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A STUDY OF THE SOURCES OF THE CONFESSIO AMANTIS OF JOHN GOWER

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ABSTRACT

In the introduction, a survey of published work relating to sources and analogues of the Confessio Amantis is given, and the aims of the thesis are stated. These are to sift and collate work done on sources and analogues of the poem, and bring to light sources and analogues not previously noted.

Chapter One concerns the framework of the poem. As a whole, it is based on confession of the seven cardinal sins and their species. Parallels to Gower's enumeration of the species of the seven sins and of remedial virtues are given from treatises of vices and virtues relating to penance and confession. It is concluded that Gower was enumerating the typical vices and virtues that belong to confession. The influence of the procedure of confession on the presentation of the sins and on some details is then shown, and the confessor, Genius, is discussed. The classification of philosophy which makes up the framework of the seventh book is then examined. Gower's division of two of the main parts of philosophy into 'Theorique' and Practique', and his subdivision of these parts, conforms to the type of division of philosophy known as 'Aristotelian' and is derived from the Trésor of Brunetto Latini. In Gower's classification, however, rhetoric is also a main part of philosophy, with the two subordinate species grammar and logic. One would have expected logic to dominate the trivium. A possible explanation of Gower's exaltation of rhetoric is that he was influenced by eulogistic statements concerning rhetoric found in works relating to the ars dictaminis. Examples of such statements are given. The five

points of policy in the seventh book could have been derived from the Secretum Secretorum and from the De regimine principum of Aegidius Romanus.

Chapter Two concerns sources of stories in the poem. All Gower's stories are 'ensamples' or exempla. In the first section of this chapter, a group of his stories is discussed with a view to ascertaining the influence of the exemplum. For convenience of treatment, the stories are divided into the following groups: classical, Biblical and miscellaneous. Details in some of these stories parallel those in exemplum versions, indicating that Gower made use of the exemplum. In the case of many of the stories, however, it is impossible to name a specific source, since they were so often repeated. Numerous classical stories in this group are the same as exempla in John of Wales' Breviloquium. In telling the same stories as in the Breviloquium Gower inherited a tradition which stems from the twelfth century humanism of John of Salisbury. The classical stories in this group circulated in second-hand versions, so that we need not assume Gower's knowledge of the less well-known classical texts. As regards Biblical stories, Gower used the Vulgate version of the Bible, but was probably also aware of exemplum versions. The influence of the exemplum on some of the miscellaneous stories is shown, though the existence of a story in an exemplum version need not preclude Gower's knowledge of a first-hand version of that story. In the second section of this chapter, some miscellaneous stories are discussed with a view to showing the range of Gower's narrative sources. The stories are

arranged in the following groups: classical stories, stories connected with the Bible, medieval stories, stories paralleling those in The Seven Sages of Rome and the Pantheon of Godfrey of Viterbo, and beast fables.

Chapter Three concerns Gower's use of Ovid in the poem, in particular of the medieval Ovid. Parallel details show that he is likely to have known medieval versions of the Metamorphoses, namely the Ovide moralisé, and the Ovidius moralizatus of Pierre Bersuire, and that he knew glossed texts of the Fasti and the Heroides.

Chapter Four concerns sources of the pantheon in the fifth book of the poem. It is shown that Gower to a great extent supplemented Nachor's speech in Barlaam and Josaphat with medieval treatises concerning the pantheon. The treatises he probably used are the Poetarius of Alberic of London, the prologue to Pierre Bersuire's Ovidius moralizatus, and Boccaccio's Genealogia Deorum Gentilium. In the passage concerning the association of the gods with parts of the body, details suggest that he made use of the passages on this subject in the Historia de Preliis and Alexander B. Most of the description of the origin of idol worship parallels passages on the same subject in other works.

The final chapter concerns sources of some medieval themes in the poem. First, the account of the four world empires in the Prologue is discussed. This whole passage is based on the concept

of the 'translatio imperii'. Details of it parallel those in the Pantheon and Trésor, and Gower makes use of motifs traditionally associated with the theme of the four world empires. Secondly, the account of the fifteen stars, their stones and herbs is shown to be derived from the 'Tractatus Enoch'. Thirdly, some lists in the poem are discussed. These are: from the fourth book, the list of discoverers and inventors and that of the first alchemists; from the sixth book, the list of authors of magic and their books and that of the authors of the science of astronomy; from the seventh book, the list of the first lawgivers. These lists are typical of those found in other medieval works.

In the conclusion, Gower's testimony concerning his sources is first considered. His citation of authority does not necessarily imply his use of that authority. In this kind of citation, Gower was following a known literary convention of his day. Some of the books likely to have been used by Gower in writing the Confessio Amantis are then listed; the list is based on evidence brought to light in the course of this study. A man of Gower's means could not have afforded as large a library as represented by the books listed here. There are a considerable number of representative works in the list. From this it can be concluded that Gower had read widely in the literature current in his day.

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PREFACE

In preparing this thesis, I have received help from many people. The subject of the thesis arose from a suggestion by Professor J.A.W. Bennett. During the first year, my supervisors were Miss M.E. Griffiths and Mr. C.G. Hardie. The following have been of great assistance: the Director, Librarian and Library Staff of the Warburg Institute; the staff of the Departments of Printed Books and Manuscripts, British Museum Library; the staff of the Bodleian Library, and the Librarian and staff of the University of London Library. The Library Staff of the Warburg Institute, and the Keeper and Assistant Keepers of Manuscripts, British Museum Library, answered many academic queries. Mr. E.P.M. Dronke drew my attention to a reference. Dr. M. Manzalaoui and Dr. J.J. Murphy sent me reprints of articles they had written. My sister, Miss S. Mainzer, greatly assisted with final editing. Miss G. Feith made valuable suggestions regarding the editing of the footnotes, and she also prepared the manuscript for typing.

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INTRODUCTION

By way of introduction, a survey of published work relating to sources and analogues of the Confessio Amantis will be given.

G.C. Macaulay gives comprehensive source references in the notes in his standard edition of the Confessio Amantis, and these are a very great advance on those in previous editions of the poem.[1] In the edition of R. Pauli, there is only a general discussion of sources in the introduction. This general discussion relates mainly to stories; source works are mentioned without further reference to specific passages in them, and without relation to specific stories in the Confessio Amantis.[2] In the edition of H. Morley, more exact reference to source works, related to specific stories throughout the poem, is made in the table of contents.[3]

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1. See: Confessio Amantis, notes, in: The Complete Works of John Gower, ed. G.C. Macaulay, Vols. 2 and 3, Oxford, 1901; also in E.E.T.S., E.S. 81, 82, 1900, 1901, reprint 1957; the latter edition has been used in the present study.

2. Confessio Amantis ed. R. Pauli, 3 Vols., London, 1857; Vol. I Introduction, XXXIV. There is no discussion of sources in the edition of the Confessio Amantis of A. Chalmers, in: The Works of the English Poets, Vol. II, 1810, 2-274*, with introduction.

3. Confessio Amantis ed. H. Morley, The Carisbrooke Library II, 1889, XXI-XXX. Cf. also the same author's references in his English Writers, Vol. II, Part I, London, 1867, 108-34.

The only non-narrative source given in these two previous editions is the Secretum Secretorum, in connection with the seventh book of the poem.

Various aspects and passages of the poem have been singled out or referred to in various studies, with reference to sources, analogues and parallels. As regards the framework of the poem, Gower's enumeration of vices and virtues has been related to that of other works,[1] and the framework has been discussed in relation to the background of the penitential tradition.[2] Gower's fusion here of the love theme with penance has also been set against the literary background.[3] Genius in the Confessio Amantis has been discussed in connection with other representations of this figure.[4]

The stories in the Confessio Amantis as a whole have been

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1. R.E. Fowler, 'Une Source Française Des Poèmes De Gower', Thesis, Macon, 1905 (tables, 82-154). J.B. Dwyer, 'The Tradition of Medieval Manuals of Religious Instruction in the Poems of John Gower, with Special Reference to the Development of the Book of Virtues', The University of North Carolina Record, October 1951, No. 492. Research in Progress, 126-7.

2. J.J. McNally, 'The Penitential and Courtly Traditions in Gower's "Confessio Amantis"', Studies in Medieval Culture, ed. J.R. Sommerfeldt, Western Michigan University, 1964, 74-80. J.H. Fisher, John Gower, London, 1965, 137-41.

3. J.J. McNally, study cit., 81-94.

4. E.C. Knowlton, 'The Allegorical Figure Genius', Classical Philology, 15, 1920, 384; id. 'Genius as an Allegorical Figure', Modern Language Notes, 39, 1924, 89-90. C.S. Lewis, The Allegory of Love, Oxford, 1959, 362.

discussed in the context of the exemplum form of narrative;[1] groups of stories in the poem, or single stories in it, have been discussed in relation to sources or analogues. A study primarily concerned with sources of stories in the poem is that of E. Stollreither.[2] As regards stories in the poem relating to classical antiquity in particular, the stories of Troy[3] and of Alexander[4] have been studied in relation to

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1. J.A. Mosher, The Exemplum in the Early Religious and Didactic Literature of England, New York, 1911, 124-6. J. Th. Welter, L'Exemplum Dans La Littérature Religieuse Et Didactique Du Moyen Age, Paris, 1927, 208-9.

2. E. Stollreither, 'Quellen-Nachweise zu John Gower's Confessio Amantis', Diss., Munich, Part I, 1901; concerns the source account of Latin writers. The other two parts, Part II, Medieval Latin Sources, Part III, French Sources (see 58), which the author intended to publish, have apparently not been published.

3. K. Eichinger, 'Die Trojasage als Stoffquelle für John Gower's Confessio Amantis', Diss., Munich, 1900. G.L. Hamilton, 'Gower's Use of the Enlarged Roman De Troie' P.M.L.A., 20, 1905, 179-196. Discussion of the Troy story in the Confessio Amantis is included by Z.B. Leonhard, in 'Gower's Treatment of Classical Mythology in the Confessio Amantis', see: Summaries of Doctoral Dissertations, Northwestern University, XII, 1944, 20-22. (This work is arranged in the form of an Onomasticon).

4. W. Hertz, 'Aristoteles in den Alexanderdichtungen des Mittelalters: 1. Aristoteles als Lehrer Alexanders', in Gesammelte Abhandlungen ed. F. von der Leyen, Stuttgart, 1905, 15. G.L. Hamilton, 'Some Sources of the Seventh Book of Gower's Confessio Amantis', Modern Philology, IX, 1912, 323-4. Idem, 'Studies in the Sources of Gower , I. The Latin and French Versions of "Barlaam and Josaphat" and of the Legendary History of Alexander the Great', The Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 26, 1927, 496-99, 504-20. F. Pfister, 'Auf den Spuren Alexanders des Grossen in der älteren englischen Literatur', Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift, XVI, 1928, 85-6. F.P. Magoun, Jr. The Gests of King Alexander of Macedon, Cambridge, Mass, 1929, 34, 58 n. 5. G. Cary, The Medieval Alexander, ed. D.J.A. Ross, Cambridge, 1956, 36, 97, 220, particularly 253-5.

sources; Ovidian stories have also been studied in this way,[1] some with reference to the medieval Ovid.[2] Some other stories relating to classical antiquity which have been discussed or referred to in special studies in relation to sources are (in the order of the poem): The travellers and the angel,[3]

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1. See: M. Bech, 'Quellen Und Plan Der "Legende of Goode Women" Und Ihr Verhaeltniss Zur "Confessio Amantis"', Anglia V, 1882. 1.Die Quellen der 'Legende of Goode Women', 335-6: Lucrece (Confessio VII 4755-5123); 337-41: Theseus and Ariadne , (Ibid, V. 5231-5483); 342-3: Tereus (Ibid. V. 5551-6047); 346-8: Demophoon and Phyllis (Ibid. IV, 731-878). S.G. Owen, 'Ovid and Romance', in: English Literature and the Classics, ed. G.S. Gordon, Oxford, 1912, 180-3. N. Callan, 'Thyn Owne Book: A Note on Chaucer, Gower and Ovid', The Review of English Studies, 22, 1946, 269-81: Pyramus and Thisbe, (Ibid. III 1331-1494). J.A.W. Bennett, 'Caxton and Gower', The Modern Language Review, 45, 1950, 215-6: visit of Iris to the cave of Morpheus: (Ibid. IV 2972-84, 3006-21). M. Wickert, Studien Zu John Gower, Cologne, 1953, 174-186: Actaeon, and Pygmalion (Ibid. I. 333-378, IV 371-436). Gower's Ovidian stories are also discussed by Z.B. Leonhard, loc. cit.

2. M. Bech, art. cit. 340: (with reference to Ibid. V. 5231-5245, and V 5348-5351; in story of Theseus and Ariadne); Bech here refers to Gower's use of glossed and commentated manuscripts of Ovid, and of marginal notes. S.B. Meech, 'Chaucer and the Ovide Moralisé - A Further Study', P.M.L.A., 46, 1931, n. 105, 201-4; (Pyramus and Thisbe: comparisons of Ovide Moralisé version and that of Chaucer and Gower). J.B. Dwyer, 'Gower's Mirour and its French Sources: A Re-examination of Evidence', Studies in Philology, 48, 1951, 490-493. (Pyramus and Thisbe: comparison with Ovide Moralisé). R. Hazleton, 'The Manciple's Tale: Parody and Critique' , Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 62, 1963, 23: Phoebus and Coronis , (Ibid. III 783-817 ; comparison with Ovide Moralisé).

3. Confessio II. 291-364; G.L. Hamilton, 'Notes on Gower', Modern Language Notes, 19, 1904, 51.

The false bachelor,[1] Constantine and Silvester (detail),[2] Geta,[3] Virgil's mirror,[4] Emperors and Virgins,[5] Valentinian,[6] Spurinna,[7] Jupiter's Two Tuns,[8] Galba and Vitellius,[9] Nero,[10] and a group of stories in the seventh book;[11] a story singled

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1. Ibid. II 2501-2781; J. Alton, ed. Le Roman De Marques De Rome, Bibliothek Des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 187, 1899, xi. L. Thorpe, 'A Source of the "Confessio Amantis"', The Modern Language Review, 43, 1948, 175-81.

2. Ibid. II 3187-3496. M.C. Jochums, 'The Legend of the Voice from Heaven', Notes and Queries, 209, 1964, 44-7 (with reference to l. 3488-3496).

3. Ibid. II 2459-2495. Ö. Lindberger, The Transformations of Amphitryon, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Stockholm Studies in History of Literature, I, 1956, 33-4.

4. Ibid. V 2031-2224. K. Campbell ed. The Seven Sages of Rome, Boston, 1907, XCVI-XCVII. J.W. Spargo, Virgil the Necromancer, Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, X, 1934, 40. D. Comparetti, Virgilio Nel Medio Evo, ed. G. Pasquali, Vol. II, 1955, 80 and n.1. Detail at l. 2196-2208, see: G.L. Hamilton, 'Some Sources of the Seventh Book of Gower's Confessio Amantis', cit., 336-7.

5. Ibid. V 6359-6366; G.L. Hamilton, art. cit., 339-340.

6. Ibid. V 6395-6416; G.L. Hamilton, art. cit., 340.

7. Ibid. V 6372-6384. G.L. Hamilton, art. cit., 338.

8. Ibid. VI 325-390. See H.R. Patch, The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature, Cambridge, Mass., 1927, 53.

9. Ibid. VI 537-595. G.L. Hamilton, art. cit., 340.

10. Ibid. VI 1151-1225. G.L. Hamilton, art. cit., 340.

11. G.L. Hamilton, art. cit., 326-334, 339. M. Manzalaoui, 'The Secreta Secretorum, The Mediaeval European Version of "Kītab Sirr-ul-Asrar",' Reprint from Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Alexandria University, XV, 1961, 95.

out for special discussion in the seventh book is that of Virginia;[1] stories discussed in the eighth book are those of Caligula[2] and Apollonius of Tyre.[3] Narrative details in some classical stories in the poem which parallel those in the De Genealogia Deorum have been indicated.[4]

Biblical stories in the poem have been taken into account in one study,[5] and in other studies Jephthah's daughter,[6] King, wine, woman and truth,[7] as well as a group of Biblical stories in the seventh book of the poem[8] have been singled out.

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1. Ibid. VII 5131-5306; O. Rumbaur, 'Die Geschichte von Appius und Virginia in der Englischen Literatur', Diss., Breslau, 1890, particularly 15-17. L.G. Dickens, 'The Story of Appius and Virginia in English Literature', Dissertation Abstracts, XXIV, 1963, 2011-2; (Gower's version included).

2. Ibid. VIII 199-212. G.L. Hamilton, art. cit., 340.

3. Ibid. VIII 271-2008; S. Singer, Apollonius von Tyrus, Untersuchungen über Das Fortleben Des Antiken Romans In Spätern Zeiten, Halle, 1895, 177-189. E. Klebs, Die Erzählung von Apollonius Aus Tyrus, Eine Geschichtliche Untersuchung Über Ihre Lateinische Urform Und Ihre Späteren Bearbeitungen, Berlin, 1899, 462-471. L.A. Hibbard, Mediaeval Romance in England, New York, 1960, 165-6. With reference to VIII 405-12 and marginal note, see: P. Goolden, 'Antiochus's Riddle in Gower and Shakespeare', The Review of English Studies, N.S. VI, 1955, 245-8.

4. See: D.A. Dilts, 'John Gower and the De Genealogia Deorum', Modern Language Notes, 57, 1942, 23-25.

5. M.E. Neville, 'The Vulgate and Gower's Confessio Amantis', Ohio State University, Abstracts of Dissertations, 64, 1950/1, 387-9.

6. Ibid. IV 1505-1595. W.O. Sypherd, Jephthah and his Daughter, A Study in Comparative Literature, Delaware, 1948, 10.

7. Ibid. VII 1783-1916. G. Stillwell, 'John Gower and the Last Years of Edward III', Studies in Philology, 45, 1948, 457-61.

8. G.L. Hamilton, art. cit., 337-8.

Some medieval stories in the poem discussed or referred to in studies in relation to sources or analogues are: Florent,[1] Constance,[2] Grosseteste and the brazen head,[3] Rosiphelee,[4] Babio and Croceus,[5] The two coffers,[6] Beggars and the pasties,[7]

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1. Ibid. I. 1407-1861. F. Görbing, 'Die Ballade The Marriage of Sir Gawain in ihren Beziehungen zu Chaucer's Wife of Bath's Tale Und Gower's Erzählung Von Florent', Anglia, 23, 1901, 405-423. G.H. Maynadier, The Wife of Bath's Tale, Its Sources and Analogues, London, 1901. Grimm Library No. 13, 129-146. L. Sumner, Introduction, pp. XIII-XXVI to: The Weddynge of Sir Gawen and Dame Ragnell, Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, V, No. 4, July, 1924. B.J. Whiting, 'The Wife of Bath's Tale', Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, ed. W.F. Bryan and G. Dempster, New York, 1958, 223-4. S. Eisner, A Tale of Wonder. A Source Study of The Wife of Bath's Tale, Wexford, 1957, 62-72.

2. Ibid. II 587-1598. E. Lücke, 'Das Leben Der Constanze Bei Trivet, Gower und Chaucer', Anglia XIV, 1892, 77-122, 147-185. M. Schlauch, Chaucer's Constance and Accused Queens, New York, 1927, 70, 132-4. Id. in: 'The Man of Law's Tale', Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, cit., 155. R.E. Dulak, 'Gower's Tale of Constance', Notes and Queries, 198, 1953, 368-9. N.D. Isaacs, 'Constance in Fourteenth Century England', Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, 59, 1958, 260-277.

3. Ibid. IV 234-43. A. Dickson, Valentine and Orson, New York, 1929, 211.

4. Ibid. IV 1245-1446. W.A. Neilson, 'The Purgatory of Cruel Beauties', Romania, 29, 1900, 89-90. E.M. Grimes, 'Le Lay Du Trot', The Romanic Review, 26, 1935, 315-6.

5. Ibid. V 4781-4862. E. Faral, Introduction to De Babione, Bibliothèque de l'École Des Hautes Études, Fasc. 293, 1948, LVIII-LIX.

6. Ibid. V 2273-2390. E. Braunholtz, Die Erste Nichtchristliche Parabel Des Barlaam Und Josaphat, Ihre Herkunft Und Verbreitung, Halle, 1884, 28-30.

7. Ibid. V 2391-2430. E. Braunholtz, op.cit., pp. 72-74. J.A. Herbert, Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, III, London, Reprint, 1962, 130 (Convertimini 89).

King and his steward's wife,[1] Adrian and Bardus,[2] Dante and the flatterer,[3] and the Jew and the pagan.[4] A beast fable in the poem which has been discussed in relation to sources is that of the asp.[5] It should be added that H. Oesterley refers to stories in the Confessio Amantis, together with other stories, in connection with some exempla in the Gesta Romanorum.[6]

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1. Ibid. V 2643-2825. K. Campbell, ed. The Seven Sages of Rome, cit., XCII.

2. Ibid. V 4939-5155. R.R. Raymo, 'Gower's Vox Clamantis and the Speculum Stultorum', Modern Language Notes, 70, 1955, 320. J.H. Mozley and R.R. Raymo, ed. Nigel de Longchamps, Speculum Stultorum, University of California Publications, English Studies 18, 1960, p. 127,n.52.

3. Ibid. VII 2329*-2337*. P. Toynbee, Dante in English Literature from Chaucer to Cary (c. 1380-1844), Vol. I, London, 1909, 17. G. Papini, La Leggenda di Dante, Mitti, Facezie e Tradizioni dei Secoli XIV-XIX, Lanciano, 1911, 57-8. C. Dédéyan, Dante en Angleterre, Vol. I, Paris, 1961, 51-2.

4. Ibid. VII 3207*-3329*. R.M. Ames, 'The Source and Significance of "The Jew and The Pagan"', Mediaeval Studies, XIX, 1957, 37-47.

5. Ibid. I 463-486. L.J. Henkin, 'The Carbuncle in the Adder's Head', Modern Language Notes, 58, 1943, 34-39. M. Neville, 'Gower's Serpent and the Carbuncle', Notes and Queries, 197, 1952, 225-6.

6. H. Oesterley, Nachweisungen to ed. of Gesta Romanorum, Berlin, 1872, 714-749. 8. Statuen bestehlen: Lucius and the statue, Confessio V 7105-7207. 48. Perillus: Cruelty of Siculus, Ibid. VII 3295-3332. 109. Schatz im baumstamme: The two coffers, Ibid. V 2273-2390. 119. Ingratus et Guido: Adrian and Bardus, Ibid. V 4937-5155. 143, Todestrompete: Trump of death, Ibid. I 2021-2253. 156. Achilles unter weibern: Achilles and Deidamia, Ibid. V 2961-3201. (There is a reference to Confessio Amantis in 56. Fürst und Kaufmann, though there is no similar story in the poem; Oesterley does not here give a folio reference, as for other stories in the poem.)

Gower's treatment of classical mythology in general,[1] and the passage concerning the religions in particular,[2] have been discussed in relation to source works. Gower's use of Biblical sources has also been shown.[3] His knowledge of rhetoric as shown in the poem has been discussed with reference to sources[4] as has his knowledge of science as shown in the poem,[5] while the origin of a detail of supposed natural history in the poem has also been discussed.[6] In some studies, attention has been concentrated on the seventh book

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1. Z.B. Leonhard, loc. cit.

2. Ibid. V 747-1959. H. Peri (Pflaum), Der Religionsdisput Der Barlaam-Legende, Ein Motiv Abendländischer Dichtung, Filosofía y Letras, t.XIV núm. 3, 1959, Acta Salmanticensia, 73-4. Discussion with reference to particular parts of the passage, see: G.L. Hamilton, 'Studies in the Sources of Gower', cit., 491-3, 496-9, and F. Pfister, loc. cit.

3. M.E. Neville, loc. cit.; parallel passages in the Bible and the Confessio Amantis see 391-8.

4. J.J. Murphy, 'Chaucer, Gower and the English Rhetorical Tradition', Dissertation Abstracts XVII, 1957, 849-50. Idem. 'John Gower's Confessio Amantis and the First Discussion of Rhetoric in the English Language', Philological Quarterly, 41, 1962, 401-11.

5. G.G. Fox, The Mediaeval Sciences in the Works of John Gower, Princeton Studies in English, 6, 1931. T.O. Wedel, The Mediaeval Attitude Toward Astrology Particularly in England, Yale Studies in English, 60, 1926, 132-142.

6. F. McCulloch, 'The Dying Swan - A Misunderstanding', Modern Language Notes, 74, 1959, 289-92. (Relating to Confessio IV 104-8.)

of the poem, with reference to sources.[1]

Gower's use of the typical themes of the literature of estates in the Prologue to the Confessio Amantis and opening lines of the first book of the poem,[2] and his use of the typical themes of complaint in the poem have been discussed,[3] as has the influence on him of preaching in the Prologue.[4] The delineation of the duties of the ruler in the seventh book has been discussed with reference to sources.[5] His treatment of the subject of Fortune in the poem has been noted together with that in other works, to illustrate medieval treatment of this subject;[6] some references to Nature in the poem have been

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1. A.H. Gilbert, 'Notes on the Influence of the Secretum Secretorum', Speculum III, 1928, 84-93. W. Kleineke, Englische Fürstenspiegel Vom Policraticus Johannes von Salisbury Bis Zum Basilikon Doron König Jakobs I, Studien Zur Englischen Philologie, XC, 1937, 132-3, and in addition G.L. Hamilton, art. cit., T.O. Wedel loc. cit., M. Manzalaoui loc. cit., and J.J. Murphy, art. cit.

2. R. Mohl, The Three Estates in Medieval and Renaissance Literature, New York, 1933; Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature, 105-6, 257, 263, 318, 329-30, 371-2 (opening lines of the first book l. 1-16, and Latin verse head-piece).

3. J. Peter, Complaint and Satire in Early English Literature, Oxford, 1956, 55, 61-2, 66, 76, 78, 93-4. (Ibid. Prologue and fifth book.)

4. G.R. Owst, Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England, Cambridge, 1933, 231.

5. See A.H. Gilbert loc. cit., W. Kleineke, loc. cit., M. Manzalaoui, loc. cit.

6. H.R. Patch, op.cit., 49 n. 7, 59 n. 2, 81 n. 1 and 3, 83 n. 4, 84 n. 1 and 2, 97 n. 1 and 2, 99 n. 2, 100 n. 2, 103 n. 1, 103-4 n. 4, 107 n. 2, 108 n. 4, 111-112 n. 3, 113, 121 n. 4, 155 n. 2 and 4, ~~113~~, 156 n. 1, and 158 n. 1.

mentioned in the context of the medieval representation of Nature.[1] The treatment of the love convention in the poem has also been the subject of discussion.[2] The list of lovers in the eighth book of the poem has been mentioned with similar lists,[3] and the reference to Aristotle in Gower's list has been quoted as one of many examples of such references,[4] while Gower's lists in the poem in which Virgil appears are referred to with other lists of the same kind.[5]

The proverbs used by Gower in his works have been studied in relation to sources and parallels,[6] and his use of the Disticha Catonis has also been studied.[7] A simile in the

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1. J.A.W. Bennett, The Parlement of Foules, Oxford, 1957, n. 4 pp. 195-6, 197 n. 3, 206, 208.

2. W.G. Dodd, Courtly Love in Chaucer and Gower, Harvard Studies in English, I, 1913, 42-90. Discussion of Love-Allegory in the poem: C.S. Lewis, The Allegory of Love, cit., 213-222. Further discussion of Gower's treatment of the love theme in the poem, see: J.J. McNally, study cit., 81-94. J.A.W. Bennett, 'Gower's Honeste Love', in: Patterns of Love and Courtesy, Essays in Memory of C.S. Lewis, ed. J. Lawlor, London, 1966, 107-121.

3. Ibid. VIII 2500 ff. J.A.W. Bennett, The Parlement of Foules, cit., 102.

4. Ibid. VIII 2705-2713. A. Borgeld, Aristoteles En Phyllis, Groningen, 1902, 31.

5. Ibid. VI 98, VIII 2714-7. J.W. Spargo, op.cit., 382-3. D. Comparetti, op. cit., ed. G. Pasquali, Vol. 2, 114, n.1.

6. G. Walz, 'Das Sprichwort bei Gower mit besonderem Hinweis auf Quellen und Parallelen', Diss. (Munich) Nördlingen, 1907.

7. R.M. Hazelton, 'Two Texts of the Disticha Catonis and Its Commentary, with Special Reference to Chaucer, Langland, and Gower', Dissertation Abstracts, XVI, 1956, 1899; idem, 'Chaucer and Cato', Speculum 35, 1960, 370. It is not stated whether the Confessio is taken into account.

Confessio Amantis has been discussed in relation to sources,[1] as well as a detail of the description of envy in the poem.[2]

From this long enumeration of editions and studies it might seem that nothing remained to be done as regards sources and analogues of the poem. The present study has a twofold aim, to sift and collate the work on sources and analogues of the poem which has been cited, and to bring to light sources and analogues not previously noted. The progress of medieval Latin studies since the appearance of Macaulay's edition has made it possible to look at Gower's sources in a more accurate literary and historical light. We are now in a much better position to know what works were in general circulation in Gower's time. It has been one of the main aims of the present study to bear this point in mind, and to attempt, as it were, a reconstruction of part of Gower's working library.

The topics for discussion in the present study will be the following: sources of the framework of the poem, sources of stories in the poem, use of Ovid in the poem, sources of the pantheon in the fifth book of the poem, and sources of some medieval themes in the poem.

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1. G.L. Hamilton, 'Notes on Gower', cit., 51; (relates to Confessio V, 6498).

2. P. Toynbee, op. cit., 17. C. Dédéyan, op. cit., 52-3; (relates to Confessio II 3095-7).

Chapter I

SOURCES OF THE FRAMEWORK OF THE CONFESSIO AMANTIS

I. THE SEVEN CARDINAL SINS

Introduction

The Amans makes confession of the seven cardinal sins; 'Pride' (margin: 'Superbia') in the first book of the Confessio Amantis, 'Envie' ('Invidia') in the second book, 'Ire' ('Ira') in the third book, 'Slowthe' ('Accidia') in the fourth book, 'Avarice' ('Avaritia') in the fifth book, 'Gule' (gluttony: 'Gula') in the sixth book, and lechery, which is not mentioned by name, in the eighth book. Gower's order of sins parallels that of the standard Gregorian list of seven cardinal sins: 'Superbia', 'Invidia', 'Ira', 'Accidia', 'Avaritia', 'Gula' and 'Luxuria'.[1] The Amans also makes confession of the sub-ordinate species of each sin, and remedial virtues are opposed to the sins. Parallels can be found for Gower's enumeration of the species of each sin, and of the virtues, as will now be shown.[2]

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1. Concerning the Gregorian list of cardinal sins, see: M.W. Bloomfield, The Seven Deadly Sins, Michigan, 1952, pp. 72-4.

2. R.E. Fowler listed parallel species of the sins, and virtues, in William Peyraut's Summa de vitiis et virtutibus, the Miroir du monde, the Somme le Roi of Friar Lorens, Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt, Gower's Mirour de l'Omme and Confessio Amantis in: 'Une Source Française Des Poèmes De Gower', Thesis, Macon, 1905 (tables), 82-154.

i. Book I: Pride

Gower enumerates as species of pride: 'Ypocrisie' ('Ypocrisis'),[1] 'Inobedience' ('Inobedientia')[2] attended by 'Murmur' and 'Compleignte' ('Murmur et Planctus'),[3] 'Surquiderie' ('Presumpcio'),[4] 'Avantance' ('Iactantia'),[5] 'veine gloire' ('Inanis gloria').[6] 'Humblesce' is the remedial virtue opposed to pride.[7]

In the Penitential of Bartholomew of Exeter, the date of which is possibly 1150-1170,[8] 'inobedientia', 'presumptio' and 'ypocrisis' are species of pride. In ~~the~~ one version of the Ancrene Riwle,[9] 'murmur' is associated with disobedience, a species of pride, and in another,[10] 'vana gloria' is a species

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1. Confessio I 575-1234.
2. Ibid. I 1235-1830.
3. Ibid. I 1343-1394.
4. Ibid. I 1883-2398.
5. Ibid. I 2399-2680.
6. Ibid. I 2681-3042.
7. Ibid. I 3043-3430.
8. See ed. A. Morey, in: Bartholomew of Exeter, Bishop and Canonist, Cambridge, 1937, 175-300; seven cardinal sins and their species see Cap. 38: 'Quomodo sacerdos penitentem recipiat et alloquatur. Ex penitentiali Romano', 204-5; 'superbia', 204. Date, see 174.
9. See: The Latin Text of the Ancrene Riwle, ed. C. d'Evelyn, E.E.T.S., O.S. 216, 1944; seven cardinal sins and species 67 l. 29-74 l. 9. 'Leo superbie' 67 l. 29-69 l. 33. It is stated: 'Quintus inobediencia: factum cum murmure'; 68 l. 12.
10. The English Text of the Ancrene Riwle, ed. F.M. Mack, E.E.T.S., O.S. 252, 1963; seven cardinal sins and species: 63 l. 4-67 l. 17. 'þe liun of prude' 63 l. 8-64 l. 21. 'Vana gloria' 63 l. 9-13.

of pride. In the Somme le Roi of Friar Lorens, written in 1279,[1] the third branch of pride is 'sourcuidance/que len appelle presumpcion'. In The Book of Vices and Virtues, an English translation of the Somme le Roi, which was written within the period 1325-1390, and perhaps dates from c. 1375,[2] this is rendered: 'sourquyderie, þat clerkes clepen presumpcion'. In The Parson's Tale,[3] 'Inobedience', 'Avauntynge', 'Ypocrisie', 'Presumpcioun' and 'Veyne Glorie' are species of pride. In the Trialogus of John Wycliffe, which was completed in 1382-4,[4] 'Humilitas' opposes 'Superbia', and in The Parson's Tale[5] 'humylitee' opposes pride.

ii. Book II: Envy

Gower enumerates as species of envy: sorrow for another

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1. See ed. Paris, [1488?] ('La Somme des Vices et Vertus'): 'De peche dorgeuil' sig. a iii^{R} - bi^{V}. Quotation from section: 'Les branches dorgeuil': sig. a iii^{V}. Date, see: M.W. Bloomfield, op. cit., 124.

2. See ed. W.N. Francis, E.E.T.S., O.S. 217, 1942. 'Pride', 11-22. Quotation from section 'þe braunches of Pride', 12. Date, see lxviii.

3. See: The Parson's Tale, in: The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, 2nd edn. F.N. Robinson, London, 1957; part concerning seven cardinal sins, their species and their remedial virtues, 239^{a}-260^{a}. 'De Superbia', 239^{a}-242^{a}. Quotation: 239^{a}.

4. See ed. G. Lechler, Oxford, 1869; seven cardinal sins, their species and their remedial virtues: III Cap. IX-XXIII, 158-210. III Cap. X, 'Superbia', 161-4. III Cap. XI, 'Humilitas', 164-168. Date, 3-4.

5. 'Remedium contra peccatum superbie', 242^{a-b}.

man's joy ('dolor alterius gaudii'),[1] joy for another man's grief ('gaudium alterius doloris'),[2] 'Detraccioun' ('Detraccio'),[3] 'Falssemblant' ('dissimilacio'),[4] and 'Supplantacioun' ('Supplantacio').[5] 'Charite' is the remedial virtue opposed to envy.[6]

In the Speculum ecclesiae of St. Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, who died in 1240,[7] the first two kinds of envy are 'alterius mali gaudium, et dolor boni alterius'. 'Detractio' is the third kind of envy in Bartholomew's Penitential,[8] and in The Parson's Tale,[9] 'bakbyting or detraccion' is a kind of envy. In the Mirour de l'Omme,[10] 'Supplantacioun' and 'Fals semblant' had also been made the final two kinds of envy. In the Trialogus,[11] 'Caritas' opposes 'Invidia'.

1. Confessio II 1-220.
2. Ibid. II 221-382.
3. Ibid. II 383-1878.
4. Ibid. II 1879-2326.
5. Ibid. II 2327-3096.
6. Ibid. II 3162-3512.
7. See ed. in Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum, t. 25, ed. M. de la Bigne, Leyden, 1677; seven cardinal sins and their species: Cap. VIII 319a-b. Quotation: 319a. Date, see: W.A. Pantin, The English Church in the Fourteenth Century, Cambridge, 1955, 220.
8. 204.
9. 'De Invidia', 242a-243b. Quotation: 243b.
10. See ed. G.C. Macaulay in: The Complete Works of John Gower, I, Oxford, 1899, 3-334. The cardinal sins and their species: l. 1057-9720. 'Envie', l. 2617-3852. 'Supplantacioun', l. 3289-3468. 'Fals semblant', l. 3469-3696.
11. Cap. XII 'Invidia', 168-171. Cap. XIII 'Caritas', 171-174.

iii. Book III: Ire.

Gower enumerates as species of ire: 'Malencolie' ('Malencolia'),[1] 'Cheste' ('Lis'),[2] 'Hate' ('Odium'),[3] 'Contek' ('impetuositas'),[4] and 'Homicide' ('homicidium').[5] 'Pacience'[6] and 'Merci'[7] are remedial virtues.

In the Handlyng Synne,[8] Robert of Brunne notes a connection between wrath and melancholy:

> þe man wraþþyþ him lightly,
> For lytyl, as yn malyncoly,

In the Ancrene Riwle, the first kind of wrath is 'chast oþer strif',[9] in Latin 'lis et contencio'.[10] In the Summa Confessionis attributed to Cardinal Berengarius, which must have been written at about the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century,[11] 'odium' and 'homicidium' are species of anger. In

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1. Confessio III 27-416.
2. Ibid. III 417-842.
3. Ibid. III 843-1088.
4. Ibid. III 1129-1862.
5. Ibid. III 1863-2616.
6. Ibid. III 612-718.
7. Ibid. III 2617-2724.
8. See ed. F.J. Furnivall, E.E.T.S., O.S. 119 and 123, 1901, 3. 'yre' l. 3703-3914. Quotation l. 3709-10.
9. 'þe unicorne of wraþþe', 64 l. 22-28; quotation: l. 24.
10. 'Unicornis ire', 70 l. 29-71 l. 8; quotation 70 l. 30-31.
11. See: ed. J. Lindeboom, in Nederlandsch Archief Voor Kerkgeschiedenis N.S. 15, 1919, 180-219; in: 'Een Middeleeuwsch Handschrift Over De Biecht, 161-219; seven cardinal sins and their species, Cap. XXII, pp. 194-200. 'De Ira' p. 195. Date and authorship, see: A. Teetaert, La Confession Aux Laïques Dans L'Église Latine Depuis Le VIIIe Jusqu'Au XIVe Siècle, Universitas Catholica Lovaniensis. Disserta-

(continued on following page)

the Speculum ecclesiae,[1] 'contentiones' are a species of anger, in English[2] 'contekes'. 'Hate' and 'homycide' are parts of ire in The Parson's Tale.[3] In the Trialogus,[4] 'Patientia' opposes 'Ira', and 'Pacience' opposes 'Ire' in The Parson's Tale.[5] At the end of the section on ire in the Handlyng Synne,[6] the story of a knight is told to illustrate the quality of mercy:

> And þat shal y shew 3ow by a kny3t
> þat loved more mercy þan my3t.

iv. Book IV: Sloth

Gower enumerates as species of sloth: 'Lachesce' ('Tardacio')[7], 'Pusillamite' ('pusillinamitas'),[8] 'Foryetelnesse'

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tiones ad gradum magistri in Facultate Theologica conse-quendum conscriptae. Series II, t. 17, 1926 351-2, n. 4.

1. 319a.

2. See: The Mirror of Saint Edmund, Religious Pieces, ed. G.G. Perry, E.E.T.S., O.S. 26, 1914; seven cardinal sins and species, 24-5. This quotation, 25 l. 4.

3. 'De Ira': 244a-248b; these species 245a.

4. Cap. XIV 'Ira': 174-178; Cap. XV 'Animi lenitas' 178-182. 'Patientia' is here discussed as a virtue opposed to anger.

5. 'Remedium contra peccatum Ire', 248b-249b. 'Pacience' is one of the remedial virtues.

6. 'Mercy' l. 3783-3796. Story: l. 3797-3900; quotation l. 3795-6; interpretation of story l. 3901-3910.

7. Confessio IV 1-312.

8. Ibid. IV 313-538.

('Oblivio'),[1] 'Negligence' ('Negligencia'),[2] 'Ydelnesse' ('Ocium');[3] 'Sompnolence' ('Somnolencia'),[4] and 'Tristesce' or 'Desesperance' ('Tristicia sive Desperacio').[5] 'Prouesce'[6] and 'labour'[7] are opposed to sloth.

In the Speculum Morale of pseudo-Vincent of Beauvais, dating from the first half of the fourteenth century,[8] 'Pusillinamitas', 'Ociositas', 'Somnolentia' and 'Desperatio' are species of sloth. In the Somme le Roi,[9] 'oubliance' is a species of sloth, rendered 'forȝetfulnesse' in The Book of Vices and Virtues.[10] In The Parson's Tale,[11] 'wanhope' or 'despeir', 'sompnolence', 'necligence', 'ydelnesse', 'tarditas', 'lachesse' and 'tristitia' are species of sloth. In Rutebeuf's La Bataille Des Vices Contre Les Vertus, which possibly dates

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1. Ibid. IV 539-886.
2. Ibid. IV 887-1082.
3. Ibid. IV 1083-1614.
4. Ibid. IV 2701-3388.
5. Ibid. IV 3389-3692.
6. Ibid. IV 1615-2199.
7. Ibid. IV 2363-2700.
8. See: Speculum Morale t. III of Speculum Maius of Vincent of Beauvais, Douai, 1624. Photomechanical Reprint, Graz, 1964; seven cardinal sins and their species: III Pars III - Pars IX col. 990-1404. Pars VI: 'De acedia et filiabus eius': col. 1203-1250; Distinctio II: 'De filiabus acediae', col. 1208: species enumerated. Date, see: M.W. Bloomfield, op. cit., 126.
9. 'Du peche de accide' sig. b.iiii fol. 2^{R}; this species: b.iiii fol. 1^{V}.
10. 'Slewþe': 26-30; this species: 28.
11. 'De Accidia', 249^{b}-251^{a}; these species, 250^{a}-251^{b}.

from 1263,[1] 'Proesce' is said to have conquered sloth. In The Parson's Tale,[2] sloth is contrasted with labour.

v. Book V: Avarice

Gower enumerates as species of avarice: 'Covoitise' ('Cupiditas'),[3] 'Falswitnesse' ('falsum testimonium') and 'Perjurie' ('Periurium'),[4] 'Usurie' ('Usura'),[5] 'Skarsnesse' ('Parcimonia'),[6] 'Unkindeschipe' ('Igratitudo'),[7] 'Ravine' ('Rapina'),[8] 'Robberie' ('furtum'),[9] 'Stelthe' and 'Mecherie' ('secretum latrocinium'),[10] and 'Sacrilegge' ('Sacrilegium').[11] Avarice is opposed by 'Largesse' ('Largitas') or 'Liberalite', the opposite of 'Prodegalite'.[12]

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1. See: Oeuvres complètes de Rutebeuf, ed. E. Faral and J. Bastin, t. I, Paris, 1959, 299-312; l. 30: 'Proesce ra vaincue Accide'. Date, 306.

2. 'De Accidia' 250a; it is stated: 'Agayns this roten-herted synne of Accidie and Slouthe sholde men exercise hemself to doon good werkes, and manly and vertuously cacchen corage wel to doon, thynkynge that our Lord Jhesu Crist quiteth every good dede, be it never so lite./Usage of labour is a greet thing, for it maketh, as seith Seint Bernard, the laborer to have strong armes and harde synwes: and slouthe maketh hem feble and tendre./'

3. Confessio V 1971-2858.

4. Ibid. V 2859-2902. 'Falswitnesse': 2903-3218; 'Perjurie': 3219-4382.

5. Ibid. V 4383-4670.

6. Ibid. V 4671-4884.

7. Ibid. V 4885-5504.

8. Ibid. V 5505-6074.

9. Ibid. V 6075-6492 (Virginity: 6359-6492).

10. Ibid. V 6493-6960.

11. Ibid. V 6961-7609.

12. Ibid. V 7461-End of book.

In the Summa Confessionis attributed to Cardinal Berengarius,[1] 'usura', 'periurium', 'furtum', 'rapina' and 'latrocinium' are species of avarice. In the Instructiones circa divinum officium of Gautier de Bruges, which must have been written in about 1280-1284,[2] 'falsa testimonia' are a species of avarice. In the Tractatus de septem vitiis capitalibus of Bartholomaeus of Pisa, who died in 1347,[3] 'sacrilegium' is a species of avarice. In the Mirour de l'Omme,[4] Gower had made 'Ingratitude' accompany 'Covoitise', the first kind of avarice, and had made 'Escharcete' the final kind of avarice. 'False witnesse','false othes' and 'sacrilege' are species of avarice in The Parson's Tale.[5] Gower says that liberality, the virtue of largess, stands between

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1. 'De avaritia' 196-7.

2. See ed. A. de Poorter, Société D'Emulation De Bruges Mélanges, V, 1911. ('Un Traité De Théologie Inédit De Gautier De Bruges, Introductiones Circa Divinum Officium'); seven cardinal sins and their species, Cap. 3, 8-12: 'Filie avaritie', 11-12. This species: 12. Date, see: A. Teetaert, op. cit., 453, n. 8.

3. Bartholomaeus of Pisa, Summa Pisana, Venice, 1481: sig. A.2^{Ra} - y 4 fol. 5^{Vb}: Tractatus de septem vitiis capitalibus: sig. z^{Ra}-z 4 fol. 3^{Va}, 'Avaritia': sig. z 3^{Vb}-z 4 fol. 2^{Ra}; this species: sig. z 4 fol. 1^{Ra-b}. Date, see: E. Filthaut, 'Bartholomäus v. Pisa', Lexikon Für Theologie Und Kirche, Vol. 2, 1958, col. 13.

4. 'Avarice' l. 6181-7704; 'Covoitise' l. 6181-6828; 'Ingratitude' l. 6589-6732; 'Escharcete' l. 7489-7584.

5. 'De Avaricia' 251^{b}-254^{a}; 'false witnesse' and 'false othes': 253^{b}; sacrilege: 254^{a}.

avarice and prodigality;[1] (margin: 'Nota hic de virtute Largitatis, que ad oppositum Avaricie inter duo extrema, videlicet Parcimoniam et Prodegalitatem specialiter constitit'). In the Summa de vitiis et virtutibus of William Peyraut - the Summa de vitiis perhaps dates from 1236, and the Summa de virtutibus very probably from before August 1248[2] - 'prodigalitas' is referred to as the vice opposite to that of avarice, and the distinction between 'prodigalitas' and 'liberalitas' or 'largitas' is drawn. In the Speculum ecclesiae,[3] 'largitas' is a remedial virtue against avarice, and in The Parson's Tale,[4] 'largesse' is one of the remedial virtues against avarice.

vi. Book VI: Gule

Gower enumerates as species of gule: 'Dronkeschipe'

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1. Confessio V 7643-7647.

2. See: G. Peraldus, 'Summae Virtutum ac Vitiorum', Antwerp, 1587; (the normal order of the two parts of the treatise was accidentally inverted, the treatise of the virtues sometimes taking first place, and the treatise therefore received a name which was the opposite to the authentic one; see: A. Dondaine, 'Guillaume Peyraut Vie Et Oeuvres', Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum XVIII, 1948, 184); t. 2 (Summa de vitiis) Tractatus Quartus: 'De Avaritia' fol. $24^{Ra-77Vb}$: Pars V 'De prodigalitate quae est vitium contrarium avaritiae': fol. $75^{Rb-77Vb}$. Cap. I '... de distinctione prodigalitatis a liberalitate': fol. 75^{Rb-Vb}; the first point discussed in this chapter is the distinction between 'prodigalitas' and 'largitas': 'Primo distinguemus prodigalitatem a largitate': Date, see: A. Dondaine, art. cit., 186 and 187.

3. Cap. IX: 'De septem Virtutibus Evangelicis', 319^{b}.

4. 'Relevacio contra peccatum Avaricie': 254^{a-b}; 'largesse': 254^{b}.

('Ebrietas'),[1] and 'Delicacie' ('Delicacia');[2] 'Sorcerie' or 'wicchecraft' ('Sortilegium')[3] aids these two species.

In the De fructibus carnis et spiritus of pseudo-Hugo of St. Victor,[4] 'Ebrietas' and 'Delicatio' are kinds of gluttony. In the Summa casuum of St. Raymund of Pennaforte, written between 1221 and 1229,[5] 'sortilegium' is a sin; in the Manuel des Pechiez of William of Wadington,[6] 'sorcerie' is a sin, and 'wycchecraft' is a sin in the Handlyng Synne.[7]

vii. Book VIII: Lechery (not mentioned by name)

Gower here treats of incest.[8] In the Summa Confessionis

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1. Confessio VI 15-616.
2. Ibid. VI 617-1260.
3. Ibid. VI 1261-2407.
4. Ed. in: P.L. 176 ed. J.P. Migne, 1854, col. 997-1006; seven cardinal sins and their species, cap. III-X, col. 999-1002. Cap. IX 'De ingluvie ventris seu gula, et comitatu eius': col. 1001-2.
5. See: St. Raymund of Pennaforte, Summa, Avignon, 1715; Summa de Poenitentia, 1-737; I.11: 'De Sortilegis Et Divinis', 144-153. Date, see: P. Anciaux, La Théologie du Sacrement de Pénitence au XII^e siècle, Universitas Catholica Lovaniensis. Dissertationes ad gradum magistri in Facultate Theologica vel in Facultate Iuris Canonici consequendum conscriptae. Series II, t. 41, 1949, 123.
6. Ed. F.J. Furnivall, (parts), parallel text to Handlyng Synne, in ed. cit: l. 1081-1124, 1215-1276: 'sorcerie', l. 1257.
7. Ed. cit., l. 339-378, 479-562; 'wychcraft' or 'wycchëcraft', l. 342, 354, 479.
8. Confessio VIII, 1-2028.

attributed to Cardinal Berengarius,[1] 'incestus' is a species of 'luxuria', and in the Ancrene Riwle,[2] 'Incest' is a species of 'leccherie'.

Conclusion

The parallels that have been enumerated have been confined to single examples in order not to swell the text unduly. It is not claimed that the works drawn upon were used by Gower as sources. However, the fact that parallels for Gower's classification are found in a penitential Summa such as Bartholomew's Penitential, in Summae Confessorum such as the Summa Casuum of St. Raymund of Pennaforte, and the Summa Confessionis attributed to Cardinal Berengarius, in a manual for confessors such as the Instructiones circa divinum officium of Gautier de Bruges and in The Parson's Tale (in a context of penance and confession), indicates that Gower was here enumerating the typical vices and remedial virtues of confession. Readers of the poem would at once have recognized the vices and virtues of the confession of the Amans as those of true confession.

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1. 'Luxuria', 197-200; enumeration of species, 197.
2. 'Schorpiun of leccherie', 65 l. 32-67 l. 17; 'Incest', 66 l. 3.

APPENDIX

Table showing Gower's enumeration of vices and virtues in the Confessio Amantis.

Book I: Pride. (Superbia)	Ypocrisie.	Virtues: Humblesce
	(Ypocrisis).	
	Inobedience, with Murmur and Compleignte.	
	(Inobedientia, Murmur and Planctus).	
	Surquiderie.	
	(Presumpcio).	
	Avantance.	
	(Iactantia).	
	Veine gloire.	
	(Inanis gloria).	
Book II: Envie. (Invidia)	Sorrow for another man's joy.	Charite
	(Dolor alterius gaudii).	
	Joy for another man's grief.	
	(Gaudium alterius doloris).	
	Detraccioun.	
	(Detraccio).	
	Falssemblant.	
	(Dissimilacio).	
	Supplantacioun.	
	(Supplantacio).	

		Virtues
Book III: Ire. (Ira)	Malencolie.	Pacience and Merci
	(Malencolia).	
	Cheste.	
	(Lis).	
	Hate.	
	(Odium).	
	Contek.	
	(Impetuositas).	
	Homicide.	
	(Homicidium).	
Book IV: Slowthe (Accidia)	Lachesce.	Prouesce and Labour
	(Tardacio).	
	Pusillamite.	
	(Pusillinamitas).	
	Foryetelnesse.	
	(Oblivio).	
	Negligence.	
	(Negligencia).	
	Ydelnesse.	
	(Ocium).	
	Sompnolence.	
	(Somnolencia).	
	Tristesce or Desesperance.	
	(Tristicia sive Desperacio).	

Book V: Avarice (Avaritia)

- Covoitise. (Cupiditas).
- Falswitnesse. (Falsum testimonium).
- Perjurie. (Periurium).
- Usurie. (Usura).
- Skarsnesse. (Parcimonia).
- Unkindeschipe. (Ingratitudo).
- Ravine. (Rapina).
- Robberie. (Furtum).
- Stelthe and Mecherie. (Secretum latrocinium).
- Sacrilegge. (Sacrilegium).

→ Virtues

Largesse (Largitas) or liberalite

Book VI: Gule
(Gula)

- Dronkeschipe
- (Ebrietas)
- and
- Delicacie
- (Delicacia)
- aided by Sorcerie
- or wicchecraft
- (Sortilegium)

Book VIII: Lechery
(not named)

- Incest

II. CONFESSION

In his presentation of the sins, Gower followed the procedure of confession. The confessor explains the sins and their species to the Amans and then inquires whether the Amans is guilty of them. In Bartholomew's Penitential,[1] the priest is to explain the cardinal sins to the penitent at confession: 'Nunc tibi vii principalia vitia explicabo, superbiam i.e. et invidiam, iram, trisiticiam, avariciam, ventris ingluviem, luxuriam'. In his Instructions for Parish Priests, written c. 1400,[2] John Mirk refers to the interrogation of the priest concerning the seven cardinal sins:

> Of dedly synnes now also,
> I wole þe aske now er þow go.
> Þerefore, sone, spare þow noght,
> To tell how þow hast hem wroȝt.

Each of the seven cardinal sins is then mentioned with the questions to be asked by the priest.

Other details suggest the procedure of confession in the Confessio Amantis. For instance, the Amans begins with the confession of the first two of the five senses, 'yhe' ('visus') and 'Ere' ('auditus').[3] In Mirk's Instructions,[4] the questions

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1. 204 l. 30-32.

2. Ed. E. Peacock, E.E.T.S., O.S. 31, 1902; l. 973-6: quotation; l. 675-1698: confession; l. 973-1286: 'De modo inquirendi de vii peccatis mortalibus'. Date, see W.A. Pantin, op. cit., 214.

3. Confessio I 289-574.

4. L. 1308-1398: 'De modo inquirendi de peccatis venialibus'.

to be asked concerning the five senses follow those concerning the seven cardinal sins; the priest asks first 'De visu' and then 'De auditu'. Again, at the beginning of the confession the Amans falls to his knees:[1]

> And with that word I gan doun fall
> On knees,

(margin: 'Amans ad confitendum se flexis incurvatur'). In the Instructions,[2] the priest is to tell the penitent to kneel:

> And first, when any man I schryve wol be
> Teche hym to knele doune on hys kne;

In the Summa casuum,[3] the priest is to give the same instruction: 'deinde dicat ei quod genuflectat ad pedes sacerdotis quoties confitetur'. After he has knelt, the Amans addresses the confessor:[4]

> and with devocioun
> And with full gret contricioun
> I seide thanne:

Contrition is felt by the penitent at the beginning of confession in Bartholomew's Penitential:[5]

> Cum autem ad confessionem quis venerit, sacerdos eum cum tanta humilitate et devotione suscipiat ut et ipse qui confessus est ad veram cordis contricionem sacerdotis provocetur exemplo.

Again, the confessor and the Amans consistently address each

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1. Confessio I 289-574.
2. L. 699-700.
3. III 34. 'De poenitentiis et remissionibus' §30, p. 679.
4. Confessio I 213-215.
5. 204.

other as 'Mi sone' and 'Mi fader'; in the Instructions[1] the priest addresses the penitent as 'sone' when questioning him concerning the sins, and the penitent addresses the priest as 'fader':

> And þe, fader, in goddes place,
> A-soyle me þow of my trespace,

This form of address reflects the relationship of the penitent and the priest in his role of shrift-father:[2]

> But how and where he doth þat synne,
> To his shryffader he mote þat mynne.

The priest is also called 'confessour' in this capacity:[3]

> Now, confessour, I warne þe,
> Here connynge þow moste be;

Again, the Amans regularly asks for penance, as at the end of his confession of envy:[4]

> And that I have er this misdo,
> Yif me my penance er I go.

In the Instructions,[5] there is instruction on how great the penance for the cardinal sins should be. Again, the Amans asks for absolution at the end of the poem:[6]

> Touchende mi confession
> I axe an absolucion
> Of Genius, er that I go.

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1. L. 1685-6.
2. L. 232-3.
3. L. 1399-1400.
4. Confessio II 3513-4.
5. 'Quanta sit penitencia pro mortalibus': l. 1625-1650.
6. Confessio VIII 2891-2893.

This is granted him.[1] In the Instructions,[2] there is a description of how absolution should be given after the confession has been heard.

The confessor is Genius, priest of Venus; Genius had been cast in the role of priest and confessor of Nature in the Roman de la Rose.[3] Gower had included Genius as confessor in the Vox Clamantis.[4] Genius is also mentioned as priest of Venus in a marginal note of three manuscripts of the same work; in two manuscripts it is stated:[5] 'Nota quod Genius secundum poetas Sacerdos Dee Veneris nuncupatus est'; in the third manuscript, rather surprisingly, 'secundum Ovidium' replaces 'secundum poetas' as the authority for the statement.[6]

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1. Ibid. VIII 2894-2897.

2. 'De modo absolvendi penitentem': l. 1673-1698.

3. See: ed. E. Langlois, S.A.T.F., Vol. IV, 1922: Nature summons her priest Genius, wishing to confess to him: l. 16272-16294; Genius sits, and Nature kneels before him, preparatory to confession: l. 16714-16728; the confession: l. 16729-19405; Genius gives Nature penance: l. 19411-19426. Concerning Genius see: E.C. Knowlton, 'The allegorical figure Genius', Classical Philology, XV, 1920, 380-384; id. 'Genius as an allegorical figure', Modern Language Notes, 39, 1924, 89-95. C.S. Lewis, The Allegory of Love, Oxford, 1959, 361-363.

4. See ed. G.C. Macaulay, The Complete Works Of John Gower, Vol. IV, Oxford, 1902; IV l. 595-604.

5. See: Vox Clamantis marginal note at IV 587.

6. See: apparatus criticus at Vox Clamantis IV, marginal note l. 587.

Conclusion

By the adoption of details from the procedure of confession, Gower gave verisimilitude to the confession of the *Amans* to his confessor Genius.

III. THE FRAMEWORK OF THE SEVENTH BOOK OF THE CONFESSIO AMANTIS

i. The classification of philosophy

The framework of the seventh book may be represented by the following table:

PHILOSOPHIA). (margin: PHILOSOPHIE.

- Theorique (Theorica)
  - Theologie (Theologia)
  - Phisique (Phisica)
  - Mathematique (Mathematica)
    - Arsmetique (Arsmetica)
    - Musique (Musica)
    - Geometrie (Geometria)
    - Astronomie (Astronomia)
- Rethorique (Rethorica)
  - Gramaire (Grammatica)
  - Logique (Logica)
- Practique (Practica)
  - Etique (Etica)
  - Ichonomique (Iconomica)
  - Policie (Policia) : ('Fyf pointz')

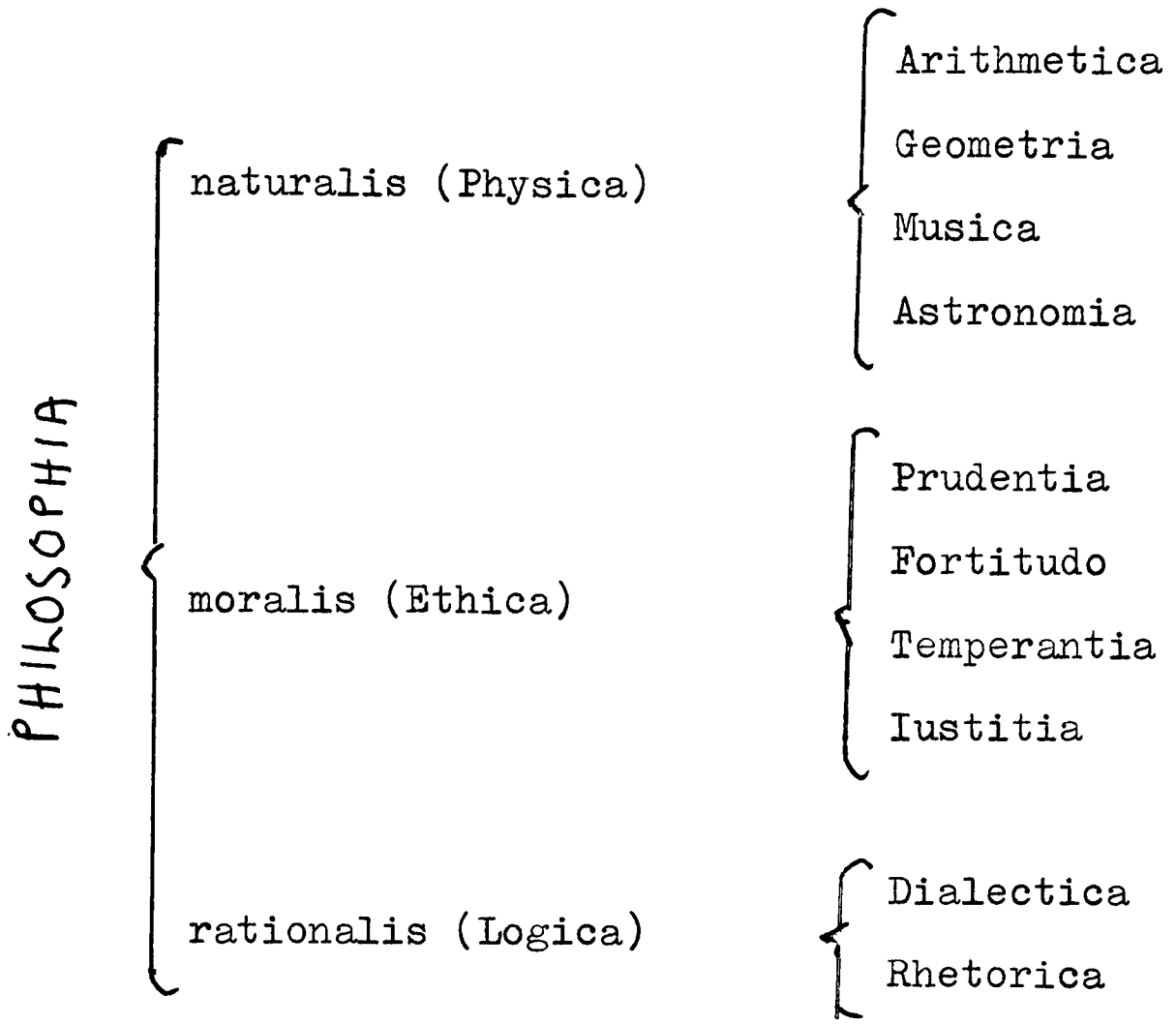
This framework constitutes a division of philosophy.[1] Such schemes are of different kinds and there are many different variations of them, but they can be reduced to two main types which, for convenience, are known as 'Platonic' and 'Aristotelian'.[2] An example of the 'Platonic' type occurs in the Etymologiae of Isidore of Seville:[3]

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1. Division of 'Philosophie': Confessio VII 23-53, and margin at the beginning of the seventh book. 'Theorique': l. 61-195, 621-1506. (l. 196-620 are taken up with a discussion of the four elements, four complexions, the soul and the division of the earth, which is a departure from the account of 'Theorique'). Division of 'Theorique': l. 61-72; division of 'Mathematique': l. 145-152. 'Rhetorique': l. 1507-1640; division of 'Rethorique' l. 1522-1529, and margin at l. 1510. 'Practique': division of 'Practique': margin at l. 1642; 'fyf pointz' of 'Policie': l. 1699-5397. Concerning the division of philosophy, see: J.A. Weisheipl, 'Classification of the Sciences in Medieval Thought', Medieval Studies, 27, 1965, 54-90. J. Taylor, Introduction 7-19 and n. 21, (161-162), in: The Didascalicon of Hugh of St. Victor, New York, 1961. Records of Civilization Sources and Studies No. 64.

