced the soul to focus on salvific concerns. An important exemplar of how the early Middle Ages used this scriptural and Patristic sense of *solitudo* can be found in Fortunatus's *De Excidio Thoringiae*, in which the female

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[33] *Nunc enim dormiens silerem et somno meo requiescerem cum regibus et consulibus terrae qui aedificant sibi solitudines* ("For now, sleeping quietly, I should be resting in my dream with kings and consuls who have built for themselves solitudes.

[34] *Relicta est in urbe solitudo et calamitas opprimet portas* (24:12). This sense is continued in Jeremiah 49:13: *et omnes civitates eius erunt in solitudines sempiternas.*

speaker is the lone survivor of the title's destruction, mourning the loss of her kinsmen and friends and bewailing the ravages of Fortune.[35] A similar conception is visible in Old Norse literature. In "The Death of King Hrolf Kraki" from the *Saga of King Hrolf Kraki*, another aristocratic woman, in this case the princess Skuld, is the sole surviving witness to the king's death and its attendant destruction (Byock 77-8). In the "Sighatr Þórðarson" from the *Heimskringla*, the former court poet Sighvatr mourns his fall from royal favor and the martyrdom of Saint Óláfar (Calder, *Sources* II 46). Celtic literature also offers analogues that develop a similar theme of *solitudo*. The Welsh poem *Claf Aber Cuawag* opens with the narrator seated on a "desolate" hilltop, contemplating the passage of time, the vagaries of Fortune, and the wretchedness of his existence (51-2). A ninth-century Old Irish poem, "Ind ráith i comair in dairfhedo," is a "traditional ubi sunt poem" in which a fortress alone survives the succession of kings (60). None of these sources, however, fully accounts for the ways in which the three Old English elegies deploy the theme of solitude.

The wintry sea is perhaps the most distinctive and consistent of Klinck's lexical and thematic hallmarks for the three elegies in the second booklet of the *Exeter Book*. To be sure, the sea figures widely in biblical scripture, appearing on the third day of creation as the collection of the waters separated when God made the firmament and being created

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[35] Calder, *Sources* I 138. Anna Maria Wasyl traces Fortunatus's use of Augustan poetry.

before the land itself.[36] Seas (*maria*) and their shores (*litores*) are mentioned throughout Exodus, Deuteronomy, and Joshua as geographical, political, and cultural boundaries; the Red Sea figures prominently as does the Mediterranean Sea, but never are they described in detail, simply mentioned as topographical features. In Judges, the seashore is named as the dwelling place of Aser (15:7), and the seashore's sand is deployed as a trope of innumerability (7:12), which is repeated at 1 Kings 13:5, 2 Kings 17:11, and 3 Kings 4:20 as well as Hebrews 11:12. In 1 Chronicles 16:32, a jussive construction commands that the seas be made to resound in praise of God.[37] The sea is mentioned nine times in 2 Chronicles 4, in which the temple and its furnishings are narrated; the *mare* here is explicitly described as a sort of *mikvah* for the ritual bathing of the priests in 4:6[38]; this sense of ritual purification may inform the penitential qualities associated with the sea some scholars see operative in the elegies. Job famously compares the weight of his sins

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[36] "Dixit quoque Deus fiat firmamentum in medio aquarum et dividat aquas ab aquis, et fecit Deus firmamentum divisitque aquas quae erant sub firmamento ab his quae erant super firmamentum et factum est ita vocavitque Deus firmamentum caelum et factum est vespere et mane dies secundus. Dixit vero Deus congregentur aquae quae sub caelo sunt in locum unum et appareat arida factumque est ita, et vocavit Deus aridam terram congregationesque aquarum appellavit maria et vidit Deus quod esset bonum" (Genesis 1:6-10). "And God said, 'let the firmanent be made in the middle of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters,' and God made the firmament, and it divided the waters that were below the firmament from those which were above the firmament, and it was thus, and God called the firmament heaven, and it became evening, and was the second day. Truly God said, 'let the waters which are below the heaven be collected into one place, and let the dry [land] appear, and it became thus, and God called the dry [land] earth, and he called the waters the seas, and God saw that it was good.'"

[37] "tonet mare et plenitudo eius exultet" (let the sea resound and its plentitude exults); interestingly, the verse yokes the resounding sea with fertile fields: "agri et omnia quae in eis sunt" ("And all the things that are in them").

[38] "in mari sacerdotes lavabantur."

to the sands of the ocean when he maintains his innocence.[39] The book of Job also includes another mention of the sea that is potentially significant in the context of the homiletic elegies in the *Exeter Book*: Job asserts, "quapropter et ego non parcam ori meo loquar in tribulatione spiritus mei confabulabor cum amaritudine animae meae; numquid mare sum ego aut cetus quia circumdedisti me carcere."[40] The sea is also mentioned in the twelfth chapter of Job, which discusses wisdom; in the immediate context, even the *pisces maris* of the eighth verse know that God controls the fates of all, and the wise man shall patiently accept this; this book furthers the connection between God's providential control of the earth and sea and wisdom, adding the idea that God will strike down pride.[41] The book of Job also equates the sea with the abyss and the dwelling of the Leviathan, figured as an embodiment of pride itself (41:1-34). In Psalms 32:1-7, the power of God over the earth and sea are yoked to a song of praise. Psalm 67:23 establishes the sea as a locus for divine punishment.[42] Psalm 68 adds to our stock of

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[39] Job 6:1-3; it is worth noting that in verses 5-7, discuss various food images, concluding, "Quae prius nolebat tangere anima mea nunc prae angustia, cibi mei sunt" ("What once my soul did not wish to touch now because of my bitterness are my dinners"). This is significant, as will be seen in the subsequent discussion of *The Seafarer*, where the dejected and hungry narrator bemoans his lack of food.

[40] Job 7:11-2; "On account of which also I will not spare my mouth; I will speak in the tribulation of my spirit; I will speak with the bitterness of my soul. Is it possible that I am the sea or a whale because you have surrounded me as a prison?"

[41]"In fortitudine illius repente maria congregata sunt et prudentia eius percussit superbum" (Job 26:12).

[42]"Dixit Dominus de Basan convertam convertam de profundis maris."

biblical citations the ideas of a storm and attendant instability[43]; stability and fixity as part of divine providence are mentioned in the context of the sea in Proverbs 8:29.[44] In Psalm 77:24-6, the psalmist discusses the sea in the context of God's revocation of both manna and favorable winds as punishment for disobedience; in verse 27, God replaces the manna with flesh-like dust and feathered birds like the sands of the sea.[45] Psalm 106:3 is the closest scriptural passage that yokes the sea and the winter when the phrase *ab aquilone et mari* is used to describe the vastness of God's reach. Isiah 5:30 adds the idea of the *sonitus maris* to our stock of scriptural references to the sea that may operate in the homiletic elegies of the *Exeter Book*. Isiah 16:8 yokes the ideas of destruction of a city and wandering with a transmarine journey.[46] Ezekiel 27:27 adds to our stock of

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[43] *Infixus sum in limo profundi et non est substantia veni in altitudines maris et tempestas demersit me* (verse 3). It is worth noting that Isiah 21:1 discusses a whirlwind from Africa (*turbines ab Africo*) blowing across the sea as punishment for faithlessness. Jonah 1:12 introduces the first of many loci in the book for a less than tranquil sea.

[44] *Quando circumdabat mari terminum suum et legem ponebat aquis ne transirent fines suos quando adpendebat fundamenta terrae*; "When he surrounded the sea with its own boundaries and placed the law for the waters that they not exceed their own boundaries when He balanced the earth's foundations."

[45] *Et pluit super eos quasi pulverem carnes et quasi harenam maris volatilia pinnata.* These are details that will become relevant for the discussion below of both *The Wander* and *The Seafarer*.

[46] *Quoniam suburbana Esebon deserta sunt et vinea Sabama domini gentium exciderunt flagella eius usque ad Iazer pervenerunt erraverunt in deserto propagines eius relictae sunt transierunt mare*: "Because the suburbs of Hesebon have been deserted and the lords of the *gentes* have destroyed the vines of Sabama[, and] its whips have reached as far as Jazer; they have wandered in the desert, and the descendants [who] are left have gone over the sea." A similar passage is repeated almost verbatim in Jeremiah 48:32; note, too, the use of wandering.

biblical scriptures the destruction of a city and its treasures.[47] A famous passage in Amos that received considerable attention from commentators establishes that God will turn feasting into mourning and joyful songs into lamentations, replacing abundance with famine, and removing the word of the Lord *a mare usque ad mare et ab aquilone usque ad orientem.*[48] The last scriptural locus in the Old Testament that adds any appreciable nuance for our understanding of the way the sea might function in these three homiletic elegies in the *Exeter Book* comes from Micah:7; the chapter opens in the first verse with a metaphor for corporeal and spiritual hunger and ends in verse 19 with the bottom of the sea having become the depository for human sin.

The New Testament adds few further citations that are potentially useful for increasing our understanding of the Old English elegiac poems. In Mark 2:13 and 4:1, the seashore is the locus where Jesus instructs the multitudes who have come to him for enlightenment. John 6:16-21 contains the passage in which Jesus walks upon the surface of the sea as witnessed by his disciples. Acts 27 contributes a passage in which hunger and anxious seafaring are joined. The crystalline sea of Revelation 4:6 has certainly received much attention from Patristic and medieval commentators, though I do not see any influence of this passage over the elegiac poems of the *Exeter Book* and their

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[47] *Divitiae tuae et thesauri tui et multiplex instrumentum tuum nautae tui et gubernatores tui qui tenebant supellectilem tuam et populo tuo praeerant viri quoque bellatores tui qui erant in te cum universa multitudine tua quae est in medio tui cadent in corde maris in die ruinae tuae*. "Your riches and your treasures and your manifold instruments [and] your sailors and your helmsmen who have held your worldly goods who ruled over your people, and also bellicose men who were inside you with your universal multitude in your midst—they shall fall into the heart of the sea on the day of your ruin."

[48] Amos 8:9-12.

vocabulary, themes, or imagery. Revelation 8:6-8, while likewise the subject of many medieval and patristic commentaries, does yoke hunger, hail, destruction, and the sea, but the emphasis on blood in the scriptural passage is not present in the three Old English homiletic elegies. Revelation 13:1 states that it is the sea whence comes the seven-headed beast. Revelation 18:19 explicitly articulates the idea of maritime trade enriching a city, and Revelation 21:1 ties the dissolution of the sea to the appearance of the *caelum novum et novam terram*. Conspicuously absent from all of these scriptural passages, however, is the winter aspect of Klinck's "wintry seas" hallmark; this is not surprising given the fact that snow is an uncommon occurrence on the littorals of the Levant.

The patristic commentaries often cited by scholars as part of this "wintry seas" stock of themes and images likewise offer little support for the wintry aspect. Klinck offers as support a passage from Cyprian and one from Augustine as support for her "wintry seas" hallmark of elegiac verse, but these, too, fail to account for the wintry storms of the homiletic elegies.[49] Many other scholars have looked to Celtic sources in Latin. Colin Ireland gives a thorough cataloguing of the possibilities, but it must be borne in mind that he writes from a supposition that Dorothy Whitelock's assertion that *The Seafarer* takes up the theme of the *peregrinus pro amore Dei* is correct; consequently, the resulting catalogue of ship-going peregrinations in Hiberno-Latin sources ignores

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[49] From Cyprian, Klinck cites the following passage from *De mortaliate*, 26: "Quis non, ad suos navigare festinans, ventum prosperum cupidius optaret;" from the second chapter of Augustine's De Cantico novo, she proffers "Non metuat anima mare hoc magnum, saeculum scilicet, cuius fluctus ac turbines sentimus inimicas saeculi potestates" (Old English Elegies 387). Both of these passages foreground the stormy seas as metaphors for understanding the soul's journey through its mundane existence, but both fail to accommodate the exact way that seafaring across the sea in a winter storm functions in the three Old English poems.

other interpretative possibilities. This not withstanding, the sources Ireland cites do not account for the wintry sea leitmotiv—although they do add further nuance to understanding the storms and winds (4-6), tumultuous waves (10), "awe before nature" (7), and water fowl (7-8) in the Old English elegies. The Old Norse sources that Klinck includes in the appendices to her book, likewise, further the nuanced understanding of "swelling waves" (291) and the littoral as a place of exile (301); none, however, do anything to concretize winter beyond a single mention of the north wind that actually seems to allude to the passage from Psalm 106 quoted above. *Sources and Analogues of Old English Poetry*, edited by Daniel Calder and Robert Bjork, includes three further selections from Old Norse that move us closer to Klinck's "wintry seas." The "Second Lay of Guðrun" from the *Prose Edda* gives us "the ice cold sea" (28). "Egill Skallagrimsson" from *Egils Saga* includes a passage that vividly describes a ship sailing through wintry waters being impelled by the gusty winds; however, the passage pointedly calls it a "calm path" (46). Furthering this trope of silence, "Bjorn Asbrandsson Breiðvikingakappi" from *Eybbyggja Saga* calls the wintry sea "the ice-stiff land of the swans" as part of the landscape from which a warrior remembers previous battles (47). Lastly, among the passages Klinck includes from Ovid is the description of the Black Sea's coast as *adstricto terra perusta gelu*.[50] In seeking to correct the conspicuous lack of wintry themes and language *vis-à-vis* the sea as currently posited in the sources and analogues, the Horatian corpus itself provides ample evidence for exactly this sort of

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[50] "A land seized with gripping cold," *Tristia* 3.4.2, quoted in*The Old English Elegies* 262).

yoking of the sea and winter, as the close readings of each of the three homiletic elegies in the *Exeter Book* that follow will demonstrate.

The fourth of Klinck's "characteristic words and themes" is the delights of the hall. Relevant scriptural passages are few in comparison to the that for the sea. The earliest mention of an *aula regis* is that of the pharaoh in Genesis 45:16. 2 Kings 7 speaks of both the an *aula regis* (9) and a *palatio regis* (11). The phrase occurs as well in a context that forbids the wearing of sackcloth in the palace;[51] this serves to underscore the splendor at court. In Daniel 4, Nebuchadnezzar is described as residing in both a *palatio* (1) and an *aula* (26); importantly, by the end of the chapter, however, the king is living in exile in a bestial manner.[52] An *aula regis* is the locus for the feast held by Belshazzar, when there appears on the wall the writing that Daniel interprets as prophesying the king's death and subsequent partitioning of his kingdom (Daniel 5:5-31). In 1 Maccabees 11:46, *aula* clearly has the sense of being a citadel, for it is where the king retreats as his city (*civitas*) is besieged; this is further underscored by the description in 2 Maccabees 13:15 of there being a fortified encampment (*castra*) located around the hall itself. A throne being present in the *palatio regis* is only made explicit once.[53] Ezra

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[51] *Non enim erat licitum indutum sacco aulam regis intrare*: "For it was not permitted that one dressed in sackcloth should enter the hall of the king" (Esther 4:2).

[52] *Nabuchodonosor ex hominibus abiectus est et faenum ut bos comedit et rore caeli corpus eius infectum est donec capilli eius in similitudinem aquilarum crescerent et ungues eius quasi avium*: "Nebuchadnezzar was driven from men, and he both ate grass like a cow and his body was destroyed with the dew of heaven, and therefore his hair grew in the likeness of an eagle and his toenails [grew] like [those] of birds" (4:30).

[53] *Et venerunt per viam portae scutariorum in palatium et sedit super thronum regum*: "And they came into the palace by way of the gate of the shieldbearers, and sat upon the throne of the kings (2 Kings 11:19).

4:14 establishes the sense that retainers owe a duty to their king in exchange for the feasts they enjoy in his hall.[54] Significantly, the New Testament uses neither *aula* or *palatio* at all, not even to describe the structures from which Herod or Pontius Pilate wielded their authority.[55]

Both Latin and vernacular works add nuance to these biblical loci for descriptions of royal halls. In Fortunatus's *De Excidio Thoringiae*, the lone survivor laments the ruins of the lofty and arcaded palace that now stands roofless and bereft of its splendidly dressed retainers (Calder, *Sources* I 137). Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* contains a famous passage in which one of King Edwin's retainers argues for the conversion to Christianity using the metaphor of a sparrow flying through a hall on a wintry night to describe *haec vita hominum* (2.13); the *Old English Bede* uses the metaphor to describe *þis andwearde lif manna on eorðan*.[56] Halls as the loci of feasting, treasure-giving, singing, and the other pleasures of aristocratic life we expect in Old English poetry would seem to be in shorter supply in Old Norse literature, where the hall is far more likely to bring treachery, despair, and sadnesses. This characterization notwithstanding, there are a few passages in Old Norse literature that do describe royal halls in more joyful tones. In

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[54] *Nos ergo memores salis quod in palatio comedimus et quia laesiones regis videre nefas ducimus*.

[55] It is also worth noting that in the Vulgate, the term *villa* is used in the sense of either a village or a large agricultural operation, the sort of thing that in classical Latin was normally called a *latifundium*.

[56] An interesting example of Carruthers's "recombinatory engineering of meditative *memoria*" can be found in the Old English translation of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*: Tristan Major has argued for an interpolation of the Latin exemplar with two key elements derived from 1 Corinthians 15:52 in the Old English (11-2)

"Bjorn's Transformation into a Bear and the Birth of Bodvar" from the *Saga of King Hrolf Kraki*, the hall features as a place of feasting and good hospitality (Byock 39). An aristocratic society held together by a generous and orderly distribution of treasures from a king to his retainers is visible in the "Helreið Brynhildar" from the *Poetic Edda* (Calder, *Sources* II 31-2). In the "Oddrunargratr," also from the *Poetic Edda*, the hall figures as a place where mostly good behavior usually is the norm (32-5). The hall functions as a place of good cheer and revelry for princes and nobles as a respite from battle in the "Hialmars Sterbelied" from the *Qrvar-Oddssaga* (41-2). The royal hall also abounds in Celtic literature. The *Stafell Cynddylan* describes the changes that befall a hall itself when its king dies (56). In the *Edmyg Dinbych*, the hall stands on a hill surrounded by a turbulent sea as a joyful and festive place of feasting and song (57-9). Lastly, in the *Dadolwch Urien*, the hall signifies conviviality, generosity, "mead from drinking horns[,] and endless prosperity" (60).

Finally, the last of Klinck's hallmarks for the Old English elegies is the contrast between earthly and heavenly values. Given the authority of the Magisterium and the adaptability of the *integumentum*, it is not an exaggeration to assert that the entirety of the Bible in the Middle Ages was supposed to assist one in understanding the difference between the terrestrial and the celestial, between the evanescent and the transcendent. Among the Patristics, it is impossible to overstate the centrality of Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, whose central premise appears explicitly in Book 11: that man must choose whether he will dwell in the terrestrial or celestial city by serving either the body and its

desires or the soul and God.[57] The *De clade Lindisfarnensis monasterii* cautions that earthly joy can never endure because the world is unstable by divine ordination (Calder, *Sources* I 141-3); Alcuin also explicitly calls heaven "a better life" (145). The *Visio Pauli* underscores this contrast by sending the apostle Paul into the underworld to experience firsthand the sort of death and afterlife that awaits one who chooses the carnal over the spiritual (Di Sciacca 367) A similar sentiment exists in the Latin homiletic corpus. Sermon 86 of Pseudo-Augustine explicitly calls terrestrial existence "transitory, fragile, and wretched" (Calder, *Sources* I 148). Caesarius of Arles builds upon the Augustinian tradition to assert that a good Christian must always think of terrestrial life as a pilgrimage (149-50). His Sermon 151 states unequivocally that following the temporal path leads the soul to death (151). James Cross asserts the influence of Prosper of Aquitaine on the depiction of death in the Old English elegies (*Latin Themes* 7). This also finds expression in the Old English homiletic tradition: the Blickling Homilies and the *Vercelli Book*'s homilies are especially rich sources for this theme (Di Sciacca 368-73). The Old Welsh poem *Can yr Henwr* asserts that disease and old age overtake the body, leaving only grief (Calder, *Sources* I 53). An Old High German poem, often called *Memento Mori* in its manuscript contexts, discusses human life as a journey, cautions for the need to be mindful of that journey's end, and asserts that those who lead sinful lives will know eternal death in hell (49). As close readings will demonstrate,

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[57] Importantly, Augustine uses Horace directly three times in the *De Civitate Dei*: at 1.3, he quotes a passage from Horace's *Epistula* 1.2, and in 5.13, he quotes *Epistula* 1.50 and *Ode* 2.2. Augustine is himself an important conduit for the transmission of the classical tradition into the Middle Ages.

these scriptural, Patristic, and vernacular sources do not fully account for the "characteristic words and themes" in three elegies in the second booklet of the codex.

The first of these three homiletic elegies, *The Wanderer*, occupies ff76v-78r in the *Exeter Book*. The poem's beginning establishes a key human dilemma in the Middle Ages: although fate is fully fixed (*wyrd bið ful aræd*, line 5b), what one should set into motion (*sceolde / hreran*, lines 3b-4a) often (*oft*, line 1a) requires thought if one is to obtain the Creator's favor (*metudes miltse*, line 2a).[58] Line six makes clear that the speaker is an "earth-stepper" who is mindful of hardships.[59] The narrator then utters another gnomic complaint that he must often bewail his care alone (*Oft ic sceolde ana … mine ceare cwiþan*, lines 8-9a). What emerges from the subsequent eleven lines is that this particular care is his inability to confide openly (*sweotule asecgan*, line 11a) the emotional pain he feels to anyone. The speaker acknowledges that it is "an aristocratic custom in a nobleman" (*in eorle indryhten þeaw*, line 12) to dissimulate and hide his true reactions. The poem describes this dissimulation through vividly material metaphors of binding and holding the heart as the vessel of cares: *he his ferðlocan fæste binde* (he should bind fast his spirit-place, line 13) and "hold his 'treasure-coffin,'" a stark kenning for heart (*healde his hordcofan*, line 14a). This binding of cares within the heart, we are told, is necessary for those who seek advancement within the hall.[60] The speaker then

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[58] Text of *The Wanderer* taken from Mitchell and Robinson, 283-7; translations are mine based on this text.

[59] *Swa cwæð eardstapa, earfeða gemyndig.*

[60] *Forðon domgeorne dreorigne oft / in hyra breostcofan bindað fæste* ("Therefore, the-eager-for-glory-ones often bind fast a sorrowful heart in their breat-coffins," lines 17-18).

identifies himself as just such a man and confides that the root cause of the emotional pain he keeps bound within his heart is that he has been separated from his homeland (*eðle bidæled*, line 20b). I argue that these are ideas that have analogues in the Horatian corpus. A starting point is *Odes* II.16, where we find yoked the ideas of exile and a concretized image for emotional cares. In this ode, Horace asks why, in seeking to avoid care would anyone exchange his own homeland for lands warmed by a foreign sun, as though any exile would also flee himself and his cares in so doing.[61] At first blush, a connection between *eðel* and *patria* might seem conveniently specious; however, the ode also employs a material conceit for the emotional duress caused by pursuit of worldly advancement when Horace compares the miserable tumults and cares that fly about the coffered ceiling of the mind.[62] The ode also invokes Achilles as the archetypical warrior, admonishing that death quickly snatched even him, a detail particularly resonant in *The Wanderer*.[63]

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[61] *Quid terras alio calentis / sole mutamus? Patriae quis exsul se quoque fugit?* "For what do we seek lands warmed by another sun? What exile from the homeland also flees himself?" (lines 18-20). Please note that in trying to establish how Horace might have been read in the Middle Ages, I have not limited myself to the Classical Latin of Lewis and Short but have, in the methodology of the Centre for Medieval Studies at Toronto, checked the classical senses of words against relevant dictionaries of Medieval Latin to establish significant semantic change. Key among these dictionaries have been Niermeyer, Du Cange, and La Talleur.

[62] *Non enim gazae neque consularis / Summovet lictor miseros tumultus / Mentis et curas laqueata circum / tecta volantes*: "For neither gems nor a consul's lictor can recome the the miserable tumultis and cares flying about the coffered ceiling of the mind" (lines 9-12). The Horatian image sees a similarity between the coffers of the ceiling and the contours of the interior of a skull.

[63] *Abstulit clarum cita Mors Achillem* (line 29).

Other works in the Horatian corpus offer suggestive analogues for *The Wanderer.* The opening of the poem, with its narrator alone on the seashore, debating inwardly with himself recalls one of the Horatian satires that received the most attention from the scholiasts in the Middle Ages: in *Satires* I.4, where Horace explains his reasoning for writing satires, the poet has his father give voice to the sterner warnings, while the figure of Horace himself sits debating the rectitude of his future actions inwardly with compressed lips.[64] In a later passage, the narrator of *The Wanderer* asserts that "sorrow and sleep at the same time together often hold fast the wretched, solitary one"[65]; this resonates with a passage from Horace's *Satires* I.6, in which Horace asserts that, having freed his mind from care, "eo dormitum, non sollicitus mihi."[66] Other details in this Satire also suggest a connection with *The Wanderer*. It cautions that vainglory conquers all who seek it, chaining them to its chariot like captured soldiers in a triumphal procession.[67] The satire also admonishes against envious striving for renown and wealth, recommending that a pure life and heart (*vita et pectore puro*) are the only noble goals in life (line 64). Horace ends the satire by asserting that the life of foolish men is miserable because of ambition (*vita stultorum misera ambitione*, line 130), which returns us to the idea of the *domegeorne* ("the-eager-for-glory-ones") who must dissimulate their desires

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[64] *Haec ego mecum compressis agito labris*: "I mull these things with myself, with lips compressed" (lines 137-8).

[65] *Đonne sorg ond slæp somod ætgædre / earmne anhogan oft gebindað*, lines 39-40.

[66] "I go to my bedroom, untroubled to myself" (line 119).

[67] *Sed fulgente trahit constrictos Gloria curru / non minus ignotos generosis* (lines 23-4).

and emotions to advance themselves. In *The Wanderer*, the narrator counsels, "a wise warrior must understand how ghastly it will be when all the world's riches stand deserted."[68] This would seem to resonate with a passage in Horace's *Odes* 1.4:

> Pallida Mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas
> regumque turris. O, beate Sesti,
> vitae summa brevis spem nos vetat incohare longam.
> iam te premit nox fabulaeque manes
> et domus exilis Plutonia….[69]

This Horatian passage may also influence a particularly bleak passage in *The Wanderer*: *Hu seo þrag gewat, / genap under nihthelm, swa heō no wære*.[70] We see here a close rendering of the Horatian "brief span of time," and the ode's steadfast refusal to hold out hope for a longer span is made bleaker by the Old English's virtual erasure in the b-verse of line 96. Additionally, the wintry sea of Klinck's list of hallmarks of elegiac Old English poetry as it is deployed in *The Wanderer* seems to resonate particularly with Horace. First, in Ode 2.13, having come almost to the kingdoms of dark Proserpina (*paene furvae regna Proserpinae*, line 21), the speaker in the poem instructs Alceus, who plucks a harp "with a golden plectrum" and sings about the "harsh things of the sea, the harsh evils of exile, and the harsh things of battle"[71]; in this passage we find yoked four

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[68] *Ongietan sceal gleaw hæle hu gæslic bið / þonne ealre þisse worulde wela weste stondeð* (lines 73-4).

[69] 13-7."Pale Death pounds with equal foot the hovels of poor men and the towers of kings. Oh, blessed Sestius, the brief span of life forbids us to begin farther hopes. Soon night will press upon you, as will the fabled ghosts and the grim house of Pluto."

[70] "How this interval of time departs, grows dark under the night-helmet, as though it were not" (lines 95b-96).

[71] *Aureo, / Alcaee, plectro dura maris, / dura fugae mala, dura belli* (lines 26-8).

of the major themes of *The Wanderer*: the sea, exile, battle, and death. Lastly, at the end of *The Wanderer*, the narrator essentially eulogizes the transience of life *eorþan rice* ("in earth's kingdom," line 106b) when he asserts that a series of things are *læne*, "as a loan": *feoh* ("possessions," line 108a), *freond* ("friend," line 108b), *mon* ("man," line 109a), and *mæg* ("kin," line 109b). Life-as-loan becomes a standard trope in Old English literature, present in everything from *Beowulf* to Alfred's translation of the *Cura Pastoralis*. This idea is not present in the Bible, but it does find clear expression in Horace: in Satire 2.2, Horace writes about shifting ownership of estates, asserting that land belongs to no one properly and that only the right of *ususfructus* obtains while we are alive (lines 134-5). Lastly, Thomas Hill finds an analogue for the *apatheia* the narrator advocates in lines 62b-72 of *The Wanderer* in Horace's *Odes* 3.2 ("Unchanging Hero" 242-3).

The second of these elegies, *The Seafarer*, can be found in ff81v-83r as the *Exeter Book* currently exists; here the evidence of the Horatian tradition is stronger. The poem opens forcefully with an annunciation that the speaker will tell a "true story of himself" (*sylfum soðgied*, line 1) "about his fate" (*siþas,* line 2a), which he describes as a time of intense labor (*gescwincdagum*, line 2b), "hardship" (*earfoðhwile*, line 3a), "bitter breast-care" (*bitre breostceare*, line 4a) "come to known" (*gecunnad*, line 5a) "in a ship" (*in ceole*, line 5a) subjected to "terrible tossing of the waves" (*atol yþa gewealc*, line 5b).[72] The poem immediately establishes an ethos of patient suffering of the cares contained within one's heart while externally hardships batter the ship; given that the

[72] Text of *The Seafarer* taken from Mitchell and Robinson, 289-94; translations are mine based on this text.

Exeter Book is the product of a monastic milieu, it is not difficult to interpret the ship tossed about by the waves as a metaphor for exactly the sorts of care that plagued the human condition outside the monastic cloister and that the gracious endurance of just these hardships and labors was itself a metaphor for one's journey through terrestrial life. This metaphorical understanding of the ship's journey as a person's soul through life takes on greater significance as the poem continues its next set of images, in which human consciousness is compared to a *nearo nihtwaco* ("anxious nightwatch," line 7a) aboard the "ship tossing upon the cliffs" (*be clifum cnossað,* line 8b). From here the speaker narrates his own lived, embodied experience through language that expertly enjambs corporeal exteriority and affective interiority: feet that are "pressed upon by the cold" (*calde geþrungen… fet*, lines 8b-9a), "held fast by the frost with cold fetters" (*forste gebunden / caldum clommum*, line 9b-10a) while in contrast to this corporeal coldness, "hot cares sigh about the heart" (*þaer þa ceare seofedun / hat ymb heortan*, lines 10b-11a). Continuing this exploitation of interiority and exteriority, the narrator describes the internal hunger that has wounded his heart (*hungor innan slat / merewerges mod*, lines 11b-12a). He then builds upon the preceding imagery to describe himself as a "wretched" (*earmcearig*, line 14a) and "icicle-bestrewn" (*bihongen hrimgicelum*, line 17a) soul deprived of his wine-companions (*winemaegum bidroren*, line 16a) wandering the "tracks of exile" (*wraeccan lastum*, line 15b) as "hail showers" (*haegl scurum*, line 17b) pelt him. Thus vividly and memorably opens a poem that is frequently described as an exemplar of the values of the Germanic heroic warrior

—in a text preserved in a material artifact produced and preserved within a monastic context. My contention, on the contrary, is that the Horatian tradition contributes much to the ethical and aesthetic substrate of *The Seafarer*.

Immediately, I would point to Horace's *Odes* II.16 for a possible analogue for both the theme of exile and the corporeal metaphors for the locus of emotions, following the rationale above for *The Wanderer*. Here, however, the "hot cares [that] sigh about the heart" in lines 10b-11a seem even closer to Horace's sense of cares as a disturbed flying about (*volantes*) the skull-as-coffered-ceiling. The idea of emotions heating the soul is well established in the precepts of Galenic humoralism and, even within classical literature, is better attested by Vergil's *Aeneid* than it is in the Horatian corpus; however, Horace's *Odes* I.13 does present emotion as heat that both melts *lentis ignibus* ("with gentle flames," line 8) and "burns" (*uror*, line 9). The wintry sea in these opening lines find many resonances in the Horatian corpus. Perhaps the most vivid example occurs in *Epode* 13, where the northerly wind suddenly blows in, bringing rain and snow as a sign of divine displeasure.[73]

Beyond these generalities, however, I would like to turn to four passages in *The Seafarer* that suggest most acutely the influence of the Horatian tradition upon the Old English poem. The first of these is the passage in which the narrator of the poem speaks about burying the dead with treasures:

"Þēah þe græf wille golde strēgan

[73] *Horridas tempestas caelum contaxit et imbres / nivesque deducunt Iovem; nunc mare, nunc silvae Threicio Aquilone sonant* (lines 1-3).

brōþor his geborenum, byrgan be dēadum
māþmum mislicum, þæt hine mid wille,
ne mæg þǣre sāwle þe biþ synna ful
gold tō *gēoc*e for Godes egsan,
þonne hē hit ǣr hȳdeð þenden hē hēr leofað."[74]

At point here is line 101a, *gold tō gēoce*, "gold as an aid." As John Vickrey notes, Psalm 48 is the source most scholars cite for this passage (20). To be sure, present in this psalm are the ideas of a brother being unable to redeem a wicked soul at any price in verses 8-9, and a costly tomb is present in verse 12. The Psalm also makes abundantly clear that the sinful rich men will, indeed, lie *in inferno positi* (verse 15). Missing, however, from the Psalm is an explicit sense of gold or wealth having utility, which is clearly at the heart of *gēoc*. This sense of gold having a use, a sort of virtuous *telos*, exists in the Horatian corpus. *Odes* III.3 puts a limit on the rapacious quest for gold, saying that unless it is put into human uses (*humanos in usus*), the gold is better left undisturbed in the ground.[75] *Odes* III.24 calls gold "useless" (*inutile*, line 48) and "the material of our highest evil" (*summi matiriem mali*, line 49) if too much is left in individual hands; this ode also trenchantly warns that the price of sinning is death.[76] The last relevant passage in the

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[74] 97-102. "Even though a brother might wish to strew the grave with gold for his birth-family, to bury among the dead various treasures that he might wish with him, to that soul who is full of sin, the gold what he hid before while he here lived may not be as an aid for God's wrath."