2. Concerning 'Platonic' and 'Aristotelian' types, see: M. Grabmann, Die Geschichte der Scholastischen Methode, Vol. II, Freiburg, 1911, 30-31. M.-T. D'Alverny, 'La Sagesse et ses Sept Filles: Recherches sur les Allégories de la Philosophie et des Arts Libéraux du IXe au XIIe Siècle', Extract from: Mélanges dédiés à la memoire de Félix Grat, t. I, Paris, 248-250.

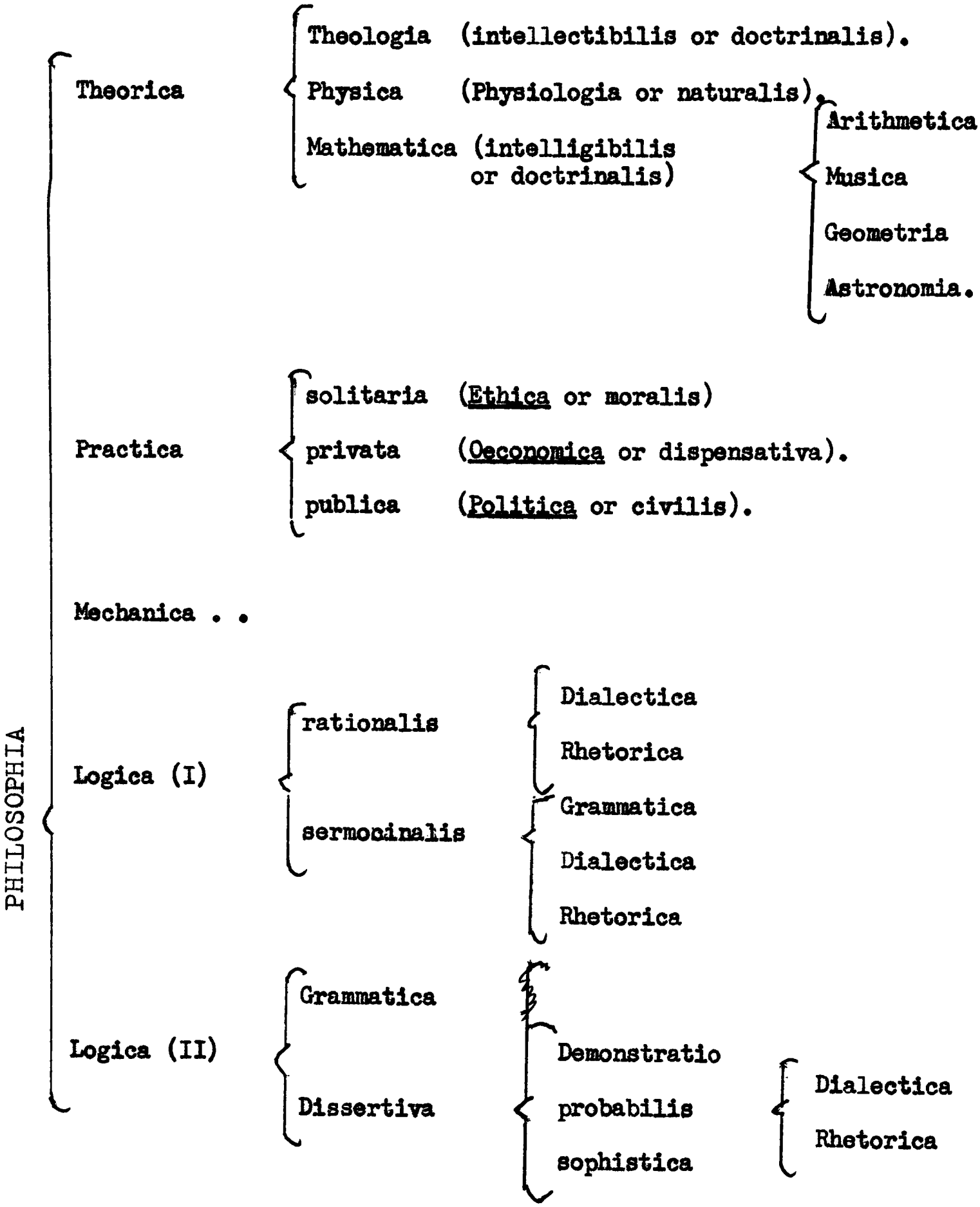
3. See: ed. W.M. Lindsay, 2 Vols., Oxford, 1911: II, xxiv: 'De definitione philosophiae': 3-5. This division is represented by a table in: J.A. Weisheipl, art. cit., 64.



An example of the 'Aristotelian' type occurs in the Didascalicon of Hugh of St. Victor:[1]

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1. See: ed. C.H. Buttimer, The Catholic University of America. Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Latin, X, 1939: I: 'De origine artium' xi, 'De ortu logicae (21, l. 2-7) and II.i: 'De discretione artium' (24, l. 20-25, l. 4), iii. 'De Mathematica', (25, l. 21). xvi 'De Physica' (34). xviii. 'Collatio supradictorum' (37, l. 1-10). xix. Item (37, l. 22-38, l. 3). III.i. 'De ordine et modo legendi et disciplina', (48). For title of Liber I see J. Taylor, op. cit., 7-8. This division is represented by a table in: C.S. Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic, (to 1400), New York, 1928, 155. G. Paré, A. Brunet, P. Tremblay, La Renaissance du XIIe Siècle, Les Écoles et l'Enseignement. Publications de L'Institut d'Études Médiévales D'Ottowa, 1933, 100. J.A. Weisheipl, art. cit., 66.


PHILOSOPHIA
Theorica
Theologia (intellectibilis or doctrinalis).
Physica (Physiologia or naturalis).
Mathematica (intelligibilis or doctrinalis)
Arithmetica
Musica
Geometria
Astronomia.
Practica
solitaria (Ethica or moralis)
privata (Oeconomica or dispensativa).
publica (Politica or civilis).
Mechanica . .
Logica (I)
rationalis
Dialectica
Rhetorica
sermocinalis
Grammatica
Dialectica
Rhetorica
Logica (II)
Grammatica
Dissertiva
Demonstratio
probabilis
Dialectica
Rhetorica
sophistica

Gower's division of 'Philosophie' into 'Theorique' and 'Practique', and his subdivision of these two main parts of philosophy, conforms to the 'Aristotelian' type of division in the Didascalicon. The 'Aristotelian' type of division is unusual after the thirteenth century; the commonest type then was a mixed one, in which the terms of the 'Platonic' triad 'physica', 'ethica' and 'logica' appear in the guise of 'naturalis', 'moralis' and 'rationalis'. This development, and the schemes of division belonging to it, have not so far been investigated. There is however a parallel to the return to a twelfth century 'Aristotelian' type of the division in the Trésor of Brunetto Latini, and G.C. Macaulay has indicated that Gower's classification is derived from that of the Trésor,[1] which may be represented by the following table:

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1. See: ed. F.J. Carmody, 1948. University of California Publications in Modern Philology, 22. I ii-v (18-22). Cap. II 'De philosophie et de ses parties'. III. 'Coment nature de toutes choses est devisee en .III. manieres, selonc theorique'. IV. 'Des choses ke l'on doit faire et quex non, selonc pratike'. V. 'Porquoi on doit les unes choses faires et les autres non, selonc logique'. Concerning this division, see: F.J. Carmody, xxiv-xxvi. This division is represented by a table in: P.A. Messelaar, Le Vocabulaire des Idées dans le 'Trésor' de Brunet Latin, Assen, 1963, 95. See also: Confessio VII, introductory note.

PHILOSOPHIE

- Theorike
  - theologie
  - phisike
  - mathematike
    - arismetike
    - musike
    - geometrie
    - astronomie
- Practique
  - etique
  - yconomique
  - politique
    - government des citées
    - ars et mestiers
      - en oevre
      - en paroles:
        - gramatique
        - dialetike
        - rettorique.
- Logike
  - dyaletike
  - fidike
  - sophistique.

There is one very striking difference between the schemes of Gower and of Latini. Gower does not follow Latini in making grammar, dialectic and rhetoric subordinate to political science; he exalts rhetoric, and makes it part of philosophy with the two subordinate species of grammar and logic. We would have expected logic to dominate the trivium, as in the Victorine classification.[1] It is very difficult to explain this deviation, but it is possible that Gower was influenced by the statements about rhetoric found in works relating to the ars dictaminis which were current in England.[2] One such treatise is the Summa de Dictamine of Pons of Provence, which is accompanied by a collection of letters dedicated to the students of the University of Orléans. There are two redactions of this work, dated 1249 and 1252, and the version contained in the manuscript current in England, British Museum, Arundel M.S. 514, is dated 1252.[3] In one of the

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1. On the classification of logic in the Didascalicon, see: C.S. Baldwin, op. cit., 154. R. Mckeon, 'Rhetoric in the Middle Ages', Critics and Criticism Ancient and Modern, Chicago, 1952, 279-80. J. Taylor, op. cit., 207 n. 87.

2. For a list of such treatises: see N. Denholm-Young, 'The Cursus in England', Collected Papers on Mediaeval Subjects, Oxford, 1946: 'The Ars Dictaminis in England', 46-55.

3. See: Pons of Provence, Summa de Dictamine, British Museum, Arundel MS. 514, fol. 54^{Ra}-64^{Vb}. Epistolarium fol. 69^{Va}-95^{Rb}. The manuscript is referred to by N. Denholm-Young, study cit., 51. The date of the section of the manuscript in which these works occur is the late 13th century, and the provenance is the South of France (see: N. Denholm-Young, loc. cit.). It may be noted that evidence that the MS. was current in England is provided by the notes at the foot of fol. 69^{V}-71^{R}; an Assistant Keeper confirmed (continued on following page)

letters from the collection, Pons indicates the domination of grammar by rhetoric, in the speech assigned to rhetoric (rhetoric is presented as a very beautiful maiden):[1]

> Ego vocor Rethorica; ista civitas apellatur Practica dictatoria.[2] Et quamvis soror mea Gramatica se dicat fore in hac civitate meam porcionariam,[3] ego tamen optineo principatum.

In an English treatise on dictamen, written in the form

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that these notes are in an English-looking hand (date: fourteenth-fifteench century). Concerning the Summa and letter collection, see: L.J. Paetow, The Arts Course at Medieval Universities with Special Reference to Grammar and Rhetoric, printed from the University Studies of the University of Illinois, Vol. III, No. 7, January 1910. Reprint Library, Iowa, p. 89 (date, ibid.) C.H. Haskins, 'The Life of Mediaeval Students as Illustrated by their Letters', Studies in Mediaeval Culture, Oxford, 1929, n. 2, p. 7. Date of the version contained in the Arundel MS., see: N. Denholm-Young, loc. cit.

1. The letter is printed by L. Delisle from Paris, B.N. MS. Lat. 18595, in: 'Les Écoles D'Orléans Au Douzième Et Au Treizième Siècles', Annuaire-Bulletin De La Société De L'Histoire De France, 1869, t. VII, 150-152. This quotation, 152. (An extract from the letter in which the quotation occurs is printed by L.J. Paetow from Delisle's text, op. cit., 89-90 n. 5.)

2. 'Dictatorum' is the reading in the Arundel MS.; this quotation, see: fol. 71^{Rb}, l. 17-21.

3. 'Proporcionariam' in the manuscript followed by Delisle, who suggested that this word stood for 'porcionariam' (see 152 n. 1.); 'proporcionalem' is the reading in the Arundel MS., but I have adopted Delisle's suggestion, since the context clearly requires the legal word 'porcionariam', meaning joint-tenant. On 'portionarius' see: R.E. Latham, Revised Mediaeval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources, London, 1965, 361^{a}; 'proportionalis' proportionate / corresponding, see 377^{b}.

of a dialogue between Rhetoric and the Nightingale,[1] the high place accorded to rhetoric may be noted from the opening lines:

> Regina sedens rethorica in suo solio maiestatis Philomenam sui thalami secretariam ad se dulciter convocavit, etiam inquiens in hec verba: "Dulcissima..."

Rhetoric is again exalted in the section on "rhetorical colours" in another English treatise on dictamen:[2]

> Nam color nichil aliud indicari poterit, nisi quedam estivalis arborum virescensia, que post temperiem hiemalem dinoscitur: et ut nudi hominis honorificum est vestimentum, sic dicciones grammaticaliter et pueriliter pronunciatas, per misteria regine Rethorice sagaciter custodita in proferencias consuere possumus Tullianas: ut sic forte dicerem: Numquam erat meus amicus, qui mecum cito irascitur; induere istam distinccionem sic: Numquam erat meus amicus precordialis, qui michi pro modico stomachatur...

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1. See: B.M. Royal MS. 10 B ix fol. 178^{R}-195^{R}. Lines quoted from opening of work, fol. 178^{R}. Rhetoric has already been named Queen in the incipit: 'Incipit hic valde compendiosus tractatus de dictamine nomine Regina sedens rethorica cum ceteris epistulis tam superioribus quam inferioribus cum earum responsionibus gradatim directis.' Date of MS.: mid-fifteenth century, see N. Denholm-Young, study cit. 53. Concerning the work see also: H.G. Richardson, 'Letters of the Oxford Dictatores', Formularies Which Bear on the History of Oxford, c. 1204-1420, ed. H.E. Salter, W.A. Pantin, H.G. Richardson, Oxford Historical Society, New Series IV and V, 1942, Vol. II, 431.

2. See: W.A. Pantin, 'A Medieval Treatise on Letter-Writing, with Examples, from the Rylands MS. 394', Bulletin of the John Rylands Library Manchester, 13, 1929, 326-382. Treatise on dictamen: 332-382. Passage quoted: 339 (section on rhetorical colours: 338-340, cf. description of parts of treatise, 329). The treatise is on fol. 31-54 of the manuscript, and is written in a hand of about the early or middle fifteenth century (see 326, 327). The work is mentioned by N. Denholm-Young, study cit. 53.

In the same treatise there is also a letter in praise of 'Queen' Rhetoric,[1] and rhetoric is also queen in another letter in this treatise:[2]

> [...] carissimi quoniam a thalamo regine rethorice flosculo colores fa[...]meis (?) carpimus universos: Itaque non dissonum racioni reputo nec coll - [...] opusculi finem secundum premissa coloribus huius regine thalami perlucidis...

Further examples of statements in which a high place is accorded to rhetoric are found in several Italian works on rhetoric and the ars dictaminis which cannot unfortunately be shown to have been current in England. In the Rhetorica Novissima of Boncompagnus, which was completed in 1235, rhetoric is stated to be Empress of the liberal arts, as well as the foster-daughter of the two laws (civil and canon law):[3]

'Rhetorica est liberalium artium imperatrix, et utriusque iuris alumna.'

The Tuscan master Mino da Colle di Val d'Elsa includes

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1. Treatise on dictamen, letter no. 65, 371.

2. Ibid., letter no. 66, 371. This letter is perhaps a continuation of No. 66 (see 371), which is really an exercise or treatise, illustrating certain rhetorical figures of speech (description of letter no. 66 see 373).

3. Ed. A. Gaudenzi, Bibliotheca Medii Aevi (ed. A. Gaudenzi), II, 1892, II 1. 'De rhetorice partibus et causarum generibus.' Quid sit rhetorica. 245[a]. Date: see: A. Gaudenzi, 'Sulla Cronologia Delle Opere Dei Dettatori Bolognesi Da Buoncompagno A Bene Di Lucca', Bulletino Dell' Istituto Storico Italiano, No. 14, 1895, 112. 'Imperatrix' / 'Empress', see: R.E. Latham, op. cit., 236[b].

some statements concerning rhetoric in several academic discourses contained in his artes dictaminis, which were probably composed between 1300 and 1312. He asserts for instance, that rhetoric holds the highest place in the trivium, and that Grammar is her alumna, or foster-daughter.[1]

In the prose prologue to an Ars dictaminis of Giovanni del Virgilio, probably written during his period of teaching at Bologna (it is known that he taught there in the early 1320's), rhetoric is stated to shine forth amongst the rest of the liberal arts:[2]

> Cum tanta sit rhetorice dignitas ut totius eloquentie (cuius ipsa est species) per antonomasiam Cicerone testante absoluto nomine sepius nuncupetur et inter ceteras liberales artes Salomonis amica mirabilis altius enitescat.

The above statements concerning rhetoric make it clear that there was a tradition according to which rhetoric was assigned the highest place. It could therefore have been

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1. The statements are quoted by H. Wieruszowski from two artes dictaminis of Mino da Colle, in 'Ars Dictaminis in the Time of Dante', Medievalia et Humanistica, Fasciculus primus, 1943, 104. Date: 97, n. 11. The statements are quoted from: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS. Nuovi Acquisiti 385 (s. xiii-xiv) fols. 15^{V}, 16^{R}, and Genoa MS. Biblioteca Universitaria A. VII 29 (s. xiv). Fols. 10^{R}, 11^{R}, 13^{R}, see art. cit., p. 104, n. 60. For sigla of manuscripts, with dates, see: idem, 'Arezzo as a Center of Learning and Letters in the Thirteenth Century', Traditio IX, 1953, 390.

2. See: P.O. Kristeller, 'Un "Ars Dictaminis" di Giovanni del Virgilio", Italia medioevale e umanistica, IV, 1961, 193, l. 10-13. The manuscript is Naples BN. MS. XII 33, copied during the first half of the fifteenth century (see 184). Date of composition, see: 182-3, 187.

the influence of eulogistic statements such as these which caused Gower to place rhetoric above grammar and logic in his division of 'Philosophie'.

ii. <u>The five points of policy in the seventh book of the Confessio Amantis</u>[1]

Aristotle recommends five points of policy to Alexander:[2]

> Bot of verray necessite
> The philosophre him hath betake
> Fyf pointz, which he hath undertake
> To kepe and hold in observance,
> As for the worthi governance
> Which longeth to his Regalie,
> After the reule of Policie.

These five points are virtues belonging to the 'kinges Regiment' or 'Principis Regimen':[3]

> And for it stant upon his wille,
> It sit him wel to ben avised,
> And the vertus which are assissed
> Unto a kinges Regiment,
> To take in his entendement.

(margin:[4] 'Hic secundum Policiam tractare intendit precipue super quinque regularum Articulis que ad Principis Regimen observande specialius existunt.') The five points of policy are the following: 'trouthe' (margin: 'veritas'), 'largesse'

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1. <u>Confessio</u> VII 1704-5397.
2. Ibid. VII 1704-1710.
3. Ibid. VII 1716-1720.
4. Margin at <u>Confessio</u> VII 1714 ff.

('largitas'), 'justice' ('Iusticia'), 'Pite' ('Pietas'), and 'chastete' ('Castitas').[1]

Lists of virtues are commonly found in numerous treatises on the government of Princes or 'regimen principum', but there is a parallel for Gower's five points in two works. The first is the Secretum Secretorum, which was attributed to Aristotle, and thought to have been addressed by him to Alexander.[2] The first translation of this work from Arabic into Latin was made by Johannes Hispalensis and may date from before 1130;[3] Philippus Tripolitanus' second Latin translation was written after 1227, and it was this version, in a revised form, which became the Vulgate text of the Secretum Secretorum.[4] The second work is the De regimine principum of Aegidius Romanus, written between 1277 and 1279.[5]

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1. See: Confessio VII 1723-1984, 1985-2694, 2695-3102, 3103-4214, 4215-5397.

2. A.H. Gilbert discusses Gower's description of the five points of policy in the seventh book of the poem, in relation to the Secretum Secretorum; see: 'Notes on the influence of the Secretum Secretorum,' Speculum III, 1928, 84-93.

3. See: ed. R. Steele, Oxford, 1920, , xvii-xviii. A.O. Beckerlegge, Pierre d'Abernun of Fetcham, Le Secré de Secres, Anglo-Norman Texts, V.1944, xix-xx.

4. See R. Steele, op. cit., xvii-xxiii, xxxi. A.O. Beckerlegge, op. cit., xx.

5. Date, see: W. Berges, Die Fürstenspiegel des hohen und späten Mittelalters, Leipzig, 1938, 320.

In the Secretum Secretorum,[1] 'Largitas', 'pietas', 'justicia' and 'castitas' are among the kingly virtues which Aristotle recommends to Alexander in the first part of the work concerning 'regimen principum'. In the De regimine principum,[2] 'veritas' is mentioned as one of the virtues necessary to kings and princes.

Gower's five points of policy could quite easily have been derived from his knowledge of these two works. We know that he drew on the Secretum Secretorum in other parts of the Confessio Amantis, and it is also probable that his representation of the five points of royal policy as being recommended by Aristotle to Alexander was suggested by the first part of the Secretum Secretorum. The De regimine principum of Aegidius Romanus was one of the most widely read works of this genre,[3] and was translated into English by John

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1. 'Prima [pars] est de regum varietate et moribus eorum et regimine', (see Index: 28): 'Capitulum quintum de regibus et eorum viciis circa largitate et avaricia' (largitatem et avariciam in index, see capitulum quintum, 28), 42-44. 'Capitulum sextum adhuc de hiis que pertinent largitati et declinacioni prodigalitatis et avaricie', 44-45. 'Capitulum. 10. de honoracione religiosorum et sapientium, et de providentia et pietate et mansuetudine, et discrecione', 48. Third heading: 'De regis pietate, mansuetudine et discrecione.' 'Capitulum. 12.', second heading: 'de justicia regis', 50. 'Capitulum. 13. de appetitu et intencione regis finali, et castitate et coitu vitando,' 50-51. Second heading: 'De castitate Regis', 51.

2. See: ed. Rome, 1607: 'Secunda Pars Primi Libri de regimine Principum: in qua tractatur, quas virtutes debeant habere Reges, et Principes', 43-152. Cap. XXIX: 'Quid est veritas , et circa quae habet esse, et quod decet Reges et Principes esse veraces.' 133-136.

3. Cf. W. Berges, op. cit., 211.

Trevisa, so that it was likely to have been available to Gower.

IV. STORIES AND DIGRESSIONS

A very large part of the poem is taken up by illustrative stories or 'ensamples' (margin: exempla) introduced by Genius the confessor to reinforce his advice to the Amans.

There are two long digressions. The first is that concerning the religions in the fifth book of the poem,[1] which occurs when the Amans asks the confessor to tell how the gods came to be there.[2] The second is the account of the teaching of philosophy by Aristotle to Alexander, which takes up the seventh book of the poem; the Amans asks to hear about the teaching of Aristotle to Alexander because he thinks that hearing of strange things will relieve his pain for a time.[3]

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1. Confessio V 747-1959.
2. Ibid. V 734-737.
3. Ibid. VI 2408-2419.

Chapter II

SOURCES OF STORIES IN THE CONFESSIO AMANTIS

Section A. GOWER'S USE OF THE EXEMPLUM

Introduction

In no other poem did the exemplum play such a prominent part as in the Confessio Amantis, in which the stories are 'ensamples' or exempla told by Genius in illustration of his doctrine. Exempla were narratives told in illustration of points of doctrine; they were commonly used in sermons, and collections of exempla were compiled which aided the preacher in his selection of exempla.[1]

In this section, the influence of the exemplum type of narrative on Gower's stories will be considered. First, stories relating to classical antiquity will be discussed, then those of Biblical origin, and finally some miscellaneous stories will be considered.

I. STORIES RELATING TO CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY

The stories will be discussed in the order in which they occur in the Confessio Amantis.

i. Patience of Socrates.[2]

To illustrate patience, Gower relates how, on a cold winter's day, the wife of Socrates chided him. He let her chide, but she poured water on his head. He kept his patience, and said there was nothing wrong in what she had done, for in

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1. Concerning the exemplum see: J. Th. Welter, L'Exemplum Dans La Littérature Religieuse Et Didactique Du Moyen Age, Paris, 1927.

2. Confessio III 639-698.

winter the winds blew, and afterwards it rained, and his wife had made him wind and rain according to the season of the year: (margin:

> Hic ponit Confessor exemplum de paciencia in amore contra lites habenda. Et narrat qualiter uxor Socratis ipsum quodam die multis sermonibus litigavit; set cum ipse absque ulla responsione omnia proba pacienter sustulit, indignata uxor quandam ydriam plenam aque, quam in manu tenebat, super caput viri sui subito effudit, dicens, 'Evigila et loquere': qui respondens tunc ait, 'O vere iam scio et expertus sum quia post ventorum rabiem sequuntur ymbres': et isto modo litis contumeliam sua paciencia devicit.

Gower's story parallels the one told by St. Jerome in Adversus Jovinianum:[1]

> Socrates Xantippen et Myron neptem habebat uxores... Quodam autem tempore cum infinita convicia ex superiori loco ingerenti Xantippae restisset, aqua perfusus immunda, nihil amplius respondit, quam capite deterso: Sciebam, inquit futurum ut ista tonitrua imber sequeretur.

This story is repeated as an exemplum in the Speculum Doctrinale,[2] and is also repeated in the Compendiloquium of John of Wales, who perhaps died in spring, 1285,[3] and in Walter

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1. See Adversus Jovinianum, P.L. 23 ed. J.P. Migne, 1883; I. 48. ('Omnia mala ex muliebris...') col. 291. Reference: Confessio III 641 ff. n.

2. See: Vincent of Beauvais, Speculum Maius t. 2, Speculum Doctrinale, Douai, 1624. Photomechanical Reprint, Graz, 1965. IV, Cap. 83. 'De tolerantia secundum Philosophos.' col. 347a.

3. ed. Strasbourg, 1518 (in: John of Wales, 'Summa de regimine vite humane'...). Pars III Distinctio III Cap. V. 'De patientia eius in sustinendo rixas uxoris et familie', fol. 119Rb. On the early editions of works of John of Wales see: V. Scholderer, 'The Early Editions of Johannes Vallensis', Reprint from: The National Library of Wales Journal, Vol. 3, Nos. 3 and 4, Summer, 1944. Date, see: B. Smalley, English Friars And Antiquity In The Early Fourteenth Century, 1960, 51. On the Compendiloquium, see: W.A. Pantin, 'John of Wales and medieval humanism,' Medieval Studies Presented to Aubrey Gwynn, S.J., Dublin, 1961, 300-301.

Burley's De vita et moribus philosophorum, the terminus to the date of which is 1346.[1]

ii. Diogenes and Alexander.[2]

To illustrate the point that the will should be governed by reason, Gower relates how Diogenes devised a tun on an axle pin, he sat in it, and turned it, and saw the heavens. One morning, when he was looking at the sunrise, it happened that King Alexander and a company came riding by. Alexander sent a knight to find out what the tun meant. The knight asked Diogenes, and when Diogenes did not answer, he said that the King had asked. Diogenes then said that the King was his man's man. The knight told Alexander of this answer, and Alexander then asked Diogenes the meaning of it. Diogenes replied that from the time he himself had first understood reason, he had restrained his will, will being subject to reason. So will was his servant. In Alexander's case, will was the master, dominating reason. So Alexander could never take one day's rest from his labours, for he was always conquering more worldly possessions. Diogenes said: 'Stay out of my sun, for you take away from me that gift which you cannot shift' (margin:

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1. ed. H. Knust, Bibliothek Des Litterarischen Vereins In Stuttgart, 177, 1886. Cap. 30 'Socrates', 116. Date, see: J.O. Stigall, 'The manuscript tradition of the De Vita Et Moribus Philosophorum of Walter Burley,' Medievalia et Humanistica fasc. XI, 1957, 44.

2. Confessio III 1201-1311.

> Hic ponit Confessor exemplum, quod hominis impetuosa voluntas sit discrecionis moderamine gubernanda. Et narrat qualiter Diogenes, qui motus animi sui racioni subiugaret, Regem Alexandrum super isto facto sibi opponentem plenius informavit).

A passage from the De vita et moribus philosophorum[1] is quoted by G.C. Macaulay in connection with the first part of this story:

> Dum Alexander rex coram Diogene transiret Diogenes, tanquam spernens, illum non respexit. Cui dixit Alexander: 'Quid est, Diogenes, quod me non respicis, quasi mei non indigeas?' Cui ille: 'Ad quid necesse habeo servum servorum meorum?' Cui Alexander: 'Numquid servorum tuorum servus ego sum?' Ait sic: 'Quia ego prevaleo cupiditatibus meis, semper frenans illas et subiciens michi ipsas et michi serviant. Tibi autem cupiditates prevalent et servus earum efficeris, earum obtemperans iussioni; servus ergo es servorum meorum.'

Burley also includes the detail of Diogenes revolving himself in a tub,[2] as well as the story of Diogenes, Alexander and the sun,[3] in which the reply of Diogenes: 'sed rogo ne michi auferas quod michi dare non potes' resembles the one in Gower's version, where Diogenes says that Alexander took away the gift that he could not shift;[4] (the same reply as in Burley's version is given in the exemplum version of Robert Holcot's Moralitates, written after c. 1334 and before 1342.)[5] As

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1. Cap. 50 'Diogenes', 204. Quoted: Confessio III 1201 ff n. On the story of Alexander and Diogenes, see: G. Cary, The Medieval Alexander, ed. D.J.A. Ross, Cambridge, 1956, 83-85 and n.1 and 2, 275-8; 146-7, 253-4 (Gower's story).

2. 194. 3. 196.

4. Confessio III 1309-1310.

5. See ed. Basle, 1586, Moralitas XXXIX, 741. As compared with the statement as represented by Burley, 'michi' has here been omitted. Date: see: B. Smalley, op. cit. 146.

regards the first part of the story, it may be noted that the version of Burley quoted above does not account for all the details in the story as told by Gower. In Burley's version, there is no intermediary between Alexander and Diogenes, whereas in Gower's version a knight is intermediary, and in Burley's version Alexander is called servant of my servants by Diogenes, whereas Gower's phrase 'Mi mannes man' is equivalent to servant of my servant.[1] There is also no explicit mention in Burley's version of the will, as there is in Gower's story (margin: 'voluntas'). Gower is likely to have known another version of the story, as is apparent from the variants in the version of the story relating to Socrates and the king in the Disciplina Clericalis of Petrus Alfonsi, written some years after 1106.[2] Here,[3] the king's servants are intermediaries between the king and Socrates, and Socrates told them that the king was servant of his servant: 'Non est, inquit, vester dominus meus dominus, sed pocius mei est servi servus'; he told the king the same:[4] 'sicut prius famulis ita nunc sibi eum sui servi servum asseruit', and explained the statement:[5]

> Voluntas quidem subiecta est et servit michi, non ego sibi. Tu e converso subiectus es voluntati

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1. Confessio III 1251.

2. See ed. A. Hilka and W. Söderhjelm, Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte I, 1911. 'Exemplum'XVIII* 'De Socrate (=Diogene) et rege' 43-45. Date,vii.

3. 44 l. 10-12.

4. ibid., l. 20-21.

5. ibid., l. 24-26.

et sibi servis, non ipsa tibi. Itaque, servus es eius qui michi servit.

The story of Alexander, Diogenes and the sun is told by Cicero[1] and Valerius Maximus;[2] the version of Valerius Maximus is repeated as an exemplum in the Breviloquium de virtutibus antiquorum principum et philosophorum of John of Wales,[3] and that of Cicero is followed in the exemplum version of the Summa Praedicantium of John Bromyard, written between 1360 and 1368.[4] Another exemplum version is that of the Gesta Romanorum, thought to be of English origin, the approximate date of which is the second half of the 1330's,[5] and that of the Moralitates already mentioned. The story is also told, on the basis of the Valerius Maximus version, in the Speculum Historiale,[6] Compendiloquium[7] and Ranulf Higden's Polychronicon,

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1. See: Tusculanae Disputationes, ed. M. Pohlenz, Leipzig, 1918. V. Cap. 32, 446 l. 6-8.

2. See: Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium Libri Novem, ed. C. Kempf, Leipzig, 1888. IV Cap. III Ext. 4 p. 186 l. 23-29.

3. See ed. Strasbourg, 1518 (in: John of Wales, 'Summa de regimine vite humane' cit.) Breviloquium Pars III Cap. I. 'De Continentia' fol 159^{Rb}. On the Breviloquium, see W.A. Pantin, study cit., 299.

4. See ed. Nuremberg, 1485. P. iii 'Paupertas' Articulus II, III. Exemplum. Date, see: J. Th. Welter, op. cit., 329-330.

5. See: Gesta Romanorum ed. H. Oesterley, Berlin , 1872, 183, p. 589. Op. cit., ed. W. Dick, Erlanger Beiträge Zur Englischen Philologie VII, 1890. Cap. 71 'De Diogene et Allexandro', p. 146. Version referred to: Confessio Amantis Liber Tercius n. cit. Date and origin, see: J. Th. Welter, op. cit., pp. 370, 371.

6. Vincent of Beauvais, Speculum Maius, cit. t. 4, Speculum Historiale, III Cap. 68; 108^{b}. Reference, Confessio III n. cit.

7. Pars III Distinctio II Cap. III, fol. 116^{Va-b}.

the earliest version of which was written c. 1327;[1] another version of the story is that of Burley already mentioned. The detail of the tub which Diogenes directed or turned towards the sun is included in all the exemplum versions mentioned except that of the Breviloquium. A full description of Diogenes revolving himself in a tub had been made by St. Jerome in Adversus Jovinianum:[2]

> Cumque se contorqueret in dolio, volubilem se habere domum jocabatur, et se cum temporibus immutantem. Frigore enim os dolii vertebat in meridiem; aestate ad septentrionem, et utcunque sol se inclinaverat, Diogenis simul praetorium vertebatur.

This description is repeated in John of Salisbury's Policraticus,[3] the Speculum Historiale,[4] the Compendiloquium,[5] the Polychronicon[6] and in the version of Burley already mentioned.

The story of Diogenes, Alexander and the sun clearly had such a wide circulation that it is impossible to trace the source of Gower's story.

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1. See:Vol. III ed. J.R. Lumby, 1871, Rolls Series: III Cap. XX; 308. Date, see: J. Taylor, The Universal Chronicle of Ranulf Higden, Oxford, 1966, 98.

2. See: II 14. Col. 318.

3. See: ed. C.C. I. Webb, 2 Vols. Oxford, 1909; V Cap. 17: Vol. I, 359 l. 21-25.

4. III Cap. 69; 108^{b}.

5. Pars III Distinctio II Cap. II: fol. 116^{Rb-Va}.

6. Loc. cit.

iii. Alexander and the pirate.[1]

In illustration of the point that wars should not be made for gain, Gower tells of the capture of a pirate. The prisoner was brought before Alexander and accused of his misdeeds. He said that he was at heart like Alexander; if he had the power, he would plunder and gain worldly wealth. Because he led a poor company, he said, and was in misfortune, he was called a robber and thief; Alexander, who led great companies, kept his gains, and did just as the pirate wanted to do, and was called Emperor. He said that their deeds were of the same kind and of equal merit and the difference lay between his poverty and Alexander's riches. Alexander took the pirate into his service, and made him a knight: (margin:

> Hic declarat per exemplum contra istos Principes seu alios quoscumque illicite guerre motores. Et narrat de quodam pirata in partibus marinis spoliatore nitissimo, qui cum captus fuisset, et in iudicium coram Rege Alexandro productus et de latrocinio accusatus, dixit, 'O Alexander, vere quia cum paucis sociis spoliorum causa naves tantum exploro, ego latrunculus vocor; tu autem, quia cum infinita bellatorum multitudine universam terram subiugando spoliasti, Imperator diceris. Ita quod status tuus a statu meo differt, set eodem animo condicionem parilem habemus.' Alexander vero eius audaciam in responsione comprobans, ipsum penes se familiarem retinuit; et sic bellicosus bellatori complacuit).

The story of Alexander and the pirate[2] is told by St. Augustine in De Civitate Dei:[3]

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1. Confessio III 2363-2421.

2. Concerning this story see: G. Cary, op. cit. 95-98, and n. 15-18, 281-2. Gower's version, 97, 254.

3. See: De civitate dei Libri XXII ed. B. Dombart, Vol. I, Leipzig, 1921; IV Cap. IV 'Quam similia sint latrociniis regna absque iustitia'; quotation 150 l. 27-end of chapter. Reference: Confessio III 2363 ff. n.

> Eleganter enim et veraciter Alexandro illi Magno quidam comprehensus pirata respondit. Nam cum idem rex hominem interrogaret, quid ei videretur, ut mare haberet infestum, ille libera contumacia: Quod tibi, inquit, tu orbem terrarum; sed quid id ego exiguo navigio facio, latro voco/r; quia tu magna classe, imperator.

The story is also told in the Policraticus;[1] the speech of the pirate is here expanded, and Alexander is said to have enrolled the pirate into the military, and he is similarly made ~~a~~s a knight in Gower's version:

> Eidem quoque eleganter et vere comprehensus pirata scribitur respondisse. Cum enim Alexander interrogaret quid ei videretur quod mare habet infestum, ille libera contumacia: Quod tibi, inquit, ut tu orbem terrarum? Sed, quia id ego uno navigio facio, latro vocor; quia tu magne classe, diceris imperator. Si solus et captus sit Alexandro, latro erit; si ad nutum Dionidi populi famulentur, erit Dionides imperator. Nam quod ad causam non differunt, nisi quia deterior est qui rapit improbius, qui iustitiam abiectius deserit, qui manifestius impugnat leges. Quas enim ego fugio, tu persequeris; ego utcumque veneror, tu contempnis. Me fortunae iniquitas et rei familiaris angustia, te fastus intolerabilis et inexplebilis avaritia furem facit. Si fortuna mansuesceret, fierem forte melior; at tu quo fortunatior, nequior eris. Miratus Alexander constantiam hominis eum merito arguentis: Experiar, inquit, an futurus sis melior, fortunamque mutabo, ut non ei a modo quod deliqueris sed tuis moribus adscribatur. Eum itaque iussit conscribi militiae, ut posset exinde salvis legibus militare.

The Policraticus version is repeated in the exemplum versions of the Breviloquium,[2] Holcot's commentary on the Wisdom of Solomon, the date of which may be 1334-6,[3] and the Summa

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1. III Cap. 14, Vol. I 225 l. 2-21.

2. Pars I Cap. I 'De iusticia in possidendo' fol. 152Ra.

3. Ed. Basle, 1586; Lectio III (Cap. I), p. 12. Date, see B. Smalley, op. cit. 147.

Praedicantium;[1] it is also repeated in the Polychronicon.[2] Gower stands in this tradition.

iv. Tale of Spurinna.[3]

In illustration of virginity, Gower relates how 'Phyryns' was the handsomest man in Rome, so that women who saw him were happy. So he was often tempted, but since he did not want women to desire him, he reduced the beauty of his face, and thrust out both his eyes. No woman who saw him after that cared about him; so he preserved his virginity (margin:

> Hic loquitur, qualiter Phyrinus, iuvenum Rome pulcherrimus, ut illesam suam conservaret virginitatem, ambos oculos eruens vultus sui decorem abhominabilem constituit).

The story of Spurinna is told by Valerius Maximus:[4]

> Excellentis in ea regione pulchritudinis adulescens nomine Spurinna, cum mira specie conplurium feminarum inlustrium sollicitaret oculos ideoque viris ac parentibus earum se suspectum esse sentiret, oris decorem vulneribus confudit deformitatemque sanctitatis suae fidem quam formam inritamentum alienae libidinis esse maluit.

The story of Valerius Maximus is repeated in the Breviloquium.[5] In his version of the story in the Mirour de l'Omme, Gower gives 'Valeire' as his authority,[6] but Gower's

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1. R.I. 'Rapina' Articulus V, final exemplum.
2. Vol. III; III Cap. 27, 422-4.
3. Confessio V 6370-6384.
4. IV Cap. V, 'De Verecundia.' Ext. 1. Reference: Confessio V 6372 ff. n.
5. Pars III Cap. I 'De Continentia'. fol. 158Ra.
6. See ed. G.C. Macaulay, in The Complete Works of John Gower, Vol. I, Oxford, 1899; l. 18301-18310, p. 212. Reference: Confessio V n. cit.

version is not likely to have been derived directly from that of Valerius Maximus, because he could have taken the story and the authority of Valerius from the Breviloquium version.

A variant of Gower's version is the form of the name Spurinna which is given as 'Phyryns' (margin: 'Phyrinus'), and the same form is found in the Mirour de l'Omme ('Phirin')[1] and Vox Clamantis ('Phirinus').[2] The name Spurinna was certainly subject to some fluctuation, since in manuscripts of the Breviloquium we find the forms 'Spurina',[3] 'Spurna'[4] and 'Spuria',[5] but these variants will not account for the form used by Gower, and the explanation is still to be found.

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1. ed. cit. l. 18303.

2. See ed. G.C. Macaulay, The Complete Works of John Gower, Vol. IV, Oxford, 1902; VI 1323, Reference Mirour de l'Omme, 18301 n.

3. See: (i) Breviloquium, British Museum Royal MS. 12 E.XXI fol. 27^{R}-44^{R}; this story fol. 35^{V} (l. 21-26). Date: early 14th century, see: G.F. Warner and J.P. Gilson, British Museum Catalogue Of Western Manuscripts In The Old Royal And King's Collections, Vol. II, 1921, 58; (this work is item 6, and items 1-9 date from the early 14th century). (ii) Breviloquium, B.M. MS. Harley 632 fol. 25^{R}-36^{R}. This story fol. 30^{V} (l. 34-38). Date: 15th century, see: Medieval Libraries Of Great Britain, ed. N.R. Ker, London, 1964, 185.

4. (i) Breviloquium B.M. Royal MS. 7.C. I fol. 206^{Va}-213^{Vb}; this story fol. 210^{Rb} (final line) - ^{Va}l.7. Date: 14th Century, see Catalogue cit. Vol. I, 76. (ii) Breviloquium B.M. Royal MS. 10A. IX fol. 71^{Va}-103^{Va}; this story fol. 87^{Rb} (l. 9-23) Date: 14th century, see: Catalogue cit. Vol. I, 306. (iii) Breviloquium B.M. Royal MS. 12 E. XXV fol. 133^{V}-141^{V} (imperfect at end); this story fol. 139^{R}. (l. 10-14). Date: circa 1300, see Catalogue, cit, Vol. II, 61.

5. See: Breviloquium, B.M. Royal M.S. 5 A.XII, fol. 1^{Ra}-21^{Vb}; this story fol. 11^{Rb}, final four lines -^{Va} l.7) Date: 15th century, see Catalogue cit, Vol. I, 99.

v. Tale of Lucius and the statue.[1]

In illustration of sacrilege, Gower relates how Caesar had an image of Apollo made. It had a beard of gold plate, and a large mantle of gold; its finger stretched out straight ahead, and there was a ring on the finger. A certain clerk, Lucius, stole the ring, the mantle and the bard. He was found out, and at his trial, on being asked by the king why he had committed sacrilege, he replied that he had done nothing amiss. Seeing how the god stretched out his hand and offered to give him the ring he took it, for he was glad that the god's largess should relieve his poverty. As to the mantle of gold, gold was heavy, so it was not a suitable garment for the god in the summer, and gold was cold, so it would be unpleasing in the winter. As to the beard, he had seen how Apollo's father, whose statue had stood in the same place, was beardless, and so he had taken away the son's beard to make father and son alike (margin:

> Hic loquitur de illis qui larvata consciencia Sacrilegium sibi licere fingunt. Et narrat quod, cum quidam Lucius clericus famosus et Imperatori notus deum suum Apollinem in templo Rome de anulo suo, pallio et barba aurea spoliasset, ipse tandem apprehensus et coram Imperatore accusatus taliter se excusando ait: 'Anulum a deo recepi, quia ipse digito protenso ex sua largitate anulum hunc graciose michi optulit; pallium ex lamine aureo constructum tuli, quia aurum maxime ponderosum et frigidum naturaliter consistit, unde nec in estate propter pondus nec in yeme propter frigus ad dei vestes utile fuit; barbam ab eo deposui, quia ipsum patri suo assimilare volui, nam et Apollo, qui ante ipsum in templo stetit, absque barba iuvenis apparuit. Et sic ea que gessi non ex furto set honestate processisse manifeste declaravi).

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1. Confessio V 7105*-7207.*

The acts of sacrilege of Dionysius of Syracuse against images of Jove and Aesculapius, as related by Cicero in De natura deorum are mentioned by G.C. Macaulay in connection with Gower's story;[1] the same acts of sacrilege are mentioned as follows by Valerius Maximus:[2]

> ...detracto enim Iovi Olympio magni ponderis aureo amiculo, quo eum tyrannus Gelo e manubiis Karthaginensium ornaverat, iniectoque ei laneo pallio dixit aestate grave esse amiculum, hieme frigidum, laneum autem ad utrumque tempus anni aptus. Idem Epidauri Aesculapio barbam auream demi iussit, quod adfirmaret non convenire patrem Apollinem inberbem, ipsum barbatum conspici.

It should be noted that the beardless Apollo is not mentioned by name in Cicero's version as he is in that of Valerius Maximus, and that in the margin the beardless Apollo is likewise mentioned by Gower.[3] The version of Valerius Maximus, with mention of Apollo, is followed in the Speculum Historiale.[4]

The story occurs in an altered form as an exemplum in the Gesta Romanorum[5] and the Summa Praedicantium.[6] These exemplum versions have points in common with Gower's story

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1. See: ed. A.S. Pease, Vol. II, Cambridge, Mass, 1958; III. 83 (or 34), 1193-6. Reference: Confessio V 7105* n.

2. I Cap. I Ext. 3; 12, l. 9-16.

3. 'Apollo, qui ante ipsum in templo stetit, absque barba iuvenis apparuit.' Gower has also called the image despoiled by Lucius that of Apollo.

4. III. Cap. 73; 110^{a}

5. See ed. H. Oesterley, Cap. 8 'De vana gloria', 282-4. Ed. W. Dick, Cap. 8 'De tribus ymaginibus', 7-9. Reference to this version: Confessio V n. cit.

6. R.I 'Rapina' Articulus V. 4th Exemplum.

not found in the other versions mentioned. In the Gesta Romanorum, the Emperor (Leo) had the images made,[1] and the first of the three images had a golden ring on its finger and its hand stretched out:[2]

> Prima imago habebat manum ad populum extensam, et in uno digito annulum aureum, et super digito erat superscripcio talis: Ego sum generosus; ecce annulus in digito.

The plunderer of the images, represented as a tyrant, explains the theft of the ring to the Emperor as follows:[3]

> Quando templum intravi, prima imago manum ad me extendit, habensque in digito annulum, ac si diceret: Istum annulum accipe! tamen ad extensionem manus nolui quousque in digito superscripcionem legi scil. Ego sum generosus, ecce annulus. Statim intellexi superscripcionem, quod voluntas ejus esset, ut annulum acciperem et ideo accepi;

(the second image had a golden beard, and the third a golden mantle).[4] In the Summa Praedicantium, there is only one image, which had a ring on its finger and stretched out its hand: 'anulum accepi de digito: quia manum mihi porrexit et anulum obtulit;' (the image in this version also had a golden beard and mantle); in this version also, the image robber is represented as excusing his deeds: 'respondit excusando. anulum accepi de digito:' etc. In the margin, Gower says of Lucius: 'taliter se excusando ait: Anulum a deo recepi', etc., and he says at the end of his speech:[5] 'I axe forto ben excused.'

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1. ed. H. Oesterley 282 l. 19-20.
2. ibid. 282 l. 21-24.
3. ibid., 283 l. 4-9.
4. ibid. 282 l. 24-28.
5. Confessio V 7207*.

These details show the influence of the exemplum version on Gower's story, though his mention of Apollo suggests that he may also have known the form of the story as given by Valerius Maximus, since no gods are mentioned by name in the exemplum versions. This apparent combination of the Valerius Maximus form of the story and the exemplum version is also found in Gower's version of the story in the Mirour de l'Omme,[1] which is told of 'Dionys'.[2] There is no mention of Dionysius in the exemplum versions. The statue is also described as having a ring on its finger and stretching out its hand in the Mirour de l'Omme,[3] as in the exemplum versions.

The stories now to be discussed are from the seventh book of the Confessio Amantis, and are told in illustration of the points of policy belonging to the king's regimen.

vi. Tale of Julius and the poor knight.[4]

In illustration of largess, Gower relates how there was a worthy poor knight in Rome to seek his rights. He came alone to plead his cause when the court was full and Julius was present in court. Because the knight was lacking in means, he had no advocate, and he asked Julius for an advocate. Julius assigned him one, but said nothing himself. The knight

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1. l. 7093-7128. Reference: Confessio Amantis, n. cit.
2. ibid. l. 7101.
3. ibid. l. 7109-10 and 7117-7124.
4. Confessio VII 2061-2106.

was angry and told the Emperor that in Africa he, the knight, had rescued him in battle. The Emperor knew, he said, what wounds he had sustained there, yet he would not speak one word of his own, nor give him a florin. Julius then took his cause in hand, and gave him possessions (margin:

> Hic secundum gesta Iulii exemplum ponit, qualiter Rex suorum militum, quos probos agnoverit, indigenciam largitatis sue beneficiis relevare tenetur).

Gower's story parallels that in the Saturnalia of Macrobius, which runs:[1]

> Veteranus cum die sibi dicto periclitaretur, accessit in publico ad Caesarem, rogavitque ut sibi adesset. ille advocatum quem ex comitatu suo eligerat sine mora dedit commendavitque ei ligatorem. exclamavit ingenti voce veteranus;at non ego, Caesar, periclitante Actiaco bello vicarium quaesivi, sed pro te ipse pugnavi; detexitque impressas cicatrices. erubuit Caesar venitque in advocationem, ut qui vereretur non superbus sed etiam ingratus videri.

The same story is told in the Policraticus;[2] the Policraticus version is followed in the Breviloquium,[3] where the story is told of Julius Caesar, as in Gower.[4]

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1. See: ed. J. Willis, Leipzig, 1963; [illegible] 2.4.27, p. 147.

2. III Cap. XIV. Vol. I 228 l. 5-13. Reference: G.L. Hamilton, 'Some Sources Of The Seventh Book Of Gower's Confessio Amantis', Modern Philology, IX, 1912, 339 n. 2.

3. Pars III Cap. I 'De Continentia' fol. 159Ra. The war has here become 'bello Asiatico' instead of 'bello Actiaco'. In Gower's version the battle was 'Up in Aufrique', see: Confessio VII 2088. M. Manzalaoui suggested that many of the stories in the seventh book of the poem are derived from the Breviloquium, see: 'The Secreta Secretorum The Mediaeval European Version of Kitab Sirr-ul-Asrar'! Reprint from Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Alexandria University, Vol. XV, 1961, 95.

4. Gower calls Julius the Emperor, and so implies that Caesar is meant.

vii. Antigonus and the Cynic.[1]

In illustration of discretion in giving, Gower relates how a poor knight, 'Cinichus' asked King Antigonus for a sum of money which the king was unable to give him. The King answered that such a gift exceeded his poor estate; then 'Cinichus' asked him for only a penny, and the King answered that it was too small a sum for a royal lord to give. (margin:

> Hic ponit exemplum de Rege Antigono, qualiter dona regia secundum maius et minus equa discrecione moderanda sunt).

Gower's story parallels the one told by Seneca in De Beneficiis:[2]

> Ab Antigono Cynicus petit talentum: respondit plus esse, quam quod Cynicus petere deberet; repulsus petit denarium: respondit minus esse quam quod regem decet dare. "Turpissima eiusmodi cavillatio est: invenit, quomodo neutrum daret. In denario regem, in talentum Cynicum respexit, cum posset et denarium tamquam Cynico dare et talentum tamquam rex. Ut sit aliquid maius quod Cynicus accipiat, nihil tam exiguum est, quod non honeste regis humanitas tribuat."

Seneca's story is repeated in the Breviloquium,[3] and it is also repeated in the Speculum Historiale.[4] G.C. Macaulay quotes the version of the story in the Trésor, but it is here

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1. Confessio VII 2115-2130.

2. Ed. C. Hosius, Leipzig, 1914; II. XVII. 1. (p. 35). Reference: G.L. Hamilton, art. cit. 339 n. 3.

3. Part I Cap. VI 'De partibus iusticie' fol. 154Ra; the story is told with reference to 'liberalitas'.

4. V Cap. 39 'De regno Ptolemaei Euergetis, et Antiocho Macedone', 148^{a}.

told about Antigonus and a minstrel ('menestrer' or 'menestrés').[1]

viii. Tale of Diogenes and Aristippus.[2]

In illustration of flattery, Gower relates how there were once two philosophers, who were sent from Carthage to the school at Athens. One was Diogenes, the other 'Arisippus'. At last, they returned home to Carthage. Diogenes did not seek any of the world's possessions, but only dwelt in his house near the river beside a bridge, there studying philosophy. 'Arisippus' laid his books aside, and pleased his prince with flattery, and so got honour and worldly possessions. It happened that in the month of May, Diogenes went into his garden to gather vegetables; he picked them and washed them in the river. 'Arisippus' came by and said to Diogenes that there would certainly be little need for him to sit there and pick vegetables, if he could like his prince as he, 'Arisippus', could. Diogenes replied that if 'Arisippus' could pick his vegetables, there would be little need for him to flatter his prince. If he would take reason into mind, he might think that it was not in accord with reason to please his prince so, but that it was greatly out of accord with the schools of Athens (margin:

> Hic contra vanitates adulantum loquitur, et narrat quod cum Arisippus de Cartagine Philosophus schole studium relinquens sui Principis obsequio in magnis adulacionibus pre ceteris carior assistebat, accidit

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1. See: Brunetto Latini, Li Livres Dou Tresor, ed. F.J. Carmody, 1948. University of California Publications In Modern Philology 22. II. 95. 7; 277 l. 54-59. See also Confessio VII 2115 n.
2. Confessio VII 2217-2317.

> ut ipse quodam die Diogenem Philosophum nuper socium suum, virum tam moribus quam sciencia probatissimum, herbas ad olera sua collectas lavantem ex casu ad ripam invenit: cui ait, 'O Diogenes, vere si tu sicut et ego Principi tuo placere scires, huiusmodi herbas aut colligere aut lavare tibi minime indigeret.' Cui alter respondit, 'O Arisippe, certe et si tu sicut et ego olera tua colligere et lavare scires, principem tuum ob inanis glorie cupiditatem blandiri nullatenus deberes'.

The story of Diogenes and Aristippus is told by Valerius Maximus:[1]

> Idem Syracusis, cum holera ei lavanti Aristippus dixisset, 'si Dionysium adulari velles, ista non esses,' 'immo', inquit, 'si tu ista esse velles, non adularere Dionysium'.

Valerius Maximus' story is repeated as an exemplum in the Speculum Doctrinale[2] and the Breviloquium,[3] and another exemplum version is in the Summa Praedicantium.[4] The version of Valerius Maximus is also repeated in the Speculum Historiale,[5] the Compendiloquium,[6] the Polychronicon[7] and the De vita et moribus philosophorum.[8]

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1. III Cap. III Ext. 4; 187 l. 3-6. Reference Confessio VII 2217 ff n.

2. IV Cap. 104: 'De eodem exempla' (i.e. 'De sufficentia sive paupertate voluntaria, secundum philosophos',) col. 358. ib. Cap. 168. 'Adhuc de eodem' (i.e. 'De Adulatione') col. 398.

3. Pars IV Cap. I 'De Magnificentia' fol. 160^{Vb}.

4. A. XV 'Adulatio', Articulus iiii, 3rd Exemplum.

5. III Cap. 68 'De Diogene et secta Cynicorum', 108^{b}.

6. Pars III Distinctio II (De vita Diogenis) Cap. X 'De Severitate in arguendo alios nulli adulando', fol 117^{Va}.

7. Vol. 3, 314; III. Cap. XX.

8. Cap. 50 'Diogenes', 198.

ix. The Roman triumph.[1]

To show that there was once no flattery of princes, Gower relates how when any victorious Emperor returned to Rome, he was certain of triple honours. The first was that four white steeds should draw his chariot; he should wear the coat of Jupiter; and his prisoners should go along the chariot on either side. All the nobles came riding before and after him and brought him to Rome. All this was in thanks for his chivalry and not out of flattery, as was shown. A ribald person was set beside him in his royal chariot, who said to the Emperor: 'Remember, let no justice go aside for all this pomp and pride, but know yourself, whatever happens. Though you now have victory, fortune may not always be with you; the wheel may turn another day, and overthrow you.' Everyone on that day might speak to the Emperor as openly as the ribald person; (margin:

> Hic narrat supereeodem, qualiter nuper Romanorum Imperator, cum ipse triumphator in hostes a bello Rome rediret, tres sibi laudes in signum sui triumphi precipue debebantur: primo quatuor equi albissimi currum in quo sedebat veherent, secundo tunica Iovis pro tunc indueretur, tercio sui captivi prope currum ad utrumque latus cathenati deambularent. Set ne tanti honoris adulacio eius animum in superbiam extolleret, quidam scurra linguosus iuxta ipsum in curru sedebat, qui quasi continuatis vocibus improperando ei dixit, 'Notheos', hoc est nosce teipsum, 'quia si hodie fortuna tibi prospera fuerit, cras forte versa rota mutabilis adversabitur').

This story is told in the Breviloquium[2] and the Gesta

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1. Confessio VII 2355-2411.

2. Pars II Cap. III 'De memoria' fol. 156^{Ra-b}.

Romanorum;[1] (Breviloquium):

> Ad quam memoriam inducendam et conservendam studebant prout dicit Hugo et Hieronymus in parte epistulae CXVII[2] dicit quod victoribus redeuntibus Romam post subiugationem regionum triplex fiebat honor. Primus quod victori obviabat populus cum leticia. Secundus quod omnes captivi sequebantur currum eius: manibus post terga ligatis. Tercius quod ipse victor inductus tunica Jovis sedebat in curru. Quem trahebant quattuor equi albi: et sic ducebatur usque ad capitolium: iuxta illud Ovidii. Quattuor in niveis aureus ibis equis. Ne tum his honoribus oblivisceretur sui triplicem molestiam oportebat eum ipsa die sustinere. Prima erat quod cum eo in curru quidam servilis conditionis: ut daretur spes cuilibet quantumcunque vilis conditionis perveniendi ad honorem homini: si eius probitas mereretur. Secunda quod ille fervus eum colaphizabat: ne nimis superbiret sibi. Gnotiseafton id est nosce teipsum: et noli superbire de tanto honore. Respice post te: hominem te esse memento. Tertia quod illa die poterat quilibet dicere in persona triumphantis quicquid vellet scilicet opprobia impune ipsi victori. Unde et Julio Cesari revertenti post multas victorias multe sunt inurie dicte: nulla ultione facta.

In the printed edition of the Breviloquium which has been cited above, γνῶθι σεαυτόν is in the comparatively uncorrupt form 'Gnotiseafton'.[3] It may be doubted whether John of Wales in fact wrote 'Gnotiseafton', since this reading is not found in any of the manuscripts consulted. Their readings

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1. ed. H. Oesterley Cap. 30 'De peccato et judicio', 328-9. ed. W. Dick Cap. 65 'De honoribus victoris et molestiis', 44. Reference: Confessio VII 2355 ff. n.

2. There is in fact a reference to the triumph in: St. Jerome, Epistola XXXIX, P.L. 22, ed. J.P. Migne, 1845 col. 468: 'in similitudinem triumphantium, quibus in curru retro comes adhaerebat per singulas acclamationes civium, dicens: Hominem te esse memento.' Quoted by G.L. Hamilton, art. cit. 328 n. 4.

3. Concerning corruption in medieval Latin of ΓΝΩΘΙ ΣΕΑΥΤΟΝ see: B. Bischoff, 'Das griechische Element in der abendländischen Bildung des Mittelalters', Byzantinische Zeitschrift, 44, 1951, 54-55.

vary greatly,[1] but the form 'Nothis elithos' in one of them suggests how Gower could have written 'Notheos' in the margin; no equivalent of the Greek words is given in the Gesta Romanorum version.

In the version of the story in the Summa Praedicantium,[2] the Roman triumphal victor is not advised to know himself, but he is told about fortune, as in Gower's version: 'Talis fuissem: si fortuna mihi ministraret: nec tua fortitudo: sed fortuna te victorem fecit.' In the reference to the story in Holcot's commentary on the Wisdom of Solomon, a ribald person is said to be protagonist, as in Gower's version:[3]

> Similiter legitur in historiis Romanorum, quod triumphanti in curru assidebat quidam ribaldus, qui et impune convitiabatur, et interdum colaphizabat, ne excessus honoris qui illo die sunt collati, eum super homines transmutarent.

Gower's application of the story to the Emperor of Rome could have been suggested by mention of Julius Caesar at the end of the Breviloquium version, omitted in the other versions referred to here.