[75] *Aurum irrepertum et sic melius situm, cum terra celat, spernere fortior / quam cogere humanos in usus / omne sacrum rapiente dextra*; "It is better to spurn gold unseized and thus better in place when the ground hides it than to press it into human uses [if] it is seized with a hand that seizes sacred things" (lines 49-52). Importantly, the ode's opening makes clear that its subject is the behavior of the just man (*iustum virum*, line 1); the rest of the poem continues to develop the theme of restraint from excess, making clear that gold pressed into service to provide sufficiency is virtuous.

[76] *Peccare nefas aut pretium est mori*; "to sin is forbidden, or the price is death" (24).

Horatian tradition occurs in *Satires* I.1, whose overarching theme is living within the bounds established by nature. In this satire, Horace asks, "do you not know what the value of money is, what should be its use?"[77] He answers that the telos of money is to buy only those things whose lack threatens existence.[78] Otherwise, gold is better left "buried in the ground" (*defossa terra*, line 42). In this passage, then, one can see a harmonious *sententialiter* combination of both Psalm 49 and Horace informing lines 97-102 of *The Seafarer* and its concerns *vis-à-vis* the utility and morality of wealth.

The second of these four passages includes one of the most impactful images in *The Seafarer*: "Nāp nihtscūa, norþan snīwde, / hrīm hrūsan bond, hægl fēol on eorþan, / corna caldast."[79] I find in these lines some compelling resonances with Horace's *Odes* I. 28. The ode opens with allusions to four warriors whose great exploits could not save them from death (lines 1-14). Horace then turns sententious, proclaiming that "a single night awaits us all" (*omnis una manet nox*, line 15) on which we make "the trodding journey of death one at a time" (*calcanda semel via leti*, line 16). The ode proclaims that "the hungry sea is destruction for sailors" (*exitio est avidum mare nautis*, line 18). Here we see yoked in the Horatian ode seafarers (*nautis*), hunger (a*vidum*), and night (*una nox*) deployed as a metonym for death. In *The Seafarer*, "the night shadow grows dark" for

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[77] *Nescis quo valeat nummus, quem praebeat usum?* (73).

[78] *Panis ematur, holus, vini sextarius; adde / quis humana sibi doleat natura negatis*; "let yourself buy bread, lettuces, a pint of wine; add to this that whose absence would pain human nature" (lines 74-5).

[79] Lines 31-3a "'The night-shadow grew dark, from the north it snowed, frost has bound the earth, hail, the coldest of kernels, has fallen on the earth.'"

the narrator as the storm rages around him—an idea that the wind-impelled waves that drown the sailor in lines 21 and 22 of the Horatian ode imply—and the "coldest kernels" of hail fall. Here I see the hunger of the sea in Horace being transferred to the seafarer himself in the Old English poem, and the *particulam* (line 25) of sand that Horace's dead sailor asks be placed on his corpse to grant him release in the underworld being reflected in the kernels of hail that come to release the seafarer from his hunger: both the Horatian corpse-sailor and the Old English seafarer wish a for a kernel to free them from their present misery; the dead one wishes for sand to cover his body, thereby allowing his soul to cross Styx, and the living one wishes for food to relieve his hunger. This argument rests on the semantic range of *particula*, and as a gloss from Aelfric reveals that in Anglo-Saxon England, a *particula* could, indeed, signify an *offela*, or "small morsel of food."[80] A further resonance between the two poems is that the desires of both the Horatian sailor and the Old English seafarer are textually unfulfilled: the corpse remains unburied; the seafarer's hunger, unsated. If the seafarer's *corna caldast* is an inversion of the manna from heaven promised to the Israelites as they wandered the desert (Exodus 16:4), then this passage in the poem demonstrates succinctly the ways in which the moralizing work of the *accessus ad auctores* worked in the Middle Ages to harmonize biblical scripture with classical literature to produce a new and thoroughly "Englished" literary work.

The third passage in *The Seafarer* makes the strongest case for the Horatian tradition and the dynamism of the "recombinatory engineering of meditative *memoria*" in

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[80] The entry in Du Cange for *particula* provides "Aelfricus in Gloss. Saxon.: Ofella vel Particula," and the entry for *offela* in Lewis and Short provides "a bite, moutful, morsel."

the poem. The speaker cautions that sickness (*ādl*), old age (*yldo*), or sword-violence (*ecghete*) necessarily deprives (*oðþringeð*) all men of their life (*feorh*) (lines 70-1). *Ecghete* in this passage functions as a metonymy for aristocratic warrior culture writ large, underscoring the martialism. The context is thus set for one of the speaker's most lofty admonitions:

> "Forðon bið eorla gehwām æftercweþendra
> lof lifgendra lāstworda betst,
> þæt hē gewyrce, ǣr hē on weg scyle,
> fremum on foldan wið fēonda nīþ,
> dēorum dǣdum dēofle tōgēanes,
> þæt hine ælda bearn æfter hergen,
> ond his lof siþþan lifge mid englum
> āwa tō ealdre, ēcan līfes blæd,
> drēam mid dugeþum."[81]

This is a weighty and sententious passage, bringing to the fore the importance of reputation after death to Anglo-Saxon aristocratic warrior culture while also adding the importance of being a good *miles Christi* by fighting *deofle togeanes* ("against the devil," line 76). The reward for doing so is that one's reputation will ascend into heaven afterward to live with the angels (*his lof siþþan lifge mid englum*, line 78). In Ode 4.8, Horace asserts that a more famous name (*nomen clarius*, lines 18-9) is kept alive better by poetry than the usual memorial gifts of tripods, statues, and tombs with their public inscriptions. A warrior's own virtue (*virtus*) combined with the favor (*favor*) and

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[81] Lines 72-80. "'Therefore, the praise of living ones is the best of reputations for every nobleman speaking after someone's death that, before he goes on his way, that the sons of men should praise him afterward with good deeds on earth against his enemies' hatred [and] with brave deeds against the devil and that his reputation afterward should live with the angels always, life's eternal glory, joy with the (heavenly) troop of retainers.'"

linguistic prowess (*lingua*) of a skillful poet combine to make lasting fame for those who distinguish themselves militarily (line 26), and they consecrate him in blessed islands (*divitibus consecrat insulis*, line 27) in the underworld. His reputation, however, the muse carries into heaven, where he dwells eternally at Jupiter's feast in the form of a star, whose light helps to guide ships on the sea:

> Dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori:
> caelo musa beat. Sic Iovis interest
> optatis epulis impiger Hercules,
> clarum Tyndaridae sidus ab infimis
> quassas eripiunt aeqoribus ratis.[82]

These ideas find further reinforcement in another Horatian Ode, III.2, a paean to martial valor and the locus of the often-quoted maxim *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori* (line 13). In this ode, martial virtue unlocks the heavens for brave men who are undeserving of death as their souls ascend skyward on feathered wings.[83] If the Horatian corpus is, indeed, one of the sources that undergird lines 72-80 of *The Seafarer*, in these lines we see a christianization and anglicization of Classical literature that is positively Miltonic in its virtuosity: the apotheosis of the brave and renowned warrior in the Horatian ode is transmogrified into the soul's ascent into heaven, and Jupiter's celestial banquet of heroes becomes a sort of heavenly mead hall replete with a troop of angelic retainers.

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[82] 28-32. "The muse does not allow the man worthy of praise to die: the muse blesses heaven. Thus unwearied Hercules lies among the wished-for sumptuous dishes of Jove [and] the sons of Tyndareus, as a bright star, snatch batter ships from he deep waters."

[83] *Virtus, recludens immeritis mori / caelum, negata temptat iter via, / coetusque vulgaris et udam / spernit humum fugiente penna*; "(Manly) virtue, unlocking heaven for those underserving to die, tries a journey by a path denied to the vulgar crowd and spurns it and the soaked ground, flying by feathered wing" (lines 21-4).

The last passage from *The Seafarer* hold the strongest connection to Benedictine monasticism. The end of the poem includes a pair of eschatological pronouncements about the need to fear the Lord and live humbly to obtain His mercy.[84] From here, the narrator of the poem asserts, "Stīeran mon sceal strongum mōde, on þæt on staþelum healdan, / ond gewis wērum, wīsum clǣne."[85] My translation of *wērum* owes a debt to Charles Dahlberg, who reads in the word "the Benedictine emphasis on silence" (23). Dahlberg's conception, then, introduces the idea of monastic *stabilitas*, that is, remaining within the stable and secure confines of the monastic cloister (Robinson, *Authority and Resistance* 34). This yoking of *wērum* and *stabilitas* returns us to Horace's *Odes* II.16, whose first four lines now open up interesting resonances with *The Seafarer*:

> Otium divos rogat in patenti
> prensus Aegeao, simul atra nubes
> condidit lunam neque certa fulgent
> sidera nautis.[86]

The key word here is *otium*, which classically means something like "spare time for intellectual activity"; it is the antithesis of *negotium*. There are two uses in Einhard's *Vita karoli magni* that make explicit a monastic sense of *otium*: in Chapter 2, the place itself of Childeric's monastic exile is twice described as *otium*, where the sense seems clear that

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[84] "*Dol biþ se þe him his Dryhten ne ondrǣþ; cymeð him se dēað unþinged. / ĒAdid bið se þe ēaþmod leofaþ; cymeð him sēo ār of heofunum…*"; "Foolish is he who feels not dread for his Lord for himself; death comes for him unexpected. Fortunate is he who lives humbl[y]; this mercy comes to him from the heavens" (lines 106-7).

[85] "'Man must steer [himself]with a strong heart and hold that in fixed places and with true restraints, unfailingly pure'" (lines 109-10).

[86] 1-4. "The one caught in the open Aegean seeks peace from the gods, at the same time that a dark cloud obscures the moon and the known stars do not shine for sailors."

here the word is being used almost synonymously with *stabilitas* as a metonymy of the monastic cloister itself. *Otium* is the word that, in Chapter 19, describes the ostensibly monastic *artes* curriculum in which his children were reared; the antipode to this curriculum are the *more Francorum equitare, armis ac venatibus exerceri*, in which Charlemagne has his sons trained lest they should become "soft" (*torperent*). In light of this sense of the word's meaning, the connection between *The Seafarer* and Horace's Odes II.16 becomes clearer, which in turn challenges the dominant understanding of the poem: Whitelock's assertion that *The Seafarer* is best understood as a *peregrinus pro amore Dei*. Despite the longevity of this identification, it is not without difficulty. As Klinck notes, "however, if seafaring is a means of reaching a place of exile…, an extraordinary weight is attached to the voyage itself" (*Old English Elegies* 37). Sobecki points out a further issue with the standard interpretation: this journey is not a singular life-event for the narrator, but rather one he makes frequently ("The Interpretation" 134-5). This frequency causes Sobecki to posit that the seafarer of the poem is best understood as a fisherman (135-8). I reject the idea that these elegiac Old English poems can be simplified into a univocal "solution" as though they were riddles. Nonetheless, I agree with both Klinck and Sobecki that identifying the narrator of the poem as a *peregrinus* who makes a single transmarine journey is problematic. I would not go as far as Sobecki and offer a potential identity for the seafarer, but I would say that the Horatian resonances in the poem would have made *The Seafarer* a comforting poem to one of the Benedictine monks who were made to leave the *stabilitas* of the monastic cloister and

attend to the needs of secular potentates, most notably the king, in whose households they might find temptations of material success that might threaten their vows, against which pressures it would take discipline to restrain desires and return to the *otium* of the monastery once their business was concluded.

The last of the homiletic elegies, *The Rhyming Poem*, which occupies ff94r-95v in the *Exeter Book*, offers the scantest evidence for the influence of the Horatian tradition of all three Old English poems. As the royal narrator reflects back upon happier times in his life, comparing it to a spring day: *þa wæs wæstmum aweaht woruld onspreht* ("then the world was awakened with increases and sprung anew," line 9).[87] A possible Horatian analogue for this may be the vernal imagery in *Ode* 4.7, in which ode the changing seasons figure the passage of human life.[88] The idea of mortality in the Horatian source is furthered by its pronouncement that "we are dust and shadows" (*pulvis et umbra sumus,* line 16). A further reflection of the passage of the seasons in *Ode* 4.7 may be visible in *sumurhat colað* ("summer-heat grows cold," line 67). *The Rhyming Poem* emphasizes sartorial splendor in a way that the older Old English elegies do not: *From ic wæs in frætwum* ("Splendid I was in my clothes," line 38). Given the explicit connection made between the clothes and the unreliability of wealth in the poem, it may be that there is a dim reflection of Horace's *Odes* IV.13 here: *nec Coae iam tibi purpurae / nec cari*

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[87] Text of *The Rhyming Poem* taken from Klinck, *Old English Elegies* 84-9; translations are mine based on this text.

[88] *Diffugere nives, redeunt iam gramina campis / arboribusque comae:* "The snows have departed, and the grass is returning to the field and the leaves to the trees" (lines 1-2). *Immortalia ne speres monet annus et almum quae rapit hora diem*: "Let yourself not hope for immortality, warns the year and the hours that snatches the nourishing day (lines 7-8).

lapides tempora quae semel / notis condita fastis / inclusit volucris dies.[89] A similar sense of splendid purple-dyed clothing as a form of wealth and conspicuous consumption can be found in *Ode* 2.16: *non gemmis neque pupura venale neque auro* (line 7). *The Rhyming Poem*, like *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer,* contains a passage whose concretization of the heart as a space containing cares that may also owe some debt to *Odes* II.16.9-12: *Sciþeð nu deop in feore / brondhord geblowen, breostum in forgrowen / flyhtum toflowen*.[90] Finally, a passage in *The Rhyming Poem d*evelops the theme of wealth's utility that is similar to the its deployment in *The Seafarer*: Oft þær rinc gebad / þæt he in sele sæge sincgewæge / þegnum geþwære.[91] I would assert that same Horatian passages as possible analogues: *Ode* 3.3.49-52, *Ode* 3.25.48-9, *Satires* I.1.42, and *Satires* I.1.74-5 *sententialiter* with Psalm 48.

Conclusions: The Homiletic Elegies of the *Exeter Book*, Benedictine Monasticism, and *Memoria*

The three homiletic elegies contained in the second booklet of the *Exeter Book*—*The Wanderer*, *The Seafarer*, and *The Rhyming Poem*—evince differing levels of likelihood for the influence of the Horatian tradition, with the evidence being strongest for T*he Seafarer*. I argued that the resonance of this poem, together with its Horatian

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[89] "Not even Coan purple [garments] nor costly stones return the days that winged time has locked away with prideful displays" (lines 13-6).

[90] "A burning suffering wanders now deep in the heart, growing within the breast, flowing to its boundaries," (lines 45b-47a).

[91] "Often there it befalls a warrior that he in the hall should see abundant treasure, useable to thanes" (lines 16b-18a).

substrate, would have appealed to a Benedictine monk, whose new role in helping to administer *imperium* in the kingdom, would have taken him from the *stabilitas* of the monastic cloister frequently. In *The Seafarer*, we see not only Carruthers's *sententialiter* "recombinatory engineering of meditative *memoria*" but also the strength and adaptability of the *integumentum* in its ability to harmonize biblical scripture and the Horatian corpus, which along with the other *auctores* received renewed attention as a result of the Benedictine reform movement's implementation of the Carolingian *renovatio studii et imperii*. Drawing on the exemplar of Louis the Pious, King Edgar empowered Bishop *Æ*thelwold to expel the secular clergy and replace them with loyal monks living under the Benedictine *Regularis Concordia* (MacLean 255-8). As Clark succinctly summarizes, this royal patronage "secured the authority of bishops amid powerful regional magnates," thereby consolidating royal power (*Benedictines* 44). *Æ*thelwold's expulsion of the non-cenobitic clergy from positions of authority, however, inaugurated a key rupture of the High Middle Ages: the Investiture Controversy and the Caesaropapist crisis. As discussed briefly in the first chapter, by the end of the eleventh century, the monastic and cathedral schools became firmly entrenched on either side of the Caesaropapist divide: the cathedral schools, churning out *missi dominici loyal* to secular authority, and the monastic schools, filling the papal chancery with trained scribes. In the polemical battles waged by these two factions, Horace became emblematic of the classical learning denounced by the pro-papal faction. Consequently, from the late eleventh century forward, the curricula of the monastery and cathedral

schools diverged,and while both continued to teach the *auctores*, they did so toward different ends. As early as Byrtferth of Ramsey at the beginning of the eleventh century, Horace was a source for urbane wit, not just moralized sententiousness (Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Libraries,* 270); this was a trend that would continue in the cathedral schools through the development of the *studia generalia* in the early thirteenth century and into the formal development of the universities later in that same century. The evolution of these changes informs the rest of this dissertation as the subsequent chapters consider how three fourteenth-century Middle English poets made use of the Horatian tradition.

CHAPTER THREE

HORATIAN SATIRE AND SALVIFIC ALIMENTATION IN *PIERS PLOWMAN*

In the previous chapter we explored the ways in which the three Old English elegies in the *Exeter Book* used the Horatian tradition in recombinatory poiesis that adapted the Augustan Age poet to its Anglo-Saxon milieu. This chapter will ultimately make the argument that William Langland adapts a sequence of poems from the second book of Horace's *Satires* to structure the discourse of licit and illicit eating in *Piers Plowman*. However, before doing so, it briefly discusses key educational and social changes that impact vernacular poetry. From there I turn to consider the place that the classical tradition has in the poem's salvational schema before considering the ways in which Langland uses other *auctores*. With this context having been established, the remainder of the chapter is devoted to analysis of Horatian satire at work in *Piers Plowman* and its discussion of consumption.

Into the Fourteenth Century

The next three chapters of this dissertation move forward to consider three fourteenth-century Middle English poets who evince different dispositions toward and uses of the Horatian tradition: William Langland, John Gower, and Geoffrey Chaucer. The floruits of these three contemporary authors mark what J. A. Burrows has called a

key "period of florescence" for medieval English literature (*Ricardian Poetry* 1) and what Janet Coleman has called definitively "England's literary golden age" (*Medieval Readers* 14). It is thus apt that this dissertation now turns to consider how these three Middle English poets made use the poetry of Horace, one of the foremost poets of the Augustan Age, Rome's own literary golden age. Just like Augustan Rome, Ricardian England was a period of contrasts: artistic excellence was tempered by profound political and social unrest. The fourteenth century was a period that Barbara Tuchman famously denominated "calamitous," for it saw several of the worst outbreaks of the plague, a particularly violent renewal of the Hundred Years's War after a brief peace, the Peasants' Revolt of 1381, and, as its culmination in 1399, the deposition/abdication of Richard II and succession of Henry IV. Before the end of his reign, however, Richard II had fostered a brilliant courtly culture that, while drawing on Continental models, resulted in a distinguished and thoroughly anglicized florescence (to adapt Burrows's term) that in some ways is the natural outgrowth of both the calamities and changes of the century. As Clanchy argues, under the Angevin kings, the effective exercise of imperium in England required an educated secular clergy to produce and archive the documents that supported the consolidation of central authority (322); this resulted not only in greater literacy rates but also in an enhanced "trust" in textuality.[1] The potential for abuse by this educated and literate bureaucracy is a key concern in *Piers Plowman*. When all worked with

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[1] (326); of course, a more cynical conclusion is that this greater reliance on textuality was a practical capitulation in the face of the ever greater numbers of troops kings commanded directly.

honest intent, the result was a perfectly ordered society; when Mede is allowed to pervert the system, however, the result is deleterious both to human society and individual soul:

> Bischopes and bachelers, bothe maystres and doctours—
> That han cure vnder Crist and crownyng in tokene
> And been charged with holy chirche charite to tylie,
> That is lele loue and lyfe among lered and lewed
> Leyen in Londoun in lenton and elles.
> Summe seruen the kynge and his siluer tellen,
> In the Checker and in the Chancerye chalengen his dettes
> Of wardus and of wardemotis, wayues and strayues;
> And summe aren as seneschalles and seruen other lordes
> And ben in stede of stewardus and sitten and demen. (C.Prologue.85-94)

The complexities of this more literate society are reflected in the range of handbooks composed for diverse audiences and uses: "*Ars Praedicandi* (thematic sermon), *Ars Dictaminis* (letter writing), *Ars Rithmica* (rhythmic composition), *Ars Notaria* (legal documentation), *Ars Disputatio* (argumentation), *Rhetorica Ecclesiastica*, (church rhetoric), *De Schematibus et Tropis* (figures and tropes), *Ars Metrica*, *Ars Poetria*, *Ars Versificatoria* (versification) (Parr 2-3). In Ricardian England, Latin literacy was not restricted to monastic audiences engaged solely in scriptural exegesis as it was for the early Middle Ages.

The reign of Richard II also bears witness to a renegotiation of the relationship between the *auctoritas* of Latin and the vernacular, as Middle English asserted itself as a language able to bear both truth and urbane wit. Under an earlier Plantagenet king, the University of Oxford received its royal charter in 1248, which served to recognize formally the establishment of a *studium generale* that had existed informally since the

middle of the twelfth century. The University of Cambridge, although existing informally for a shorter period of time, received its charter in 1231. As discussed in greater detail in the first chapter, the university curriculum drew upon that of both the monastic and cathedral schools, stressing to an even greater extent the importance of the *auctores* as a propaedeutic for the study of theology. Blurring the distinction between the *vitae activae* of secular clergy and the *vitae contempletivae* of monks, the mendicant friars received formal recognition of their place in medieval society in 1274 at the Second Council of Lyons: like monks, the friars live according to a rule but, unlike monks, do not live within the *stabilitas* of a monastery; like clerics, theirs is a chiefly apostolic mission but, unlike clerics, intentionally lack a *fundatio* to provide the material resources, which, therefore, had to come from begging. Although all four of the important medieval mendicant orders—Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, Carmelites—attained some degree of renown for their educational expertise, the Dominicans and Franciscans in particular distinguished themselves early on at the University of Paris and had achieved similar status at both Oxford and Cambridge by the 1230s. In March of 1253, however, a strike at the University of Paris fomented acrimony between the secular *magistri* and the friars, and by the end of the 1250s, antifraternalism had a firm and vociferous textual existence in the tractates of William of St. Amour (Szittya 14-9). Antifraternalism in England reached its zenith in the late fourteenth century, when an otherwise unknown Jacobus compiled an indexed, alphabetized encyclopedia entitled *Omne Bonum* that systematized antifraternal lore c.1375 (67-72). This antipathy towards the mendicant

friars and their intellectual praxis is directly germane to *Piers Plowman*: as the Dreamer cautions, truth "'is nat alwey at hom amonges yow freres'" (C.X.28).

Outside of Cambridge and Oxford, London itself had become an important center of learning by the fourteenth century. "London's 'Latin Quarter,'" to use William Courtenay's description, occupied the area immediately surrounding St. Paul's Cathedral (92-3). A cathedral school was in existence there by the end of the first quarter of the twelfth century. It joined the grammar schools at St. Martin's-le-Grand, whose charter was reconfirmed by William the Conqueror, and St. Mary-le-Bow. The mendicant orders maintained their convents in the vicinity as well: the Franciscans eponymously at Greyfriars, the Carmelites at Whitefriars, the Dominicans at Blackfriars, and the Augustinians at the city's northeastern limit (Courtenay 93-4). The *studia generalia* associated with these houses were hugely important, especially the Carmelite school (94). Immediately to the northwest of "London's 'Latin Quarter'" lay the Inns of Court, the heart of legal practice and education (97). It was here where the legal training John Fisher posited Gower received would have taken place (*John Gower* 59-60). The area around St. Pauls was also home to a thriving trade in manuscript books.[2]

Lastly, and perhaps most importantly for the Horatian tradition, the fourteenth century was a period of renewed interest in the *studia litterarum* and the *auctores.* The great Benedictine houses evince a renewed interest in manuscript copying and textual

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[2] Courtenay 93 and Christianson 102. When Caxton would set up his press in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, it was only a little further west along the Thames into Westminster where he would do so. For a more detailed analysis of London as an import center of manuscript books from the Continent, see Ralph Hanna's *London Literature 1300-1380* (15-24).

emendation, with a greater number possessing multiple copies (Clark, "Monastic Manuscripts" 338). Smalley traces this revival to Avignon and the court of John XXII and asserts that the moralizing traditions inherent in the *integumentum* model of exegesis reached their zenith under the "classicising friars" (*English Friars* 60-5). Certainly the number of extant manuscripts of Horace bear this out. Among the Augustinian Canons, Launde Abbey in Leicestershire alone had at least four manuscripts of Horace, with Llanthony Abbey in Wales and the Abbey of the Holy Cross in Essex each holding single copies with extensive scholia (Webber 34-104). The Augustinian Friars collectively account for a total of seven manuscripts of Horace, five with scholia; one of these manuscripts, coming from York, covers the entire Horatian corpus, while another codex includes a standalone commentary (Humphreys 88-124). Benedictine houses together provide evidence for thirteen copies of Horace, with the cathedral priory of St. Andrew at Rochester, Kent holding two complete copies with scholia (Sharpe 519).

The Horatian tradition itself evinces some key changes. The shibboleth of the "Germanic oral tradition" for Old English literature becomes subsumed under the soubriquets of "folklore" and "proverbial utterances" for Middle English. With the increase in textuality during the later Middle Ages, many of these proverbs were compiled in manuscripts after their oral circulation. It is just as essential to be aware of the residues of the Horatian tradition glimpsable in these proverbs and folklore as it was in the orally transmitted traditions that formed the substrate of Old English literature. With respect to the manuscripts that transmitted the Horatian tradition to the fourteenth

century, they differ from Codex Bernensis 363 that provided our exemplar for tenth-century England chiefly in the sophistication and plenitude of their scholia; the *accessus*, however, continued to delimit the hermeneutic range by subsuming Horace's poetry under the *ethice subponitur* rubric. Scholasticism's summa and the chancery's cartulary, whose forms evince not only greater trust in textuality but also its utility, find their parallel in the florilegia of the *auctores* that exist from the twelfth century onward. Lapidge asserts four primary florilegia in particular had gained prominence in England by the fourteenth century; of these the *Florilegium Gallicum,*"by far the richest of the florilegia ... [for] classical authors" (Lapidge, "Stoic Inheritance" 94), includes excerpts from Horace's *Ars Poetica, Odes, Satires,* and *Epistulae*. The training in rhetoric necessitated by the *artes dictaminis* for the chanceries that produced the documents whereby royal, papal, and seigneurial courts conducted their business between and among themselves found their oral counterpart in the *artes praedicandi* that proliferated from the thirteenth century; Horace's rhetorical expertise informed both. As discussed more fully in the first chapter, two important tractates whose composition straddles the turn of the thirteenth century adapt the *Ars Poetica* by providing a schema that was for its medieval audience clearer and more consistent: the *Documentum de modo et arte dictandi et versificandi* (often abbreviated as the *Ars versificandi*) by Matthew of Vendôme and the *Poetria nova* by Geoffrey of Vinsauf. Consequently, an awareness of these vectors of transmission for the Horatian tradition and the ways they shape it is key

for considering how Horace's poetry informs the processes of poiesis for Langland, Gower, and Chaucer.

Ethica in the Salvational Program of *Piers Plowman*

The first of these Middle English poets, William Langland, is the primary subject of this chapter. An allusive and elusive poem with a complicated textual transmission, *Piers Plowman* presents an allegory whose steps (*passus*) comprise an itinerary for salvation. In analyzing the influence of the Horatian tradition, I propose a tripartite *modus tractandi*. First, how does the Classical inheritance figure in the poem generally? For which *auctores* does demonstrable proof of use already exist? Lastly, what glimpses of the Horatian tradition, whose influence on *Piers Plowman* scholars have so far neglected, are visible in the complicated ethical construct that is the poem?

Piers Plowman is a particularly lucid articulation of the way in which the commentary tradition surrounding the *auctores* renegotiated the classical inheritance. As discussed in detail in the first chapter, *ethica*, the category to which the pagan poets were assigned, signifies "a non-theological morality" (Friis-Jensen, "The Reception" 292). As Blamires, however, reminds us, an anxiety often accompanied the "accommodations" required of this renegotiation whereby Roman Stoic ethics and medieval Christian morality could coexist (8); this tension is visible in *Piers Plowman*'s elaboration of *ethica*'s role in Dowel, Dobet, and Dobest. Orthodox medieval Christian morality enumerates a system of seven virtues. The three theological virtues of *fides*, *spes*, and *caritas* as articulated in 1 Corinthians 13:13 join the four cardinal virtues of *prudentia*,

temperantia, *iustitia*, and *fortitudo* as enumerated in Book I of Cicero's *De officiis,* with *caritas* as the chiefest among the seven. In the Prologue, the Dreamer relates:

> I parsceyved of the power that Peter hadde to keppe,
> To bynde and to vnbynde, as the boke telleth,
> Hou he it lefte with loue as our lord wolde
> Amonge four virtues, most vertuous of vertues,
> That cardinales ben cald and closyng-yates
> Thare Crist is in kynedom to close with heuene. (128-33)

Here the Ciceronian virtues by way of a pun on the etymology of *cardinales* become the hinges upon which the St. Peter opens or closes the gates of Heaven in fulfillment of Matthew 16:19. Langland effectively and immediately places the Stoic virtues at the heart of Petrinity, the doctrine by which the Catholic church asserted its authority, and at the center of Christian salvation. The *cardinales vertues* return in the penultimate passus, where they are the seeds which Grace gives to Piers to sow in mankind's soul.[3] Continuing the agricultural conceit, Piers then harrows them "With Olde lawe and newe lawe that loue myhte wexe / Among thise foure vertues and vices distruye" (C.XXI. 310-1). *Harewe* is a particularly resonant verb in this passus. In the language of the agricultural conceit, the Ciceronian virtues and the Old and New Testaments together are responsible for "rooting out" and destroying vice. *Kynde wit*, then, continues this process of harrowing "bi consail of this doctors / And tulieth aftur here techynge the cardinal virtues" (C.XXI.315-6): wisdom, the combination of common sense and the discipline of study, is the result of weeding out of the classical inheritance the c*ammokes and wedes*

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[3] "And Grace gaf Peres graynes, cardinales vertues, / And sewe hit in mannes soule" (274-5)

(C.XXI.312) contrary to scripture through the teachings of the doctors (which I take to mean both the Doctors of the Church and those who matriculate from the universities, though either is also possible) so that the virtues may grow. The Stoic virtues through this process of harrowing—of removing the chaff from the wheat as Matthew 3:12 commands—grow into the *cornes* of licit doctrine that must be collected into the house Grace commands him to build (C.XXI.318); this house, roofed with "all holy writ", is "Vnite, Holy Chirche an Englisch" (C.XXI327-8).

In the preceding passus, the poem cautions "'wyse clerkes and … witty mene of lawe'" (C.XX.354) to be wary of liars just before Christ harrows hell. Christ asserts his right to claim these souls who were only deceived by the devil's *deseite,* denouncing the *gyle* through which the devil tricked them into betraying all *resoun* (C.XX.376-7). Christ then turns the tables on the devil through a logical refutation in which the *olde lawe*'s narrow focus on justice as one-to-one *quyting* forms the supposition to the syllogism; "ergo, soule shal soule quyte and synne to synne wende", and as a result, "a stratagem defeats [another] stratagem" (*Ars ut artem falleret*) concludes the syllogism (C.XX.391-a). Logic refers strictly to formally licit construal; Resoun, conversely, is not strictly the rational faculty but represents instead the entirety of the "moral faculty as it participates in God's truth" (Pearsall 102, n5). Depending on the construal of the syntax, two to four servants attend Resoun: "And kalde Catoun his knaue, Corteys-of-Speche, / And also Thomme Trewe-tonge-telle-me-no-tales / Ne-lesynges-to-lauhe-of-for-Y-hit-neure" (C.IV.17-9). The traditional understanding of these lines is that there are four

servants; however, my argument is that there are two: Corteys-of-Speche is an appositive of Cato, and Ne-lesynges-to-lauhe-of-for-Y-hit-neure is either an appositive for or continuation of Thomme Trewe-tonge-telle-me-no-tales. Cato and the distichs attributed to him, then, are more than simply "common sense" as scholars are wont to assert: they represent correct formulation of language in a grander sense, for the *Disticha Catonis* taught not only the rudiments of Latin but also the rudiments of classical culture as well as proper conduct. Resoun's other servant represents the correct intention behind speech: the ability of language to reveal the truth. Consequently, Resoun's retainers represent the *verba* (the properly formed verbal utterance) and the *res* (the underlying truth).

An important aspect of Resoun in Langland's schema as the entirety of the human moral faculty is the ability to lift the *integumentum* and discern between *res* and *verba*; thus proper training in *grammatica* (the construal of language) and *rhetorica* is essential for the proper exercise of morality, for as the B-text makes explicit, *grammatica* is "þe ground of al" (XV.372). Here we have a particularly lucid demonstration of the way in which *ethica*, as the body of wisdom in non-sacred literature compatible with Catholic dogma, inculcates modes of both *recte loquendi* and *recte vivendi*. The *cardinales vertues* are central to this this rectitude. Resoun's mount is Wil, who is wont "to wynse and to kyke" (C.IV.22). This is a conceit firmly rooted in Neo-Platonism: Plato famously compared the soul/body duality to a charioteer in the *Phaedrus*. Although Langland is obviously not directly alluding to Plato, his adaptation of a classical Neo-Platonic tenet is key. Unlike Plato for whom the rational faculty alone when sufficiently trained can

restrain humankind's bestial appetites, Langland's theology introduces an important suspicion *vis-à-vis* reason alone: "'Lat peytrele hym and pole hym with peynted wittes'" (C.IV.23). Because Resoun can be thrown by logically sound but morally dubious arguments (the *peynted wittes* are a fairly literal rendition of *colores rhetorici,* which as early as the Investiture Controversy at the end of the eleventh century functioned as a sobriquet in polemics for ostentatious but doctrinally unsound displays of classical learning) and does not possess an innate obedience to divine justice, Consience is a necessary check to this inherent ambiguity within Resoun in *Piers Plowman*.[4] Indeed, Consience pointedly advises Resoun to avoid those "'that coueytise seruen'" (C.IV.33), and in the battle for salvation in the final passus, Covetyse pits itself against "Conscience and cardinal virtues" (C.XXII.121-2). Consequently, Passus IV, which narrates the trial of Mede, in its entirety offers counsel on avoiding the perversion of language and logic by terrestrial concerns that imperil the soul. As Alford has summarized, "the eternal law of Truth consists in reason (order) and reveals itself to reason (the faculty)" ("Idea of Resoun" 206): it is through Resoun, which combines both senses of the word, that mankind comes to know divine truth, and language and learning play a role in this. At the end of his oration, Resoun urges everyone to scrutinize his own behavior and live according to *caritas* before commanding "'Seketh Seynt Treuthe in sauacioun of youre soules'" (C.V.198). *Caritas*, again, is the chiefest of the theological virtues, and the Stoic virtues function as a means of restraining the will so that Consience

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[4] C.V.70-83 recapitulates this need for Consience to be mediator.

may guide in the licit decision making that enables *caritas* toward other people.

Resoun's oration and exhortation to seek Seynt Treuthe set the scene for the confession of sin in Passus VI, as the personified deadly sins confess the ways in which they pervert the *caritas* of divine order by encouraging illicit speech and deeds. As demonstrated in Passus XXI, where Christ harrows hell, Christ's Crucifixion is the counterweight, the *contrapassum*, to original sin.[5] With humankind having been redeemed of original sin through Christ's death and resurrection, *Piers Plowman* borders upon Pelagianism by suggesting that lawful obedience to Resoun and Consience and their commands to live according to the *cardinales vertues* can lead to salvation, for we are told that this lawful obedience by which harm to others can be avoided is the heart of *Dowel* (C.XXI. 108-14). *Dowel* is the minimum *modus vivendi* by which a soul can avoid perdition, but it nonetheless requires baptism as the poem's treatment of the virtuous pagans in general and Trajan in particular demonstrates. Imaginatif, who represents intellectual truth abstracted through the sensible objects of lived existence, holds out the possibility that virtuous non-believers may escape damnation: "And wher he be saef or nat saef the sothe woet no clergie / Ne of Sortes ne of Salamon no scripture

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[5] C.XXI.388. Thomas Aquinas adapts the term *contrapassum* from Latin translations of Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics* as a way of underscoring the distinction between what the medieval Christian understood to be the literal-mindedness of the Jewish Old Law and the justice offered by God after Christ's redemption of original sin (Akbari, *Idols* 230). His response to *Quaestio* 61.a.4 in the *Summa Theologica* 2.2 establishes "Hoc quod dicitur contrapassum importat aequalem recompensationem ad actionem praecedentem. Quod quidem propriissime dicitur in passionibus iniuriosis quibus aliquis personam proximi laedit, puta, si percutit, quod repercutiatur. Et hoc quidem iustum determinatur in lege, Exod. XXI, 'reddet animam pro anima, oculum pro oculo' et cetera." This Thomistic concept undergirds C.XX.391-a, where Christ tricks the devil and redeems mankind as discussed above.

can telle / Wher that they ben in hell or in heuene, or Aristotel the wyse" (C.XIV.191-3). Nonetheless, Imaginatif clearly states that we are all beholden to the *auctores*, who better our condition ("And the bettere for here bokes to bidden we ben yholde)" by sharpening our rational faculties (C.XIV.196). This mental sharpening is necessary, for as Amanda Walling succinctly summarizes, "it is as easy to find bad meanings in scriptural texts as to find sound meanings in profane" literature (75); in other words, the classical *auctores* can yield salvific truth through proper exegesis, too. Trajan appears as the exemplar of the virtuous pagan, who "'trespassed neuere ne trauersede ayens his lawe'" (C.XIV.209), and must assuredly be "'saef… his soule in heuene'" (C.XIV.206) despite "'neuere [taking] cristendoem'" (C.XIV.205). It is only Trajan's baptism by the tears of Gregory the Great —as first told by the Whitby Anonymous, recorded for posterity by John the Deacon, and given wide circulation by Jacob of Voragine—that unequivocally ensures his place in heaven however. Like Dante's *Inferno*, *Piers Plowman* credits *ethica* with preserving the soul from punishment in hell, but it does not grant it salvational powers by which the soul may enter heaven, either.

Dobet and *Dobest* require the theological virtues. Dobet requires the four Ciceronian *cardinales vertues* as well as the first two theological virtues, hope and faith. Hope is Moses in Passus XIX, where the decalogue has been reduced to a single commandment, *Dilige deum et proximum*, and a single gloss, *In hiis duobus pependit tota lex*.[6] The discussion of Dobet in Passus XXI further foregrounds the difference between

[6] "Love God and neighbor" (C.XIX.13a) and "The entire law hangs on these two things" (C.XIX. 17).

the Jews, who follow the strictures of the old law literally, and the Christians, who recognize that Christ's crucifixion "at Caualrie on a Fryday" has freed them from this literal obedience. The poem implicitly imputes blindness to the Jews who could not recognize this release in contradistinction to the apostles who "parseyued al this" (C.XXI. 163). The vision is given a more explicitly metaphorical and spiritual sense through the quotation of John 20:29: *Beati qui non viderunt et crediderunt* (C.XXI.181a). In contrast with the Jews, who obey the law and thus Dowel, Dobet requires faith in God and Christ as well as hope for salvation. Grace entered the world at the Immaculate Conception (C.XXI.115-21) and through the *dedes* (C.XXI.131) of Christ healed all those who were afflicted of their spiritual deafness (C.XXI.130) and blindness (C.XXI.125), thereby diminishing the need for emphasis on strictly literal legal obedience.

Dobest requires *caritas* enacted in the world and overseen by the Church as the vicars of Christ through the Petrine doctrine in Matthew 16:18. The *cardinales vertues* effectively require abnegation of behavior, and the first two theological virtues are essentially a mindset or disposition toward the world. Conversely, *caritas*, which 1 Corinthians 13:13 calls the *major* of the seven virtues, uniquely requires active participation in the world, where *caritas* signifies a life lived according to God's divinely ordained order, with natural concern (*kynde*) for one's fellow man and without sin. As *Piers Plowman* makes clear, however, a life lived in active engagement in the world with only postlapsarian free will to defend the soul from vice necessarily means that sin will inhere. Consequently, Dobest requires God's pardon. Proper sacramental penance

requires sinners to examine their consciences and then to perform contrition, confession, and satisfaction; in turn, the priest, when certain that these have been performed appropriately, offers absolution, drawing on the Petrine doctrine to release penitent sinners from the *culpae* of their sins. Central to Dobest is precisely this third part for the penitent, the satisfaction, or in the language of the poem, *Redde quod debes* (C.XXI. 187ff). As Pearsall rightly asserts, the satisfaction in the poem is primarily a restoration of *caritas* as obedient "rendering of the debt of love to God and one's neighbor" (351, n187). This state of restored *caritas* allows the message of the Holy Spirit to make itself known on earth (CXXI.206). The *messager* who carries this from heaven is Grace (C.XXI.208-9); the dreamer through Consience's counsel cries out with him "'Helpe vs, Crist,'" and it is this that summons Grace to descend from heaven (C.XXI.212-3). Grace arms all mankind for the allegorical battle against Antichrist with their divinely given talents and faculties (C.XXI.225-8a).

The barn into which Piers gathers the *cornes* grown from the *graynes* of the *cardinales vertues*, signifying the Catholic church and the Magisterium, transmogrifies into a fortress against the onslaught of demonic forces, and Kynde Wit, who arrives "Consience to teche" (C.XXI.360), commands that "alle cristene peple" (C.XXI.361) should dig a moat around the fortress of Vnite, the Catholic church, to defend against the seven deadly sins, especially pride. The tears of genuine repentance fill this moat (C.XXI.377-8), and "Clannesse of the comune and clerkes clene lyuynge" strengthen the walls of the fortress (C.XXI.378-9). Within the fortress of the church, "'ones in a

monthe'" they eat the Eucharist ("'bred yblessed and godes body thereunder'") (C.XXI. 385-8); however, Consience and *cardinale vertues* are the *comune fode* that sustain "bothe lyfe and soule" (C.XXI.407-8). The final passus presents the dream of Antichrist's arrival to besiege the castle in an allegorical battle indebted to the *Psychomachia*. Conscience is promoted to "kepar…and gyour" of the *cardinale vertues* (C.XXII.22-3), whom he deploys to defend the stronghold. Fortune, however, utilizes flattery to persuade Lecherye to assemble an army (C.XXII.110-13). Couetyse strategizes a plan to "'Ouercome Consience and cardinal vertues'" (C.XXII.121-2): to deceive them "'With glosynges and gabbynges'" (C.XXII.125).

This perversion of the *kynde* of language to convey the truth of God's plan is central to the conclusion of the allegory, and the friars and their learning come in for particular censure. Consience pointedly exhorts the friars to "'leue logyk and lerneth for to louye'" and follow their orders' founders by renouncing worldly power (C.XXII. 250-1). Envy, however, inserts himself and advises the friars instead to attend the universities where they might learn verbal trickery in logic, law, and contemplation through mastering the *auctores*: "Enuye herde this and heete freres go to scole / And lerne logyk and lawe and eke contemplacioun / And preche men of Plato and preuen hit by Seneca" (C.XXII.273-5). The friars do precisely this, mastering philosophy with Envy's financial backing, thereby abandoning Consience to do battle alone with Couetyse and Vnkyndnesse (C.XXII.294-6). Consience and the Stoic virtues, however, are unable to distinguish well-intentioned and badly-intentioned language and, consequently, are

powerless against both flattery and hypocrisy. Ypocrisye "wounded wel wykkedly many a wys techare" (C.XXII.301-2), and Contricioun asks Conscience if they should seek the medical expertise of *frere Flatrere* to heal the wounded (C.XXII.316-7). Consience advises that better confessors who may more effectively restore the wounded to health exist" (C.XXII.318-23), but the friar, having obtained the required documents with haste and through dubious mechanisms, hastens to the gate of the fortress, where Pees is the porter (C.XXII.330). Sensing dishonesty, Pees commands the friar to reveal his true identity, and the friar responds, '"sire *Penetrans-domos*.'" This name firmly invokes the antifraternal tractates of William of St. Amour and Richard FitzRalph, who both saw in the mendicant friars the *pseudopraedicatores* who would herald the arrival of Antichrist in fulfillment of 2 Timothy 3:6 (*enim sunt qui penetrant domos*).[7] Hende-speche, who represents the entirety of courtly and urbane blandishments, persuades Pees to allow them to enter the fortress (C.XXII.348). Consience asks *Penetrans-domos* to heal his cousin Contricioun, but the friar "'gloseth ther he shryveth'" in exchange "'for a litel suluver" (C.XXII.368-9). Consience abandons Contricioun, "that is the souereyne salue for alle synnes of kynde'" (C.XXII.371-2), which leaves Consience open to attack by Sloth and Pride. Consience calls out to Clergie, who represents correct textual exegesis through training in the *artes liberales*.[8] However, Pees informs him that the false healing

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[7] See especially Szittya 3-91 and Scase, 19-117.

[8] "'Y shall kenne the to Clergie, my cosyn, that knoweth / Alle kynne kunnynges and comsynges of Dowel, / Of Dobet, of Dobest, for doctour he is knowe, / And ouer Skripture the skilfole and screueynes were trewe'" (C.XI.91-94).

of *Penetrans-domos* has drowned Clergie (C.XXII.378). The poem ends with a literal cry for Grace's salvation (C.XXII.386). The admonition of *Piers Plowman* is clear: even the Magisterium is capable of corruption by those who seek personal profit over *caritas*, and it is God's grace alone that is entirely and inherently salvific. When turned to the proper end, *ethica* can, indeed, lead one to Dowel, Dobet, and even Dobest; but it is a fraught situation, always imperiled by the potential of faulty teleology and never as certain for salvation as divine grace.

Langland, Education, and the *Auctores*

John Alford, with characteristic wit, asserted "depending on whom you ask, Langland is barely literate or he is a walking *Patrologia Latina*" ("Langland's Learning" 1). Walter Skeat, in his 1886 edition of the poem, drew scholars' attention to an early fifteenth-century addendum in Dublin, Trinity College MS D.4.1, a C-text manuscript now given the shelf mark 212, that identified the author of *Piers Plowman* as William Langland (Willielmus de Longlond), whose father was Stacy de Rokayle, a gentlemen holding a tenancy at Shipton-under-Wychwood in Oxfordshire under Lord Spencer (xxviii). This memorandum, found on f89v of the manuscript, is the earliest identification of the poem's author. As Ralph Hanna has summarized the situation, "other biographical data remains inferential: the author's life, so far as it is available to us, is his work the three versions of his poem, and our access to that life as biography comes only through the poet's representation of himself within his text" (*William Langland* 6). Many of the details scholars have adduced are irrelevant to this chapter's purposes; Langland's

education, however, is crucial to an understanding of how the *auctores* in general and Horace in particular inform *Piers Plowman*. The Dreamer asserts that his father and friends did, indeed, provide the financial support for him to attend a university:

> '"When Y yong was, many yer hennes,
> My fader and my frendes foende me to scole
> Tyl Y wyste witterly what holy writ menede
> And what is beste for the body, as the boek telleth,
> And sykerost for the soule, by so Y wol contenue;
> And foend Y nere, in fayth, seth my frendes deyede,
> Lyf that me lykede but in this longe clothes.'" (C.V.35-42)

If the Dreamer can be reliably identified with Langland himself, that he claims for himself a university education is immediately relevant in considering how the *auctores* undergird the poem. Significantly, this passage asserts that the duration of his education was coterminous with learning what sacred scripture truly means ("Tyl Y wyste witterly what holy writ menede") and that its purpose was to learn what is "sykerost for the soule." The narratorial persona Langland has crafted evinces an approach to learning entirely in harmony with the strictures of Romans 15:4, and a more careful look at Langland's knowledge and use of classical literature is necessary to deduce the level of pedagogical training he might have received, which in turn will allow for a better understanding of how Horace and the other *auctores* function in *Piers Plowman*. Looking beyond this persona is crucial, because even though, in Hanna's words, "traditional scholarly interests often seem far removed" (*William Langland* 21) from *Piers Plowman,* the poem is vastly learned and evinces complicated processes of poiesis

and uses of *auctoritates* at the same time that it seeks to erase precisely this sophistication.

In addition to the complexities introduced by the narratorial construct, the precise meaning of *scole* itself is the subject of some debate. John Bowers takes the term to mean a cathedral school, arguing for a curriculum similar to that at Worcester, whose library assembled by the Benedictines was particularly rich in the *auctores* (*Crisis of Will* 21-2). Andrew Galloway, likewise, excludes the possibility that *scole* signifies a university and argues that Cistercian monks and "their own complex relations to institutions of higher learning" educated Langland ("*Piers Plowman* and the Schools" 104). Galloway rightly foregrounds the increasingly different uses and ends education served throughout the fourteenth century in general and the reign of Richard II in particular, asserting that the complex disposition toward knowledge in *Piers Plowman* evinces Langland's carefully constructed attempt "to define a realm of learning and of learned poetry removed both from institutional reification and from professional or self-serving motives" (95-6). Although Jill Mann does not explicitly assert a monastic education for Langland, she does, indeed, posit that monastic *ruminatio* is the primary rhetorical mode at work in *Piers Plowman* ("Eating" 37-8).

Conversely, Christopher Cannon, while careful to acknowledge that the university curricula and the *artes praedicandi* do in fact influence the poem, argues convincingly that Langland's primary rhetorical mode is that of grammatical pedagogy: its ruminative structure derives from the traditional schoolroom praxis of "'making latins' or *latinitates*,

the translation of simple English sentences into Latin" with its lexical and syntactic variation whereby *pueri* gained mastery over language (19). As a result, the force that Latin and latinate sources exert over *Piers Plowman* is so subtle that Alford concluded the poem evinces "the almost total absence of classical examples" (*A Guide* 24). Langland's inter-lingual *ruminatio*, in fact, relies so extensively on *grammatica*—understood as both the Latin language and the *auctores* who impart knowledge of it—that Cannon is right to remind us that "In ways that I think we often failed to notice…it is clear that Langland actually writes *in* Latin, manipulating what we may still wish to regard as a 'quotation' because we know the original form he is adapting, even though that form is no longer exact" (22). This understanding of Langland's poiesis challenges assessments of the poem as evincing "lameness and ineptitude" (Pearsall, *Piers* 3) and an inferiority to Chaucer (Kirk xi), for in Cannon's schema, Langland exploits Middle English syntax to render perfectly Latin's *auctoritas*, importing it into his vernacular poem through exactly the methodology used to inculcate *Latinitas*.

While I do agree with Cannon's arguments, I also agree with scholars who see the direct influence of the university curricula at work in Langland's rhetorical processes. Mildred Marcett asserts first-hand experience of the *disputationes* argued in 1366 between the Benedictine monk Uhtred of Boldon and the Dominican friar William Jordan about the status of the virtuous pagans informs the discussion of salvation in Passus XII. In Passus XX, Christ demonstrates His prowess in syllogistic logic as He tricks the devil through His Incarnation, and in Passus X, Langland parodies the fraternal *disputatio* into

linguistic distortions that render truth unknowable. Hanna posits more specifically that the Oxford *artes* curriculum informs the Aristotelian logic and legal knowledge visible in the poem (*William Langland* 20-1). Traugott Lawler, conversely, argues that the disposition toward poverty in *Piers Plowman* evinces "a peculiarly Franciscan" timbre ("Secular Clergy" 105); the Franciscans arrived at Cambridge in the middle of the 1220s, and their influence grew steadily throughout the rest of the thirteenth century, establishing Cambridge as a key locus of instruction for "advanced Franciscan theology students" by the end of the century (Roest 37-8). Given the paucity of information we have about Langland and the tendency of medieval educational praxis to "continually renew" itself (Mann, "He Knew Not" 51), it is virtually impossible to demonstrate what, exactly, the poet's education was. It is, however, possible to examine his use of the *auctores* to understand the role they and the classical tradition play in the ethical substructure for salvation in *Piers Plowman*, and it is to the *auctores* that we now turn.

Patricia Baer asserts that "the importance of Cato and the distichs to Langland ... is underscored by the fact that they are quoted or referred to more often than any other single secular authority in Piers" (127). As Hazelton notes, as early as the ninth century the commentaries of Remegius had not only positioned the collection of distichs ascribed to Cato as the standard Latin primer but also subsumed it as part of a broader body of Christian proverbial texts that included the "'wisdom' literature of the Old Testament" (161-163); the *Disticha Catonis* shares the gnomic and sententious qualities of Proverbs, Psalms, and Ecclesiastes, thereby easing the process of cultural

appropriation of a classical text concerned more with helping young men take their places within urban life than in finding salvation (165). Consequently, Cato in the fourteenth century was "the speaker of epigrammatic moral virtue" (Gehl 109), and the collection of distichs attributed to him functioned as the Latin primer students studied after mastering the grammatical precepts of Donatus. That Langland's ruminative rhetorical approach makes use of *Disticha Catonis* should not be surprising, given its ubiquity for all persons acquainted with Latin in the fourteenth century.[9] Although it is not the intention of this chapter to discuss the entirety of Langland's debt to the *Disticha Catonis*, one passage, whose reliance to Cato has not so far been noted by scholars, offers a particularly illustrative example of how Langland used the *auctores*. In an exchange with the Samaritan, Piers portrays sin as a failure to love:

> "And Hope afturward of o god more me toelde
> And lered me for his loue to louye al mankynde
> And hym aboue alle and hem as mysylue,
> Nother lacke ne alose ne leue that there were
> Eny wikkedere in the worlde then Y were mysulue,
> And moest inparfyt of alle persones, and pacientliche soffre
> all manere men…." (C.XIX.100-106)

Hope has advised Piers that the surest way to achieve salvation is to love God and one's neighbors as a man should love himself, which is patently modeled on scriptural authority, Luke 10:27: *Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et ex tota anima tua, et ex omnibus virtutibus tuis, et ex omni mente tua: et proximum tuum sicut te ipsum*.

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[9] Baer catalogues all of the direct quotations to the *Disticha Catonis* in all three texts of *Piers Plowman*. John Alford discusses many of the less direct allusions to Cato in the poem.

However, the admonition to deem no one more wicked than oneself is not in Luke. It is a sentiment, however, addressed indirectly in two of the *Disticha Catonis* and and directly in one. Distich 1.16 advises: "Multorum cum facta senex et dicta reprendas, / fac tibi succurrant, iuvenis quae feceris ipse." It is reminder in old age to forgive youthful folly just as one has received forgiveness for one's own peccadilloes. Distich 2:16 exhorts one neither to praise or blame, censoring both as a form of foolishness: "Nec te conlaudes nec te culpaveris ipse: / hoc faciunt stulti, quos gloria vexat inanis." The most direct parallel, however, is provided by Distich 3.7, which exhorts "Alterius factum ac dictum ne carpseris umquam, / exemplo simili ne te derideat alter."[10] I cite this example because it shows the subtlety and sophistication of Langland's *ruminatio* even for sources as well established as the Vulgate and the *Disticha Catonis*.

As Boas has established, the Distichs were the first in a group of texts that together formed the foundational training for Latin pedagogy in the Middle Ages; consequently, the entire assemblage of these texts was often termed a *liber Catonianus*. Although the contents of these books were as fluid as one might expect in a manuscript culture, the *Disticha Catonis* always came first in the collection followed typically by the collection of moralized fables attributed Aesop; these two texts transmit the rudiments of Late Antique Roman culture and values, and their names function as markers of

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[10] "Let yourself not ever blame the deed or word of another, lest another deride you for a similar cause."

functional Latin literacy in the Middle Ages.[11] More advanced training in the *auctores* commenced in all medieval curricula once the *pueri* had mastered the lessons contained in these *libri Catoniani*. Among these advanced readers, as James Willoughby asserts, "Horace, Virgil, Persius, and Juvenal seem never to have lost their lustre" (97).

The only classical poet whom Langland quotes directly is Juvenal: nine B-Text manuscripts quote Satire X.22 at XIV.307a, and the C-Text includes a syntactically condensed version of the line at XVI.143a. However, Rechelechnesse, in his disquisition on poverty invokes the *auctoritas* of "poetes to preuen" his argument: "'Porfirie and Plato, / Aristotel, Ennedy, enleuene hundred / Tulius, Tolomeus — Y can nat tell here names'" (C.XII.174-6). While many scholars, including Pearsall and Alford, regard this passage as name-dropping by a self-consciously literary narratorial persona at a minimum and as citing *auctores* whom Langland might have known through florilegia at most, ruling out direct knowledge of these *auctores* is unduly hasty. Certainly the Ciceronian corpus was in wide circulation in the Middle Ages, and the *cardinales vertues* that feature prominently in *Piers Plowman* derive from Cicero's *De Officiis*. Stephen Barney, in his response to John Alford's "Langland's Learning," asks dismissively if Langland was a reader of Ovid (8) and other auctores, answering with "perhaps" (9). Robert Costomiris has argued convincingly that the character of Hunger in Passus VIII of the C-Text draws on the myth of Erysichthon as told in Book VIII of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. In

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[11] Gehl 111; for a full discussion of the use of the elegiac Romulus, the context by which most late medieval students would know this collection of fables, see Edward Wheatley's *Mastering Aesop: Medieval Education, Chaucer, and His Followers*.

Langland's redeployment of the mythos, Limos, the personification of Famine, punishes the sin of gluttony instead of avenging Ceres's outrage at the desecration of one of her ritual sites; this exemplifies the masterful use of a classical *auctor* to further orthodox Christian theology. Costomiris rightly cautions, "given the opacity of many parts of the poem, what if Langland were not especially interested in alerting readers to all of his allusions" (77)? We are now ready to look more closely at *Piers Plowman* to assess if the Horatian tradition provides precisely some of these allusions to which Langland does not draw our attention but which do, nonetheless, form part of his ruminative processes of composition.

Langland and the Horatian Tradition: the Satirical Intertexts of Consumption

As Mann asserts, "hunger and thirst, food and drink…[are] subjects of major importance in the poem" ("Eating" 32); with her assertion, however, that Langland's discussion of hunger relies upon strictly biblical *sententiae*, I take issue (36-7). If the figure of the sui-masticating Hunger derives from a moralized reading of Ovid, as Costomiris has convincingly demonstrated, might the Horatian tradition also contribute to the ethical coloring of the difference between sufficiency and gluttony in *Piers Plowman*? Deena Berg has asserted that a sequence of poems in the second book of Horace's *Satires* contrasts patterns of overindulgent gustatory consumption with simple nutritional sufficiency: "When the poems are read in sequence, the two philosophies of eating emerge clearly. The structure is not a simple symmetry, but a dynamic *sermo*-dialog-that weaves through the entire book" (150). My argument is that Langland uses precisely this

"dialog" in the second book of Horatian satires to set up a contrast between patterns of consumption and attitudes toward food that reframe Horace's admonitions about what is deleterious to corporeal integrity and mental tranquility into a disquisition about the ways in which gluttony is deleterious to the soul. Central to Langland's disquisition is the peacock. In Passus XIII, Kynde Nature, in helping to defend Clergie against the remonstrations of Rechlechnesse, asserts that "'Resoun Y sey sothly sewe alle bestes / In etynge and drynkyng, in engendrure of kynde'" (C.XIII.143-4); by nature, all other creatures demonstrate reasonableness in their appetites. This speech causes the Dreamer's mind to wander as he thinks about the avian behavior he has directly observed (C.XIII.156-68). Amazed by the complexities of habitats these birds build themselves to protect their eggs from predators, he asks, "'Where hadde thise wilde suche wit, and at what scole'" (169). This passage brings to the fore a number of key ideas: natural appetites to sustain life, food and its potential to be taken by force, and knowledge by which a creature might achieve this sufficiency. The Dreamer then takes particular notice of the peacock, marveling at how *vncorteysliche* peafowl, with the *fayrenesse* of their plumage and their *foul ledene,* breed (C.XIII.169-71). The language here simultaneously draws attention to the splendor of the peacock's appearance while censuring its cry and mating habits; the effect is to suggest an *unkyndnesse* about the peafowl, whose exterior beauty masks an interior foulness.

The peacock reappears in the next passus, where Imaginatif responds to the objections the Dreamer raises at the end of Passus XIII:

> "Ac longe-lybbynge men lykened men lyuynge
> To briddes and to bestes, as here bokes telleth
> That the fayrest foul foulest engenereth
> And feblest foul of flyht is that fleeth other swymmeth:
> That is, the pocock and the popeiay with here proude fetheres
> Bytokenen right riche men that reygne here on erthe.
> For pursue a pocock or a pohen to cache
> And haue hem in haste at thyn owen wille
> For they may nat fle fer ne ful hey neyther
> For here fetheres that fayre beth to fle fer hem letteth.
> His ledene is vnloueliche and lothlice his careyne
> Ac for his peynted pennes the pecok is honoured
> More than for his fayre flesch or for his merye note." (C.XIV.168-80)

In this passage, Imaginatif immediately underscores the idea of textuality ("'as here bokes telleth'" 169), and the language also conveys that this passage functions like the *moralitas* on pride in a beast fable ("'proude fetheres / Betokeneth right riche men'" 171-2). The elegiac Romulus does, indeed, contain a fable featuring a peacock; however, the fable narrates a story about a crow (*cornicula*) dressing in the feathers of a peacock and thereby becoming an object of derision when its avian drag is discovered (Wheatley, *Mastering Aesop* 93-4). The relevant *passus* in *Piers Plowman* make no mention of a crow. In a separate tradition of Aesop exists a fable about the peacock and a nightingale (*luscinia*), in which the peacock beseeches Juno for a voice equal to the nightingale; the *moralitas* is a warning to accept graciously one's lot in life. Beast fables can account for the emphasis on the peacock's feathers and *vnloueliche* and *foul ledene*, but key details in the passages in *Piers Plowman* remain unexplained by them; not the least of these details is that the peacock in Passus XIV has been roasted. As Michael Van Dussen notes, Bartholomaeus's *De proprietatibus rerum* through John of Trevisa's Middle English

translation is the source-text most frequently asserted for Langland's peacock (82). Certainly this does account for the peacock's ugly feet,[12] but neither Bartholomaeus directly nor Trevissa account for the entirety of the details in *Piers Plowman*. Consequently, other works must be queried for their evidence as potential source texts.

My argument is that the discussion of the peacock by Imaginatif in *Piers Plowman* owes much to the peacock in Horace's *Satires* II.2:

> Vix tamen eripiam, posita pavone velis quin
> hoc potius quam gallina tergere palatum,
> corruptus vanis rerum, quia veneat auro
> rara avis et picta pandat spectacula cauda;
> tamquam ad rem attineat quicquam. num vesceris ista
> quam laudas pluma? Cocto num adest honor idem?
> Carne tamen quamvis distat nil, hac magis illam
> imparibus formis deceptum te petere. (23-30)[13]

Here the peacock in question is emphatically cooked (*cocto*) and presented ostentatiously at a banquet. The emphasis in the Horatian passage, likewise, is on the savor of the bird's cooked flesh, which Horace implies is no tastier than chicken. Imaginatif asserts that "'the pecock is honoured'" (C.XIV.179); the Horatian antecedent uses the same sense of *honor* (II.2.28). Horace also implies that this being honored is because of its painted tail (*picta cauda* 26); this is made even more explicit by Porphyry's commentary, which

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[12] As Van Dussen notes, in Trevissa's translation the peacock "haþ fowleste fieet" (82).

[13] "Nevertheless, a peacock having been placed [upon the table] I could scarcely snatch your wish to press your palate more powerfully with it than a chicken, corrupted [as you are] by the vain showings of things because a rare bird must be purchased with gold and you admire its painted tail displayed—as though related anything at all to the situation. Do you ever eat those very feathers which you praise? Having been cooked, is the same honor present? Although they stand nothing apart with respect to their meat, you prefer this more to that, having been deceived by their unequal appearances."

instructs, with respect to *honor*, "Plumarum scilicet."[14] Between Horatian text and Porphyrian gloss, we have in "Ac for his peynted pennes the pecock is honored" (C.XIV. 179) Langland's startlingly literal translation of the Horatian tradition. As the close readings will continue to explicate, Langland uses Horace here to begin constructing an exordium, but for now, the recapitulation of two details is necessary. First is the emphasis both Horace and Langland place on deceptive appearance *vis-à-vis* the peacock's roasted body.[15] Second, Imaginatif's disquisition emphasizes that the esteem in which "riht ryche men" (C.XIV.174) are held and the peacock's "lothlice… careyne" (C.XIV.178) hidden under its resplendent plumage are both deceptions that pervert *kynde*. Horace's *Satire* II.2 begins by asserting what a virtue it is to live with little (*Quae virtus et quanta…sit vivere parvo* 1) and to shun insane splendors (*insanis fulgoribus* 5), of which the *pavus coctus* is an example. Horace is quite clear about the consequences of failing to shun just this sort of excess: "Freighted with yesterday's vices, the body also drags down the mind and affixes to the earth a particle of the divine spirit."[16]

The second of Horace's satires in the list Berg asserts constructs a dialogue of licit versus illicit consumption is II.7, which takes the form of a discussion between Horace and his slave Davus during the "liberty of December" (*liberate Decembri*, 4), the holiday

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[14] 292

[15] Michael Van Dussen has argued for the influence of Pliny through Trevisa for the peacock's *lothlice careyne* (80-1); this is a detail for which Horace's satires cannot provide a source.

[16] *Quin corpus onustum / hesternis vitiis animum quoque praegravat una / atque adfigit humo divinae particulam aurae* (*Satires* II.2.77-9).

of Saturnalia, when social distinctions were relaxed. After a lengthy disquisition concerning vices hidden beneath a noble appearance (*verbisque decoris obvolvas vitium* 41), the subject of their debate slowly reveals itself: *Quisnam igitur liber*.[17] The answer is "the wise man who has power over himself" (*sapiens sibi qui imperiosus* 83) and refuses to yield this self-control to his desires (*cupidinibus* 85). Davus asserts himself to be the one who is genuinely free, for his lack of social standing frees him from having to worry about the opinions of others. Davus draws out these social distinctions further, asking how his attention to posters advertising gladiatorial combats is essentially different from Horace's appreciation of fine paintings (95-101); whereas the slave is censured for being a slacker (*cessator* 101) by removing himself from productive activity, the master is hailed as a "keen and avid critic" (*subtilis iudex et callidis* 101). From here the disquisition turns to the matter of eating. Davus asks why it is more pernicious when he should obey his belly (*obsequium ventris mihi perniciosius est cur* 104) than when his master indulges himself in sumptuous meals (*cenis opimis* 103). The satire sets up an implicit distinction between the slave whose genuine hunger forces him to do shameful things and his master who acts out of fear of opprobrium.[18] Davus then warns his master that these sumptuous dinners run the risk of quickly becoming the trope of grotesque excess: *Nempe inamarescunt epulae sine fine petitae, / illusisque pedes vitiosum ferre*

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[17] "Who, therefore, is free" (*Satires* II.7.83).