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1. See this story: B.M. Royal MS. 5 A. XII cit. fol. 8^{Rb-Va}. 'Nothis elithos'; B.M. Royal MS. 10 A IX cit. fol. 82^{Ra-Vb}: 'Nochis. olicos. cottos'; B.M. Royal MS. 12 E XXI cit. fol. 33^{R}: 'nocisolicos'; B.M. Royal MS. 12 E. XXV cit. fol. 137^{V}: 'consocis cleon'. (No equivalent of the Greek words is given in Royal MS. 7.C.I. cit. fol. 209^{Va}, and B.M. Harley 3632 cit. fol. 29^{R}.)

2. ed. cit. T.5 'Tribulatio' Articulus VIII first Exemplum. Reference: Confessio VII n. cit.

3. Lectio XVI (Cap. II) p. 60.

x. The Emperor and his masons.[1]

In this story, told against flattery, Gower relates how on the day of any Emperor's coronation, his masons asked him where he wanted to be buried, of what stone they should make his tomb, and what sculpture there should be on it (margin:

> Hic eciam contra adulacionem scribit quod primo die quo nuper Imperator intronizatus extitit, latomi sui ab ipso constanter peterent, de quali lapide sue sepulture tumulum fabricarent; ut sic futuram mortem commemorans vanitates huius seculi transitorias facilius reprimeret).

This story is told in the Vita Sancti Joannis Eleemosynarii:[2]

> Audiens quod postquam coronatus est imperator, nullus universi senatus et astantium exercituum antiquum memoriale aliquod nuntiet, sed mox hi qui dicuntur monumentorum aedificatores sumant quatuor vel quinque minutias marmorum pusillas de diversis coloribus, et ingrediantur ad eum et dicant: Domine, quali metallo imperium tuum jubet fieri monumentum tuum; insinuantes videlicet ei quia tanquam homo corruptibilis et transitorius curam habeto tuae ipsi animae, et pie regnum disponere.

This story is repeated in the Breviloquium.[3]

xi. Gaius Fabricius.[4]

In this story, told in illustration of justice, Gower relates how the Samnites brought a sum of gold to Gaius Fabricius, Consul of Rome. He took up a part of it in his hand and put it to his mouth to smell and taste it, and then put it to his eyes and ears. He said: 'I do not know how

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1. Confessio VII 2412-2431.
2. See Cap. XVIII, P.L. 73 ed. J.P. Migne, 1849, col. 354.
3. Pars II. Cap. V. 'De providentia' fol. 157Ra.
4. Confessio VII 2783-2817

gold benefits me, when none of my five senses find savour or delight in it. He is rich who has subjected those who are rich in gold, for he may mete out justice to them' (margin:

> Hic ponit exemplum de iudicibus incorruptis. Et narrat qualiter Gayus Fabricius nuper Rome Consul aurum a Sampnitibus sibi oblatum renuit, dicens quod nobilius est aurum possidentes dominio subiugare, quam ex auri cupiditate dominii libertatem amittere).

This story parallels one in the Policraticus:[1]

> Venerunt ergo secundo legati Samnitum ad Gaium Fabricium, multas et magnas res memorantes, quae bene ac benivole post redditam pacem Samnitibus fecerat, offerentes dono grandem pecuniam et orantes ut eam acciperet et uteretur, eo quod multa ad necessitatem victus et splendorem domus tanto viro deesse constaret. Nichil enim lautum paratumque erat pro amplitudine hominis et dignitate virtutis. Fabricius vero planas manus ab auribus ad oculos et infra et deinceps ad nares et ad gulam et ad os et deinde ad ventrem et ima deduxit, et legatis in haec verba respondit: Dum omnibus his membris, quae attigi, resistere atque imperare potero, michi nihil omnino deerit, ideoque vobis reservate pecuniam necessariam usibus vestris, nec eam quibus necessaria aut grata non est ingratis; Romani siquidem non curant habere aurum, sed imperare volunt habentibus aurum.

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1. V Cap. VII 'Quae mala vel bona subiectis proveniant de moribus principum;' Vol. I, 311 l. 4-19. Reference: G.L. Hamilton, art. cit. 331. The story of Aulus Gellius is here repeated with the exception of the last part of the statement of Fabricius, concerning rule of those who have gold, which is not included by Aulus Gellius; see: A. Gellius, Noctium Atticarum, Libri XX, ed. C. Hosius, 2 Volumes, Leipzig, 1903. I. Cap. XIV (Vol. I pp. 69-70). Fabricius is said to have made the statement that he would prefer to rule those having gold than have it, to Cineas, legate of the Epirots, in the Strategematon of Frontinus; see: Strategematon, Libri Quattuor ed. G. Gundermann, Leipzig, 1888, IV. Cap. III ('De continentia') 2. (p. 125).

xii. Cambyses.[1]

In illustration of justice, Gower relates how King Cambyses found that a judge had not kept the law, and himself took vengeance on him. The judge was flayed out of his skin, and the skin was nailed upon the seat on which his son would sit. If the son considered turning aside from the law out of covetousness, he saw his judgement ready there (margin:

> Nota quod falsi iudices mortis pena puniendi sunt. Narrat enim qualiter Cambises Rex Persarum quandam iudicem corruptum excoriari vivum fecit, eiusque pelle cathedram iudicialem operiri constituit: ita quod filius suus super patris pellem postea pro tribunali cessurus iudicii equitatem evidencius memoraretur.
>
> In the margin of one manuscript is added:[2]
>
> unde versus,
> Sede sedens ista iudex inflexibilis sta,
> Sit tibi lucerna lux, lex, pellisque paterna,
> Qua resides natus pro patre sponte datus.
> A manibus revoces munus, ab aure preces).
>
> The story of Cambyses is told by Valerius Maximus:[3]
>
> Iam Cambyses inusitatae severitatis, qui mali cuiusdam iudicis e corpore pellem detractam sellae intendi in eaque filium iudicaturum considere iussit. ceterum et rex et barbarus atroci ac nova poena iudicis ne qui postea corrumpi iudex posset providit.

This version is followed in the Breviloquium,[4] and the story

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1. Confessio VII 2889-2904.

2. See ibid. 2889 ff. n. The manuscript is Sydney Sussex College, Cambridge, MS. Δ 4.1. See Confessio Introduction, manuscript Δ pp. cliii-iv.

3. V Cap. III 'De Severitate' Ext. 3, (291). Reference: Confessio VII 2889 ff. n. cit.

4. Pars I Cap. VI. 'De partibus iusticie' fol. 155Ra.

also occurs as an exemplum in the Speculum Doctrinale,[1] Holcot's commentary on the Wisdom of Solomon,[2] and the Summa Praedicantium[3] (in the version in the Gesta Romanorum, Cambyses is not named);[4] the story is also told in the Speculum Historiale[5] and the Polychronicon.[6]

In the margin, Gower uses the words 'excoriari' and 'operire' as in Holcot's version; 'excoriari' is also used in the Speculum Doctrinale and Historiale, and Summa Praedicantium. A verse accompanies the story in the Polychronicon, in Holcot's version, and in the Summa Praedicantium; the one in the Polychronicon runs:[7]

> Versus.
> Sede sedens ista judex inflexibilis sta.
> A manibus revoces munus, ab aure preces.
> Sit tibi lucerna lex, lux, pellisque paterna
> Qua resides natus pro patre sponte datus.

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1. IV Cap. 66 'De Severitate' col. 337. Reference: G.L. Hamilton, art. cit. 328 n.1.

2. Lectio 85 (Cap. VI), p. 293.

3. J. IX 'Judices'. Articulus VII 2nd Exemplum.

4. ed. H. Oesterley. Cap. 29. 'Notabile de judicibus malis', 327-8. ed. W. Dick, Cap. 64 'De iniquo iudice' 43-44. Reference: Cönfessio VII n. cit.

5. III Cap. 19 p. 93Ra. Reference: G.L. Hamilton, n. cit.

6. Vol. III, 172-4; III. Cap. VIII.

7. Loc. cit. (174). The verse from the Polychronicon is quoted by L.B. Hessler, 'The Latin Epigram Of The Middle English Period,' P.M.L.A. 38, 1923, 725. Cf. H. Walther, Initia Carminum Ac Versuum Medii Aevi Posteriores Latinorum, Carmina Medii Aevi Posterioris Latina I. Göttingen, 1959. No. 17466, p. 915. 'Sede sedens ista, judex inflexibilis sta:'

In Holcot's version of this verse, and that of the Summa Praedicantium, a variant from the verse in Gower's margin is the word 'reseces' for 'revoces', which is obviously the right reading since it preserves the rhyme.[1]

xiii. Lycurgus and his laws.[2]

In illustration of justice, Gower relates how Lycurgus, Prince of Athens, established law. He called a parliament and said: 'The god Mercury has taught me all the laws I have made; he has enjoined me to go to an island, to speak with him. Now swear an oath to keep the laws in my absence.' They swore the oath, but he contrived never to be found, so that the law which was established for common profit was never brought to an end (margin:

> Hic ponit exemplum de principibus illis, qui non solum legem statuentes illam conservant, set ut commune bonum adaugerant, propriam faculatatem diminuunt. Et narrat quod, cum Ligurgius Athenarum princeps subditos suos in omni prosperitatis habundancia divites et unanimes congruis legibus stare fecisset, volens ad utilitatem rei publice leges illas firmius observari, peregre proficisci se finxit; set prius iuramentum solempne a legiis suis sub hac forma exegit, quod ipsi usque in reditum suum leges suas nullatenus infringerent: quibus iuratis peregrinacionem suam in exilium absque reditu pro perpetuo delegavit).

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1. There are other minor variants; in Holcot's version, the words 'lux' and 'lex' have been omitted, and in the Summa Praedicantium the line beginning 'Qua resides' has been omitted. In the Summa Praedicantium also, the order of words 'lux:lex' is the same as that in the verse in Gower's version, and the line beginning 'Sit tibi' stands second, and that beginning 'A manibus' last, as in the verse in Gower's margin.

2. Confessio VII 2917-3017.

The story of Lycurgus is told by Justin;[1] Lycurgus, King of Sparta, established laws, and it is told of him:[2]

> Haec (ie laws) quoniam primo solutis antea moribus dura videbat esse, auctorem eorum Apollinem Delphicum fingit et inde se ea ex praecepto numinis detulisse, ut consuescendi taedium metus religionis vincat. Dein ut aeternitatem legibus suis daret, iure iurando obligat civitatem, nihil eos de eius legibus mutaturos, priusquam reverteretur, et simulat se ad oraculum Delphicum profisisci, consulturum quid addendum mutandumque legibus videretur. Proficiscitur autem, Cretam ibique perpetuum exilium egit.

Justin's account is followed in the exemplum versions of the Breviloquium[3] and the Gesta Romanorum,[4] and it is repeated in the Speculum Historiale[5] and the Polychronicon.[6]

xiv. Trajan.[7]

In illustration of pity, Gower relates how it was made known to 'Troian' that he was too familiar. He said that as Emperor he wanted no vain honour or harsh justice; if he might in his office please his lords and people, he thought it was better to draw their hearts to his with love than with

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1. Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi, ed. O. Seel, Leipzig, 1935. III.II. 4-III (end) pp. 40-41. Passage referred to: Confessio VII 2917 ff. n.

2. III.III. 10-12.

3. Pars I Cap. II 'De iusticia in statuendo leges iustas' fol. 152Ra.

4. ed. H. Oesterley, Cap. 169. 'De duodecim legibus et modo vivendi,' 557-8. ed. W. Dick, Cap. 125. 'De Ligurio milite , qui coegit populum iurare et servare leges', 73. Reference: Confessio VII n. cit.

5. II Cap. 90: 'De Lycurgo et legibus eius', 76^{a-b}.

6. Vol. 3, 34-38; II Cap. XXI. 7. Confessio VII 3142-3156.

the fear of any law; (margin:

> Troianus ait, quod ipse subditos suos solite pietatis favore magis quam austeritatis rigore regere, eorumque benevolenciam pocius quam timorem penes se attractare proponebat).

The anecdote of Trajan told by Eutropius affords a parallel to Gower's story:[1]

> Inter alia dicta hoc ipsius fertur egregium. Amicis enim culpantibus, quod nimium circa omnes communis esset, respondit talem se imperatorem esse privatis, quales esse sibi imperatores privatus optasset.

The same story is told in the Policraticus[2] and the Breviloquium,[3] as well as in the Speculum Historiale[4] and the Polychronicon.[5]

xv. Tale of Codrus.[6]

In illustration of pity, Gower relates how Codrus, King

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1. See: Breviarium Ab Urbe Condita, ed. R. Ruehl, Leipzig, 1887. VIII.V. p. 55 l. 26-30. Reference: G.L. Hamilton, art. cit. 340.

2. IV. Cap. 8. 'De moderatione iustitiae et clementiae principis, quae debent in eo ad utilitatem rei publicae contemperari'. Vol. I. 263 l. 11-15.

3. In the version of the printed edition cit. the story is told concerning a 'tyranno' see Pars III Cap. II. 'De Clementia' fol. 160^{Ra}. The story is told concerning 'Traiano' or 'Troiano' in manuscripts of the Breviloquium, see: B.M. Royal MS. 5.A.XII. cit. fol. 14^{Vb} l. 22-29; Royal MS. 7.C.I. cit. fol. 212^{Ra} l. 4-12; Royal MS. 10. A.IX. cit. fol. 92^{Vb} l. 21-93^{Ra} l. 2; Royal MS. 12.E. XXI. cit. fol. 38^{V} l. 16-19; Royal MS. 12.E.XXV. cit. fol. 140^{V} l. 37-39; Harley MS. 632 cit. fol. 32^{V} l. 18-20.

4. X Cap. 58: 'De seditione Iudaeorum, et fine Traiani Imperatoris', 392^{a}.

5. Vol. V ed. J.R. Lumby, 1874, 4; IV Cap. XIII.

6. Confessio VII 3181-3199.

of Athens, was at war against 'Dorrence'; to learn the outcome of the battle, he decided to consult Apollo, who said that Codrus had a choice: either he would himself die, or he would see his people defeated. He chose to die (margin:

> Nota hic de Principis pietate erga populum, ubi narrat quod, cum Codrus Rex Athenarum contra Dorences bellum gerere deberet, consulto prius Appolline responsum accepit, quod unum de duobus, videlicet aut seipsum in prelio interfici et populum suum salvari, aut populum interfici et se salvum fieri, eligere oporteret. Super quo Rex pietate motus plebisque sue magis quam proprii corporis salutem affectans, mortem sibi preelegit; et sic bellum aggrediens pro vita multorum solus interiit).

The story of Codrus is told by Valerius Maximus:[1]

> Rex Atheniensium Codrus, cum ingenti hostium exercitu Attica regio debilitata ferro ignique vastaretur, diffidentia humani auxilii ad Apollinis Delphici oraculum confugit perque legatos sciscitatus est quonam modo tam grave illud bellum discuti posset. respondit deus ita finem ei fore, si ipse hostili manu occidisset. quod quidem non solum totis Athenis, sed in castris etiam contrariis percrebruit, eoque factum est ut ediceretur ne quis Codri corpus vulneraret. id postquam cognovit, depositis insignibus imperii famularem cultum induit ac pabulantium hostium globo se obiecit unumque ex eis falce percussum in caedem suam conpulit. cuius interitu ne Athenae occiderent effectum est.

Valerius Maximus does not mention the Dorians, who are mentioned in the version of Justin,[2] of the Policraticus[3] and of the Gesta Romanorum,[4] as well as that of the Polychronicon[5]

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1. V Cap. VI Ext. 1. p. 257. Reference: Confessio VII 3181 ff. n.

2. II. VI 16-21. p. 25.

3. IV Cap. III; Vol. I, 242 l. 8-18. Reference: G.L. Hamilton, art. cit. 333 n.1.

4. ed. H. Oesterley, Cap. 41. 'De victoria Christi et caritate ejus nimia' 340-341. ed. W. Dick, Cap. 89, 54. Reference: Confessio VII n. cit.

5. Vol II ed. C. Babington, 1869, II. Cap. XXVIII; 448-50.

(here together with the Peloponnesians). The version of the Gesta Romanorum is the only one of these versions in which both Apollo and the Dorians are mentioned. Gower tells the story on the authority of 'Valeire',[1] and the version of Valerius Maximus is repeated on his authority in the Speculum Doctrinale;[2] his authority is also quoted, together with that of St. Augustine's De civitate dei, in the version in Holcot's commentary on the Wisdom of Solomon.[3]

xvi. Pompeius and the King of Armenia.[4]

To illustrate pity, Gower relates how Pompey defeated the king of Armenia in war, and took him as a prisoner to Rome. Seeing his patience in adversity, Pompey gave him his crown again and restored him to his kingdom saying it was better to make than undo a king (margin:

> Hic ponit exemplum de victoriosi Principis pietate erga adversarios suos. Et narrat quod, cum Pompeius Romanorum Imperator Regem Armenie adversarium suum in bello victum cepisset, captumque vinculis alligatum Rome tenuisset, tirannidis iracundie stimulos postponens, pietatis mansuetudinem operatus est. Dixit enim quod nobilius est Regem facere quam deponere; super quo dictum Regem absque ulla redempcione non solum a vinculis absolvit, set ad sui regni culmen gratuita voluntate coronatum restituit).

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1. Confessio VII 3181.

2. IV, Cap. 42 'De Amore patriae' col. 324.

3. Lectio 129 (Cap. X) pp. 436-7. The Dorians are not mentioned in this version. For St. Augustine's version, see: De civitate dei ed. B. Dombart, Vol. II, Leipzig, 1918. 18. Cap. 19, 281 l. 6-11. Neither the Dorians nor Apollo are mentioned here.

4. Confessio VII 3215-3244.

This story parallels the one told by Valerius Maximus concerning Pompey and Tigranes, King of Armenia:[1]

> Haec L. Pauli humanitas admonet me ne de Cn. Pompei clementia taceam. regem Armeniae Tigranem, qui et per se magna cum populo Romano bella gesserat et infestissimum urbi nostrae Mitridatem Ponto pulsum viribus suis protexerat, in conspectu suo diutius iacere supplicem passus non est, sed benignis verbis recreatum diadema, quod abiecerat, capiti reponere iussit certisque rebus imperatis in pristinum fortunae habitum restituit, aeque pulchrum esse iudicans et vincere reges et facere.

This story is repeated in the Breviloquium.[2]

xvii. Tale of (Phalaris) Siculus.[3]

In illustration of cruelty, Gower tells how Siculus, who discovered galleys and had them made for the war, had many counsellors. One of them was 'Berillus', who thought he might please the tyrant by having a bull of brass forged. On its side was cast a door, through which a man entered when he began his punishment by the fire which was underneath. When a man cried out, it seemed as though the bull was bellowing. The caster was himself the first to be subjected to that punishment which he had ordained for others (margin:

> Hic loquitur ulterius de crudelitate Siculi tiranni, necnon et de Berillo eiusdem Consilario, qui ad tormentum populi quendam taurum eneum tirannica coniectura fabricari constituit; in quo tamen ipse prior, proprio crimine illud exigente, usque ad sui interitus expiracionem iudicaliter torquebatur).

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1. V Cap. I. 'De Humanitate Et Clementia'. 9. p. 221. Reference Confessio VII 3215 ff n.

2. Pars III Cap. II 'De Clementia' fol. 159^{Vb}.

3. Confessio VII 3295-3332.

Gower's story parallels that of Orosius:[1]

> Ea tempestate Phalaris Siculus Agrigentinos arrepta tyrannide populabatur. qui crudelis mente, commentis crudelior, omnia nefaria in innocentes agentes, invenit aliquando quam iuste puniret iniustus. Nam Perillus quidam aeris opifex adfectans amicitiam, aptum manus crudelitate illius ratus, taurum aëneum fecit, cui fabre ianuam e latere conposuit, quae ad contrudendos damnatos receptui foret: ut cum inclusus ibidem subiectis ignibus torreretur, sonum vocis extortae capacitas concavi aeris augeret pulsuque feriali conpetens imagini murmur emitteret, nefarioque spectaculo mugitus pecudis videretur. Sed Phalaris, factum amplexus factorem exsecratus, et ultioni materiam praebuit et crudelitati: nam ipsum opificem sua inventione punivit.

In the versions of the story in the Gesta Romanorum,[2] Holcot's commentary on the Wisdom of Solomon[3] and the Summa Praedicantium,[4] the epithet 'Siculus' is not given to Phalaris. In the second of these versions a window is mentioned instead of the door; in the third of these versions, Perillus is not named, being referred to as 'quidam consilarius'. It may be noted that in Gower's story Siculus 'hadde of conseil manyon',[5] one of these being 'Berillus' (margin: 'de Berillo eiusdem Consilario'); in this third version there is also no mention of the door.

The story is also told in the Pantheon of Godfrey of Viterbo,[6] and the version of Orosius is repeated in the

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1. Historiarum Adversum Paganos, Libri VII ed. C. Zangemeister, Leipzig, 1889. I. 20.1-4, p. 31. Reference to Orosius: Confessio VII 3295 ff n.

2. ed. H. Oesterley. Cap. 48: 'De justa sequela malorum' 346-7. ed. W. Dick Cap. 117 'De crudelitate hominum' 68-69. Reference: Confessio VII n. cit.

3. Lectio 140 (Cap. XI), p. 474.

4. C. XI. 'Consilium', Articulus IX. 3rd Exemplum.

5. Confessio VII 3307.

6. ed. J. Pistorius and B.G. Struve, Germanicorum Scriptorum t.2, Ratisbone, 1726. Pars IX 134b. Reference Confessio VII n.cit.

Polychronicon.[1]

Conclusion.

It is evident that the stories here discussed were traditional exempla, and that they would have been recognized as such by contemporary readers of Gower's poem. It is also evident that these stories were not retold in exemplum form alone; for example, the story of 'Lycurgus and his laws' was retold as an exemplum in the Breviloquium and in the Gesta Romanorum, and it was included in the Speculum Historiale and the Polychronicon. In the case of stories told both as exempla and in other narrative versions, we cannot be certain that Gower knew the exemplum version unless there are variants in the exemplum version paralleled by those in Gower's story. There are instances of such variants in Gower's story of 'Lucius and the statue'. The first occurs when the Emperor had the images made, and there is mention of the golden ring on the outstretched finger, as in the Gesta Romanorum. The second occurs when there is only one image, and the image robber excuses his deeds, as in the Summa Praedicantium. Other instances occur in the story of 'Cambyses', when the words 'excoriari' and 'operiri' are used as in Holcot's commentary on the Wisdom of Solomon, and in the story of Phalaris Siculus, when Perillus is referred to as a counsellor as in the Summa Praedicantium. The full story of the 'Roman Triumph' could probably only have been known from the exemplum

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1. Vol. III, 152-4; III, Cap. V.

version; Gower could have known it from the Breviloquium, including also details of the versions in Holcot's commentary on the Wisdom of Solomon and the Summa Praedicantium.

It is difficult to say whether Gower knew the exemplum versions from works referred to here, since exemplum versions would have been repeated elsewhere. However, the great frequency with which stories occur both in the Breviloquium and in Gower's poem makes it reasonably certain that Gower knew the exempla in this work, which, since it contained exempla for the instruction of rulers illustrating princely virtues and those of philosophers, could easily have occurred to him as one from which he might take exempla to illustrate the points of policy belonging to the king's regimen in the seventh book of the poem. In telling many of the same stories as in the Breviloquium, Gower inherited a specific tradition which stems from the twelfth century humanism of John of Salisbury as shown in the Policraticus, of which John of Wales made great use.[1] An instance of this is the story of 'Alexander and the pirate' in the Breviloquium. Gower may himself have made direct use of the Policraticus in the story of 'Gaius Fabricius'. Since Gower also tells some of the same stories as Robert Holcot, he was writing within the tradition of followers of this classicism in the early fourteenth century in England.[2]

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1. See W.A. Pantin, study cit. 304. B. Smalley, op. cit. 54-55. The fact that Gower tells some of the same stories as in the Compendiloquium illustrates the same point.

2. On this classicism, see B. Smalley, op. cit.

In telling some of the same stories as in the Gesta Romanorum and the Summa Praedicantium, Gower tells the kind of story related in sermons, and it is possible that he had heard such stories in sermons.

Of medieval works containing versions of the stories not in exemplum form, we may be certain that Gower knew the Pantheon, the Speculum Historiale and the Polychronicon, since we know that passages elsewhere in the Confessio Amantis also parallel ones in these works. Gower might also have known the Compendiloquium and the De vita et moribus philosophorum.

G.L. Hamilton suggests that Gower made direct use of the version of the Secretum Secretorum written by Jofroi de Waterford assisted by Servais Copale in the second half of the thirteenth century.[1] He tries to show that Gower's stories of 'Diogenes and Aristippus', 'The Roman Triumph', 'Gaius Fabricius','Cambyses' and 'Codrus' were derived from exempla in Jofroi's work.[2] However, the occurrence of these stories in this work does not show more than that they were current as exempla, and they cannot necessarily be said to have suggested those of Gower; the same applies to some Biblical stories which occur both in Jofroi's work and in the Confessio Amantis, which Hamilton suggests were derived from Jofroi's work.[3] It is furthermore not likely that

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1. See art cit., date, 326. 2. ibid., 327-333.

3. ibid., 337-8. The stories are 'Saul and Agag' Confessio VII 3820-3845, 'David and Joab', ib. l. 3860-3872, and 'Solomon's Wisdom', ib. l. 3891-3912.

Gower had access to this work, which was evidently rare, as is shown by the fact that it is extant in only one manuscript.[1] The rarity of the work makes it unlikely that Gower knew any of the passages suggested by Hamilton.[2] There are no details only found in Jofroi's work and the Confessio Amantis which cannot be paralleled from other sources.

The stories discussed here all circulated in exemplum form or other second-hand narrative versions, so there is no need to assume Gower's first-hand knowledge of the versions in the less well-known classical texts: epitomes, compilations and didactic works which provided anecdotes of the kind that appealed to the medieval excerptor. The knowledge of classical antiquity acquired at second-hand, as reflected in these stories of Gower, is in contrast to the direct consultation of classical texts which was encouraged by the Italian humanism of Petrarch.

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1. See art. cit. p. 326; the manuscript is Paris B.N. MS. français 1822.

2. Apart from the passages already indicated, Hamilton suggests that Gower knew from Jofroi's work the account of the three bushels of gold rings taken by Hannibal from the Romans (see art. cit. 337, Confessio V 2196-2204 and discussion of passage below, 'Tale of Virgil's Mirror', pp. 201-203), the passage concerning the four complexions of man (see art. cit. 334-5 and Confessio VII 393-440; I have not investigated this passage, but there is a wide variety of possible sources), and the account of the lion (see art. cit. p. 333, Confessio VII 3389-3399 and discussion of passage below: 'The lion' pp. 217-219).

II. STORIES DERIVED FROM THE BIBLE

The stories in the Confessio Amantis derived from the Vulgate version of the Bible are the following: 'Nebuchadnezzar's dream',[1] 'Nebuchadnezzar's punishment',[2] 'Joab',[3] 'Achitophel',[4] 'The five foolish virgins',[5] 'Tale of Jephthah's daughter',[6] 'Saul',[7] 'The rich man and Lazarus',[8] 'King, wine woman and truth',[9] 'Ahab and Micaiah',[10] 'Gideon',[11] 'Saul and Agag',[12] 'David and Joab',[13] 'Solomon's wisdom',[14] 'Folly of

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1. Confessio Prologue 585-662; the Bible, Vulgate version, ed. Rome, Tournai, Paris, 1956. Daniel II. (Discussion see below pp. 285-6).

2. Confessio I 2785-3042; Daniel IV.

3. Confessio II 3058-3088; II Samuel III 23-27.

4. Confessio II 3089-3094; II Samuel XVI 20-end.

5. Confessio IV 254-260; Matthew XXV 1-13.

6. Confessio IV 1505-1595; Judges XI (Cf. reference Confessio IV 1505 n.).

7. Confessio IV 1935-1962, VI 2384-2390; I. Samuel XVIII 7-19, XXXI, 1-5. (Cf. reference Confessio IV 1935 n.).

8. Confessio VI 975-1109; Luke XVI 19-end.

9. Confessio VII 1783-1974; III Esdras III-IV 42. (References to Biblical passages are given by Macaulay in connection with stories of the seventh book).

10. Confessio VII 2527-2685; III Kings XXII 1-36 (In modern Bible I Kings).

11. Confessio VII 3627-3781; Judges VII.

12. Confessio VII. 3820-3845; I Samuel XV 1-29.

13. Confessio VII 3860-3872; III Kings II 1, 5-6, 10, 28-34.

14. Confessio VII 3891-3912; III Kings III 5-13.

Rehoboam',[1] 'David kept knighthood above love',[2] 'The counsel of Balaam',[3] 'Evil example of Solomon',[4] 'Tobias and Sara',[5] 'Amnon',[6] 'Lot and his daughters'.[7]

Some of the same Biblical stories as are told by Gower occur as <u>exempla</u> in the <u>Liber de Exemplis Sacre Scripture</u> of Nicolaus de Hanapis, written between 1260 and 1278;[8] these <u>exempla</u> are brief summaries of Biblical stories. Gower's stories are told in a full form which was derived from the Biblical narratives, and they could not have been derived from such short <u>exemplum</u> versions. These <u>exemplum</u> versions do, however, show that Biblical stories told by Gower were current as <u>exempla</u>. Biblical stories told by Gower which are found as summarized <u>exempla</u> in the work of de Hanapis are: 'Nebuchadnezzar's punishment':[9]

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1. <u>Confessio</u> VII 4027-4133; III Kings XI 1-24.

2. <u>Confessio</u> VII 4344-4350; no specific passage.

3. <u>Confessio</u> VII 4406-4445; Numbers XXV 1-13.

4. <u>Confessio</u> VII 4469-4545; III Kings XI 1-8, 29-39.

5. <u>Confessio</u> VII 5307-5365; Tobit V 5-9, VI 10 - VII 1, 10-VIII.

6. <u>Confessio</u> VIII 213-222; II Samuel XIII 1-29.

7. <u>Confessio</u> VIII 223-246; Genesis XIX 26, 30-38.

8. Date, see: J. Th. Welter, <u>L'Exemplum Dans La Littérature Réligieuse Et Didactique Du Moyen Age</u>, Paris, 1927, 230-231.

9. The edition of the work of de Hanapis here used is: <u>Libellus aureus</u> ascribed to Bonaventura and entitled <u>Biblia Pauperum</u>, Venice, 1533; concerning printed versions of the work of de Hanapis, which vary, see V. Scholderer, 'The Virtutum Vitiorumque Exempla of

(continued)

Quoniam elevatum fuit cor Nabuchodonosor regis Babylonis et spiritus illius obfirmatus est ad superbiam: depositus est de solio, et gloria eius ablata est. Danielis. 4.

'Achitophel':[1] Videns Achitofel quod non factum fuerat consilium suum sed secundum consilium servi Chusai abiens in domum suam suspendio iteriit. 2. Regum. 18.

'Jephthah's daughter':[2] Iepte pugnaturus contra filios Amon votum vovit domino dicens, si tradideris filios Amon in manus mea(s) &c. Iudicum. 11.

'Ahab and Micaiah':[3] Mali prophete dicebant Achab regi Israel prospera de bello futuro.sicut eum velle sciebant. Et sequitur quod ipse est ibi occisus. 3. Regum. 22.

'Gideon':[4] In trecentis viris qui manu ad os proicientes

(continuation)
Nicolaus Hanapus,' Gutenberg-Jahrbuch, 1936, 61-2. The title Biblia Pauperum is given to the work of de Hanapis in several of the printed editions. Biblia Pauperum was in the Middle Ages the title given to a number of works of the most diverse kind, which have in common the representation of the Bible, especially the Old Testament, in an extremely compressed and easily comprehensible form, the most important parts of the Biblical account being represented in a kind of telegraphic style. The 'Pauperes' were those who could not afford a complete Bible. In modern scholarship, Biblia Pauperum signifies a specific medieval work which contains typological illustrations with an explanatory text. See: G. Schmidt, Die Armenbibeln Des XIV Jahrhunderts, Graz-Köln, 1959, 1-2. Idem, I: Die Wiener Biblia Pauperum Codex Vindobonensis 1198, ed. F. Unterkircher, Part I, Styria, 1962, 13-16.

'Nebuchadnezzar's punishment', ed. cit. fol. 106^{V}; story told under the heading 'superbia'. Gower's story illustrates pride.

1. fol. 45^{R-V}; story told under heading 'De invidia'; Gower's story illustrates envy.

2. fol. 116^{R}; story told under heading 'De voto'; Gower's story illustrates idleness.

3. fol. 12^{V}; story told under heading 'De adulatione'; Gower's story illustrates flattery.

4. fol. 16^{R}; story told under heading 'De bello temporali et victoria divinitus data'; Gower's story illustrates the point that a king should not fear to make war.

aquam biberant liberavit dominus Israel de manu Madiam et Amalech qui erant in maxima multitudine tempore Gedeonis. Iudicum. 7.

'Rehoboam':[1] Roboam filius Salomonis noluit consilio senum obedire, sed consilio iuvenum, ideo magnam partem populi amisit. 3. Regum. 12.

'Balaam':[2] Balaam docuit balach quomodo per mulieres posset filios Israel ad peccatum trahere, et sic contra dominum provocare. Numeri. 24.

'Evil example of Solomon':[3] Adamavit Solomon mulieres alienas: et depravatum est cor eius per eas, et adoravit deos alienos. 3. Regum. 11.

'Amnon':[4] Amon filius David Thamar sororem suam oppressit propter quod postea occisus fuit. 2. Regum. 13.

'Lot and his daughters':[5] Nota de sodomitis de filiabus Loth. Genesis. 18.

In Gower's story of the 'counsel of Balaam', it was through Balaam's counsel that the Hebrews associated with the women, and, in the exemplum version of de Hanapis, Balaam's instruction is that the Israelites can be led to sin through women, whereas the Biblical account does not mention Balaam in connection with this narrative.

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1. fol. 24^{R}; told under heading 'De consiliis bonis et admonitionibus'; Gower's story illustrates the point that old men should be admitted to the counsel of the King.

2. fol. 24^{V}; story told under heading: 'De consiliis et persuasionibus malis': Gower's story illustrates chastity.

3. fol. 51^{V}; story told under heading of 'De Luxuria'; Gower's story is told against lust.

4. fol. 51^{V}; story told under the heading 'De Luxuria'; Gower's story illustrates incest.

5. fol. 51^{V}; story told under the heading 'De Luxuria'; Gower's story illustrates incest.

In Gower's story of 'Tobias and Sara', the fiend who killed the seven husbands of Sara is named 'Asmod'[1] (margin: 'a demone Asmodeo'); in the Vulgate, the demon is not named, but in the exemplum version in Holcot's commentary on the Wisdom of Solomon the demon is named 'Asmodaeus'.[2] In this exemplum version the story is told in a shortened form, and Gower could not have relied on it for his story as a whole.[3]

The stories of 'Jephthah's daughter' and that of 'the rich man and Lazarus' are told as exempla in William of Wadington's Manuel des Pechiez and Robert of Brunne's Handlyng Synne.[4] The first of these stories is not told in the full form of the Biblical story as is Gower's narrative. It is evident that Gower knew the second of these stories from the Bible; in the exemplum versions the story is not represented as a parable of Christ, whereas Gower begins the story with 'Crist seith'[5] and gives Luke's gospel as authority in the

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1. Confessio VII 5335, 5348.

2. See: ed. Basle, 1586. Lectio 45 (Cap. 4), p. 161. Cf. Tobit VI.14.

3. Rages is omitted (cf. Confessio VII 5313 and Tobit V.14), and the episode of the marriage of Sara and Tobias is not included (cf. Confessio VII 5357-5365 and Tobit VIII 1-15).

4. See; Handlyng Synne with parts of the Manuel des Pechiez, ed. F.J. Furnivall, E.E.T.S., O.S. 119, 123, 1901, 3. (i). 'Tale of Jephthah's daughter': Manuel des Pechiez l. 3047-3094; Handlyng Synne 2481-2888. The story is here told against rash vows; Gower's story illustrates idleness. (ii). 'Dives and Lazarus': Manuel des Pechiez 5511-5572; Handlyng Synne 6635-6720. The story is in the section concerned with the species of gluttony consisting in eating 'over delycyusly' (see Handlyng Synne l. 6616); Gower's story illustrates delicacy, second part of gluttony.

5. Confessio VI 986.

margin.[1]

Conclusion.

Gower knew these stories from the Bible, but the fact that many were current as *exempla* must have influenced him when he included them as 'ensamples' in his poem. The details of the counsel of Balaam, whereby came about the association of the Hebrews with women, ~~and of the fiend 'Asmod'~~, seem to indicate his awareness of *exemplum* versions.

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1. 'in evangelio Lucas evidencius describit.'

III. MISCELLANEOUS STORIES

The following group of miscellaneous stories will be discussed in the order in which they occur in the Confessio Amantis, except that the 'Tale of the two coffers' will be discussed in conjunction with the 'Trump of death.'

i. Tale of Mundus and Paulina.[1]

This story is told to illustrate 'Ypocrisie', and is set in Rome in the time of the Emperor Tiberius. Gower tells how a duke named Mundus was in love with Paulina, a beautiful young married lady, who rejected all his advances. Mundus then devised a cunning stratagem; inviting two priests of the temple of Isis to a feast, he gave them presents, and they promised to persuade Paulina into the temple at night and that he would there have his way with her. The priests then approached Paulina, and said that the God Anubis would appear to her at night out of his love for her. Furthermore, the priests said that the god had ordered them to provide a place for her in the temple, where she could have a vision of him. Paulina replied that she was ready to do the god's will, and that, with her husband's leave, she would serve the god in the temple. Accordingly she went to the temple and asked the priests how she might most please the god. They told her to sleep, and said that the god would awake her. This she did, and was awakened and seduced by Mundus in the guise of Anubis.

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1. Confessio I 761-1059.

He left the temple toward morning, and Paulina afterwards went towards her home. Mundus met her on the way and told her that she was so subject to Anubis that no man's might could achieve what had been done by the god that night. Mundus went on to say that he was the god's lieutenant, and that that day he was hers, and she his, if she wished. Paulina realised that she had been deceived, and told her husband the whole story. They made complaint to the Emperor, who promised to let justice be done. The priests were condemned to death, the image in the temple was thrown into the Tiber, and Mundus was exiled (margin:

> Quod Ipocrisia sit in amore periculosa, narrat exemplum qualiter sub regno Tiberii Imperatoris quidam miles nomine Mundus, qui Romanorum dux milicie tunc prefuit, dominam Paulinam pulcherrimam castitatisque famosissimam mediantibus duobus falsis presbiteris in templo Ysis deum se esse fingens sub ficte sanctitatis ypocrisi nocturno tempore viciavit. Unde idem dux in exilium, presbiteri in mortem ob sui criminis enormitatem dampnati extiterant, ymago dee Ysis a templo evulsa universo conclamante populo in flumen Tiberiadis proiecta mergebatur).

The story of Mundus and Paulina appears in the Antiquitates Iudaicae of Flavius Josephus, which circulated in the Latin translation made in the sixth century at the suggestion of Cassiodorus.[1] A comparison of Gower's narrative with that

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1. See: ed. Paris, 1519. (Precedes Bellum Iudaicum and Contra Apionem); the early editions of the Latin translation of the Antiquitates are listed by F. Blatt in: The Latin Josephus, I, Publications of the University of Aarhus, XXX I, Humanities Series 44, 1958, 117. 'Mundus and Paulina': Liber XVIII, Cap. 6. fol. 170R-V.
   G.C. Macaulay's reference (Confessio I 761 ff note) to Josephus, Antiquitates XVIII. 66 ff. is to the Greek text of the story: cf. Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, XVIII. 66-80, in: Josephus Vol. IX, ed. L.H. Feldman, Loeb Classical Library, 1965, 50-58. (continued)

of the Antiquitates shows that Gower has omitted Ida, the freedwoman of Mundus who was responsible for the stratagem by which Paulina was deceived: with this exception, Gower's narrative parallels that of the Antiquitates. The story is also related in the version of the Bellum Iudaicum of Josephus ascribed to the so-called Hegesippus, written after 367 and probably before 375.[1] The story of Mundus and Paulina is here told in a more abbreviated form than in the Antiquitates, and the freedwoman Ida is omitted. This version of the story is repeated by Vincent of Beauvais in the Speculum Historiale.[2]

As G.C. Macaulay indicates, the version of the story related in the Pantheon of Godfrey of Viterbo[3] was certainly

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(continuation)
Concerning the Latin translation, see: M. Manitius, Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters, Part I, Munich, 1911, 51-52. Hölscher 'Josephus' VI. 'Literatur' 1.a) in Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Vol. 9, 1916, col. 1997. F. Blatt, op. cit. 12, 17.

1. Referred to by G.C. Macaulay, note cit.
See: Hegesippus, Historiae Libri V, ed. V. Ussani, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, Vol. 66, Part I Text. 1932. 'Mundus and Paulina': II.4. (137-138).
Concerning this work see: M. Schanz, Geschichte der Römischen Literatur, Part 4, I, Munich, 1914, 109-111. Date, see 110. Hölscher, 'Josephus' cit. in Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie, VI. Literatur, 1. d (col. 1997) J. Kraus, 'Hegesippus' in Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, 5, 1960, col. 61.

2. Referred to by G.C. Macaulay, note cit.
See: ed. Douai, 1624. Photomechanical Reprint, Graz, Austria, 1965. 7, Cap. 1. (p. 222a-b). 'De famoso Paulinae ludibrio, in templo Isidis.'

3. Ed. G. Waitz, (Excerpts) in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum t. XXII, 1872, 107-307. 'Mundus and Paulina': Particula XXI. 6. (153-154). 'De templo dee Ysidis destructo a Tiberio'. See also G.C. Macaulay, n. cit.

not the one followed by Gower; there is no mention of Anubis, and Paulina is said to have killed herself by the sword at the end of the story.

The Latin translation of the Antiquitates Iudaicae was common in medieval libraries in England, and the adaptation of the Bellum Iudaicum ascribed to the so-called Hegesippus was in nearly all the larger libraries,[1] so that Gower could have had first-hand knowledge of the versions of the story of Mundus and Paulina contained in these works. It is also possible that he knew of the story in an exemplum version such as the one in the Solacium Iudi schaccorum of Jacobus de Cessolis, which was compiled before 1325.[2] The version of the story in the Antiquitates is here excerpted, and is told as one of the exempla against 'avaritia' (the 'avaritia' is that of the priest of Isis).

ii. 'The trump of death' and 'Tale of the two coffers.'

The trump of death.[3]

In illustration of surquidry or presumption, Gower relates

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1. See: R.M. Wilson, 'The Contents of the Mediaeval Library', in: The English Library before 1700. Studies in its History ed. F. Wormald and C.E. Wright, London, 1958, 99-100.

2. See, ed. E. Köpke, Mitteilungen Aus Den Handschriften Der Ritter-Akademie Zu Brandenburg A.H., II. 'Iacobus de Cessolis'. 1879. (This date is indicated in the Catalogue of Printed Books, British Museum). Concerning this work, see: J. Th. Welter, L'Exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du Moyen Age, Paris, 1927, 351-354; date, 351.

3. Confessio I 2021-2253.

how a King was riding in a carriage in the compny of his court, when he saw two aged pilgrims coming towards him. They begged him to give them some of his wealth, and he leapt to the ground from his carriage, embraced them, and made them a gift. The lords of the land said that the King had debased his royalty, the King's brother reproaching him most of all. The King then thought how he might punish his brother's presumption. When a lord deserved death, the trump of death was blown before his door to make known the death sentence. When it was night, the King ordered the trump to be blown at his brother's gate. On hearing it, his brother knew for certain that he would die. In the morning, the King's brother, his wife and children, dressed only in smocks and shirts, went to seek the King's pardon. They fell before the King, and the King told them that the two aged men signified his own death ordained by god. With these words he forgave his brother (margin:

> Et narrat exemplum de quodam principe Regis Hungarie germano, qui cum fratrem suum pauperibus in publico vidit humiliatum, ipsum redarguendo in contrarium edocere presumebat: set Rex omni sapiencia prepollens ipsum sic incaute presumentem ad humilitatis memoriam terribili providencia micius castigavit).

This story parallels a parable in Barlaam and Josaphat, as indicated by G.C. Macaulay.[1] Barlaam and Josaphat is attributed to St. John Damascene, and its terminus a quo

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1. See: Confessio I 2021 ff. m. Concerning the parables in Barlaam and Josaphat see J. Sonet, Le Roman de Barlaam et Josaphat. I. Recherches Sur La Tradition Manuscrite Latine Et Française. Louvain, 1949, 18-49. On this parable, see 22-28.

is the eighth century and terminus ad quem 1048.[1] The first Latin translation of Barlaam and Josaphat dates from 1048,[2] and the second Latin translation, called the 'Vulgate', is a twelfth century work which was widely diffused.[3]

The exemplum from the Gesta Romanorum referred to by G.C. Macaulay differs considerably from the parable of Barlaam and Josaphat and Gower's narrative.[4] In the exemplum it is related how a King showed himself to be sad at a great banquet to which his nobles had been invited. The nobles requested the King's brother to ask him the reason for his

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1. Concerning attribution and date see: H. Peri (Pflaum), 'La plus ancienne traduction latine du roman grec de Barlaam et Josaphat et son auteur,' Studi Mediolatini E Volgari VI-VII, 1959, 176-177.

2. See: H. Peri (Pflaum) art. cit. p. 177. See also: J. Sonet, op. cit., 73-74.

3. Date: see H. Peri (Pflaum), art. cit., p. 171. See also J. Sonet, op. cit., 76-88.
   For text of the parable of the 'Trump of Death' in the Vulgate translation see: Barlaam et Josaphat, Opera Omnia Ioannis Damasceni, Basle, 1575, 824-825. (The editions of this translation are listed by J. Sonet op. cit., 88). The text of this translation of the parable is given separately by P. Meyer in: 'Les Deux Frères, celui qui rit et celui qui pleure', Romania 13, 1884, 593-594. The extract is here taken from Paris MS. Bibl. Nat. Lat. 2153, concerning which see J. Sonet, op. cit., 83. G.C. Macaulay referred to the text of the parable in the Latin translation of Barlaam and Josaphat of Jacques Billy (1533-81); see P.L. t. 73, ed. J.P. Migne, col. 462-463. (Macaulay refers to t. 74 instead of t. 73).
   Date: see H. Peri (Pflaum) art. cit. 170. See also J. Sonet, op. cit. 97-101.

4. See: Confessio I n. cit.
   See: Gesta Romanorum ed. H. Oesterley, Berlin, 1872, Cap. 143. 'De timore extremi judicii', 498-500; ed. W. Dick, Erlanger Beiträge Zur Englischen Philologie VII 1890 Cap. 203.' De buccinatoribus et vicina morte' 215-217.

sadness, and the King said he would reply early the next day. According to a law ordained by the King, trumpets were to be sounded before a man's house whenever anyone had to die. At dawn, the King ordered the trumpets to be sounded before his brother's house, and prepared instruments of torture for his brother when he came before him. He then told his brother to be glad, but his brother said he could not be glad because he was threatened by the instruments of torture. The King then explained why he was sad, referring to the instruments of torture as symbolizing the reasons for his sadness. In this version, the episode of the King's meeting with the old men is omitted, and the instruments of torture have been added. A similar change to the story has been made in the following: in one of the <u>exempla</u> from the <u>Sermones Vulgares</u> of Jacques de Vitry, which were written after 1227-1228,[1] in one of the tales from an anonymous collection which is found in a manuscript dating from the end of the thirteenth century,[2] and in

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1. See: ed. T.F. Crane, Publications of the Folk Lore Society, 26, 1890, 16-17, No. 42. Referred to by J. Sonet, op. cit., 27.
   Date, see: J. Th. Welter, <u>L'Exemplum Dans La Littérature Religieuse Et Didactique Du Moyen Age</u>, Paris, 1927, 119.

2. See: <u>A Selection of Latin Stories from Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries</u>, ed. T. Wright, The Percy Society, Vol. 8, 1842. No. 103, pp. 92-93. The story is here said to be 'from a MS in private hands,' see note on No. 103, p. 236. The manuscript is in fact British Museum, Egerton MS 1117, and the story is on fol. 189^{Rb-Va}, under the heading 'De navitate presentis letitie et timoris dei', one of a collection of tales on fol. 177^{Va-Ra} described by J.A. Herbert in <u>A Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum</u>, Vol. III, Reprint, 1962, 471-476. This story: see: Egerton 1117 No. 54, p. 475. Date: see 471.

one of the exempla from the Contes Moralisés of Nicholas Bozon, which was written about 1320.[1] In these versions the King's meeting with the old men has been omitted, and sharp weapons are said to be pointed at the King's brother when he came before the king after hearing the trump of death.

The parable of Barlaam and Josaphat is repeated as an exemplum in the Speculum Laicorum, composed between 1279 and 1292.[2] This version is too abbreviated in form for Gower's story to have been derived from it; for instance, the King's remission of his brother at the end of the story is one of the details not found here.

It is evident that Gower's narrative is not paralleled by the secondhand versions of the story referred to above. The probable conclusion is that Gower's story was directly

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1. See: N. Bozon, Les Contes Moralisés, ed. L. Toulmin Smith and P. Meyer, 1889. S.A.T.F. 'Quod multos ex[c]ecat gaudium mundiale:' Fabula de idem: 59.
   Referred to by J. Sonet, loc. cit. 24. Date: See J. Th. Welter, op. cit. 354.
   It should be pointed out that the exemplum related by Holcot in his commentary on the Wisdom of Solomon, Lectio LXX, ed. Basle, 1586, 247, referred to by Macaulay n. cit. concerns the hanging sword of Dionysius Siculus, ('the sword of Damocles') and not the 'trump of death'.

2. See: British Museum, Additional MS. 11284, fol. 27^{V} (end of thirteenth century). The manuscript reference is given in the note on exemplum No. 42 from Jacques de Vitry's Sermones Vulgares ed. cit. 151. See also J.A. Herbert, Vol. cit. Additional 11284, Speculum Laicorum No. 198 'Trump of Doom.' The exemplum is not printed in the edition of this manuscript, see: Le Speculum Laicorum ed. J. Th. Welter, Thesaurus Exemplorum, Fasc. V, Paris, 1914, No. 198, 43. Date of MS., see ix. Date of composition, see: J. Th. Welter, op. cit., 297.

derived from Barlaam and Josaphat. This would not be surprising in view of the fact that Gower drew on Barlaam and Josaphat for his discussion of religious beliefs in the fifth book of the Confessio Amantis.[1]

Tale of the two coffers.[2]

In illustration of "covoitise", Gower relates how a king's courtiers complained of their lack of advancement. The King had two identical coffers made and filled one with gold and precious stones, the other with straw, rubbish and stones. The King then told his courtiers to choose between the two coffers, having informed them one was full of treasure. A knight representing them chose the coffer with the straw inside. The King then said that he was not to blame for the courtiers' lack of advancement; they had themselves to blame for what fortune had refused them (margin:

> Hic ponit Confessor exemplum contra illos, qui in domibus regum servientes, pro eo quod ipsi secundum eorum cupiditatem promoti non existunt, de regio servicio quamvis in eorum defectu indiscrete murmurant).

As indicated by G.C. Macaulay, the parable of the coffers is the sequel to that of the 'Trump of Death' in Barlaam and Josaphat.[3] Here it is related that the King had four wooden

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1. See below pp. 247-280. 2. Confessio V 2273-2390.

3. See: Confessio V 2273 ff. n. For Vulgate translation of parable see: Barlaam et Josaphat, ed. cit. Basle, 1575, 825. This translation of the parable is also given in N. Bozon, Les Contes Moralisés, ed. cit., note on No. 84, 263-264. (The extract is from Paris MS. Bibl. Nat. Lat. 2153, and the speeches of the King have been curtailed by the editors). Concerning the parable see J. Sonet op. cit., 23-28.

coffers made; two were covered with gold and filled with bones, and two covered with pitch and bitumen and filled with gold. The King then summoned his nobles so that they might estimate the relative worth of the coffers. The nobles chose the coffers covered with gold and full of bones, indicating that they judged by external appearances. Macaulay points out that the major difference between the parable and Gower's story is that in the parable the coffers have different exteriors; this difference between the coffers is retained in exemplum versions of the story, such as the one from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry,[1] the one from the Speculum Laicorum,[2] the one from the Contes Moralisés of Nicholas Bozon,[3] and the one from the Summa Praedicantium of John Bromyard.[4] A minor detail of difference between Gower's version and that of the parable in Barlaam and Josaphat is that in Gower's story the number of coffers has been reduced to two, just as in the versions of the Speculum Laicorum, Contes Moralisés, and Summa Praedicantium. It should be

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1. See: ed. cit., No. 47, pp. 18-19. Referred to by J. Sonet, op. cit., 27.

2. See: British Museum, Additional MS. 11284 fol. 67^{V}. This version is referred to in: Jacques de Vitry, Exempla, ed. cit., Note on No. 47, pp. 153-4. See also: J.A. Herbert, Vol. III, cit., Speculum Laicorum, Additional MS. 11284: No. 458 p. 398. The exemplum is not printed in Speculum Laicorum, ed. cit., see p. 88. No. 458.

3. See, ed. No. 84. 'Quod sancti et salvandi per adversitatem variam comprobatur': Fabula p. 106. Referred to by J. Sonet, op. cit., 24.

4. See ed. Nuremberg, 1485. 'Honor'. h. iiii Articulus iiii. xi.

pointed out that in the version of the story in Boccaccio's Decameron,[1] referred to by Macaulay, the choice is between two identical coffers, though the story here relates not to a King and his discontented court, but to a King and a knight.

Since Gower probably knew the story of the Trump of Death from the parable in Barlaam and Josaphat, it is most likely that he also knew the parable of the coffers directly following it in this work. However, the fact that there are in Gower's version two identical coffers suggests that he also knew of the story in some second-hand version.

iii. Tale of the beggars and the two pasties.[2]

In this story, told to illustrate "covoitise", in particular the fortune of riches, Gower relates how the Emperor Frederick of Rome heard the clamour of two beggars. One said: 'Rich the man whom the King enriches'. The other said: 'Rich the man to whom God sends prosperity'. The Emperor made them both come to the palace, and ordered two pasties to be made for them; in one was baked a capon, and in the other the Emperor had a great number of florins placed. The two pasties were alike on the outside. The beggar who trusted in the King was commanded to choose between the two pasties, and chose the one containing the capon so that his companion took the other. On realising what had happened,

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1. See ed. A.F. Massèra, Vol. II, Bari, 1927, 239-240; 'Giornata Decima, Novella Prima'.

2. Confessio V 2391-2430.

he said that whoever trusted in man's help was easily deceived, but that the man helped by God was happy; his companion was prosperous, while he had to remain poor (margin:

> Nota hic de diviciarum Accidencia: ubi narrat qualiter Fredericus Romanorum Imperator duos pauperes audivit litigantes, quorum unus dixit, 'Bene potest ditari, quem Rex vult ditare.' Et alius dixit, 'Quem deus vult ditare, dives erit.' Que res ad experimentum postea probata fuisset, ille qui deum invocabat pastellum auro plenum sortitus est, alius vero caponis pastellum sorte preelegit).

As is indicated by J.A. Herbert, Gower's story parallels an exemplum in Holcot's Convertimini, written after 1323.[1] Other versions of the story vary considerably from the one in the Convertimini and Gower's story.[2] In a version from a collection of tales found in a manuscript which dates from the end of the thirteenth century, the emperor is not named, and there is one pasty instead of two, which is filled with talents and given to the beggar who put his trust in the emperor; finding it heavy, he sold it to the other beggar, who discovered the talents.[3] In another version in the

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1. See: J.A. Herbert, Vol. III cit. Royal 7.C.I. Convertimini No. 89. p. 130. Text, see: B.M. Royal MS. 7.C.I. fol. 115^{Rb}. The manuscript dates from the late fourteenth century.
   Date: see: J. Th. Welter, op. cit. p. 362.

2. These versions are referred to by E. Braunholtz in his discussion of the story in: Die Erste Nichtchristliche Parabel Des Barlaam und Josaphat, Ihre Herkunft Und Verbreitung, Halle, 1884, 72-84.

3. See: A Selection of Latin Stories from Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, ed. T. Wright, cit. No. 104, pp. 93-94. The story is here said to be 'from a MS. in private hands' (see notes on No. 103 p. 236, and No. 104, p. 237. The manuscript is B.M. Egerton MS 1117, and the story occurs on fol. 185^{Rb-Va}, see J.A. Herbert, vol. cit., Egerton 1117 No. 32,

(continued)

Chronicon de Lanercost, the first part of which (1201-1297) was probably completed in 1297, and the second part of which (1298-1346) was probably written about 1346,[1] the beggars are said to be camp followers of the Emperor Frederick the Second's army. There is here no choice between the pasties, the beggar who pronounced his love for God being given a pasty full of spices, and the other being given one full of gold. Finding his pasty too heavy, the latter beggar exchanged it for that of his companion. In a version in the Roman de Renart le Contrefait,[2] the first redaction of which was written between 1319 and 1322, and the second between 1328 and 1342, the story is applied to the Pope, and there is no choice between the pasties, the one beggar exchanging his pasty for that of his companion, as in the Chronicon de Lanercost.

It is difficult to explain the origin of the association of the legend with an emperor Frederick, who is presumably to

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(continuation)
pp. 472-474. The collection of tales, fol. 177^{Va}-195^{Ra} is described on pp. 471-6. Date of manuscript, see p. 471. The manuscript has already been referred to above in connection with the 'Trump of death'.

1. See: ed. J. Stevenson, Edinburgh, 1839. The Maitland Club. Pars Prior. A.D. 1215, 21-22.
   Date: see A.G. Little, 'The Authorship of the Lanercost Chronicle', The English Historical Review, 31, 1916, 274, 276. See also on this work: J. Taylor, The Universal Chronicle of Ranulf Higden, Oxford, 1966, 23-24.

2. See: ed. G. Raynaud and H. Lemaitre, 2 t, Paris, 1914. Sixième Branche: 31793-31862, Vol. II, 97-98. Date, vi.

be identified with Frederick II.[1] It may perhaps be significant that in the Chronicon de Lanercost the story is introduced incidentally as a diversionary fable immediately after an account of Frederick II, whose excommunication is described: 'Accepta igitur occasione, unam solatii fabulam insero.'

iv. Tale of Adrian and Bardus.[2]

In illustration of ingratitude, Gower relates how a lord, Adrian, accidentally fell into a deep pit when he was out hunting. A poor man, Bardus, who was collecting sticks, heard Adrianus' cry for help, and Adrianus promised Bardus half of all his property if he pulled him out of the pit. Bardus let a rope down into the pit, but it so happened that an ape had also fallen into the pit, and he drew out the ape. Bardus again let down the rope, but this time pulled out a serpent. Finally, he pulled out Adrianus, who went to the city without so much as saying thank you. Next day, the ape helped Bardus gathering sticks, and the serpent let drop a precious stone from its mouth, which Bardus sold to a jeweller but found in his purse when he returned home. He sold the jewel to his chapman, but again found it in his purse when he returned home. The Emperor Justinian came to hear of this, and summoned Bardus, who told him all that had happened.

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1. There is no mention of the legend in E. Kantorowicz, Frederick The Second, 1194-1270, trans. E.O. Lorimer, London, 1957.

2. Confessio V 4937-5155.

Adrian was then compelled by law to give half his wealth to Bardus (margin:

> Hic dicit qualiter bestie in suis beneficiis hominem ingratum naturaliter precellunt. Et ponit exemplum de Adriano Rome Cenatore, qui in quadam Foresta venacionibus insistens, dum predam persequeretur, in Cisternam profundam nescia familia corruit: ubi superveniens quidam pauper nomine Bardus, immissa cordula, putans hominem extraxisse, primo Simeam extraxit, secundo Serpentem, tercio Adrianum, qui pauperem despiciens aliquid ei pro benefacto reddere recusabat. Set tam Serpens quam Simia gratuita benevolencia ipsum singulis donis sufficienter remunerarunt).

As indicated by G.C. Macaulay, Gower knew of the version of this story which occurs as an <u>exemplum</u> in the <u>Speculum Stultorum</u> of Nigel de Longchamps, which was written between November 1179 and March 1180.[1] Gower is known to have made frequent use of the <u>Speculum Stultorum</u> in the <u>Vox Clamantis</u>,[2] so that his knowledge of the <u>exemplum</u> in the <u>Speculum Stultorum</u> would not be surprising. One variation of his story from that in the <u>Speculum Stultorum</u> is his omission of the lion which fell into the pit with the other animals, and another is his application of the story to the Emperor Justinian.

The <u>exemplum</u> in the <u>Speculum Stultorum</u> and Gower's story

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1. See: ed. J.H. Mozley and R.R. Raymo, 1960. University of California Publications. English Studies. 18. This <u>exemplum</u>: l. 3561-3870.
   Date, 2.
   Concerning the derivation and transmission of the story, see: A. Hilka 'Die Wanderung einer Tiernovelle. (Der undankbare Mensch und die dankbaren Tiere)', Extract from <u>Mitteilungen der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde</u>, 17, 1915.

2. See: R.R. Raymo, 'Gower's <u>Vox Clamantis</u> and the <u>Speculum Stultorum</u>,' <u>Modern Language Notes</u>, 70, 1955, 315-320. <u>Speculum Stultorum</u>, ed. cit. 8.

vary considerably from the exempla in the Compilatio Singularis Exemplorum, which dates from the second half of the thirteenth century,[1] and in the Gesta Romanorum.[2] In the former work, Adrianus did not swear that 'Mados' should have half of what he owned if he rescued him;[3] after the rescue, instead of not giving 'Mados' anything at all,[4] Adrianus gave 'Mados' a very little to eat at a rich feast at which he had been received, and a paltry sum of money. The self-returning jewel did not fall from the serpent's mouth,[5] and it was to the emperor that 'Mados' repeatedly sold it. At the end, there is no mention of the grant of half Adrianus' property to 'Mados';[6] Adrianus denies the truth of 'Mados'' story, and the two are about to engage in a duel, when the animals which 'Mados' had rescued rushed upon Adrianus and killed him. In

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1. See: Compilatio Singularis Exemplorum, ed. A. Hilka, (Neue Beiträge zur Erzählungsliteratur des Mittelalters), Extract from the 90 Jahresbericht der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterl. Cultur. Sektion für neuere Philologie, 1913. Exemplum XX, 21-23. Date, 3. Referred to by A. Hilka, art. cit. 15-17.