[18] Davus exhorts his master, "eripe turpi / colla iugi, 'liber, liber sum,' dic age" (91-2).

recusant / corpus.[19] From this Horatian satire, then, we must take the idea that a pursuit of luxury generally and sumptuous food specifically renders one "servile to the stomach" (*servile gulae* 111). This Horatian satire will prove significant to a previously unidentified source for the Latin quotation in C.VI.293ab: *Seruus es alterius cum fercula pinguia queris / Pane tuo pocius vescere, liber eris*.[20]

The third satire of Horace provides the second intertext for C.VI.293ab as well as continuing Berg's "two philosophies of eating." In *Satires* II.7, the country mouse, having been urged by the city mouse to "live happily among joyful circumstances" (*in rebus iucundis vive beatus* 96) since "for neither great nor small is there flight from death" (*aut magno aut parvo leti fuga* 95), comes with his friend to a grand home (*locuplete domo*) in the city, whose human inhabitants have left behind the remains of a multi-course dinner (*fercula cena* 104). While the country mouse reclines in splendor at the table, his host assumes the roles of a slave, tasting and serving the dainty food to his guest.[21] Thus this passage functions as a bridge between two passages in which urbane gourmands make slaves of themselves through illicit consumption. The banquet the city

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[19] "Feasts sought without end clearly become bitter, and feet deceived by vices refuse to carry the body" (107-9).

[20] According to Alford, "Unidentified; Walther 28183 cited by Pearsall (122) as a possible analogue, has only a slight resemblance" (*Guide* 46). For a particularly lucid argument for Langland's authorship of this and other Latin floscules, see Traugott Lawler's "Langland Versificator."

[21] Ergo ubi pupurea porrectum in veste locavit / agrestem, veluti succinctus cursitat hospes / continuatque dapes, nec non verniliter ipsis / fungitur officiis, praelambens omne quod adfert: "Therefore, while the rustic [mouse] stretched himself upon a purple cloth, girdled about [like a waiter] the host [the city mouse] rushes about and continues the banquet, nor did he perform these duties not obsequiously, tasting all before he offered it" (*Satires* II.7.106-9).

mouse serves his rustic companion is interrupted by Molossian dogs (*Molossis canibus*), whose barking forces the terrified mice to flee (*Satires* II.6.110-7). This meal, constructed from the vestiges of the *fercula cena*, stands in marked contrast to that served by the country mouse to the city mouse earlier in the poem. The fable of the mice serves to underscore the cares that attend the sumptuous dinner parties given in rich homes in the city. Earlier in the poem, Horace contrasts these feasts with the simple meals he enjoys when in the country: *O, quando faba Pythagorae cognata simulque / uncta satis pingui ponentur holuscula lardo*.[22] From this satire, we pick up two key Latin words for C.VI.293ab, *pingui* and *fercula*.

As a result, we now have found from Horace's *Satires* source texts that provide the first half of this previously unidentified Latin quotation: *Seruus es alterius cum fercula pinguia queris* ("You are a slave of another when you seek larded multi-course [dinners]"). From *Satires* II.7 comes the idea of enslaving oneself by gluttonous behavior; this idea is repeated in *Satires* II.6, which adds two key words to the quote. Returning back to *Satires* II.2, we are able to complete the second line of the quotation in *Piers Plowman*: *Pane tuo pocius vescere, liber eris* ("Rather make use of your own bread, [and] you will be free"). The peasant Ofellus advises that when true hunger will have dispelled an overly fussy palate, "bread with salt will soothe well a grumbling stomach."[23] The Latin in *Piers Plowman*, however, places a heavy emphasis on the bread

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[22] "When will beans, the cousins of Pythagoras, and green herbs larded with pork fat be placed [before me]" (*Satires* II.7.63-4).

[23] "cum sale panis / latrantem stomachum bene leniet" (II.2.17-8).

being one's own, a detail which the subsequent two lines supply: *Non in caro nidore voluptas summa sed in te ipso est*.[24] A running total of Langland's processes of "'making latins'" to use Cannon's apt term yields all but the last clause: *Seruus es alterius cum fercula pinguia queris; / Pane tuo pocius vescere*…. Horace's *Satire* II.7 provides this in a passage already explored: "eripe turpi / colla iugi, 'liber, liber sum,' dic age" (91-2). Langland adapts the syntax to turn the declaration into an admonition just as the process of creating *latinitates* asked of students, and following this ruminative process through the second book of Horace's *Satires* has shown Langland's rhetorical strategies at work. "Reverse engineering" Langland's *ruminatio* not only demonstrates his familiarity with Horace but identified the Horatian tradition as the source for a previously unidentified Latin quotation in *Piers Plowman*: *Seruus es alterius cum fercula pinguia queris / Pane tuo pocius vescere, liber eris.*

Rumination in C.VI.293ab, in fact, foregrounds another aspect of the Horatian tradition operative in *Piers Plowman*. Geoffrey of Vinsaulf discusses *memoria* in his *Poetria Nova* through an extended conceit whereby he compares it to the stomach, encouraging the would-be poet to avoid intellectual gluttony (VIII.1977-87). After denouncing gustatory overindulgence as the surest way to overburden the body, he urges, "In similar accord ought knowledge, which is the food and drink of the soul, be savored: let it thus nourish [the soul] such that it offers it a delight and not a burden."[25] This

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[24] "The highest pleasure is not in expensive tastes but is in you yourself" (II.2.19-20).

[25] *Est simili gustanda scientia lege, / Quae cibus et potus animae: sic nutriat illam / Ut se praestet ei jocundum, non onerosam* (VIII.1992-4).

gentle tasting of knowledge in the metaphor of intellectual *ruminatio* comes into its full significance when Geoffrey explains his recommended praxis:

> Sit comes usus:
> Dum res ipsa recens est et nova, verte fr[e]quenter,
> Et replica; post hoc subsiste, morare parumper,
> Respira. Morula quadam mediate vocetur
> Altera, quae, cum sit simili ratione retenta,
> Praescriptae cellae demum compaginet ambas,
> Et bene consolidet, et eas conglutinet usus.
> Tertia sit nodo simili conjuncta duabus,
> Quarta tribus.[26]

This is precisely what we see Langland doing in his formulation of C.VI.293ab: taking a small intellectual morsel from one Horatian satire, chewing it into its components, recombining those components into a half line, and knitting together four of these masticated morsels into a new composition. He expertly uses both the Horatian corpus itself, the commentary tradition accrued to it, and the *Poetria Nova* to construct his own semantics of consumption in *Piers Plowman*.

Having shown the processes by which the geminated patterns of licit vs illicit eating are constructed by Horace in his *Satires* and having shown how Langland uses this Horatian material as intertexts in his poem, we may now consider how these ideas of salvific vs deleterious consumption work in the theology of *Piers Plowman* by turning to the Feast of Patience in Passus XV. First, however, we must return to Passus XIV, to

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[26] "Let practice be your partner: while the material itself is recent and new, frequently turn and repeat. After this, cease, delay briefly, breathe. After this little delay, let another [piece] be called forth, which, when it be retained with similar reason, at last let it join both the appointed mental faculty and combine them well, and let practice cement them. Let the third be joined to the [other] two with a similar knot, and the fourth to the third" (VIII.1999-2007); as with the passage quoted earlier in this paragraph, translation mine based on the Latin text edited by Gallo.

Imaginatif's discussion of the peacock. A brief simile compares *lowe-lyuynge* men to the lark, whose lack of splendid appearance masks its *louelokere* voice and *swyftore* flight (C.XIV185-8). Imaginatif then praises "Porfirie and Plato and poetes monye" (C.XIV. 189) before turning to discuss the salvation of the virtuous pagans through whose teachings humankind is saved (C.XIV.194-8). Passus XV opens with the Dreamer waking and musing on Imaginatif's *sententia* "that *iustus* bifore Iesu *in die iudicii non saluabitur* bote if *vix* helpe," underscoring the importance of Christ's Passion for mankind's salvation (C.XV.22); the mental exertion causes the Dreamer to fall back into a dreamful sleep (C.XV.24). He dreams that Concience and Clergie have invited him to dine with Resoun, and the four of them meet "with a maystre, a man lyk a frere" (C.XV. 29) and Pacience, who begs "mete pur charite" (C.XV.32).

Like the rustic mouse in Horace's *Satires* II.6, this *maystre* takes the best seat in the house while Resoun, the ostensible host like the urbane mouse in the satire, assumes a servile position: "The maister was maed sitte fuste as for the most worthy; / Resoun stoed and styhlede, as for steward of halle" (C.XV.37-8). Piers and Pacience, meanwhile, sit at a *syde-table* (C.XV.41) as Scripture serves a meal of the gospels and commentaries: "thenne cam Scripture / And serued hem thus sone of sundry metes monye / Of Austyn, of Ambrose, of alle the foure evangelies" (C.XV.43-4). Accustomed to "mete of more cost," the *maystre* is literally unable to chew this meal served by Scripture (C.XV.45-6). Moreover, the expensive sauce to which the *maystre* is accustomed will turn bitter in the afterlife: "Ac here sauce was ouer-sour and vnsauerly ygrounde / In a morter, post

mortem, of many bittere peynes / Bote yf they synge for tho soules and wepe salt teres" (C.XV.48-50). The emphasis on a sumptuous meal turning bitter alludes yet again to Horace's *Satires* II.7.107: *Nempe inamarescunt epulae sine fine petitae*; however, Langland turns the penalty for overindulgence away from the corporeal pain of his Horatian source text to focus on the spiritual cost of gluttony while also holding out hope for repentance. The *maystre*, now denominated a *doctour*, continues to dine on " manye sondry metes, mortrewes and poddynges, / Brawen and bloed of gees, bacon and colhoppes" (C.XV.66-7). In contrast to the *maystre*'s culinary fussiness, Pacience and Piers dine on *breed* alone (C.XV.53). Although subsistence on bread alone certainly brings Matthew 4:4 and the idea of temptation to the fore, there is no indication that the bread goes uneaten; in fact, Pacience is "wel apayed of this propre seruice" (C.XV.63). What Langland does do, however, is to underscore the difference between the paucity of the meal shared by Piers and Pacience and the plentitude of that which the *maystre* consumes. Consequently, I argue that we have here a further echo of Ofellus's advice in *Satires* II.7.16-7 that bread suffices to soothe a grumbling stomach when the need for sustenance overcomes the palate.

The dreamer, however, becomes envious and angry at the discrepancy between the two meals and calls the *maystre* a *gredy glotoun* who '"precheth and preueth not compacience'" because he does not help the poor (C.XV.85-7). Pacience counsels Piers to remain quiet until it "'is tyme to take and appose'" the *maystre* in a disputation (C.XV. 104). In due course a disputation does ensue with Clergie, Consience, Pacience, and the

maystre. Consience asks Clergie to expound "what is Dowel" (C.XV.127), but Clergie demurs, asserting "'*Nemo bonus* / bote lele loue and treuthe, that loth is to be founde'" (C.XV.135-6). Piers, in turn, introduces the theme *pacientes vincunt* (C.XV. 137); through Pacience's explication, the patient man is he "that loueth lely…bote litel thyng covetyth'" (C.XV.153). Patience, then, emerges as the surest way to save the soul from every *helle-pouke* because it is the quality that engenders *caritas*, the most important aspect of salvation (C.XV.160-4). The *maystre* objects to this explication, calling it a *dido* on the grounds that such advice is impractical, before ending his meal (C.XV.170-4). Consience then asserts that perfectly suffered patience is worth more for salvation than book-learning; *kynde pacience* is an innate virtue that can be fostered by choosing Christ-like suffering of terrestrial vicissitudes (C.XV.175-84). At long last, Pacience serves the feast:

> Thenne hadde Pacience, as pilgrimes haen, in his poke vitalyes,
> Sobrete and symple speche and sothfaste bileue
> To conforte him and Consience yf they come in place
> There vnkyndenesse and coueytise is, hungry contreys bothe. (C.XV.185-8)

As the pair sets out upon its terrestrial pilgrimage, sobriety, simple speech, and orthodox belief will nourish them against *vnkyndenesse*—the antipode to *caritas*—and covetousness.

No sooner does the humble feast of Pacience end and the journey begin than they meet a minstrel named *Activa vita*. As Pearsall's notes explain, *Activa vita* represents the faithful Christian whose participation in the terrestrial concerns that sustain him leaves

him open to potentially sinful choices (258, n.193). That Langland casts this engaged life in the role of a minstrel underscores the ambiguity: the threat of remuneration—*mede* as opposed to *mercede*— by means of flattery remains present. *Activa vita* immediately introduces vocabulary relevant to the pairing of licit versus illicit consumption. First, he asserts "'Munstracye can Y nat moche bote make men merye/ As a waferer with wafres and welcome godes gestes'" (C.XV.197-8). This serves not only to reinscribe the language of feasts and hospitality but also, through *wafres*, to introduce a sequence of wordplay involving bread and the Eucharistic host. In other words, just as we have seen a pairing of attitudes toward consumption that contrasts salubrious and deleterious eating, Langland is now setting up a contrast between bread that sustains that body with one that saves the soul; both of these are the concern of *Activa vita* as exemplar of all good Christians who must wend their way through the world, balancing terrestrial sufficiency with celestial salvation.

Activa vita tells Pacience that he finds his *payn* by pleasing "the pore and the ryche" (C.XV.199-200) and that minstrelsy is the only labor by which he might earn his *breed* from *grete lordes* (C.XV.202-9). *Activa vita* is himself aware of the dangers: he invokes the "'reste and ryche metes'" of Sodom that "'rebaudes hem made'" C.XV. 230-1). He asserts plainly that prayer will not bring the peace among the people that *caritas* demands until even the absence of bread, the simplest of food from Horace's Satire II.7, can overcome pride: "'For mannes prayere maky pees amonges cristene peple / Til pruyde be puyerliche fordo and that thorw payn defaute: / *Habundancia panis*

et vini turpissimum peccatum aduenit'" (C.XV.228-9a). Pacience, however, interrupts to assert that pride will assert itself no matter what and that he himself "'fynde alle folke and fram hunger saue'" (C.XV.231-5). Following this, he asserts that *kynde* provides what is necessary (C.XV.240-4), for "lente neuere was there lyf but lyflode were shape'" (C.XV.238). A pair of scriptural citations concludes Pacience's reply, establishing that God will provide for corporeal sustenance and that the word of God, not bread, sustains true life (C.XV.244ab). *Activa vita* asks if Pacience has any such food with him, and Pacience produces "a pece of *pater noster*" (C.XV.245-7). The *lyflode* that sustains us all proves to be *fiat uoluntas tua* (C.XV.249). In short, faith that God will, indeed, provide for terrestrial need is what shall "fynde vs alle" (C.XV.249).

Pacience's counsel from here becomes palpably apotreptic. Deploying an interlingual pun on *payne* as both *pain* (bread) and pain, Pacience remonstrates *Activa vita* to ignore suffering because patient men shall overcome all (C.XV.250-3). Provided that one be sober in one's participation with the world, one should not dare to desire any physical comfort or possession because God has determined death, and if one is lucky, that death will come quickly:

> By so that thou be sobre of syhte and of tonge,
> In ondynge and handlynge, in alle fiue wittes,
> Dar the nat car for no corn ne for cloth ne for drynke
> Ne deth drede ne deuel, deye as god liketh
> Whether thorw hunger or hete, at his wille be hit;
> For if thow lyvest aftur his lore the shorter lyf the betere:
> *Si quis amat Christum mundum non diligit istum*.'" (C.XV.254-9a)

Pacience's *sententia* is clear: the divine plan is that man is mortal; therefore, turning away from terrestrial concerns and focusing on salvation are best. Moreover, sufficiency is divinely ordained, and it is only the inability to restrain appetites that requires anyone need be concerned with such terrestrial concerns as subsistence: "'And yf lyuede as mesure wolde sholde neuere be defaute / Amonges cristene creatures, yf Cristes wordes be trewe: / *Dabo secundum peticionem tuam*'" (C.XV.270-1a). Importantly, "'as mesure wolde'" is a decidedly Stoic idea. This causes *Activa vita* to ask Consience, "'What is parfit pacience?'" (C.XV.272). Consience replies: "'Meeknesse and mylde speche and men of on will, / The whiche wil loue lat to our lordes place / And that is charite, chaumpion, chief of all vertues'" (C.XV.273-5). *Caritas*, the divine order in which all humankind lives together harmoniously, leads to heaven but begins with restraining the appetite.

We have now come full circle in our discussion of *Piers Plowman*, for the emphasis on eating that can effect salvation returns us to the discussion of the *cardinales virtues* from earlier in this chapter. By way of recapitulation, Grace gives Piers the seeds of the *cardinales virtues* to sow in the field he has plowed with the oxen of the evangelists (C.XXI.274-5); he harrows these seeds, removing all that is contrary to the faith (C.XXI.312); and they grow into the *cornes* of correct doctrine, which Piers collects into the structure Grace commands him to build (C.XXI.318). The grain stored up in the barn-as-Catholic-Church is key, for the combination of licit doctrine (the grain) and the structure of the Church come together in the communal celebration of the liturgy.

Catholic doctrine is clear that the liturgical purpose of the mass is the celebration of Eucharist as Christ's sacrifice. In this context, consequently, another passage in Passus XXI takes on deeper resonance with the Horatian pattern of licit versus illicit eating. As preparations are underway to fortify the barn into a castle in which to withstand the imminent assault upon the Church by the Antichrist, Consience declares, '"Cometh…ye cristene, and dyneth that haue labored lelly…. / Here is bred yblessed and godes body therunder'" (C.XXI.382-5). As Consience advises, the doctrinally correct consumption of the Eucharist restores mankind's spiritual health (C.XXI.388-95). The Feast of Corpus Christi, therefore, becomes the consummate example of licit consumption for the salvation of mankind, as the title of the celebratory antiphon whose text Aquinas wrote makes clear: *O, Sacrum Convivium*. Lastly, to return the discussion to Horace, I argue that the idea of life as a banquet from Horace's *Satire* I.1 structures the entire construction of consumption in *Piers Plowman*. At the end of the poem, Horace asserts: *Inde fit ut raro, qui se vixisse beatum / dicat et exacto contentus tempore vita / cedat uti conviva satur reperire queamus*.[27] The connection between the Horatian satire and *Piers Plowman* becomes even clearer in a passage from the B-Text: "For heuene myȝte nat holden it, [so heuy it semed] / Til it hadde of þe erþe [y]eten his fylle."[28] In *Piers Plowman*, Langland has adapted Horace's *Satires* and their construction of inappropriate

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[27] "Indeed how rare it has become we can find a man who would say that he has lived a contented life and, that time having been completed, should depart from life, satisfied, like a guest from a feast" (117-9).

[28] B.I.153-4, Skeat's 1886 edition.

consumption that proves deleterious to bodily integrity and mental equanimity to voice a caution to fourteenth-century Christians that the inability to restrain the appetite will ultimately harm the soul, as well. Indeed, the guest who quits the banquet of life *beatus* underscores the difference between Augustan Age Rome and Ricardian England: the guest in Horace who has moderately enjoyed the banquet departs contented, but the guest in *Piers Plowman* who has consumed in doctrinally correct ways departs blessed and saved.

Conclusions: Langland's *Ruminatio* and Horace's Patterns of Consumption

Jay Martin confidently asserted that "no evidence exists that [Langland] knew Horace" (535). To the contrary, this chapter has sought to demonstrate that he did, indeed, know the Horatian tradition firsthand and used it in *Piers Plowman*. The clearest and most persuasive evidence for this knowledge concerns the way that Langland constructs the discourse on consumption in his poem. Cannon asserts that the poem's ruminative structure derives from the traditional schoolroom praxis of "'making latins,'" in which the deft recombination of syntactical and lexical variation was central to grammatical pedagogy. Berg argues that a sequence of poems in the second book of Horace's *Satires* constructs a "dialog" that compares and contrasts patterns of consumption that prove either salubrious or deleterious to the body's health or the mind's quietude. My argument builds on both scholars to argue that Langland's ruminative process uses precisely this "dialog" in Horace's *Satires* to construct the discourse of consumption that offers hope for salvation in *Piers Plowman*. A meticulous

consideration of the peacock in Passus XIII and XIV and of a previously unidentified quote shows clearly both Langland's rhetorical practice and his use of the Horatian tradition. It is important to note that the entirety of the Horatian tradition informs his ruminative processes of composition: the Horatian corpus itself, the commentary tradition, and Geoffrey of Vinsaulf's *Poetria Nova*, which itself complicates the text/ paratext distinction *vis-à-vis* its relationship to the *Ars Poetica* itself. This analysis unsettles a tendency to regard Langland as an "undirected reader, one with distinctively crochety [sic] interests" for whom classical learning held little appeal (Hanna, *William Langland* 21). It also removes doubt about the level of educational sophistication implied by *scole* in C.V.36. What emerges instead is a poet powerfully in command of his poiesis, adapting the Horatian tradition to suit both Middle English prosody and fourteenth-century orthodoxy as he accommodates the *ethica* represented in the pagan poets within Catholic salvational discourse. In short, in *Piers Plowman* exists a concrete example of the "Englishing" of the Horatian tradition.

The role of satire itself in this poetic "Englishing" is significant. As both Minnis and Friis-Jensen have noted, satire required the least amount of hermeneutic maneuvering within the moralizing and didactic framework of the *accessus* tradition: when present for the *Satires* as a whole, the *intentio auctoris* is reliably *reprehendere humani generis vitiosam naturam* as Codex Bernensis 363 (f184v) established in the eighth century. Since satire reprehends certain behavior on the literal level, it required less accommodation and interpretation to bring it into compliance with Christian morality

than, for example, the *Odes*. As Reynolds astutely summarizes, "medieval commentators absorbed and assimilated the satirists' work without having to resort to allegorical and integumental analysis" ("*Orazio satiro*" 130). Indeed, a medieval glossator writing on Ovid asserts that Horace's satires *veraciter malos mores reprehendunt*.[29] The commentary of Pseudo-Acro exerted a profound influence over the medieval understanding of Horace's *Satires* (Reynolds, *Medieval Reading* 13). The epigraph at the beginning of this dissertation quotes lines from Canto IV of Dante's *Inferno*, where, later in the canto, Vergil identifies Horace as *Orazio satiro* (line 89). Friis-Jensen takes this as evidence that even for Dante, Horace was primarily a satirist ("The Reception" 304). Reynolds, however, has demonstrated that this identification of Horace as the preeminent satirical *auctor* is unparalleled even within Dante's own oeuvre ("*Orazio satiro*" 128-30). Consequently, what precisely Dante means in denominating Horace *satiro* is less straightforward than it appears at first glance. Reynolds ultimately concludes that in the context of the fourteenth century satire refers not to a genre or even strictly a mode but rather to a style, one marked by *humilis*, the "humble style" of Horace's *Satires* in contrast to *sublimis*, the elevated style ("*Orazio satiro*" 132). There is, consequently, a particular aptness in Langland's use of Horace's *Satires* as sources for the "humble style" whereby Langland is able to obscure the depths of his erudition through an inherently agrarian ethical landscape in which the plowman figures as the exemplar for the *vita activa*. This, in turn, finds its own apt parallel in the narratorial persona Horace creates of

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[29] Quoted in Reynolds, *Medieval Reading* (15). The adverb *veraciter*, here, serves to underscore effectively the more literal truths the *Satires* were believed to transmit in the Middle Ages.

the simple rustic who eschews the temptations of life in Augustan Age Rome to enjoy the beans and pork-larded greens of *Satires* II.7.63-4, thereby seeking to efface his own intellectual sophistication and political clout through his “ironic self-deprecation” (Larner 27).

CHAPTER FOUR

HORACE AND GOWER ON PATRONAGE AND RULERSHIP

The third chapter explored how William Langland used the *auctores* in the salvational schema of *Piers Plowman* to demonstrate how he made use of Horatian satire to structure a discourse of licit and illicit consumption. In it we saw an author who was eager to efface the erudition in his poem and its emphasis on agrarian imagery and *paciente pouerte*. What emerged was, in many respects, an exemplar of how the *accessus* tradition ought to function: Horace, like the other *auctores*, was safely contained within the confines of e*thice subponitur*, and the *sententiae* found there were turned to orthodox Christian statements. In this chapter, we turn to John Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, a poem that is the antithesis of *Piers Plowman* in many respects, not the least of which is the almost flamboyant erudition in the *auctores* visible in the Middle English poem and its Latinate *apparatus criticus*. As this chapter will demonstrate, Gower's use of the Horatian tradition is also scanter than Langland's; with a notable exception in the eighth book of the *Confessio Amantis*, Gower chiefly calls upon Horace to inflect the moral tone and timbre of his other source material to bring them into better conformity with his poetic project.

The *Confessio Amantis* is a complicated poem, and it is necessary here to analyze what, precisely, Gower's poetic project would seem to be, for there are tensions within it that not only structure and propel it forward but also threaten to undermine the poem's integrity. With respect to genre, the *Confessio Amantis* bears strong resemblance to late medieval *compilationes*. The increasing trust in textuality as a vehicle for conveying truth changed not only how manuscripts needed to function but how the *auctores* were accessed. As Minnis eruditely posited, "a more ratiocinative approach to *originalia* (the authentic texts of ancient authors, in their entirety) fostered the emergence of a range of research-aids designed to facilitate the retrieval of information" ("Late-Medieval Discussions" 385). From the thirteenth century onward, the appearance of indexing schemes evince this change within manuscripts themselves (Clanchy 179). The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries also saw the rise of new genres in the florilegium and *compilatio*, both of which presented *sententiae* extracted from the *auctores*. The key difference between florilegia and *compilationes*, however, comes down to the *mise-en-page* and *ordinatio* of the manuscript: a *compilatio* used an elaborate *appataus criticus* to ennable cross-referencing to present the extracted *sententiae* "in a convenient and predigested" format (Minnis, "Late-Medieval Discussions" 386-7). By the fourteenth century, these compilations acquired great prestige for their *compilators*, but the distinctions between *auctor*, *commentator*, *compilator*, and *scriptor* (415-6) held. *Compilatio*, consequently, introduces an intricacy *vis-à-vis auctoritas*, for *compilators* stressed that they sought only to "rehearse" (*recitare*) the *auctores* and their *auctoritas*

(Minnis, "Late-Medieval Discussions" 387). *Compilators* were clear that the *auctoritas* they were conveying was not their own; Vincent of Beauvais, in fact, termed himself an *actor* to retain the distinction (396). However, these authoritative *compilationes* began to circulate under the names of their *compilators*, whose own authority could be accommodated by the versatility of the *causa efficiens* of the Aristotelian *accessus*.

The *Confessio Amantis* bears many of the hallmarks of an authoritative *compilatio*. In the poem's 33,000 Middle English lines, Gower narrates 133 exempla; of these only fifteen come from the Vulgate, the rest coming from classical sources directly or medieval adaptations of classical literature (Kuczynski 170). Ovid is the *auctor* who provides most of the source material, with his *Metamorphoses* being the most common; however, to quote Bruce Harbert, Gower's "framework could not be more different from Ovid's" (86), so it is not the case that Gower is simply "rehearsing" Ovidian *sententiae* but rather adapting them to his own poetical and moralizing ends. The framework Gower does give to the *Confessio Amantis* draws on both the Boethian and penitential traditions as Genius consoles and shrives Amans, but it does so as an exhortation to effective kingship through the practice of largely Stoic virtue. Peter Nicholson argues that the framing narrative Gower gives to his Middle English poem is what gives this work richer resonance than either the *Vox Clamantis* or *Mirour de l'Omme*: according to him, the approach to morality and love in the *Confessio Amantis* is "an exploration rather than a mere set of assertions, a weighing of authorities, of precept against experience, and of moral and emotional truths together, with a genuine acknowledgment of the difficulties of

choice in the most complex of human experiences" (8). The framing narrative, in short, alters the moral weight of the *sententiae* included, so that it is more an adaptation than it is a straightforward compilation. In this chapter I will argue that the Horatian tradition plays a role in Gower's coloring of his source materials.

Gower also endows his Middle English poem with a Latin *apparatus criticus*, whose ostensible function is to stabilize signification within the moralizing framework as he "rehearses" the *sententia* of his *auctores*. This apparatus provides the *ordinatio* for the *Confessio Amantis* (Wetherbee, "Classical and Boethian" 182), indexing, cataloguing, and arranging the exempla into a cohesive narrative (Echard, "With Carmen's Help" 11). As both Alistair Minnis and Siân Echard have demonstrated, this apparatus relies heavily upon the language of the *accessu*s tradition to establish this textual *ordinatio*.[1] Rita Copeland, however, argues that the *Confessio Amantis* fully "exploit[s] academic discourse" through this apparatus to draw into high relief the very difference between Gower's source material and his exegetical intents (*Rhetoric* 203); Echard pushes this further to argue that Gower's framework in fact allows the stories to slip his moralizing intention and allow the reader (or hearer) of the *Confessio Amantis* to indulge in *delectatio* outside of *ethice subponitur*'s *cordon sanitaire.*[2] The status of this Latin *apparatus criticus* is itself the subject of scholarly debate. A. J. Burrow argues that the entirety of the Latin apparatus was composed by Gower and intended from the moment

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[1] Minnis, "Inglorious Glosses" 66-7: Echard, "With Carmen's Help" 9-11.

[2] 29. Irvin goes further to argue the Latin *apparatus criticus* serves to ensure that only the "noble auditor" could be capable of engaging with the *Confessio Amantis* (53-4).

of inception ("Sinning" 219). Richard Emmerson, however, hastens to remind us that the entirety of the *apparatus criticus* is not ubiquitous in the manuscript transmission of the poem ("Reading Gower" 157-64). The relationship between the vernacular poem and the Latin apparatus is fraught, with some scholars arguing that the Latin seeks to stabilize the Middle English and others that it introduces instability. What is certain, though, is that the poem's *apparatus criticus* results in a complicated use of the *auctores* Gower mined for his source material that allows him to triangulate between the established medieval roles of *compilator*, *commentator*, and *auctor*.

The uses and kinds of Latin in the *Confessio Amantis* bear a closer look for evidence of Gower's larger poetic project to allow us to glimpse the influence of the Horatian tradition over Gower's poetic project. In his seminal article "Gower's Latin in the *Confessio Amantis*," Derek Pearsall enumerates four distinct uses of Latin that he sees as "boxing" or encasing the poem to provide it with cohesion: the set of sixty-eight unrhymed Latin verses used to introduce the subsections; the prose commentary that seeks to explain how the tales function within the larger frame of the poem itself; the collection of tags to identify the speakers in the Middle English text; and the "final packaging" that includes the various colophons (13-24). To this Emmerson adds a fifth use of Latin, the rubrication that serves to index the poem ("Reading Gower" 152). The result of this complexity is that "competing authoritative voices" exist between and among these Latin uses within the poem and between the Latin and Middle English, and they resist facile resolution (Echard, "With Carmen's Help" 4-12). In fact, Wetherbee

reads the impasse between Venus and Amans, whose only resolution is the dissolving of the frame narrative as Venus departs the poem, as reflecting the impasse between Latin and the vernacular ("Classical and Boethian" 190). In short, the complexities and plurisignations in the *Confessio Amantis* begin with the *ordinatio* itself. These result in what Emmerson sees as three voices operative in the poem: the fictional discourse between Amans and Genius in the framing narrative, the "impersonal voice" of the Latin verses, and the prose commentary ("Reading Gower" 154), whose variation in textual attestation serve to underscore the hermeneutic complexity within the *Confessio Amantis*. In short, it is up to readers to negotiate the dialectic between and among these voices and languages and find the "middel wei" for themselves.