2. See: Gesta Romanorum ed. A. Oesterley, cit. Cap. 119: 'Quod omnium viventium in mundo de beneficiis acceptis est ingratissimus homo', 463-66. ed. W. Dick, cit. Cap. 145: 'De Ingrato et Gydone', 86-92. Referred to by A. Hilka, art. cit. 17-18.

3. Cf. Confessio V 4970-4985 and Speculum Stultorum, 3607-3610.

4. Cf. Confessio V 5028-30 and Speculum Stultorum 3681-3700.

5. Cf. Confessio V 5065-8 and Speculum Stultorum 3273.

6. Ibid. V. 5150-5 and Speculum Stultorum 3847-3864.

the Gesta Romanorum, Gydo went to the seneschal's house for his reward after he had rescued the seneschal and the animals, but was refused access and whipped for his pains. It was to the Emperor that Gydo sold the self-returning jewel, and at the end the seneschal was condemned by the Emperor to be hanged.

v. Tale of the Jew and the Pagan.[1]

In illustration of pity, fourth point of policy in the seventh book of the Confessio Amantis, Gower relates how two men happened to meet in the desert. The one said that he was a pagan, who according to his faith loved all men alike and was gracious to others as he was to himself. The other replied that he was a Jew who was loyal to no-one but his fellow Jews, and that he would take the life or property of anyone else. It was a hot day, and the pagan rode on an ass while the Jew went on foot. The Jew told the pagan that if what he said was true about his law, he would notice the Jew's distress, and let him ride a mile or two. The pagan assented, and the Jew now rode on the ass while the other went on foot. The Jew said that the pagan's act of helping him in need was in accordance with his law, and he would himself act and do his duty according to the law of Jewry. The ass, he said, would go off with him, together with the pagan's property. The Jew then rode away. The pagan, having prayed to God for mercy, walked on, and before nightfall, he saw the Jew lying dead and bloody on the grass in a valley, strangled by a lion. He found

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1. Confessio VII 3207*-3329*.

his ass nearby, and kneeling, he thanked God (margin:

> Hic in pietatis exemplum prout Aristotiles Alexandro nuper rettulit, declarans scribit qualiter Iudeus pedester cum quodam pagano asinum equitante per desertum itinerando ipsum de secta et fide sua strictius interrogavit. Qui respondens ait: 'Paganus sum et fides mea hec est, ut omnes uno animo diligam et penes unumquemque tempore necessitatis pietatem pro posse meo exerceam.' Cui Iudeus: 'Permitte me ergo, qui lassatus itinere deficio, aliquantulum equitare, et tu respectu pietatis ob meam recreacionem pedibus pro tempore incedas.' Et ita factum est, unde postea paganus infra breve lassatus asino suo restitui a Iudeo postulavit. At ille ait: 'Nequaquam: quia fides mea est, ut illi qui sectam meam non credit, nocumentum absque pietate provocare debeo'. Et hiis dictis asellum veloci passu coegit, et paganum a dorso illusum reliquit. Quod videns paganus in terram dolens corruit, extensisque in celum manibus summam iusticiam invocabat. Postque a terra exsurgens, cum paulisper deambulasset, respexit in quamdam vallem Iudeum a leone in mortis articulo prostratum et sic asinum suum cum gaudio resumens, pietatem magis quam austeritatem laudabilem decrevit).

The tale is paralleled in the story of the 'Magus orientalis' and the Jew in the Secretum Secretorum,[1] referred to by G.C. Macaulay, and it is found in the Vulgate text.

The main difference between the story in the Secretum Secretorum and Gower's tale is that in the former version the Mage is said to have found the Jew thrown from the mule injured, though not dead; the Mage then again took pity on him, and took him with him, but the Jew died some days after the journey was over. Despite this difference, it is most probable that Gower knew the version in the Secretum Secretorum - a work attributed to Aristotle and thought to have been addressed

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1. ed. R. Steele, Oxford, 1920. Part III. 'Capitulum. 14. quod non est confidendum in homine alterius legis, vel de confidentia in homine non habenda nisi sit tue legis et professionis.' 144-146. See also: Confessio VII 3207 ff. n.

to Alexander - for he alludes to the tale as one told by Aristotle to Alexander:[1]

To do pite support and grace,
The Philosophre upon a place
In his writing of daies olde
A tale of gret essample told
Unto the king of Macedoine:

Hic in pietatis exemplum prout
Aristotiles Regi
Alexandro nuper rettulit,

In the moralising passage on the story, there are two further appeals to the authority of Aristotle:[2]

As Aristotle it berth witnesse,

. . .

And who this tale redily
Remembre, as Aristotle it told,

The story was also told as an exemplum concerning a Gentile and a Jew in the Summa Praedicantium,[3] but this version ends at the point when the Jew rode away from the Gentile.

Conclusion.

In this group of miscellaneous stories, the influence of the exemplum is shown in the 'Tale of the beggars and the two pasties' and in the 'Tale of Adrian and Bardus'. The former parallels an exemplum in the Convertimini, and the latter is

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1. Confessio VII 3207*-3211*.

2. Ibid. VII 3333*, 3354*5*.

3. See ed. Nuremberg, 1485. 'Lex' L.iii Articulus V. xiii-xv. Exemplum. Reference: R.M. Ames, 'The Sources and Significance of "The Jew and the Pagan"', Medieval Studies, 29, 1957, 38.

derived from an exemplum in the Speculum Stultorum. The 'Tale of Mundus and Paulina' may possibly be derived from an exemplum version. In the 'Tale of the two coffers' it was the influence of a second-hand account which caused Gower to reduce the number of the coffers from four to two. However, the existence of a story in an exemplum version need not preclude Gower's knowledge of it from a first-hand account; he could have known the 'Tale of Mundus and Paulina' from a first-hand version, and he knew the first-hand version of the 'Trump of death' and probably of the 'Tale of the two coffers', as well as that of 'The Pagan and the Jew'. The latter story, however, already played the role of an illustrative exemplum in the Secretum Secretorum.

SECTION B. GOWER'S NARRATIVE RANGE: MISCELLANEOUS STORIES.

In the following section, further stories in the Confessio Amantis will be examined in relation to sources, enabling us to realize the range of Gower's narrative sources. First, stories relating to classical antiquity will be discussed in the following order: the story of Troy, the legend of Thebes, the legendary history of Alexander, stories relating to Gower's use of Livy, his use of school text-books connected with the Disticha Catonis, and of Walter Map's Dissuasio Valerii. Subsequent stories relating to classical antiquity will then be discussed in the order of occurrence in the poem. Next, stories connected with the Bible will be examined in the order of the poem. Then, medieval stories will be discussed in the same order. Following this, stories paralleling those in The Seven Sages of Rome and the Pantheon will be discussed; some of these relate to classical antiquity and some are medieval. Some beast fables will then be discussed, in the order of the poem.

I. STORIES RELATING TO CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY.

i. The story of Troy in the Confessio Amantis.

An important foundation for the medieval legend of the Trojan War was that provided by the Ephemeris Belli Troiani of Dictys Cretensis[1] and the De Excidio Troiae Historia of Dares Phrygius.[2] Dictys was supposedly an eye-witness on the Greek side, writing from the Greek point of view, and Dares was supposedly an eye-witness on the Trojan side, writing from the Trojan point of view.[3]

Le Roman de Troie of Benoit de Sainte-Maure, which was written between 1155 and 1160,[4] had as its main source the work of Dares; the work of Dictys was used as a secondary source in the last part of the Roman, for Dictys gave an account of the Greeks' voyage home, whereas the account of Dares ends at the point when the Greeks set sail for home.[5]

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1. See ed. W. Eisenhut, Leipzig, 1958.

2. See ed. F. Meister, Leipzig, 1873.

3. Concerning the works of Dictys and Dares, and the medieval story of Troy, see: R.M. Frazer, introduction to: The Trojan War, The Chronicles of Dictys of Crete and Dares the Phrygian, (transl.), Bloomington, 1966. See also: J.E. Wells, 'Legends of Troy', A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1400, New Haven, 1916, 106-7.

4. See ed. L. Constans, 6 Vols., 1904-1912. S.A.T.F. Date, see Vol. 6, 190.

5. Benoit begins to use the work of Dictys at a point in the story before the Greeks set sail (l. 24425), see: Vol. 6, 254.

The Historia Destructionis Troiae of Guido de Columnis, which was composed in 1287,[1] had as its main source Le Roman de Troie.

Gower made use of the works of Benoit and Guido in many of his stories relating to the Trojan War; K. Eichinger has shown that Benoit's work was Gower's main source, and that Guido for the most part provided him with additional narrative details;[2] the same point was made clear by G.C. Macaulay in his notes on these stories. The following stories are derived from the works of Benoit and Guido: 'The Sirens'[3] (the only one of the stories based wholly on Guido's work), the 'Trojan Horse',[4] 'Nauplius and the Greeks',[5] 'Athamas and Demophon',[6] 'Orestes',[7] 'Telephus and Teuthras',[8] 'Achilles leaves arms

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1. See: ed. N.E. Griffin, The Mediaeval Academy of America, Publication No. 26, 1936. Date, see introduction, p. XI; see also p. XV.

2. See: K. Eichinger, 'Die Trojasage als Stoffquelle für John Gower's Confessio Amantis', Diss., Munich, 1900.

3. See: Confessio I 481-529. Historia Destructionis Troiae XXXIII, 260.

4. Confessio I 1077-1189. Le Roman de Troie, 25721-25747, 25809-26100. Historia Destructionis Troiae XXX, 230-233.

5. Confessio III 973-1066. Roman, 27671-27696, 27868-27391. Historia, XXXII, 247-248.

6. Confessio III 1757-1856. Roman 28147-28207. Historia XXXII, 251.

7. Confessio III 1885-2195. Roman 28047-28103, 28285-28411, 28469-28532. Historia XXXII, 248-249, XXXIII, 253-256.

8. Confessio III 2639-2717. Roman 6519-6612. Historia XIII, 110-114.

for Polyxena',[1] 'Penthesilea',[2] 'Philemenis',[3] 'Antenor steals the Palladium',[4] 'Jason and Medea',[5] 'Paris and Helen',[6] 'Achilles sees Polyxena in temple of Apollo',[7] 'Ulysses and Telegonus'.[8]

Besides the tales of Troy derived from the works of Benoit and Guido, Gower tells a further group of stories which are set against the background of the Trojan War. The stories of 'Aeneas and Dido', 'Ulysses and Penelope', 'Demophoon and Phyllis' and 'Protesilaus' are derived from Ovid.[9]

The stories of 'Agamemnon and Briseis', 'Agamemnon and

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1. Confessio IV 1693-1701. Roman 18405-18472.

2. Confessio IV 2135-2147. Roman 23357-23416. Historia XXVIII, 211-212.

3. Confessio IV 2148-2182. Roman 25767-25808. (Confessio IV 2161-2164, and margin: Penthesilea killed by Pyrrhus: Roman 24272-24326. Historia XXVIII, 216-217.)

4. Confessio V 1831-1847. Roman 25612-25659. Historia XXX 228-229.

5. Confessio V 3247-3930: (first part of story until Jason's return to Greece). Roman 715-2060. Historia I-III, 6-32.

6. Confessio V 7195-7585. Roman 1003-1133, 2079-2824, 2863-4933. Historia II, 12-14. IV-VII, 33-79.

7. Confessio V 7571-7596. Historia XXIII, 183-185. Death of Achilles: Roman 21838-22334. Historia XXVII, 207.

8. Confessio VI 1391-1778. Roman 28701-28825, 29815-30300. Historia XXXIII 258-259. Ultimus, 269-273.

9. These stories: see Confessio IV 77-127, ib. 147-233, ib. 731-878, ib. 1901-1934. For these stories, see below, Chapter III, Section III, pp. 241-3.

Chryseis' and 'Nauplius and Ulysses' are found as fables of Hyginus, and also occur in other accounts. In the first of these stories, Gower mentions how Agamemnon supplanted Achilles in the love of Briseis;[1] Hyginus says:[2]

> Agamemnon Briseidam Brisae sacerdotis filiam ex Moesia captivam propter formae dignitatem, quam Achilles ceperat, ab Achilles abduxit.

In the Excidium Troiae, a work in which the story of Troy is told independently of the accounts of Dictys and Dares,[3] it is stated:

> Et quia Achilles ab Agamemno et Menelao lesus fuerat pro Briseida apud Troiam †per muros exposuerat†, et eam sibi coniunxerat, et postea ei ab Agamemnone sublata est.

In the Genealogia Deorum Gentilium[4] Boccaccio says of Achilles:

> et inter alia virginem, sacerdotis Apollinis filiam, quam Agamemnoni concessit, et Briseidam, quam eque ceperat, sibi reservavit. Sane cum iussus deorum oportuisset Agamemnon sacerdoti natam restituere, Briseidam illi surripuit.

Gower may also have known of the story from one of Ovid's Heroides.[5]

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1. Confessio II 2451-2458.

2. Fabulae ed. H.I. Rose, Leyden, 1933, 78. Cap. 106.1. 'Hectoris Lytra'. Reference: Confessio II 2451 ff. n.

3. Ed. A.B. Atwood and V.K. Whitaker, The Mediaeval Academy of America, Publication No. 44, 1944, 11, l. 11-15. See also introduction xi.

4. Ed. V. Romano, 2 Vols. Bari, 1951; 12 Cap. 52: 'De Achille filio Pelei, qui genuit Pyrrum'. Vol. 2, 609 l. 11-12.

5. See: ed. R. Ehwald, Leipzig, 1903; III 'Briseis Achilli'. Reference: Confessio II n. cit.

In the story of 'Agamemnon and Chryseis',[1] Gower tells how Agamemnon took away Chryseis, daughter of Chryses, priest of Phoebus; Phoebus thereupon sent a pestilence upon Agamemnon's army, which ceased when Chryseis was returned home. The story is told in a fable of Hyginus,[2] though some details vary in the two accounts; Gower says that Agamemnon won the city of Lesbon and found Chryseis there,[3] while there is no mention of such a city in the account of Hyginus; mention of the pestilence is omitted in the account of Hyginus,[4] and Gower presumably knew of a version of the story in which the pestilence is mentioned. The allusion to the story in the passage already quoted from the Genealogia Deorum Gentilium is too brief to have been Gower's source.

In the story of Nauplius and Ulysses,[5] it is related how Nauplius came to summon Ulysses and other Greeks to the Trojan War; Ulysses, thinking of his love for Penelope, wanted to remain at home; so he pretended to be mad. He yoked a plough

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1. Confessio V 6433-6475.

2. Cap. 121 1-2 'Chryses' (pp. 86-87). Reference: Confessio V 6435 ff. n.

3. Confessio V 6436-7.

4. The relevant sentence runs: 'ob id Apollo exercitum eius partim fame partim peste prope totum consumpsit'; 'partim peste' was supplied by Micyllus, see 121 l. 2 n. Macaulay notes that Hyginus' and Gower's versions are not exactly alike.

5. Confessio IV 1815-1891.

with foxes and sowed the land with salt. Nauplius laid Telemachus, the child of Ulysses, in a furrow before the plough, and when Ulysses came to it and saw his child, he drove his plough out of the way. His madness exposed as pretence, Ulysses went to the Trojan War (margin:

> Hic dicit quod amoris delectamento postposito miles arma sua preferre debet: Et ponit exemplum de Ulixe, cum ipse a bello Troiano propter amorem Penolope remanere domi voluisset, Nauplus pater Palamedes eum tantis sermonibus allocutus est, quod Ulixes thoro sue coniugis relicto labores armorum una cum aliis Troiae magnanimus subibat.).

In the version of the story in a fable of Hyginus,[1] details of Gower's narrative are omitted; it is not said that Ulysses sowed the land with salt, or that he drove his plough out of the way when he saw his child. In the version of the story in Pierre Bersuire's Ovidius Moralizatus,[2] the salt sowing is included ('sal terram sterilem aravit et sal ibidem seminavit.'), as well as the turning aside of the plough ('A quo dum pater aratrum diverteret'). Gower's detail of Ulysses yoking the plough with foxes is omitted both in Hyginus' fable and the Ovidius moralizatus. It should be added that it was actually Palamedes and not Nauplius who was concerned in the story; the substitution of Nauplius may have been caused by a misunderstanding

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1. Cap. 95 'Ulixes' (pp. 69-70). Reference Confessio IV 1815 ff. n.

2. Vol. 2, Institute of Late Latin of the Rijksuniversiteit, Utrecht, 1962, 106-7. XIII Fabula I.

of the lines alluding to the story in the Metamorphoses,[1] where 'Naupliades' son of Nauplius is said to be the protagonist.

It has been shown, that, in the first of these stories, it is not necessary to assume that Gower knew Hyginus' version; concerning the second story, the variations of detail between Gower's version and the fables indicate that Gower knew another form of the story; in the third story, Gower's narrative is closer to that of the Ovidius moralizatus than that of the fables. It will be seen that it is unnecessary to posit Gower's use of Hyginus' fables in these stories. In any case, the fables of Hyginus did not circulate in the Middle Ages,[2] so that Gower could hardly have known them.

Gower twice mentions the story of 'Troilus and Criseide'[3] and presumably he knew it from Troilus and Criseyde dedicated as it is to 'moral Gower'.[4] Gower also tells the stories of the 'education of Achilles'[5] and 'Achilles and Deidamia'.[6]

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1. Ed. R. Ehwald, Leipzig, 1915; XIII 35-39; see l. 39.

2. The fragments of a manuscript which once contained the fables of Hyginus, codex Frisingensis 237, of the 9th or 10th century, are now found in Monacensis Latinus 6437; see H.I. Rose, preface to Hyginus' Fabulae, XVI-XVII. A series of excerpts is found in a palimpsest of the 5th or 6th century, Vatican Pal. Lat. 27 (from Fabulae Cap. LXVI to LXXI) see: H.I. Rose, preface, XVIII.

3. Confessio II 2456-2458, V 7957-7602.

4. Troilus and Criseyde, The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, ed. F.N. Robinson, London, 1957, 389-479; see VI l. 1856.

5. Confessio IV 1698-2013.

6. Confessio V 2691-3201.

G.C. Macaulay points out that the Achilleis of Statius was the source of these stories.[1] In an article 'Gower's Use of the Enlarged Roman de Troie',[2] G.L. Hamilton sought to show that Gower was making use of a hypothetical 'enlarged Roman de Troie' for these stories of Achilles. The theory of an 'enlarged Roman de Troie' has however been conclusively refuted by E.B. Atwood,[3] and there is no need to question Gower's use of the Achilleis in these stories.[4] The Achilleis was one of the texts read at school.[5]

In the seventh book of the Confessio Amantis, Achilles is compared to Thersites, and Horace is given as authority for this comparison.[6] G.C. Macaulay quotes lines from Juvenal's Eighth Satire with reference to this passage.[7] Juvenal's

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1. See: Confessio IV 1968 ff. n., V 2961 ff. n. 'The education of Achilles' parallels Achilleis (ed. A.O.W. Dilke, Cambridge, 1954), II.110-128; cf. also I.106-7 and Confessio IV 1979 (Chiron's dwelling on Mount Pelion). 'Achilles and Deidamia' parallels Achilleis I 198-II 30.

2. P.M.L.A. 20, 1905, 179-196.

3. See: A.B. Atwood, introduction to Excidium Troiae, xxi-xxx.

4. Gower's use of the Achilleis in these stories is referred to by B.A. Wise, in: 'The Influence of Statius upon Chaucer', Diss. Baltimore, 1911, 138.

5. Cf. below p.138.

6. See: Confessio VII 3581-3593.

7. Satura VIII 269-271 (ed. A.E. Housman, Cambridge, 1938). Reference: Confessio VII 3581 n.

lines are quoted in the Moralium Dogma Philosophorum,[1] without mention of author, and Gower may have seen or heard the lines in the form of an anonymous quotation and assumed they were by Horace.

The appeal of the story of Troy to Gower may be observed in a passage in the eighth book of the Confessio Amantis.[2] This passage concerns the company of lovers commanded by 'Youthe'. Many of the figures in this company are from the Troy story: Telamon and Hesione, Hector and Penthesilea, Paris and Helen, Troilus Criseide and Diomedes, Achilles, Agamemnon and Menelaus, Dido and Aeneas, Medea and Jason, Achilles and Deidamia, Polyxena slain by Pyrrhus, Circe and Calypso, and Penelope and Ulysses. These figures represent types of youthful love. The story of Troy clearly had a romantic appeal to Gower.

ii. The legend of Thebes.

The setting of the story of Capaneus in the Confessio Amantis is the siege of Thebes.[3] Capaneus does not pray to the gods, but says that prayer is caused by dread. As he is about to make his assault on Thebes, God strikes him down with lightning.

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1. Ed. J. Holmberg, Uppsala, 1929. Latin Text: 1-82. This verse: 55 l. 5-7.

2. Confessio VIII 2500-2656.

3. Confessio I 1980-2009.

G.C. Macaulay points out[1] that this story is probably from Statius, and quotes the line of Capaneus' speech in the third book of the Thebais,[2] in which it is stated that fear first created the gods: 'primus in orbe deos fecit timor!..'. He also indicates the passage in the tenth book of the Thebais, in which Capaneus assaults Thebes and is struck by lightning sent by Jove.[3]

Macaulay also points out that in Le Roman de Thèbes Capaneus is not represented as slain by a lightning stroke. In the main critical text of the Roman in the edition of L. Constans,[4] Capaneus is represented as killed by a boulder whilst making his assault on Thebes. In one redaction of the Roman,[5] however, his death by lightning is retold. The opinion of Capaneus that prayer is caused by dread does not parallel any passage in the Roman, so that the Thebais remains the probable source of Gower's story.

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1. Ibid. I 1980 ff. n.
2. Ed. A. Klotz, Leipzig, 1908; III.661.
3. X 827-939.
4. 2 Vols., 1890. S.A.T.F. Story of Capaneus: 10087-10096.
5. Vol. II. Appendix II. Story of Capaneus 9243-9630. Capaneus killed by lightning: 9623-9628.

iii. Stories derived from the legendary history of Alexander.

The story of Nectanebus[1].

G.C. Macaulay notes[2] that the main source of this story is the account of Nectanebus in the Roman de Toute Chevalerie,[3] an Anglo-Norman romance written in the second half of the twelfth century by Thomas of Kent, the theme of which is the legendary history of Alexander.[4] Macaulay also indicates Gower's use of the Historia de Preliis[5] to supplement the account of the Roman. 'Historia de Preliis' is the name given to the three interpolated versions of the Nativitas et victoria Alexandri Magni regis of Archpriest Leo of Naples, which was a translation of the Greek romance known as Pseudo-Callisthenes, and was made after 952.[6] In Alexander A,[7] a fragment of an

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1. Confessio VI 1789-2336. 2. Ibid. VI 1789 ff. n.

3. (Extracts) ed. P. Meyer, in: Alexandre le Grand dans la Littèrature Française du Moyen Age, t. I, Paris, 1886, 195-235. Story of Nectanebus: l. 48-531.

4. See: D.J.A. Ross, Alexander Historiatus, London, 1963. Warburg Institute Surveys I, 25-26. See also: M.D. Legge, Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background, Oxford, 1963, 105-107.

5. See: Recension J^2 ed. A. Hilka, parallel text in: Der Altfranzösische Prosa-Alexanderroman, Festschrift für Carl Appel, 1917, Halle, 1920. Story of Nectanebus: Cap. I-13 (pp. 7-33).

6. See: D.J.A. Ross, op. cit., 47-48, 50-51, 53-54, 61. There are opposing opinions as to which of the three versions of the Historia de Preliis Gower used in this story. F. Pfister has pointed out that Gower made use of the first version of the Historia in Confessio VI 2274-2276 (see: 'Auf den Spuren Alexanders des Grossen in der älteren englischen Literatur', Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift, 16, 1928, 86). On the other hand, F.P. Magoun has suggested that Gower's form of name 'Nectanabus' and the reading of Confessio VI

(continued on following page)

English alliterative romance, the story of Nectanebus closely follows the account of the Historia de Preliis, and where Gower's story coincides with the Historia, it also coincides with Alexander A. For instance, Gower says that Nectanebus enchants a 'See foul',[1] which coincides with the 'avem marinam' in the Historia[2] and the 'sea-foule' of Alexander A.[3] Alexander A has been assigned to the period c. 1340-1370,[4] so Gower could have seen or heard it, and derived from it the details in his story of Nectanebus which also occur in the Historia.

Gower tells the story of Nectanebus as an example against sorcery, and it may have been a well-known example of this kind, since Eustache Deschamps tells it in outline as one of his examples against divination in the Demoustracione contre

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2336 are probably characteristic of the second version of the Historia (see: The Gests of King Alexander of Macedon, Cambridge, Mass., 1929, 58 n. 5). The evidence which has been advanced does not, however, conclusively prove which version of the Historia Gower used in this story.

7. See: Ed. F.P. Magoun, in: The Gests of King Alexander of Macedon, 127-170. The Story of Nectanebus: l. 472-874, 954-1108. (With parallel text of J^2 recension of Historia de Preliis.) See also: D.J.A. Ross, op. cit., 57.

1. Confessio VI 2128-2130.

2. Cap. 4, p. 25, l. 12. See also parallel text ed. F.P. Magoun cit., 4, p. 151.

3. L. 811.

4. See F.P. Magoun, op. cit., 100-101.

sortileges.[1]

The poisoning of Alexander[2]

Gower tells how Alexander, on his way home to Macedonia after the conquest of India, came to Babylon, where he expected to be received with more honour than anywhere in his empire, but instead was poisoned; (margin:

> Hic secundum gesta Regis Alexandri de guerris illicitis ponit Confessor exemplum, dicens quod quamvis Alexander sua potencia tocius mundi victor sibi subiugarat imperium, ipse tandem mortis victoria subiugatus cunctipotentis sentenciam evadere non potuit).

The detail of Alexander's expectation of honour at Babylon is paralleled in the account of the Polychronicon of Ranulf Higden.[3] According to this account, Alexander was returning to his native land after the conquest of the East, when ambassadors of the West came to Babylon to submit themselves to his authority. Hoping therefore, that he would be monarch of the world ('sperans ex hoc monarchiam orbis se futurum'), he entered Babylon. Higden's account is based on Justin's

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1. In Oeuvres complètes de Eustache Deschamps, t. VII, ed. G. Raynaud, 1891, 192-199. S.A.T.F. 'Comment Neptanabus fut tué par Alexandre', 193. Referred to by F.P. Magoun, op. cit., 224. Deschamps was born in 1346, and died in 1406 or 1407. See: Oeuvres complètes, cit., t. XI ed. G. Raynaud, Paris, 1903, 9, 98-99.

2. Confessio III 2438-2460.

3. Ed. C. Babington and J.R. Lumby, 9 Vols., 1865-1886. Rolls Series. This passage: III. Cap. 30 (Vol. IV, 8).

epitome of the Historiae Philippicae of Pompeius Trogus,[1] (he gives Trogus, libro duodecimo as the authority for this passage), but Alexander's expectation of world monarchy is not explicitly mentioned in the version of the epitome. Higden[2] describes the poisoning of Alexander in a passage immediately following this account. The poisoning of Alexander at Babylon is related in the Historia de Preliis [3] and the Roman de Toute Chevalerie[4] without explicit mention of his expectation of honour.[5] In view of the fact that the vogue enjoyed by the Polychronicon reached its height in the second half of the fourteenth century,[6] one would have expected Gower to have drawn on it. While it is hard to pin down specific variants apparently drawn from the Polychronicon, as in this account, another instance of this kind seems to occur in Gower's description of Saturn the discoverer and inventor, where two details parallel those in the Polychronicon account which are

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1. Ed. O. Seel, Leipzig, 1935, 18; XIII. 1-3, 6.

2. III Cap. 30 (Vol. IV, 10).

3. Cap. 127, 249-256.

4. 226 l. 87-232 l. 11.

5. Alexander's entry into Babylon: see Historia Cap. 123, 241 l. 1-18. Roman, 'Coment Alisandre vint à Babiloine, 224 l. 37-225 l. 52.

6. See J. Taylor, The Universal Chronicle of Ranulf Higden, Oxford, 1966, 142.

not found in other descriptions of Saturn referred to.[1]

The Candace Episode.

Gower alludes to the rich gifts Candace bestowed on Alexander to win his love:[2]

> As was the riche qwen Candace,
> Which to deserve love and grace
> To Alisandre, that was king,
> Yaf many a worthi riche thing,

Candace's motive of love in the presentation of these gifts is omitted by Julius Valerius[3] and in the Historia de Preliis,[4] but is included in the Roman de Toute Chevalerie[5] and Kyng Alisaunder,[6] a thirteenth century romance based on the Roman.[7] In the latter two romances, the relationship of

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1. See discussion below, chapter V: 'Sources of some medieval themes in the Confessio Amantis', pp.309-310.The details referred to are Saturn's teaching of tilling and coining of money.

2. Confessio V 2543-2546.

3. Res Gestae Alexandri Macedonis, ed. B. Kuebler, Leipzig, 1888. Candace's presents: III 29-30 (136 l. 13-137 l. 16). III 42 (149 l. 14-21.).

4. Candace's presents: Cap. 107 (208 l. 19-209 l. 17). Cap. 109 (219 l. 36-220.l. 6).

5. P. Meyer omits this episode. It is described by C.B. West in: Courtoisie in Anglo-Norman Literature, Oxford, 1938. Medium Aevum Monographs. 3, 75-76.

6. Ed. G.V. Smithers, Vol. I. E.E.T.S., O.S. 227, 1927. Candace's gifts: l. 5408-5455.

7. See: D.J.A. Ross, op. cit., 27.

Alexander and Candace is described as amorous.[1]

In the fifth book of the poem, Gower tells how Serapis talks to Alexander after his departure from Candace.[2] This episode is described in the Historia de Preliis.[3]

Alexander and the knight.[4]

Gower tells how Alexander wrathfully condemns a knight. The knight appeals, and Alexander says that none is above him. The knight says that he is not appealing against Alexander's lordship, but against his wrath and to his pity. Alexander understands his argument, and spares him (margin:

> Valerius narrat quod cum rex Alexander in ira sua quendam militem morti condempnasset, et ille appellavit, dixit rex, 'In terra nullus maior me est: ad quem ergo appellas?' Respondit miles, 'Non a maiestate tua, set a sentencia ire tue tantum ad pietatem tuam appello'. Et sic rex pietate motus ipsum in misericordiam benignissime suscepit).

In the Polychronicon,[5] a similar story about Alexander is told:

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1. See: C.B. West, loc. cit. Kyng Alisaunder ed. cit. Candace-Alexander episode: See: l. 5381-5467, 6354-6488. For an account of the Candace-Alexander episode: see: G. Cary, The Medieval Alexander, ed. D.J.A. Ross, Cambridge, 1956, 219-220, 231, (Gower's reference) 254.

2. Confessio V 1569-1585.

3. Cap. 110, pp. 220-221. Further discussion of this passage see below, pp.277-278.

4. Confessio VII 3168*-3179.

5. Vol. III ed. J.R. Lumby, 1871, Rolls Series, 440-442; III Cap. 28.

> Alexander ebrietate laborabat, et tunc potissime in domesticos saeviebat. Unde accidit ut aliquando in quendam majorem palatii capitalem ferret sententiam. Ille vero statim in appellationis vocem erupit. Verum quia a minori ad majorem solebat appellari in ampliorem tyrannus stimulante vino versus insaniam ait, 'Sed a quo et ad quem appellas'. Et ille: 'Ab Alexandro ebrio ad Alexandrum sobrium'. Qua responsione mitigatus sententiam distulit, et tandem illum plene absolvit.

Giraldus Cambrensis had told the same story in the Liber de Principis Instructione,[1] and explicitly alludes to the wrath of Alexander in the citation of a proverb of Solomon at the end of the story: 'Responsio mollis frangit iram'.[2] Gower omits the appeal from 'Alexander drunk to Alexander sober', and instead makes the appeal one from wrath to pity. This alteration makes the story a most suitable example of pity.

Gower's authority for the story is 'Valerius' (margin), and he says that he has read of this story in the history of Alexander:[3]

> Of Alisandre in his histoire
> I rede

Julius Valerius does not however tell this story in the Res Gestae Alexandri Macedonis, nor does Valerius Maximus tell this story of Alexander in the Factorum ac dictorum memorabilium libri novem.[4]

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1. Ed. G.F. Warner, Giraldi Cambrensis Opera Vol. VIII 1891, Rolls Series, 58-59: Distinctio I Cap. 17.

2. 59.

3. Confessio VII 3168*-3169*.

4. See G. Cary, op. cit., 100 for an account of the story of the 'appeal from Alexander drunk to Alexander sober'.

Conclusion.

The story of Nectanebus has as its main source the Roman de Toute Chevalerie, as Macaulay points out, and Gower could have supplemented this account with the romance known as Alexander A. The account of 'The poisoning of Alexander' was most likely derived from the Polychronicon, and Gower could have had the story of 'Alexander and the Knight' suggested to him from the same work. The Candace episode is told too briefly to enable us to determine which account Gower drew upon. These stories, in addition to the tales of 'Diogenes and Alexander' and 'Alexander and the Pirate'[1] as well as the reference to Alexander in the passage in the Prologue concerning the four world empires,[2] and the mythological description in the fifth book of the poem, which is derived from the supposed correspondence between Alexander and Dindimus,[3] show Gower's familiarity with the Alexander legend.

iv. Gower's use of Livy.

Gower's use of Livy is indicated by G.C. Macaulay when he suggests that the final part of the story of 'The Rape of

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1. See: Confessio III 1201-1311, 2363-2421, and discussion in this chapter, above, pp. 52-59.
2. Confessio Prologue 692-713, and see discussion of whole passage below, chapter V, pp. 281-286.
3. Confessio V 1453-1496, and discussion below Chapter IV, pp. 272-274.

Lucrece', concerned with events after the death of Lucrece, may perhaps be derived from Livy rather than from Ovid's Fasti, the main source of the story,[1] and that the 'Tale of Virginia'[2] is derived from Livy or some account drawn from it. The narrative concerning Lucretia and Virginia is found in the first decade of Livy,[3] but Gower could only have known it with difficulty, since any part of Livy was rare in English libraries in his time.[4] On the other hand, the first decade was one of those known to scholars in the group of classicising friars which flourished in England in the first part of the fourteenth century,[5] so that Gower may possibly have known it. He might with less difficulty have known the translation of Livy made by Pierre Bersuire before 1356 (the translation is

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1. 'The Rape of Lucrece': see Confessio VII 4754-5123, and note on l. 5093 ff.;cf. Ovid, Fastorum Libri VI ed. R. Ehwald and F.W. Levy, Leipzig, 1924; II 721-852. See also discussion in relation to the Fasti, below p. 240.

2. Confessio VII 5131-5306.

3. Ed. R.S. Conway and C.F. Walters , t. I, Oxford, 1955. Lucretia: I 57 -59.11. Virginia:III 44-48; wrongdoers brought to justice: III 50.2-58. (Confessio VII 5262-5300 is drawn from this passage).

4. See: R.A.B. Mynors, 'The Latin Classics Known to Boston of Bury', in: Fritz Saxl 1890-1948, Memorial Essays, ed. D.J. Gordon, London, 1957, 205-6. R.M. Wilson, 'The Contents of the Medieval Library' in: The English Library before 1700, ed. F. Wormald and C.E. Wright, London, 1958, 99.

5. It was one of the decades of Livy known to Nicholas Trevet, Thomas Waleys, John Ridevall, William d'Eyncourt and Thomas Ringstead, see: B. Smalley, English Friars and Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century, Oxford, 1960, 92, 94, 124, 206, 217. On Trevet and Waleys, see also idem, 'Thomas Waleys', Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum, 24, 1954,88.

of the first and third decades, and nine books of the fourth decade);[1] the translation was diffused from the end of the fourteenth century,[2] and seems to have been known in England at this time, since one of the items to be confiscated from Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester in 1397 is known to have been 'un livre de ij grantz volumes en Fraunceys de Titus Livius'.[3]

Bersuire's translation is referred to by E.F. Shannon in his discussion on the sources of 'The Physician's Tale', in which the story of Virginia is related. Shannon points out that in Bersuire's translation Virginia is not mentioned

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1. On Bersuire's translation see: C. Samaran and J. Monfrin, 'Pierre Bersuire Prieur De Saint - Éloi De Paris, (1290?-1362)', 1962, offprint from Histoire Littéraire de la France, t. 39: II.C; J. Monfrin, 'La Traduction Française de Tite-Live', 100-156. Date, see: 105. Portion of Livy translated: 108. See ed. Paris, 1530, Vol. I (the printed editions are listed in H.L.F. t. cit., 192). Lucrece: I Cap. 46-48, fol. 19^{Vb} - 20^{Vb}. Virginia;III Cap. 22-25, fol. 54^{Rb} - 55^{Va}, Cap. 27-33, fol. 55^{Vb} - 59^{Ra}.

2. See: J. Monfrin, op. cit., 148.

3. See B.M. Additional MS. 25459 fol. 214^{V}. This manuscript, fol. 212^{R}-216^{V}, is an escheat-roll of goods at the castle of Pleshey, Essex, belonging to Thomas [of Woodstock], Duke of Gloucester, which was made out in the 21st year of Richard II's reign (1397): see fol. 212^{R}, and Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the years 1854-1875, London, 1877. 25, 459, No. 41, p. 193. The item is referred to by M. Manitius in: Handschriften Antiker Autoren In Mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen, Leipzig, 1935, 67. Beiheft zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, p. 75; ownership is here attributed to Humfridus de Woodstock, although Thomas is given as the name in the roll, see fol. 212^{R}, as well as in the Catalogue, loc. cit.; J. Monfrin, refers to the item, and identifies it with the translation of Bersuire, but follows Manitius in naming the owner 'Humphrey of Woodstock', op. cit., 153.

as Virginius' only daughter, whereas she is mentioned as the only daughter in Livy's account and as the only child of Virginius in Chaucer's version;[1] she is also described as the only daughter of Virginius in the margin of Gower's story: 'Livius Virginius ... unicam filiam pulcherimam habens.', as in Livy's account:[2] 'Huic si vis adferetur, ego praesentium Quiritium pro sponsa, Virginius militum pro unica filia', whereas in Bersuire's translation it is stated:[3] 'Et se len veult faire force a ceste pucelle ie qui suis son espoux et Virginius en tant que son pere'. This detail need not be so significant as Shannon supposes in precluding the possibility of the use of Bersuire's translation as against Livy's text, since it could have been assumed from the narrative without being included in it. As it is, the detail is mentioned incidentally in Livy's account in a speech when the narrative is already well under way, whereas in Gower's account, as in Chaucer's, it is a detail of description given at the beginning of the story when Virginia is first introduced. The description

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1. See: E.F. Shannon, 'The Physician's Tale', in: Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, ed. W.F. Bryan and G. Dempster, New York, 1958, 398-99. See also: G. Chaucer, The Canterbury Tales: 'The Physician's Tale' in: The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, ed. F.N. Robinson, London, 1957, 145-7; l. 5-6: 'This knyght a doghter hadde by his wyf;
   No children hadde he mo in al his lyf.'

2. See: III 45.9.

3. See: ed. cit. III Cap. 22 fol. 54^{Vb}.

of Virginia at the beginning of the story in Bersuire's translation as 'une vierge de la cite de laquelle le pere nomme Virginius'[1] may have been enough to suggest the detail.

A possibility to be considered is that Gower could have known the story of Lucrece from the version related in Nicholas Trevet's commentary[2] on St. Augustine's De civitate Dei (the commentary is undated), and in the version related in the commentary of Thomas Waleys[3] on the first ten books of De civitate Dei (this commentary must have been finished by 3rd January 1333). In both these versions the account of Livy is followed and in the latter that of the Fasti is also

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1. Ed. cit. III Cap. 22 fol. 54^{Rb} (cf. Livy III. 44.2).

2. See: British Museum Harley MS. 4093 fol. 1^{R}-93^{R}. The manuscript dates from the 14th century, see: A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum, Vol. III, 1808, 114. On date of commentary, see B. Smalley, 'Thomas Waleys', art. cit., p. 87. On commentary see also, id. English Friars, 58, 59, 62-3. This story, commentary on I Cap. 19 fol. 6^{V}-7^{R}. (St. Augustine discussed the rape of Lucretia in I Cap. XIX of De civitate Dei, see ed. B. Dombart, Vol. I., Leipzig, 1921, 31-33: 'De Lucretia, quae se ob inlatum sibi stuprum peremit'.)

3. See: ed. Fribourg, 1494; (this printed edition, like the others, contains the commentary of Waleys, which extends from the first book till towards the end of the tenth, together with that of Trevet on the remaining books: see English Friars, [illegible], 89; the editions of this combined commentary are listed in: A. de Laborde, Les Manuscrits A Peintures De La Cité De Dieu De Saint Augustin, t. I, Paris, 1909, 139-146). Concerning this commentary, see: English Friars, 88-100. Date, see: p. 88. This story see commentary on I Cap. XIX. Sig.b 2^{Va} margin-b 3 fol. 1^{Ra} margin.

followed.[1] In these versions the sequence of events is narrated no further than the death of Lucrece, whereas in Gower's story events following upon her death are described as in the Fasti and Livy. Gower could not therefore have relied on the versions in these commentaries when he told this story.

In connection with the story of Lucrece, it should also be pointed out that Gower seems to have referred to the account of Livy at a point considerably earlier than that indicated by Macaulay, indeed, as far back as the end of the preceding story of 'Tarquin and his son Aruns'.[2] Gower here tells how Phoebus said that the first to kiss the earth would take revenge on Tarquin's wrong. Brutus understood this to mean the earth, and Gower said he kissed the earth: [3]

> For he knew wel in his entente
> Hou therthe of every mannes kinde
> Is Moder.

The description of the earth as mother of mankind is omitted in the account of the Fasti[4], but is included in that of Livy,[5]

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1. In Trevet's commentary the authority is Livy, see beginning of account in MS. cit. fol. 6^{V}; in the commentary of Waleys, the Fasti are also given as the authority, see beginning of account: ed. cit. sig. $b2^{Va}$ margin.

2. Confessio VII 4593-4753.

3. Ibid. VII 4729-4744. Quotation: l. 4742-4744.

4. II 687-720: Tarquin and his son; this incident l. 711-720.

5. I. 53~~4~~-54 (end). I. 56.-56 (end): Tarquin and his son. Quotation I.56.12.

in which Brutus is said to have kissed the earth 'scilicet quod ea communis mater omnium mortalium esset' (Bersuire's[1] translation: 'comme celle qui est mere commune de tous mortelz'). In the story of Lucrece, Gower says that after Lucrece had entertained Aruns to supper:[2]

> She broughte him to his chambre tho.

It is not said in the Fasti[3] that the son of Tarquin was brought to his room at this point, but in Livy[4] it is said of him: 'in hospitale cubiculum deductus est', a detail which is included in the accounts of Trevet[5] and Waleys.[6] (Bersuire's translation):[7] 'la ou len leut mene en sa chambre'.

In the passage in which Macaulay indicates Gower's use of Livy, it is said after the death of Lucrece:[8]

> ... thei anon withoute lette
> A Beere for the body fette;
> Lucrece and therupon bledende
> He ⟨Brutus⟩ leide, and so forth out criende
> He goth into the Market place
> Of Rome.

This detail is omitted in the Fasti,[9] but corresponds to that

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1. I Cap. 42-43 fol. 18^{Va}-19^{Rb}, and Cap. 45 fol. 19^{Rb-Va}: Tarquin and his son. This quotation: Cap. 45 fol. 19^{Va}.
2. Confessio VII 4953.
3. II 489-91.
4. I. 56.12-13.
5. Fol. 6^{V}.
6. Sig. b 2^{Vb}.
7. I Cap. 46 fol. 20^{Ra}.
8. Confessio VII 5098-5102.
9. II 847-50.

of Livy's account:[1] 'Elatum domo Lucretiae corpus in forum deferunt'. (Bersuire's translation:[2] 'Lors ont portie le corps de ladicte Lucresse au marchie'.)

Gower evidently knew of the version of events as related by Livy in both the stories of 'Tarquin and his son Aruns' and 'The Rape of Lucrece', and so it is not surprising that the 'Tale of Virginia' comes next in the sequence of stories in the seventh book of the Confessio Amantis, drawn as it also is from Livy's narrative. The stories of Lucrece and Virginia had already been linked by Livy, and so would have occurred naturally to Gower as successive stories in illustrations of chastity as a point of policy; Livy prefaces the story of Virginia as follows:[3]

> Sequitur aliud in urbe nefas, ab libidine ortum, haud minus foedo eventu quam quod per stuprum caedemque Lucretiae urbe regnoque Tarquinios expulerat, ut non finis solum idem decemviris qui regibus sed causa etiam eadem imperii amittendi esset.

Bersuire's translation:[4]

> En ce temps la il sourdit ung grant mal en la cite et toute la cause dicelluy fut par luxure de laquelle la fin fut aussi honteuse comme fut iadis la corruption de Lucresse qui fut cause de chasser les Roys Tarquiniens du Royaulme de Romme / car cest cy fust cause que les dix hommes perdirent leurs offices.

So much is reasonably certain. The difficulty is to decide whether Gower had access in some way to Livy in the

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1. I. 59.3.
2. I. cap. 47 fol. 20^{Vb}.
3. III 44.1.
4. II cap. 22 fol. 54^{Rb}.

original or in the translation of Pierre Bersuire. On the evidence available no firm conclusion can be reached on this point.

v. Gower's use of school text-books connected with the Disticha Catonis.

Section 1. Introduction.

In the thirteenth century, we find a series of six poetical works beginning with the Disticha Catonis used as a school text-book; the other texts are: the eclogue of Theodulus, the fables of Avianus, the elegies of Maximianus, the De raptu Proserpinae of Claudian and the Achilleis of Statius.[1] The two stories from the Achilleis told by Gower have already been discussed;[2] the story of 'The Travellers and the Angel' is derived from a fable of Avianus, and will be discussed in this section.

An example of a volume containing the series of six works, most probably of English origin, is British Museum, Royal MS. 15 A VII, and the series of six works was written down in the

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1. See: M. Boas, 'De Librorum Catonianorum Historia Atque Compositione', Mnemosyne, 42, 1914, 17-18. E.K. Rand, 'The Classics in the Thirteenth Century', Speculum 4, 1929, 260-261.

2. See discussion above, pp. 119-120, and see Confessio IV 1968-2013: 'The Education of Achilles'; cf. Achilleis, ed. A.O.W. Dilke, Cambridge, 1954, II l. 110-128. See also Confessio V 2961-3201: 'Achilles and Deidamia' and cf. Achilleis I l. 198-II l. 30.

thirteenth century.[1] It further seems likely that the collection of school text-books connected with the Disticha Catonis was in use in English schools in Gower's time, since we know that in 1358 William de Ravenstone, a master of St Paul's Almonry School, left to the school a volume containing the series of six poetical works, and it was one of a number of books very probably intended for use in the school.[2]

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1. MS. referred to by M. Boas, art. cit., 20. Date see ibid. The six poetical works are the first in the volume, and are followed by the poem 'Poeniteas cito' and Aesopic fables; cf. G.F. Warner and G.P. Gilson, British Museum, Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old King's and Royal Collections, II, 1921: Royal MS. 15 A VII, p. 143. An Assistant Keeper confirmed the origin of the manuscript.

2. See E. Rickert, 'Chaucer at School', Modern Philology, 29, 1931-2, pp. 257-9, and 266. This volume is an item in a book list found in an inventory attached to the will of William de Ravenstone; date, see 265. List, see pp. 265-270. The item is recorded as follows (266):

VII 13 Item librum Catonis
14 Theodoli
15 aviani
16 Maximiani
17 Stacij
18 Claudiani
19 Parvum doctrinale.
in uno volumine.

(Item 19 is the Liber parabalorum of Alain de l'Ille, see note.) It may be noted that Chaucer is thought to have used the series of school text-books connected with the Disticha Catonis; see: R.A. Pratt, 'Karl Young's Work on the Learning of Chaucer' in: A Memoir of Karl Young, New Haven, 1946, 52-3. Id. 'Chaucer's Claudian', Speculum, 22, 1947, 419-29. Id. 'The Importance of Manuscripts for the Study of Medieval Education, as Revealed by the Learning of Chaucer', Progress of Medieval and Renaissance Studies in the United States and Canada, Bulletin No. 20, 1949, 45-47. Cf. D. Everett, 'Some Reflections on Chaucer's "Art Poetical"', Essays on Medieval Literature, ed. P. Kean, Oxford, 1955, 153 n.

The travellers and the angel.[1]

Gower relates how Jupiter sent down an angel, who overtook two men, one of whom was covetous, and the other avaricious. The angel offered them a gift: the first man should have whatever he liked as a present; the second should have twice what was asked by the other. The covetous man, hoping to receive a double share, requested his companion to ask first. The envious man, realising this, asked to be blind in one eye, so that his companion would see nothing. His request was granted, and he made light of his one eye, since his companion had lost two (margin:

> Hic ponit Confessor exemplum presertim contra illum, qui sponte sui ipsius detrimentum in alterius penam maiorem patitur. Et narrat quod, cum Iupiter angelum suum in forma hominis, ut hominum condiciones exploraret, ab excelso in terram misit, contigit quod ipse angelus duos homines, quorum unus cupidus, alter invidus erat, itinerando spacio unius diei comitabatur. Et cum sero factum esset, angelus eorum noticie seipsum tunc manifestum dixit, quod quicquid alter eorum ab ipso donari sibi pecierit, illud statim obtinebit, quod et socio suo secum comitanti affirmat duplicandum. Super quo cupidus impeditus avaricia, sperans sibi divicias carpere duplicatas, primo petere recusavit. Quod cum invidus animadverteret, naturam sui vicii concernens, ita ut socius suus utroque lumine privaretur, seipsum monoculum fieri constanter primus ab angelo postulabat. Et sic unius invidia alterius avariciam maculavit).

This story is derived from a fable of Avianus, as pointed out by G.C. Macaulay.[2] A detail in Gower's story is however

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1. Confessio II 291-364.

2. See: Confessio II 291 ff. n. Avianus, Fabulae, ed. A. Guaglianone, 1958. Corpus Scriptorum Latinorum Paravianum. Fabula XXII: 'DE CUPIDO ET INVIDO'. 40-41.

not paralleled in the fable of Avianus; Gower says that the angel travelled in company with the two men:[1]

> And overtok, I understonde,
> Two men that wenten over londe,
> Thurgh which he thoghte to aspie
> His cause, and goth in compaignie.

(margin: '... angelus duos homines ... itinerando spacio quasi unius diei comitabatur!). In the fable, it is not said that Phoebus was the travelling companion of the two men. This detail is an addition, as is seen from the version of the fable in the Apologi Aviani - a mixed verse and prose version of the fables of Avianus edited by L. Hervieux from two manuscripts in the Bibliothèque National dating from the fourteenth century.[2] This version of the fable begins: 'Apollo, Cupidum et Invidum comites itineris sui habens,'.

Section 2. Introduction.

Texts apart from those already indicated were occasionally connected with the Disticha Catonis in the series of texts used as school text-books, as for instance Aesopic fables in the verse version of Walter of England - widely known as 'Aesopus'

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1. Confessio II 303-6.

2. In: Les Fabulistes Latins, t. III, Paris, 1894, 353-370. XXII - [CUPIDUS ET INVIDUS], 361-2. (Quotation: 361.) Edited from Paris, Bibl. Nat. Lat. 347^{B} and 347^{C}, see: p. 353. Date: see: Bibliothèque Nationale Catalogue Général Des Manuscrits Latins, t. 1er, (Nos. 1-1438) ed. P. Lauer, Paris, 1939, 347^{B}, p. 123, 347^{C}, p. 124. The Apologi Aviani are referred to by M. Manitius, Geschichte Der Lateinischen Literatur Des Mittelalters, Vol. III, Munich, 1931, 773.

after c. 1200 - and the Geta of Vitalis of Blois.[1] Gower's story of 'The mountain and the mouse' is an Aesopic fable, and the story of 'Geta and Amphitryon' is derived from the Geta; these stories will be discussed in this section.

The mountain and the mouse.[2]

Gower relates how a hill in Arcadia made a terrible noise, for it was in the throes of childbirth. The people all around

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1. Both the Aesopic fables and the Geta are found in the series in a book which was in the library of the Sorbonne at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and in a book noted by Richard de Fournival in the Biblionomia, see M. Boas, art. cit., 35-36. The Aesopic fables are noted by Boas as occurring in the series in cod. Pommerfeldensis 2671, 13th or 14th century (34-35), cod. olim Cheltenhamensis 215, saec. xiii (41), Paris Lat. 8460, saec. xiv (42), Berol. Lat. Oct. 87 saec. xiv (ibid.), Paris Lat. 8023, saec. xiv (43), Paris Lat. 8259, saec. xv (ibid.), Paris Lat. 11344 saec. xv (ibid.), Marc. Nan. 16 (43 n. 2). The references of Boas to Aesopus in these manuscripts are to Anonymus Neveleti (see 27), that is to say the work of Walter of England, concerning which see: M. Manitius, Geschichte Der Lateinischen Literatur, Part III, Munich, 1931, 771-773. In the case of cod. Berol. Oct. 87, the Latin prose collection of Aesopic fables known as the Romulus appears together with the work of Walter of England. In the case of Royal MS. 15 A VII, the manuscript most probably of English origin already referred to, a prose version of Aesopic fables which was written down in the fourteenth century was bound together with the series of six works and is the final item in the manuscript, but the fable of 'The mountain and the mouse' is not included; see: H.L.D. Ward, Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, Vol. II, reprinted 1962, 'Aesopic fables' Royal MS. 15 A VII, 'Table of Contents', 289-290. Date, 286. A part of the Geta is noted by Boas as occurring with the series of six poetical works in British Museum Additional MS., 21, 213, saec. xiii, of continental origin (20-21; I owe information concerning origin to an Assistant Keeper), and in cod. Berol. Diez B. Santen saec. xiv (23).

2. See: Confessio VII 3553-3575.

heard the noise, and feared destruction from something as yet unborn. Every man fled from his home in fear, but finally a mouse was born. Then they thought they were foolish because they feared without cause (margin:

> Hic loquitur secundum Philosophum, dicens quod sicut non decet Principes tirannica impetuositate esse crudeles, ita nec decet timorosa pusillanimitate esse vercordes').

Behind this story lies the same motif as that expressed in the line of the Ars Poetica of Horace:[1]

parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.

Gower says the story is 'lich a fable',[2] and it was one of the fables in the work of Walter of England,[3] which may have been written shortly before 1177:

DE TERRA PARIENTE MUREM

Terra tremit, tumor ille gemit gemituque fatetur
Partum, pene perit sexus uterque metu.
Cum timeat tellus monstrat se monstra daturam,
Unde homines trepidant et prope stare timent.
In risum tumor ille redit, nam turgida murem
Terra parit, iocus est qui fuit ille timor.
Moralitas.
Sepe minus faciunt homines, qui magna miniantur,
Sepe gerit nimios causa pusilla metus.
Addicio.

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1. See l. 139. 'Parturiunt' is a variant, see Horace, Opera, ed. H.W. Garrod, Oxford, 1947; Ars Poetica l. 139, apparatus criticus.

2. See: Confessio VII 3551.

3. Fables, ed. K. Mckenzie and W.A. Oldfather, in Ysopet-Avionnet: The Latin and French Texts, 49-207, University of Illinois, Studies in Language and Literature, V, November 1919, No. 4. This fable, XXIII, p. 92. Date, see M. Manitius, Vol. cit., 771.

Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus;
Inflati doctum facta pusilla docent.
Iactator magnus derisorem cito querit;
Promptus adest huic qui condere magna putat.

In Gower's version the story is told specifically of a hill, and it is told of a mountain in the selection of Aesopic fables included in the Speculum Doctrinale and Historiale by Vincent of Beauvais (the selection is the same in both works):[1]

> Item contra illos qui vanis rumoribus nimis terrentur, sic fingit. Quidam mons parturiebat, et gemitus magnos dabat; omnis natio ut audivit, timuit; cunctisque perturbatis nullus sui memor erat, mons ille tamen peperit Murem: huius fama volat, et quod malum putabat, in nichilum omnibus venit, quos timor invaserat.

Geta and Amphitryon.[2]

Gower relates how Geta thought he was secure in the love of Alcmene. While he was away, Amphitryon went to her chamber at night; Alcmene, thinking he was Geta, admitted him. When Geta came to the door, she told him to go, saying that her beloved was lying in her arms. So Amphitryon supplanted

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1. See: Speculum Doctrinale, Douai, 1624. Photomechanical reprint, Graz/Austria, 1965. Selection of Aesopic fables, see Cap. 114-123, col. 289-295. This fable in Cap. 118, col. 292: 'Item contra Pusillanimes'; Speculum Historiale, selection of Aesopic fables, III, Cap. II-VIII, 87b-90a. This fable in Cap. 4, 88b: 'Item de eodem contra Gulosos, timidos, pusillanimes, arrogantes'. The selection in the Speculum Historiale may also be found in L. Hervieux, Les Fabulistes Latins, t. II, Paris, 1894, 234-245. This fable, 238. Concerning the selection of Vincent of Beauvais, see L. Hervieux, op. cit., t. I, 1893, 434-5.

2. Confessio II 2459-2495.

Geta (margin:

> Qualiter Amphitrion socium suum Getam, qui Almeenam peramavit, seipsum loco alterius cautelosa supplantacione substituit).

As indicated by G.C. Macaulay, Gower here drew on the Geta (often called Amphitrion), a comoedia or comic verse tale of Vitalis of Blois, probably written c. 1150-1160.[1] In the Geta it is told how Amphitryon and his servant Geta were about to return home after their journey from Athens. Jupiter loved Alcmene, the wife of Amphitryon, and in Amphitryon's absence he came to her in the guise of Amphitryon, accompanied by Mercury (Archas) in the guise of Geta. Alcmene was deceived and mistook them for the actual Amphitryon and Geta. Meanwhile, Amphitryon sent Geta home in advance, but Geta was denied entry at the door by Mercury, who imitated Geta in appearance and voice. Geta returned to Amphitryon and told him what had happened. Amphitryon suspected there was an adulterer in his house, but, by his return home, the gods had departed. Alcmene told Amphitryon that it was Geta who had guarded the door, and that she had embraced Amphitryon and not an adulterer, or so it seemed to her, for her mind was often deluded by dreams. What she had seen was then attributed to her dreams, and Geta

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1. Ed. E. Guilhou in: La Comédie Latine En France Au XII^e Siècle, ed. G. Cohen, t. I, Paris, 1931, 34-57. Title and date, see 4 and 7. See also Corrigendum to Confessio II 2459 ff. n. (end of introduction). On comoediae see: F.J.E. Raby, A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages, vol. II, Oxford, 1957, 54-55.

was represented as mad, Amphitryon's suspicions thereby being allayed.

It is evident that Gower only had a vague recollection of the plot of the Geta, since in his version Geta takes over the role of Amphitryon, and Amphitryon takes over the role of Jupiter. The detail that Amphitryon counterfeited Geta's voice in Gower's story must have been suggested by the imitation of Geta's voice by Mercury in the Geta.[1]

Evidence that the Geta was known in England in Gower's day is supplied by two manuscripts in which it is found; the manuscripts are of English origin, one dating from the last quarter of the fourteenth century,[2] and the other from c. 1400.[3]

vi. Gower's use of Walter Map's Dissuasio Valerii ad Ruffinum philosophum ne uxorem ducat in the Confessio Amantis. Chastity of Valentinian.[4]

Gower relates how the King and Emperor Valentinian was a

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1. Confessio II 2745-7, and cf. Geta l. 251-258.

2. See: Bodley MS. 851 Geta, fol. 120^{Vb}-123^{Rb}. Date and origin, see: F. Madan and H.H.E. Craster, A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, Vol. II, Part I, Oxford, 1922: Bodley 3041 (old number) p. 574 (A).

3. See: British Museum MS. Cotton Titus A XX, Geta fol. 138^{R}-144^{R}. An Assistant Keeper confirmed the date. The provenance is thought to be in the region of Ramsey or Peterborough, see E. Faral, introduction to De Babione, Bibliothèque de L'École Des Hautes Études Sciences Historiques et Philologiques Fasc 293, 1948, xvii.

4. Confessio V 6395-6417.

hundred years old, and unmarried. Men wished to praise his deeds, when he had subjected kings and lands, but he said all that meant nothing compared with the fact that he had overcome his flesh; he was, as he said, a virgin (margin:

> Hic loquitur qualiter Valentinianus Imperator, cum ipse octogenarius plures provincias Romano Imperio belliger subiugasset, dixit se super omnia magis gaudere de eo, quod contra sue carnis concupiscenciam victoriam optinuisset; nam et ipse virgo omnibus diebus vite sue castissimus permansit).

The story is told by Walter Map in the Dissuasio Valerii, written perhaps about 1181:[1]

> Valencius (var. Valentinianus)[2] imperator octogenarius et adhuc virgo, cum audisset die fati sui preconia triumphorum suorum recoli, quibus ipse fuerat frequentissimus, ait se tantum una victoria gloriari, et requisitus 'Qua?' respondit 'Qua inimicorum nequissimum domui carnem meam'.

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1. See ed. M.R. James, in Walter Map, De Nugis Curialium, (the Dissuasio Valerii was circulated separately before its conclusion by Map in the De Nugis Curialium, see preface xxx), Anecdota Oxoniensia, Mediaeval and Modern Series 14, Oxford, 1914. Distinctio IV Cap. III-V, pp. 143-158, l. 6; quotation: 150 l. 10-14; passage referred to Confessio V 6398 ff. n. Date: see R.J. Dean, 'Unnoticed Commentaries on the Dissuasio Valerii of Walter Map', Medieval and Renaissance Studies, II, 1950, 128.

2. 'Valentinianus' was the reading of the author of the commentary on the Dissuasio Valerii found in Lambeth MS. 330, see M.R. James, preface, xxxiv; date, early fourteenth century, see R.J. Dean, art. cit., p. 134 n. 1. In a commentary on the Dissuasio Valerii attributed to Nicholas Trevet, it is stated: 'aliqui libri habent Valentinianus et aliqui Valencius et hec est litera vera, quia ipse non fuit imperator Romanus'; quoted by M.R. James from Lincoln College, Oxford, MS. 81, see preface cit xxxvii; concerning Trevet's authorship of the commentary, see R.J. Dean, art. cit. 131-150; the manuscript here cited by James is one of those belonging to the second redaction of this commentary, see R.J. Dean, art. cit. 138-139.

Hercules and Deianira.

G.L. Hamilton suggests that the contrast made by Gower in the poem between the 'Merveiles tuelve' (twelve labours) of Hercules and his wretched death, was inspired by a passage in the Dissuasio Valerii:[1] 'Duodecim inhumanos labores consumavit Hercules: a terciodecimo, qui inhumanitatem excessit, consumptus est'. Hamilton also indicates the parallel between Gower's statement about Deianira:[2]

> That whan sche wende best have wonne,
> Sche lost al that sche hath begonne,

and the allusion to her in the Dissuasio Valerii:[3] 'sibique processit ad lacrimas quod ad leticiam machinata est'.

Emperors and virgins.[4]

Gower relates how the Emperor of Rome was to honour virgins, and when he met them was to stand aside (margin:

> Hic loquitur de virginitatis commendacione, ubi dicit quod nuper Imperatores ob tanti status dignitatem virginibus cedebant in via).

This story is told by St. Jerome in Adversus Jovinianum:[5]

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1. See: G.L. Hamilton, 'Studies in the Sources of Gower,' I, The Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 26, 1927, 499-500. Confessio V 1088-1100. Dissuasio Valerii 154 l. 12-14.

2. G.L. Hamilton, art. cit., 500 n. 47. Confessio II 2289-90.

3. 154 l. 5-6.

4. Confessio V 6359-6366.

5. See: P.L. t. 23 ed. J.P. Migne, 1883, col. 283; I. 41; reference Confessio V 6359 ff. n; (inadvertently to II.41).

> Certe Romanus populus quanto honore virgines semper habuerit, hinc apparet, quod consules et imperatores, et in curribus triumphantes, qui de superatis gentibus trophaea referebant, et omnis dignitatis gradus, eis de via cedere solitus sit.

Gower gives 'Valerie' as authority:[1]

> Of Rome among the gestes olde
> I finde hou that Valerie tolde.

G.L. Hamilton suggests that this is a wrong citation of the Dissuasio Valerii,[2] which sometimes circulated under the name of Valerius or Valerius Maximus;[3] the story does not appear in this work, but it would not be surprising if Gower were here referring to it instead of to Adversus Jovinianum, since both works are anti-feminist tracts. In the Mirour de l'Omme, Gower had named Jerome as authority for the story.[4]

Conclusion.

There is no improbability in suggesting that Gower knew the Dissuasio Valerii, since it was read in the schools, as is shown by the fact that there are a number of commentaries on it.[5] This work, consisting as it does of anti-feminist

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1. Confessio V 6359-60.
2. See: G.L. Hamilton, 'Some Sources of the Seventh Book of Gower's Confessio Amantis', Modern Philology, IX, 1912, 340.
3. See R.J. Dean, art. cit., 128.
4. See ed. G.C. Macaulay, The Complete Works of John Gower, Vol. I, Oxford, 1899; this story l. 17119-17124. Reference: Confessio V n. cit.
5. Concerning commentaries, see: M.R. James, preface xxi-xxxviii, and R.J. Dean, art. cit.

examples, seems a curious choice for reading in the schools. Gower could have known the story of Valentinian from it, his details concerning Hercules and Deianira may have been inspired by it, and his reference to 'Valerie' as authority for the story of 'Emperors and virgins' may be further evidence that he knew the work.

vii. Tale of the false bachelor[1]

As J. Alton and L. Thorpe have indicated,[2] Gower's story parallels the one in Le roman de Marques de Rome,[3] which is a sequel to The Seven Sages of Rome, the last possible date for which is 1278.[4]

viii. Phrixus and Helle[5]

G.C. Macaulay points out[6] that this story was told by

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1. Confessio II 2501-2781.

2. See: ed. J. Alton, Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 187, 1889; XI. L. Thorpe, 'A Source of the "Confessio Amantis",' The Modern Language Review, 43, 1948, 175-181.

3. Text see ed. cit., p. 109 l. 11-111 l. 2, also given as parallel text by L. Thorpe, art. cit., 176-179.

4. Date, see: L. Thorpe, art. cit., 180 n. 3. For discussion of stories in the Confessio Amantis which parallel those in The Seven Sages of Rome, see below, pp.196-207.

5. Confessio V 4243-4361.

6. Ibid. V 4251 n.

Hyginus,[1] with the difference that the mother of Phrixus and Helle provides the ram with the golden fleece on which her children are to flee;[2] in Gower's version, Juno provides it.[3] Another variation indicated by Macaulay is that the form of the mother's name in the version of Hyginus is 'Nebula',[4] whereas in Gower's version she is called 'Philen',[5] which corresponds to 'Nephele'. With regard to the first of these variations, in the version of the story of the Mythographus Primus,[6] Juno warns Phrixus of his impending flight with his sister, after his father has sent him to bring the ram with the golden fleece.[7] With regard to the second variation, the name 'Nephele' is given to the mother of the children in the versions of the story given by the Mythographus Primus,[8] and by Alberic of London in the Poetarius.[9] Gower's detail of Nephele's death before the marriage of Athamas and Ino,[10] is paralleled in the Poetarius.[11]

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1. Fabulae ed. H.I. Rose, Leyden, 1933; cap. I.1, II.1-2, III.1-2.

2. See Cap. III.1.

3. Confessio V 4332-4345.

4. See Cap. I.1, II.1, III.1.

5. Confessio V 4251, and margin.

6. See: Scriptores Rerum Mythicarum Latini Tres Romae Nuper Reperti, ed. G.H. Bode, Vol. I, Celle, 1834, 8; No. 23: 'Phrixus and Helle'.

7. P. 8, l. 23-26.

8. P. 8, l. 9 and 13.

9. Ed. G.H. Bode, Scriptores Rerum Mythicarum Latini, Vol. I, cit.; 'Phrixus and Helle', p. 253, l. 20-31 (No. 15.1). 'Nephelen', l. 21.

10. Confessio V 4258-4274.

11. P. 253, l. 22-23.

ix. Jupiter's two tuns[1].

G.C. Macaulay indicates the passage in the Roman de la Rose[2] in which Jupiter's two tuns are described. In some manuscripts of the Roman,[3] a line describing the tuns as bitter and sweet is included:

L'uns est dous e l'autre amers.

Gower's 'swete tonne' and 'biter tonne'[4] parallel this line, as does his description of the first tun as 'dulcissimi' and of the second as 'amarissimi' in the margin. Gower similarly described the tuns as 'douls' and 'amier' in the Traitié.[5] The tuns are again mentioned in a later passage of the Roman,[6] where they are described not only as bitter and sweet, but also as clear and troubled:[7]

Don l'uns est clers, li autres troubles.

Similarly, Gower describes how the blind butler Cupid:[8]

Yifth of the trouble in stede of cler
And ek the cler in stede of trouble.

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1. Confessio VI 330-380. These tuns are also mentioned later, Confessio VIII 2252-2258.

2. Ed. E. Langlois, t. 3, 1921, S.A.T.F.; l. 6813-6834. Confessio VI 330 n.

3. See: l. 6815, critical apparatus.

4. Confessio VI 365 and 371.

5. The Complete Works, ed. G.C. Macaulay, Vol. I, Oxford, 1899, 389; the two tuns XV.2; l. 11 and 12: 'douls' and 'amier'.

6. l. 10627-10634.

7. l. 10632.

8. Confessio VI 360-361.

x. Bacchus in the desert.[1]

Gower tells how Bacchus leads a great army in the East, and is victorious. On the way home from the campaign, in Libya, they are without water, and nearly die of thirst. Bacchus prays to Jupiter to quench their thirst, and grant them a safe return home. Bacchus then sees a ram kicking the ground, and a fountain springs up from the upturned earth. Everyone drinks his fill, and Bacchus has a temple built in the same place (margin:

> Et narrat in exemplum quod, cum Bachus de quodam bello ab oriente repatrians in quibusdam Lubie partibus alicuius generis potum non invenit, fusis ad Jovem precibus, apparuit ei Aries, qui terram pede percussit, statimque fons emanavit).

E. Stollreither points out that this story occurs in Servius' commentary on the Aeneid.[2] There are two versions of the story in the commentary, of which the second, that of Servius Danielis, includes the detail of the ram digging up the earth. This version runs:

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1. Confessio VI 399-439.

2. See: E. Stollreither, 'Quellen-Nachweise zu John Gower's Confessio Amantis', 1. Teil, Diss., Munich, 1901, 57-58. Servius, commentary on Aeneid, IV.196; Servius' commentary on Virgil, Vol. I, ed. G. Thilo, Leipzig, 1881, 498.

> Liber, vel ut alii dicunt Hercules, cum Indos peteret, et per deserta Libyae, hoc est per Xerolibyam, exercitum duceret, fatigatus siti Iovis patris imploravit auxilium: cui ille arietem ostendit, quem secutus ille pervenit ad locum quendam, in quo aries terram pede suo scalpsit, e quo loco fons manavit. unde factum est, ut Iovi Ammoni, ab arenis dicto, templum cum simulacro cum cornibus arietinis constitueretur.

Gower does not state that Bacchus followed the ram, as is stated in the version just quoted; this detail is also omitted in the first version in the commentary.

Gower's details that Bacchus was victorious in the East, and that he was returning home after the campaign, resemble details in the version of the story of the Mythographus Secundus:[1] 'Liber ... Indiam sibi subjugavit ... Inde revertens'.

G.C. Macaulay refers to the version of the story in Hyginus' Astronomica.[2] However, no mention is made in this version of Bacchus' campaign in the East, of Libya, or of Bacchus' prayer to Jupiter.

xi. The story of Zoroaster.[3]

In this story, told as an example against magic, Gower relates how 'Zorastes', the inventor of magic, laughed as soon

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1. Ed. G.H. Bode, Scriptores Rerum Mythicarum Latini Tres Romae Nuper Reperti, Vol. I, Celle, 1834, 102: 'Liber'.

2. Ed. B. Bunte, Leipzig, 1875, 60-61. II Cap. XX ('Aries'), story of Liber. Confessio VI 399 ff. n.

3. Confessio VI 2367-2376.

as he was born. This was a sign of ensuing disaster; a King of 'Surrie' slew him (margin:

> Nota qualiter Rex Zorastes, statim cum ab utero matris sue nasceretur, gaudio magno risit; in quo prenosticum doloris subsequentis signum figurabatur: nam et ipse detestabilis magice primus fuit inventor, quam postea Rex Surrie dira morte trucidavit, et sic opus operarium consumpsit).

The same story is told in St. Augustine's De civitate Dei:[1]

> Solum, quando natus est, ferunt risisse Zoroastrem, nec ei boni aliquid monstruosus risus ille portendit. Nam magicarum artium fuisse perhibetur inventor; quae quidem illi nec ad praesentis vitae vanam felicitatem contra suos inimicos potuerunt: a Nino quippe rege Assyriorum, cum esset ipse Bactrianorum, bello superatus est.

This story was probably a familiar example against magic in Gower's time, for Deschamps gives the story of Zoroaster's death at the hands of Ninus as an example against sorcery and allied arts in the Demoustracions contre sortileges.[2]

xii. The story of Apollonius of Tyre.[3]

The Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri is thought to take its derivation from either a Greek or Latin original version. According to one view, it is derived from a lost Greek Romance of the third century A.D., which was translated into Latin;[4]

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1. Ed. J.E.C. Welldon, Vol. 2, London, 1924, 574; XXI. Cap. XIV (B). See also: Confessio VI 2368 n.

2. See: ed. G. Raynaud, Oeuvres complètes de Eustache Deschamps, t. VII, 1891. S.A.T.F., 193; 'Comment Zozastres qui trouva ces ars fut tué par Nynus'.

3. Confessio VIII 271-2008.

4. See: E. Rohde, Der Griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer, Leipzig, 1900, 435-453. Rohde moots the possibility of a Latin original written in imitation of Greek Romance before advancing the theory of a Greek original.

according to another opinion, it is derived from an original third century Latin work.[1] The first lost Latin version of the Historia is thought to have been Christianised in the fifth century,[2] and the earliest surviving manuscripts are Christianised versions of the story. The Historia was popular, and from it were derived both the shortened versions of the story, such as that of Godfrey of Viterbo in the Pantheon,[3] and that of the Gesta Romanorum,[4] as well as numerous vernacular versions.

At the beginning of the story in the Confessio Amantis, Gower refers to the version in the Pantheon:[5]

> Of a Cronique in daies gon,
> The which is cleped Pantheon,
> In loves cause I rede thus,

Despite this reference, E. Klebs[6] and G.C. Macaulay have shown[7]

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1. See: E. Klebs, Die Erzählung von Apollonius aus Tyrus, Berlin, 1899, 187-277, 294-322.

2. See: E. Klebs, op.cit., p. 227.

3. The versions of the Pantheon were written between 1185 and 1190; see: L. Meyer, Les Légendes des Matières de Rome, de France et de Bretagne dans le 'Pantheon' de Godefroi de Viterbe, Paris, 1933, 13-18. The story of Apollonius from the 11th Particula is printed with the variations of the three redactions by S. Singer, in Apollonius von Tyrus, Halle, 1895, 153-177.

4. Ed. H. Oesterley, Berlin, 1872. Cap. 153 (510-532).

5. Confessio VIII 271-3.

6. E. Klebs, op.cit. 462-471.

7. Confessio VIII 271 ff. n. Among the details mentioned by Macaulay as occurring in the Historia and the Confessio but not in the Pantheon are the problem of Antiochus and the names Cerimon and Theophilus. However, in the text of the story in the Pantheon given by Singer, the 'Problema Antiochi' appears (154), and has most probably been interpolated into the text (see 154 footnote). The name Cerimon

(continued on following page)

that the main source for Gower's narrative was the Historia itself, and that he used the abbreviated version of the story in the Pantheon only to supplement the full account of the Historia.

xiii. Stories of Aristotle and Virgil as lovers. Aristotle and the Queen of Greece.

In the eighth book of the Confessio Amantis, Gower tells how he saw Aristotle in the company of lovers led by 'Elde' (Age):[1]

> I syh there Aristotle also,
> Whom that the queene of Grece so
> Hath bridled, that in thilke time
> Sche made him such a Silogime,
> That he foryat al his logique;
> Ther was non art of his Practique,
> Thurgh which it mihte ben excluded
> That he ne was fully concluded
> To love, and dede his obeissance.

The outline of the story to which Gower makes reference may be given as follows: Aristotle advises his pupil against the company of a certain woman, and in consequence Alexander shuns her. The woman finds out the reason for this, and determines to have her revenge upon Aristotle. She entices and

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is a variant of the second redaction (161 verses 82, 85, 87), and the name Theophilus is a variant of the second or third redaction (164 verse 116, second redaction, and margin, variant of second or third redaction).

1. Confessio VIII 2705-2713.

captivates him; she says that she will recognise his love if he will let her ride him as though he were a horse. He consents, whereupon Alexander appears on the scene. Aristotle nevertheless insists on the soundness of his advice to Alexander, maintaining that love has deceived him, an old man, and that the young Alexander should take warning from his example.

The three earliest known versions of this story are: Le Lai d'Aristote of Henri d'Andeli, which was probably written before 1230,[1] an exemplum from the Sermones feriales et communes of Jacques de Vitry, written between 1229 and 1240,[2] and an exemplum in the Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus of Étienne de Bourbon, written between 1250 and 1261[3] (Étienne gives Jacques de Vitry as the authority for his story).

Gower's reference to the 'queene of Grece' is paralleled in both the exemplum versions of the story mentioned; in them, the woman is queen ('regina'),[4] and is Alexander's wife. In

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1. Ed. M. Delbouille, Paris, 1951. Bibliothèque de la Faculte de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, Fasc. 123. Date, 30. Versions of the story: 37-38. Macaulay alludes to this version: Confessio VIII 2705 ff. n.

2. See: ed. J. Greven, Heidelberg, 1914, 15-16. Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte, ed. A. Hilka, 9. Exemplum 15: 'De Aristotele et uxore Alexandri'. Quoted by Delbouille, 39-40.

3. Quoted by Delbouille, 40. Date, see: J. Th. Welter, L'Exemplum dans la Littérature Religieuse et Didactique du Moyen Age, Paris, 1927, 115.

4. Jacques de Vitry, p. 16, l. 2 and 14. Étienne de Bourbon, l. 4 and 12.

the Lai, on the other hand, she is Alexander's friend ('amie'),[1] and love of her has detained him in recently conquered India.[2]

Gower's detail of the bridling of Aristotle is found neither in the Lai nor the exemplum versions; (in the Lai he is saddled).[3] This detail is paralleled in the Lamentationes of Matheolus, written between 1295 and 1301;[4] in the outline of the story here, the bridling of Aristotle by the woman is described as follows:

> cui frenum sive capistrum
> Instar equi posuit.

In the translation of the Lamentationes by Jehan le Fèvre, composed in 1371 or 1372,[5] this is rendered:

> Ou chief luy mist frain et chevestre.

Gower's reference to logic and 'Practique' is paralleled in the Lai and in the Lamentationes; in the former work, the maiden says that neither dialectic nor grammar will avail

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1. l. 98 and 115.
2. l. 85-101.
3. l. 434-5, 440-442, 449-450.
4. Parallel text in Vol. I of: Les Lamentations de Matheolus et le Livre de Leesce de Jehan le Fèvre, de Resson, ed. A.G. van Hamel, Paris, 1892. Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Sciences Philologiques et Historiques, Fascicule 95. Bridling of Aristotle: I l. 463-465. Whole passage relating to story: I l. 459-499. The whole passage is quoted by: A. Borgeld, Aristoteles en Phyllis, Groningen, 1902, 14-15. Date: Les Lamentations, Vol. 2, Fasc. 96, 1905, 126.
5. See: Les Lamentations, Vol. I, parallel text, Livre Premier l. 1088. Whole passage relating to story: l. 1079-1152. Date: Les Lamentations, vol. 2, 182.

Aristotle against her,[1] and in the latter work, Aristotle's major works of philosophy, as well as the whole of logic, the 'trivium' and the 'quadrivium' are said to serve a woman.[2]

Aristotle's inclusion in the company of 'Elde' is natural, since he is an old man in all the versions of the stories mentioned.[3]

These details show that Gower was drawing on a known version of the story, but it is not possible to indicate his direct source. It does not seem likely that he followed the narrative of Le Lai d'Aristote, since the details of the woman as queen and the bridling of Aristotle are both omitted in this version.

This story was sufficiently familiar in England to be the subject of carvings on misericords of choir stalls.[4] On two misericords, in Exeter and Chichester Cathedrals, Aristotle is

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1. l. 248-249.

2. l. 459-462. Compare translation, l. 1080-1084, where there is no mention of the 'trivium' or 'quadrivium'.

3. Aristotle is a 'viellarz' in Le Lai d'Aristote, see l. 437. He is a 'senex' in Jacques de Vitry's exemplum, 16, l. 19, Étienne de Bourbon's exemplum, l. 13, and the Lamentationes (I l. 483, 485 and 489). ('Le viellart' in the translation, l. 1125.)

4. See: W. Stammler, in Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte, ed. O. Schmitt, Vol. I, Stuttgart, 1937. 'Aristoteles': 'Aristoteles und Phyllis in der abendländischen Kunst': col. 1030-1039. - In England, col. 1035. F. Bond, Wood Carvings in English Churches, I - Misericords, London, 1910, 81-83. M.D. Anderson, The Medieval Carver, Cambridge, 1935, 103-104.

represented in the position of a horse, with horses' hooves;[1] the approximate date of the misericords in Exeter Cathedral is 1255-1279, and of those in Chichester Cathedral 1330.[2] The representations on these two misericords show that the story was so well known in England that it could be recognised without depicting the woman of the legend.[3] On a misericord which was in the church of St. Katharine, which was situated by the Tower of London,[4] a lightly clad figure is depicted riding a man-headed animal, and this figure may well be a representation of the legend;[5] the misericords in this church

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1. For photographs of the misericord in Exeter Cathedral see: F. Bond, op. cit., 81, and M.D. Anderson, op. cit., Plate XIII (opposite p. 104). For a photograph of the misericord in Chichester Cathedral, see: F. Bond, op. cit., 83.

2. See: F. Bond, op. cit., 226.

3. See: F. Bond, op. cit., 82, and M.D. Anderson, op. cit., 103.

4. The church stood within the Precinct of the Royal Hospital of St. Katharine, an area now occupied by St. Katharine's Dock. On the destruction of the church and hospital in 1825, the choir stalls on which the misericords are found were moved to the chapel of St. Katharine's Hospital, Regent's Park, and they were moved again to the chapel of the Royal Foundation of Saint Katharine, Ratcliffe, London, E.14, which was built in 1951. On the locality, and history of Saint Katharine's Hospital until 1951, see C. Jamison, The History of the Royal Hospital of St. Katharine by the Tower of London, London, 1952 (particularly pp. xiii and xiv, 5, Plates I and II, and 168-171). On its history from 1951, see guide pamphlet, The Royal Foundation of Saint Katharine, published by The Royal Foundation of St. Katharine, (no date), particularly 12-13.

5. See: M.D. Anderson, op.cit., 104. For illustrations of the misericord, see: A.C. Ducarel, History of the Royal Hospital and Collegiate Church of St. Katharine, Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica, Vol. II, Item I, London, 1790, Plate XIX, No. 18 (opp. p. 113). J.B. Nichols, Account of the Royal Hospital and Collegiate Church of St. Katharine, near the Tower of London, London, 1824, Plate opp. p. 34, first illustration.

have been assigned to the fourteenth century,[1] and Gower could easily have seen them, as the church of St. Katharine was near his lodgings in the Priory of the church of St. Mary Overeys, Southwark.[2]

Virgil and the Emperor of Rome's daughter[3]

Virgil follows Aristotle in the company of 'Elde':

> And ek Virgile of aqueintance
> I sih, wher he the Maiden preide,
> Which was the doghter, as men seide,
> Of themperour whilom of Rome;

J.W. Spargo has given the following account of the story to which Gower here makes reference:[4]

> Virgil fell in love with the emperor's daughter - any emperor will do - who pretended to reciprocate his affection, and arranged for a meeting which could be brought about only by Virgil's ascending her tower in a basket drawn up by a rope, since normal access to

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1. See: C. Jamison, op. cit., Plate V: 'Misericords of Choir Stalls, Fourteenth Century'. It is probable that the choir stalls were set up by John de Hermesthorpe, who became Master of Saint Katharine's Hospital by about 1368, and remained until the winter of 1411-1412; see ibid. 35. Dates of Hermesthorpe as Master: see pp. 33, 40, and Appendix 5, p. 190. In the booklet, The Royal Foundation of Saint Katharine, cit., it is stated that the choir stalls were made in 1369, and were probably put in the church in 1377 (see p. 18).

2. On Gower's lodgings, see: J.H. Fisher, John Gower, Moral Philosopher and Friend of Chaucer, London, 1965, 58-60. (The church of St. Mary Overeys is the present Southwark Cathedral.)

3. Confessio VIII 2714-2717.

4. See: J.W. Spargo, Virgil the Necromancer, Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, X, 1934, 136-137.

> her was carefully guarded. The rejoiced lover entered the basket, but his crafty mistress drew him only half way up, and left him hanging there all the next day, to the great merriment of the people. Released after hours of torment, Virgil resolved on revenge. He extinguished all of the fires in Rome, and when after three days the emperor approached him to learn how they might be restored, the magician replied that the only means of relief lay in the public humiliation of the emperor's daughter. She must appear naked in the public square and permit the populace to kindle their torches at her person. Moreover, the enchantment would continue until everyone had visited the lady, for one torch kindled from her would not light another.

Possibly the earliest instance of the story of Virgil in the basket is the Latin prose narrative occurring in a thirteenth century manuscript.[1] In this version Virgil is enamoured of the daughter of Nero, Emperor of Rome. He persuades her to fix a time and place convenient for the fulfilment of his desires. He comes to her dwelling-place at night, is drawn up in the basket, and is left hanging in mid-air. He is sentenced to death by the Emperor, but escapes; the remaining part of the story concerns his revenge on the Emperor's daughter.

Gower's statement that Virgil 'the Maiden preide',[2] may be a reference to Virgil's persuasion of the Emperor's daughter,

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1. See: J.W. Spargo, op. cit., 145. The narrative is printed on 372-373. The manuscript in which the narrative occurs is Paris BN. lat. 6186. The narrative occurs as a separate item: 18°. 'Narratio, quomodo Virgilius fecit exire ignem de vulva filiae Neronis'. The date of the manuscript is given by J.W. Spargo, op. cit., 145.

2. Confessio VIII 2714-5.

and such persuasion is described at the beginning of the Latin prose narrative, which runs:[1]

> Legitur in gestis[2] Romanorum quod mirabilis prerogative specialis Virgilius, magice facultatis scientia circumspectus, Neronis tunc imperatoris romane urbis familiaris extitit; cujus filiam elegantis forme titulo resplendentem, sicut assolet, carnali concupiscentie stimulo precordialiter adamavit, qui sine precibus inducens, ab ipsa diligentis instantie articulis impetravit ut prefata Neronis filia ei locum atque tempus prefigeret oportunum, in quo prefatus magister virginis prescripte amplo desiderio fungeretur.

It is seen that in the narrative quoted above the story is told on the authority of Roman history, 'Legitur in gestis Romanorum', an instance of the application of the authority of Roman history to a story which is not derived from Roman history. Another instance is the application of the title Gesta Romanorum to a collection of stories which for the most part had nothing to do with Roman history.[3] An example of another story not derived from Roman history which is prefaced by the words 'Legitur in gestis Romanorum' occurs as one of the Gesta Romanorum.[4] It is here told how discord arose between two brothers, and how one brother destroyed the lands of the other.

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1. See: J.W. Spargo, op. cit., 372.
2. 'gestibus' in Spargo's text.
3. See: B. Smalley, English Friars and Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century, Oxford, 1960, 3, 183.
4. See: ed. H. Oesterley, Berlin, 1872. Cap. 39, 338-339. 'De reconciliatione dei et hominis', ed. W. Dick, Erlanger Beiträge Zur Englischen Philologie, VII, 1890: Cap. 86, pp. 52-53: 'De fratribus discordantibus'.

The Emperor Julius seriously objected to the persecuting brother, who, realizing that he had offended the Emperor, sought his brother's pardon. This he obtained, his brother saying that the injury inflicted on him was sufficiently avenged because his pardon had been asked. The same story was told in the Convertimini of Robert Holcot, where it is also prefaced by the words 'Legitur in gestis Romanorum'.[1]

In the version of the story in L'Image du Monde,[2] only the part of the story concerning Virgil's revenge on the Emperor's daughter is narrated. The whole story is told in Le Roman de Renart le Contrefait,[3] but in this version the lady is not named as the Emperor's daughter.

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1. See, R. Holcot, Convertimini, British Museum, Royal MS. 7.C.I, fol. 107^{Vb}. The story was noted as having the authority 'Legitur in gestis Romanorum' by J.A. Herbert, in: Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, Vol. III, London. Reprinted 1962: Convertimini, Royal 7.C.i. No. 60, p. 125. Herbert also referred to the version in the Gesta Romanorum as having the same authority.

2. See: (extract) in: D. Comparetti, Virgilio nel Medio Evo, ed. G. Pasquali, Vol. 2, Florence, 1946. Appendix IV: 179-182. This story: 180, l. 41-42. The first version of this work was completed in 1245, and the second appeared in 1247; see: O.H. Prior, Introduction to Caxton's Mirrour of the World, E.E.T.S., E.S. 110, 1913, ix.

3. Ed. G. Raynaud and H. Lemaitre, 2 Vols., Paris, 1914. This story: Quatrième Branche: l. 24903-29534 (Vol. II, 71-73).

The context of Gower's reference to Aristotle and Virgil as lovers.

In the Confessio Amantis Gower makes two references to Aristotle and Virgil as lovers. In the sixth book[1] Solomon, Samson, David, Virgil and Aristotle are said to have been unable to withstand the might of love. In the eighth book[2] David, Solomon, Samson, Aristotle, Virgil, 'Sortes', Plato and Ovid are lovers in the company of 'Elde'. 'Sortes' is Socrates. 'Sortes' was a well known form of Socrates current in the schools;[3] it occurs, for instance, in the Introductiones in logicam of William of Shyreswood, thought to have been written in the first half of the thirteenth century,[4] in the Summulae Logicales of Peter of Spain, most likely to have been written before 1246,[5] and in the Sumule Dialectices of Roger Bacon,

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1. Confessio VI 88-99. 2. Ibid. VIII 2689-2719.

3. G.C. Macaulay believed that it was impossible that 'Sortes' could stand for Socrates (see Confessio VIII 2718n.); the correspondence of 'Sortes' to Socrates was a fact not as well known in his time as it is now, though C. Thurot had noted that 'Sortes' was a form current for Socrates in the language of scholasticism; see: 'Notices Et Extraits De Divers Manuscrits Latins Pour Servir A L'Histoire Des Doctrines Grammaticales Au Moyen Age', Notices Et Extraits Des Manuscrits De La Bibliothèque Nationale Et Autres Bibliothèques, t. 22, Part II, 1868, p. 106 n.1.

4. See: ed. M. Grabmann, Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1937, Hft 10. Date, see 17. 'Sortes' occurs throughout the work, e.g. p. 33, l. 18, 19 and 35, p. 34, l. 27.

5. See: ed. J.P. Mullally, Publications in Medieval Studies. The University of Notre Dame, 1945. Date: xv. 'Sortes' occurs throughout the work, e.g. p. 2, l. 5, p. 4, l. 41.

er's two lists of lovers here under discussion are
ed by similar lists in French poems. In Guillaume
ut's La Fonteine Amoureuse, for instance, which was
at the end of 1360, or during the first half of 1361,[3]
ys that she makes the wise man play the fool and the
man humble, and she gives as examples Solomon, David,Aristotle,
nd Virgil, referring to the incident of the Emperor's
in connection with the latter. In a French poem,
a fourteenth century manuscript, the same lovers are
ith the addition of Adam and Hippocrates, and reference
to the riding of Aristotle by a woman.[4] In a lay of
Deschamps, probably written c. 1382,[5] Solomon, Ovid,

: ed. R. Steele, Oxford, 1940; Opera hactenus inedita
eri Baconi. Fasc. XV. Date, xiv. 'Sortes' p. 197, l.32.

Peter of Spain, op. cit., 20 l. 17.

E. Hoepffner, Oeuvres de Guillaume de Machaut, t. III,
l, S.A.T.F., 207-208; l. 1817-1832. Date, see xxvii-xxx.
sage quoted by R. de Cesare in: 'Di Nuova Sulla Leggenda
Aristotele Cavalcato', Miscellanea del Centro di Studi
ievali, N.S. LVIII, 1956, 196-197.

Chabaille quoted the list in his edition of Latini's
sor, Paris, 1863, xvi, and it was also quoted by A.
geld in: Aristoteles en Phyllis, Groningen, 1902, 13.
e, J.W. Spargo, op. cit., 382-3.

Le Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire, No. 306, IIIe Lay,
vres Complètes de Eustache Deschamps, t. 2, 1880, S.A.T.F.,
; l. 155-159. Date, see G. Raynaud, Oeuvres, t. XI,
3, 35, n. 7. The passage is included in R. de Cesare's
tation, art. cit., 203-204.

David, Aristotle and Virgil are included in a company of lovers. In Deschamps' Le Miroir de Mariage, begun in 1381, and broken off probably in 1389,[1] Samson, Solomon, Aristotle, Plato, Socrates, Ovid and Virgil are included among the ancient sages who let their wives gain the upper hand, or were deceived by women.

These examples show that Aristotle, Virgil and the figures accompanying them in Gower's two lists were stock figures in similar lists. Gower could have known of such lists from contemporary French poems, and their occurrence in these poems shows that they were commonplace at the time he was writing.

xiv. Remaining stories relating to classical antiquity.[2]

The following stories told by Gower in the poem have not been discussed, since an account of their sources would not extend the range of source works mentioned in connection with other stories: 'Demetrius and Perseus',[3] 'Constantine and Silvester',[4] 'Aeneas and Lavinia',[5] 'Galba and Vitellius',[6]

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1. Ed. G. Raynaud, Oeuvres Complètes de Eustache Deschamps, t.IX, 1894, 181-182; l. 5528-5553. Date see Oeuvres, t.XI, 199. Passage quoted by R. de Cesare, art. cit., 205-206.

2. See also below 'Stories paralleling those in The Seven Sages of Rome and Pantheon', and V. 'Beast fables', pp.196-219.

3. Confessio II 1613-1681.

4. Ibid. II 3186-3496.

5. Ibid. IV 2183-2189.

6. Ibid. VI 537-595.

'Cataline',[1] 'Alcestis',[2] 'the Consul Carmidotirus',[3] "Spertachus" and Thamaris',[4] and 'Caligula'.[5]

I have been unable to trace the source of: 'The delicacy of Nero',[6] 'Caesar's answer',[7] and 'Cruelty of Leontius'.[8] The story of Dionysius and his horses[9] is in fact that of Diomedes and his horses, as indicated by G.C. Macaulay, and Gower probably knew it from an account of the twelve labours of Hercules.

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1. Ibid. VII 1595-1628.
2. Ibid. VII 1917-1943.
3. Ibid. VII 2845-2889.
4. Ibid. VII 3417-3513.
5. Ibid. VIII 199-212.
6. Ibid. VI 1151-1227.
7. Ibid. VII 2449-2486.
8. Ibid. VII 3267-3294.
9. Ibid. VII 3341-3354, see also n. on l. 3341.

II. STORIES CONNECTED WITH THE BIBLE.

i. Moses' Ring of Oblivion[1]

In his confession of forgetfulness, the Amans declares that no sloth shall hinder him from thinking of his lady,[2] though he had on a ring such as Moses made by enchantment in Ethiopia after his marriage to Tarbis. This ring was named 'Ring of Oblivion', because whoever wore it totally forgot his love. Moses went away, and Tarbis forgot his existence from that day.

These lines parallel a passage in Peter Comestor's Historia Scholastica,[3] in which it is related how Moses was engaged in a campaign against the Ethiopians, and married Tarbis, daughter of the King of Ethiopia. When Moses wanted to return to Egypt, his wife would not consent. Then Moses, just like a man expert in knowledge of the stars, engraved two images on two precious stones, of such virtue that one brought memory, the other forgetfulness. He set these precious stones in two identical rings, gave the ring of forgetfulness to his wife, and kept the other himself. Then his wife began to forget her love for him, and he returned to Egypt without hindrance.

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1. Confessio IV 647-664.
2. Ibid. IV 639-646.
3. Ibid. IV 647 n. Historia Scholastica, Exodus, Cap. VI: 'De uxore Moysi Aethiopissa', P.L. t. 198, ed. J.P. Migne, 1855, col. 1144.

The version in the Historia Scholastica became the usual source of the story; it is repeated in the Speculum Historiale[1] and in Holcot's commentary on the Wisdom of Solomon.[2] The Historia Scholastica version corresponds more closely to Gower's lines than the version in Godfrey of Viterbo's Pantheon.[3] In the Pantheon, the ring is not specifically named 'Ring of Oblivion' as in Gower's lines; in the Historia Scholastica the ring is named 'oblivionis anulum'. In the Pantheon, also, Moses is not said to have made the rings; Gower says that Moses made the ring, and in the Historia Scholastica he is the artificer of the rings.

ii. Saul and the Pythoness[4].

In this story, told as an example against sorcery, Gower tells how Saul died after consulting the 'Phitonesse' (margin: 'Nota de Saule et Phitonissa').

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1. See: ed. Douai, 1624. Photomechanical Reprint, Graz, 1965. II: Cap. 2: pp. 47^{a}-48^{b}: 'De uxore illius Aethiopissa'. This version is referred to by H. Oesterley in his edition of the Gesta Romanorum (Berlin, 1872) Cap. 10 'Ring der Vergessenheit', p. 715 (notes).

2. See: ed. Basle, 1586, Cap. VIII, Lectio 113 (pp. 381-382).

3. See ed. J. Pistorius and B.G. Struve, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum, t. II, Ratisbonae, 1726, Pars V; Sections 'Moses uxorem duxit' and 'Moses revertitur de Aethiopia in Aegyptum', p. 86^{a-b}.

4. Confessio VI 2384-2390. The story is told in more detail in Confessio IV 1935-1962.

This story is derived from the first book of Samuel.[1] Gower's application of the story was traditional. Peter of Blois, who died in 1212, cited it as an example in a letter directed against augury and allied arts.[2] Deschamps mentioned Saul as one of the Kings overthrown because of divination in the Demoustracions contre sortileges.[3]

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1. I. Samuel XXVIII, 7-25, XXXI, 1-6.

2. See Epistola LXV ('Ad Socium et amicum. Argumentum.-Docet amicum, non esse licitum auguriis, somniis, visionibus, fortuitis eventibus, vel aliis modis velitis, futurorum explorare notitiam'), P.L. t. 207 ed. J.P. Migne, 1904, col. 193: 'Sic Saul, dum Pythonissam consulit, cum filiis in montibus Gelboe meretur interfici'. Reference to this letter: G. Raynaud, Oeuvres complètes de Eustache Deschamps, t. XI, 1903, S.A.T.F., 154. On letters of Peter of Blois, see: M. Manitius, Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters, Part III, Munich, 1931, 295. Date, see: R.W. Southern, 'Some New Letters of Peter of Blois', The English Historical Review, 53, 1938, 412.

4. See: ed. G. Raynaud, Oeuvres complètes de Eustache Deschamps, t. VII, 1891. S.A.T.F., 196, 'Autre exemple de pluseurs roys'.

III. MEDIEVAL STORIES,

i. The tale of Florent[1],

The tale of Florent belongs to a type of story which has as its theme the transformation of an ugly hag into a beautiful maiden. Stories of this kind are known as 'loathly lady' tales.[2] Motifs common to loathly lady tales and the tale of Florent have been described by S. Eisner.[3]

Three loathly lady stories most closely resemble the tale of Florent. They are The Wife of Bath's Tale, The Weddynge of Sir Gawen and Dame Ragnell, a romance probably of the mid-fifteenth century,[4] and The Marriage of Sir Gawain, a ballad surviving in fragments which is probably of the fifteenth century.[5] G.C. Macaulay points out the similarity between these versions of the story and the tale of Florent.[6] Since the relationship

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1. Confessio I 1407-1861.

2. For studies of stories of this type, see: G.H. Maynadier, The Wife of Bath's Tale, Its Sources and Analogues, London, 1901. S. Eisner, A Tale of Wonder, A Source Study of the Wife of Bath's Tale, Wexford, 1957.

3. S. Eisner, op. cit., 62-72.

4. Ed. L. Sumner, Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, Vol. 5, No. 4, 1924. Date, vii.

5. Ed. in: English and Scottish Popular Ballads edited from the collection of F.J. Child by H.C. Sargent and G.L. Kittredge, London, 1904, 54-58. Date, 55.

6. Confessio I 1407 ff. n.

between the stories of Gower and Chaucer, the romance and the ballad has been the subject of detailed study, it is not necessary to examine them in more detail.[1]

ii. The tale of Constance.[2]

The tale of Constance belongs to a type of story which has as its theme the false accusation and persecution of an innocent queen.[3] The source of Gower's tale is the story of Constance in Nicholas Trevet's Anglo-Norman Chronicle, written after 1334. The Chronicle is a universal history extending from the creation until the time of the writer.[4] The story of Constance is included in the account of the reign of the Emperor Tiberius Constaninus.[5]

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1. See: F. Görbing, 'Die Ballade The Marriage of Sir Gawain in ihren Beziehungen zu Chaucer's Wife of Bath's Tale und Gower's Erzählung von Florent', Anglia, 23, 1901, 405-423. G.H. Maynadier, op. cit., 1-24, 129-146. L. Sumner, ed. cit., xiii-xxvi. S. Eisner, op. cit., 45-90.

2. Confessio II 587-1612.

3. For a discussion of this type of story see: M. Schlauch, Chaucer's Constance and Accused Queens, New York, 1927. M. Schlauch in: Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, ed. W.F. Bryan and G. Dempster, New York, 1958. 'The Man of Law's Tale', Introduction: 155-161. Particularly: 156-157, 160-161.

4. For a study of the Chronicle see: D.M. Legge, Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background, Oxford, 1963, 298-302.

5. For texts of Trevet's story see: The Life of Constance from the Anglo-Norman Chronicle of Nicholas Trivet (after A.D. 1334), ed. E. Brock, Originals and Analogues of some of the Canterbury Tales, Chaucer Society, Second Series, 7, 1872. (Reprinted 1928), 2-53. Trivet's Life of Constance, ed. M. Schlauch, in Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, cit., 165-181.

The source of Chaucer's story of Constance in the Man of Law's Tale is also the Anglo-Norman Chronicle. The relationship of the versions of Trevet, Gower and Chaucer has been the subject of study. E. Lücke compared these versions, and concluded that Chaucer made use of Gower's story as well as of Trevet's.[1] G.C. Macaulay quotes Lücke's view, but dissents from it.[2] In his opinion, Chaucer's tale was probably written earlier than Gower's, and Gower had read Chaucer's story before writing his own. Subsequent scholars have inclined to the view that The Man of Law's Tale was written at a later date than Gower's tale of Constance, and that Chaucer made some use of Gower's story.[3]

iii. Pope Boniface.[4]

Gower relates how 'Celestin' was chosen Pope after Nicholas. A cardinal, called 'Boneface' who desired the Papacy, was envious and carried out a ruse; he arranged that a young clerk of his should lie within the Pope's chamber at night. He told the clerk that when the Pope was asleep he should sound

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1. E. Lücke, 'Das Leben der Constanze bei Trivet, Gower und Chaucer', Anglia, 14, 1892, 77-122, 147-185; particularly 183-185.

2. Confessio II 587 ff. n.

3. J.S.P. Tatlock, The Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works, Chaucer Society, Second Series, 37, 1907, 183-187. M. Schlauch, Chaucer's Constance and Accused Queens, 132-4. Idem. Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, 155-156. F.N. Robinson, The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, London, 1957, 692 (note on 'The Man of Law's Tale').

4. Confessio II 2803-3040.

a brazen trumpet as though it were a voice from heaven and say that the Pope should resign his office, and that his soul should thus be saved. The clerk did this, and the Pope thought it was the will of God that he should resign. The Pope asked the consistory how any Pope could cease to be Pope according to the law. 'Boneface' said that if the Pope ordained such a law, he might cease to be Pope. The law was confirmed by decree of the Pope, who then resigned the Papacy. 'Boneface' succeeded him, and quarrelled with 'Lowys', King of France, saying he should do "bodily" homage to the Church, which he refused to do. The French sought to harm 'Boneface', and it happened that there was a knight 'Sire Guilliam de Langharet', who saw that the Pope was at 'Avinoun', and intended to ride out of the town to 'Pontsorge', a castle of his in Provence. The knight captured 'Boneface', who was then imprisoned in a tower where he ate his hands for hunger and died. It is said of 'Boneface' that his entry was sly as the fox, his reign proud as the lion, and his death like that of the hounds (margin:

> Hic ponit Confessor exemplum contra istos in causa dignitatis adquirende supplantatores. Et narrat qualiter Papa Bonefacius predecessorem suum Celestinum a papatu coniectata circumvencione fraudulenter supplantavit. Set qui potentes a sede deponit, huiusmodi supplantacionis fraudem non sustinens, ipsum sic in sublime exaltatum postea in profundi carceris miseriam proici, fame que siti cruciari, necnon et ab huius vite gaudiis dolorosa morte explantari finali conclusione permisit).

~~1. Confessio II 2803-3040.~~

Gower could have known the main outline of this story from Higden's Polychronicon,[1] but there are several variant details which show that he must have known another version of the story. These details are the ruse of the brazen trumpet, the naming of the French king, the terms of the Pope's quarrel with the king, the presence of the Pope at Avignon, his castle 'Pontsorge' in Provence, and his imprisonment and manner of death. So far, these details have not been found in any medieval source. With regard to the brazen trumpet, Macaulay quotes a passage from the Chronicon Citizense of Paul Lang, the first version of which was completed in 1516, and the second between 1518 and 1520; Celestine is here said to have been persuaded to resign the Papacy by a ruse of Benedictus Caietanus (later Pope Boniface VIII):[2]

> Per fistulam etiam frequentius noctu in cubili per parietem missam, velut coelica vox esset, loquebatur ei: 'Celestine, Celestine renuncia papatui, quia aliter salvari non poteris nam vires tuas excedit'.

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1. See Vol. VIII ed. J.R. Lumby, 1888, Rolls Series. VII Cap. 38, p. 270 (Celestine follows after Nicholas), and VII Cap. 40, pp. 282-286. Passage referred to: Confessio II 2803 n.

2. See ed. in Rerum Germanicarum Scriptores ed. J. Pistorius and B.G. Struve, t. I, Ratisbone, 1726, year 1294, pp. 1190-1191; the Chronicon Citizense is the chronicle of Zeitz, Saxony. Date, see K.E.H. Müller, 'Das Chronicon Citizense des Benediktinermönches Paul Lang im Kloster Bosau und die im derselben enthaltenen Quellen. Ein Beitrag zur Historiagraphie des 16. Jahrhunderts', Neues Archiv für Sächsische Geschichte und Altertumskunde, 13, 1892, 285, 286. See also, V. Redlich, 'Paul Lang', Lexikon Für Theologie Und Kirche, Vol. VI, 1961, col. 783. Also, Confessio n. cit.

With regard to the manner of the death of Boniface, he quoted from the Vitae Et Res Gestae Pontificum Romanorum Et S.R.E. Cardinalium, of Alfonso Ciaconius, who was preparing the work for print when he died, probably on 4th February 1599; it is here said that the Pope, before he died:[1] 'digitos momordit; ... per plures dies ira fervidus manus sibi arrodere videbatur'.

iv. The legend of Grosseteste as artificer of a speaking brazen head.[2]

The story is told as follows:

For of the grete Clerc Grossteste
I rede how besy that he was
Upon clergie an Hed of bras
To forge, and make it forto telle
Of such thinges as befelle.
And seven yeres besinesse
He leyde, bot for the lachesse
Of half a Minut of a hour,
Fro ferst that he began laboure
He lost all that he hadde do.

Nota adhuc super eodem Astrologo, qui quoddam opus ingeniosum quasi ad complementum septennio perducens, unius momenti tardacione omnem sui operis diligenciam penitus frustravit.

The only known earlier version of the legend of the speaking head applied to Grosseteste is the one given by Ranulf Higden

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1. See: ed. A. Oldoini, t. 2, Rome 1677; col. 301 (Bonifacius VIII Pont. CXCV An. 1294). Date, see: M.H. Laurent, 'Chacon', Dictionnaire D'Histoire Et De Géographie Ecclésiastiques, t. 12, Paris, 1953, col. 263. See also H. Jedin, 'Ciaconius', in: Lexikon Für Theologie Und Kirche, Vol. II, 1958, col. 1200.

2. Confessio IV 234-243.

in the Speculum Curatorum, written in 1340:[1]

> Item quomodo potest res mortua conferre scientiam quam numquam habuit? Ex quo patet ridiculosum esse quod aliqui ydiote imponunt Lincolniensi[2] ipsum utque per artem suam caput eneum sub certis constellationibus malleasse, quod quidem certa responsa sub certis horis reddere.[3]

Higden's reference to the story shows that it was in the air in this period. Other versions of the legend of the speaking head will now be given, and their relationship with the story as applied to Grosseteste will be considered.[4]

The earliest known example of the story of a fabricated speaking head occurs in William of Malmesbury's Gesta Regum Anglorum, the first version of which was completed between the

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1. See: British Museum, Harley MS. 1004 (incomplete) fol. 23^{Rb}. This passage is found in the discussion of 'cultura imaginum' fol. 23^{Ra-Va}. Date, see: J. Taylor, The Universal Chronicle of Ranulf Higden, Oxford, 1966, 4. List of manuscripts of this work, see ibid. 182. This version of the story is referred to by G. Owst, in: 'Sortilegium in English Homiletic Literature of the Fourteenth Century', Studies Presented to Sir Hilary Jenkinson, ed. J. Conway Davies, London, 1957, 286.

2. MS. 'Lincolinensi'; Grosseteste was called 'Lincolniensis', see: D.A. Callus, 'Robert Grosseteste as Scholar', in: Robert Grosseteste Scholar and Bishop, Essays, ed. D.A. Callus, Oxford, 1955, 69.

3. MS. 'redderi'; 'reddere' in version of the story in (Speculum Curatorum) Balliol MS. 77 fol. 17^{Rb}.

4. For an account of versions of the legend of the fabricated speaking head, see: A. Dickson, Valentine and Orson, A Study in Late Medieval Romance, New York, 1929, 205-216 (Gower's version, 211). See also: F.S. Stevenson, Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, London, 1899, 56-58.

summer of 1124 and the spring of 1125.[1] Here it is told how Gerbert (Pope Silvester II from 999-1003), made a speaking head by observing the stars at a time when the stars were about to begin their courses. The head gave him a misleading reply about his death, and he realised its deception before he died. The story was applied to Virgil in the Image du Monde;[2] the speaking head was one of the marvellous artefacts made by Virgil by means of astronomy.[3] Virgil, like Gerbert, was misled by a reply of the head, in accordance with which he met his death. In the application of the story to Albertus Magnus in the Rosaio della Vita, a moral treatise attributed to Matteo de' Corsini and written in 1373,[4] Albertus, like Gerbert, is said to have made a speaking statue by observation of planetary courses. The head is broken in his absence.

Some of the details of the legend as applied to Grosseteste

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1. See: ed. W. Stubbs, 2 Vols., 1887, 1889, Rolls Series. Speaking head story: Vol. I, 202-3, Liber II §172. 'De capite statuae loquentis'. Date of work, see preface Vol.I xliv-xlv. This version is discussed by A. Dickson, op. cit., 205-7.

2. See: (extract) in: D. Comparetti, Virgilio nel Medio Evo, ed. G. Pasquali, Vol. II, 1946, 179-182. Story of speaking head l. 89-110 (p. 181). This version is discussed by A. Dickson, op. cit., 207-8.

3. Artefacts made by astronomy, see Image du Monde, extract cit. l. 11-15.

4. Ed. F.-L. Polidori, Florence, 1845. This story: Cap. II SAPIENTIA (B), pp. 15-16. This version is discussed by A. Dickson, op. cit., 213-214.

are paralleled in the other versions. In these versions, the artificer made the speaking head or statue by astrological or astronomical observation, just as in Higden's version, Grosseteste made the head 'sub certis constellationibus', and in Gower's version, Grosseteste is referred to as an astrologer (margin: 'Nota ... de quodam Astrologo'). The head made by Virgil, according to the Image du Monde, answered Virgil's questions about everything 'Qui en terre avenir pooit' (which might happen on earth).[1] Gower uses a similar phrase when he says that Grosseteste was engaged in making the head:

'telle
Of such thinges as befelle'.

The fact that the head has taken many years' labour to construct is a feature of the account of Albertus Magnus in the Rosaio della Vita; Albertus says it has taken him thirty years to make the head.[2] In Gower's version, Grosseteste applied seven years' labour to the making of the head.

In both Higden's and Gower's versions, Grosseteste made a brazen head; the first known mention of a speaking brazen head is found in the testimony of a witness at the trial of the Templars in London in 1310, in which it is stated that a certain Templar had a two-faced speaking brazen head.[3] In

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1. Extract cit., l. 89-92. Line quoted, l. 92.

2. Ed. cit., p. 16.

3. See D. Wilkins, Concilia Magnae Britannicae et Hiberniae, 1268-1349, Vol. 2, London, 1727: 'Acta Contra Templarios in regnis Angliae, Scotiae et Hiberniae': p. 358: col. 2.
(continued on following page)

the fourteenth century, brass became the normal metal from which speaking heads were said to have been made.[1] For instance, in the story of Virgil's speaking head in Le Roman de Renart le Contrefait,[2] the head is made of brass.

The similarity of detail between the legend as applied to Grosseteste and the other versions shows the influence exerted by the other legends on that of Grosseteste; it is probable that Gower's story in turn influenced later versions of the legend. Richard of Bardney, in his verse life of Grosseteste, written in 1503, attributed the construction of a brazen speaking head to Grosseteste.[3] Bardney tells how the head fell while it was being set up in a certain order and, pressed down by its own weight, was broken.[4] Gower hints at

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Testimony of first witness. Date and place of trial, see A. Dickson, op. cit., p. 208, and D. Wilkins, Vol. cit., p. 356, col. 2.

1. On brass as the metal of the speaking head, see: A. Dickson, op. cit., pp. 208-210.

2. See: ed. G. Raynaud and H. Lemaitre, 2 Vols., Paris, 1914. Story of Virgil's speaking head: Quatrième Branche, l. 29593-29640 (Vol. 2, 73-4). Head made of brass, l. 29593. Version mentioned by A. Dickson, op. cit., 208.

3. See: Richard of Bardney, Vita Roberti Grosthed, Episcopi Lincolniensis, in H. Wharton, Anglia Sacra, part 2, London, 1691, 325-341. Cap. xx: (333): 'De aeneo capite, quod Oxoniae fecit Grosthede ad dubia quaeque determinanda'. Date, see: J.C. Russell, 'Richard of Bardney's Account of Robert Grosseteste's Early and Middle Life', Medievalia et Humanistica, Fasc. II, 1944, 45. Gower's story mentioned, 48. On Bardney's life, see also, D.A. Callus, 'Robert Grosseteste as Scholar', cit., 1-2. G.C. Macaulay mentioned this version, Note to Confessio IV ~~324~~234.

4. See: Anglia Sacra Vol. II, cit., 333. Bardney's life of Grosseteste, Cap. xx, l. 13-16.

such an accident when he says that Grosseteste lost all his labour through 'lachesse' or negligence. In the attribution of the legend of the speaking brazen head to Roger Bacon in The Famous Historie of Fryer Bacon, a prose romance written probably towards the end of the sixteenth century,[1] it is narrated how the head is broken while Bacon and Bungay were asleep, and here the negligence which lost Grosseteste the benefit of his labour in Gower's version is again paralleled.[2] An additional detail in Robert Greene's play The Honorable Historie of Frier Bacon and Frier Bongay,[3] written probably at the end of 1591 or the beginning of 1592, is that it took Bacon the same time as Grosseteste in Gower's version to make the speaking brazen head - seven years; when he awoke to find it broken, he said that seven years' study lay in the dust.[4]

The question of how the legend came to be applied to

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1. See: (extract) in: Introduction to Frier Bacon and Frier Bongay, (6-13), in: The Plays and Poems of Robert Greene, ed. J.C. Collins, Vol. II, Oxford, 1905. Chap. V: 'How Fryer Bacon made a Brasen head to speake, by the which hee would have walled England about with Brasse', 6-9.

2. cf. A. Dickson, op. cit., 213: 'Gower's story of Grosseteste, though but an outline, would serve equally well as an outline of the Elizabethan story of Bacon: Bacon, too, lost the fruit of his labour through a moment of procrastination.'

3. See: Act IV, l. 1545-1550: in: The Plays and Poems of Robert Greene, ed. J.C. Collins, Vol. II, Oxford, 1905, 61. Date, see Vol. cit. p.l.

4. See Act IV, l. 1625-8 (p. 64).

Grosseteste remains to be considered. The application of the legend to the figures in the other versions can be explained without difficulty. Gerbert had a reputation for magic, was interested in astrology and mechanical contrivances, and made many astronomical models.[1] The speaking head was only one of the automata with which Virgil was credited.[2] Albertus Magnus was interested in speaking and moving automata.[3] In the case of Grosseteste, no such ready-made explanation may be offered, but it is possible that the name Grosseteste could have suggested this association with the legend of the speaking head. It is also possible that his reputation for astrological learning in the fourteenth century, mentioned by Higden in the Polychronicon,[4] had something to do with the application of the legend to him; Higden says that Grosseteste is one

> qui in cunctis liberalibus artibus excellenter eruditus, praecipue in logica, ethica et astrologia, plurima commentatus est.

At the same time, Higden himself considered that this legend of Grosseteste was worthy only of 'ydiote', half-wits or fools.[5]

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1. See: A. Dickson, op.cit., 206-7.

2. On Virgil's automata see: J.W. Spargo, Virgil the Necromancer, Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, X, 1934, 117-135.

3. See: J.W. Spargo, op. cit., 133.

4. See: ed. J.R. Lumby, Vol. VIII, London, 1882, Rolls Series, 240. VII. Cap. XXXVI.

5. See above quotation from Speculum Curatorum, cit. See also 'ydeotus' 'ydeota', R.E. Latham, Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources, London, 1965, 233.

v. The tale of Rosiphelee[1]

The tale of Rosiphelee belongs to a type of story which has as its theme a warning against the refusal of love.[2] The warning is given by showing the reward granted in after-life to those who were once obedient to love, and the punishment meted out to those who once rejected love. The earliest form of the story is found in a Breton lai, Le Lay du Trot,[3] and in the De Amore[4] of Andreas Capellanus, written between 1186 and 1196.[5]

G.C. Macaulay mentions the story told by Andreas Capellanus in the De Amore in connection with the tale of Rosiphelee, but remarks that the story 'is different in many ways from that of Gower'.[6] In fact, the lai version of the story resembles Gower's story more closely than the De Amore version. It will now be shown that the lai and Gower's story share similar details of narration which are lacking in the De Amore.

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1. Confessio IV 1245-1446.

2. For a discussion of this type see: W.A. Neilson, 'The Purgatory of Cruel Beauties', Romania, 29, 1900, 85-90. E.M. Grimes, 'Le Lay du Trot', The Romanic Review, 26, 1935, 313-317.

3. Ed. E.M. Grimes, art. cit., 317-321.

4. See: ed. E. Trojel, 2nd ed., Munich, 1964. This story: Liber I. Cap. VI D* 91-108.

5. See: J.F. Benton, 'The Court of Champagne as a Literary Center', Speculum 36, 1961, 551-591. Andreas Capellanus: 578-582. Date of De Amore, 579.

6. Confessio IV 1245 ff. n.

In the lai, the knight Lorois rises one April morning.[1] On his way to the forest to hear the nightingale sing, he comes to the bank of a river which flows through a meadow.[2] In Gower's version, Rosiphelee rises one May morning and comes to a glade through which a river runs.[3] In the De Amore version, the setting of the story is quite different: a nobleman is separated from his companions during the heat of a summer's day, and finds himself alone in a meadow. No mention is made of a river.[4]

In the lai, Lorois sees a company of ladies riding from the forest[5] on white horses.[6] The ladies seen by Rosiphelee in Gower's version ride white horses on the edge of a wood.[7] In the De Amore, the first company of ladies seen by the nobleman do not ride in a forest or wood, and their horses are not described as white.[8]

The third company of ladies seen by Lorois is mounted on black horses,[9] with saddles in poor condition.[10] The woman whom Rosiphelee sees following after the first company rides a black horse,[11] with a very bad saddle.[12] In the De Amore,

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1. l. 25-28.
2. l. 63-67.
3. Confessio IV 1283-1291.
4. 91-92.
5. l. 77-79.
6. l. 99.
7. Confessio IV 1305-1311.
8. 92-93.
9. 153.
10. 169-170.
11. Confessio IV 1343.
12. Ibid. IV 1350.

the horses ridden by the third company are not described as black, and the ladies ride without saddles.[1]

In the lai, the lady from the third group who explains the meaning of the vision to Lorois, says that she can hardly speak well because she must hurry.[2] In Gower's version, the lady who explains the vision to Rosiphelee also says she must hurry.[3] In the lai, the lady explains that the first company are those who once served love loyally.[4] In Gower's story, the lady also explains that the first group were once love's servants.[5] In the De Amore, the lady who explains the vision to the nobleman does not say she must hurry, neither does she call the ladies in the first group the servants of love.[6]

Finally, both the visions of Lorois and of Rosiphelee end with the lady's explanation; in the De Amore the story is further elaborated.[7]

A comparison of narrative details of the three versions of the story shows the similarity between the lai version and Gower's story. This similarity suggests that the tale of Rosiphelee was derived from Le Lay du Trot. The derivation of Gower's story from a Breton lai is feasible from a literary

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1. 94.
2. 1. 237-240.
3. Confessio IV 1380.
4. 1. 247-248.
5. Confessio IV 1375-1376.
6. 96-97.
7. 98-108.

historical standpoint; it is known that Breton lais were popular in England during the first half of the fourteenth century, and that their popularity declined in the second half of the fourteenth century, until Chaucer's pseudo-Breton lai, The Franklin's Tale, revived interest in them in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.[1] The derivation of Gower's story from Le Lay du Trot would be a further sign of the revival of interest in Breton lais at this time.

vi. Tale of Babio and Croceus.[2]

Gower relates how Babio loved Viola. Babio, who has a servant named Spodius, is represented as a miser who was rich in goods but poor in love. It happened that Croceus, a liberal open-handed man also loved Viola, who, preferring his liberal ways to Babio's meanness, left the niggard Babio for Croceus (margin:

> Hic loquitur contra istos, qui Avaricia stricti largitatis beneficium in amoris causa confundunt. Et ponit exemplum, qualiter Croceus largus et hilaris Babionem avarum et tenacem de amore Viole, que pulcherrima fuit, donis largissimis circumvenit).

As indicated by G.C. Macaulay, this tale is paralleled in

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1. See: L.H. Loomis, 'Chaucer and the Breton Lays of the Auchinleck MS.', Studies in Philology, 38, 1941, 14-17. A.J. Bliss, Introduction, 14-15, to Thomas Chestre, Sir Launfal, London, 1960.

2. Confessio V 4806-4862.

the De Babione, a comoedia, probably of English origin, dating from the last third of the twelfth century.[1] The narrative in the first half of the De Babione provided Gower with his story;[2] it is told how Babio loved Viola, and knew that Croceus sought her; Viola pretended to Babio that she did not love Croceus, and told Babio that she was his, but in reality she wanted to be seized and taken from Babio. Croceus came with the intention of taking Viola away, and Babio made Fodius his servant prepare a parsimonious meal for Croceus and his friends, which he offered to them as though it were a rich banquet. Viola did not refuse Croceus and he carried her off. The second part of De Babione is not drawn on by Gower;[3] here it is told how Fodius and Petula, Babio's wife, were lovers, and how all Babio's threats to Fodius because of this were ignominiously defeated by Fodius and Petula.

Gower has singled out the parsimonious side of Babio, which, in De Babione, is delineated in the incidents centred on the meal[4] and is explicitly pointed out when Fodius comments on the meal and Babio, saying finally of Babio:[5]

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1. Ed. E. Faral, Bibliotheque de L'École des Hautes Études Sciences Historiques et Philologiques Fasc. 293, 1948. Date, lviii; origin lviii-lx. See also: Confessio V 4808 ff.n.