The *Confessio Amantis* includes two languages, Middle English and Latin; it uses the Latin in five different ways to shape the meaning of the poem. The poem exists in forty-nine extant manuscripts spread across three recensions (Peck vol.1, 36). Further multiplicity spreads throughout the themes of the poem. With respect to the Horatian tradition and its influence on the *Confessio Amantis*, the most important of these is the two attitudes toward the classical past the poem evinces. Wetherbee asserts that "Troy is in some sense the center, though by no means the stable center, of Gower's version of the world of classical legend" ("Gower and the Epic Past" 166). In this he is correct, but not in the way he may have intended, for as Lynn Shutters has argued, there are truly two foci around which Gower's use of the *auctores* orbits elliptically: Troy and Rome. In her schema, the two cities form the two poles of a dialectic through which Amans—and the

reader alongside him—may discern the "middel wei." Troy-World represents the excessive, libidinous, effete,and chaotic part of the ancient world (50); by extension, it signifies love as *cupiditas*. Rome-world, on the other hand, is virtuous, ethical, masculine, and ordered; it, then, conveys an exemplar of love as *caritas*. This, in turn, underscores the continuity between virtuous pagan culture and Christianity Gower seeks to inscribe within the *Confessio Amantis* (49). Consequently, the inculcation of secular ethics that Galloway sees as being Gower's poetic program ("Gower's *Confessio* 67) involves the judicious threshing of the wheat of the *auctores*, represented by the Rome-world, from the chaff, those exempla Gower presents as part of the Troy-world. Galloway posits that this secular ethics and its emphasis on virile virtue appealed broadly in fourteenth-century London (67). As Watt reminds us, not only was virtuous behavior gendered as masculine, the correct use of language is masculine (43). The Ricardian court fostered a brilliant literary culture that ostensibly emphasized sophistication of thought expressed with plainness of style (Burrow, *Ricardian Poetry* 28-30); the reality, however, often ran to excess, and Richard II and his court were often accused of effete refinement.[3] As we saw in the previous chapter, the fourteenth century lauded Horace as the exemplar of a sophisticated thought expressed in a humble style. Consequently, we are now in a place to explore how the "middel wei" Gower's *Confessio Amantis* seeks to

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[3] Watt 42-5. For an interesting discussion of Richard's innovation of the handkerchief and his adoption of it as his personal emblem, see Stow: the king's sartorial opulence and hygienic fastidiousness were frequently attacked as markers of his effeminacy.

construct draws on the Horatian tradition to offer his royal patron advise on the effective exercise of imperium in fourteenth century London.

Identifying and Misidentifying the Horatian Tradition in the *Confessio Amantis*

Before turning to explore Gower's use of the Horatian tradition, there are two passages in the *Confessio Amantis*, one in Middle English text itself and the other in the Latin *apparatus criticus*, that are misattributed to Horace. An examination of these is worthwhile for the evidence they bring to bear on how the Horace tradition functions within the *Confessio Amantis* in particular but also on how the fourteenth century understood Horace. The first of these occurs in Book 7, which as we shall see is a book where a reliance on Horace seems to suggest itself. In narrating the Tale of the Mountain and the Mouse, Genius says:

> "Orace to his prince tolde,
> That him were levere that he wolde
> Upon knihthode Achillem suie
> In time of werre, thanne eschuie,
> So as Tersites dede at Troie." (7.3581-5)

The Latin gloss to line 3581 reads "*Nota hic secundum Oracium de magnanimo Yacide et pusillanime Thersite*." Peck's note makes clear that the proper reference is to Juvenal, *Satires* 8.269ff, not Horace, but he also notes a corresponding error in Gower's *Mirour de l'Omme* (vol 3, 472, n.3581). The passage in the *Mirour de L'Omme* does, indeed, relate a similar sense but has Horace address the lines to his son, not his prince.[4] It is

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[4] "Dont dist Orace a son enfant, / 'Meulx wuil que toy soit engendrant / Tersites, maisque tu vaillant / Soie d'Achilles essamplé, / Qe si fuissetz filz Achillant / Et a Tersites resemblant / De la malvoise renomée'" (23370-6).

significant that this mistake should occur here in the *Confessio Amantis,* in an exemplum whose impetus would seem to be Horace's *Ars Poetica*: *parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus*.[5] The repetition of this misattribution across both of Gower's works cannot be accidental. My hypothesis is that Gower was working from a manuscript whose scholium included the material from Juvenal without citing the author. I have mounted a thorough but by no means exhaustive search through the more common commentaries for this line to no avail; however, as will be demonstrated below, in the discussion of the Gaius Fabricius in the seventh book of the *Confessio Amantis*, the manuscripts that transmit the Pseudoacronian commentary include quotations without always identifying the *auctor* with which Horace is being interpolated. It may well be, consequently, that in the manuscript Gower was using the interpolation was unidentified, and since it was in a manuscript of the Horatian tradition, to Gower's mind, "Orace…tolde" the *sententia*. Both the Middle English text and the Latin gloss to the passage in the *Confessio Amantis* present Achilles as an exemplar of martial valor in contrast with the lowly-born Thersites; the two passages in the Horatian corpus that seem most likely to be interpolated with Juvenal in this way are *Satires* II.3.187-204 and the *Ars Poetica* 119-22, as both celebrate

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[5] "Mountains will labor, and a risible mouse will be born" (139). Significantly, this is the only exemplum that can be argued to take its theme from Horace. Matthew of Vendôme quotes this passage in his broader discussion of faulty style to censure specifically disparities between beginning and ending (I.32); Gower's incorporation of the *sententia* into his exemplum of *knyhtlihiede* would to rule out Matthew of Vendôme as an intermediary.

Achilles's prowess in this way. Of course, Gower's overarching disposition towards poetry as a "civilizing and peaceable force" is indebted to the *Ars Poetica*.[6]

The second of these misattributions occurs in the Latin *apparatus criticus* to the Tale of Ulysses and Telegonus told by Genius as an exemplum against sorcery in Book 6's broader discussion of gluttony. Genius warns, "'Ther wot no man what scal befalle, / The happes over mannes hed / Ben honged with tendre thread'" (1511-3). The marginal gloss to line 1513 cites "Oracius. Omnia sunt hominum tenui pendencia filo," which as Peck notes comes from Ovid's *Epistulae Ex Ponto* IV.3.35. Some manuscripts of the Pseudoacronian scholia interpolate *Odes* II.3 with lines from Book X of *The Aeneid* that narrate the death of Lausus at the hands of Aeneas. Given the overlapping themes of Fortune's fickleness, it may be the case that the scholia in Gower's source-text introduced the misunderstanding. As for the passage in the previous paragraph, a thorough but not exhaustive search has not yielded demonstrable proof, so the hypothetical nature of my speculation must be underscored. Whatever the reason for Gower's misattributions to Horace might be, they nonetheless give indication of the way Gower uses the Horatian tradition to inflect the moral texture that holds together the tales told in the *Confessio Amantis*. In fact, The Tale of Telegonus helps to connect the feeding of the eyes (6.1522) and another part of the Horatian tradition, one that we saw operative in *Piers Plowman*. In fact, before Genius tells his first tale, Genius warns that visual stimuli present the greatest challenge to a man's ethical conduct: "'a mannes yhe ferst / Himselve grieveth

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[6] Irvin 71. For a more general discussion of Gower's debt to Vergil, Cicero, and Horace, see Yeager's *John Gower's Poetic* (35-8).

alther werst, / And many a time that he knoweth / Unto his oghne harm it groweth'" (1.325-8). Presented as an "'ensample touchende of mislok,'" the Tale of Acteon begins the discourse of licit vs illicit uses of sight in the *Confessio Amantis*, and the second tale told, that of Aspidis, introduces auditory sin.

This emphasis on visual and auditory ingestion into memory returns us the eighth book of Geoffrey of Vinsaulf's *Poetria Nova*. As discussed in greater length above, the *Poetria Nova* encouraged the licit consumption of knowledge gained through visual and auditory sensation by which the soul is nourished.[7] Amans ingests the *exempla* Genius narrates to him, and through the exercise of rational discretion, "the vertu tryeth from the vice" (7.42); this process is the last of the tripartite system of philosophy Genius presents. This active discernment is a necessary part of a good king's instruction, for the flattering, dissimulation, and backbiting common at court threaten to pervert the teleology of language: conveying truth. The danger of this linguistic perversion is that the "kinges yhe is blent" (7.2196). *Ethica*, as Friis-Jensen has asserted, is the entirety of the wisdom possessed by the *auctores*; consequently, it is the proper ingestion and digestion of these edifying ideals that feeds a king's moral constitution. In the words of Genius, *ethica* is:

> Practique stant upon three thinges
> Toward the governance of kinges;
> Whereof the first Etique is named,
> The whose science stant proclamed
> To teche of vertu thilke reule,
> Hou that a king himself schal reule
> Of his moral condicion

[7] See pages 130-31.

> With worthi dispocion
> Of good livinge in his persone,
> Which is the chief of his corone. (7.1649-58)

The king's moral *condicioun* is fed through the proper understanding of the *auctores* interpreted licitly within the *cordon sanitaire* of *ethice subponitur*. In light of this, the Horatian tradition as transmitted through Geoffrey of Vinsaulf, undergirds the entire *modus tractandi* and *intentio* of the *Confessio Amantis,* for as Genius imparts the wisdom contained within his *exempla* to Amans, Richard II ingests the same protreptic *sententia* through reading—or hearing read—the text of the poem.

We may now look at four passages that evince the role the Horatian corpus itself plays in the *Confessio Amantis*. The first of these loci occurs in the Prologue to the poem, which functions in many ways like an *accessus* to inform and control the meaning. The next two involve Gower's use of Horace to alter the moral tone and timbre of his sources to bring his narration more fully within the *intentio* of the *Confessio Amantis*. The last use of Horace occurs in poem's eighth book, where a Horatian ode structures the entirety of Gower's poem. Each of these loci is illustrative not just for showing Gower's poiesis but for showing the various paths of transmission for the Horatian tradition, for some may well come from florilegia while others indicate direct knowledge of the Horatian corpus and commentaries. To these passages we now turn.

In the Prologue to the Ricardian recension, Gower narrates a chance meeting with Richard II that occasioned the original commission of the *Confessio Amantis*:

> I thenke and have it understonde,

As it bifel upon a tyde,
As thing which scholde tho bityde,
Under the toun of newe Troye,
Which took of Brut his ferste joye,
In Temse whan it was flowende
As I by bote came rowende,
So as Fortune hir tyme sette,
My liege lord par chaunce I mette;
And so bifel, as I came neigh,
Out of my bot, whan he me seigh,
He bad me come into his barge.
And whan I was with him at large,
Amonges othre thinges seyde,
He hath this charge upon me leyde,
And bad me doo my busynesse
That to his hihe worthinesse
Some newe thing I scholde booke,
That he himself it mighte looke
After the forme of my writyng. (Prologue *34-53)

The passage establishes many of the themes that the remaining 33,000 lines of the poem will explore: poetic inspiration and composition, a literary coterie at the court, rulership, historicity, the role of Fortune, duty, and, most of all, royal patronage. This meeting, Gower disclaims, provided his impetus "To make a book after his heste, / And write in such a maner wise, / Which may be wisdom to the wise" (Prologue *82-5). There is no reason to doubt that there is a historical kernel of fact to this. However, such statements do much to elide the rhetorical artfulness in Gower's narration of this actual experience, for as Frank Grady has rightly asserted, what the passage "gives us is a literary device, a

scene that is not so much recollected as staged."[8] Grady builds upon Ann Astell's work to argue that Gower's source is the second book of Ovid's *Fasti* and the story of Arion narrated there, a work the poet certainly knew well and exploited at various points throughout the *Confessio Amantis* and invokes specifically at the end of the Prologue. This identification of this passage in the *Fasti* for the encounter on Richard's royal barge, however, is problematic. Two inconsistencies in particular stand out. First, the boat in question in the *Fasti* is a pirate ship, and Arion is abducted by "a crew armed with guilty weapons" *(armata conscia turba manu*, Ovid *Fasti* II.100); it is unlikely that Gower would want to yoke his royal commission with piracy, certainly during the point of composition for the Ricardian recension of the poem. Second, Arion, as a Dionysiac poet, introduces a libertine element dissonant with a poem that purports to be "betwene ernest and game" (8.3109). Consequently, the *Fasti* cannot be the source text for the royal commission that occasioned the *Confessio Amantis*.

It is my argument that a sequence of *sententialiter* reminiscences of the initial three poems of the first book of Horace's *Odes* may provide the timbre and rhetorical force of the passage in which Gower narrates Richard's commissioning of the *Confessio Amantis* and for the remainder of the poem. *Odes* I.1, addressed to Maecenas, contributes the idea of patronage as well as a "cyprian barge" (*trabe Cypria*, line 13) and a "hesitant

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[8] (5). Brian Gastle offers a compelling argument about the mercantilism of the passage effectively placing Gower "himself as poet, apart from the confines of London and yet able to comment upon various political and social" matters (183). Gastle's depiction of Gower's relationship to London adds further resonance to Horace's own literary persona and its presentation of someone both privy to the operations of the imperial court and yet removed enough to critique it.

soldier" (*pavidus nauta*, line 14) who must choose between remaining in his current secure if mundane existence or seeking his greater fortune aboard ship. The ode also introduces a theme of poetic inspiration. A celebration of Augustus and his Rome, *Odes* I.2 invokes the Tiber, and given the invocation of the Brutus myth in the passage, it does not seem much of a leap to see a parallel between Rome, the Tiber, Horace, and Augustus on the one hand and London, the Thames, Gower, and Richard II on the other. *Odes* I.2 also introduces the idea of a perpetual decline from generation to generation (lines 21-4) that resonates with Gower's "The world empeireth every day" (Prologue.833) as well as an emphasis on the expiation of sin (*scelus expiandi*, line 29) that parallels, albeit imperfectly, the emphasis on shriving in the *Confessio Amantis*. The establishment of a literary coterie under court patronage is implied by the fact that Gower is invited to linger aboard the royal vessel to discuss his *busynesse*, which is, of course, his writing (Prologue.*48-53); this is paralleled in the Horatian ode being addressed to Vergil as he set sail. Also in *Odes* I.3, Horace invokes Prometheus, the "audacious son of Iapetus" who "brought fire to the nations" (*audax Iapeti genus / ignem ... gentibus intulit*, lines 27-8) in a mythos commonly interpreted as a sin of pride; I argue that this finds an analogous expression in Gower's "The vein honour was noght desired / Which hath the proude herte fyred" (Prologue.221-2).

The overarching lack of virtuous conduct in the Horatian ode resonates with the structure of the *Confessio Amantis* and its focus on avoiding the deadly sins through virtue and reason. Although these analogues and parallels between Horace and Gower

might seem tendentious at this point, further analysis of the *Confessio Amantis* will increase the likeliness that Gower not only knew the Horatian tradition but deployed it to shape the overall ethical timbre of his largely Ovidian poem. If Gower's "emplotment," to use Hayden White's term, of his receiving the royal commission does, in fact, owe any debt to the Horatian tradition, here that knowledge of Horace is likely to have come by way of a florilegium of some sort. As Lapidge has asserted, the *Florilegium Gallicum* was the richest of these for the *auctores* (Lapidge, "Stoic Inheritance" 94). The manuscripts that transmit this florilegium are varied in their contents, however. With respect to the Horatian corpus, of the fifteen manuscripts on which Rosemary Burton based her edition, only seven include material from the *Odes*, and none of these produces precisely the correct assemblage of passages from *Odes* I.1-3; nonetheless, all seven of these present these first poems from Book I of Horace's *Odes* as describing his "usual habit for all of them" (*unumquemque ... sua consuetudo*) and these odes in such a way as to bring to the fore the ideas of fortune, duty, patronage, and poetic composition (274-6). Consequently, it may be the case that Ovid's telling of the Arion establishes the overall narratorial *topos* but that *Odes* I.1-3 provide the moral tone and timbre.

A similar example of Gower coloring an *auctor* with Horatian material may well occur in the discussion of gluttony in his narration of the tale of Jupiter and the Two Casks in the sixth book of the *Confessio Amantis* (325-98). The source for this is Boethius (*Consolatio Philosophiae* II.pros.2). The immediate context in the *Consolatio* is a lamentation for fortune's ability to overthrow happy kingdoms (*felicia regna*) with an

indiscriminate blow (*indiscreto ictu*, line 39). Philosophia then asks if he did not learn as a youth that two jars, one containing the world's goods and the other its evils, stand upon Jupiter's threshold.[9] Gower does not use the term evil for the second jar; its contents are "'bitre as the galle'" (6.341). Moreover, the passage in Boethius is not presented as an admonition on gluttony at all, as it emphatically is in the *Confessio Amantis*; in the *Consolation Philosophiae*, the two jars are straightforwardly the evil and good present in the world that Fortune pours out for humankind at her whim. Genius asserts the contents of this second jar "makth a mannes herte palle, / Whos drunkeschipe is a sieknesse / Thurgh fielinge of the biternesse'" (6.342-4). Gower is clearly here adapting a Boethian *sententia* about the need for fortitude into an admonition against running toward excessiveness *vis-à-vis drunkeschipe*. Consequently, I think we may here have some cross-fertilization of Horace's *Satires* II.7 and the slave Davus's warning that "feasts sought without end clearly become bitter" (*Nempe inamarescunt epulae sine fine petitae* 107). This is a line with wide attestation in the florilegia. Horace's *Satires* II.7.107 may also color the discussion of the enslavement of the mind (*witt*) by an undisciplined will focused on terrestrial and corporeal pleasure that occurs in the tale of Diogenes and Alexander narrated in Genius's disquisition on wrath (3.1279-92).

The seventh book of the *Confessio Amantis* concerns itself with the pedagogical and moral training necessary for an effective king; consequently, its centrality to the

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[9] *Nonne adulescentulus δύο τοὺς πίθους, τὸν μὲν ἕνα κακῶν, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον καλῶν in Iovis limine iacere didicisti;* "As a youth did you not learn that two jars, one full of good things and the other full of evil, stand upon Jove's threshold?"

overall structure of the poem cannot be overstated. As Copeland has asserted, "the poem is about wisdom and ethics, and book 7, as a *divisio* [*textus*] of knowledge with special reference to the place of ethics in that system, is a guide to the structure of the *Confessio amantis* as a whole" (*Rhetoric* 211). There are two key debts to the Horatian tradition that I find worth fuller consideration. The first of these involves Gower's narration of Gaius Fabricius (Luscinus), the noted Republican Roman censor and statesman and commander who developed into an exemplar of Roman Stoic virtue and martial valor and placed by Dante in Purgatory (*Purgatorio* XX.24-7). Gower's version conflates Fabricius's career into just his consulship, identifying him as the man "Be whom the lawes yede and come" (7.2786). This, in turn, allows Gower to recontextualize the "somme of gold" (6.2788) offered by the Samnites during battle into a bribe that threatens the exercise of the legal system, and the Latin marginal apparatus attached to this line makes clear that the new context is that of uncorrupted judges (*incorruptis iudicibus*). Gower identifies his source as a *cronique* (7.2783), but the ultimate sources seem to me to be Cicero's *De Officiis* and Horace's *Odes* I.12. As with Boethius and the tale of Jupiter and the wine cars, the Horatian tradition is used to change the inflection of the primary narrative source material. The relevant Ciceronian passages provide the plot details: *De Officiis* 3.87-8 establishes that the battle was between Rome and King Pyrrhus and that a member of the Samnite army offered a bribe to Fabricius in a plot to poison the leader; Fabricius, however, refused the money, returned the recalcitrant Samnite soldier back to his camp, and received praise from the Roman senate. *De Officiis* 3.16-7 casts

Fabricius as the exemplar of one who chooses rectitude over expediency not because of extraordinary wisdom but because moral goodness is innate.

What Cicero cannot account for in Gower's setting of the tale, however, is what gives the tale of Gaius Fabricius much of its moralized value: the emphasis on justice, lawfulness, and poverty. The Horatian ode itself establishes the theme of poverty (43), but the Pseudoacronian commentary pulls the parallels more fully into perspective. It establishes that Fabricius was "not able to be corrupted" (*corrumpi potuit*) despite being offered a "great price" (*magnis praemiis*) (58); here we find a source not only the Latin marginal apparatus's *incorruptis iudicibus* but also, possibly, the "lucre of such richesse" (7.2817) that Fabricius refuses to permit to pervert justice. The Pseudoacronian commentary also includes a quote from Lucan's *Pharsalia*: *quo te Fabricius regi non uendidit auro* (58); however, it is important to note that not every manuscript identifies the source of the quotation as Keller's edition does. It may fairly be the case that Gower thought of the line as being Horatian, and certainly it can be seen to inflect the moral and ethical weight of the tale as told in the *Confessio Amantis*. Lastly, *Ode* I.12 may even inform the overall process of Gower's tale-telling, for the idea of virtuous men being immortalized in poetry occupies the first twelve lines of the ode:

> Quem virum aut heroa lyra vel acri
> tibia sumis celebrare, Clio?
> quem deum? cuius recinet iocosa
> nomen imago
> aut in umbrosis Heliconis oris
> aut super Pindo gelidove in Haemo
> unde vocalem temere insecutae

Orphea silvae
arte materna rapidos morantem
fluminum lapsus celerisque ventos,
blandum et auritas fidibus canoris
ducere quercus.[10]

A further instance of Gower's use of Horace's *Odes* sheds further light on the ruminative poiesis at work in the *Confessio Amantis*. Gower introduces King Solomon as an exemplar of "what thing of most necessité / Unto a worthi king belongeth'" (7.3892-3): wisdom. God grants Solomon "o thing" asked of Him (7.3895-7), to which Solomon responds, "'O King, e whom that I scal regne, / Gif me wisdom, that I my regne, / Forth with Thi poeple which I have, / To Thin honour mai kepe and save'" (7.3901-4). Gower here not only establishes the need for a wise ruler but also recuperates Old Testament sacral kingship into something wholly resonant with Richard II's ever increasingly forceful assertions of the royal prerogative and its implication that the king served by divine will (Saul 438-9). While acknowledging the primary legitimacy of this political doctrine, Gower cautions that a king's need for "conseil … / Fulfild of trouthe and rihtwisnesse" (7.3916-7) is a counterweight to absolutism and the tyranny of which Richard II would ultimately be accused and adjudged guilty, leading to his deposition. Indeed, wise governance requires "'Between the reddour and pité / A king scal do such equité / And sette the balance in

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[10] "Which man or hero do you choose to celebrate with your lyre or shrill flute? Which god? Whose name will resound in echo either upon the shaded Heliconian hills or above the summit of Pindo on frigid Haemus, whence the hasty forests followed Orpheus's voice, that restrained the swift rivers and rushing breezes by means of the maternal art, [and] drew the attentive oaks with his bewitching song."

evene'" (7.3919-21), and it is precisely this need for balance that wise counsel helps to ensure.[11] From such rulership come *richesse*, *hele*, *pes*, and *hih noblesse* (7.3909-10). Conversely, a king lacking in wisdom and virtue guarantees that his people will suffer:

> "Wher that a king himself is good
> It helpeth, for in other weie
> If so be that a king forsueie,
> Fulofte er this it hath be sein,
> The comun people is overlein
> And hath the kinges senne aboght,
> Although the poeple agulte noght." (7.3926-32)

Gower's admonition here is clear: a king who refuses to live and rule wisely costs his people dearly.

The Latin marginal gloss to line 3928 from the *apparatus criticus* not only underscores this point with a further exemplum drawn from classical history but connects this passage to Horace. The gloss reads "Quicquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achiui. [In respect to whatever thing kings rave about, the Achaeans are punished]." Peck cites Horace's *Odes* III.3 as the source for this (474, n.3928). This ode brings into fuller focus the theme of the Middle English passage but also gives further moral weight to it. The poem opens with a discussion of personal integrity and its relationship to governance:

> Iustum et tenacem propositi virum
> non civium ardor prava iubentium,
> non vultus instantis tyrrani
> mente quatit solida neque Auster,
> dux inquieti turbidus Hadriae,

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[11] As Elliot Kendall points out, the aristocracy's entire *raison d'être* was to advise the monarch (157).

nec fulminantis magna manus Iovis.[12]

A man—and it is important to note that the *sententia* here is explicitly gendered—possessed of a just and tranquil mind can govern himself well despite any terrestrial vicissitude occasioned by a fickle populace, tyrant, or condition. From here the ode turns to discuss the destruction of Troy occasioned by the combination of the fatal and sinful judgment (*fatalis incestusque iudex*, line 19) of Paris and Juno's divine vengeance as repayment (*mercede*, line 22) against the fraudulent leader (*duce fraudulento*, line 24) of Troy. The ode here yokes together the ideas of the consequence of faulty judgment, divine vengeance, and the price of bad leadership. What follows in the Horatian ode is the consequences of these things: the destruction of a dynastic line and a kingdom: *nec Priami domus / periura pugnaces Achivos / Hectoreis opibus refringit*.[13] It is to these lines that, as Peck asserts, the Latin gloss to 6.3928 of the *Confessio Amantis* refers. This rhetorical maneuver allows Gower to introduce into his narration of Solomon's wisdom the threat of dynastic collapse through divine displeasure by way of a classical allusion; it also effectively yokes the Old Testament's sapiential tradition, as represented by Solomon in his role as scriptural *auctor*, to the Horatian tradition. The Horatian tradition that transmitted *Odes* III.3 to the fourteenth century effectively returns us to Gaius Fabricius: Pseudoacro glosses the *aurum spernere* of *Odes* III.3.50 with *parvoque potentem*

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[12] "The ardor of the citizens. demanding depraved things, does not agitate the just and steadfast man, nor does the face of the importunate tyrant disturb the man with a firm mind nor Auster, the windy commander of the disquieted Adriatic, nor the great hand of lightning-throwing Jove." (*Odes* III.3.1-6).

[13] "Nor does the perjured House of Priam repulse the Achaean warriors with Hectorian resources" (26-8).

Fabricium (226). It seems likely to me that whatever manuscript of Horace Gower was using—and I do think it is clear that Gower is directly using a manuscript that transmits the Horatian corpus itself and not just an epitome collected into florilegia—contained a scholium that drew on Pseudoacro; consequently, the discussion in Book 7 of Solomon and that of Gaius Fabricius earlier in the same book of the *Confessio Amantis* shows how Gower's meditation on effective rulership moves by way of a ruminative process that uses the Horatian tradition to inflect the moralizing timbre of his exempla. It is also worth noting that Paris BnF MS Lat. 17897 gives a title to the poem that stresses political and regnal concerns: "Ad Musas de Augusto" (f.31r). Horace's *Odes* III.3, however, does introduce a tension into the *Confessio Amantis*. You will remember that the Prologue to the Ricardian recension called London "newe Troye" (*37). Horace introduces an admonition in *Odes* III.3: *hac lege dico, ne nimium pii / rebusque fidentes avitae / tecta velint reparare Troiae*.[14] Ironically, just such dynastic failure came to Gower's "newe Troye" in the end of Richard II's reign and with it, the fall of the House of Plantagenet.

The context is now established for analysis of the last of the passages from the *Confessio Amantis* that evince a reliance on the Horatian tradition, one that takes us to the final book of the poem. Andrea Schutz has argued that two central metaphors together structure the *Confessio Amantis*: "sight as perception and the book as mirror" (107). In her schema, a dialectic between two pairs of myths construct a discourse about licit and illicit seeing and their relationship to self-awareness. She asserts that the Acteon myth

[14] "I speak by this law: that they, trusting too excessively their piety, should not wish to rebuild their ancestral roofs and affairs of State at Troy" (58-60).

discusses accidental *mislok* to offer an admonition through the poem as a metaphorical mirror to Amans and to the reader (112). In the Medusa myth, Schutz interprets Perseus as the exemplar of masculine, martial circumspection and perceptive understanding for Amans and the reader (113-4). Drawing on the entirety of the Ovidian tradition in Gower's deft control, these two tales together construct a discourse of perspicuity that seek to raise awareness for both Amans and the reader that these exempla present fractal images of the "divided self" and not characters with whom one simply identifies or not entirely; the book-as-mirror forces both Amans and the reader to interrogate more fully and deeply what consciously unacknowledged and potentially illicit impulses undergird one's ethical disposition and behavior (114). Schutz reads in Amans's response to the exemplary Perseus, "his ideal reflection," the beginnings of a shift in self-awareness (115). In Schutz's schema, the tale of the Trump of Death functions to introduce a king who understands the place of old age and death in the natural span of human life and chooses, therefore, humility over arrogance through reason (117). The Narcissus myth, in turn, she reads as presenting a distorted self-awareness (121). In both the *Metamorphoses* and the *Ovidius Moralizatus*, what is reflected back to Narcissus is his own face, a paragon of masculine pulchritude[15]; in Gower's narration, conversely, it is a nymph, an image of idealized feminine beauty, that Narcissus sees reflected, which introduces into the *Confessio Amantis* an admonition about effeminacy as well as non-reproductive sexuality (119). Consequently, the parallels between Narcissus and Amans

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[15] *Se cupit imprudens*: "the imprudent one desires himself" (*Metamorphoses* III.425).

are striking: "both are self-absorbed, boringly fixated on their unhappy love affairs, and oblivious to the world around them" (118). For Schutz, the mirror Venus gives to Amans at the end of the *Confessio Amanti*s enables true self-awareness. It is important to note, too, that there is also a metapoetic quality to mirroring in the poem, for as Kurt Olsson has noted, the Prologue asserts that Gower will present "a 'Mirour of ensamplerie' between 'the men and the godhiede'" (240).

In the final book of the *Confessio Amantis*, the narratorial frames and personae begin to collapse as the boundaries between Genius, as a late medieval ancestor of the Freudian super-ego, and Amans, as the ego within the same medieval consciousness, dissolve; Amans uses an analogy between the heart and heel of the same body to encapsulate his suffering:

> "The fielinge of a mannes hiele
> Mai noght be likned to the herte:
> I mai noght, though I wolde, asterte,
> And ye be fre from all the peine
> Of love, whereof I me pleigne." (8.2154-8)

Genius disappears from the narrative at this point, only to return long enough to fulfill his role as shriver.[16] Indeed, Amans addresses the reader directly, furthering the narrative prolapse, as he draws out the distinction between his own rational understanding ("Mi resoun understood him wel") and unresolved will ("Mi will hath nothing set thereby") (8.2189-94). Amans reports that Genius advised him to commit these unresolved feelings

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[16] This occurs in four lines (8.2894-7), and Genius is identified only within the text as *prest*; the lack of a Latin marginal notation for speaker of this utterance serves to underscore that the separateness of Genius and Amans has fallen away, as Genius returns only on a more literal level in the narrative to effect the confession.

to epistolary form; histrionically, Amans writes to Venus and Cupid "with the teres of [his] ye / In stede of enke" (8.2212-3), and Genius bears the lacrimal epistle "unto the queene" Venus (8.2209). He cries out, "O, thou Cupide, god of loves lawe, / That with thi dart brennende hast set afyre / Min herte, do that wounde be withdrawe, / Or gif me salve such as I desire" (8.2287-90). Venus appears and asks of Amans his name, to which he replies, "'John Gower'" (8.2321), eroding narratorial distinction between Amans and the John Gower who exists within the fictive world of the *Confessio Amantis*. With Pythic ambiguity, Venus assures him his heart, enflamed with love from Cupid's burning dart, "'shalt ben esed er [he] go'" (8.2359) but trenchantly warns that her own powers are not for sick, old men who ought to obey reason according to *loves kinde* (8.2367-71). She then advises Gower/Amans that the amorous arts and grey-haired senescence are mutually incompatible:

> "For loves lust and lockes hore
> In chambre acorden nevermore,
> And though thou feigne a yonge corage,
> It scheweth wel be the visage
> That olde grisel is no fole." (8.2404-7)

Gower's language here places emphasis on the grey hair (*lockes hore*), the face (*visage*), and the stark difference between self-misperception and reality. Her admonition also cautions Amans/Gower that a *beau retret* is better than ignominious defeat on the amatory battlefield (8.2416) and that a mindfulness of the distinction between past and present is a crucial perspective before she tells him bluntly, "'Remembre wel hou thou art old'" (8.2439).

Overcome with sorrow, Amans/Gower swoons and falls to the ground, "ne fully quik ne fully ded" (8.2440-51). In this liminal state of consciousness, the mind of Amans/Gower conjures a parade of many of the characters from the literary exemplars presents in two processions: first, young lovers led by "Youthe, which in special / Of loves court was mareschal" (8.2661-2), and a second band of mature lovers led by Elde (8.2665-8). Included in this senescent troop are Vergil, Ovid, David, Solomon, Aristotle, and Plato: in short, here are the auctores, whose task it is to impart moral virtue, and it is these "olde men" who pray that Venus may exercise pity upon Amans/Gower (8.2689-737). Cupid, who "may hurte and hele," returns with Venus. Gower's language here underscores the ambiguity of libidinous love, whose natural telos ensures the propagation of the species, but whose excesses are the antithesis of salutary. In a scene that borders upon the bathetic, the blind deity of love—having been moved to pity by the prayer of the *auctores*—gracelessly fumbles about the half-dead body of Amans/Gower, supine upon the floor, and searches for the fiery dart through the heart of Amans/Gower at the beginning of the *Confessio Amantis* (8.2794-99). Cupid having extracted the burning dart, Venus applies a cooling *oignement* to the wound itself, his temples (presumably as the seat of the logical faculty), and his kidneys (associated with the penis as early as Galen and as Peck's note to line 2819 makes clear, identified with the production of semen by Bartholomaeus) (8.2814-9); Venus has not only cooled the wound itself but the corporeal seat of libidinous desire and the mind, as well. Galenic Humoralism posited that the naturally sanguine (warm and moist) masculine body cooled

and dried over the course of a lifespan (Billing 70). Consequently, Venus's application of her cooling ointment to the body of Amans/Gower can fairly be read as her effecting the requisite corporeal transformation. Venus then gives him a mirror and bids him to behold in it his own likeness (8.2820-3). Amans/Gower sees reflected back the *olde grisel visage* that Venus warned him earlier had no place at her court:

> Wherinne anon myn hertes yhe
> I caste, and sih my colour fade,
> Myn yhen dymme and al unglade,
> Mi chiekes thinne, and al my face
> With elde I myhte se deface,
> So riveled and so wo besein,
> That there was nothing full ne plein,
> I syh also myn heres hore. (8.2824-31)

The details here are significant. The color fades and departs from his gaunter cheeks. His face is wrinkled and shriveled (*rivel* conveying both senses), and his eyes dim and become sorrowful. Lastly, especial attention is drawn to his hair, which is now grey.

Gower's rhetorical move here, I argue, relies upon the Horatian tradition, specifically *Odes* IV.10. The poem is sufficiently brief and resonant with the passage from the *Confessio Amantis* to justify quotation in full:

> O crudelis adhuc et Veneris muneribus potens,
> insperata tuae cum veniet bruma superbiae,
> et, quae nunc umeris involitant, deciderint comae,
> nunc et qui color est puniceae flore prior rosae,
> mutatus, Ligurine, in faciem verterit hispidam,
> dices, "heu" quotiens te speculo videris alterum,
> "quae mens est hodie, cur eadem non puero fuit,

vel cur his animis incolumes non redeunt genae?"[17]

In this Horatian ode, we have a general parallel for a visage defaced by age (*Confessio Amantis* 8.2827-8). The details, however, are even more telling. Gower's *chiekes thinne* are the natural antithesis to Horace's *incolumes genae*. Both passages emphasize the loss of color: the faded color of Amans/Gower again being the senescent opposite to Ligurinus's rose-rivaling flush. Both passages place heavy emphasis on hair, and Gower's *heres hore* is a literal translation of the Horatian *bruma*. The scholium attached to this ode in MS Paris BnF Lat. 17897 makes the implications here even more explicit: Pe(n)itebit te huius facti p(rae)se(n)tis tu(n)c sc(ilicet) c(um) pilosus erit turpior q(uo) modo.[18] The *grisel* face unwelcome at Venus's court (8.2407) is a literal rendering of Horace's *hispidam faciem*. In short, Gower has composed in the *Confessio Amantis* Horace's "altered face" (the *faciem alterum*), making his Amans/Gower the antipode to the Horatian Ligurinus.[19] In a poem where Ovidian metamorphosis features prominently

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[17] "Oh, Ligurinus, you who are cruel and still powerful with respect to the gifts of Venus, when the unhoped-for winter-white plumage swill have overcome your arrogance and the hair that flutters now across your shoulders will have fallen dead and that color which [now] is before even the vibrantly red rose will have been transformed and changed into a grizzled face, you will say, when you see your altered [face] in the mirror, 'alas, what mind today is [to me], why did I not as a boy have the same [mind], or why do those fresh cheeks not return for these souls?'" *Odes* IV. 10. It is worth noting, too, the fact that the fourth book of the *Odes* was commissioned by Augustus himself, furthering the connection with royal patronage between Horace and Gower.

[18] "You will regret this present deed, then, that is to say, when your hair will be uglier than it is now" (fol.46v).

[19] Horace's *Ode* II.9 builds upon wintry language and old age as he counsels the mourning Valgius to "desist finally his unmanly complaints" (desine mollium / tandem querelarum, lines 17-8). It is a tantalizing parallel, but I do not think there are sufficient similarities to argue for *Ode* II.9 functioning intertextually in the *Confessio Amantis*.

in the exempla, the framing narrative, on the other hand, presents a transformation that is Amans's seeing himself "as he really is" (Olsson 235).

Gower's adaptation of Horace's *Odes* IV.10 takes on a deeper resonance when we consider the *Confessio Amantis* in the context of the realpolitik of Richard II's court. Despite being complicated by a recension history that parallels and in some ways responds to political changes in the final two decades of the fourteenth century, the inception of the *Confessio Amantis*, as Emmerson reminds us, is Ricardian ("Reading Gower" 171-2). If as I argued earlier in this chapter Gower's narration of his meeting with Richard II on the royal barge on the Thames adapts Horace's *Odes* I.3, thereby highlighting the parallels Gower's poiesis seeks to construct between Augustan Rome and Ricardian London, a similar parallel between Ligurinus and Robert de Vere, ninth Earl of Oxford. A *mignon* of Richard, he was named Marquess of Dublin in 1385 at the age of twenty three, and elevated to the Duke of Ireland in the following year (Watt 45-6). Although the word *mignon* conveys a semantic range that polysemously conveys everything from lover and favorite to henchman and is difficult to pin down with precision, the Benedictine monk and chronicler Thomas Walsingham unambiguously asserted that the relationship between de Vere and Richard was homosexual; of course, given Walsingham's overt anti-Lancastrian bias and the catch-all nature of the charge of sodomy in medieval polemics, the characterization of the *Historia Anglicana* must be taken with the proverbial grain of salt. Whether "baseless" or not, rumor about this relationship, nonetheless, circulated with vigor (Saul 121). Moreover, by the inception of

the *Confessio Amantis* in 1386, Richard had been married to Anne of Bohemia for four years without producing children, let alone an heir.[20]

The poem explores two great themes: social order on earth as a reflection of the divine plan and an emphasis on procreative sexuality within the strictures of sacramental marriage. A king insufficiently schooled in masculine martial virtue threatened both of these, and Horace forms the substrate of the mirror Gower ostensibly holds up to himself in the *Confessio Amantis*; in light the dedicatory material in the *apparatus criticus* and the royal commission narrated in the Prologue, however, Gower can easily be seen to invite the young king to behold himself. Consequently, through Gower's adaptation of Horace's *Odes* IV.10, the *alterum faciem* the youthful king sees reflected back to himself is a powerful if subtle admonition about his duty to produce an heir through the strictly licit sexuality permissible to a married man before it is too late. In Schutz's schema, Gower draws heavily upon the Ovidian tradition to present the Narcissus mythos as an exemplum about distorted self-awareness that threatens productive, masculine sexuality (121); the four myths she analyzes do, indeed, admonish Amans and the reader about old age, death, humility, distorted self awareness, effeminacy, and non-procreative sexuality. The Henrician recension explicitly states that a good king must rule his own passions[21]; it is not difficult to imagine the disastrous disappointments of Richard II's reign as

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[20] Mann, in fact, reads "may a Prince well conceive" (*Confessio Amantis* 8.2841) as evincing precisely this concern (45-6).

[21] "For if a kyng wol justifie / His lond and hem that beth withynne, / First at hymself he mot begynne, / To kepe and reule his owne astat" (8.3080-3).

motivating this revision. In narrating his presentation of true self-awareness, Gower deftly adapts the Horatian tradition to counsel the king on his sexual duties to his realm; Ovid may provide the *fabulae* for what McKinley has so aptly called the "ethical metamorphosis" in the *Confessio Amantis* (108), but Horace provides the poem's moral timbre and structure. In light of the fact that Gower originally dedicated his poem to Richard II, it is easy to read these admonitions as being addressed not just to Amans but to the youthful king himself. Consequently, between Narcissus and Ligurinus, Gower offers a further warning to the king through another Horatian *sententia*: *mutato nomine, de te fabula narratur*.[22]

Conclusions: Correcting a King, Establishing a Poet

This chapter has sought to establish what role the Horatian tradition may have played in the moral counsel Gower sought to provide to his king through the *Confessio Amantis*. I have argued that Gower uses the Horatian tradition to inflect the tone and timbre of his other source material to admonish Richard II on the proper exercise of virtue. These subtle criticisms on ethical conduct and procreative sexuality provide counterweights to two of the criticisms most commonly laid against the Ricardian court: an culture whose excesses bordered upon the effete and a king whose relationship with Robert de Vere caused anxiety *vis-à-vis* dynastic succession. The *Confessio Amantis* marks a different relationship of the vernacular to *auctoritas* as well as a shift in the use of the *auctores* as a whole. Although Gower claims that he has written "not as an *auctor*"

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[22] "The name having been changed, the fable is told about you" (*Satires* I.1.69-70).

(*ut auctor ego non scripsi* 7.1445), the *Confessio Amantis* evinces a problematic relationship between its Latin *apparatus criticus* and Middle English text, for in the concluding epistle, Gower is termed *satirus…sive Poeta*.[23] The status claimed for Gower by this epistle far transcends the prestige normally allowed a mere *versificator*, the status normally allotted to a vernacular poet (Copeland, "Medieval Poetics" 854). Instead, the epistle endows Gower with a status akin to that of Horace and even praises him for the same humble style.[24] In the *Confessio Amantis* is also visible the transition from aural, communal reading practices, for as Emmerson argues, changes in Latin apparatus mark a shift toward private reading ("Reading Gower" 177). Lastly, the inability of the *Confessio Amantis* to remain fully contained by its moralizing framework, as Echard argues, suggests the distinct possibility that Gower's reading of the *auctores* had escaped the strictures imposed by *ethice subponitur* to become a form of *delectatio* ("With Carmen's Help" 29). About this, however, Gower may have felt some ambiguity: as the example of his narration of the Iphis tale evinces, Gower leaves the more morally polysemous material to the Latin, thereby seeking to move the evidence of this "reading for pleasure" back into the Latin *apparatus criticus*.

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[23] P. 228, vol 1 of Peck's edition.

[24] See p. 140, above for Suzanne Reynolds's argument about Horace's term *Oracio satiro*.

CHAPTER FIVE

GOING OFF-SCRIPT: CHAUCER'S COMPLICATED USE OF THE HORATIAN TRADITION

The previous chapter argued that John Gower used the Horatian tradition in the *Confessio Amantis* into two key ways: first, to alter the ethical tone and timbre of his source texts and second, to provide two of the key details for the framing narrative. It also argued that while Gower may have known Horace through a florilegium, he also knew the Horatian corpus directly mediated through a commentary that likely drew upon Pseudoacro and interpolated the text with quotations from other *auctores* in an attempt to harmonize their collective *auctoritas*. Consequently, we saw in the *Confessio Amantis* a Middle English poet whose ambitious project both drew upon his extensive knowledge of the *auctores* and also claimed for him through the manuscripts that transmit the work a status that transcended that of a *compilator* merely passing forward that *auctoritas*. We also saw in Gower an immensely learned poet eager to use his extensive knowledge of the classical world to offer salient advice to his monarch on the ethical conduct becoming a king. At the same time, we saw a use of the *auctores* that was never fully constrained within the confines of *ethice subponitur*, with delight in the tales themselves threatening to leave behind a strictly moralizing framework. Through the *Confessio Amantis* we

were also able to glimpse the sophistication of the Ricardian court—a culture whose excesses threatened not just good taste but political stability.

In this chapter, we turn to consider the last of the Ricardian Middle English poets in the triumvirate this dissertation considers: Geoffrey Chaucer. It is important to pause here to note how much the scholarly and interpretive topography has changed since the discussion of the *Exeter Book* in the second chapter. There, the only certainty about the poems' production that we have concerned the scribe who copied them into the codex: about who wrote them, when he or she wrote them, who compiled them, or what the scribe's exemplars might have been, we can only make educated hypotheses. Here, thanks to the remarkable *Life-Records* Project, infinitely more information is knowable. This increase in information serves to underscore the shifts in disposition towards textuality, *auctoritas*, and the vernacular that have been operative through the course of this dissertation. This chapter will first consider what evidence currently exists for Chaucer's knowledge and use of the classical tradition generally before turning to consider the ways he uses the Horatian tradition in the *Canterbury Tales* with special emphasis on Fragments VII and IX and their importance to the *Canterbury Tales* as a cohesive poetic project.

Chaucer the Classicist

Despite the volume of life-records scholars have uncovered for Chaucer, the nature of his education is not documentable and so must be assessed from two perspectives: what we know about education generally in the Late Middle Ages and what

can be more specifically adduced from Chaucer's works more specifically. A broad understanding of what sort of training in *grammatica* a boy of his social station living in London might reasonably have received is knowable. Here the scholarship of Gehl on pedagogy in the Italian Trecento and of Suzanne Reynolds for transalpine Europe in particular yield helpful insight into the progression through Donatus, the psalter, and the *Distica Catonis* before taking up the *auctores* at more advanced stages. Jill Mann and Edward Wheatley both add the *Aesopus* and its reception to our understanding of grammatical pedagogy operative generally in London in the second half of the fourteenth century. As Susan Phillips points out, the "little clergeon" of the *Prioress's Tale* represents a *puer* at the early stages of this initial instruction in *grammatica*. Many literate persons in fourteenth century England acquired what might be called "cartulary Latin," a *latinitas* sufficient to take up a role in the administration of the kingdom. Phillips points out that the *Man of Law's Tale* offers keen insight into how this *lingua franca* actually operated in the mercantile community Chaucer's work in the machinery of royal government occasioned (52). Certainly these are levels of Latinity Chaucer achieved. Derek Brewer implies that a "practical, commercial education" is the sort of formal education Chaucer is likely to have received.[1] J. Stephen Russell has argued against Chaucer having had "formal training in the *trivium* beyond grammar school" (8). It is worth stressing that the *auctores* with which this level of education would have

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[1] *Chaucer and His World* 39; Brewer also argues that Chaucer was likelier to have received his grammatical education from a private tutor instead of a school (40-2), but his position is unconvincing on the whole.

brought Chaucer into contact include Seneca, Cicero, Boethius, Ovid, Vergil, and Horace (Coleman, "English Culture" 42). While it seems unlikely that Chaucer acquired the sort of education claimed by Langland in *Piers Plowman* and generally posited for Gower, he certainly acquired sufficient *Latinitas* to produce his treatise on the astrolabe. Chaucer's abilities in Latin, in fact, challenge traditional understandings of medieval pedagogy, which tend to ignore the possibility of a talented autodidact making his way through the *auctores* by way of manuscripts and their scholia.

Chaucer's use of the *auctores* evinces a sensitive and perspicacious reader of the poets of Ancient Rome. As Jamie Fumo and Kathryn McKinley have both demonstrated, Chaucer frequently engages Ovid directly, overriding the overt Christianizing interpretation to which the *Ovidus Moralizatus* and the *Ovide Moralisé* subjected the Augustan Age poet. The *Knight's Tale* offers the most compelling evidence of Chaucer's classicism. Not only does the tale present Latin epigraphs "most likely to be Chaucer's" (Twomey, "Chaucer's Latinity" 207), but there he also presents a thoroughly Stoic, pre-Christian world in which the theological virtues and the path to salvation simply do not figure. The thoroughness of Chaucer's de-Christianizing program becomes, according to Barbara Nolan, most apparent when the *Knight's Tale* diverges from its most immediate source, Boccaccio's *Teseida*; she further argues that Chaucer relied upon direct knowledge of Statius's *Thebaid* (*Roman Antique* 248), and, more importantly, of Cicero's *De officiis* to adapt the *Teseida* into a more thoroughly Stoic fictive world (262) to "exclude any hint of Christian spiritual transcendence" (248). This

not only demonstrates a Chaucer in perfect linguistic command of these *auctores* but astute enough in his understanding of classical civilization to strip away Boccaccio's moralization, take them on their own terms, and see in them a cohesive ethical system that need not necessarily be safely constrained by the *ethice subponitur* assignation. Minnis has argued for a similar reworking of source material in the *Franklin's Tale* ("Other Worlds" 421-3). These examples reveal Chaucer to be a poet perfectly suited to know and adapt the Horatian tradition in fresh ways.

Chaucer and the Horatian Tradition: *Memoria* and *Intentio*

In the century that has passed since Harriet Seibert's still-cited article posited a scant eight loci for Horace's influence over Chaucer, fuller exploration of Chaucer's debt to the Horatian influence is still lacking. An important recent contribution, however, stands as a way forward: in her 2013 article in *Neophilologus*, Carol Heffernan posits that Horace's *Odes* I.9 informs the *Miller's Tale*. Her argument is an illustrative example of what it meant to "English" Horace in the fourteenth century and, therefore, merits detailed analysis. The primary detail in the ode for Heffernan is the girl's laughter that reveals the secret corner where she playfully hides from the young man amorously pursuing her. The common details between the ode and the tale are the contrast in age between the girl and an older man in the greater narrative frame, the presence of another male whose age is closer to that of the girl, and the laughter itself (Heffernan 193). Chaucer transfers the hoary old age in the ode to John while the *risus ab angulo* that reveals the girl to the young man in a subtly erotic and playful way becomes Alisoun's

derisive "'teehee'" (line 3283) shared with Nicholas.[2] Later in the tale the pair crouches together in the fermentation cask in which they are hiding (193). Although Heffernan does not mention this connection, the *diota*, the two-handled amphora that is a *hapax legomenon* in the Horatian corpus (*Odes* I.9.8), has been domesticated and "Englished" by Chaucer as the *kymelin* (*Miller's Tale* 3548) in which John, Alisoun, and Nicholas will survive the deluge.[3] Not only does Chaucer domesticate and "English" the Horatian ode, he inverts the original tone to suit the nature of his fabliau: Chaucer has turned "a laugh that said 'come hither' to its opposite" (Heffernan 193) to suit the generic demands of his own poiesis. Heffernan's article, consequently, is an apt reminder of precisely how different the Horatian tradition can look after its subjection to "Englishing."

The remainder of this chapter will focus on Chaucer's use of the Horatian tradition in Fragments VII and IX to argue that Horace informs Chaucer's larger project in the *Canterbury Tales*. In Fragment VII of the *Canterbury Tales*, the Prioress having finished her tale about Hugh of Lincoln, the Host calls upon Chaucer's *elvyssh* (703), corpulent narratorial persona to "Telle us a tale of myrthe" (706). He is able to tell three fits of his tail-rhyme stanzaic burlesque of the romance genre, *Sir Thopas*, before the

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[2] Heffernan 194; it is worth noting that this parodic alteration of tone parallels Peter of Blois's use of Horace's *Odes* in his Latin poetry (Godman 165-7). Peter of Blois spent twenty-six years of his life at the court of Henry II and exerted an influence over Anglo-Norman *latinitas* (Short 199).

[3] Heffernan, perhaps too blithely, posits that "Chaucer, the son of a wine merchant, was interested in such things" as wine amphorae (193). *Diota* represents Horace's transliteration of a Greek word. It is not impossible that someone in an educated fourteenth century English milieu could have recognized the term nor, however, can it be reasonably concluded that Chaucer himself recognized it. If, however, it could be demonstrated that Chaucer did possess such knowledge, the *kymelin* of the Miller's Tale becomes highly suggestive. My intention here is simply to suggest an extension to Heffernan's argument that is in keeping with the central logic within her article.

Host interrupts and begs through scatological language that another tale be told, one of "som murthe or som doctryne" (934). Chaucer's narratorial persona promises to tell "in prose" (937) "a moral tale vertuous" (940), the *Tale of Melibee*, a tale Blamires calls "the spirit of Stoic advice" (237). He cautions that his narration will draw upon "sondry folk" (942) but will present a single moral meaning. His "sondry folk" turn out to be a virtually encyclopedic array of *auctores* whom he harmonizes with scriptural and patristic sources. As the narrator explains:

> "As thus: ye woot that every Evaungelist
> That telleth us the peyne of Jhesu Crist
> Ne seith nat alle thyng as his felawe dooth;
> But nathelees his sentence is al sooth,
> And alle acorden as in hire sentence,
> Al be ther in hir tellyng difference.
> For somme of hem seyn moore, and somme seyn lesse,
> Whan they his pitous passion express—
> I meene of Mark, Mathew, Luc, and John—
> But doutelees hir sentence is al oon." (*Sir Thopas* 943-52)

In this passage we see the *integumentum* explicitly at work: proper exegesis requires looking beyond the *verba* to grasp the underlying *res*, the *sententia*. We also here find what the *accessus* tradition seeks to do with the *auctores*: to harmonize biblical scripture with the classical tradition through a process of *reductio ad concordiam*. Chaucer-the-narrator promises to deliver the underlying *sentence* in his *murye tale* though his words might vary from his *auctores* (959-64). This tale, of course, is *Melibee*, and it is a tour de force of Chaucer's knowledge of the *auctores* and his ability to bring them within the *cordon sanitaire* of *ethice subponitur*. A long tradition of commentary on Proverbs

16:24, beginning with Origen, accounts for the name of Melibee: he is one who will taste the honey of divine wisdom. Chaucer, however, has ironized this, for not only has he drunk a different kind of honey, he has indulged excessively: "'Thy name is Melibee; this is to seyn, a man that drynketh hony. / Thou hast ydronke so muchel hony of sweete temporeal richesses, and delices and honours of the world / that thou art dronken and hast forgeten Jhesu Crist thy creatour'" (1409-11). It is precisely because Melibee has consumed too much world knowledge that the entire allegory operates: it is precisely the lack of divine wisdom that has allowed his house-as-soul to be violated by "'the three enemys of mankynde… the flessh, the feend, and the world'" (1420), who have entered through *wyndowes* (970), beaten his *wyf* Prudence, and near-fatally wounded *his doghter* Sophie (971). Sophie's "fyve mortal woundes in fyve sondry places" (971) correspond to the five senses or "bodily wits" by which the soul and mind know the world around them. Prudence, on an allegorical level, represents a kind of innate wisdom, but Chaucer's treatment of the daughter is an adaptation from his source: whereas both the *Livre de Melibée et de Dame Prudence* and the *Liber consolationis et consilii* make clear that the daughter is the soul, Chaucer names her Sophie, thereby bringing the issue of wisdom more fully to the fore (Strohm 34 and Olson, Paul 114).

Prudence counsels her husband, with a mixture of scripture and Seneca, that emotional mesure and patient suffering are best (981-1000). Melibee's original emotional response of sadness ("myn herte is troubled with this sorwe" 1001), turns to *vengeaunce* (1017) when the council of "trewe freendes" (1002) Prudence advises him,

introduce shame and anger into the situation. What commences from here is a psychomachian debate about virtue that concludes with Prudence reminding Melibee that truly virtuous behavior is mercy as an act of *caritas*: as Christ's patiently and dutifully suffered passion redeemed mankind, men of authority must requite this by being merciful and humble. Conduct that is virtuously enacted through *caritas*, as Prudence exhorts at the end of the tale, ensures that God's grace will engender a similar mercy through which He "'wole foryeven oure giltes / and bryngen us to the blisse that nevere hath ende'" (1886-7). The end of the tale could not be more morally sound or orthodox, returning us to the admonition of Matthew 18:28: *Redde quod debes*. The *disputatio* that achieves such a Christian conclusion, however, is a morally complicated dialectic of authorities that operate within the tale's allegorical framework. As Benson's notes demonstrate, the collection of *auctores* that ultimately informs Chaucer's allegory include Seneca, Publilius Syrus, Cicero, Ovid, Cassiodorus, Cato, and Justinian (Askins 924-8). While the tale is in some ways a "close translation" of Renaud de Louens's *Livre de Melibée*, Chaucer does depart from his source text in key ways that create in *Melibee* something far beyond translation of a moral allegory.[4]

As Stephen Yeager has succinctly summarized, there are two critical approaches to the *Tale of Melibee*: to read the tale as a historical situated reflection on mercy or as a

[4] Askins 923. Attitudes toward Chaucer's direct knowledge of Albertano instead of through the *Livre de Melibée* would seem to ebb and flow with time. Gardiner Stillwell in 1944 works from an implicit assumption that Chaucer worked from the Latin source (see especially page 434). Paul Olson, writing in 1986, implies that Chaucer worked from both Albertano's Latin text and the French of Renaud of Louhans. Askins, writing in 2002, asserts the primacy of the French material. James Powell, on the other hand, argues for the virtual ubiquity of Albertano's corpus throughout the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries.

metapoetic discussion of authorship itself; he counters this divide to argue that the tale is, in fact, "a single meditation on reading practices witnessed by the text" ("Chaucer's Prudent Politics" 309). In short, the tale brings to the fore the issues of what it means to be a vernacular poet who draws upon his readings of the *auctores* to compose his own works. The dialectic between *experience* and *auctoritee* comes to its logical conclusion in Chaucer's allegorical narration of the psychomachian advice that Prudence, both "disembodied virtue" and "embodied wife" (313), gives her husband to correct his "sweete temporeal" disposition towards his own lived experience. Melibee's too-literal understandings of the *sententiae* that form the *disputatio* inevitably lead to "a metafictional misreading" (316) through which he misunderstands his own existence as allegorical: consequently, he believes that what will restore Sophie's presence is the literal exile of his enemies—'"the flessh, the feend, and the world'" (1420)—which is not within the purview of his secular puissance. Sophie does not, in fact, reappear to have her wounds healed; the search for her extends beyond the textual existence of the allegorical narrative. As Yeager argues, "the tale's ending does not necessarily suggest to its reader that wisdom itself is absent from the text, but only that such wisdom's presence cannot be contained and confirmed by its specifically allegorical schematics (318). The allegorical search for Sophie does not end in the denial of "allegorical fulfillment" as Jamie Taylor argues (99): the search for *sophia*, instead, is transferred beyond Chaucer-the-pilgrim's telling of the *Tale of Melibee* into Chaucer-the-poet's larger project in the Canterbury Tales: what is "of best sentence and moost solaas" (General Prologue 798) for

making one's pilgrimage through life. At the end of *Sir Thopas*, Chaucer-the-pilgrim promises to tell a tale of "al sooth" and "acorden in hire sentence" (946-7) and challenges his fellow pilgrims to execute their exegetical prowess by actively winnowing away any perceived "difference" (952), to look beyond "the particular arrangement of words and signs to communicate that *sentence*," to use Yeager's words ("Chaucer's Prudent Politics" 319). I concur entirely with Yeager's argument, but I would push the implications further. This looking beyond "the particular arrangement of words and signs to communicate that *sentence*" returns us powerfully to the first chapter of this dissertation, for the purpose of studying classical literature is brought to its clearest statement in the tale Chaucer tells through the narratorial persona he chooses for himself: to lift the *integumentum* of the *verba*, thereby revealing the *res* underneath so that its precepts may be harmonized into a *sententia* that expresses the *auctoritas* in a way entirely resonant with orthodox Christian dogma. The moral impetus to the collection of *fabulae* told to pass the time on a fictive journey to Canterbury becomes clear in the *Tale of Melibee*, where Chaucer-the-pilgrim's challenge to his companions that they engage their hermeneutic powers to divine the truth beyond the words jumps beyond its boundaries as Chaucer-the-poet lays the same challenge for correct exegesis at the feet of his readers and listeners. In Paul Olson's words, the tale "requires that one deal with its linguistic and logical rigor, and comes with the sign, *Caveat lector otiosus*" (123).

Having established the centrality of the *auctores* to Chaucer's poetic project both within the *Tale of Melibee* itself and the *Canterbury Tales* as a greater work, we may now

turn to consider Chaucer's use of Horace. Benson identifies the source of line 1562 of the *Tale of Melibee* as Horace's *Epistulae* I.6.37 (927); this is an exemplary starting point for the Horatian tradition at work in the tale. Chaucer's line establishes, "And right so as by richesses there comen manye goodes, right so by poverte come ther manye harmes and yveles." The Horatian line Benson cites asserts that "Queen Money gives both family name and beauty" (*et genus et formam regina Pecunia donat*). Chaucer's immediate source text does, in fact, quote this very line (Askins 388). However, Chaucer exploits more fully the resonances of the Horatian allusion than does his source text as the preceding line in his tale indicates. The line in The *Livre de Melibée* reads: "Et encores dit Pamphiles que richesses font nobles ceulz qui sont villains de lignage."[5] Chaucer's adaptation expands the rhetorical force: "'And yet seith Pamphilles moreover that they that had been thralle and bonde of lynage shullen been maad worthy and noble by the richesses'" (*Melibee* 1561). The Chaucerian version's use of *worthy* is telling, for as the *Middle English Dictionary* indicates, the semantic range it introduces into the tale expands the ideas of high birth (sense 3a) and monetary wealth (sense 1) into greater ideas about moral worth (senses 2d, 3b, 3c, 4a, and 4b). The full sense of moral worthiness is not in the French source text. I think it may be the case that Chaucer used the Horatian epistle to increase the moral valence by stressing that accidence of birth may provide different social standings which increased material can emend; consequently, thralldom and high birth are both the result of Fortune and do not affect moral worth.

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[5] "And again, Pamphilles sasys that riches make noble those who are peasants by birth" (Askins 388).

Chaucer's French source text does not fully exploit this. A further line from the Horatian epistle makes the connection between Horace and the *Tale of Melibee*'s greater poetic intention with respect to deriving moral instruction from tale-telling: *virtutem verba putas et / lucum ligna*.[6] In short, there is an intertextual reminder in the Horatian epistle about the importance of distinguishing *res* from *verba*, virtue from words, and utility from teleology. One manuscript of the *Florilegium Gallicum* transmits this combination of lines while three others come close (Burton 293); consequently, Chaucer may be relying on a florilegium for the increased knowledge of the Horatian material that would seem to inform the changes in moral weight effected in his tale. This example provides instructive clues about Chaucer's other uses of the Horatian tradition in the *Tale of Melibee*.

The *Livre de Melibée* advises that a man avoid the counsel of those who are angry (Chapter 12), lusty (Chapter 13), indiscrete (Chapter 16), foolish (Chapter 18), prone to flattery (Chapter 19), disloyal (Chapter 20), fearful (Chapter 21), drunk (Chapter 22), wicked (Chapter 24), mendacious (Chapter 30), and young (Chapter 25).[7] The *Tale of Melibee* replicates this catalogue.[8] Chaucer, however, adds an important category beyond his French source text: "'the trouthe of thynges and the profit been rather founden in fewe folk that been wise and ful of resoun than by greet multitude of folk ther every man crieth

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[6] "You think that virtue is [only] a word and that a grove is firewood" (*Epistulae* I.6.32-3).

[7] Askins 349-66.

[8] Angry, lines 1122-8; lusty, 1173; indiscrete (Chapter 16); foolish, 1173-4; prone to flattery, 1175-1181; disloyal, 1182-9; fearful,1190-2; drunk, 1193-4; wicked, 1197-9; mendacious, 1195-6; and young, 1199-2000.

and clatereth what that hym lketh. Soothly swich multitude is nat honest'" (1069). A possible source for this interpolation and its emphasis on distrust of the "greet multitude [that] is nat honest" may well be Horace's *Odes* I.35.25-6: *at vulgus infidum ut meretrix retro periura cedit.*[9] The context in the *Tale of Melibee* makes this connection likelier: the tale moves from talk of the dishonest multitude to take up the statement that "alle wommen been wikke" (1070). In short, I suggest Chaucer has interpolated his source text with Horace to allow him to transition between discussing the advice of the rabble and that of women. The commentaries of both Pseudoacro and Porphyry make explicit the idea that both categories of persons depart when changes in fortune reduce a man's material wealth, and Burton does not identify any manuscripts that transmit the relevant lines. If Chaucer did, in fact, use Horace to interpolate his source material to make this transition, he may have encountered the Horatian tradition in a manuscript whose scholia drew on Pseudoacro and Porphyry. Consequently, not only does this evince Chaucer using Horace to alter the moral timbre of his tale but also to provide greater rhetorical control.

Another passage in the *Tale of Melibee* that diverges slightly from the *Livre de Melibée* occurs in Prudence's advice about wealth. She advises her husband, "'Thanne thus in getynge richesses ye mosten flee ydelnesse'" (1597); this emphasis on diligence is present in the the *Livre de Melibée* (Askins 387). However, Chaucer interpolates this close translation with two lines that are lacking in his source text: "'ye shul use the

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[9] "But the unfaithful mob, like a perjured prostitute, falls back."

richesses which ye have geten by youre wit and by your travaille / in swich a manere that men holde yow nat to scars, ne too sparynge, ne to fool-large—that is to seyen, overlarge a spendere'" (1598-9). Renaud de Louens does include a passage from Cassiodorus that comes close.[10] Chaucer's tale uses the language of a commentary ("that is to seyen"), suggesting that he is glossing his primary source text. Horace's *Satires* II.3.77-110 seems to me a distinct possibility for the moral timbre in Chaucer's version, for it introduces key concepts and language. Horace describes immoderation toward money as a disease of the mind (*mentis morbo*, line 80) whose antidote is reason (*ratio* 83). Importantly, he denounces renown attained for wealth instead of for virtue.[11] The Horatian satire also introduces into the discussion an important distinction between wealth that is hoarded for its own sake and that which is put into licit use: "Does one who hoards coins and gold and does not know how to use the accumulated things—fearing to touch [his hoard] as though it were sacred—differ from these men [who do not use their tools productively]?"[12] Prudence asserts that "'richesses been goode to hem that han wel ygeten hem and wel konne usen hem'" (*Melibee* 1552). This emphasis on the *telos* of wealth is not explicit in the *Livre de Melibée*; consequently, my argument is that Chaucer is using *Satires* III.3 intertextually to shift the moral weight of his tale. This satire recapitulates this disquisition later when, citing the heirs of Servius Oppidus as an

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[10] Askins gives the passage as "And Cassiodorus said: We should flee from indigence just as we should avoid excess" (389).

[11] *Hoc veluti virtute paratum / speravit magnae laudi fore* (*Satires* II.3.98-9).

[12] *Qui discrepat istis, qui nummos aurumque recondit, nescius uti / compositis metuensque velut contingere sacrum?* (*Satires* II.3.108-110).

exemplum of moderation between prodigality and miserliness, Horace exhorts that mindfulness of what "nature urges" (*natura coercet*) as the proper limit (*Satires* II. 3.168-78). In fact, although Prudence identified her *auctor* as Cato, Prudence's disquisition continues, arguing for *mesure* (*Melibee* 1605), introducing a Stoic ideal into her advice that is at best implicit in the distich.[13] It may be the case that Horace's *aurea mediocritas* (*Odes* II.10.5) provides the moral register for Chaucer's *mesure*[14]; if that is the case, however, Chaucer has adapted Horace's advice for withstanding the whims of Fortune into counsel about exercising *caritas* by avoiding all things that might cause "harm of another man" (*Melibee* 1585). The exercise of *caritas*, loving observance toward God and one's fellow humans, is mankind's natural *telos*. The *telos* of telling tales derived from the *auctores* is to train the mind in licit use of language and to inculcate virtuous behavior, thereby conditioning the soul for the gift of divine grace. It is Chaucer's use of the Horatian tradition that has enabled his "loose translation" to become something far greater, for in the *Tale of Melibee*, and its Horatian resonances, Chaucer finds the moral impetus for the greater poetic project of the *Canterbury Tales* themselves. Lastly, it must be noted that Chaucer tells this crucial important tale in prose. As argued at the end of Chapter 3 and revisited in Chapter 4, fourteenth-century poets admired Horace for the humble style through which he conveyed his *sententiae*; how

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[13] *Utere quaesitis, sed ne videaris abuti: / qui sua consumunt, cum deest, aliena sequentur*: "Use what you seek but let yourselves not seem to squander [them]: those who consumes their own things, when [something] is lacking, will go after others' things" (*Distica Catonis* III.21).