2. Part I, l. 1-216.

3. Part II, l. 217-end.

4. Part I, l. 99-108, 113-118, 141-150.

5. Babio's comments, see l. 113-118: quotation l. 118.

Cum fueris largus, fiet asellus equus.

The characterisation of Croceus as typifying liberality in contrast to Babio's meanness is original to Gower's story.

Apart from Gower, another English writer of the fourteenth century who had read the De Babione was Robert Holcot, who quoted the final couplet in his commentary on the Wisdom of Solomon:[1]

Teste Babione qui fine comoediae suae dicit sic:

> Babio testis adest, haec ultima verba tenete,
> Sunt incredibiles uxor alumna cliens.

vii. The legend of Tristan.

Gower relates the incident of the love-potion from the legend of Tristan:[2]

In every mannes mouth it is How Tristram was of love drunke With Bele Ysolde, whan thei drunke The drink which Brangwein hem betok, Er that king Marc his Eem hire tok To wyve, as it was after knowe.	Hic de amoris ebrietate ponit exemplum, qualiter Tristrans ob poteum, quem Brangweyne in navi ei porrexit, de amore Bele Isolde inebriatus extitit.

The narrative context of this incident in the legend of Tristan may be gathered from the account in the prose Tristan; this romance was written during the 13th century,[3] superseding

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1. See: ed. Basle, 1586. Cap. II Lectio 38, p. 136. Referred to by E. Faral, lviii.

2. Confessio VI 470-475.

3. The 'First Version' of the romance was written between 1225 and 1235; the 'Second Version' belongs to the second half of the 13th century: see E. Vinaver, 'The Prose Tristan', in Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages, ed. R.S. Loomis, Oxford, 1959, 339.

the poetical versions of the legend of Tristan.[1] It is related how Tristan asks the King of Ireland for his daughter Yseut as wife for King March, his uncle. His request is granted.[2] The queen, Yseut's mother, gives Gouvernal, Tristan's guardian, and Brangien, Yseut's attendant, a vessel from which King March and Yseut are to drink.[3] They put to sea on their voyage to Cornwall, the kingdom of King March. Tristan feels thirsty during the voyage, and asks to drink. He is inadvertently given the love-potion. After he has drunk from it, he offers it to Yseut, and as soon as they have drunk, they are in love. Gouvernal notices what has happened, and tells Brangien that Tristan and Yseut have drunk the love-potion.[4] Yseut subsequently marries King March.[5]

Gower states that Brangwein gives Tristram and Ysolde the love-potion, a detail which is not explicitly stated in the version of the prose Tristan. In Sir Tristrem, a late thirteenth century romance,[6] Brengwain gives the potion to Ysonde, and she asks Tristrem to begin, in order to try it.[7]

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1. See E. Vinaver, art. cit., 346.

2. La Grant Ystoire de Monsignor Tristan 'Li Bret', (the first part of the Prose Romance of Tristan), ed. F.C. Johnson, Edinburgh, 1942, 28, pp. 30-31.

3. Ibid. 29, p. 31.

4. Ibid. 30, pp. 31-32.

5. Ibid. 35, particularly p. 48.

6. For date see: R.W. Ackerman, 'Sir Tristrem', in Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages, cit., 514.

7. Ed. G.P. Mcneill, The Scottish Text Society, 8, 1885-1886. Lines referred to: 1666-1670. The love-potion scene: l. 1660-1683. Marriage of Ysonde and Mark: l. 1704-1707.

Gower refers to the legend of Tristan again in the eighth book of the Confessio Amantis; Tristram and Ysolde are first in the company of lovers of which 'Youthe' is the captain.[1]

viii. Dante and the flatterer.[2]

In this story it is related how Dante tells a flatterer that he has more servants than Dante has himself since the poet has no-one to clothe and feed him, whereas a flatterer may rule a king:

> Hou Dante the poete answerde
> To a flatour, the tale I herde.
> Upon a strif bitwen hem tuo
> He seide him, 'Ther ben many mo
> Of thy servantes than of myne.
> For the poete of his covyne
> Hath non that wol him clothe and fede,
> But a flatour may reule and lede
> A king with all his lond aboute'.

Nota exemplum cuiusdam poete de Ytalia, qui Dante vocabatur.

Scholars have indicated that this story is derived from an anecdote in Petrarch's Rerum Memorandarum Libri, written between 1343 and 1345;[3] G. Papini includes Gower's story in the section of his book relating to Petrarch's anecdote and subsequent versions of the anecdote.[4] Petrarch relates that

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1. Confessio VIII 2500-2501. 2. Ibid. VII 2329*-2337*.

3. Ed. G. Billanovich, Florence, Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di F. Petrarca, Vol.V, Part 1a, 1943, 98-99; II (Moderna) 83, 1-3. See also: P. Toynbee, Dante in English Literature from Chaucer to Cary (c.1380-1844), 2 Vols., London, 1909; Vol. I, 17; C. Dédéyan, Dante en Angleterre, Vol. I, Paris, 1961, 51-52.

4. G. Papini, La Leggenda di Dante. Motti, Facezie e Tradizioni dei Secolo XIV-XIX, Lanciano, 1911, 57-58.

when Dante first lived as an exile at the court of Can Grande he was held in honour, but that he came to please his lord less every day. In the same company with Dante were actors and rascals of every kind, and one of them, who was very free with obscene words and gestures, won favour with everyone. Can Grande told Dante that he was surprised how such a fellow, though a fool, knew how to please everyone, whereas Dante, who was said to be wise, was unable to do this. Dante replied that Can Grande would not have been in the least surprised if he had known that equality of manners and similarity of minds were the cause of friendship.

The disparity between the two versions makes it certain that Gower's story could not have been derived directly from that of Petrarch. A version which parallels Gower's story more closely is that of Sicco Polenton in the Scriptorum Illustrium Latinae Linguae Libri, the second edition of which was complete by 1437;[1] it is here told how Dante was asked by a ridiculous and loquacious actor, favoured by the court of the ruler and the whole state ('histrioni, ... dominantis aula ac civitas tota faveret'), how it was that no-one befriended him, a learned man and a poet. Dante replied that this happened because the actor had many like himself, and he

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1. For this version, see: G. Papini, op. cit., 57. Date, see: B.L. Ullman, Introduction (xxxi) to Sicco Polenton, Scriptorum Illustrium Latinae Linguae Libri XVII, Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome. VI, 1928; (this story: IV, p. 129, l. 28-35.)

had no-one ('quod similes sui multos histrio, ipse nullum haberet'). Dante's reply in this version is similar to that of Dante in Gower's version when he says that the flatterer has more servants than Dante has. Polenton's description of the actor as favoured by the court of the ruler and the state presents a parallel to the last part of Dante's reply in Gower's version, when he says that a flatterer may rule the king and his land; in Petrarch's version the actors are only generally said to have won favour with everyone.

In Gower's version, the poverty of the poet is suggested when Dante says that the poet has no-one of his company to clothe and feed him. This detail may have been suggested by a version of the story in which Dante is represented as poor, as in the version in one of the Facetiae of Poggio, which must have appeared in 1452;[1] it is here related how Can Grande enriched a man for his jests, and this man remarked on the fact that Dante, who was held to be most learned, was poor and needy ('pauper et egenus'), while he who was foolish, was rich. In reply, Dante looked to a time when he would meet a lord like himself, as the jester had done.

The two fifteenth-century versions of the story just mentioned show that details were introduced into the story which are independent of Petrarch's version, and the fact that

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1. For this version see G. Papini, op. cit., 58 (Facetiae XXXIX); date, see: H. Floerke, introduction xvii to Die Facezien Des Poggio Fiorentino, Munich, 1906.

some of these details are similar to those in Gower's story makes it likely that he was drawing on an early version of the story which was at the same time independent of the tradition of Petrarch's anecdote.

The phrase 'the tale I herde' raises the question as to whether Gower was indebted to oral transmission for the story. It is however impossible to say whether the phrase reflects hearsay or whether it is merely a literary device.[1]

ix. Remaining medieval stories[2].

I have been unable to trace the sources of: 'Tale of the three questions',[3] and 'The courtiers and the fool'.[4]

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1. For discussion of Gower's phrases relating to oral transmission, and those relating to written authority, see below, pp.333-335.

2. See also below 'Stories paralleling those in The Seven Sages of Rome and Pantheon', and 'Beast fables', pp.196-219.

3. Confessio I 3067-3402. The version of the story of the three questions in the Gesta Romanorum differs from that of Gower, see Gesta Romanorum, ed. H. Oesterley, Berlin, 1872. Cap. 70. 'De compunctione fidelis anime', pp. 583-5.

4. Confessio VII 3947-4010.

IV. STORIES PARALLELING THOSE IN THE SEVEN SAGES OF ROME AND THE PANTHEON OF GODFREY OF VITERBO

i. The Seven Sages of Rome.

Tale of Virgil's Mirror[1]

Gower relates how Virgil made a mirror and set it on a marble pillar within sight of Rome. The mirror had the virtue that the Romans could see reflected in it the preparations their enemies were making against them, so that while they had the mirror, Rome could not be harmed by war. At that time Rome was at war with Carthage, the prince of which was Hannibal, and the Carthaginians were plotting to destroy the mirror. The King of Apulia was planning to rebel against Rome, and it was also in his interest to destroy the mirror. The Emperor of Rome at that time was Crassus, who was so covetous that he always wanted more gold. In Apulia and Carthage wise philosophers discussed the matter of the mirror, and finally three philosophers undertook to destroy it. They took a great treasure of gold to Rome, and buried it in two places. They then presented themselves to the Emperor, and said their dreams had told them of the presence of any treasure buried underground. They would find if any treasure was buried under Rome, if the Emperor would grant them half of it. The Emperor agreed, and the next day one of the philosophers said that he had dreamt

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1. Confessio V 2031-2224.

of a place where a treasure of gold could be found. One of the treasures buried previously by the philosophers was then dug up by the Emperor's miners. On the second day they found the other treasure, the whereabouts of which the second philosopher said had appeared to him in a dream. The third philosopher then said he had dreamt that there was a rich treasure under the mirror. They mined underneath it, supporting their mine with timber, so that the pillar on which the mirror was placed was itself supported only by timber. At night they went to the mine, and set fire to the timber. They left the town in disguise, and from a hill saw the mirror falling. From then on, every land which had been subject to Rome began to disobey her and make war on her. The Romans punished their Emperor by pouring boiling gold into his mouth (margin:

> Hic ponit exemplum contra magnates cupidos. Et narrat de Crasso Romanorum Imperatore, qui turrim, in qua speculum Virgilii Rome fixum extiterat, dolosa circumventus cupiditate evertit; unde non solum sui ipsius perdicionem, set tocius Civitatis intollerabile dampnum contigere causavit).

As G.C. Macaulay points out,[1] the story is derived from one of those in The Seven Sages of Rome, a work of eastern origin which is thought to have taken root in Europe by the 12th century at the latest. The two main redactions of the work, the eastern and the western, differ in content.[2] Macaulay indicates that

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1. See: Confessio V 2031 ff. n.

2. Concerning the origin and versions of The Seven Sages of Rome see: K. Campbell, ed. The Seven Sages of Rome, Boston, 1907, xi-lxxvii. J. Misrahi, ed. Le Roman des Sept Sages, Paris, 1933, pp. viii-xv. (Date: see, pp. xiv-xv.) Also: L.A.

(continued on following page)

Gower's story is paralleled in one of the stories in the prose Roman Des Sept Sages De Rome edited by Leroux de Lincy,[1] and Gower's story and this one coincide in some details which differ from those in stories of Virgil's mirror in other versions of The Seven Sages of Rome. One detail in Gower's story is that the mirror is set on a pillar of marble;[2] in the prose version referred to the mirror was made 'sus les pilers de marbre'[3] whereas in the story in other versions of The Seven Sages of Rome, there is either no mention of the pillar, or the pillar is not of marble.[4] Another detail in

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Hibbard, 'The Seven Sages of Rome' in: Mediaeval Romance in England, New York, 1960, 174-181.

1. Paris, 1838, 51-54. Concerning this redaction see: G. Paris, Deux Rédactions Du Roman Des Sept Sages de Rome, 1876, S.A.T.F., x-xvi. K. Campbell, ed. The Seven Sages of Rome, cit. xxiii.

2. Confessio V 2035. 3. 51.

4. See: (i) Les Sept Sages De Rome, ed. G. Paris (prose) in: Deux Rédactions Du Roman Des Sept Sages De Rome, cit., 51-55. This story: 'Le VII^e exemple par la dame (VIRGILIUS)': 41-44. The pillar is said to support the mirror in the account of the undermining of the mirror, but is not said to be of marble (see: 43). Concerning this redaction see: G. Paris, ed. cit., V-X, and K. Campbell, ed. cit., xxiii.
(ii) Le Roman des Sept Sages, ed. J. Misrahi (verse) Paris, 1933. Story of Virgil's mirror: l. 3979-4154. There is no mention of a pillar.
(iii) The Seven Sages of Rome (Southern Version), ed. K. Brunner, 1933. E.E.T.S., O.S. 191. (The main text is printed from 'The Auchinleck MS.', written between 1320 and 1340. Date see IX, cf. XXXI.) Story of Virgil's mirror: l. 1997-2137 from 'Vergilius'. There is no pillar, the mirror being held in the hand of an image on a stage. l. 1997-99. (Two other English verse versions are not here taken into account as possible sources for Gower's story. They are a) The Seven Sages, ed. T. Wright, 1845, Percy Society, Vol. 16, 1846; the story is here applied to
(footnote continued on following page)

Gower's story is that the number of philosophers sent to destroy the mirror is said to have been three;[1] three is also the number in the version edited by Leroux de Lincy,[2] but in other versions the number varies.[3] A further detail in Gower's story is that the third philosopher told the Emperor that the treasure to be found under the mirror was so plentiful and precious:[4]

> That unto alle his hors atones
> It were a charge sufficant.

In the version edited by Leroux de Lincy, the treasure is described in the same way:[5] 'nos en avons songié .i. si grant que a poine le porroient trere tuit li cheval de vostre cort'. In descriptions of the treasure in other versions this detail

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Merlin instead of Virgil (see l. 1078-2073). b) The Seven Sages of Rome, ed. K. Campbell, cit., which is a print of a version found in a manuscript belonging to the first third of the fifteenth century; see xxxvi-vii. Also K. Brunner, ed. cit., X.)

(iv) An abridgement of a lost 'Liber de septem sapientibus' found in the Scala Celi of Johannes Gobii iunior, the terminus ante quem of which is 1330; abridgement ed. A. Hilka in: Festchrift für A. Hillebrandt, Halle, 1913, pp. 60-80. Date, 54. This story: '[Novercae quinta historia: Virgilius]' 71-72. The column supporting the mirror is not of marble.

1. Confessio V 2076.
2. 51 '. iii. bachelers'.
3. See (i) Version ed. G. Paris, cit., 41 'quatre sages'. (ii) Version ed. J. Misrahi, cit., l. 4007 'Quatre serghans'. (iii) Version ed. K. Brunner, cit., l. 2021. 'Twei clerkes'. (iv) Version ed. A. Hilka, cit., 71 l. 10-11: 'aliquos clericos'.
4. Confessio V 2150-2151.
5. 52.

is omitted.[1]

These details indicate that Gower knew the version of the story as related in the version edited by Leroux de Lincy, but it can be shown from other details that Gower did not only know the story in this version. One such detail is that Gower says that 'Philosophers wise and grete' discussed how to destroy the mirror, and 'Philosophers' were sent to destroy it.[2] In the version edited by Leroux de Lincy, it was 'bachelers' who destroyed the mirror,[3] whereas in the prose version edited by G. Paris the king summoned 'quatre des plus sages de son pays',[4] and in the English verse version 'be wise men' were asked to see how the mirror could be destroyed, and 'clerkes' destroyed it;[5] in the abridgement in the Scala Celi it is said that 'clericos' destroyed it.[6] Another detail is that Gower describes how the philosophers support the mine under the mirror with timber:[7]

> And thus they myne forthe withal,
> The timber set up overal,
> Wherof the Piler stod upright.

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1. See: (i) Version ed. G. Paris, cit., 43. (ii) Version ed. J. Misrahi, cit., l. 4107-4114. (iii) Version ed. K. Brunner, cit., l. 2075-8. (Macaulay indicates the omission of this detail from the English metrical version, see: Confessio V 2150 ff.n.) (iv) Version ed. A. Hilka, cit., 71 l. 31-32.

2. Confessio V 2073-4, 2076-7. 3. 51.

4. 41.

5. Ed. K. Brunner, cit., l. 2016-2220, 2021.

6. 71 l. 11. 7. Confessio V 2167-9.

In the prose version edited by Leroux de Lincy there is no such description,[1] whereas in the English verse version they:[2]

sette postes al aboute
And began to mini under.

Gower then tells how they set the timber work alight,[3] and there is again no mention of timber in the prose version edited by Leroux de Lincy;[4] it is mentioned in the abridgement in the Scala Celi at this point:[5] 'Tandem accipientes ignem alibi posuerunt in lignis que sustinebant columpnam et speculum'. A further detail is that Gower says that the gold which the Romans poured into the mouth of the Emperor Crassus was:[6]

Buillende hot withinne a panne,.

In the version edited by Leroux de Lincy they are said to have taken molten gold:[7] 'Si prannent or fondu', but the gold is not said to be boiling or in a vessel as in the French verse version:[8]

Plain bachin d'or firent boulir,.

Macaulay indicates that Gower was responsible for the introduction of Hannibal and Carthage,[9] and they are not mentioned in any of the accounts of the different versions of The Seven Sages of Rome here referred to. Gower says of Hannibal:[10]

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1. 53.
2. K. Brunner, l. 2098-9.
3. Confessio V 2178-9.
4. 53.
5. 72 l. 2-4.
6. Confessio V 2221.
7. 54.
8. Ed. cit. J. Misrahi, l. 4151.
9. Confessio V 2031 ff.n.
10. Ibid. V 2198-2208.

For this I finde of Hanybal,
That he of Romeins in a dai,
Whan he hem fond out of arai,
So gret a multitude slowh,
That of goldringes, which he drowh
Of gentil handes that ben dede,
Buisshelles fulle thre, I rede,
He felde, and made a bregge also,
That he mihte over Tibre go
Upon the corps that dede were
Of the Romeins, which he slowh there.

The incident of Hannibal and the three bushels of golden rings is described in the Flores Historiarum and in Higden's Polychronicon; it is said to have taken place after the battle of Cannae during the Second Punic War:

Flores Historiarum:[1]

Cannae vicus est Apuliae. Hannibal autem, in testimonium victoriae suae, tres modios aureorum annulorum Carthaginem misit, quos ex manibus interfectorum equitum Romanorum detraxerat.

Polychronicon:[2]

Et tres modios annulorum aureorum, quos de manibus militum Romanorum detraxerat, in signum victoriae Carthaginem misit.

Trevisa's translation of the Polychronicon:[3]

and sente þre busshelles of golden rynges, þat were i-take of þe hondes of þe knyȝtes of Rome into Cartage, in tokene of þe victorie.

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1. See: ed. H.R. Luard, Vol. I, 1890, Rolls Series, p. 70.

2. See: Vol. IV, ed. J.R. Lumby, 1872, Rolls Series, III, Cap. xxxiii p. 60. Higden gives Eutropius as authority for the account in which this passage occurs (see loc. cit.). Cf. Eutropius, Breviarium Ab Urbe Condita, ed. F. Ruehl, Leipzig, 1887, III, XI. 2 (p. 20): 'et tres modios anulorum aureorum Carthaginem misit, quos ex manibus equitum Romanorum, senatorum et militum detraxerat'.

3. Polychronicon Vol. cit., 63.

A bridge of bodies over a river is said to have been made at Hannibal's command in the Epitome of Florus, and the incident of the rings is also here referred to, though the number of bushels is said to be two:[1]

> documenta cladis cruentus aliquamdiu Aufidus, pons de cadaveribus iussu ducis factus in torrente Vergelli, modi duo anulorum Carthaginem missi dignitas que equestris taxata mensura.

It is possible that mention of the King of Apulia as the King opposing Rome in the story of The Seven Sages of Rome suggested to Gower the introduction of Hannibal as another, since the incident of the rings and the bridge of bodies is said to have happened after the battle of Cannae in Apulia.

The role of Virgil as an artificer of a mirror which protected Rome from her enemies remains to be discussed.[2] Association of Virgil with automata was derived from accounts in learned works.[3] For instance, in the De naturis rerum,[4]

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1. See ed. E. Rossbach, Leipzig, 1896, l. xxii.18.

2. For discussion of the legend of Virgil's mirror see: D. Comparetti, Virgilio Nel Medio Evo, ed. G. Pasquali, Vol. 2, Florence, 1946, 73, 79-81. J.W. Spargo, Virgil the Necromancer, 1934. Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, X, pp. 134-135. K. Campbell, ed. cit., particularly xcvi-xcvii.

3. See G. Pasquali, editor's preface to D. Comparetti, op. cit., Vol. I, xxii, xxv-xxvi, xxviii.

4. See: ed. T. Wright, 1863, Rolls Series, II, Cap. 174. 'De locis in quibus artes floruerunt', p. 310. Date, see: M. Manitius, Geschichte Der Lateinischen Literatur Des Mittelalters, Vol. 3, Munich, 1931, 784. See also: D. Comparetti, op. cit., Vol. II, 70-71 (cf. G. Pasquali, editor's preface, cit., p. xxviii). J.W. Spargo, op. cit., 117-118.

Alexander Nequam, who died in 1219, first attributed to Virgil the construction of automata known as Salvatio Romae; it is here related how Virgil constructed a palace, in which a wooden statue representing each region held a bell in its hand. As often as any region dared to intrigue against Rome's majesty, the image rang the bell of that treacherous region. A brazen knight, sitting on a brazen horse, shook a spear on the roof of the palace and turned towards that region. A Roman force was then despatched against the enemies of the Roman people in order to put a stop to their cunning stratagems. It is likely that the legend of Virgil's mirror was influenced by the legend of the Salvatio Romae, since the idea underlying the Salvatio Romae seems to have been applied to the mirror.[1]

Tale of the king and his steward's wife.[2]

Gower relates how a king of Apulia fell sick; the medical remedy prescribed for him was that he should enjoy the company of a woman for a night. The king, who was between life and death, told his steward of the remedy and asked him to provide a woman suitable for his pleasure, telling him he would pay well. The steward had a wife whom he had married for her money, and thinking of the treasure the king would give for a lusty woman, said he knew of one. The king gave the steward

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1. See: D. Comparetti, op. cit., Vol. 2, 73 and 79-80 cit. J.W. Spargo, op. cit., 134 cit.

2. See: Confessio V 2643-2825.

money. The steward took it and out of covetousness determined that his wife should lie with the king. He told his wife of his intention; she protested that it was not honest of him to sell her for gold. But he told her to obey, and brought her to the king, who spent the night with her. The following morning, the king, who did not know the identity of the woman, was told by the steward that she was his wife. Disgusted at the steward's covetousness, he ordered him to be hanged and drawn if he captured him after that day, and the steward fled in exile, while the king wedded the steward's wife (margin:

> Hic ponit exemplum contra istos qui non propter amorem sed propter divicias sponsalia sumunt. Et narrat de quodam Regis Apulie Seneschallo, qui non solum propter pecuniam uxorem duxit, set eciam pecunie commercio uxorem sibi desponsatam vendidit).

G.C. Macaulay indicates that this story is derived from the one in the version edited by Leroux de Lincy.[1] In one detail Gower's story coincides with this version and differs from other versions. In Gower's version, after the king had spent the night with the steward's wife, the steward came in the morning to recover his wife from the king, who however said he would not give her up till he saw the brightness of day. When the steward came a second time he told the king that the woman was his wife.[2] There is a parallel for the steward's

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1. Ed. Leroux de Lincy, cit. 39-41. Confessio V 2643 ff.n. The story is discussed by K. Campbell, ed. cit., xci-xciii.

2. See: Confessio V 2772-2796.

two visits to the king's chamber to recover his wife in the version edited by Leroux de Lincy,[1] but in other versions the number of his visits varies.[2] There is a detail which indicates that Gower's knowledge of the story was not restricted to the one in the version edited by Leroux de Lincy. He says that when the king heard that his steward has given

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1. 40-41.

2. See: (i) ed. G. Paris, cit., '"SENESCALUS" Le second exemple par la dame', 9-11. One visit, 11.
(ii) ed. T. Wright, cit. (The text edited by Wright is printed from a manuscript written in the second half of the fourteenth century: see K. Brunner, ed. cit. X.) This story: l. 1516-1617. One visit. The incident is told differently, in that after the steward's visit to recover his wife, the king held her till day, when he saw that she was his steward's wife. l. 1594-1602.
(iii) ed. K. Brunner, cit., Seneschalus, l. 1549-1650, one visit l. 1611-1640.
(iv) Historia Septem Sapientum ed. G. Buchner, 1889, Erlanger Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie, 5, pp. 7-90. (Concerning this version see K. Campbell Introduction cit., p. xxiv. G. Paris, Preface, cit., p. xxi.) 'Sexta narratio imperatricis [Senescalus]', pp. 49-51. Three visits, pp. 50-51.
(v) Abridgement in Scala Celi, ed. cit. '[Novercae quarta historia Senescalus]' p. 69. One visit. The story is told in too abbreviated a form to have been Gower's source.
(vi) ed. cit. J. Misrahi; this story l. 1441-1582 (pp. 41-45). In this version there is a lacuna at l. 1799 at the point when the king spent the night with the steward's wife. It is however improbable that Gower made use of this version, which relates to a King of Egypt (l. 1441), as does the version edited by G. Paris (cit., p. 9), whereas Gower's version relates to a King of Apulia as in the version edited by Leroux de Lincy (p. 39), that edited by T. Wright, ed. cit., l. 1516, and that edited by K. Brunner, ed. cit. l. 1551 (Apulia and Calabria). The last-mentioned version differs from the others in that the steward is himself said to have suggested the remedy of a woman to the King (l. 1467-1474).

away his wife out of 'covoitise' he threatened him as follows:[1]

> Thou schalt ben honged and todrawe.

In the version edited by Leroux de Lincy, the king is said to have threatened to put out his steward's eyes and have him dragged by the tail of a horse,[2] whereas in the version edited by T. Wright the king's threat is the same as that in Gower's story:[3]

> Thou schalt be angyd and to-drawe.

Conclusion.

It may be concluded from the details indicated that in telling the 'Tale of Virgil's Mirror' and the 'Tale of the king and his steward's wife', Gower drew upon the French prose version of The Seven Sages of Rome edited by Leroux de Lincy; G.C. Macaulay indicates that this version was Gower's main source in these stories; details show that he must also have drawn on another version or versions of The Seven Sages of Rome.

ii. The Pantheon of Godfrey of Viterbo.

Kings and kingdoms form a great part of the subject matter of the Pantheon, as Godfrey of Viterbo indicates in the Proemium:[4]

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1. Confessio V 2811.
2. 41. 'je vos ferai sachier les ieuz et trainer à queue de cheval'.
3. l. 1611.
4. See: ed. G. Waitz (excerpts), Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum t. XXII, Hanover, 1872. Proemium, 133.

> Materia igitur totius libri est universum vetus et novum testamentum et universi reges et regna, que ferunt vel sunt ab initio mundi usque ad tempora nostra.

In his passage on King's 'regimen' in the seventh book of the poem,[1] Gower drew upon several of Godfrey of Viterbo's innumerable anecdotes about Kings and Emperors.

The following anecdotes are noted by G.C. Macaulay as occurring in Gower's passage on 'regimen' and the Pantheon: the stories of the Emperor Maximinus,[2] the Emperor Conrad,[3] the Tyrant (Phalaris) Siculus,[4] the Emperor Antoninus (Pius),[5] Sardanapalus,[6] and the Emperor (Aurelius) Antoninus.[7] A further story, concerning King Albinus and Rosemund, is told in the first book of the Confessio Amantis,[8] and that concerning

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1. Whole passage, Confessio VII 1711-5397.

2. Confessio VII 2765-2782. Pantheon. Particula XXI 29, p. 169, l. 9-11.

3. Confessio VII 2833-2844. Pantheon. Particula XXIII 32, p. 243, l. 18.

4. Confessio VII 3295-3332. Not printed in the ed. cit. of the Pantheon; see ed. in Germanicorum Scriptorum, Vol. 2, ed. J. Pistorius and B.G. Struve, Ratisbone, 1726; this story: Pars IX, p. 134^{b}. This story is discussed above, pp. 81-83.

5. Confessio VII 4181-4202. Pantheon, ed. G. Waitz, Particula XXI 16, p. 163, l. 12.

6. Confessio VII 4313-4343. Pantheon, ed. J. Pistorius, Pars IX, p. 144^{b}.

7. Confessio VII 4574-4584. Pantheon, ed. G. Waitz, Particula XXI 24 (Prose) p. 166.

8. Confessio I 2459-2646. Pantheon, ed. G. Waitz, Particula XXIII 5 (Prose) p. 214 and 6 (Verse) pp. 215-6.

Prince Apollonius of Tyre is told in the eighth book.[1]

The relevance of the Pantheon to Gower's passage on 'regimen' is confirmed by Gower's description of the King's crown,[2] which is very similar to the description of the gold and gems on an imperial crown in the section of the Pantheon concerned with imperial insignia.[3] The description of Godfrey of Viterbo is as follows:[4]

Quid significant gemme pretiose in corona, et qui eas instituit?

Nota, quod significet gemma in corona imperiali.

Iulius instituit gemmas superesse corone,
Ut pretiosa foret lapidum gravidata decore.
Nunc liber exponet, quid sibi gemma volet.
Quatuor in cunctis sunt insita mistica gemmis,
Durities, virtus splendorque colorque perhennis,
Hec, qui Cesar erit, mistica nosse velit.
Duritie constans, virtute refertur honestus,
Est bona fama color, splendor sine crimine questus;
Quatuor ista geret, qui diadema feret.

Quid significat aurum in coronis?

Aurea materies regalibus apta coronis,
Indicat imperium mundi superesse patronis,
Circulus est orbis forma rotunda soli.

Gower says[5] that a King's virtue is symbolized by his crown.

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1. Confessio VIII 271-2008. The Pantheon is one of the sources of this story. Discussion see above, this chapter, pp. 155-157.

2. Confessio VII 1751-1774.

3. Pantheon, ed. G. Waitz, Particular XXVI: 'Quae sint insignia imperialia,...'.

4. Quotation from Pantheon, ed. G. Waitz, Particula XXVI 7 and 8, p. 275.

5. Confessio VII 1745-1774.

The gold on a King's crown symbolizes excellence, so that men will venerate him as their liege lord. The precious stones on the crown are hard, which symbolizes a King's constancy; the virtue in the precious stones signifies that a King should be honest. The bright precious stones symbolize worldly fame. The circle surrounding the crown is a symbol of all the land which a King rules (margin: 'Nota super hiis que in corona Regis designantur').

V. BEAST FABLES

i. The asp[1]

Gower tells how the asp defended itself against the charmer who wanted to tame it in order to gain the carbuncle in its head. The asp deafened itself against the charm by laying one ear flat on the ground and by blocking the other with its tail (margin:

> Hic narrat Confessor exemplum, ut non ab auris exaudicione fatua animus deceptus iovolvatur. Et dicit qualiter ille serpens qui aspis vocatur, quendam preciosissimum lapidem nomine Carbunculum in sue frontis medio gestans, contra verba incantantis aurem unam terre affigendo premit, et aliam sue caude stimulo firmissime obturat).

G.C. Macaulay indicates[2] that the legend of the asp is founded on Psalm 57. 5-6 (Vulgate), and also points out that St. Augustine described the asp's method of stopping its ears in his commentary on Psalm 57. 5-6.[3] Isidore of Seville's description of the asp[4] was repeated on his authority in medieval accounts of the asp, as for instance in the Speculum

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1. Confessio I 463-480. 2. Ibid. I 463 ff.n.

3. See: P.L. 36, ed. J.P. Migne, 1861, col. 679-680. St. Augustine also referred to this function of the asp in a sermon in which he comments on Psalm 57. 5-6, see: Sermo 316, Cap. II; P.L. 38, ed. J.P. Migne, 1865, col. 1432-33; referred to by F. McCulloch in her account of the asp in Mediaeval Latin and French Bestiaries, University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, 33, 1960, 88-90.

4. Etymologiarum Libri XX, ed. W.M. Lindsay, 2 Vols. Oxford, 1911; XII. iv.12. Reference, Confessio n. cit.

Naturale of Vincent of Beauvais.[1] Isidore's description is followed in two bestiaries of the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, in which illuminations show the asp deafening itself against the charmer.[2]

The versions of the story so far mentioned omit one detail of Gower's story, the carbuncle in the asp's head. The carbuncle is included in Brunetto Latini's version of the story in the Trésor,[3] which Macaulay thought was perhaps Gower's authority for the story.[4] The accounts of Latini and Gower agree except for one detail; in Gower's version the asp bears the carbuncle in 'his hed' (margin: 'in sue frontis medio').

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1. Ed. Douai, 1624, Photomechanical Reprint, Graz, 1964, col. 1472. Liber 20, Cap. XX 'De Aspide'. Pseudo-Hugo of St. Victor had also repeated the description 'secundum Isidorum' in the twelfth century De bestiis et aliis rebus, see: P.L. t. 177, 1879; this reference: II, Cap. xxx: 'De aspidis natura', col. 76-77. Bartholomaeus Anglicus gives the account on the authority of 'Isidorus libro xii', see: De Proprietatibus Rerum, Nuremberg, 1519. XVII, Cap. ix, Sig. B. ii^{Rb-Va}. 'De Aspide'.

2. See: The Bestiary (12th century), ed. M.R. James, The Roxburghe Club, Oxford, 1928, f. 48^{V}-49^{V}. Illumination: f. 48^{V}. A Peterborough Psalter and Bestiary of the Fourteenth Century, ed. M.R. James, The Roxburghe Club, Oxford, 1921, f. 205 b, col. 2 (with illumination).
   In the version of the story in the Physiologus Latinus the authority is 'Physiologus dicit': see versio B, ed. F.J. Carmody, Paris, 1939, 46-47; in the version in Alexander Nequam's De Naturis Rerum the story is said to be generally known ('Vulgo notum est'), see: ed. T. Wright, 1863, 194-5, Rolls Series, II, Cap. 114. 'De aspide'; this reference: 194.

3. See: ed. F.J. Carmody, 1948, University of California Publications in Modern Philology, 22. 'De L'Aspis', I, 138 (p. 133); this reference: I. 138.2.

4. See: Confessio I 463 ff.n. corrigendum (end of introduction).

A jewel in the head of an asp, taken from it after it has been charmed, is mentioned by Vincent of Beauvais in the Speculum Naturale,[1] in a passage following the Isidorean version of the story already referred to:

Gemma innascitur aspidi.	Virtute quorundam verborum incantatur, ne veneno interimat, vel ut quidam dicunt, ut quiete capi possit: et gemma de fronte eius auferri, quae naturaliter in eo nascitur.

W.H. Schofield has pointed out[2] the occurrence of this story in a sermon of the 12th century,[3] in which the jewel is in the serpent's or adder's head. The verses from the 57th Psalm of the Vulgate concerning the asp are quoted, and its method of stopping its ears against the charmers which seek the jewel is described.

In connection with this story, P.A. Robin[4] has drawn attention to the 'draconitis' or 'dracontias' mentioned by Pliny[5] as being in the serpent's head. This stone is also

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1. 20, Cap. XX, cit.

2. W.H. Schofield, English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer, London, 1906, 380.

3. See: Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century, ed. R. Morris, Second Series, 1873. E.E.T.S., O.S. 53. Homily 31: 'Estote prudentes et vigilate in orationibus'; this story: p. 197. Allegorisation: 197-199.

4. P.A. Robin, Animal Lore in English Literature, London, 1932, 146-148; Gower's version: p. 148.

5. Naturalis Historiae Libri XXXVII ed. C. Mayhoff, Vol. 5, 1897. This reference: 37. 10. 57, [illegible] 158 (p. 453).

mentioned by Solinus and Isidore.[1] In an article on Gower's story, L.J. Henkin[2] suggests that Gower was indebted to stories about the 'draconitis' or dragon-stone for the detail of the carbuncle. Pliny, Solinus and Isidore[3] tell how the serpent is put to sleep with medicated grass and how its head is then cut off and the dragon-stone taken from it. In a version of this story in the 12th century Anglo-Norman Alphabetical Lapidary, probably written by Philippe de Thaon,[4] the dragon-stone is identified as the carbuncle. Henkin suggests that Gower's story represents a combination of the stories of the asp and the dragon-stone. He has however omitted to mention any carbuncle or jewel versions of the asp story. In view of the carbuncle version of Brunetto Latini, and the jewel-in-the-head versions in the Speculum Naturale and the sermon, it is clear that Gower was here following a known form of the asp story.

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1. Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium, ed. Th. Mommsen, Berlin, 1864. This reference: 30. 16. Etymologiae, XVI.xiv.7.

2. L.J. Henkin, 'The Carbuncle in the Adder's Head', Modern Language Notes, 58, 1943, 34-39.

3. Naturalis Historia loc. cit. Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium 30. 17-18. Etymologiae loc. cit.

4. In: Anglo-Norman Lapidaries, ed. P. Studer and J. Evans, Paris, 1924, 204-259; draconites, l. 753-768. Author, see 200-201.

ii. The harpy.[1]

Gower tells how, according to 'Solyns', a bird with a man's face comes across a man and kills him. When the bird is about to drink at a well, it sees its likeness to the man from the reflection of its face in the water. Its repentance is so great that it has died of sorrow by the morning (margin:

> Nota secundum Solinum contra homicidas de natura cuiusdam Avis faciem ad similitudinem humanam habentis, que cum de preda sua hominem juxta fluvium occiderit videritque in aqua similem sibi occisum, statim pre dolore moritur).

This story was told about the harpy, which Gower does not mention by name. Pierre de Beauvais tells the story about the harpy in his bestiary, which was written before 1218.[2] The harpy is however here described as being like a man and a horse. In an added gloss on the passage, the harpy is described as having a lion's body, a serpent's wings, and a horse's tail. The accompanying illustration includes the attributes of the gloss, and shows the harpy standing at the water's edge, with the man lying dead beneath it.[3]

This story is told again as one of the Fabulae added to

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1. Confessio III 2599-2616.

2. See: Pierre de Beauvais, French prose bestiary, Mélanges d'Archéologie, d'Histoire et de Littérature, ed. C. Cahier and A. Martin, Vol. 2, Paris, 1851; 'Dele arpie, sa nature', no. 16, p. 157. Reference to this version, see: F. McCulloch, op. cit., p. 202; date, p. 62.

3. Ed. cit., Vol. 2; Plate XX: Figure R.

the collection of Odo of Cheriton,[1] which was definitely formed after 1198, and probably after 1219.[2] In this version the harpy is identified merely as an animal or 'bestia'.

Vincent of Beauvais classifies the harpy as a bird or 'avis' in the book concerning birds in the Speculum Naturale.[3] In his chapter on the harpy he includes this story with other details about the harpy. Robert Holcot also tells the story about a bird called the harpy as an exemplum in the Convertimini. Holcot includes the detail of the harpy going to drink, which is omitted in the other versions of the story mentioned. He tells the story as follows:[4]

> Fertur quandam aviculam fore que permanet in partibus Indie que vocatur arpia habens faciem quasi hominis que primum hominem quem in deserto videt interficit. et cito primus veniens ad aquam ut bibat. cum viderit per faciem suam qualem bestiam interfecerit. videlicet hominem instinctu naturali dolet super hominem quem occidit cuius similitudinem habet in facie. et aliquando tantum dolet de morte illius mortui sibi similis quod dolet ad mortem omnibus diebus vitae sue.

Gower gives Solinus as his authority for this story both

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1. See: Les Fabulistes Latins, ed. L. Hervieux, t. 4, Paris, 1896: Odonis Fabulis Addita, Collectio Secunda, XXI: 'De Quadam Bestia Que Vocatur Harpia' (p. 401).

2. Date, see: 'Fables of Odo of Cheriton', in: J.A. Herbert, Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, Vol. III, London, reprint, 1962, 34.

3. Col. 1211-1212. Lib. 16, Cap. 94: 'De Harpya'.

4. See: Convertimini, British Museum, Harley MS. 5396, fol. 178^{V}. Concerning this MS. see J.A. Herbert, op. cit., 151-2. Date of MS.: towards mid-15th century.

here and in the Mirour de l'Omme,[1] although Solinus does not include this account in the Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium. The authority for the story in all the versions except that of Holcot is an author or work of natural history. Pierre de Beauvais gives his authority as 'Phisiologes nos dit', and in the Fabula the story starts 'Legitur in Naturis rerum'. In the Speculum Naturale the authority for the passage in which the story occurs is: 'Ex libro de natura rerum'. It is possible that Gower gives Solinus as his authority because he wishes to suggest that his story is derived from the work of an ancient 'auctor' of natural history. In view of the close resemblance of his narrative with that of the Convertimini version, it seems more likely that he was familiar with the story as an exemplum than as an account in a work of natural history.

iii. The lion.[2]

In this story, Gower tells how the lion spares the man who falls 'before his face' (margin: 'Nota qualiter Leo hominibus stratis parcit'). The story is told in illustration of the argument that a prince should have mercy,[3] and occurs in the passage on pity, fourth point of policy.[4]

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1. Cf. story of harpy, Mirour de l'Omme, The Complete Works of John Gower, ed. G.C. Macaulay, Vol. I, Oxford, 1899; l. 5029-5040. See also: Confessio III 2599 n.

2. Confessio VII 3387-3399.

3. Ibid. VII 3400-3403.

4. Ibid. VII 3103-4214.

Pliny and Solinus mention the lion's act of sparing the prostrate as an example of its clemency,[1] and in the Etymologiae Isidore of Seville says of lions:[2] 'Patet enim eorum misericordia exemplis assiduis. Prostratis enim parcunt'. This statement is repeated on the authority of Isidore by, for instance, Vincent of Beauvais in the Speculum Naturale,[3] and it is repeated without mention of authority in two bestiaries of the twelfth and fourteenth centuries; in the former bestiary, an illumination shows the lion sparing two prostrate men.[4] Brunetto Latini mentions this act of the lion as an example of its 'pitié' in the Trésor.[5]

The account of the lion's sparing of the prostrate was a traditional example of the mercy to be shown by Kings. Alexander Nequam, having described the lion's act of mercy in

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1. See: Pliny, Naturalis Historia, ed. cit., Vol. II; 16.19.§§ 48 (p. 94). Solinus, Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium, ed. cit.; 27.15 (p. 133).

2. XII. ii.6.

3. 'De Leone': 19, Cap. 66-75, col. 1418-1423. This reference: 19 Cap. 70, col. 1420. Isidorus is the authority. Bartholomaeus Anglicus repeated the account on the authority of 'Isidorus libro xii', see De Proprietatibus Rerum, 'De Leone' Liber XVIII, Cap. 63, sig. D^{Rb-Vb}; this reference: sig. D^{Va}.

4. See: The Bestiary (12th century), ed. M.R. James, cit., Leo: fol. $2^{R}-3^{V}$; this reference fol. 3^{R}. Middle illumination, fol. 1^{R}. See also: A Peterborough Psalter and Bestiary of the Fourteenth Century, cit. Leo: fol. 189^{a}, col. a - 189^{b}, col. a; this reference: fol. 189^{a}, col. b - 189^{b}, col. a.

5. 'Del Lion' I. 174, pp. 154-5; this reference I.174.5. Reference: Confessio VII 3387n.

the De Naturis Rerum, says:[1] 'Sic et regia nobilitas supplicibus veniam erogat'. The lion's act of mercy as applied to rulers also became the subject of a proverbial verse, which runs:[2]

> Parcere prostratis scit nobilis ira leonis:
> Tu quoque fac simile, quisque dominaris in orbe.

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1. 'De leone': II, Cap. 148, pp. 227-230. Lion sparing the prostrate: pp. 228-9. This quotation: 229.

2. See: H. Walther, Carmina Medii Aevi Posterioris Latina, II. Proverbia Sententiaeque Latinitatis Medii Aevi. Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters in alphabetischer Anordnung, Part 3 N-P, Göttingen, 1965. Verse No. 20668.

Chapter III

GOWER'S USE OF OVID IN THE CONFESSIO AMANTIS

I. THE METAMORPHOSES

i. Moral interpretation.

In the Confessio Amantis, the stories derived from the Metamorphoses[1] are told in illustration of the moral doctrine. Moral interpretation had become an important part of the

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1. The following stories from the Metamorphoses are indicated by G.C. Macaulay: Actaeon: Confessio I 333-378, Metamorphoses (ed. R. Ehwald, Leipzig, 1915) III 138-255; Medusa: Confessio I 389-435, Met. IV 769-792; Narcissus: Confessio I 2277-2358, Met. III 402-510; Acis and Galatea: Confessio II 104-199, Met. XIII 750-897; Deianira and Nessus: Confessio II 2157-2307, Met. IX 101-241; Tiresias and the snakes: Confessio III 361-380, Met. III 324-327; Jupiter, Juno and Tiresias: Confessio III 736-767, Met. III 316-323, 332-338; Phoebus and Coronis: Confessio III 783-814, Met. II 542-547, 598-632; Pyramus and Thisbe: Confessio III 1331-1494, Met. IV 55-166; Phoebus and Daphne: Confessio III 1685-1720, Met. I 453-567; Pygmalion and the statue: Confessio IV 371-436, Met. X 243-297; Iphis: Confessio IV 451-505, Met. IX 666-797; Phaeton: Confessio IV 979-1034, (abbreviation of) Met. II 1-324; Icarus: Confessio IV 1035-1067, Met. VIII 183-235; Hercules and Achelous: Confessio IV 2045-2134, Met. IX 1-88; Ceyx and Alcyone: Confessio IV 2927-3123, Met. XI 266-345, 410-750; Argus and Mercury: Confessio IV 3317-3352, Met. I 588-723; Iphis and Anaxarete: Confessio IV 3515-3684, Met. XIV 698-761; Midas: Confessio V 141-332, Met. XI 85-147; latter part of Jason and Medea: Confessio V 3931-4189, Met. VII 162-349, 394-399; Echo: Confessio V 4583-4652, Met. III 359-369; Theseus and Ariadne: Confessio V 5231-5483, Met. VII 456-458, VIII 152-176; Tereus: Confessio V 5551-6047, Met. VI 424-674; Neptune and Cornix: Confessio V 6145-6217, Met. II 569-588 (story told of crow l. 548); Callisto: Confessio V 6225-6337, Met. II 409-507; Leucothoe: Confessio V 6713-6781, Met. IV 190-270; Pirithous: Confessio VI 485-529, Met. XII 210-225; Lycaon: Confessio VII 3355-3369, Met. I 221-239.

In addition, the Metamorphoses also provided Gower with two stories in the account of the pantheon in the fifth book, namely: Aesculapius and the pestilence, see below pp. 259-260; rape of Proserpina, see below pp. 267-268.

interpretation of the Metamorphoses. This is evident from the Allegoriae super Ovidii Metamorphosin, the allegorizing commentary of Arnulf of Orléans, whose ascendancy in the school of Orléans was at its greatest in about 1175,[1] from the Integumenta Ovidii, the allegorizing commentary in verse on the Metamorphoses of John of Garland, written about 1234,[2] from the Ovide moralisé, the verse version of the Metamorphoses with allegorization, thought to have been written between 1291 and 1328, more probably between 1316 and 1328,[3] from the Allegoriae Librorum Ovidii Metamorphoseos, the allegorizing commentary in prose and verse of Giovanni del Virgilio, probably composed in 1322-3,[4] and from the Ovidius moralizatus, the prose version of the Metamorphoses with allegorization of Pierre Bersuire. There are thought to be three redactions of this work; the first dates from before 30th June 1342, the second perhaps from 1342, and the third, for which no exact

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1. See: ed. F. Ghisalberti, in: 'Arnolfo D'Orléans, Un Cultore Di Ovidio Nel Secolo XII', Memorie Del. R. Istituto Lombardo Di Scienze E Lettere, Classe Di Lettere, Scienzi Morali E Storiche Vol. XXIV-XXV della Series III. Fasciculo IV. 1932, 157- 234. Text in Appendix, 201-229. Date, 158.

2. See: ed. F. Ghisalberti, Milan, 1933. Testi E Documenti Inediti O Rari II. Date, 15.

3. See: ed. C. De Boer, 5 tomes, 1915-1938. Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam Afdeeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel XV, XXI, XXX no. 3, 37, 43, Date, see: J. Engels, Études Sur L'Ovide Moralisé, Groningen, 1943, 48.

4. See: ed. F. Ghisalberti, in: 'Giovanni del Virgilio espositore delle "Metamorfosi"', Il Giornale Dantesco, 34, N.S.4, 1933, 1-110. Text in Appendix, 43-107. Date, 5.

date can be given, must date from after about 1350.[1] It will now be shown that Gower applied the traditional moral interpretation to some stories derived from the Metamorphoses.

Tale of Narcissus.[2]

The tale of Narcissus is told in illustration of pride, in particular of presumption. In the Ovide moralisé[3] and Ovidius moralizatus[4] Narcissus is represented as typifying the proud; (Ovide moralisé):

> Dou mireoir qui le decoit
> C'est li miroirs périllous,
> Ou se mirent li orgueillous.

(Ovidius moralizatus):

> Sed quia plaerunque accidit quod quidam summa pulchritudine vigent ita quod pulchritudinem corporis quantum ad formam: pulchritudinem animae quantum ad scientiam: pulchritudinem fortunae quantum ad opulentiam magnam habent: ideo ipsi in superbiam elati omnes alios despiciunt nulliusque volunt societatem aut copulam immo alios indignos societate et familiaritate sua credentes ipsos fatue vilipendunt.

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1. See transcription of the edition of Paris, 1509. The Institute of Late Latin of the Rijksuniversiteit, Utrecht, 1960, 1962. See also, C. Samaran and J. Monfrin, Pierre Bersuire, Prieur De Saint Éloi De Paris, (1290 ?-1362), Extract from Histoire Littéraire de France, t. 39, 1962. 'Ovidius Moralizatus': 78-87. Dates, 83-86.

2. Confessio I 2277-2358. Met. III 402-510.

3. Tome I: III 1854-1964: allegorization of story. This quotation: l. 1924-6.

4. Vol. II, 1962 (all references in this chapter will be to this volume); III Fabula XI, p. 71, moralization of story.

Acis and Galatea.[1]

This story is told by Gower in illustration of envy, and the story is said to illustrate the actions of the envious in the Ovidius moralizatus:[2] 'Dic quod ita faciunt invidi'.

Tale of Midas.[3]

This story is told by Gower as an example of avarice, and Midas was regarded as a type of the avaricious man; in the Integumenta Ovidii it is said:[4]

> Aurum qui captat Midas designat avarum
> Qui ditatus eget fertilitate miser.

In the Allegoriae of Giovanni del Virgilio it is said:[5]

> Exemplo Mide nobis signatur avarus
> Qui cum plus habeat plus eget ipse miser.

ii Narrative details

There is some variation of detail between Gower's stories and those in the Metamorphoses, and it will now be shown that such variation is paralleled in the commentaries on, and versions of the Metamorphoses mentioned above, with the exception of the Integumenta Ovidii. It is not suggested that Gower necessarily made use of the works here mentioned, since the narrative details in them which are paralleled in Gower's stories might also have been found in any gloss or commentary on the

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1. Confessio II 104-199. Met. XIII 750-897.
2. XIII Fabula VI, p. 170.
3. Confessio V 141-332. Met. XI 85-147.
4. XI.1. 425-6 (p. 69). 5. XI.3. p. 93.

Metamorphoses; in the thirteenth century few manuscripts of the Metamorphoses lacked glosses or commentaries,[1] and Gower's variation of detail reflects his reading of such glosses and commentaries.

Tale of Medusa.[2]

Gower's story is told on the authority of the Metamorphoses ('In Metamor it telleth thus'),[3] but varies considerably from Ovid's narrative. Ovid tells how Perseus came to the daughters of Phorceus, who shared the use of one eye (the Graiae are meant), and how he stole the eye while it was being passed between the sisters. Perseus then came to the Gorgons, and killed Medusa, who had snakes among her hair. Gower says of the Gorgons that:[4]

> ...to the liknesse of Serpent
> Thei were bore,

(margin: 'Gorgones ...que uno partu exorte deformitatem Monstrorum serpentinam obtinuerunt;') two of the Gorgons are named 'Stellibon' and 'Suriale'[5] (Sthenno and Euryale); the Gorgons are said to have one eye which they shared,[6] and it

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1. See: F. Ghisalberti, ed. Integumenta Ovidii, 9-10. This part of Ghisalberti's introduction is quoted in translation by C.A. Robson, in: 'Dante's Use in the Divina Commedia of the Medieval Allegories on Ovid,' Centenary Essays on Dante, Oxford, 1965, 8-9.

2. Confessio I 389-435. Met. IV 769-792.

3. Confessio I 389. 4. Ibid. I 396-397 5. Ibid. I 389-399

6. Ibid. I 405-410. Macaulay indicates (Confessio I 389 n.) that this confusion between the Graiae and the Gorgons is found in Boccaccio's Genealogia Deorum Gentilium; see ed. V. Romano, Vol. II, Bari, 1951, 495. X Cap. X: 'De Medusa, Stennione et Euriale Gorgonibus et filiabus Phorci'.

is said that Perseus had the shield of Pallas and the sword of Mercury and with their aid killed all the Gorgons.[1] The details of Gower's story which vary from Ovid's narrative parallel those in the Ovidius moralizatus:[2]

> Gorgones fuerunt tres sorores scilicet Stenio Ceuriale et Medusa: quae omnes tres unum tantum oculum habebant: et quando videre volebant ipsum alternatim mutuabant: ...igitur cum Perseus esset iuvenis audax et strenuus missus est ad ista monstra quae serpentinae erant similitudinis occidenda qui contra periculum lapidificationis scutum Palladis cristallinum et pennas cum harpe gladio falcato Mercurii accepit: ...Ipsas igitur occidit.

The corruption of the name Euryale to 'Suriale' in Gower's version was probably derived, since '(c)Suriale' stands for Euryale in a fourteenth century manuscript of the Ovidius moralizatus.[3] That the name Sthenno had also suffered corruption is evident from the form 'Stession' in the same manuscript.[4]

Deianira and Nessus.[5]

There are two details in Gower's story which are not mentioned in Ovid's account. One is that Iole is described as:[6]

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1. Confessio I 419-423, 429-435 (cf. also margin).
2. IV Fabula XIII, p. 83.
3. See British Museum, Additional MS. 15821, fol. 84^{v}; see C. Samaran and J. Monfrin, op. cit. 180. The letter 'c' has been written in front of the word as a correction.
4. See: loc. cit.
5. Confessio II 2157-2307. Met. IX 101-241.
6. Ibid. II 2267.

The kinges dowhter of Eurice.

The other is that Hercules changed clothes with her:[1] both details are found in the Ovidius moralizatus:[2] 'Igitur cum Iolen Euriti regis filiam superduxit ipsam tantum diligebat: quod se vestibus Ioles et suis Iolen induebat.' A further detail of Gower's story is that Hercules leapt into the fire:[3]

And lepte himself therinne at ones.

In Ovid's account, Hercules lay down on the pile of burning wood,[4] but in the Ovidius moralizatus he threw himself into the fire:[5] 'et prae dolore impatiens in ignem se iecit:'.

Pyramus and Thisbe.[6]

In Gower's story, it is said that a lion came to the well where Thisbe was waiting for Pyramus,[7] and that Thisbe hid in a bush,[8] whereas in Ovid's story a lioness ('leaena', 'lea')[9] came to the fountain, and Thisbe fled to a cave ('fugit in antrum').[10] These details are the same in the Ovidius moralizatus[11] as in Ovid's story, but in the Ovide

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1. ibid., II 2268-2271. In the Met. it is only said that Iole was loved by Hercules, (IX, 140): 'Amphitryoniaden Ioles ardore teneri.'
2. IX Fabula II, p. 136.
3. Confessio II 2301.
4. Met. IX 234-238.
5. See loc. cit.
6. Confessio III 1331-1494. Met. IV 55-166.
7. ibid., III 1392.
8. ibid., III 1413.
9. Met. IV 97, 102.
10. Met. IV, 100.
11. IV Fabula I p. 74: 'leena' ... 'fugit in antrum.'

moralisé a lion ('uns lions')[1] came to the fountain and Thisbe hid under an almond-tree: ('Sous l'ombre d'un alemendier'.)[2] There are some further similarities between Gower's version and this passage of the Ovide moralisé; Gower says that the lion came 'Into the field',[3] and in the Ovide moralisé he similarly came 'Parmi les prez'.[4] Gower also says that when Thisbe fled from the lion she:[5]

> let hire wympel falle
> Nyhe to the welle upon therbage.

Ovid says that she 'tergo velamina lapsa reliquit',[6] and in the Ovide moralisé it is said that 'sus l'erbe laissa sa guimple.'[7]

Tale of Phoebus and Daphne.[8]

At the end of this story, Gower says that the laurel is evergreen as a symbol that Daphne will remain a maiden, a detail lacking in Ovid's story:[9]

> This Daphne into a lorer tre
> Was torned, which is ever grene,
> In tokne, as yit it mai be sene,
> That sche schalle duelle a maiden stille,
> And Phebus failen of his wille.

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1. Tome II: insertion of 'Pyrame et Thisbé' IV, l. 229-1149. (cf. preface, p. 3); whole narrative, l. 229-1169. Line referred to: IV, 888.
2. IV 903.
3. Confessio III 1393.
4. IV, 890.
5. Confessio III 1396-1397.
6. Met. IV, 101.
7. IV, 901.
8. Confessio III 1685-1720. Met. I 452-567.
9. Confessio III 1716-1720. Cf. function of laurel in Met. I 557-565.

In the Ovide moralisé[1] and the Allegoriae of Giovanni del Virgilio,[2] the evergreen laurel tree is represented as a symbol of virginity; (Ovide moralisé):

> Dané fu muee en lorier
> Plus qu'en chesne ne en cerisier
> N'en nul autre arbre que l'envoie,
> Quar si com li lorier verdoie
> Et nul temps ne pert sa verdue,
> Ne pour chalaur ne por froidure
> Ains verdoie en toute saison
> Sans fruit faire, ausi par raison
> Doit virginitiez verdoier
> Et vivre sans fructefier.

(Allegoriae):

Per laurum signatur virginitas eo quod semper est virens et redolens. Unde dictum est:

> Laurus odora virens designat virginitatem
> Nam viret et redolet virginitatis odor
> Lubrica virginitas fertur de flumine nata
> Nam dilapsa semel non revocanda fuit
> At si continuis servet quis passibus illam
> Tunc radicata est et viridentia coma.

Tale of Hercules and Achelous.[3]

Gower says that Deianira is the daughter of 'Oënes', king of Calydonia, a detail not found in Ovid's account:[4]

> Ther was a king, which Oënes
> Was hote, and he under his pes
> Hield Calydoine in his Empire,
> And hadde a dowhter Deianire.

(margin: 'Deianiram Calidonie Regis filiam...') In the Ovidius

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1. T. I. Allegorization I 3065-3260. This quotation: I, 3191-3200.
2. I. 9., p. 46.
3. Confessio IV 2045-2134. Met. IX, 1-88.
4. Confessio IV 2045-8.

moralizatus it is similarly said:[1] 'Unde cum Oeneus Rex Calidoniæ pulcherrimam haberet filiam quae Deianira nominabatur.'

Tale of Jason, Medea and Creusa.[2]

At the end of the tale of Jason and Medea, Gower tells how after the death of Pelias, Jason became king:[3]

> King Peleüs his Em was ded,
> Jason bar corone on his hed,

Jason was then unfaithful to Medea and took Creusa, daughter of King Creon. Medea sent a mantle to Creusa, and when Creusa wore it, it burnt her up. Medea then slew both Jason's sons before his sight, and went to Pallas' court above. These events are alluded to in the Metamorphoses:[4]

> Sed postquam Colchis arsit nova nupta venenis
> Flagrantemque domum regis mare vidit utrumque,
> Sanguine natorum perfunditur inpius ensis,
> Ultaque se male mater Iasonis effugit arma.
> Hinc Titaniacis ablata draconibus intrat
> Palladias arces,

A full version of events, paralleling that of Gower, is given in the Ovide moralisé[5] and Ovidius moralizatus.[6] In the former version, Jason is said to have become king after the death of Pelias, a detail omitted in the Ovidius moralizatus:[7]

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1. IX Fabula Prima, p. 135.

2. Confessio V 4187-4222. Met. VII 394-399.

3. Confessio V 4187-4188.

4. Met. VII 394-399. As indicated by Macaulay (Confessio V 4219 n.) Gower understood 'Palladias arces' to mean Pallas' court above, instead of Athens.

5. Tome III; VII l. 1361-1501. 6. VII Fabula VIII; p.113.

7. VII 1361-2.

Ore a Medea le roi mort.
Jason fu rois apres sa mort...

in the latter version, Creusa is said to have been daughter of Creon, a detail omitted in the Ovide moralisé.[1]

Tale of Theseus and Ariadne.[2]

At the beginning of this story, Gower tells how Minos had a son 'Androchee' (Androgeus), who had been sent to Athens to learn, but he was so proud because he was of high lineage, that he forgot the schools, and did many things wrong among fools, till at last he was slain.[3] The death of Androgeus is alluded to in the Metamorphoses:[4]

> Bella parat Minos; qui quamquam milite, quamquam
> Classe valet, patria tamen est firmissimus ira
> Androgeïque necem iustis ulciscitur armis.

In the Ovide moralisé[5] and Ovide moralizatus,[6] it is told how Androgeus was sent to Athens to learn, and how he outshone pupils and masters alike, who killed him out of envy.

In his account of the slaying of the Minotaur, Gower says that Ariadne gave Theseus a clew of thread by which he might find his way back after killing the minotaur, and a ball of pitch to throw down the Minotaur's throat; Theseus fought with the Minotaur, cut off its head, and returned, using the

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1. Loc. cit. 'Creusam Creontis filiam'.
2. Confessio V 5231-5483. Met. VII 456-8, VIII 152-176.
3. Confessio V 5231-5245.
4. Met. VII 456-8.
5. T. III, Livre VII 2246-2263.
6. VII Fabula XXIX p. 120.

thread.[1] Ovid alludes to the slaying of the Minotaur by Theseus, with the help of Ariadne:[2]

> Utque ope virginea nullis iterata priorum
> Ianua difficilis filo est inventa relicto.

In the Ovidius Moralizatus, Theseus, on the advice of Ariadne, carried with him a ball of thread, and pitch ('globum fili et picem') threw the pitch into the mouth of the Minotaur ('picem in os monstri proiiceret,'), and cut off its head ('caput Minotauri amputavit').[3] In the Ovidius moralizatus there is no mention of a ball of pitch, as there is in a gloss to Metamorphoses Liber VIII, 171, contained in a commentary in a fourteenth century manuscript ('globum piceum').[4] The word Gower uses here for ball is 'pelote',[5] and in the Ovide moralisé Ariadne gave Theseus 'Un poleton' of straws, grease or pitch, and glue to throw into the Minotaur's mouth.[6]

Gower tells how after the slaying of the Minotaur, Theseus

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1. Confessio V 5340-5351, 5358-5363.

2. Met. VIII 172-3. 3. VIII Fabula IV, (p. 125).

4. See: quotation of MS. Mon. Lat. 7205 in S.B. Meech, 'Chaucer And The Ovide Moralisé - A Further Study,' P.M.L.A., 46, 1931, p. 197, n. 82. Date, ibid. It is also said that Theseus cut off the Minotaur's head ('caput eius amputavit').

5. Confessio V 5349.

6. Tome III Narrative, Livre VIII 1083-1365. Lines referred to: 1308-1313. One of the ingredients of the ball is pitch in the text of the Ovide moralisé followed by S.B. Meech, see art. cit. p. 197: 'Un poleton... De glus de taxu et de cole' ('taxu' is variant form of 'tac', pitch). In the text of C. De Boer's edition, pitch is replaced by grease: 'Un poleton... De glus, de saijn et de cole.' (VIII l. 1308-9). Ariadne also tells Theseus to cut off the Minotaur's head (l. 1314), and the ball of thread is also mentioned (l. 1316).

departed with Ariadne and her younger sister, and landed on the island of Chios ('Chyo', margin: 'in insula Chio'),[1] and how Theseus deserted Ariadne asleep on the island for Phaedra.[2] Ovid alludes to the desertion of Ariadne by Theseus on Dia or Naxos:[3]

> Protinus Aegides rapta Minoide Diam
> Vela dedit comitemque suam crudelis in illo
> Litore destituit.

The details of Gower's narrative here parallel those in the Ovide moralisé[4] and Ovidius moralizatus.[5] Gower's detail[6] that Phaedra was the younger sister of Ariadne is paralleled only in the Ovide moralisé:[7]

> Aveuques cele en a menee
> Phedra, sa serour, la maisnee.
> . . .
> Si fist de la joenne s'amie.

Tale of Tereus.[8]

Gower says that Philomena was changed into a nightingale, and her sister Procne into a swallow,[9] whereas Ovid does not mention these birds by name.[10] They are mentioned in the Allegoriae of Arnulf of Orléans,[11] in the Ovide moralisé[12]

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1. Confessio V 5413. 2. Ibid. V 5395-5438.
3. Met. VII 174-6. 4. VIII 174-6.
5. VIII Fabula IV; p. 125. 6. Confessio V 5395.
7. VIII 1329-1330, 1334.
8. Confessio V 551-6047. Met. VI 424-674.
9. Confessio V 5944-5, 6003-5. 10. Met. VI 668-670.
11. VI. 18; p. 218.
12. Tome 2: insertion of 'Philomena' of Chrétien de Troyes, VI 2217-3684. Lines referred to: 3668-9.

and in the Ovidius moralizatus.[1]

Tale of Callisto.[2]

In Ovid's narrative, Callisto is not mentioned by name or called the daughter of Lycaon as she is in Gower's story.[3] In the Ovidius moralizatus she is called 'Calisto filia Lychaonis'.[4] She is referred to in the same way in a fable of Hyginus[5] and in Hyginus' Astronomica[6]; the former of these two versions is too abbreviated to have been used by Gower here, and in the latter version there is no mention of the episode, found in the Metamorphoses and Gower's story, in which Callisto was hunted by her son Archas after she had been changed into a bear, and in which Jupiter protected the mother and son.[7]

Tale of Leucothoe.[8]

Gower tells how Phoebus deflowered Leucothoe. Clymene,

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1. VI Fabula XVIII; p. 106.

2. Confessio V 6225-6337. Met. II 409-507.

3. Confessio V 6225-29. Cf. margin. The name is given as 'Calistona'.

4. II Fabula X; p. 52.

5. Fabulae ed. H.I. Rose, Leyden, 1933, 123-124; CLXXVII: 'Callisto'. Detail referred to: p. 123 (1).

6. Ed. B. Bunte, Leipzig, 1875, 30-31; II.1. Detail referred to: p. 30. Both the versions of Hyginus are referred to by Macaulay, Confessio V 6225 ff. n.

7. Met. II 496-507. Confessio V 6312-6337.

8. Confessio V 6713-6781. Met. IV 190-270.

the concubine of Phoebus, told Leucothoe's father what had happened, and Leucothoe was buried alive by her father. Phoebus turned her into a flower governed by the sun, the 'Solsequium' (margin:

> Hic in amoris causa super isto Latrocinio quod de die contigit ponit exemplum. Et narrat quod, cum Leuchotoe Orchami filia in cameris sub arta matris custodia virgo preservabatur, Phebus eius pulcritudinem concupiscens, in conclave domus clara luce subintrans, virginis pudiciciam matre nescia defloravit: unde ipsa inpregnata iratus pater filiam suam ad sepeliendum vivam effodit; ex cuius tumulo florem, quem Solsequium vocant, dicunt tunc consequenter primitus accrevisse).

In Gower's version, Clymene plays the role accorded to Clytie in Ovid's story, and the replacement of Clytie by Clymene also occurs in manuscripts of the Ovidius moralizatus.[1]

The detail in Gower's story that Leucothoe sprung up:[2]

> Into a flour was named golde,
> Which stant governed of the Sonne.

(margin: 'Solsequium'), is not paralleled in Ovid's story, in which she changed into a shrub of frankincense:[3]

> Virgaque per glaebas sensim radicibus actis
> Turrea surrexit tumulumque cacumine rupit.

Ovid tells how Clytie was turned into a flower very like the violet, which turned towards the sun;[4] and the flower into

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1. In the printed edition, Clytie is retained: see IV Fabula IV and V, pp. 77-79. For 'Clymene' see British Museum, Royal MS. 15 C XVI, this story fol. 31^{Va}-32^{Ra}. (Ovidius moralizatus, fol. 1^{Ra} - 59^{Va}). The manuscript dates from the end of the fourteenth century; it was in the library at Ashridge, having come there from the hospital of St. Thomas of Acon, London; see: Medieval Libraries of Great Britain, A List Of Surviving Books, ed. N.R. Ker, 1964, 4. See also, British Museum, Additional MS. 15821, cit, fol. 80^{R}-82^{R}.

2. Confessio V 6780-1.

3. Met. IV 254-55.

4. Met. IV 266-70.

which Clytie changed is named as a 'heliotropium' or 'solsequium' in the Allegoriae[1] of Arnulf of Orléans and in the Ovidius moralizatus.[2] As indicated by G.C. Macaulay,[3] Gower has clearly confused the flower into which Leucothoe changed with that into which Clytie changed.

Story probably derived from the 'Metamorphoses' and a commentary: 'Tale of Vulcan and Venus'.[4]

Gower tells how Mars loved Venus, wife of Vulcan. Vulcan found them together, bound them with strong chains, and called the gods together to see the sight. The gods rebuked Vulcan, and released Mars from his bonds (margin:

> Hic ponit exemplum contra istos maritos quos Ialousia maculavit. Et narrat qualiter Vulcanus, cuius uxor Venus extitit, suspicionem inter ipsam et Martem concipiens, eorum gestus diligencius explorabat: unde contigit quod ipse quadam vice ambos inter se pariter amplexantes in lecto nudos invenit, et exclamans omnem cetum deorum et dearum ad tantum spectaculum convocavit: super quo tamen derisum potius quam remedium a tota cohorte consecutus est).

Gower's authority is 'Ovide',[5] and this story is told in the Ars Amatoria[6] and the Metamorphoses.[7] Details show that Gower probably drew on the version of the story in the Metamorphoses and a commentary on it. Gower says that

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1. IV. 7. p. 210.
2. II. Fabula V, p. 78.
3. Confessio V 6779 n.
4. Ibid. V 635-698.
5. Confessio V 635.
6. Ed. R. Ehwald, Leipzig, 1903, 183-246; this story: II 561-592. Reference: Confessio V 635 ff. n.
7. Met. IV 171-189.

Vulcan:[1]

with craft al redy maked
Of strong chenes hath hem bounde,

In the Ars Amatoria[2] it is said that Vulcan used 'obscuros .. laqueos', whereas in the Metamorphoses[3] he made use of 'ex aere catenas', and in the Ovidius moralizatus[4] he used 'cathena adamantina'.

In the margin, Gower describes how Mars called the gods: 'et exclamans omnem cetum deorum et dearum ad tantum spectaculum convocavit.' While this description is nearer that of the Ars Amatoria[5] ('Convocat ille deos: praebent spectacula capti;') than that of the Metamorphoses[6] ('Inmisitque deos;'), it answers to that in the Ovidius moralizatus:[7] 'omnes deos ad ridicula et ad spectaculum convocavit'.

A detail original to Gower's story is that the gods laughed at Vulcan:[8]

And thei to skorne him lowhen alle,

This detail could have been suggested by the laughter of the gods in the Metamorphoses[9] ('superi risere'), whereas in the Ars Amatoria[10] Vulcan himself is said to laugh.

Gower also says that the gods released Mars from his bonds;[11] in the Ars Amatoria[12] and Ovidius moralizatus[13]

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1. Confessio V 680-681. 2. II. 577-578. 3. IV. 176.
4. IV Fabula III; p. 77. 5. II. 581. 6. IV. 186.
7. Loc. cit. 8. Confessio V 696.
9. IV 188. 10. II 585. 11. Confessio V 697.
12. II 587-8. 13. Loc. cit.

Vulcan is said to have released Mars and Venus at the request of Neptune, but their release is not mentioned in the Metamorphoses.

Story possibly derived from a commentary on the 'Metamorphoses': 'The Punishment of Tantalus.'[1]

In his description of the punishment of Tantalus, Gower says that there is a flood in hell; whoever stands in it, stands in it up to the chin. Above his head hangs a fruit which touches on his upper lip; this fruit is continually withdrawn when he wants it, and when he is thirsty and bends down to the water, he can never quench his thirst.

G.C. Macaulay refers to the allusion to the story in the Metamorphoses,[2] and the story is told in full in the Ovide moralisé,[3] and in the Allegoriae of Giovanni del Virgilio.[4] Macaulay also indicates an illusion to the story in Horace's first satire,[5] and he notes full versions of the story in Hyginus' fables[6] and Fulgentius' Mitologiae.[7] Gower's detail that the:[8]

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1. Confessio V 363-390.
2. Met. IV 458-9. Referred to by Macaulay, Confessio V 363 ff n.
3. Tome II, Narrative, IV 4262-4268.
4. IV. 16, p. 57.
5. Sermonum Liber Prior I. 68-69. 6. LXXXII: 'Tantalus', p. 62.
7. Ed. R. Helm, Leipzig, 1898; II.XV, 'Fabula Tantali', p. 57.
8. Confessio V 375-376.

... fruit toucheth evere in on
His overlippe

is paralleled only in the version of the Allegoriae:[1] 'habet sua poma pendentia ad labrum superius.' Another detail concerning the fruit is that it hangs 'Above his hed',[2] as it does in Hyginus' fable: 'poma ei super caput pendent'.

Gower tells the story in illustration of avarice, and as Macaulay indicates, it is applied to avarice in Horace's satire and by Fulgentius. Tantalus is represented as a type of avarice in the Integumenta Ovidii:[3]

Tantalides similes tibi Tantale vivit avarus
Qui sit in pleno quem fugit id quod habet:

In the Allegoriae[4] of Giovanni del Virgilio, 'Tantalus representat quemlibet avarum'.

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1. IV.16, p. 57.
2. Confessio V 373-374.
3. IV. 1. 205-6, p. 53.
4. loc. cit.

II. THE FASTI

Several stories in the Confessio Amantis are derived from the second book of the Fasti.[1] In the account of the pantheon in the fifth book of the Confessio Amantis, most of the description of Pan is derived from the same book of the Fasti;[2] in the same account, the detail concerning the overthrow of Saturn by his son may have been derived from the Fasti,[3] and the assignation of each day of the year to a god may have been suggested by the Fasti.[4]

There is evidence that Gower made use of a glossed version of the Fasti, since two details in the story of 'Hercules and Faunus' and the story of 'Tarquin and his son Aruns' and 'the rape of Lucrece' are regularly paralleled in some thirteenth century glossed manuscripts of the Fasti.[5] In the story of

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1. 'Arion': Confessio Prologue 1053-1069, Fasti (ed. R. Ehwald and F.W. Levy, Leipzig, 1924) II 83-90; 'Jupiter and Lara': Confessio III 818-827, Fasti II 585-611; 'Hercules and Faunus': Confessio V 6807-6934, Fasti II 303-358; 'Tarquin and his son Aruns': Confessio VII 4593-4753, Fasti II 687-720; 'The rape of Lucrece': Confessio VII 4754-5123, Fasti II 721-852. These passages are indicated by Macaulay.

2. See below p. 257.

3. See below p. 263.

4. See below p. 268.

5. The manuscripts of the Fasti here consulted are B.M. Harley MS. 2654, Harley MS. 2738, and Additional MS. 11, 969. Date, see: A Catalogue Of The Harleian Manuscripts In The British Museum, Vol. II, 1808; 2654, p. 705, 2738, p. 710. Catalogue Of Additions To The Manuscripts In The British Museum In The Years 1841-1845, 1850; 11, 969, p. 22.

'Hercules and Faunus', Gower calls the loved one of Hercules 'Eolen' (margin: 'Eole'), that is Iole; though she is not named in the Fasti, her name is glossed as Iole.[1] In the stories of 'Tarquin and his son' and 'Lucrece', Gower's name for Tarquin is 'Arrons', though he is not named in the Fasti and is named Sextus in Livy's account and in Bersuire's translation of it - one of the last two may have been Gower's supplementary source for these stories.[2] On the other hand, the name of Tarquinius' son is glossed as Aruns or 'Arrons'.[3]

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1. It is Omphale who is actually referred to, see Fasti Index Nominum, p. 213, 'Omphale', and Confessio V 6807 ff n. The name Iole or Yole appears in interlinear glosses throughout the story, see: Harley MS. 2654 fol. 11^{V} l.2 - 12^{R} l.8. Harley MS. 2738 fol. 13^{R} l.3-14^{R} l. 1, and Additional MS. 11, 969, fol. 11^{V} l. 21 - 12^{R} l.24.

2. For Gower's use of this source see above, pp.130-138.

3. The name Aruns or 'Arrons' is given as that of the son of Tarquin in marginal or interlinear glosses throughout these stories, see: 'Tarquin and his son' Harley MS. 2654 fol. 15^{R} l. 43 - 15^{V} l.27; Harley MS. 2738 fol. 17^{V} l.13-18^{R} l. 1; Additional MS. 11, 969, fol. 15^{R} l. 25 - 15^{V} l. 5; 'Lucrece': Harley MS. 2654 fol. 15^{V} l. 28-17^{R} l. 12; Harley MS. 2738 fol. 18^{R} l. 2 - 19^{R} l.43; Additional MS. 11, 969, fol. 15^{V} l. 6 - 16^{V} l. 29.

III. A. THE HEROIDES

Several stories or exempla in the Confessio Amantis are derived from the Heroides,[1] and there is some evidence to suggest that the Heroides had come to be regarded as exempla; in an introductory note to the second of the Heroides, in a commentary on the Heroides in a manuscript dating from the beginning of the thirteenth century, Vaticanus Barberinus Lat. 26, it is stated:[2]

> Inter omnia est in hac (epistola) exemplum. reprehendere mulieres turpiter vitiis adherentes sicut Phillides. Vel commendare Phillidem de castitate habita erga De(mophoontem) quod illum solum dilexit cui promiserat. qua propter ortatur illum ut fidem sibi promissam servet commemorando sua beneficia et etiam iuramenta dicens O Demophon.

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1. 'Canace and Macareus', Confessio III 143-336, Epistulae ed. R. Ehwald, Leipzig, 1903, 70-179, XI. 'Canace Macareo'; 'Aeneas and Dido', Confessio IV 77-137, Epist. VII 'Dido Aeneae'; 'Ulysses and Penelope', Confessio IV 147-233, Epist. I. 'Penelope Ulixi'; 'Protesilaus', Confessio IV 1901-1935, Epist. XIII. 'Laudamia Protesilao'. References given by G.C. Macaulay.

2. The introductory note is quoted by L. Rosa in: 'Su Alcuni Commenti Inediti Alle Opere Di Ovidio, 'Annali Della Facoltà Di Lettere E Filosofia, 5, 1955, Università di Napoli, 214-215. Passage quoted above: 215. Date: 208. The second of the Heroides is the letter of Phyllis to Demophoon, see Epist. II. 'Phyllis Demophoonti'.

III. B. STORY DERIVED FROM THE HEROIDES, THE REMEDIA AMORIS,[1] AND PROBABLY FROM A COMMENTARY ON THE HEROIDES: 'PHYLLIS AND DEMOPHOON.'

Gower says that Phyllis was:[2]

> The dowhter of Ligurgius,
> Which qweene was of the contre,

this detail is only alluded to by Ovid when he says that Phyllis subjected the domains of Lycurgus to Demophoon:[3]

> Quae tibi subieci latissima regna Lycurgi
> Nomine femineo vix apta satis regi,

Gower also says that Phyllis:[4]

> Was schape into a Notetre,

a detail not given by Ovid. Gower could have found these details in a commentary on the Heroides, for both of them occur in the introductory note on the second of the Heroides in the commentary mentioned above:[5] Phyllis is referred to as:[6] 'filia regis Licurgi regina', and is said to have been changed into an almond-tree:[7] 'conversa esse in amidolum (amygdalum).' Gower also makes an etymological comment on the change of Phyllis into a nut-tree:[8]

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1. 'Demophoon and Phyllis', Confessio IV 731-878, Epist. ed. cit. II. 'Phyllis Demophoonti.' Remedia Amoris ed. R. Ehwald, Leipzig, 1903, pp. 247-269; l. 591-604. References given by G.C. Macaulay, Confessio IV 731ff. n. L. 816-822 in this story are perhaps derived from Epist. IX 'Hero Leandro' l. 32-36, cf. Macaulay's reference on l. 816 ff.

2. Confessio IV 738-9.

3. Epist. II l. 111-112.

4. Confessio IV 867.

5. See above; p. 241.

6. loc. cit. 214.

7. ibid., 215.

8. Confessio IV 869-870.

And after Phillis Philliberd
The tre was cleped in the yerd,

In the introductory note on the second of the Heroides, there is also an etymological comment, which is different from Gower's; here it is said that leaves grew on the tree when Demophoon returned:[1] 'folia emisit. Unde folia dicta sunt a Phillide cum antea patelea dicerentur.' The account of the change of Phyllis into a tree and the etymological comment are the same in the introductory note and in Servius' commentary on Virgil's fifth Eclogue.[2]

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1. loc. cit. 215.

2. See: Ed. G. Thilo, Leipzig, 1887. (Vol. 3. 1. of the commentary of Servius on Virgil); Buc. V. 10, (p. 55.) For lines from the introductory note quoted, cf: 'conversa est in arborem amygdalum', and: 'folia emisit: unde etiam φύλλα sunt dicta a Phyllide, quae ante πέταλα dicebantur'. Whole passage quoted by L. Rosa, art. cit., p. 216, (Greek words Latinized).

IV. THE AMORES

The prayer of Cephalus.[1]

Gower tells how when Cephalus was with Aurora, he prayed to Phoebus and Diana to lengthen the night (margin:

> Hic dicit quod vigilia in Amantibus et non Sompnolencia laudanda est. Et ponit exemplum de Cephalo filio Phebi, qui nocturno cilencio Auroram amicam suam diligencius amplectens, Solem et lunam interpellabat, videlicet quod sol in circulo ab oriente distanciori currum cum luce sua retardet, et quod luna spera sua longissima orbem circuiens noctem continuaret; ita ut ipsum Cephalum amplexibus Aurore volutum, priusquam dies illa illusceret, suis deliciis adquiescere diucius permittere dignarentur).

As G.C. Macaulay indicates, the hint for this story might have come from the lines in the Amores[2] in which Aurora is said to rise in the morning in order to leave Tithonus, and in contrast wishes the night to run slowly when she is with Cephalus;

> At si, quem mavis, Cephalum complexa teneres,
> Clamares: 'Lente currite, Noctis equi'.

Conclusion.

The examination in detail of the stories from the Metamorphoses raises the question whether Gower derived his knowledge of them from the text accompanied by an apparatus or whether he depended on one of the derivative moralizations.

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1. Confessio IV 3187-3257.

2. Ed. F. Munari, Florence, 1955. Bibliotheca Di Studi Superiori XI. Whole passage referred to: I.13, 35-40. Lines quoted: 39-40. See also: Confessio IV 3187 ff.n.

The texts have been quoted at some length, so that the reader may have the means of judging. It will be seen how often the closest parallel is provided by the Ovidius moralizatus of Pierre Bersuire. This work seems to have achieved a quick success and to have circulated widely outside France.[1] There is evidence to suggest that it circulated in England at the time Gower was writing, since British Museum, Royal MS. 15 C XVI, in which it is found, dates from the end of the fourteenth century and is of English provenance. The verbal parallel between Gower's side note on the story of 'Vulcan and Venus' and the Ovidius moralizatus provides strong evidence that Gower was here drawing directly on it. It is probable that Gower also used the Ovide moralisé; in the story of 'Pyramus and Thisbe', Gower's details of the coming of a lion to the well where Thisbe was waiting for Pyramus, and of Thisbe's flight from it, parallel those in the version of the story in the Ovide moralisé.[2] In the story of 'Theseus and Ariadne', the 'pelote' of pitch in Gower's version parallels the 'poleton' of mixed ingredients, including grease or pitch, in the version of the story in the Ovide moralisé. There is also evidence that Gower used the Ovide moralisé in his description of the pantheon in the fifth book of the poem, where Cupid is the

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1. For list of manuscripts of the Ovidius moralizatus see: C. Samaran and J. Monfrin, op. cit. 179-182.

2. This does not in itself constitute proof that Gower was here using the Ovide moralisé, since the text of the story in the Ovide moralisé is that of an independent poem, 'Pyrame et Thisbé', which has at this point been included.

son of Jupiter and Venus, as in the Ovide moralisé.[1]

The Fasti and Heroides provide rather different problems from the Metamorphoses. For the Metamorphoses there was a whole series of moralizations going back to the twelfth century. For the other works, as far as is known, there was no such tradition. Many manuscripts have glosses, but these glosses vary from one manuscript to another. That Gower used the other works in a copy with glosses will hardly be disputed.

In the foregoing discussion, attention has been drawn to details found in the derivative moralizations, glosses and commentaries which vary from those in the Ovidian text and which are paralleled by Gower's details. These variant details do not preclude Gower's direct knowledge of the Ovidian text, and, judging from the number of Ovidian stories which he tells, 'the grete Clerk Ovide'[2] was a favourite author of his.

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1. See below, p. 270:
2. See: Confessio III 736, VIII·2266.

Chapter IV

SOURCES OF THE PANTHEON IN THE FIFTH BOOK OF THE CONFESSIO AMANTIS

Introduction.

The pantheon of the Chaldeans, Egyptians and Greeks is described by Gower in the passage in which the beliefs of the Chaldeans, Egyptians, Greeks and Jews are shown to be false, as opposed to the truth of the Christian faith.[1] The structure of the passage is derived from Nachor's speech in Barlaam and Josaphat, in which the beliefs of the Chaldeans, Greeks, Egyptians and Jews are shown to be in error as opposed to the truth of the Christian religion.[2] Nachor's speech is derived almost verbatim from the so-called 'Apology of Aristides' of the second century.[3] We have already noticed that Gower probably used Barlaam and Josaphat in the story of the 'Trump of death' and that he is likely to have known the 'Tale of the two coffers' from the same work.[4]

In Nachor's speech, the gods and goddesses are described in derogatory terms, and after each description, they and

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1. Whole passage, see: Confessio V 747-1959.

2. Nachor's speech in the first Latin translation of Barlaam and Josaphat, see: H. Peri (Pflaum), Der Religionsdiput Der Barlaam-Legende, Ein Motiv Abendländischer Dichtung, Filosofía y Letras, t. XIV, 3, Salamanca University 1959, 132-149. Nachor's speech in the translation of the so-called Vulgate, see Barlaam and Josaphat, Ioannis Damasceni Opera Omnia, Basle, 1575, 870-874; begins 'Ego rex providentia' and ends 'haeredes esse mereamini.' The Vulgate version will be referred to in this chapter. Concerning Barlaam and Josaphat see above pp. 97-98. See also Confessio V 729 ff. n., and H. Peri (Pflaum), op. cit. 'John Gower', 73-4.

3. See H. Peri (Pflaum), op. cit., 30-31.

4. See above pp. 96-103.

those who believed in them are denigrated; Gower made use of such denigration in his passage. An example of a passage of denigration in Nachor's speech is that which follows the description of Saturn:[1]

> Cernis errorem et luxuriam, quam inducunt adversus Deum suum. Convenit ergo, deum esse victum et desertum. O insipientia. Quis mentem sanam habentium haec dixerit?

An instance of Gower's denigration is that applied to Saturn at the end of his description of the god. He says:[2] 'Lo, what a god thei maden chief', and goes on to say that since the god was higher in degree than the other gods, the other gods, being lower, are worth little.

From Nachor's speech, Gower adopted not only the tone of denigration, but also material concerning the pantheon. Particularly with regard to the pantheon of the Greeks, however, he added material drawn from other works.[3] Gower's pantheon will now be discussed in relation to its sources.

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1. Vulgate 872.
2. Confessio V 864-869.
3. Cf. G.C. Macaulay's note, cit.

I. THE CHALDEANS.[1]

Gower states that the Chaldeans had a belief which was based on the twelve signs and the twelve planets. They made gods of various constellations, with carving and portraiture. They also believed in the elements, which are corrupt. The elements are creatures, and the man who gives to the creature the honour due to the creator commits too great an offence (margin:

> i. 'Et primo de Secta Chaldeorum tractare proponit'.
> ii. 'Et nota quod Nembroth quartus a Noe ignem tanquam deum in Chaldea primus adorari decrevit').

In Barlaam and Josaphat it is stated:[2]

> Chaldaei nanque nescientes Deum, erraverunt post elementa, et coepere colere creaturam potius quam creatorem. Quorum et imagines quasdam facientes, nominaverunt figuram coeli, et terrae, et maris, solisque et lunae, et caeterorum elementorum et luminarium. Et concludentes in templis, adoraverunt, deos vocantes eos,...et mirari satis nequeo, o rex, quomodo qui dicuntur philosophi eorum nullo modo intellexerunt, quod et elementa corruptibilia sunt...

In the Polychronicon[3] it is said: 'Deinde Nemphrot transivit ad Persas, et docuit adorare ignem et colere.'

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1. Confessio V 750-786.

2. Vulgate 871.

3. Vol. II, ed. C. Babington, 1869, Rolls Series, 250. II Cap. VI 'De posteritate Noe'. The authority for the passage from which this quotation has been taken is Comestor's Historia Scholastica (Genesis Cap. 37, see p. 250 and n. 7), but there is here no mention of the teaching of fire worship by Nimrod; see Historia Scholastica P.L., ed. J.P. Migne, 198, 1855, Genesis Cap. xxxvii col. 1087-1089.

II. THE EGYPTIANS.[1]

Gower states that the Egyptians honour beasts as though they are gods; in particular, they have three gods and a goddess; the gods are Orus, Typhon and 'Isirus'. They were brothers, and the goddess Isis was their sister, whom 'Isirus' had as his wife. So it happened that in strife Typhon killed his brother 'Isre', who had a son 'Orayn' who so took his father's death to heart that when he was old enough he slew Typhon. Isis came from Greece into Egypt and taught the people sowing and ploughing. Isis is the goddess of birth (margin: 'De Secta Egipciorum').

In Barlaam and Josaphat it is said of the Egyptians:[2]

> bruta animalia induxerunt deos esse .. Nam in principio colebant Isin, habentem eundem et fratrem et maritum Osirin, qui interfectus fuit a fratre Tysiphone, et ideo fugit Isis cum Oro filio suo in Byblum Syriae, quaerendo Osirin: et amarissime lamentando, donec crevit Orus et interfecit Typhonem.

In the Etymologiae of Isidore of Seville[3] it is stated:

> Fuit autem Isis regina Aegyptiorum, Inachis regis filia, quae de Graecia veniens Aegyptios litteras docuit, etterras colere instituit.

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1. Confessio V 786-834. 2. 873.

3. ed. W.M. Lindsay, 2 Vols., Oxford, 1911; VIII. XI. 'De Diis Gentium' 84.

III. THE GREEKS.[1]

i. Saturn.[2]

Gower says that the god most worshipped by the Greeks was Saturn, King of Crete, who was deposed, as he was so mad that he tore his own children from his wife Rhea, and ate them. But Jupiter bound his father and cut off his genitals; these he threw into the sea, and from them, the Greeks said, Venus arose. Jupiter exiled Saturn to an isle, where he suffered great misfortune (margin: 'Nota qualiter Saturnus deorum summus appelatur').

In Barlaam and Josaphat it is stated:[3]

> Inducitur enim ab eis ante omnes deos Saturnus, et huic sacrificant filios suos. Qui genuit pueros multos de Rhea, et insaniens comedit filios suos. Aiunt autem Iovem abscidisse sibi virilia, et proiecisse ea in mare, unde Venus fabulose dicitur fuisse nata. Alligans ergo suum patrem Iupiter, proiecit in Tartarum.

ii. Jupiter.[4]

Gower says that Jupiter, whose wife was Juno, was a lecher all his life, and committed much adultery. Because he was so full of vices, he was called god of delights. If you wish to know more about him, Ovid has written of him. Saturn and Jupiter both have stars named after them: (margin: 'Iupiter deus deliciarum.')

Jupiter's adultery is referred to in Barlaam and Josaphat:[5]

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1. Confessio V 835-1496.
2. ibid., V 843-869.
3. 872.
4. Confessio V 870-882.
5. 872.

> Secundus inducitur Iupiter, quem ferunt regem esse aliorum deorum, et transformatum fuisse in animalia, ut cum mortalibus mulieribus adultera committeret.

Stars are attributed to Saturn and Jove both in the Poetarius of Alberic of London, a treatise on the classical pantheon of which the terminus ad quem appears to be before c. 1197, and the terminus post quem some time towards the middle or later years of the twelfth century,[1] and in the prologue to the Ovidius moralizatus of Pierre Bersuire; this prologue is a treatise on the classical pantheon, with moralizations.[2]

iii. Mars.[3]

Gower says that Mars was born in 'Dace' and that the 'clerk Vegecius' wrote that he came into Italy and violated the prioress in the temple of the goddess Vesta, named 'Ylia', who was the daughter of king 'Mynitor'. By her Mars was the father of Remus and Romulus, who overcame Italy and founded Rome. Mars was called god of battle. A star is named after him; (margin: 'Mars deus belli').

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1. See: Scriptores Rerum Mythicarum Latini Tres Romae Nuper Reperti, ed. G.H. Bode, 2 Vols. Cellis, 1834, Vol. I, 152-252-256. Concerning authorship, see: E. Rathbone, 'Master Alberic of London, 'Mythographus Tertius Vaticanus',' Mediaeval And Renaissance Studies, I, 1941-3, 35-8. Date, 36-7. See: Saturnus 3, l. 33-36, p. 153. 3. Juppiter, l. 17-18, p. 161.

2. On the Ovidius moralizatus see above pp. 221-2 and 245. See: Vol. I, Utrecht, 1960; 'De Saturno et eius figura' Cap. I p. 6. (l. 23-25). 'De Iove et eius figura' Cap. II p. 9 (l. 2-4).

3. Confessio V 883-914.

The birth of Mars in Dacia could have been suggested to Gower by a passage in the Epitoma Rei Militaris of Vegetius:[1]

> Dacos autem et Moesos et Thracos in tantum bellicosos semper fuisse manifestum est, ut ipsum Martem fabulae apud eos natum confirment.

The story of Mars, Ilia and Romulus and Remus is not told by Vegetius, but it is told by Servius:[2]

> Amulius et Numitor fratres fuerunt. Amulius fratrem imperio pepulit et filium eius necavit, filiam vero Iliam Vestae sacerdotem fecit, ut spem subolis auferret, a qua se puniri posse cognoverat. hanc ut multi dicunt Mars compressit, unde nati sunt Remus et Romus,...hi postea avum suum Numitorem occiso Amulio in regna revocarunt. quibus dum cum eo angustum Albae videretur imperium, recesserunt et captatis auguriis urbem condiderunt...ut autem pro Romo Romulus diceretur,

The star of Mars and his function as 'deus bellorum' are mentioned in the prologue to the Ovidius moralizatus.[3]

iv. Apollo.[4]

Gower says that Apollo's counsel was sought after by the Greeks, and that he was brother to Venus. He was a hunter in the hills, whose only virtue was that he could play on the harp. Very often, when he walked over land, he used his harp to get his sustenance. He pretended he could predict future events. He was the god of 'wit' (margin: 'Apollo deus Sapiencie').

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1. ed. C. Lang, Leipzig, 1885; I. 28, (p. 29 l. 14-16).
2. Servius, commentary on Virgil, Vol. I, ed. G. Thilo, Leipzig, 1881; commentary on Aeneid I. 273, p. 101 l. 11-16, p.102 l. 1-4, 6-7.
3. 'De Marte et eius figura' Cap. III, p. 11.
4. Confessio V 915-936.

In Barlaam and Josaphat it is stated:[1]

> Apollinem quoque inducunt deum esse zelotem, insuper arcum et pharetram gestantem, aliquando citharam, et tibiam, et divinantem hominibus, mercedis gratia.

The detail that Apollo's counsel was sought after and that he was god of wisdom parallels the description in Boccaccio's Genealogia Deorum Gentilium,[2] the use of which we shall see is apparent:

> Sapientie autem ideo deus est habitus propter consilia, que salubria circa morbos dabat poscentibus.

By a slip of the pen, Gower makes Apollo the brother of Venus instead of Diana.[3]

v. Mercury.[4]

Gower says that Mercury did not care what he stole, nor whom he slew. He knew enough sorcery, that when he wished to change his shape, he very often took the form of a woman, thereby thieving the more. He was also a great speaker on all things, and an author of lies; he was the god of merchants and of thieves. One of the seven planets is his star (margin: 'Mercurius deus Mercatorum et furtorum').

In Barlaam and Josaphat it is stated:[5]

> Deinde Mercurium inducunt Deum esse, cupidum et furem,

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1. 872.

2. Ed. V. Romano, 2 Vols., Bari, 1951. Vol. I: V Cap. III 'De Apolline...', 238 l. 20-21.

3. Apollo and Diana were twins, see Genealogia Cap. cit. p. 236 l. 21-22.

4. Confessio V 937-954.

5. 872.

> et avarum, et magum, et versipellem, et sermonum interpretem.

In the prologue to the Ovidius moralizatus it is said of Mercury:[1]

> Iste igitur dicebatur mercatorum deus et furum et Mercurius quasi mercatorum curius: id est curam gerens dictus volebat de viro in foeminam et de foemina in masculum se mutabat... Patet quod Mercurius sit alatus eo quod stella illa quae Mercurius dicitur citissime facit cursum suum. Et quia iste planeta operatur ad eloquentiam et ad mercaturam et ad furta.

vi. Vulcan.[2]

Vulcan is said by Gower to have had a hump on his back and to have been lame. He was a smith of Jupiter, who made him forge different things. He was god of fire. (margin: 'Vulcan deus ignis').

> In Barlaam and Josaphat it is stated:[3]
>
> Vulcanum quendam inducunt deum esse, et istum claudum, et tenentem malleum et forcipes, et ferrariam artem exercentem victus gratia.

In the prologue to the Ovidius moralizatus it is stated:[4]

> Vulcanus deus ignis faber Iovis pingebatur in similitudine fabri deformis et claudi malleum in manu tenens:

vii. Aeolus.[5]

Gower says that the King of Sicily, 'Ypolitus', had a son,

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1. 'De Mercurius et eius figura.' Cap. VI. p. 17.
2. Confessio V 955-966.
3. 872.
4. 'De Vulcano et eius figura.' Cap. XV. p. 35.
5. Confessio V 967-980.

called Aeolus, who by his father's permission held the government of every isle belonging to Sicily - all those, that is, which lie open to the wind from the land far away. The winds were called 'Eoli', and Aeolus was god of wind (margin: 'Eolus deus ventorum').

In the Poetarius it is stated:[1]

> Quia vero Aeoli superius fecimus mentionem, refert eum Varro IX insularum regem fuisse, ex quarum nebulis et Vulcaniae insulae fumo praedicens futura ventorum flabra, ab imperitis creditus est in sua potestate ventos tenere. Sunt autem ipsae insulae post fretum Siciliae, quae ab ipso Aeolo, Hippotae videlicet filio, Aeoliae appellantur, licet et propria habeat vocabula.

viii. Neptune.[2]

Jupiter, King of Crete, is said by Gower to have shared part of his property with his brother Neptune, so that Neptune took to himself the lordship of the sea. Here he perpetrated his tyrannies, and won the isles so that all men were afraid to sail on his territory, for he would attack and rob them, unless they had his safe-conduct. He was god of the sea, and also the first founder of Troy (margin: 'Neptunus deus maris').

In the Genealogia Deorum Gentilium, Neptune is referred to as a brother of Jupiter (Neptune speaks):[3] 'Tres enim a Saturno sumus fratres, quos genuit Rhea, Iuppiter et ego; tertius autem Dites mortuis dominans.' It is further stated

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1. 4. Juno 10. p. 170 l. 19-25.
2. Confessio V 981-1004.
3. Vol. 2.X Cap. I De Neptumno..' p. 487 l. 22-24.

in the same work:[1]

> Iuppiter Neptuno imperium dat maris, ut insulis omnibus et que secus mare loca essent omnibus regnaret etc. ..Siç et de muris Troie ab eo et Apolline constructis, ubi de Laomedonte legitur, invenitur.., Neptunus maris deus.

ix. Pan.[2]

Gower says that the teacher of shepherds and neatherds was from Arcadia and was called Pan. In the wood of 'Nonarcigne', surrounded by pine trees, and on the mount of 'Parasie', he had the charge of beasts. Beneath the valley, where the river called Ladon ran, he was the chief of those who kept tame beasts; for this reason they still make the feasts in the city of 'Stinfalides'. He taught men about the breeding of cattle, about oxen and birds. He was the first to discover the melody of reeds and to pipe with double pipes. He was the god of nature; (margin: 'Pan deus nature.')

In the Fasti[3] it is said:

> Pana deum pecoris veteres coluisse feruntur
> Arcades, Arcadiis plurimus ille iugis.
> testis erit Pholoe, testes Stymphalides undae,
> quique citis Ladon in mare currit aquis,
> cinctaque pinetis nemoris iuga Nonacrini,
> altaque Tricrene Parrhasiaeque nives.
> Pan erat armenti, Pan illic numen equarum;
> munus ob incolumes ille ferebat oves.

The association of Pan with reed pipes and his role as

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1. ibid., p. 488 l. 16-17. 2. Confessio V 1005-1042.

3. II 271-278. G.C. Macaulay refers to a line of the Metamorphoses in connection with this passage: (Confessio V 1009): 'Inter hamadryadas celeberrima Nonacrinas' (Met. I 690); Gower could equally well have derived 'Nonarcigne' from the passage in the Fasti here cited.

god of nature are referred to in Isidore's Etymologiae[1], in the Poetarius,[2] and in the prologue to the Ovidius moralizatus.[3]

x. Bacchus.[4]

Gower tells how Semele bore Bacchus to Jupiter, and how Jupiter, to hide his lechery, sent Bacchus to a mountain in India called 'Dyon'. He was a waster and squandered all his revenue on wine and the brothel. He was called "the god of wine, and thus a glutton was divine" (Margin: 'Bachus deus vini').

A passage in the Poetarius concerning the birth of Bacchus could have suggested the first part of Gower's description:[5]

> Jovis femori insutus fingitur et inde progenitus, quia, ut refert in Cosmographia Martianus, est in quadam regione urbs Nysa Libero patri sacra, monsque Merus Jovi sacer; unde et ipsum, inquit, fabula est, et Jovis femore (μηροῦ) procreatum. Apud Remigium tamen legimus, Nysam montem esse Indiae,... Cur de Semele, una filiarum Cadmi, Jove fulminante, natus perhibeatur, nihil me quod tradi dignum judicaverim legisse memini.

In Barlaam and Josaphat it is stated:[6]

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1. VIII. xi. 82 l. 7-8: 'Fistulam septem calamorum gestat'; l. 12-13: 'quem volunt rerum et totius naturae deum.'

2. 8. Apollo 2, l. 23-24, p. 200: 'Pan igitur...deus est naturae...' l. 29-30' Fistulam gerit VII calamorum..'

3. 'De Pane et eius figura.' Cap. XII p. 26. 'Pan ab antiquis dictus fuit deus naturae...In ore eius fistula septem calamorum ponebatur.'

4. Confessio V 1043-1058.

5. 12. Bacchus. 4. l. 20-25, p. 245. 5. l. 39-41, page cit.

6. p. 872.

> Bacchum vero inducunt deum esse, nocturnas agentem festivitates, et magistrum ebrietatis, et evellentem uxores proximorum, et furiosum, et fugitivum.

The role of Bacchus as god of wine is indicated in the prologue to the Ovidius moralizatus:[1]

> Sicut ponit Rabanus in libro de naturis rerum: et Fulgentius ubi supra antiqui attendentes vini virtutem et proprietatem ipsum esse deum in natura crediderunt.

xi. Aesculapius.[2]

Gower states that Aesculapius was a god whose craft was that of surgery. Because of his lust for the daughter of 'Daires', it happened that Jupiter slew him. He was a god among the Romans; by his presence a pestilence was destroyed after they went to the isle of 'Delphos', and Apollo sent his son Aesculapius to dwell among them. He returned to the isle and lived there till he died (margin: 'Esculapius deus medicine').

In Barlaam and Josaphat it is stated:[3]

> Asc/lepium etiam inducunt Deum esse medicum, et potiones conficientem, et emplastra componentem victus gratia. Indigentiam enim patiebatur. Novissime vero fulmine ictus a Iove, propter Darii Lacedaemonii filium,[4] interiit.

The story of the ending of the pestilence at Rome by Aesculapius

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1. 'De Baccho et eius figura'. Cap. XIII, p. 27.
2. Confessio V 1059-1082.
3. 872.
4. The text seen by Gower must have read 'filiam' to have suggested to him that Aesculapius was slain by Jove because of his lust for the daughter of 'Daires'.

is told in the Metamorphoses.[1] There is a parallel to Gower's reference to Delphi as an isle[2] in the version of the story given in a manuscript of the Ovidius moralizatus,[3] in which 'Delphos' is glossed 'est videlicet insula'. Aesculapius is said to be 'deus medicinae' in the prologue to the Ovidius moralizatus.[4]

xii. Hercules.[5]

Gower refers to the twelve wonders of Hercules, saying how he overcame giants and monsters. He was the god of strength, and he burnt himself to death (margin: 'Hercules deus fortitudinis'.)

The twelve labours of Hercules are referred to in the Poetarius, and some of them are described.[6] Hercules is described as 'fortissimus' in the prologue to the Ovidius moralizatus,[7] and in Barlaam and Josaphat it is stated:[8]

'Herculem vero inducunt ebriosum fuisse et insanum, et suos

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1. Met. XV 622-744.

2. Confessio V 1071: 'thyle of Delphos.'

3. See: Bodley MS. 571 fol. 1^{Ra}-82^{Vb}. The manuscript was written in England in the first half of the fifteenth century; see F. Madan and H.H.E. Craster, A Summary Catalogue Of Western Manuscripts In The Bodleian Library at Oxford, Vol. II, Part I, Oxford, 1922, 166. See XV, fol. 81^{Va}, 'Delphos', l. 15.

4. 'De Asculapio et eius figura', Cap. XVII p. 35.

5. Confessio V 1083-1102.

6. 13. Hercules. 4. l. 7-11, p. 248. Some of the labours, see: 13.4, 5, 6. p. 248-9.

7. 'De Hercule', Cap. XVI, p. 35. 8. 872.

occidisse, et ad ultimum igne consumptum interiisse.'

xiii. Pluto.[1]

Gower states that Pluto, brother of Jupiter, swore by 'Lethen', 'Flegeton', 'Cochitum' and Acheron, the chief rivers of hell. He also swore by 'Segne' and 'Stige', which are the principal pits of hell. Pluto swore these oaths everywhere, but it happened that he made a sacrifice to the gods for Jupiter's sake, and one of the pits of hell was granted him in reward. He was the King of hell (margin: 'Pluto deus Inferni').

In the Poetarius,[2] the prologue to the Ovidius moralizatus[3] and the Genealogia Deorum Gentilium,[4] Lethe, Cocytos, Phlegethon and Acheron are mentioned as underworld rivers, and Styx is also mentioned. A curiosity of Gower's description is the pit 'Segne', but this was perhaps suggested by the localization of the Styx 'circa Syenem extremam Egypti partem...', as in the Genealogia Deorum Gentilium.[5] Another curious detail of Gower's description is the granting of one pit of hell to Pluto as a reward for sacrificing to the

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1. Confessio V 1103-1126.

2. 6. Pluto 2. l. 15-22, p. 175.

3. 'De Plutone et eius figura' Cap. XIIII, p. 29.

4. Vol. I; III Cap. V 'De Acheronte infernali fluvio..' pp. 124-7, Cap. XIV 'De Stige..' p. 134-5, Cap. XV. 'De Cocito infernali fluvio..' p. 136. Cap. XVI. 'De Flegetonte fluvio infernali,..' p. 136. Cap. XVII 'De Lethe fluvio infernali..' p. 136.

5. III Cap. XIV, p. 135, l. 20.

gods for Jupiter's sake; Pluto swore his oaths everywhere, till this pit was granted him. This version of events may be an inaccurate rendering of the story of the origin of swearing by Styx, as told in the Poetarius[1] and in the prologue to the Ovidius moralizatus[2] and as alluded to in the Genealogia Deorum Gentilium.[3] According to this story, Victoria, daughter of Styx, favoured the gods in the war against the Titans, and Jupiter as a reward made all the gods swear by her mother. Pluto is described as the King of the underworld in the Poetarius ('Hunc inferorum regem,..ponunt'),[4] and in the Genealogia Deorum Gentilium, ('Hunc veteres Infernorum finxere regem,')[5] and as its god in the prologue to the Ovidius moralizatus ('inferiorum regnorum...deus').[6]

xiv. Cybele.[7]

Gower describes Cybele as the mother of goddesses, who came from 'Bethincia'; she was Saturn's wife and bore him three children: Juno, Neptune and Pluto (margin: 'Nota qualiter Sibeles Dearum Mater et origo nuncupatur').

Cybele is called 'mater deorum', given the epithet 'Berecynthia' and called the wife of Saturn in the Poetarius[8]

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1. 6. Pluto, 3, l. 4-9, p. 176. 2. 33.
3. III Cap. XIV, p. 136 l. 16-18.
4. 6. Pluto 1, l. 31-32, p. 174.
5. VIII Cap. VI, p. 40, l. 5-6. 6. Cap. XIIII, p. 28.
7. Confessio V 1133-1154.
8. 2. Cybele l. l. 15-16, p. 157.

and in the prologue to the Ovidius moralizatus.[1] In the Poetarius, Jove, Juno, Neptune and Pluto are said to have been children of Saturn.[2]

xv. Iuno.[3]

Gower states that a voice told Saturn how his own son would depose him; he hated Cybele and his progeny, and lay with 'Philerem', so that Jupiter was born to her. All happened as was prophesied, and Jupiter, King of Crete, took to wife Juno, daughter of Cybele. Juno, Jupiter's sister as well as his Queen was the goddess of reigns and riches; she led the water nymphs and the rainbow was her messenger, and so she was goddess of the sky (margin: 'Iuno Dea Regnorum et diviciarum').

The prophecy concerning Saturn's overthrow by his son is mentioned in the Fasti:[4]

> reddita Saturno sors haec erat; 'optime regum,
> a nato sceptris excutiere tuis.'

The union of Saturn and Philyra is referred to by Servius,[5] though Chiron and not Jupiter was their offspring:

> CONIUGIS ADVENTU PERNIX SATURNUS dum cum amata Philyra Saturnus coiret, eius uxor advenit. cuius praesentiam veritus, se in equum convertit, qualem potuit numen imitari. exinde natus est Chiron, dimidia parte homo, dimidia equus.

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1. 'De Cibele et eius figura', Cap. X, p. 24 (l. 1-3).
2. 2 Cybele 6, l. 14-16, p. 160.
3. Confessio V 1155-1188.
4. IV 197-8.
5. Commentary on Georgics III. 93; in Vol. 3. 1, of commentary on Virgil, ed. G. Thilo. Leipzig, 1887, 283 l. 27-284 l. 2.

In the Poetarius,[1] the prologue to the Ovidius moralizatus[2] and the Genelogia Deorum Gentilium,[3] Juno is said to have been the goddess of reigns and riches, and the nymphs and Iris are assigned to her. In the latter two works, she is also said to have been the sister and wife of Jove.[4]

xvi. Minerva.[5]

Gower tells how Minerva was found cast away as a child lying near the great lake of Triton, in Africa. She was carried from there into an island far away in Thrace, called 'Palene', where a nurse kept and reared her. Afterwards, she was so wise that she first invented cloth-making from wool and linen. She was goddess of 'Sapience' (margin: 'Minerva Dea sapienciarum').

In the Etymologiae[6] it is stated:

> Haec Minerva et Tritonia dicitur. Triton enim Africae palus est, circa quam fertur virginali apparuisse aetate, propter quod Tritonia nuncupata est..Pallas autem dicta vel ab insula Pallene in Thracia, in qua nutrita est.

In the Genealogia Deorum Gentilum it is said of Minerva:[7]

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1. 4 Juno l. 23-24 p. 165, 2. l. 29-30 p. 165, 5. l. 17-18 p. 167, 6. l. 39-40 p. 167.

2. 'De Iunone et eius figura'. Cap. IX p. 22 (6th and 11th lines of description of goddess).

3. Vol. II; IX Cap. I. 'De Junone..', p. 436 l. 19-20, 30-33.

4. Prologue, Ovidius moralizatus p. 22 l. 2. Genealogia p. 436 l. 16-17.

5. Confessio V 1189-1206.

6. VIII. xi. 74-76.

7. Vol. I, II, Cap. III 'De Minerva prima, primi Iovis prima filia.' p. 72, l. 4-6.

'Huius preterea compertum volunt lanificium antea eam incognitum, sic et texturam'. Minerva is referred to as 'dea sapientiae' in the prologue to the Ovidius moralizatus.[1]

xvii. Pallas.[2]

According to Gower, the father of Pallas was 'Pallant', who was a giant; Pallas brought about his death in his house. Some said that Mars was the wife of Pallas, and so she was goddess of battles; (margin: 'Pallas Dea bellorum').

In the Etymologiae it is said that Pallas 'Pallantem gigantem occiderit'.[3] The giant Pallas is referred to as the father of the goddess in the Genealogia Deorum Gentilium,[4] and in the same work Minerva is said to have been the sister and not the wife of Mars.[5] In the Poetarius, it is said that Pallas is 'belli...deam.'[6]

xviii. Ceres.[7]

Gower tells how Saturn, after his exile from Crete, came to the lands of Italy, where he invented the craft of ploughing and of sowing corn, the cultivation of the vine, and the making of grapes into wine. His wife Ceres taught the same, and

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1. 'De Minerva et eius figura'. Cap. VIII. p. 20.

2. Confessio V 1207-1220. 3. ed. cit. VIII. xi. 76.

4. Vol. I. IV Cap. LXIII: 'De Pallene XI^{O} Tytanis filio, qui genuit Minervam.' Cap. LXIV. 'De Minerva Pallenis filia.' p. 219. Minerva is here said to have killed her father, referred to as 'hominem immanem', (Cap. LXIII), though not as a giant.

5. Vol. I,V Cap. XLVIII. 'De Minerva secundi Iovis filia XIIII^{a}'. p. 282, l. 19-20.

6. 10. Pallas l. l. 25-27. p. 221. 7. Confessio V 1221-1244.

they asked her blessing for their husbandry. Her son 'Tricolonius' (Triptolemus) made the corn cheap or dear according to her will. She was goddess of corn (margin: 'Ceres dea frugum').

It is said in the Poetarius:[1]

> Historia quidem habet, Saturnum patrem et Jovem filium regna in Creta obtinuisse. Inter quos bello orto, quum praevaluisset Juppiter, fugatus Saturnus Italiam petiit, ibique a Jano, qui tunc regnabat, receptus, quum eum usum vinearum et falcis docuisset...

In the Genealogia Deorum Gentilium[2] it is further said of Saturn: 'Insuper ignaros docuit arva colere, semina terris dare,' Ceres was the daughter of Saturn, and not the wife and was 'dea frugum' and the first who ploughed land according to the Genealogia Deorum Gentilium.[3] According to the same work, she was the nurse, and not the mother of Triptolemus, to whom she granted corn.[4]

xix. Diana.[5]

Gower tells how Latona bore Diana to Jupiter, unknown to

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1. l. Saturnus 2., l. 24-28, p. 153.

2. Vol. I, VIII Cap. I 'De Saturno', p. 391, l. 27-28.

3. Vol. I, VIII Cap. IV. 'De Cerere III[a] Saturni filia, et matre Proserpina', p. 395 l. 30-31; p. 398 l. 30-31: 'ex quo ab Ovidio dictum est: Prima Ceres unco terram dimovit aratro'. Cf. Met. V 345. See also Poetarius 7. Proserpina 4. l. 37-38 p. 199 'Quod Ceres, quae dea est frugum'.

4. Vol. I, VIII Cap. IV cit., p. 396 l. 14-25; p. 396 l. 24-25: Ceres 'fruges ei propagandas misit,' l. 34 '..et demum illi currum tradidit, et cum frumento misit.'

5. Confessio V 1245-1276.

Juno his wife; when Juno knew of this, Latona fled to the isle of Delos, where Diana was born. Diana did not care for marriage, but devoted herself to hunting in forest and wilderness; here she spent day and night slaying beasts with her bow and arrow. The gentiles call her goddess of high hills, green trees, and fresh wells (margin: 'Diana Dea Moncium et Silvarum').

The story of the birth of Apollo and Diana is related in the Poetarius:[1]

> Dicitur Apollo Delius,..sive a Delo insula, in qua fingitur natus. Post vitiatam vero Latonam quum ejus etiam sororem Asterien vitiare vellet Juppiter,.. Postea quum Juno gravidam, Pythone misso, Latonam persequeretur, terris omnibus expulsa, tandem aliquando ab applicante se litoribus sorore suscepta est, et illic Dianam primo, post Apollinem peperit;

In the prologue to the Ovidius moralizatus it is stated:[2]

> Ista igitur pingebatur in specie unius dominae sagittam et arcum tenentis cervos timidos in venatione sequentis... Solet etiam venatores de nocte illuminare et sic venationis necnon et sylvarum dicitur esse dea: qua propter deam sylvarum montium et fontium gentiles eam colebant. Dic quod per istam deam possumus intellegere virginem gloriosam.

xx. Proserpina.[3]

Gower tells the story of the rape of Proserpina, daughter of Ceres and Pluto. As she was going to gather flowers under the mountain of 'Ethna', Pluto came riding that way and took

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1. 8. Apollo 3. l. 38, 39, 43-45, p. 200, l. 4-7 p. 201.
2. 'De Diana et eius figura' Cap. VII p. 19.
3. Confessio V 1277-1302.

her up in his chariot. He wedded her, and she was called goddess of hell because of him (margin: 'Proserpina Dea Infernorum').

In the version of the story of the rape of Proserpina in the Metamorphoses,[1] there is no mention of Aetna, neither is it said that Pluto wedded Proserpina, or that she was goddess of hell because of him - all details found in the version of the story in the Ovidius moralizatus:[2]

> Cum igitur tunc temporis Proserpina Cereris filia pulcherrima puella ad colligendum flores sub Aethna cum sodalibus suis exisset:...Et (Pluto) sic Proserpinam secum in infernum perduxit et inferorum reginam effecit quia matrimonialiter sibi copulavit illam.

xxi. Worship of the gods.[3]

Gower's mention in this passage of the assignation of each day of the year to a god[4] may have been suggested by the Fasti.

xxii. Satyrs, Nymphs and Manes.[5]

Gower enumerates Satyrs, gods of the hills (margin: 'Nota, quod Dii Montium Satiri vocantur'), Oreads, nymphs of the mountains ('Oreades Nimphe Montium'), Dryads, nymphs of the woods ('Driades Silvarum'), Naiads, nymphs of the wells ('Naiades fontium'), and Nereids, nymphs of the sea ('Nereides

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1. V. 385-408.
2. See: Vol. 2, 1962, V.IIII p.92.
3. Confessio V 1303-1366.
4. ibid. V 1311-1312.
5. ibid., V 1323-1366.

Marium'). In connection with the Nereids, Gower tells the story of Dorus, King of Greece, whose wife and three daughters and many gentlewomen were drowned in the sea and called Nereids. Finally, Gower enumerates gods of the dead ('Manes dii mortuorum').

In the prologue to the Ovidius moralizatus it is stated:[1]

> Circa quam (Diana) chorizant chori Dryadum: Oreadum: Naiadum et Neridum id est chori nympharum: sylvarum: montium: fontium: atque marium cum choris satyrorum qui dii dicebantur agrorum.

In the Etymologiae it is said:[2] 'Manes deos mortuorum dicunt,'.

The story of Dorus is told in the Poetarius:[3]

> Quod autem Doris uxor Tritonis dicta est, ab historia sumtum est. Dorus enim rex extitit Graeciae, qui in mari dicitur cum exercitu suo perisse. Quare a poëtis, adulationi et figmento ubique deservientibus, ipse dea marina et exercitus ejus filiae ipsius, id est Nymphae marinae dicti sunt.

xxiii. Venus and Cupid.[4]

Venus, daughter of Saturn had several children; she had 'Armene' by Mars, 'Andragene' by Mercury, Aeneas by Anchises, 'Ericon' by 'Biten' and Cupid by her brother Jupiter. Venus is associated with lust, and Cupid was blind, and loved his mother. Venus made a law that women might take whatever man they pleased, and be as promiscuous ('comun') as they wished. She was the first to say that women should sell their bodies; Semiramis held to that doctrine, and so did fair 'Neabole' of

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1. 'De Diana et eius figura' Cap. VII p. 19.
2. VIII. xi. 100.
3. 5. Neptunus l. l. 26-31, p. 171.
4. Confessio V 1382-1443.

Rome. Venus was the goddess of love, 'gentilesse', lust and pleasure (margin: 'Qualiter Cupido et Venus deus et dea amoris nuncupantur').

In the Genealogia Deorum Gentilium, Hermiona, or Harmonia ('Armene'), is said to have been the daughter of Venus and Mars.[1] 'Andragene' as the child of Venus and Mercury could have been suggested by a passage in the Poetarius:[2]

> Hermaphroditus igitur quasi Mercurii et Aphroditae dictus est filius. Hermaphroditos autem dicimus homines utriusque sexus, quos et Androgynos nuncupamus.

Aeneas is said by Servius to have been the son of Venus and Anchises.[3] Eryx ('Ericon') is said to be the son of Venus and Butes ('Biten') by Servius[4] and in the Genealogia Deorum Gentilium.[5] In the Ovide moralisé,[6] Cupid is said to have been a son born to Jupiter and Venus, and here and in the prologue to the Ovidius moralizatus he is called the god of love and

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1. Vol. II IX Cap. 37: 'De Hermiona XI[a] Martis filia et Cadmi coniuge', p. 478 l. 15.

2. 9. Mercurius 2 l. 31-34, p. 214.

3. Commentary, Vol. I, cit; on Aeneid I. 617, p. 181 l. 4-7.

4. Commentary, Vol. I, cit: on Aeneid I 570, p. 173 l. 1-2; Aeneid V 24, p. 592 l. 4; Aeneid V 412, p. 626 l. 8.

5. Vol. II. X Cap. V. 'De Eryce Buthis filio,' p. 491, l. 12.

6. Ed. C. De Boer, t. I, Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam. Afdeeling Letterkunde. Nieuwe Reeks Deel XV, 1915, I 655-666.

represented as blind.[1] Venus is associated with the institution of the art of the courtesan in the Genealogia Deorum Gentilium:[2]

> quod legitur in Hystoria sacra Venerem scilicet instituisse meretricium questum...dicunt eam Cypriis mulieribus suasisse meretricium, et instituisse ut facerent vulgato corpore questum.

The harlotry of Semiramis is alluded to by Orosius:[3]

> haec libidine ardens, sanguinem sitiens, inter incessabilia et stupra et homicidia, cum omnes quos regie arcessitos, meretricie habitos concubitu oblectasset occideret.

I have not succeeded in identifying 'Neabole'. Venus is associated with pleasure and lust in the Genealogia Deorum Gentilium:[4]

> Nam pro Venere hac ego voluptuosam vitam intelligo, et in omnibus ad voluptatem et libidem pertinentibus cum superiori unam et eandem esse.

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1. Ovide moralisé I l. 656: 'dieu d'amours'; l. 659: 'Et pour ce sont il paint avugle'. Passage referred to by E. Panofsky, in: 'Blind Cupid', Studies in Iconology, New York, 1939, 106. Prologue, Ovidius moralizatus: 'De Venere et eius figura' Cap. V; Cupido is represented as 'caecus' and 'deum amoris', see l. 9 and 15 of description of Venus, p. 15.

2. Vol. II, XI Cap. IV 'De Venere Iovis XI[a] filia, que peperit Amorem.' 543, l. 24-25, 544 l. 25-27.

3. Historiarum Adversum Paganos, Libri VII, ed. C. Zangemeister, Leipzig, 1889; I.4.7., p. 17, l. 29-32. This passage is included as part of a quotation by I. Samuel in: 'Semiramis in the Middle Ages: The History Of A Legend,' Medievalia et Humanistica, fasc. II, 1944, p. 33.