[14] It must be admitted that it is also possible, and perhaps even likelier, that Chaucer's rhetorical move is within the *Disticha Catonis*, for while Distich III.21 might not explicitly mention the idea of the golden mean, the collection as a whole does.

fitting, then, it is that Chaucer conveys the overarching *sentence* of the Canterbury Tales through his prose *Tale of Melibee*.

This complex interplay between tale-telling, the *auctores*, and claims to truth-telling reaches its tipping point later in Fragment VII in the *Nun's Priest's Tale*. The *Nun's Priest's Tale* continues the discussion of the *auctores* and salvation to the end of Fragment VII. Generically, the tale is a complex and vivid amalgamation of beast fable and beat epic inflected with a range of *auctoritates* drawn from scriptural and classical sources and told in a largely mock-heroic mode. The overall sources for the tale itself are well-attested: Fable 60: *Le Coq et le renard* by Marie de France, the *Roman de Renart* attributed to Pierre de St. Cloud, and the *Renart le Contrefait* attributed to an otherwise unidentified "'clerc de Troyes.'"[15] The frame that Chaucer gives to his rendition of the *Renart* cycle, however, is uniquely his own (Finlayson 269). It is a *povre wydwe* who dwells in her *narwe cotage* with *hir doghtren two* who owns the barnyard in which Chauntecleer and Pertelote splendidly live in contrast to the simple, wholesome *suffisaunce* of the human inhabitants (*Nun's Priest's Tale* 2821-39). In narrating his tale, the Nun's Priest devotes a good deal of attention to the widow's *attempre diete* (2838). Her *sklendre meel*[s] lack either *deyntee morsel* or *poynaunt sauce* (2833-5), chiefly consisting of *broun breed* and *seynd bacoun* (2844-5). As a result, despite her age, neither *goute* nor *apoplexie* affected her (2840-1). This is an extraordinary amount of

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[15] Wheatley, "The Nun's Priest's Tale" 449-51. Jill Mann asserts that the presence of the admonitory dream is "a clear indication that [Chaucer's] narrative derives from Branch II of the *Roman de Renart* (*From Aesop* 251).

detail devoted to a character whose sole functions in the larger tale are to own the barnyard and then to give the briefest of chase to the fox (3375-3382); Chaucer, in fact, dedicates more lines to narrating the participation of the other barnyard fauna than he does to the humans. The actual chase itself, in fact, is overwhelmed by its context, coming between a catalogue of *lamentaciouns* by classical woman (3355-74) and a mention of Jack Straw and the uprising of 1381 (3394-7). How, then, do the widow and her eating habits fit into Chaucer's larger poetic scheme? My argument is that the framing narrative of the *Nun's Priest's Tale* returns us to Horace's *Satires* II and Geoffrey of Vinsaulf's *Poetria nova* and that these two components of the Horatian tradition help bring Chaucer's broader project within the *Canterbury Tales* into fuller focus. It is the juxtaposition of simply sufficiency and excessive splendor between the widow and her chickens that, combined with the allegorical nature of the *Nun's Priest's Tale* itself, makes it unlikely that Chaucer's belaboring of the eating habits of a character largely ancillary to a highly allegorical tale about the nature of education and *auctoritas* itself are simply details derived from lived existence. In short, in this tale, eating is never just literal.

The Prologue to the tale proper sets up a contrast between the Monk and the Nun's Priest by way of their horses. The Host brings teleology and utility to the fore in describing the priest's horse: "'What thogh thyn hors be bothe foul and lene? / If he wol serve thee, rekke nat a bene'" (2813-14). Even before the tale proper has begun, Chaucer is foregrounding a contrast between excess and sufficiency, between genuine utility and outward display. The combination of the *bene* in the Prologue and the *broun breed* and

bacoun of the framing narrative within the tale itself raises the possibility that Chaucer is using the second book of Horace's *Satires* to construct a discourse of licit and illicit eating as Gower did in *Piers Plowman* Horace's "bread with salt" has been "Englished" to Chaucer's *broun breed* to set up a distinction between the extravagance of the white bread served on aristocratic table and the sustenance provided by its coarser cousin.[16] The fatty bacon and bean suggest the beans and pork fat of Horace's *Satires* II.7.[17] Eating features in the tale itself, as well. As Prudence tried to counsel her husband, so too Pertelote advises hers. She asserts overeating has occasioned Chauntecleer's dream: "Swevenes engenderen of repleccioun" (2923) and "cometh of great superfluytee" (2927). Pertelote advises that he take a *laxatyf* (2943) "to purge [him] bynethe and eek above" (2953), thereby restoring both visceral and mental balance. This purgative would take the form of *herbes* gathered from the barnyard (bringing in the idea of Horace's *holuscula* from *Satires* II.7.64) that Chauntecleer must "Pekke hem up right as they growe and ete hem yn" (2967). This begins the disputation on the trustworthiness of dreams that takes the form of citations of competing *auctoritees*, from Cato to Macrobius with a saint's life and scripture thrown in. At this point it becomes clear that the ingesting and purging are not strictly literal: what is being "eaten in" are the authoritative *sententiae* of the academic debate. Consequently, the influence of Geoffrey

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[16] The quotation from Horace is c*um sale panis / latrantem stomachum bene leniet* (II.2.17-8).

[17] *O, quando faba Pythagorae cognata simulque / uncta satis pingui ponentur holuscula lardo*: "When will beans, the cousins of Pythagoras, and green herbs larded with pork fat be placed [before me]" (63-4).

of Vinsaulf is at work here; indeed, Chaucer invokes his name (3347). As discussed more fully above in the chapter on Piers Plowman, Geoffrey extends the conceit of *ruminatio* to discuss the process of learning through the auctores as a feeding of the soul: *Est simili gustanda scientia lege, / Quae cibus et potus animae: sic nutriat illam / Ut se praestet ei jocundum, non onerosam.*[18] It is important to note, too, the emphasis the *Poetria nova* places on the moderate pace this intellectual feeding is to take.

Eating is what, in fact, interrupts the disputation, and there is never a resolution to the debate beyond that provided by the fox's appearance:

> "And with that word he fley doun fro the beem,
> For it was day, and eke his hennes alle,
> And with a chuk he gan hem for to calle,
> For he hadde founde a corn, lay in the yerd." (3172-5)

Consequently, Chauntecleer's gustatory appetite has forestalled any genuine advice that the *disputatio* may have generated, and what is left is the *hochepot* of unweighed *sententiae* against which Prudence warned in the *Tale of Melibee* (1257). As Jill Mann summarizes, "the moral of the story is in the eye (and the immediate circumstances) of the beholder (*From Aesop* 259). Chauntecleer's indiscriminate *ruminatio* is, in turn, interrupted by his amorous appetite: "'He fethered Pertelote twenty time, / And trad hire eke as oftte er it was pryme'" (3177-8). The copulation in this passage operates on both a literal and figurative level, for I think Chaucer is here invoking a grammatical sense, too, of the term *copula*. The two senses of the word come together explicitly in Alain de

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[18] "In similar accord ought knowledge, which is the food and drink of the soul, be savored: let it thus nourish [the soul] such that it offers it a delight and not a burden" (VIII.1992-4).

Lille's *De planctu Naturae*, where he famously compares faulty grammar to nonproductive sexuality:

> Sunt qui in Veneris logica disputantes, in conclusionibus suis, subjectionis, praedicationisque legem relatione mutua sortiuntur. Sunt, qui vicem gerentes supposito, praedicari non norunt. Sunt, qui solummodo praedicantes, subjecti subjectionem legitimam non attendunt.[19]

Alain de Lille makes explicit that disordered linguistic and sexual union destroys the natural order by which the sublunary world ought to function. A narratorial aside by the Priest draws the connection between the tale and the *De planctu Naturae* into closer focus:

> O Venus, that art goddesse of pleasaunce,
> Syn that thy servant was this Chauntecleer,
> And in thy service dide al his poweer,
> Moore for delit than world to multiplye. (3342-5)

Chaucer draws together here a similar admonition against things motivated by a concern for *delit* that disrupts natural teleology.

Chaucer effectively yokes eating and speaking through his narration of the fox's capture of Chauntecleer: "'And daun Russell the fox stirte up atones, / And by the gargat hente Chauntecleer'" (3334-5). The fox has used orally spoken linguistic trickery and flattery to seize Chauntecleer by the throat, intending to devour him as he did his mother and father before him (3295-6). Although the Priest insists his "tale is of a cok" (3252), the copula of throats here subverts the tale itself as the purported subject becomes the

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[19] "There are those who while seeking the logic of Venus place in their conclusions the law of the subject and of the predicate in its proper relationship. There are [some] who seeking a change by substitution do not know [how] to predicate. There are [others] who, only seeking predication, do not attend the legitimate subject."

object, ushering in precisely the sort of unnatural discursive chaos feared in the *De planctu Naturae*.

Chaucer introduces visual vocabulary to further the idea of innate literal and figurative clear-sightedness, for Chauntecleer immediately recognizes the fox as both the creature from his dream and as a threat to his safety. As the Priest's commentary establishes, "'For naturally a beest desireth flee / Fro his contrarie, if he may it see'" (3279-80). Chauntecleer, however, is seduced by the fox's mendacious language to ignore his own innately correct apprehension of the situation. He is persuaded "'that with bothe his yen / He moste wynke'" (3305-6) and chooses to fall into the trap set by the fox's spoken blandishments. It is Chauntecleer's pride in the excellence of his own singing that allows Russell's flattery to trick him; consequently, here we may adduce an admonition on poetry's ability to seduce away from natural teleology. The connection between seeing, saying, and hearing comes into explicit focus in the very cajolery by which Russell convinces Chauntecleer to close his eyes and engage in *poesy*: "'But, for men speke of syngyng, I wol seye— / So moote I brouke wel myne eyen tweye— / Save yow, I herde nevere man so synge'" (3299-301). The result, of course, is that Russell's perversion of language's teleology—to convey truth—allows him to "*ravyssh* [Chauntecleer] *with his flaterie*" (3324). Chauntecleer's mistranslated and/or ironized gloss on the *sententia* "mulier est hominis confusio" throws the consequences of faulty linguistic understanding into high relief: loss of one's place in Paradise.[20]

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[20] The Latin text is line 3164; the Middle English gloss Chauntecleer gives is "Madame, the sentence of this Latyn is, / 'Womman is mannes joye and al his blis'" (3165-6).

Chauntecleer relies on a similar manipulation of the fox's vanity to effect his own escape from the fox's mouth. As a result, language itself can be either damning or salvific; what determines the outcome is whether the *entente* behind the utterance is *wikke* or not (3423). Assessing intention is, in fact, the challenge, and the tale itself problematizes the situation, for the narrator himself cannot determine fully what his tale truly signifies. He asserts that his "tale is of a cok" (3252). However, he himself complicates the very nature of his tale at the end of his telling it:

> "But ye that holden this tale a folye,
> As of a fox, or of a cok and hen,
> Taketh the moralite, goode men.
> For Seint Paul seith that al that writen is,
> To oure doctrine it is ywrite, ywis;
> Taketh the fruyt, and lat the chaf be stille." (3438-3443)

Here Chaucer underscores the idea of the *integumentum*: there is a *moralite* beyond the tale of a cock, despite the narrator's earlier remonstration to a simpler *entente*. The telling of the tale deconstructs itself, and ultimately it is up to the hearer—or reader—to determine the intent that underlies a linguistic utterance. Proper training in *grammatica* is what enables the proper winnowing of the *fruyt* from the *chaf* as medieval exegesis of Romans 15:4 established. Consequently, I read the *Nun's Priest's Tale* as a discourse about the *artes liberales* in general and the *auctores* in particular. The barnyard where Chauntecleer practices his astrological time keeping, engaged in disputation about *auctoritates*, ingests kernels of knowledge, and copulates with his seven wives all further this. Beyond the *auctores* cited in the disquisition about dreams, it is the combination of

Horatian satire and Geoffrey of Vinsaulf, inflected with Alain de Lille, that undergirds Chaucer's brilliant adaptation of the *Renart* cycle in the *Nun's Priest's Tale*, where he gives us a complicated tale about tale-telling itself. As Ian Bishop aptly assessed the situation, "The interpreter … must be perpetually on guard in a tale that … makes interpretation itself one of the principal targets" (17). It is a learned tale that presupposes an audience learned in the *auctores* and able to weigh the relative *auctoritas* of its rhetorical moves;[21] this effectively underscores the active processes of engagement at play in the *Canterbury Tales* and its purported intent to tell "tales of best sentence and moost solaas" (General Prologue 798), an intention in keeping with Horace's admonition that poetry's intention ought always to be *aut prodesse… aut delectare* (*Ars Poetica* 333).

From here we leave Fragment VII to consider the penultimate tale in the *Canterbury Tales*. The *Manciple's Tale* is the "final 'fictional' tale" in the collection (McKinley, "Gower and Chaucer" 221), and it is a lucid example of Chaucer's use of the *auctores*. Ovid tells the Coronis myth in the *Metamorphoses* (II.531-632); the evidence suggests that Chaucer relied upon Ovid directly for his telling of the myth in the *Manciple's Tale*.[22] Consequently, a brief synopsis of Ovid's telling is in order so that we may fully understand Chaucer's departures from his source. A raven, (*corvus,* line 535) possessed of the ability to speak (*loquax* 535) and white plumage (*candidus* 534),

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[21] Thomas 278-9; Robert Pratt's "Some Latin Sources of the Nonnes Preest on Dreams" remains an important analysis of the source texts that undergird the tale's disputation on dreams.

[22] Jamie Fumo provides the most definitive assertion in her article "Thinking upon the Crow: the *Manciple's Tale* and Ovidian Mythography." John Fyler ("Medieval Ovid") and Kathryn McKinley ("Gower and Chaucer") agree that Ovid exerts direct influence over Chaucer's tale, but their assessments are less forceful.

witnesses the adultery (*adulterium* 545) of a Thessalonian woman named Coronis against its master, Phoebus Apollo, who loved Coronis while/because she was chaste or at least undetected (*dum vel casta fuit vel inobservata* 544) in her unchastity. It is worth pausing here briefly to acknowledge that the word *candidus* has a broader semantic range than color, for it can also convey "spotless" with shades of meaning that veer into "sinless" and can also mean "frank." The raven hastens to disclose Coronis's infidelity to Apollo, when it is overtaken by a gossipy crow (*garrula cornix* 547-8) eager to know the reason for the raven's hasty journey. The crow narrates a trio of admonitory exempla in a futile attempt to dissuade the raven: its own banishment for telling its patron deity Minerva about another servant's disobedience; how the raven itself became trapped in avian form, Minerva having transformed the princess to help her escape ravishment by Neptune; and the crow's own displacement by the owl *vis-à-vis* Nyctimene, another princess transmogrified by Minerva, in this case after a rape by the princess's father into a nocturnal bird upon whom daylight will no longer shine to obscure her shame. The raven haughtily scorns (*spernimus* 597) the crow's advice and prays that the crow's own summons to desist become an evil to the crow itself *(tibi revocamina corvus / sint, precor, ista malo* 596-7); the raven then continues its flight to Apollo's palace. The raven tells Apollo that he saw Coronis lying with a Thessalonian youth (*iacentem / cum iuvene Haemonio vidisse Coronida narrat* 598-9).

Upon hearing the crime of his lover (*audito crimine amantis* 600), the god removes his solar crown, a gesture that typically signifies a scene of human pathos is

about to unfold, and loses control of/drops (*excidit* 602) both the *color* of his face and his *plectrum,* implying he had been in the process of lyrical composition. Apollo's heart/ mind becomes hot with swollen anger (*animus tumida fervebat ab ira* 602) and shoots an arrow into Coronis, whose blood drenches her white body (*corpore candida* 606-7); with her dying words, the repentant Coronis informs Apollo that she is pregnant and that now the two of them shall die together in the same body (*duo nunc moriemur in una* 609). Apollo becomes penitent too late (*paenitet* 612) to spare his beloved from his cruel punishment (*poenae crudelis* 612); as a result, he now hates (*odit* 614) both himself because he listened to the story that had so enflamed him (*audierit quod sic exarserit* 613) and the bird who is the cause of his crime and grief (*odit avem, per quam crimen causamque dolendi / scire coactus erat* 614-5). Apollo touchingly burns the body of Coronis upon a pyre and cuts from her womb his infant son Aesculapius (which means "the one cut free"), the classical deity of medicine and healing. The raven, which had hoped for a reward for not lying (*sperantem sibi non falsae praemia linguae* 631), is forbidden by Apollo from taking its place among the white birds (*inter aves albas vetuit consistere* 632).

Chaucer's adaptation of this myth, however, is masterful, as he transmogrifies the Coronis myth into "a moralistic fabliau unique in its characterization, tone, and narrative detail" (Fumo, "Thinking upon the Crow" 356). Chaucer's first change in "Englishing" Ovid is to turn Apollo into the epitome of the chivalric courtly lover: he is the "flour of bachilrie, as wel in fredom as in chivalrie" (125-6); "the mooste lusty bachiler" and

"beste archer" (107-8). Chaucer also foregrounds Apollo's role as patron of poetry. The Phebus of the *Manciple's Tale* is accomplished in his literary production: "Pleyen he koude on every mynstalcie, / And syngen that it was a melodie" (113-4). In his fit of rage at the end of the tale, he breaks "his mynstralcie, / Both Harpe, and lute, and gyterne, and sauterie" (267-8). Conversely, Ovid makes little of Apollo as the lord of Parnassus; the reference to the plectrum he drops upon hearing the raven's report is the single oblique reference to music or lyric poetry (*Metamorphoses* II.601). Chaucer's emphasis on poetic production is a key difference in his telling, one which points to his larger purpose in the *Canterbury Tales*. The avian characters between Chaucer's adaptation and his Ovidian source text are also significant differences. The raven and crow are essentially merged in *The Manciple's Tale*: no raven appears at all, and it is the crow who is Apollo's servant. Chaucer's conflated crow is markedly different from Ovid's raven. Chaucer explicitly states that Apollo teaches the crow to speak: he "taught it speken, as men teche a jay" (132). Moreover, the crow can "telle a tale" and "countrefete the speche of every man" (134-5) as well as sing better than the nightingale. This change underscores the importance of education and literary production operative in the tale. The crow *myrily* (245) sings its song of "Cokkow" to Apollo, whom he gleefully tells about the infidelity. The crow's narration makes much of Apollo's "beautee and gentilesse" (250) and the Thessalonian youth's "litel reputacioun" (253), thereby invoking a medieval understanding of social class. Chaucer's crow tells Apollo "ofte" (261) about the infidelity "By sadde tokenes and by wordes bolde" (258). The *Manciple's Tale* also

"Englishes" its Ovidian source material by domesticating Coronis as a *wyf* (139), of whom Apollo is *jalous* (144) and with whom he shares a *hous* (139). Ovid's august deity occupying a lofty palace has become an unhappily married member of the gentry. Jamie Fumo has convincingly argued that the *wyf*/Coronis and crow evince an "alignment" of the two as favored pets of Apollo ("Thinking upon the Crow" 359-60). Another important difference in Chaucer's *wyf* is that she is not pregnant, which eliminates the ethical force of Aesculapius and his being raised by Chiron from the tale's narrative horizon.

Despite strong evidence to demonstrate that Chaucer knew Ovid directly, the medieval moralizing tradition also colors his telling of the myth; the fourteenth-century *Ovide moralisé* in particular provides the source for a few of these differences. First, the raven was blackened/besmirched by lack of knowledge, folly, and most importantly his gossipy tongue: "Nercis fu par son non savoir, / Si fu muee sa coulour / De blanc en noir, par sa folour, / Et sa vilz langue jenglerresse."[23] From Guillaume de Machaut's *Le Livre dou Voir Dit* may come the crow's advice to the raven for judicious silence also present in the *Manciple's Tale;* Machaut's crow exhorts the raven that not everything seen should be spoken.[24] The crow further advises that speaking the truth can often bring harm: "Souvent meschiet de dire voir" (7866); that all too often evil befalls a man who should have remained silent: "Car il avient souvent contraire / De parler quant on se doit

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[23] Lines 2136-40 (Wheatley, "The Manciple's Tale" 755-8).

[24] "Tout voire ne sont pas bon a dire" line 7852 (Wheatley, "The Manciple's Tale" 758-69).

taire" (7994-5). The telling in the *Ovide moralisé* establishes such an ambiguous disposition toward truth-telling that it advises that sometimes even dissembling is necessary: "Mais ce nest pas neccessitte / Que quan quon dit soit verite" (8052-3). Chaucer also relies upon the *Distica Catonis*, the Vulgate, and Boethius's *De consolatione Philosophiae* to inflect the moral timbre of his telling. He may also draw upon Gower's telling of the Coronis myth in Book 3 of the *Confessio Amantis,* where Gower situates the myth within his disquisition on *Cheste* (strife) as a particular manifestation of Wrath.[25]

Finally we are at a place to assess the place of the Horatian tradition in the *Manciple's Tale*. I adduce four passages that point to Horatian influence, one from the Prologue, two from the tale itself, and one from what I refer to as the moralizing codicil; all bring the greater issues of licit of use of language to conveying truth within divinely ordained natural order and Chaucer's wider *intentio* in the *Canterbury Tales* to the fore.[26] The first of these loci provides the weakest evidence. In the Prologue to the tale, after the Manciple has furthered the Cook's inebriation, the Host asserts that wine "'wol turne rancour and disese / T'acord and love, and many a wrong apese. / O Bacus, yblessed be thy name, / That so kanst turnen ernest into game" (97-100). The ambiguous attitude expressed here toward bibulousness, its ability to dispel strife and increase accord, sits at

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[25] McKinley gives an especially thorough account of the evidence and the stakes ("Gower and Chaucer" 222-4).

[26] A fifth passage from the Horatian tradition may influence Chaucer's overall redeployment of the Ovidian crow/raven. *Epistulae* I.3.19-20 discusses a small crow stripped of its stolen colors inducing laughter (*moveat cornicula risum / furtivis nudata coloribus*); the *Ars versificatoria* redeploys this *sententia* in its discussion of appropriateness (I.113).

ill ease with the traditional moralizations against drinking and related "tavern sins." It is certainly far removed from the abstemious widow in the *Nun's Priest's Tale*, who drank no wine, "'neither whit ne reed'" (2842). The idea of wine as an antidote to grievous concerns occurs in three of the poems in Horace's first book of *Odes*. *Odes* I.8 counsels drinking a mellow wine to wash away the sadness and labors of life *(sic tu sapiens finire memento / tristiam vitaeque labores / molli, Plance, mero* 17-9). *Odes* I.18 asserts that wine is the best way to lessen the anxieties of daily life (*mordaces aliter diffugiunt sollicitudines* 4); however, the ode also cautions that this drinking must not be excessive so as not to surpass the established boundaries of moderation (*ac ne quis modici transiliat munera Libri* 7), offering the drunken excesses of the centaurs as an admonitory exemplum (10-3). *Odes* I.27.1 establishes that the natural use of wine is to bring happiness (*usum laetitiae*). *Epodes* 14 advises "lift every ill with wine and poetry" (*omne malum vino cantuque levato* 17). Moderate enjoyment of wine is a commonplace in Roman literature, expressing a hallmark value of Stoicism. It is only the presence of other Horatian influence in the *Manciple's Tale* that justifies mentioning the possibility of Horace for these lines in the Prologue to the tale itself.

The Manciple interrupts the narration of his tale to discuss the inescapability of one's own nature.[27] "'Taak any bryd,'" he explains, '"and put it in a cage / And do all thyn entente and thy corage / To fostre it'" (162-5), and the bird will still seek "'his

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[27] The character of the Manciple himself foregrounds an ambiguity *vis-à-vis* truth-telling; as Mann succinctly summarizes, "there is no certain evidence that the Manciple cooks the books, although the statement that he outdoes his masters suggests it" (*Medieval Estates Satire* 174).

libertee'" (174). The language here comes from *Boethius's De consolatione Philosophiae* (3.m2.21-33). The hinge between the tale's plot and the narratorial interlude is clear: Chaucer develops the resonance of Phebus's crow as a bird in a gilded cage whose natural instincts will assert themselves despite any attempt at domesticating and indulging it. Chaucer, however, reframes his Boethian exemplum a bit differently: "'But God it woot, ther may no man embrace / As to destreyne a thyng which that nature / Hath natureely set in a creature'" (160-2). Benson's notes, drawing on Harriet Seibert, identify the source as Horace's *Epistulae* I.10.24: *Naturam expelles furca, tamen usque recurret*.[28] There are multiple vectors by which the Horatian *sententia* may have entered the *Manciple's Tale*: as Seibert notes, *Le Roman de la Rose* and John of Salisbury's *Polycraticus* both transmit it (304). It was anthologized in the florilegia, as well.[29] However, Chaucer's redeployment of the Horatian material suggests to me that he encountered it firsthand, for in interpolating his Boethian source material, Chaucer introduces the epistle's longer meditation on the pleasures of rustic life away from the Augustan capital, *otium* for study, and abstemious self-sufficiency. This is a key example of Chaucer using Horace to alter the force of his source material.

Another allusion to Chaucer's *Epistulae* occurs in the moralizing codicil (lines 309-62) that concludes the tale. In this codicil, the Manciple himself voices the *moralitas*, including the advice that "'Thyng that is seyd is seyd, and forth it gooth, /

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[28] "You may expel Nature with your pitchfork; nevertheless, she hastens back."

[29] The epistle is attested in eleven of the manuscripts upon which Burton based her edition of the *Florilegium Gallicum*.

Though hym repente, or be hym nevere so looth'" (355-6). The source for this is Horace's *Epistulae* I.18.71: *et semel emissum volat irrevocabile verbum*.[30] The vectors of transmission for this *sententia* are manifold, as well. Seibert posits Jean de Meun and Albertano as intermediaries.[31] Matthew of Vendôme is another possibility: his *Ars versificatoria* cites this line as part of its discussion on the unwise repression of natural instinct (I.25). Chaucer's use of the *sententia* here would not seem to imply direct knowledge of the Horatian corpus, but regardless of the vector(s) of transmission, he uses it to foreground the issues of language, utterance, and their consequences. Consequently, it is a key example of Chaucer's use of the Horatian tradition to alter his primary source text.

The last of these four loci in the *Manciple's Tale*, however, is not easily attested outside the Horatian corpus itself. It treats the nature of language itself and draws on Horace's *Epistulae* I.18. In another narratorial interruption, the Manciple explains:

> "And so bifel when Phebus was absent,
> His wyf anon hath for her lemman sent.
> Hir lemman? Certes, this is knavyssh speche!
> Foryeveth it me, and that I yow biseche.
> The wise Plato seith, as ye may rede,
> The word moot nede accorde with the dede.
> If men shal telle properly a thyng,
> The word moot cosyn be to the werkyng.
> I am a boystous man, right thus I seye:

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[30] "And once a word has been sent, it flies forth irrevocably."

[31] 305. Albertano includes the Horatian quote after a simile in which he compares words to arrows: *Verba enim sagittis sunt quasi smilia* (Chapter 27.4-7). It should be noted, however, that Albertano's *Liber consolationis et consilii* is cited a possible source text for *Melibee*, not the *Manciple's Tale*.

> Ther nys no difference, trewely,
> Bitwixe a wyf that is of heigh degree,
> If of hir body dishonest she bee,
> And a povre wenche, oother than this—
> If it so be they werke both amys—
> But that the gentile, in estaat above,
> She shal be cleped his lady, as in love;
> And for that oother is a povre womman,
> She shal be cleped his wenche or lemman." (203-20)

This relationship between words and things is, of course, a truly Platonic understanding of language; in fact, the *integumentum* between *verba* and *res* points to precisely this Platonic concept. However, an earlier passage from *Epistulae* I.18 brings the distinction between a *wyf* of *heigh degree* and a *povre lemman* into clear focus: *matrona meretrici dispar erit*.[32] This passage also evinces Chaucer's process of *amplificatio*, showing him expounding the nuances of his single line source-text as he "Englishes" his Horatian *sententia* into a nineteen-line s*entence*. Other lines from the Horatian epistle shed further light on Chaucer's adaptation of the Coronis myth in the *Manciple's Tale* and his larger schema in the *Canterbury Tales* as a collection. The most important of these is the epistle's emphasis on virtue and wisdom. Horace here establishes that "virtue is the mean of vices and removed from both."[33] The epistle also poses the question of whether education can cultivate virtue, or whether it is solely a gift of Nature.[34] These Horatian resonances help move the *Manciple's Tale* far beyond a simple *moralitas* against gossip.

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[32] "A matron will differ from a prostitute" (3).

[33] *Virtus est medium vitiorum et utrimque reductum* (9).

[34] *Virtutem doctrina paret Naturane donet* (100).

Jangler (lines 343 and 348), as the Middle English Dictionary demonstrates, covers a broad semantic range: a chatterer, gossip, backbiter, calumniator, eloquent rhetor, and raconteur as well as the professional entertainer conveyed by the French *jongleur*. Chaucer is here exploiting this semantic nuance to move his tale from conventional admonition against gossip to a bolder statement about tale-telling and poiesis. In fact, the final four lines of the poem advise against allowing oneself to be thought an *auctor newe* (359).

> My sone, be war, and be noon auctor newe
> Of tidynges, wheither they been false of trewe.
> Whereso thou come, amonges hye or lowe,
> Kepe wel thy tonge and thenk upon the crowe. (359-62)

The *Manciple's Tale* has moved beyond the unease about linguistic intention voiced in the *Nun's Priest's Tale* into a concern about language that goes beyond discerning *false* from *trewe.* The passage also foregrounds issues of *auctoritas* while resisting facile resolution: Chaucer here simultaneously holds out the possibility of becoming an *auctor* by virtue of telling tales and yet cautions against doing so in the strongest of terms. It is the instability of language itself that undermines *auctoritas* in the *Manciple's Tale;* and since linguistic truth and falseness circulate together in the absence of *auctoritas*, being an *auctor newe* cannot confer moral rectitude upon one's tale-telling.

The *Manciple's Tale* ends with an admonition to "'thenk upon the crowe,'" forcing the reader's attentions back onto the discursively constructed body of the crow itself. In Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the crow serves as cautionary tale-teller to the raven,

who ignores the advice, tells Apollo, and undergoes metamorphosis because of unwise speech; in the *Manciple's Tale*, Chaucer has conflated the two birds—admonisher and ignorer of sage admonitions—and as a result, his crow becomes a "verbal icon, a point of mediation for the reader" in a tale whose ultimate advice is prudent silence (Fumo, "Thenking upon the Crowe" 357). Fumo's schema posits that this admonition against tale-telling leads straightforwardly to the *Parson's Tale* and then to a simple resolution of the *Canterbury Tales* as a whole in the *Retraction* (357). However, as Rosemarie McGerr has cautioned, Chaucer subverts such direct closure (157). McGerr contextualizes Chaucer's *Retraction* by comparison to Augustine's *Retractiones*. In the *Retractiones*, Augustine asserts for his works the status of *quod legi posset et deberet* ("what can and ought to be read"), thereby addressing the issue of interpretation (133). Chaucer's Retraction, consequently, enables two things: it inscribes his *intentio auctoris*, thereby appropriating for himself, implicitly at a minimum, the language of the *accessus*, but it also transfers the hermeneutic responsibility to the reader, thereby establishing *intentio lectoris* as the means of securing licit interpretation.[35] As J. Allan Mitchell has aptly phrased the situation, the reading of "exemplary text preserves individual agency and autonomy at the same time that it prompts moral agents and gives them practical guidance concerning future action" (15). This expansion of licit tropological exegesis to include the intention of the reader, I argue, is a response to the influence of Nominalism

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[35] This is both my drawing out the implications of McGeer's arguments regarding the shift onto the reader (135-46) and my tying this far more explicitly to the *accessus* tradition than she does. I introduce the idea of *intentio lectoris* to make this distinction clearer; McGeer does not use the term.

as articulated earlier in the fourteenth century by William of Ockham. The Realism operative through Late Antiquity and culminating in Peter Abelard requires a Neo-Platonic understanding of language, and indeed this certainty about linguistic stability is necessary for the *integumentum* to work as a hermeneutic schema. In Roger Parr's apt phrasing, "the problem of *verbum et veritas*" has asserted itself (1). *Auctoritas* depends upon the ability of *verba* to convey *veritas*. With that certainty removed under a Nominalist perspective, the ability to find the *res* behind the *verba* is no longer certain, and licit intention by the reader is as essential as that of the author to ensure morally orthodox interpretation.[36]

The solution to a properly trained *intentio lectoris* is *memoria*. As McGerr argues, "more than simply an inert storehouse of knowledge, memory functions actively to review and recollect the events of the past for present cognition" (137). In this light, Geoffrey of Vinsaulf's instructions about feeding the mind properly during *ruminatio* takes on new force, as the dialogue between reader and author both requires the same rigorous training to ensure orthodox hermeneutics. This is a marked shift from the concept of monastic *memoria* as discussed in the first chapter. It can no longer be assumed that one's audience will be monks whose *intentio* can be reliably presupposed to be licit; as a result, illicit *delectatio* in reading threatens the entire disposition towards secular literature occasioned by medieval understandings of Romans 15:4 unless this

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[36] It is worth recollecting Matthew Irvin's assertion that the Latin *apparatus criticus* of the *Confessio Amantis* served to limit the possible audience for Gower's poem (53-4); the lack of such a "literacy test" for the *Canterbury Tales* underscores Chaucer's anxiety *vis-à-vis* licit interpretation.

proper *ruminatio* also occurs in the reader. Through Geoffrey of Vinsaulf, the Horatian tradition takes on greater centrality in the greater schema of the *Canterbury Tales*. In McGerr's schema, "literature offers something other than a record of the past, however, for it recloaks the significance of experience in a more durable, though more artificial, garment" (140). The implication here is crucial: the *integumentum*, the textile that must be removed through proper interpretation, has shifted from the text itself and its paratextual accretions meant to regulate the hermeneutic possibilities to readers' experiences. The place of fiction, then, is to feed properly the mind to shape an orthodox *intentio lectoris*. The shift is subtle but crucial, and it is essential for understanding Chaucer's dialectic of "ernest and game" operative throughout the *Canterbury Tales*.

Conclusions: "Betwixst ernest and game," between *Auctor* and *Compilator*

In the *Tale of Melibee,* Chaucer makes explicit the moral imperative that underlies the *Canterbury Tales* as a poetic project: through the narratorial persona he has constructed for himself, he charges his audience with discerning sacred truth that lies beyond his fictive words. In *Melibee*, we see Chaucer using the Horatian corpus to inflect his source text with greater moral force. As a result of this inflection, Chaucer successfully yokes *caritas* and *mesure* with tale-telling by establishing its ability to train the mind in licit use of language and thereby inculcate virtuous behavior, conditioning the soul for receiving divine grace. From *Melibee*, we turned to discuss the *Nun's Priest's Tale*, where another instance of Chaucer's use of Horace to interpolate his source text has furthered his larger project: Horatian satire undergirds the framing narrative he provides

for the tale to enable a discourse about the inherent complexities of tale-telling itself and licit use of *auctoritee*. In the *Nun's Priest's Tale,* Chaucer also uses Geoffrey of Vinsaulf's conceit of feeding the mind to caution against indiscriminate *ruminatio*. This is the same combination from the Horatian tradition that the third chapter argues informs *Piers Plowman*. The two poems could not be more different in their uses of Horace's "humble style" to express their truths. They also evince a different disposition towards the *auctores* themselves. In *Piers Plowman*, we have the most concrete exemplar of what the scholarship cited in the first chapter of the dissertation leads us to expect: a harmonizing of Horace with sacred scripture in a way that never threatens the greater *auctoritas* of the Bible and that always emphasizes a clear salvific purpose. Chaucer gives us a tale that more than anything emphasizes the need for intellectual discrimination to assess the intentions behind linguistic utterances.

From here, we moved to Fragment IX to consider the *Manciple's Tale* and Chaucer's careful reworking of the Ovidian tradition and its telling of the crow to give us something far more complicated than a morality tale against gossip. Through cross-fertilization with Horace, the *Manciple's Tale* adapts its source text to voice larger concerns about language's ability to convey truth and to raise the question of what it means to be an *auctor newe*. In the tale, the importance of licit *ruminatio* for poets expressed in the *Poetria nova* extends to the reader, and the ethical force for licit use of language conveyed by the *intentio auctoris* in the *accessus* tradition transfers, at least partially, to the *intentio lectoris*. As McGerr argues, the tendency to read the Parson's

Tale as an explicit turning away from fiction and a return to strict moralization is problematic (149-50). This trajectory requires understanding Chaucer's *Retraction* as a retraction in the modern sense. The situation here is not so straightforward. *The Retraction*, in fact, returns us to the hermeneutic topography of the *Nun's Priest's Tale* by echoing the allusion to Romans 15:4: "For oure book seith, 'Al that is writen is writen / for our doctrine,' and that is myn entente" (1083). There's just enough ambiguity here to justify asking which book, precisely, Chaucer means, the Bible or his own. Certainly he is using the convention of the *accessus* here to inscribe his *intentio* in writing the *Canterbury Tales*.

The idea of Chaucer's intention first appears in the Prologue to the *Miller's Tale*, where Chaucer also uses the language of both the *accessus* and the *compilatio*:

> "For Goddes love, demeth nat that I seye
> Of yvel entente, but for I moot reherce
> Hir tales alle, be they bettre or werse,
> Or elles falsen som of mateere.
> And therefore, whoso list it nat yheere,
> Turne over the leef and chese another tale." (3172-7).

Chaucer here foregrounds the *materia* of his tale-telling: reporting accurately the tales as his fictive pilgrims tell them. He also expresses an *intentio auctoris* of proper ethical disposition. However, he rests the final moral choice with his audience (3177) and excuses himself from the moral consequences that may result from misreading: "Blameth nat me if that ye chese amys" (3181). Chaucer's admonition to respect the difference between ernest and game (3186) seeks to serve as its own kind of *ethice subponitur* to

separate licit from illicit understanding, but the *intentio lectoris* will play a part in the *ruminatio* that will occur through engaging with the tales. Nonetheless, Chaucer's use of *reherce* and his two remonstrations against blame (3181 and 3185) complicate his own status of *auctor* as well as the *auctoritas* of his work. This returns us to the tautology by which these terms were defined in the first chapter of this dissertation. To rehearse Minnis's formulation: "an *auctoritas* was a quotation or an extract from the work of *an auctor*" (*Medieval Theory* 10). Consequently, an *auctor* is a textual personification who offers advice on proper style and conduct, and an *auctoritas* is precisely this textual utterance. We have in the Prologue to the *Miller's Tale* Chaucer's own textual representation of himself disavowing all blame and, by extension, *auctoritas*, for his tales.

This is the standard rhetorical posture for a *compilatio* (Minnis, "Late-Medieval Discussions" 415-6). What Chaucer has given us in the *Canterbury Tales*, however, transcends the *compliatio*'s purpose to present *auctoritates* in a more easily accessible way not only by his cross-fertilization of his source texts with other *auctores* but in his systematic opening up of the role shared with readers in ensuring hermeneutic rectitude. Minnis presents Gower and Chaucer as the obverse of one another with respect to their claims for *auctoritas*: "Gower was a compiler who tried to present himself as an author, [and] Chaucer was an author who hid behind the 'shield and defence' of the compiler" (*Medieval Theory* 210). My own conclusion does not differ in kind, but Minnis's summation insufficiently encapsulates the complexity of Chaucer's shifting of

exegetical responsibility toward his audience. In Chaucer's complexities and hesitations about what it meant to be an *auctor newe*, we see the shift from a Neo-Platonic certainty that *res* exists beyond the *verba* by which the truth is expressed toward Nominalism's assertion that the words themselves matter. Consequently, the concept of *auctoritas* itself has shifted. As Minnis himself argues, "merely to preserve the meaning is not good enough for Chaucer … who is determined to preserve the proper words of each pilgrim" (*Medieval Theory* 202). This new disposition towards language not only disrupts the ability of *auctoritas* to dwell wholly within a textual utterance outside of its interpretation by its readers, it also forces a shift in the relative *auctoritas* of Middle English *vis-à-vis* Latin: that the words themselves of Chaucer's fictive pilgrims matter signifies a trust in the ability of Middle English to convey truthfulness as well as Latin. Chaucer, however, problematizes even this, for by the end of the *Canterbury Tales*, the inherent ability of language to convey truth at all is suspect, and it is only the proper *intentio* of both author and reader that alone can govern licit interpretation. It is in no small part Chaucer's deft inflection of his source texts with the Horatian tradition that has enabled precisely this discourse.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS: THE HORATIAN TRADITION, INTENTIONS, AND HORIZONS

In discussing Walter Benjamin's term the *Nachleben* of texts, textual scholar Sakunta Chaudhuri asserts that reception and transmission of literary works are "always already" (to borrow Althusser's phrase) an interplay of adaptation and alteration: "texts ceaselessly alter and extend their form; eventually they pass into, or turn into, other works where the 'original' work persists as a 'presence,' the old moon in the new moon's arms'" (8). The logical extension of this premise is that "all texts are made up of other texts" (8). It is this idea, in turn, that authorizes source study as a legitimate field of intellectual activity. Ancient Roman educational praxis firmly entrenched three Augustan Age poets as exemplars of good metrical taste and style: Vergil, Ovid, and Horace. The Middle Ages inherited this curricular approach and adapted it to suit the ideological needs of the Catholic Church. The textual shades of the metrical triumvirate not only survived but flourished in the Latin culture of the Middle Ages. Scribes continued to copy their corpora, and commentators provided the scholia meant to guide their licit incorporation into orthodox Christian exegesis. The triumvirs' influence over medieval Latin *versificatores* has received due scholarly attention. With respect to vernacular poetic production in England during the Middle Ages, Vergil has his keenest champion in

Christopher Baswell. Likewise, Ralph Hexter has proved the ablest of a long list of scholars to explicate the Ovidian tradition's centrality to English vernacular literary production during the Middle Ages. Horace's influence on medieval vernacular poetry in England, on the other hand, has received scant sustained scholarly attention. In fact, only two articles by Sebastian Sobecki and Carol Heffernan interrupt an interregnum of almost ninety years in scholarly attention to the Horatian tradition's influence on Middle English poetry.

This seems odd to me on two counts. The first is how vital the Horatian tradition seems to be in the High and Late Middle Ages: the sheer volume of manuscripts produced, the proliferation of commentaries amassed, and the amount of Latin verse indebted to Horace all speak to the vigor of the Horatian tradition. The second of these broad reasons is the nature of the poetry of the three metrical triumvirs itself. Certainly the earliest scholiasts latched onto their understanding of *Eclogues* IV to champion Vergil as a proto-Christian. Nonetheless, there are some key distinctions between the ethical topography of the *Aeneid* and the New Testament: the *pietas* of Aeneas is not the same as that of saints, and yet the medieval commentary tradition had little difficulty negotiating harmony between classical ethics and Christian morality. At the beginning of the medieval epoch, Isidore of Seville identified Ovid as the most suspect of the *auctores* (Parr 13); by the Late Middle Ages, the Ovidian tradition was ubiquitous. It is worth noting that Ovid's verse occasioned the poet's exile from his own capital because of its licentiousness. With an *accessus* here and a *hic-haec-hoc* gloss there, the ancient poet of

love took up his place within *ethica* to convey the wisdom of the *sententiae* that lay beyond their verbal *integumentum*. Horace's poetic corpus, in marked contrast, conveys an ethical disposition much closer in many respects to Christianity: moderation, virtue, wisdom, terrestrial transience, and simplicity. It struck me, therefore, as peculiar that the Horatian tradition should be virtually absent from the horizon of scholarly discussions about the medieval inheritance of the classical tradition. With Hexter's admonition to "anatomize" (*Medieval School Commentaries* 5) the Horatian tradition's influence firmly in mind, I set off to do for Horace what he and Baswell, among other scholars, had so ably done for Ovid and Vergil: to discuss the processes of "Englishing," the linguistic and cultural translation to which the *auctor* was subjected by vernacular medieval poets. In retrospect it is patent that this was a journey undertaken with equal parts hubris and naiveté—hubristic for thinking I had their intellectual prowess and naive for thinking that the influence of Horace's far more subtle poetry would be readily clear. This subtlety is key: whereas the masterpieces for which Vergil and Ovid are justly famous are lengthy narrative poems, the Horatian corpus has no plotline to reveal its influence and instead requires attention to linguistic and thematic resonances. Assessing the "Englishing" of Horace was going to be different.

The first chapter of this dissertation represents the tools I gleaned from additional scholars that I believed would help me "anatomize" the Horatian influence over poiesis in medieval England. The combination of Romans 15:4 and a Neo-Platonic disposition toward language Late Antiquity bequeathed to the Early Middle Ages resulted in a

marvelously flexible hermeneutic praxis: the *accessus ad auctores* served to guide the process of licit interpretation of the classical *poetae* by lifting the *integumentum* of *verba* that obscured the central *res* beneath them. Other aspects of the scholia joined the *accessus* to ensure that all exegesis of the *auctores* was safely contained within the boundaries of *ethice subponitu*r. The medieval curricula passed this disposition toward the classical *auctores* from the monastery school, to the cathedral school, and to the *studia generalia* that under charters from the pope or secular rulers would become the great universities. Paralleling this trajectory was a similar movement from orality to literacy through which *memoria* underwent a transformation from aural to textual. From Karsten Friis-Jensen and Suzanne Reynolds I took ideas about the way the commentary tradition that transmitted the Horatian corpus looked and functioned. My scholarly tools were assembled.

The second chapter represents my attempts at using this intellectual toolkit to look at the three Old English elegies in the second booklet that comprises the *Exeter Book*. My intention here was to draw on an impetus from recent Dark Age and Anglo-Saxon archaeological studies as well as the ideas of Thomas Hill that problematize a dominant approach to Old English literature that posits a "nativist" Germanic warrior ethos. As a result, Anglo-Saxon scholarship evinces a marked tendency to posit "Germanic oral tradition" as both a shibboleth and a horizon of knowability. This "Germanic oral tradition," aside from drawing on dangerous nineteenth-century fantasies of ethnic purity and giving rise to present-moment misogynistic impulses, obscures the fact that these

elite Teutonic warriors, in fighting as mercenaries, inhabited the same space as the aristocratic Romans who hired them, as Hill persuasively argues. As a result, the "nativist" approach fails to understand the cultural cross-fertilization at work in the "Germanic oral tradition," which is likely to be steeped in Late Antique culture. My intention in this chapter was to follow a hierarchy of influence that seemed—and still seems— intellectually responsible to me in examining the trio of Old English elegies from the *Exeter Book*: to assume the primacy of scriptural influence and from there to query the relevant sources within the Magisterium. However, when this failed to account for the poems' imagery and vocabulary, rather than sweeping the discrepancies under the "Germanic oral tradition" rug, I wanted to draw upon the cultural cross-fertilization of Roman culture to ask where might Horace's influence be glimpsable in the Old English poems. What I may not have made sufficiently clear, though, is that I think the circulation of these Horatian residues was still oral, not textual, and may have been removed from the point of initial contact by centuries. An orally transmitted *sensaliter* reflection of Horace in an Old English poem declines below the horizon of what is demonstrably knowable. Nonetheless, speculation has a place in responsible academic inquiry: having identified possible loci of Horatian influences in the *Exeter Book* is leaving a roadmap for later, more capable scholars to search for stronger proofs.

The third chapter moved us from Anglo-Saxon England into the fourteenth century to explore the Horatian tradition's influence on *Piers Plowman*. My initial expectations for finding any evidence here were low: the poem's obfuscation of its

learning, the complexities of its structure, the orthodoxy of its central themes, and simplicity of the poet's greater message all led me to believe that little Horace would lurk in its satirical allegory. *Piers Plowman*, however, turned out not only to evince the clearest and most direct use of Horace but also to use the Horatian tradition in the ways the existing scholarship surveyed in the first chapter led me to expect. A series of poems from Horace's second book of *Satires* form the basis of Langland's discourse on licit versus illicit consumption. A pair of passages about peacocks in *Piers Plowman* forms the center of my argument. I also argue that Geoffrey of Vinsaulf's discussion on *memoria* informs Langland's ruminative process. My analysis also follows this *ruminatio* through the the second book of the *Satires* to argue that Horace provides the source material for a heretofore unidentified Latin floscule in the poem. This Horatian-rooted discourse of consumption forms a key part of the larger salvific intent of *Piers Plowman*, one that firmly presses *ethica* into service of an entirely Christian moral purpose. In short, this chapter not only yielded the firmest evidence of a debt to Horace, but Langland's use of the Horatian tradition evinced precisely the kind of moralization that the commentary tradition is supposed to produce. I sought to present my findings with the most clarity and nuance I could muster, but *Piers Plowman* is a poem that pushes my intellect to its limits.

If the chapter on *Piers Plowman* proved the most surprising in the best of ways, the one on John Gower's *Confessio Amantis* proved to be so in the most frustrating. Gower being the most flamboyantly learned of the three Middle English poets this

dissertation explored, my initial assumption was that the evidence for the *Confessio Amantis* would be copious and clear; it proved to be scant and capricious. First, I tried to find a context that would demonstrably account for the two misidentifications of Horace in the poem; what proved possible, however, is a hypothesis that gestures toward the sort of manuscript that might provide the necessary proof. None of the seven manuscripts I consulted in detail at the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* yielded any helpful evidence; it may be that other manuscripts of the Horatian tradition will. From there my analysis turned to other loci in the *Confessio Amantis*. I posited the possibility that Gower may have relied on a synopsis of *sententiae* drawn from the first three poems of the *Odes* I for the overall theme of royal patronage used in his narration of his commission for the *Confessio Amantis* from Richard II. Next an analysis of two of Gower's tales in the seventh book argued for influence of Horace's *Odes* in the moral inflection he gives to his source material. Lastly, I argued for the direct influence of the Horatian corpus in Gower's greater purpose of tale-telling *vis-à-vis* instructing Richard II on virtuous royal conduct; my argument asserted the clearest evidence of Horace's influence in the *Confessio Amantis* comes in the mirror in which Amans is made to confront the specter of old age, which I argue depends on Horace's *Odes* IV.10. Lastly, the same passage from the *Poetria Nova* that informed Langland's *ruminatio* reappears in Gower's justification for tale-telling: morally licit fiction fortifies *memoria*.

The final chapter considered Chaucer's use of the Horatian tradition, focusing the analysis on Fragments VII and IX as well as the *Retraction*. My argument was that a

trajectory through the *Tale of Melibee*, the *Nun's Priest's Tale*, and the *Manciple's Tale* shows Chaucer deftly inflecting his source texts with Horace in a way that not only alters their ethical resonance but allows them to cohere into a broader discourse about tale-telling and linguistic instability. Through this movement, Chaucer, also drawing on the *Poetria Nova*, metapoetically inscribes the need for intellectual discrimination on the part of his readers as they take the *Canterbury Tales* into their *memoria*. My argument further asserts that Chaucer responds to the threat of Nominalism against licit interpretation of the *auctores* and fictive tales by expanding the role of *intentio* to cover both author and reader.

Drawing broader conclusions beyond those drawn in each chapter now seems prudent. The most demonstrably proven conclusion would seem to be the ubiquity of Geoffrey of Vinsaulf's *Poetria Nova* by the end of the fourteenth century: his conception of *ruminatio* feeding *memoria* informs the poiesis of Langland, Gower, and Chaucer. The *Canterbury Tales*, however, evinces Chaucer's amplification of this rumination metapoetically to include his own audience; this is an importance nuance. The common scholarly position that the *Poetria Nova* entirely displaced the *Ars Poetica*, however, overstates the case, since Gower most certainly, and Chaucer quite probably, used it. My research has confirmed Rita Copeland's argument that the *Ars Poetica* and *Poetria nova* were often read together and formed a "complementarity" ("Horace's *Ars Poetica*" 28). Tracing the influence of Matthew of Vendôme is less clear. There are loci in both Gower and Chaucer that may owe something to his *Ars versificatoria* and its transmission of

Horatian *sententiae*. Primarily, however, Matthew of Vendôme's treatise is concerned with Latin versification; most of the second part of the work concerns itself with using different parts of speech to convey an idea. As Roger Parr himself notes, it is primarily a pedagogical work whose transmission is so complicated that "no definitive Latin text exists" (xi). This brings us to something else that seems demonstrably true: the transition into textuality by the fourteenth century, for Langland, Gower, and Chaucer are clearly not using orally transmitted remembrance but rather manuscripts with commentaries of differing complexities for their knowledge of the Horatian tradition.

The nature of the Horatian tradition itself requires further comment. The arguments of both Friis-Jensen and Reynolds imply that every medieval encounter of Horace was necessarily mediated through an extensive commentary tradition. Implicit in Friis-Jensens arguments is an argument that the later Middle Ages knew only the *Satires* and the *Epistulae*. Both of these arguments require careful, nuanced assessment in light of my interaction with the Horatian tradition. It is certainly the case that my strongest evidence comes from the *Satires* and Langland's use of the second book of them. As Friis-Jensen argues, the *Satires* accrued the least overtly moralizing commentary of the Horatian corpus because of the *intentio* ascribed to them: to reprehend vice. This raises an important question: does my most compelling evidence come from the *Satires* because they were the only part of the corpus being read widely, or does the relative lack of overt moralization simply mean a medieval reading of them is less "distorted" from their literal meaning? Asked another way, the question is to what extent does *reductio ad*

concordiam remove the possibility of recognizing the original text a commentary moralizes? Let me proceed to further explication by way of example.

Paris, BnF MS Latin 17897, fol. 29v-30r presents Horace's *Odes* III.9 in a beautiful late Caroline hand:

> Donec gratus eram tibi
> Nec quisquam potior bracchia candidae
> Ceruici iuuenis dabat,
> Persarum uigui rege beatior.
> Donec non alia magis
> Arsisti neque erat Lidia post Chloen
> Multi Lidia nominis,
> Romana uigui clarior Ilia.
> Me nunc Thressa Chloe regit
> Dulcis docta modos et citharae sciens
> Pro qua non metuam mori
> Si parcent animae fata superstiti.
> Me torret face mutua
> Thurini Chalais filius Ornyti
> Pro quo bis patiar mori,
> Si parcent puero fata superstiti.
> Quid si prisca redi Uenus
> Diductosque iugo cogit (a)eneo?
> Si flava excutitur Chole
> Reiectaeque patet ianua Lidiae?
> Quamquam sidere pulchrior
> Ille est tu levior cortice improbo
> Iracundior Hadria

Tecum uiuere amem tecum obeam libens.[1]

The poem in this manuscript is entitled *Ad Lidiam Meretricem*, "to Lydia the Whore." Already from the title, we are getting a deflection from Horace's poem, whose literal text in no way even implies such a thing about Lydia. The scholium begins by explaining the narratorial personae adopted in the poem and then helpfully explains that the poem is a dialogue between the two:

> Donec. hic (H)orati(us) gerit p(er)sona(m) illi(us) amatoris nebulonis q(u)i du(m) amica sua eu(m) diligebat videbat(ur) sibi q(ua)si rex v(el) imp(er)ator esse. ide(m) sua mere(tr)ex putabat. et inducit(ur) amic(us) [ ] loquens et amica a(l)ternati(m) respondens. sic (h)orati(us) incip(it) (:) o tu li[d]ia donec, i(dest) du(m) era(m) g(ra)t(us) t(ib)i et du(m) q(u)isq(uam) iuuenis
> n(on) erat potior me dare brachia candide ceruici tue
> i(n)te(r)im vix(i) beatior.[2] (Fol 29v)

From here what follows is largely a series of *ordo* glosses and prose summaries. Things, however, get more complicated when the commentary seeks to explain the eroticism:

> hic ponit (h)orati(us) q(uod) alia(m) ha(be)t amica(m) et illa responde-

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[1] "'While that I was a darling to you nor any other more powerful young man was giving his arms to your lovely neck, I lived more happi[ly] than a king of the Persians.' 'While that you burned not more greatly for another woman nor Lydia [followed in sequence] after Chloe—Lydia of many names—I lived brighter than Roman Ilia.' 'Now Thracian Chloe, learned in the sweet musical modes and knowing the cithara, rules me, if the Fates should spare the soul of [my] surviving (ie, current) [love].' 'The son of Ornytus Thurinus, Chalais—for whom I would twice suffer to die—burns me with mutual fire, if the Fates should spare my surviving boy[friend].' 'What if primordial Venus should return and compel the separated ones into a bronze yoke? [What] if golden Chloe were banished, and the doors [of the underworld] should open for rejected Lydia?' 'Although he is more beautiful than the stars, you are lighter than cork and angrier than the murky Adriatic, with you, I would love to live, [and] with you, I would willing[ly] die.'"

[2] "Here Horace puts on the persona of some low-born lover who while he is pleasing to his girl would seem to be as a king or emperor. The whore herself believed the same thing. And it is begun, the boyfriend speaking and the girlfriend responding in turn. Thus Horace begins: "oh, you Lydia while that…; that is, while I was pleasing to you and while there was no young man more powerful than I am to give his arms to your lovely neck, in that time, I lived more happily."

> bit habe(re) se aliu(m) amicu(m) \./ q(ua)si oli(m) ita te dilexi s(ed) m(od)o habeo
> alia(m), et h(oc) (es)t m(od)o riget i(dest) me rigidu(m) facit cloe illa pulchra
> cloe dica tressa a loco.[3]

The most extraordinary part of the commentary, however, comes in the gloss to *Quamquam*: *Q(uam)q(uam). Audito q(uod) placeat, illa nescit tacere, scilicet i(stu)d e(ss)et*.[4] To drive home that the Horatian ode has now taken a misogynistic turn, the D of *Donec* that begins the poem's text is an historiated initial of Eve tempting Adam with the apple. This is fascinating in its own right, but it raises a larger question about locating evidence of the Horatian tradition when it is so heavily moralized: how to separate this conceptually from a reference to the Vulgate if one encountered such advice about damnation and prostitutes in a Middle English poem? To sift out the evidence of Horace, if it were even present, would require a more finely-grained apparatus than the one I build into my database can allow. Consequently, it may be that greater direct use of the Horatian corpus beyond that provided by the *Satires* and *Epistulae* may exist, but for now and for me, such evidence exists well below the horizons of interpretation. This is where the model provided by Hexter and Baswell for Augustan Age narrative poetry becomes far less precise for the Horatian corpus. I should here note two other important issues. The first of these is that in this dissertation I have not presented all of the

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[3] "Here Horace posits that he has another girlfriend, and she responds that she has another boyfriend, as if at one time thus it had been pleasing to her, but also I have another girlfriend; and in this manner he is bedewed, that is, that beautiful Chloe makes him rigid. Chloe [is] called Thracian from the place[name]."

[4] "Having heard only what is pleasing; she does not know [how] to be silent."

evidence; my refusal simply to present a catalogue of evidence that I could not yoke to a greater argument means that not every instance suggestive of Horatian influence is documented here. The second thing to be noted is that I found no strong evidence to support reference to the *Carmen Saeculare*.

The three Middle English poets and their uses of the Horatian tradition force a reassessment of *auctoritas* broadly considered. As established in the first chapter, the scholia transmitted alongside the *auctores* presented the *auctoritas* embedded within the poetry of classical antiquity as salvific *res* veiled by an *integumentum* of verbal literalness; a skilled medieval reader of the pagan *poetae* would necessarily be able to engage in a process of *ennaratio* and derive licit meaning from their verses. Within this hermeneutic epistemology, *auctoritas*, then, fundamentally requires confidence in language's ability to convey truth and presupposes that the combination of proper intention and training will achieve this sort of orthodox semiosis as a matter of course. Langland's disposition toward *auctoritas* conforms perfectly: he deftly uses Horatian satire to present a verse allegory of Christological salvation without ever claiming *auctoritas* for his efforts beyond that of his sources. The text-paratext continuum in the *Confessio Amantis* presents a more nuanced situation. Despite pointedly claiming, in Latin, that he has not written as an *auctor* (*ut auctor ego non scripsi* 7.1445), Gower complicates this through the concluding epistle that claims the status of *poeta* for him. Gower, consequently, represents the *middel wei* among the three Middle English poets with respect to *auctoritas*: he presupposes sufficient linguistic stability to claim what is

tantamount to the same status as the *auctores* for himself. Chaucer's disposition toward *auctoritas* seems to me so nuanced and slippery that none of us has yet fully articulated it. The problem involves an anxiety about language's ability to convey truth that undermines the very concept of *auctoritas* itself. The *Manciple's Tale* admonishes against being labelled *auctor newe*, but what precisely this signifies at the end of the penultimate tale—and the ultimate one to deal with classical material—in the *Canterbury Tales* is not clear. The anxiety the tale evinces about the indistinguishability between *false or trewe* erodes linguistic *auctoritas* beyond resuscitation. A typical scholarly move is to posit that the *Parson's Tale* and the *Retraction* revivify linguistic veracity and certitude, but the simplicity of this solution ignores the ambiguity of the *Retraction*. Chaucer's solution to the problem is to introduce the proper training and intention of the reader as well as the poet as a check against the linguistic instability that compromises *auctoritas*. If Gower seeks to elevate himself to the level of the *auctores,* Chaucer implicitly lowers them to his own status though he does so only indirectly by problematizing the circular relationship between *auctoritas* and *auctor*.

Finally, it seems prudent here to draw the conclusions my research has suggested *vis-à-vis* reading practices in medieval England. This dissertation began at a point in time in which literacy is rare outside the cloisters of monasteries and cathedrals and where the professed purpose of *lectio* is univocal. It ended at a point when literacy is far more common and turned to ends beyond devotion. By the fourteenth century, textuality itself had changed: manuscripts no longer served as visual icons by which to remember oral

exchanges but were designed to be queried and read in wholly different ways. Moreover, manuscript books were a vital business in London a century before Caxton set up his printing press (Christianson 102). Books circulated with frequency at the court of Edward III (Meale 202-3), and as discussed in greater detail in the Gower chapter, Richard II actively fostered a sophisticated and erudite culture at his own court. This not only marks a different disposition toward textuality itself and perceptions of its ability to convey information, but it also indicates the extent to which readership, readers, and reading's purposes had changed. Moderate pleasure as part of greater health comes to join the moral impetus for reading.[5] We glimpse this shift in Gower and Chaucer and their anxieties *vis-à-vis delectatio* in reading the *auctores*. It would have been nice to test Reynolds's assertion that the scholia in the manuscripts are necessarily "the written traces of a much fuller reading practice" orally conducted in the classroom (*Medieval Reading* 29); however, this would require the syzygy of the precise Horatian manuscript the Middle English poet used, his poem, and the correct scholarly perspicacity; this conjunction did not occur in this dissertation.

I have sought within the limits of the time available to me and my own intellectual powers to provide a responsible analysis of the Horatian tradition operative in Old and Middle English poetry. Parts of this dissertation are finished to a standard close to my aim. My chapter on *Piers Plowman* goes the furthest toward a genuinely novel contribution to the field. The others, however, point to fruitful areas for future academic

[5] Olson 37-8; Jessica Rosenfeld ties this shift in attitude toward reading for pleasure to the influx of Aristotelianism (20-1).

inquiry. For Gower and Chaucer, more time would have yielded better results and firmer conclusions. With respect to the *Exeter Book*, additional time is unlikely to have yielded a more convincing argument. For the flaws and failures of this dissertation, I can only invoke Horace *Odes* II.16: *nihil est ab omni parte beatum*.

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VITA

Justin Hastings earned his Bachelor of Arts degree with Honors from Mount Union College in Alliance, Ohio, with majors in English and Renaissance and Medieval Studies and minors in Art History and Classics. In his undergraduate program, Dr. Hastings found his love for Old and Middle English literature specifically and medieval culture more broadly. He continued his formal education by completing his Master of Arts degree from the Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of Toronto in Toronto, Ontario, Canada. It was there that his interests in the medieval inheritance of the classical tradition began to coalesce. The CMS was also where Dr. Hastings's interest in manuscript culture, paleography, and codicology began. Upon completing his first graduate degree, he began a teaching career that afforded him the opportunity to hone his pedagogical prowess by teaching Latin, English Literature, Rhetoric and Composition, Medieval Studies, and Foreign Languages at several universities and colleges in the United States and the United Kingdom.

In the autumn of 2010, Dr. Hastings entered the doctoral program in English at Loyola University Chicago with a Merit Award. This permitted him to continue refining both his research and teaching. Dr. Hastings was awarded the prestigious Schmitt Fellowship in Leadership and Service for the 2015-6 academic year. He also received the

Medieval Academy of America's Robert and Janet Lumiansky Dissertation Grant that he used to cover manuscript research at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris and the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan. Prior to that, he was the 2001 recipient of the Lynne Grundy Memorial Trust Award, established in memory of the noted British Anglo-Saxonist to support promising new work in the field of Old English literature. Dr. Hastings has also won recognition for his pedagogy, having received Loyola University Chicago's Excellence in Graduate Student Teaching Award for 2015 and the Midwestern Association of Graduate Schools' Excellence in Teaching Award for 2016.

Dr. Hastings has presented frequently at regional, national, and international conference in the fields of English Literature and Medieval Studies, including the Medieval Academy of America, the annual Medieval Congress at Kalamazoo, and the International Medieval Congress at Leeds, UK. He has been an active supporter for undergraduate research and has been extensively involved in Loyola University Chicago's Weekend of Excellence, where he has served as a judge and moderator for undergraduate presentations and poster sessions. He has served on the executive board for the Loyola chapter of the American Association of University Professors for three years and has been actively involved with that university's Graduate School Advisory Council since his arrival. Also at Loyola University Chicago, Dr. Hastings volunteered to assist the English Department's Director of Undergraduate Studies to encourage greater involvement in the Department's Honors Program as well as the international honors society for English, Sigma Tau Delta. He has served as a writing coordinator for

Loyola's McNair Scholars program, where he coached undergraduates in their applications to graduate schools. In May of 2016, he was also named an Associate of the Research Group on Manuscript Evidence at Princeton.

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