4. ed. cit. Vol. I.III 'De secunda Venere VII[a] filia et matre Cupidinis', 149 l. 23-25.

xxiv. Association of the gods with parts of the body.[1]

It is said by Gower that Dindimus, King of the Brahmans, wrote to Alexander, disparaging the faith of the Greeks. He says that they have a separate god for every part of the body, and enumerates the gods with the parts of the body associated with them (margin:

> Nota de Epistola Dindimi Regis Bragmannorum Alexandro magno directa, ubi dicit quod Greci tunc ad corporis conservacionem pro singulis membris singulos deos specialiter appropriari credunt).

The letter supposed to have been written by Dindimus, King of the Brahmans, to Alexander the Great, in which the gods are associated with parts of the body in a passage in which Alexander's religion is attacked, is found in the Collatio Alexandri Magni cum Dindimo rege Bragmanorum de philosophia per litteras facta;[2] the Collatio was interpolated with variants into all three redactions of the Historia de Preliis,[3] and the passage concerning the association of the gods with parts of the body is translated from the Historia

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1. Confessio V 1453-1496.

2. See ed. B. Kuebler, Leipzig, 1888, 169-189. 'Prima responsio Dindimi, regis Bragmanorum, contra Alexandrum, regem magnum Macedonum,' 179 l. 19-180 l. 13.

3. See: D.J.A. Ross, Alexander Historiatus A Guide to Medieval Illustrated Alexander Literature, Warburg Institute Surveys, I, 1963, 32. Historia de Preliis (Redaction I^2) ed. A. Hilka (Parallel text to old French prose Alexander Romance), Halle, 1920. Festschrift für Carl Appel, Cap. 99, 194 l. 11-195 l. 2. The passage in the Historia de Preliis is quoted by G.C. Macaulay, Confessio V 1453 n.

in Alexander B,[1] an English alliterative fragment dated c. 1340-1370.

Minerva is the first of the gods to be enumerated by Gower,[2] in the Collatio,[3] in the first two redactions of the Historia[4] and in Alexander B.[5] As compared to the Collatio and the second redaction of the Historia, Gower has omitted to enumerate Jove and Apollo, and these two gods are omitted in the first as well as the third redaction of the Historia,[6] so that the number of gods enumerated by Gower corresponds to that of the first redaction of the Historia. In Alexander B, Jupiter plays the role given to Juno in the other versions, and Juno plays that given to Jupiter,[7] and Apollo is included.[8] In describing Cupid as bearing a fiery brand in his hand, Gower gives a detail found in the Historia

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1. Ed. F.P. Magoun, in: The Gests of King Alexander of Macedon, Cambridge, Mass., 1929, 171-216; l. 650-707. Date: 101.

2. Confessio V 1460-1464. 3. 179 l. 24-25.

4. ed. A. Hilka, 194 l. 16-19. Redactions I^1 and I^2 are represented in the lines referred to: (variations of redaction I^2 from I^1 are shown by italics, cf. introduction XLII. There are none here). Macaulay quotes from the Strasbourg edition of 1489, which contains the third redaction. Here Minerva is omitted; see note cit. Concerning editions of the third redaction, see: D.J.A. Ross, op. cit., 99, n. 304.

5. l. 653-8.

6. See ed. A. Hilka; Jove and Apollo are additions of redaction I^2, see 194 l. 34-36 (italics). See also passage quoted by Macaulay, n. cit. See also Collatio 180 l. 8-10.

7. Cf. Alexander B l. 659-662 and l. 697-700, with Collatio 179 l. 25-26, and 180 l. 8-9, Historia 194 l. 19-20 and l. 34, and Confessio V 1481-1485.

8. l. 701-3.

and Alexander B, but omitted in the Collatio.[1] In associating Cupid with the stomach, Gower agrees with Alexander B, for in the other versions he is associated with the liver.[2]

These details suggest that Gower knew the passage in the Historia as well as that in Alexander B.

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1. Confessio V 1485-6:
'Cupide, which the brond afyre
Bar in his hond,'
Cf. Historia ed. A. Hilka, 194 l. 28 'tenere facem ardentem in manu', and Alexander B, l. 683: 'A bryht brenninge bronde he berip on his hondis.'

2. Cf. Confessio V 1587, and Alexander B l. 686. ('stomak' in both cases). Collatio 180 l. 4: 'Cupidinem iecoris secretarium coercere,' Historia 194 l. 29 'deum iecoris'.

IV. ORIGIN OF IDOL-WORSHIP.[1]

i. The image of Syrophanes' son.[2]

Appended to the pantheon of the Greeks is the passage on the origin of idolatry. Gower tells that according to 'Petornius' or Petronius[3] and 'Nigargorus', Prometheus invented the craft of making images, and that 'Cirophanes' is said to have set up the first image. 'Cirophanes', out of sorrow for his son's death, had an image made in his likeness; those who wished to please the father were to do obeisance to it (margin:

> Nota de prima ydolorum cultura, que ex tribus precipue Statuis exorta est; quarum primum fuit illa, quam in filii sui memoriam quidam princeps nomine Cirophanes a sculptore Promotheo fabricari constituit).

In the Poetarius it is stated:[4] 'Refert Nicagoras, et testatur Petronius Arbiter, Prometheum primum idolum formasse,..' Prometheus is associated with the first making of idols in the passages on idolatry in the Historia Destructionis Troiae of Guido de Columnis,[5] and in the Fulgentius metaforalis of John Ridevall, written before 1333-4.[6] Accounts of Syrophanes'

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1. Confessio V 1457-1590. 2. ibid., V 1518-1540.
3. Both spellings occur in manuscripts, see: apparatus criticus Confessio V 1520.
4. 10 Pallas 9. 1. 31-32, p. 227.
5. ed. N.E. Griffin, The Mediaeval Academy of America. Publication No. 26, 1936. X, p. 94. (Passage on idolatry, pp. 93-95).
6. ed. H. Liebeschütz, Studien Der Bibliothek Warburg, IV, 1926, Cap. I. 'Ydolatria', 70. Date: see B. Smalley, English Friars And Antiquity In The Early Fourteenth Century, Oxford, 1960, 110.

setting up an image of his son which could have suggested that of Gower are found in the Poetarius,[1] the Fulgentius metaforalis,[2] Holcot's commentary on the Wisdom of Solomon,[3] and the Polychronicon.[4]

ii. Image of Belus.[5]

Gower tells how Ninus, King of Assyria, had an image of Belus made of gold and fine stones. Belus, Ninus' father, was in the direct line of descent from 'Nembroth'. From Belus came the name of Bel, and from Bel that of 'Belzebub': (margin:

> Secunda Statua fuit illa, quam ad sui patris Beli culturam Rex Ninus fieri et adorari decrevit. Et sic de nomine Beli postea Bel et Belzebub ydolum accrevit).

The account of Ninus' setting up of the image of his father Belus and the various names of Belus are found in the Historia Scholastica,[6] the Pantheon of Godfrey of Viterbo,[7]

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1. Prooemium, 152 l. 4-16.
2. Cap. I 'Ydolatria', 66.
3. Ed. Basle, 1586. Cap. 14. Lectio 164. pp. 540-541 (passage on origin of idol-worship, pp. 540-1).
4. Vol. II, II Cap. IX, pp. 278-280.
5. Confessio V 1541-1558.
6. P.L. 198, ed. J.P. Migne 1855, Genesis: Cap. XL. 'De morte Beli,' et ortu idolorum'. col. 1090.
7. Germanicorum Scriptorum t. II, ed. J. Pistorius and B.G. Struve, Ratisbone, 1726: Pars IV: 'Quare primum idolum in mundo, et quo tempore fuit'. p. 75 col. 2-76 col. 1. Passage referred to by Macaulay, Confessio V 1541 n.

the Speculum Doctrinale and Historiale,[1] the Historia Destructionis Troiae,[2] the Fulgentius metaforalis,[3] the Polychronicon,[4] and the Gest Hystoriale of the Destruction of Troy (c. 1350-1400; translated version of the Historia Destructionis Troiae).[5] Only in the Historia Destructionis Troiae and the Gest Hystoriale is there mention of the material out of which the image is made; in the Historia it is said to be of gold ('ex auro'), and in the Gest Hystoriale[6] it is said to be 'of gold, and of good stonys'.

iii. Image of Apis.[7]

Gower says that the third image came into being when they made an image of Apis, King of Greece. Serapis took his name from Apis, and they sacrificed to Serapis. It is related how Alexander, when he came riding from Candace, found a cave. Candalus, son of Candace, told him that the gods were in that cave. Alexander went into the cave, and it seemed to him

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1. Speculum Doctrinale, Douai, 1624. Photomechanical Reprint, Graz, 1965, XVII: Cap. 5 'De origine falsorum Deorum': col. 1552. Speculum Historiale I Cap. 102; 'De ortu Idolatriae sub Nino.' col. 37b.

2. X. p. 94. Referred to by Macaulay, op. cit.

3. I. p. 69.

4. Cap. cit. p. 278.

5. ed. G.A. Panton and D. Donaldson, E.E.T.S., O.S. 39, 56, 1869, 1874. X 4332-4360. Date, see: J.D. Cooke, 'Euhemerism: A Mediaeval Interpretation Of Classical Paganism' Speculum II, 1927, 404. The passages in the Historia Scholastica, Pantheon, Speculum Historiale, Historia Destructionis Troiae, Polychronicon and Gest Hystoriale are referred to by Cooke, art. cit. 404-5.

6. X l. 4341.

7. Confessio V 1559-1590.

that Serapis, amongst other gods there, spoke to him; (margin:

> Tercia Statua fuit illa, que ad honorem Apis Regis Grecorum sculpta fuit, cui postea nomen Serapis imponentes, ipsum quasi deum Pagani coluerunt).

In the Pantheon, it is stated:[1]

> His temporibus apud Egyptios constructum est idolum magnum in honorem Apis, Regis Argivorum, quidam tamen dicunt in honorem Ioseph, qui liberavit eos a fame; quod idolum Serapis vocabatur, quasi idolum Apis.

Gower's story of Alexander and Serapis parallels the one in the Historia de Preliis.[2]

It will have been noticed that all the idol makers and idols mentioned by Gower, with the exception of Apis or Serapis, are included in passages in which there is discussion of idolatry.

Conclusion.

Gower to a great extent supplemented the account of the gods in Nachor's speech in Barlaam and Josaphat with material found in medieval treatises concerning the pantheon. Many parallel passages and details show that Gower was most probably familiar with two such treatises, the Poetarius of Alberic of London and the prologue to the Ovidius moralizatus. We have already seen that he probably used the Ovidius moralizatus in his Ovidian stories.[3] It is probable that he owed details also

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1. Pars IV: 'Chronica illius temporis de regibus gentium', p. 83, col. 2, quoted by Macaulay, Confessio V 1559 n.

2. ed. A. Hilka, Cap. 110, pp. 220-221. The beginning of the passage is quoted by Macaulay, Confessio V 1571 ff n.

3. See above p. 245.

to a third treatise, the Genealogia Deorum Gentilium of Boccaccio; such details are the entreating of Apollo's counsel, the handing over of the rule of the sea by Jupiter to Neptune in the description of Neptune, the pit 'Segne' in the description of Pluto, the discovery by Minerva of cloth making from wool and linen, Pallas the giant as father of Pallas the goddess, and the association of Venus with the institution of the art of the courtesan.

It is most probable that Gower also made use of the Etymologiae of Isidore of Seville. The detail of Cupid as the son of Venus and Jupiter could have been derived from the Ovide moralisé, and the detail of the association of Nimrod with fire worship in a side note in the description of the pantheon of the Chaldeans may have been derived from the Polychronicon.

Gower probably turned to the Historia de Preliis and Alexander B in the passage concerning the association of the gods with parts of the body, and the discussion of the origin of idol-worship resembles other medieval discussions of idolatry.

It will be observed that Gower's direct reading in the classics as reflected in this passage is limited to a few works. The stories of the ending of the pestilence by Aesculapius and of the rape of Proserpina are told in the Metamorphoses, and most of the description of Pan is taken from the Fasti; Gower may also have owed to the Fasti his reference to the prophecy concerning Saturn's overthrow by his son in the description of Juno, and to the assignation of

each day of the year to a god. A passage in the Epitoma Rei Militaris of Vegetius is likely to have suggested the detail about the birth of Mars in Dacia, and the commentary of Servius on Virgil was also most probably used by Gower.

In the foregoing examination of sources, no mention has been made of the Fabulae of Hyginus, the Mitologiae of Fulgentius and the mythological treatises of the first and second Vatican Mythographers, since these works were not in general circulation in Gower's day; there are no details of Gower's descriptions found in them which are not also found in other works which he is more likely to have used. The works which have been referred to are either those which Gower used in other parts of the Confessio Amantis, or those to which he is likely to have had access.

Chapter V

SOURCES OF SOME MEDIEVAL THEMES IN THE CONFESSIO AMANTIS

The following themes in the poem have been selected for discussion in this chapter: first, the four world empires,[1] secondly, the fifteen stars, their stones and herbs,[2] and finally some lists, namely of discoverers and inventors,[3] of the first alchemists,[4] of authors of magic and their books,[5] of authors of the science of astronomy,[6] and of the first lawgivers.[7]

I. THE FOUR WORLD EMPIRES[8]

The account of the four world empires (Babylonian, Persian, Greek and Roman) in the Prologue to the Confessio Amantis is based on the concept of the 'translatio imperii'.[9] It might be supposed that Gower's use of a concept so common in medieval historiography would not be traceable to any definite source. However, we know from other passages in the Confessio Amantis that Gower's usual historical authorities were the Pantheon of Godfrey of Viterbo, the Trésor of Brunetto Latini, and the

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1. Confessio Prologue 663-821; also 579-582 and 585-662.
2. Ibid. VII 1281-1438.
3. Ibid. IV 2396-2450.
4. Ibid. IV 2602-2612.
5. Ibid. VI 1293-1313.
6. Ibid. VII 1449-1480.
7. Ibid. VII 3054-3061.
8. Ibid. Prologue 663-831.
9. On this concept, see W. Goez, Translatio Imperii, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Geschichtsdenkens und der politischen Theorien im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit, Tübingen, 1958.

Polychronicon of Ranulf Higden, and so it is worth seeing how far details of this passage can be paralleled in these authorities. G.C. Macaulay points to the Trésor as the source for the account of the Roman empire but he points this out in a brief corrigendum without developing his reasons.[1] A close examination shows that Macaulay was correct in stating that the Trésor was a source for this passage, but that Gower added details from one of his other usual historical authorities, namely the Pantheon. One such detail occurs in Gower's account of Charlemagne's expedition in aid of Pope Adrian. Gower says of Charlemagne at the end of the expedition that he:[2]

doth restore
The Popes lost, and yaf him more.

This detail is not given in the Trésor,[3] whereas in the

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1. See: Corrigendum to Prologue, 745 ff. Macaulay here refers to pp. 84-88 of: Brunetto Latini, Li Livres dou Tresor, ed. P. Chabaille, Paris, 1863. Macaulay's reference corresponds to Trésor I Cap. 89.1. (p. 70, 1.3) - I Cap. 92.3 (p. 73, 1.33) in: ed. F.J. Carmody, 1948. University of California Publications in Modern Philology, 22. The parallels between Gower's account of the Roman Empire and this passage of the Trésor are as follows: Confessio, Prologue 739-744 cf. Trésor ed. Carmody I Cap. 89, 1-2 (p. 70, l. 9-10). Prologue, 745-765 cf. Trésor I Cap. 89.4. (p. 70, l. 28-30, l. 36-37). Prologue 766-780, cf. Trésor I Cap. 90.1. (p. 71, l. 1-3); I Cap. 90.3-4(p. 71, l. 17-25); I Cap. 91.1. (p. 72, l. 1-3, 5-7).

2. Confessio, Prologue, 761-762.

3. At this point, Latini speaks of Charlemagne's conquest of Lombardy, and his subjection of Italy to himself and the church: 'Et quant Charles ot Lombardie tote conquise et tote la terre de Ytaile sousmise a soi et a Sainte Eglise', (Trésor I Cap. 89, 5. p. 70, 1.34-35).

Pantheon[1] it is said of Charlemagne at the end of his expedition in aid of the Pope:

> Karolus Ytaliam, postquam remeavit ab Urbe,
> Visitat et superat fiscoque subesse perurget,
> Reddit et ecclesiis predia digna suis.

Gower's association of the transfer of the Roman empire to the Germans with Otto the Great also parallels the account of the Pantheon and not of the Trésor; Gower says that the Germans:[2]

> made an Emperour anon,
> Whos name as the Cronique telleth
> Was Othes; and so forth it duelleth,
> Fro thilke day yit unto this
> Thempire of Rome hath ben and is
> To thalemans.

In the Trésor, the coronation of Otto as Emperor is not mentioned in connection with the transfer of the Roman empire to the Germans,[3] but in the Pantheon[4] this transfer is said to take place from the time of Otto's assumption of the name and dignity of Emperor:

> Imperatoris nomen ac dignitatem sortitus... Ab eo tempore regnum Romanorum post Francos et Longobardos imperatores predictos ad Teotonicos reversus est, et ad Francos orientales.

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1. Ed. G. Waitz, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum t. XXII, Hannover, 1872; Particula 23, Section 3, p. 211, l. 31-33.

2. Confessio Prologue 817-821.

3. See: Trésor, I Cap. 92 'DE L'EMPEREOR OCTE'. 3. (p. 73 l. 19-20): 'et fu coronés a roi et empereor de Rome'.

4. Particula 23, Section 29, p. 234, l. 20-21, and l. 25-27.

It should further be pointed out that details in Gower's passage concerning the transfer of the Roman empire from the Lombards to the Germans correspond to details in a passage of the Trésor not referred to by Macaulay. Gower tells of the envy amongst the Lombards:[1]

> And that was on the Lombardz sene,
> Such comun strif was hem betwene
> Thurgh coveitise and thurgh Envie,
> That every man drowh his partie,
> Which myhte leden eny route,
> Withinne Burgh and ek withoute:

He goes on to tell that the Lombards chose seven princes of Germany, on condition that the Roman Empire would be dependent on the choice made by these princes:[2]

> Of Alemaine Princes seven
> Thei chose in this condicioun,
> That upon here eleccioun
> The empire of Rome scholde stonde.

So, the Roman Empire passed to the Germans, who made Otto Emperor.[3] In the chapter of the Trésor concerning the transfer of the Roman Empire to the Germans, the growing envy which created much hatred amongst the Lombards is mentioned:[4] 'et ke l'envie croissoit et engendroit maintes haines entre les noble lombars,'; it is also stated that the high office of

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1. Confessio, Prologue, 789-794.
2. Ibid. Prologue, 804-807.
3. Ibid. Prologue, 808-821.
4. I Cap. 93: 'COMMENT LI EMPIRES VINT AS ALEMANS' (pp. 74-75). This quotation: l. (p. 74, l. 2-3).

electing the Emperor passed to seven princes of Germany:[1] 'Et ensi vint la hautece d'eslire empereour as vii. princes d'Alemaigne'. In the Trésor,[2] these events precede the election of Henry as Emperor. It is evident that Gower's passage represents a combination of two different accounts of the transfer of the Roman Empire to the Germans; in one of these accounts the transfer is associated with the coronation of Otto the Great, in the other with the events prior to the election of Henry.

Nebuchadnezzar's Dream[3]

The story of Nebuchadnezzar's dream in the Prologue to the Confessio Amantis is derived from the second chapter of the Book of Daniel, and is told by Gower to illustrate the mutability of reigns, for which man himself is to be blamed:[4]

> And fro the ferste regne of alle
> Into this day, hou so befalle,
> Of that the regnes be muable
> The man himself hath be coupable,

Gower was here following a traditional interpretation, since Nebuchadnezzar's dream is said to signify the mutation of

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1. Ibid. 2. (p. 74, l. 9-10).

2. Cap. 94: 'DE L'EMPEREOR HENRI' (p. 95). l. line 1: APRÉS ce fu esleu a roi et empereor Henris'.

3. Confessio, Prologue, 585-662.

4. Ibid. Prologue, 579-582.

realms in Jerome's commentary on the Book of Daniel:[1]

> simulque subostendit, et generali disputatione praeparat auditorem, somnium quo vidit esse de mutatione et successione regnorum.

Gower's association of the metals of the statue of the dream with the four world empires of Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome[2] is also traditional. In Jerome's commentary on the Book of Daniel the four monarchies are Babylonian, Median and Persian, Macedonian, and Roman.[3] In Peter Comestor's account of the dream in the Historia Scholastica,[4] the third monarchy is Greek, as in Gower's passage.

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1. See: Liber I, P.L. t. 25, ed. J.P. Migne, 1845, col. 500. This quotation is from the commentary on Daniel II.21: 'Et ipse mutat tempora et aetates, et transfert regna atque constituit'.

2. Babylon is associated with gold, Persia with silver, Greece with brass, and Rome with iron or steel; see Confessio, Prologue 670-675, 678-689, 692-700, 727-731 and margin.

3. See: Liber I: commentary on Daniel II.23 P.L. t. 25, col. 503.

4. See: Historia Libri Danielis, Cap. II, Prima Visio Danielis, P.L. t. 198, ed. J.P. Migne, 1855, col. 1448-1449. The four monarchies: see col. 1449.

II. THE ACCOUNT OF THE FIFTEEN STARS, THEIR STONES AND HERBS[1]

G.L. Macaulay indicates[2] that the account of the fifteen stars with their stones and herbs in the section on astronomy in the Seventh Book of the Confessio Amantis was taken by Gower from a treatise attributed to Hermes, the Liber Hermetis de quindecim lapidibus quindecim herbis et quindecim imaginibus.[3] Although G.G. Fox[4] had no access to this work, he also indicates it as the source of Gower's passage. The work is thought to be a translated version of a reputed Arabic work of the astrologer Messalah, thought to be based on a lost Greek original.[5] It is evident from Macaulay's notes that some of the details of Gower's passage vary from those in the 'Liber Hermetis'.[6] These variant details, together with some others not indicated in Macaulay's notes, are paralleled

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1. Confessio VII 1281-1438. 2. Ibid. VII 1281 ff. n.

3. In: Textes Latins et Vieux Français Relatifs aux Cyranides, ed. L. Delatte, 1942, 241-275. Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de L'Université de Liège. Fasc. XCIII.

4. See: The Mediaeval Sciences in the Works of John Gower, Princeton Studies in English, 6, 1931, 80-81.

5. See: L. Delatte ed. 'Liber Hermetis' 237-238. L. Thorndike, 'Traditional Medieval Tracts concerning engraved astrological images', Mélanges Auguste Pelzer, Louvain, 1947, 221 n. 8. A.J. Festugière, La Révélation d'Hermès Trismegiste, Vol. I, Paris, 1950, 160. F.J. Carmody, Arabic Astronomical and Astrological Sciences in Latin Translation, Berkeley, 1956, 56.

6. Confessio VII 1362, 1364, 1419, notes.

in a version of the 'Liber Hermetis' which was attributed to Enoch, given the title 'Tractatus Enoch' by L. Delatte.[1]

The names of some of the fifteen stars in Gower's passage which vary from those in the 'Liber Hermetis', parallel those in the 'Tractatus Enoch'. The most notable examples of such names are the following: the first name of the second star in Gower's passage is 'Clota',[2] the seventh is 'Arial'[3] and the fourteenth is 'Botercadent'.[4] In the 'Liber Hermetis', 'Clota' is not one of the names of the second star,[5] the seventh star is 'Cor Leonis'[6] and the fourteenth is 'Vultur cadens',[7] whereas in the 'Tractatus Enoch' 'Clota' is the first name of the second star,[8] 'Arexal' ('Areyal' in one manuscript) is given as the name for the seventh star as well as 'Cor Leonis',[9] and 'Botercadent' is the fourteenth star.[10]

The most notable example of the name of a herb or a stone which varies from that in the 'Liber Hermetis' and corresponds to that in the 'Tractatus Enoch' is the following: the herb

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1. Ed. L. Delatte in: Textes Latins et Vieux Français Relatifs aux Cyranides, cit. 277-288. The title Tractatus Enoch is in diamond brackets: p. 277. On this work, see p. 238. L. Thorndike, art. cit., 221-223. R.P. Festugière, op. cit., 165. F.J. Carmody, op. cit., 56.

2. Confessio VII 1320.

3. Ibid. VII 1364.

4. Ibid. VII 1419.

5. 249 l. 1-4.

6. 252 l. 9.

7. 255 l. 17.

8. 278 l. 22.

9. 282 l. 3; 'areyal, see MS. 'E', apparatus criticus, 282 l. 3.

10. 286 l. 5.

of the sixth star 'Canis Minor' in Gower's version is 'Primerole' (margin: 'Primula'),[1] which corresponds to 'primula veris', the herb of 'Canis minor' in the 'Tractatus Enoch',[2] whereas the sixth herb in the 'Liber Hermetis'[3] is 'solsequium quam Graeci eliotropium vocant'.

So far, only nomenclature has been discussed. Details of description of Gower's passage which are omitted in the 'Liber Hermetis', but occur in the 'Tractatus Enoch', will now be pointed out. Gower describes the first star 'Aldeboran' as 'The cliereste and the moste of alle';[4] in the 'Tractatus Enoch',[5] 'Aldebaran' is described as 'aliarum stellarum clarior, fortior et maior', whereas this description of 'Aldebaran' is lacking in the 'Liber Hermetis'.[6] Gower's description of the twelfth star 'Alpheta' begins:[7]

> Alpheta in the nombre sit,
> And is the twelfthe sterre yit,
> Of Scorpio which is governed
> And takth his vertu, as I am lerned.

In the 'Tractatus Enoch'[8] 'Alpheta' '... est in primo gradu Scorpionis' but there is no mention of Scorpio in the description

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1. Confessio VII 1361-2.
2. 281, l. 24-25.
3. 268, l. 2.
4. Confessio VII 1310-1311.
5. 277, l. 9-10.
6. 'Aldebaran' 246, l. 14-248, l. 4.
7. Confessio VII 1401-1404.
8. 285, l. 6-7.

of 'Alfeca' in the '<u>Liber Hermetis</u>'.[1]

Details which are common to Gower's passage, the '<u>Liber Hermetis</u>', and the '<u>Tractatus Enoch</u>' have not been discussed, but a comparison of these three accounts shows that those details of Gower's passage which are paralleled in the '<u>Liber Hermetis</u>' are also paralleled in the '<u>Tractatus Enoch</u>'. In fact Gower could have derived all the details of his passage from the '<u>Tractatus Enoch</u>', with the exception of his name for the last star, which 'The tail of Scorpio men calle' (margin: 'Cauda Scorpionis').[2] The last star is 'Cauda Capricorni' in both the '<u>Tractatus Enoch</u>'[3] and in the '<u>Liber Hermetis</u>'.[4] The name in Gower's passage may perhaps be due to a confusion between 'Cauda Capricorni' and 'Cor Scorpionis', the name of the thirteenth star.[5]

The similarity of Gower's passage with that of the '<u>Tractatus Enoch</u>' as against the '<u>Liber Hermetis</u>' is not only evident from details. The form of Gower's passage also resembles that of the '<u>Tractatus Enoch</u>' more closely than that of the '<u>Liber Hermetis</u>'. Gower's passage is made up of fifteen sections, in which the fifteen stars are enumerated

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1. 'Alfeca' p. 255, l. 5-10.

2. <u>Confessio</u> VII 1426.

3. 256, l. 8.

4. 286, l. 19-20.

5. 'Cor Scorpionis' the thirteenth star: see: <u>Confessio</u> VII 1410. '<u>Liber Hermetis</u>' 255, l. 11. '<u>Tractatus Enoch</u>' 285, l. 15.

together with their stones and herbs. Similarly, in the 'Tractatus Enoch' the fifteen stars are enumerated together with their stones, herbs and images in fifteen sections. On the other hand, in the 'Liber Hermetis'[1] the fifteen stars, stones, herbs, and images are separately enumerated in four sections.

Both the details and the form of Gower's passage point to the fact that he was here following the 'Tractatus Enoch' and not the 'Liber Hermetis'. However, before we can maintain that the 'Tractatus Enoch' is the source of Gower's passage, a further version of the 'Liber Hermetis' attributed to Thebit must also be taken into account.[2] It is however immediately apparent from L. Thorndike's description that this was not the version followed by Gower. First, the order of stars in this version varies from that in Gower's passage and the other two versions, Algol being the first star instead of the third, and Alchameth being the fifteenth instead of the tenth;[3] also, the herb of Algol is not black

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1. Enumeration of fifteen stars: 246 l.14-257 l.2; fifteen stones: 259 l.10-265 l.4; fifteen herbs: 266 l.9-271 l.14; fifteen images: 273 l.1-274 l.14.

2. On this version, see: L. Thorndike, 'Traditional Medieval Tracts concerning Astrological Images', cit. 223-4. F.J. Carmody, op. cit., 56.

3. See: L. Thorndike, art. cit., p. 223.
   The third star: Confessio VII 1328 ('Algol').
   'Tractatus Enoch' 279 l. 12 ('Algol').
   'Liber Hermetis' 249 l. 18 ('Caput Algol').
   The tenth star: Confessio VII 1387 ('Almareth').
   'Tractatus Enoch' 284 l. 4 ('Alrameth').
   'Liber Hermetis' 254 l. 5 ('Alchimech Alramech').

hellebore as in Gower's passage and the other two versions, but arthemisia.[1]

A further point which needs to be considered before we can state that the 'Tractatus Enoch' is the source of Gower's passage is the following. After his reference to the 'Liber Hermetis' as the source for this passage, Macaulay drew attention to the fact that Hermes was mentioned by Gower as the authority for his passage.[2] The lines in which Hermes is mentioned run:[3]

> Thus have I seid hou thei be founded,
> Of every sterre in special,
> Which hath his herbe and Ston withal,
> As Hermes in his bokes olde
> Witnesse berth of that I tolde.

It should be noted that some medieval authors considered Hermes and Enoch to be the same personage,[4] so that Gower's citation of Hermes need not imply a reference to the 'Liber Hermetis'; the citation could equally well be due to the fact that he knew of the identification of Hermes and Enoch, so that he

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1. See: L. Thorndike, loc. cit.
   Confessio VII 1336. The herb of Algol is 'Eleborum the blake'.
   'Tractatus Enoch' 279 l. 24: 'Herba eius est elleborus dicitur niger'.
   'Liber Hermetis' 276 l. 1: 'Tertia herba elleborus dicitur niger'.

2. Confessio VII 1281 ff. n.

3. Ibid. VII 1434-1438.

4. See: L. Delatte, ed. cit., 237-238, who refers to L. Thorndike, A History of Magic and Experimental Science, Vol. I, New York, 1923, 340, where it is stated that the first of the three Hermeses or Mercuries was identified with Enoch.

could have seen the attribution to Enoch at the beginning of the so-called '<u>Tractatus Enoch</u>'[1] and at the same time have cited Hermes as his authority.

Another point which at first sight argues against Gower's use of the '<u>Tractatus Enoch</u>' as against the '<u>Liber Hermetis</u>' is that there are more manuscripts of the latter work.[2] However, the fact that the '<u>Tractatus Enoch</u>' was in circulation in England in Gower's time is evident from a manuscript of it, British Museum Harley MS. 1612 fol. 15^{R}-17^{V},[3] which is of English origin; it has been ascribed to the fourteenth century,[4] and the Keeper of Manuscripts is inclined to ascribe it to the late fourteenth century.[5]

We can therefore state, in conclusion, that Gower derived his passage on the fifteen stars, their stones and herbs from the '<u>Tractatus Enoch</u>'.

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1. 277 l. 1-5.

2. See the enumeration of manuscripts in L. Thorndike, 'Traditional Medieval Tracts concerning engraved astrological Images', cit. 222-227.

3. The manuscript breaks off before the end; its end at the word 'vel' corresponds to 287 l. 7 of Delatte's edition.

4. See: D.W. Singer, <u>Catalogue of Latin and Vernacular Alchemical Manuscripts in Great Britain and Ireland Dating from before the XVI Century</u>, Vol. III, Brussels, 1931. Union Académique Internationale. Appendix I: Kyranides etc. K. 2. Hermes, p. 765. iv.

5. I am indebted to the Keeper of Manuscripts, British Museum, for all the information concerning the date and origin of the manuscript.

III. SOME LISTS IN THE CONFESSIO AMANTIS

i. The list of discoverers and inventors[1]

In the margin of the passage on labour in the fourth book of the poem, it is stated:[2]

> Hic loquitur contra ociosos quoscumque, et maxime contra istos, qui excellentis prudencie ingenium habentes absque fructu operum torpescunt. Et ponit exemplum de diligencia predecessorum, qui ad tocius humani generis doctrinam et auxilium suis, gracia mediante divina, artes et sciencias primitus invenerunt.

continuis laboribus et studiis

The list of inventors of the arts and sciences soon follows, and Gower's references to these inventors will now be discussed in relation to parallel passages.

1. Cadmus the lettres of Gregois,
Ferst made upon his oghne chois.[3]

In connection with Gower's lines G.C. Macaulay quotes the following statement from Godfrey of Viterbo's Pantheon[4]: 'Tunc Cadmus Graecas literas sedecim fecit'. It is probable that Gower's lines are derived from this statement, since his detail that Cadmus first made the letters of the Greeks is here paralleled, whereas in other accounts Cadmus is said to

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1. Confessio IV 2396-2450. 2. Ibid. IV 2365, margin.
3. Ibid. IV 2401-2.
4. Ed. J. Pistorius and B.G. Struve, Rerum Germanicarum Scriptores, Vol. 2, Ratisbone, 1726, Pars VI p. 99a. Confessio IV 2401 n.

have brought, given, or transmitted the letters to the Greeks. For instance, in Isidore of Seville's Etymologiae[1] it is stated in one passage: 'Cadmus Agenoris filius Graecas litteras a Phoenice in Graeciam decem et septem attulit;...' and in another:[2] 'Cadmus litteras Graecis dedit'. In the Didascalicon of Hugh of St. Victor,[3] written in the late 1120's, it is said: 'Aegyptiorum litteras Isis invenit; Graecorum, Phoenices, quas Cadmus a Phoenice in Graeciam attulit'. In the Speculum Doctrinale,[4] the first of the two statements from the Etymologiae quoted above is repeated, and in the Polychronicon it is stated:[5] 'Et sicut Cadmus litteras septemdecim Graecis tradidit'.

2. Theges of thing which schal befalle,
He was the ferste Augurre of alle:[6]

'Theges' may be identified as Tages, who is said to have

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1. Ed. W.M. Lindsay, 2 Vols., Oxford 1911: I. iii. 6.

2. V. xxix. 10.

3. Ed. C.H. Buttimer, 1939. The Catholic University of America. Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Latin, Vol. X. III. Cap. II: 'De auctoribus artium': p. 51 l. 25-26. Date, see: The Didascalicon of Hugh of St. Victor, transl. J. Taylor, New York, 1961. Number 64. Records of Civilization Sources and Studies; pp. 3 and 158 n. 1.

4. Ed. Douai, 1624, Photomechanical reprint, Graz, 1965, col. 85; II Cap. XI: 'De Inventione Graecarum literarum'.

5. Vol. II ed. C. Babington, Rolls Series, 1869, 350; II Cap. XVI.

6. Confessio IV 2403-2404.

invented divination in Richard of St. Victor's Liber exceptionum,[1] estimated to have been written before 1162, and probably before 1159, and in John of Salisbury's Policraticus;[2] (Liber exceptionum): 'Ydromantiam Perse feruntur invenisse, auguria Friges, prestigia Mercurius, "aruspicinam" quidam nomine "Tages"'. (Policraticus): 'Aruspicium quoque in extorum inspectione viget, quam artem Tages quidam dicitur invenisse. Unde Lucanus:

> Fibris sit nulla fides, sed conditor artis
> finxerit ista Tages'.[3]

These two statements afford a closer parallel to Gower's lines than those in the Etymologiae[4] and in the Didascalicon,[5] in which Tages is stated to have transmitted divination to the Etruscans; (Etymologiae): 'Aruspicinae artem primus Etruscis tradisse dicitur quidam Tages'. (Didascalicon): 'aruspicinam Tages primus Etruscis tradidit'.

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1. See: ed. J. Chatillon, Paris, 1958. Textes Philosophiques Du Moyen Age. V. Pars Prima, I: 'De origine et divisione artium': Cap. XXV: 'De magica et partibus ejus': p. 113 l. 18-20. Date, see: pp. 77-78.

2. See: ed. C.C.I. Webb, 2 Vols. Oxford, 1909. I. Cap. XII: 'Qui sint incantatores, arioli, aruspices, phycii, uultivoli, imaginarii, coniectores, chiromantici, specularii, mathematici, salissatores, sortilegii, augures:' Vol. I, p. 51, l. 6-9.

3. In the note in the Policraticus, ed. cit., Vol. I, p. 51 l. 8, there is a reference to Lucan, Pharsalia, l. 626. The line number is however 636, cf. Lucan, De Bello Civili Libri Decem, ed. C. Hosius, Leipzig, 1905.

4. VII. ix. 34.

5. VI Cap. XV: 'De magica et partibus eius': p. 133 l. 23.

3. And Philemon be the visage
Fond to descrive the corage.[1]

Gower could have derived this reference to Philemon from the following passage at the beginning of the section on physiognomy in the Secretum Secretorum,[2] in which the perfection of the science of physiognomy is attributed to Philemon:

> Scias ergo quod oportet te querere signa et vestigia cum pulcritudine nature, scilicet phisonomie que est sciencia magna, et per longditudinem dierum sunt usi antiqui hac sciencia et gloriati sunt inquisicione pulcritudinis nature in hac sciencia cujus perfeccio attribuitur de numero antiquorum Philimoni summo doctori et magistro phisonomie, et revera investigabat ex composicione hominis qualitates et naturas anime ejus, et sunt in ipsa historia pulcra et extranea.

4. Cladyns, Esdras and Sulpices,
Termegis, Pandulf, Frigidilles,
Menander, Ephiloquorus,
Solins, Pandas and Josephus
The ferste were of Enditours,
Of old Cronique and ek auctours:[3]

Gower's references to several of these authors are paralleled in the chapter concerning historians in the Summa

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1. Confessio IV 2405-6.

2. See: ed. R. Steele, Oxford, 1920: Pars Quarta, Cap. Primum, p. 164 l. 20-165 l.4. G.G. Fox, in: The Mediaeval Sciences in the Works of John Gower, Princeton Studies in English, Number 6, 1931, 28-29, omits to mention this passage of the Secretum in connection with Gower's lines, though he does mention the one immediately following it in which the story of Philemon and Hippocrates is told, (see Secretum ed. cit., p. 165 l.6-26); this story, however, has no direct relevance to Gower's lines.

3. Confessio IV 2407-2412.

Philosophiae[1] of the Pseudo-Grosseteste, the date of which has been fixed roughly as falling within the third quarter of the thirteenth century, probably between the years 1265 and 1275. The author of the Summa mentions Moses as the most ancient of historians;[2] 'Eorum qui historias descripserunt antiquitatemque retexerunt certissimum ac antiquissimum constat fuisse Moysen'. He then goes on to say that very distinguished historians followed after Moses nearly to the time of Trajan:[3] 'Cui successerunt in gente Hebraeorum annotatores temporum insignissimi usque ad tempora paene Traiani,' and gives the most famous examples of them. He includes Esdras, Josephus, and Cleodemus,[4] and it seems likely that 'Cladyns' in Gower's passage stands for Cleodemus. The author of the Summa next lists pagan historians. In this section Menander[5] and Ephorus[6] are mentioned; it seems likely that 'Ephiloquorus' in Gower's passage is a corruption of Ephorus. While it is

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1. See: ed. L. Baur, in Die philosphischen Werke des Robert Grosseteste, Bischofs von Lincoln, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters. Texte und Untersuchungen. Band IX., 1912, 275-643. List of historians: see: Tractatus I Cap. 14: 'De historiographis antiquis et modernioribus et eorum quibusdam conditionibus': 288-290. Date, see: C.K. Mckeon, A Study of the Summa Philosphiae of the Pseudo-Grosseteste, New York, 1948. Number 10 of the Columbia Studies in Philosophy, p. 6.

2. 288 l. 10-11.

3. 288 l. 17-18.

4. 288 l. 21 and 22.

5. For account of Menander, see 288 l. 5-7.

6. 288 l. 7.

not certain that Gower actually derived these names from the list in the Summa Philosophiae, it is most probable that he took them from a list of historians such as that found in the Summa.

Not accounted for in the above discussion are 'Sulpices', 'Termegiſ', 'Pandulf', 'Frigidilles', 'ſolins', and 'Pandas'. Macaulay indicated that 'Termegis' probably represents 'Termegistus', and that Trismegistus is meant here.[1] The likelihood that this identification is correct is strengthened by a passage in the Summa Philosophiae[2] in which the second Mercury, who is also called Hermes and Trismegistus, is said to be the first philosopher to have transmitted his philosophy to posterity:

> Post modicum etiam Mercurius secundus, qui etiam Hermes atque Trismegistus dictus est, sicut idem commemorat Augustinusque testatur philosophorum omnium primus philosophiam suam digerendo posteritati transmisit.

It is suggested that 'Pandulf' may be identified with Pandulfus. Pandulfus was one of the nine philosophers who take part in the preliminary discussion in the Turba Philosophorum. This first appeared in Latin manuscripts of the thirteenth century and was translated from an Arabic original estimated to have been written about 900. All nine philosophers are pre-Socratic, and Pandulfus is a mistransliteration of the

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1. See: Confessio IV, 2410, n.

2. Tractatus I. cap. I: 'De primis philosophantibus a temporibus Noë usque ad Cyrum regem Persarum'. p. 276 l. 30-34.

name Empedocles.[1] It is not necessary to assume Gower's direct knowledge of the Turba Philosophorum, since according to L. Thorndike,[2]

> The Turba with its many names of ancient philosophers provided a handy recourse for authorities to cite with high sounding names such as Pythagoras, ... or the hitherto less familiar but equally romantic appellations of ... Locustor and Pandolfus.

'Pandulf' follows 'Termegis' in the list, which lends support to the suggestion that Gower is here referring to two early philosophers.

'Sulpices' and 'Solins' may be identified with Sulpicius Severus and Solinus. It is tentatively suggested that by 'Frigidilles' may be meant Dares Phrygius, who is mentioned as the first pagan historian in the Etymologiae,[3] in the Didascalicon[4] and in the Summa Philosophiae.[5] 'Pandas' does not remotely resemble any form of name mentioned in the accounts. His position after Solinus in the list suggests that Pliny the Elder (Plinius) may possibly be meant, but it is hard to see how this corruption could have arisen.

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1. See: E.J. Holmyard, Alchemy, Penguin Books, 1957; origin and date: 80-81. On names of philosophers: see: 81-82.
2. See: L. Thorndike, A History of Magic and Experimental Science, Vol. III, New York, 1934, 41.
3. I. XLII ('De primis auctoribus historiarum'), l.
4. III. Cap. II (cit.), p. 52, l. 1-3.
5. Tractatus I Cap. 14 (cit.), p. 288, l. 32-33.

5. And of Musique also the note
In mannes vois or softe or scharpe,
That fond Jubal;[1]...
. . . . . .

Tubal in Iren and in Stel
Fond ferst the forge and wroghte it wel:
And Jadahel, as seith the bok,
Ferst made Net and fisshes tok:
Of huntynge ek he fond the chace,
Which now is know in many place:
A tente of cloth with corde and stake
He sette up ferst and dede it make.[2]

Gower's lines concerning these three inventors are paralleled in the following lines of the Pantheon,[3] of which Macaulay quotes[4] those in verse concerning 'Jadahel' (Jabel):

Quis primum in mundo adinvenit tentorium vel tabernaculum.
In mundo Jadahel posuit tentoria primus,
Venator prior ipse fuit, feritate ferinus,
Primus et invalidis retia mersit aquis.
Quis primus adinvenit cantum et organum.
Vir de stirpe Cain Jubal, super omnia flore
Gaudet, et in mundo prior invenit ipse canorem,
Cantibus organicis, organa prima movens.
Quis primus fabricavit in aere et in ferro.
De Jubal, Tubal natus ferrarius extat,
Primus ab aere tulit, quicquid bona formula praestat,
Et species ferri primus in orbe dedit.

Before we can say that Gower derived his lines about the three inventors from this passage of the Pantheon, it will be necessary to take into account other passages in which they are mentioned.[5]

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1. Confessio IV 2416-2418.
2. Ibid. IV 2425-2432.
3. Pars Secunda, p. 57[b].
4. Confessio IV 2427, n.
5. Many such passages have been collected together by P.E. Beichner in: 'The Medieval Representative of Music, Jubal or Tubalcain?' Texts and Studies in the History of Medieval Education, II, University of Notre Dame, 1954. Some

(continued on following page)

The three inventors are first described in Genesis:[1]

> Genuitque Ada Jabel, qui fuit pater habitantium in tentoriis, atque pastorum. Et nomen fratris ejus Jubal; ipse fuit pater canentium cithara et organo. Sella quoque genuit Tubalcain, qui fuit malleator et faber in cuncta opera aeris et ferri.

Several details of Gower's description are lacking in this account. Jabel is not the first hunter or maker of nets for fishing, neither is there any suggestion that Jubal discovered song,

> (of Musique also the note
> In Mannes vois).

These details are also omitted in the accounts of the three inventors in the Historia Scholastica,[2] the Speculum Historiale,[3] the Trésor,[4] the Flores Historiarum,[5] and the Polychronicon.[6]

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passages are also quoted by K. Young in 'Chaucer and Peter Riga', Speculum, 12, 1937, 299-303. Neither Beichner nor Young refers to the passage from the Pantheon quoted above, or to Gower's lines.

1. Genesis, IV. 20-22. Macaulay referred to Genesis IV. 20 in his note on 'Jadahel': Confessio IV 2427, n. cit.

2. P.L. 198, ed. J.P. Migne, 1855: Genesis. Cap. xxviii. 'De generationibus Cain'. col. 1079. This account is quoted by K. Young, art. cit. 300, and given in translation by P.E. Beichner, art. cit., 10-11.

3. Ed. Douai, 1624. (Photomechanical reprint, Graz/ Austria, 1965.) Liber Primus. Cap. 57: 'De ortu Ecclesiae ab Abel': p. 23a.

4. Ed. F.J. Carmody, 1948. University of California Publications in Modern Philology, 22. I.xx: 'Del Premier Age du Siecle', 4-5 (p. 33, l. 19-25).

5. Ed. H.R. Luard, Vol. I, 1890, Rolls Series: 'Generatio Caym': p. 4. Passage referred to by P.E. Beichner, art. cit. 14.

6. Vol. II, ed. C. Babington, London, 1869, Rolls Series. II. Cap. V: 'De posteritate Lamech', p. 226. Passage referred to by P.E. Beichner, art. cit., 14.

The details concerning Jabel are also omitted in the Cursor Mundi,[1] though Jubal is in this passage associated with the discovery of song:

> Cubal þer broþer first underfang
> Musik, þat es þe sune o sang;
> Organis harp and oþer gleu
> He drou þ͡an oute o musik neu.

In The Book of the Duchess,[2] Jubal is also associated with the discovery of song (Jubal was sometimes written Tubal):

> Lamekes sone Tubal,
> That found out first the art of song.

Chaucer gives 'Aurora' as his authority at the end of the passage in which these lines occur,[3] though the emphasis in Peter Riga's Aurora,[4] which was probably written between 1170 and 1200, is on Jubal as the founder of instrumental music:

> Iste Iubal cantu gaudens pater extitit horum
> Qui citharis psallunt organicisque modis;
> Musica dulce canens fuit ars inventa per illum.

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1. Ed. R. Morris, Vol. I, London, 1874, 1893. E.E.T.S., O.S. 57, 99, 101. Lines quoted: 1519-1522, p. 94a. Lines concerning the other two inventors: 1516-1518. Passage referred to by: P.E. Beichner, art. cit., 14-15.

2. The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, ed. F.N. Robinson, London, 1957, 278; l. 1162-3. The passage in which these lines occur is quoted by K. Young, art. cit. 299 and P.E. Beichner, art. cit., 13. On spelling Tubal for Jubal see: P.E. Beichner, art. cit., particularly 7-8.

3. l. 1169.

4. Ed. P.E. Beichner, 2 Parts, Publications in Mediaeval Studies, The University of Notre Dame, 19, 1965. Part I. p. 45, Genesis: De generationibus Cain usque ad Lamech, l. 465-467. Whole passage on the three inventors l. 463-484. Date: xvii.

In the Aurora,[1] there is also no mention of Jabel as the discoverer of tents, hunting or nets for fishing.

Of the passages concerning the three inventors here taken into account, only the version of the Pantheon parallels Gower's details about 'Jadahel', for in the Pantheon he is said to have been 'venator prior' and it is said that he:

primus et invalidis retia mersit aquis.

It is therefore probable that Gower took his description of 'Jadahel' from the Pantheon, and accordingly he would have known the lines concerning Jubal and Tubal which follow this description. The detail concerning Jubal's discovery of song could have been suggested to him by the heading 'Quis primum adinvenit cantum' as well as by 'prior invenit ipse canorem'. It seems likely, then, that Gower's description of the three inventors was derived from the passage of the Pantheon.

6. and of the harpe
The merie soun, which is to like,
That fond Poulins forth with phisique.[2]

G.C. Macaulay quotes[3] the following statement from the Pantheon[4] in connection with Gower's lines: 'Apollo etiam cytharam condidit, et artem medicinalem invenit'. This

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1. On Jabel, see Aurora l. 463-464.
2. Confessio IV 2418-2420.
3. Ibid. IV 2418 ff. n.
4. Pars VI, p. 99a.

statement immediately follows the one quoted in which Cadmus is said to have made seventeen Greek letters, so that Gower is likely to have known it. It should, however, also be noted that in the Polychronicon,[1] Apollo is stated to have invented the art of medicine and made the lyre:

> Tempore Ayoth Apollo ille posterior, filius Latonae secundum traditionem Graecorum, artem medicinae invenit, et lyram condidit.

In Trevisa's translation of the Polychronicon,[2] dating from the 1380's, Gower's statement that Apollo discovered the 'harpe' and 'phisique' is exactly paralleled: 'In Ayoth his time þe lattre Apollo, as the Grees telleþ, fond up þe art of phisik and made harpe'.

7. Zenzis fond ferst the pourtreture,
And Promotheüs the Sculpture;
And what forme that hem thoghte,
The resemblance anon thei wroghte.[3]

Zeuxis is one of a number of painters and sculptors, in a passage of Le Roman de la Rose[4] referred to by Macaulay.[5] The portraiture of Zeuxis is mentioned in the lines:[6]

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1. Vol. II, 374; II, Cap. XVIII.

2. See: Polychronicon, Vol. II, 375. Date: see J. Taylor, The Universal Chronicle of Ranulf Higden, 1966, 2.

3. Confessio IV 2421-2424.

4. Ed. E. Langlois, t. 4, 1924; S.A.T.F.; l. 16185-16204.

5. Confessio IV 2421 n. 6. l. 16199-16202.

Mais ci ne peüst il riens faire,
Zeusis, tant seüst bien pourtraire,
Ne coulourer sa pourtraiture,
Tant est de grant beauté Nature.

'Zensis' occurs as a form of the name Zeuxis in several manuscripts of Le Roman de la Rose,[1] nearly resembling the form of name in the Confessio Amantis.

Macaulay quoted the following lines from the Pantheon[2] in connection with Gower's statement about Prometheus:

Tunc et Prometheus qui filius est Atlantis,
Dat statuas hominis humano more meantes,

It is however not certain that Gower's statement concerning Prometheus is derived from these lines of the Pantheon, since several passages can be quoted in which the art of statuary is said to have taken its origin from Prometheus. The passage on the rise of idol worship in the Etymologiae reads as follows:[3]

Gentiles autem primum Prometheum simulacrum hominum de luto finxisse perhibent ab eoque natam esse artem simulacra et statuas fingendi.

In the passage concerning the origin of idolatry in the Historia Destructionis Troiae[4] of Guido de Columnis it is stated:

gentiles autem primum Prometheum simulachrum de luto fecisse dogmatizaverunt atque ab eo ars simulachra et statuas fingendi processit.

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1. Apparatus criticus l. 16185, 16200, 16203.

2. Pars V, p. 90b. Confessio IV 2422 n.

3. VIII. xi.8.

4. Ed. N.E. Griffin, 1936. The Mediaeval Academy of America. Publication No. 26. X: p. 94.

In the passage on the rise of idolatry in John Ridevall's Fulgentius Metaforalis,[1] it is said:

> Nota eciam, quomodo Ysidorus recitat unam antiquam opinionem de illo Promithio, sicud patet libro 8. Ethimologiarum cap. 11, que est opinio gencium dicencium Prometheum primum simulacra hominum de luto finxisse et ab eo natam esse artem fingendi statuas et ydola.

Gower certainly knew of the role accorded to Prometheus in accounts of the rise of idolatry, since in his own account of the origin of idol-worship he mentions Prometheus as the discoverer of the art of making images; in the marginal account of this passage, indeed, Prometheus is termed 'sculptor' ('a sculptore Promotheo').[2] It is therefore most likely that Gower's statement about Prometheus is derived from one of the accounts of the rise of idolatry, which was a common theme in the fourteenth century.[3]

8. The craft Minerve of wolle fond
And made cloth hire oghne hond:[4]

Minerva's association with the invention of the working of wool is found in the Etymologiae,[5] where it is said of her:

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1. Ed. H. Liebeschütz, Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, IV, Leipzig, 1926. l. 'Ydolatria', pp. 69-70.

2. See: Confessio V 1518-1524, and margin opposite l. 1504-5. Discussion of Prometheus in this role see above, p.275.

3. Some of these accounts are referred to above, pp. 275-278.

4. Confessio IV 2435-6.

5. XIX, xx ('De Inventione Lanificii'), l. Reference to this passage: see Didascalicon ed. C.H. Buttimer, p. 50 n. to l. 20-23.

'Hanc enim primam lanificii usum monstrasse, hanc etiam ordisse et colorasse lanas perhibent'. This statement is followed in the Didascalicon:[1] 'lanificii usum apud Graecos primam Minervam monstrasse ferunt. hanc etiam primam telam ordinasse, lanas colorasse,' and in the Pantheon[2] it is said of Minerva that she: 'Lana suis digitis fila priora tulit'. Gower refers to this role of the goddess again in his description of her in the fifth book of the poem when he says of her that:[3]

> ... sche fond ferst in hire avis
> The cloth makinge of wolle and lyn,

9. Bot thing which yifth ous mete and drinke
And doth the labourer to swinke
To tile lond and sette vines,
Wherof the cornes and the wynes
Ben sustenance to mankinde,
In olde bokes as I finde,
Saturnus of his oghne wit
Hath founde ferste, and more yit
Of Chapmanhode he fond the weie,
And ek to coigne the moneie
Of sondri metall, as it is,
He was the ferste man of this.[4]

The following lines from the Pantheon[5] were quoted by Macaulay[6] in connection with this passage:

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1. II Cap. II, p. 50, l. 20-22.
2. Pars IV, p. 74[a].
3. Confessio IV 1202-3.
4. Ibid. IV 2439-2450.
5. Pars IV, p. 73[a].
6. Confessio IV 2439 ff. n.

Saturnus statuit, super aequora vela moveri,
Denarios posuit commercia rite mereri.
. . . . . .
Aedificans Sutrium, dum vivit, ibi dominatur,
Triticeum semen primus in urbe serens.

Gower could not have derived from these lines his statement that Saturn was the discoverer of:

thing which ...
... doth the labourer to swinke
To tile lond and sette vines,

Further, the line 'Denarios posuit commercia rite mereri', while it parallels Gower's statement that Saturn discovered 'Chapmanhode', does not suggest that he was the first to coin money. The association of Saturn with vines is found in the account of Saturn in the Poetarius of Alberic of London. Here one of the reasons for Janus' admission of Saturn into Italy after Jupiter's triumph in Crete is the fact that Saturn taught the use of vines: 'cum usum vinearum et falcis docuisset'.[1] Similarly, in the first part of Higden's account of Saturn in the Polychronicon, which is based on the same account,[2] Saturn is admitted into Italy partly 'ob usum vinearum'.[3] Higden goes on to mention Saturn's teaching of tilling in a passage given on the authority of Eutropius,[4] though no such passage

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1. Scriptores Rerum Mythicarum Latini Tres Romae Nuper Reperti, ed. G.H. Bode, Vol. I, Celle, 1834: 1. Saturnus, p. 153 l. 27-28. Whole passage referred to: l. 24-29.

2. 'Alexander in Mythologia' is the authority.

3. Vol. 2, 344: II. Cap. XV. Whole passage referred to: 342-344.

4. Vol. 2, 344.

occurs in the Breviarium ab Urbe Condita:[1] 'Hic Saturnus ... ubi rudes populos aedificare, colere et plantare docuit,'. In this passage Higden also refers to Saturn's institution of bronze coins: 'Hic etiam nummos aereos instituit'.

A discussion of details shows that all the details of Gower's description except that of 'Chapmanhode' are paralleled in Higden's account of Saturn, so that it seems likely that Gower drew upon this account. It should also be pointed out that Gower again describes Saturn's founding of the agricultural arts in the fifth book of the poem,[2] and that at the beginning of this passage it is told how Saturn came to Italy in exile from Crete, as in the account of Alberic of London referred to above.[3]

10. I am unable to trace the sources of the references to the following inventors:

a) Cham, whos labour is yit in minde,
Was he which ferst the lettres fond
And wrote in Hebreu with his hond:
Of naturel Philosophie
He fond also the clergie.[4]

Macaulay quotes the following line from the Pantheon[5] in

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1. Ed. F. Ruehl, Leipzig, 1887.

2. See: Confessio V 1226-1231.

3. Ibid. V 1221-1223. For an account of this passage see above pp. 265-266.

4. See: Confessio IV 2396-2400.

5. Pars III, p. 66[a]. Confessio IV 2401 n.

connection with this passage:

Septimus, quas legimus, Cham primus scripserat artes,

though this line does not parallel Gower's passage.

b) And Heredot in his science
Of metre, of rime and of cadence
The ferste was of which men note.[1]

c) Verconius (spelt 'Herconius', 'Hercenius', or 'Berconius' in some manuscripts)
of cokerie
Ferst made the delicacie.[2]

d) And Delbora made it (cloth) of lyn.[3]

ii. <u>The first alchemists</u>[4]

Gower enumerates the first alchemists as follows:[5]

Hermes was on the ferste[6] of alle,
To whom this art is most applied;

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1. <u>Confessio</u> IV 2413-2415.

2. Ibid. IV 2433-2434. Spelling of name: see apparatus criticus, l. 2433.

3. Ibid. IV 2437.

4. Ibid. IV 2602-2612.

5. On Geber, see E.J. Holmyard, <u>Alchemy</u>, Penguin Books, 1957, 66-80, 131-138. On Morienus ('Morien') ibid. 62-63 and 103. On Avicenna ('Avicen') ibid. 88, 90-95. On Ortolanus ('Ortolan'), see: L. Thorndike, <u>A History of Magic and Experimental Science</u>, Vol. III, New York, 1934, 176-190. G.C. Macaulay identifies 'Ortolan' as John of Garland (see: <u>Confessio</u> IV 2609 n.), and G.G. Fox makes the same identification (see: <u>The Mediaeval Sciences in the Works of John Gower</u>, Princeton Studies in English, 6, 1931, 136; this passage is discussed on pp. 133-135). However, as indicated by Thorndike, Ortolanus was erroneously confused with John of Garland (see 176-177); the date of Ortolanus is thought to be well before 1358 (see 190).

6. 'on the ferste': the very first; see <u>Confessio</u> IV 2606 n.

Geber thereof was magnefied,
And Ortolan and Morien,
Among the which is Avicen,
Which fond and wrot a gret partie
The practique of Alconomie;

It is possible that this passage is derived from a list of alchemists. One such list is found in the margin of a work containing alchemical recipes with attributions and mentions of alchemists, and is written in a hand dating from the beginning of the fourteenth century.[1] This very full list is made up of alchemists and the works ascribed to them, and the following are included: 'Morienus, Geber de Investigationis Perfectionis, Domus de documentis Hermetis, Liber Avicene,'. Hermes Trismegistus, Geber and Morienus are included in a list of authorities quoted in support of the argument that the art of alchemy is true in the Pretiosa Margarita Novella[2] of Petrus Bonus, written in 1330 or thereabouts. In a list of alchemists in the Sedacina of William Sedacerius, which may have been written in 1378, Hermes, Avicenna and Ortulanus are mentioned.[3] The spellings 'Morien' and 'Avicen' occur in a list of authorities at the beginning of the Secreta Secretorum Artis Philosophorum of Hugh of England. This is found in a fifteenth

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1. See: J. Corbett, Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de Paris antérieurs au XVII^{e} siècle, Brussels, 1939. Catalogue des Manuscrits Alchimiques Latins, I. Union Académique Internationale; 6: Bibl. nat. lat. 6514, pp. 21-22. The list is found beside the mention of 'Rugerius Anglicus habet multos libros alkimicos', and 'Rodulfus'.

2. In: Bibliotheca Chemica Curiosa, ed. J.J. Manget, Geneva, 1702, Vol. 2, 1^{a}-80^{b}. Passage referred to, see Cap. XV, p. 52a. Date, see: E.J. Holmyard, op. cit., 138.

3. This list is referred to by L. Thorndike, op. cit., Vol. III, 176, 629, 630.

century manuscript and is written in English, and Hermes and Geber are also mentioned here.[1]

Gower's detail that Hermes was the first alchemist of all was probably suggested by a passage in which Hermes is referred to as the inventor of alchemy. An example is the one in the Pretiosa Margarita Novella,[2] in which Hermes is identified with Enoch, who is one of those to whom the invention of the art of alchemy is attributed:

> Quidam enim dicunt, quod Adam fuit ejus inventor; Alii quod Aesculapius, etc. Quidam autem affirmant, quod Enoch novit hoc secretum per visionem. Volunt etiam dicere, quod iste Enoc[h] fuit magnus Hermogenes, id est Hermes, quem Graeci multum laudant et commendant, et ei attribuunt omnem scientiam secretam et coelestem, etc.

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1. See: British Museum, Stowe MS. 1070 fol. 32^{R}. The incipit, which contains the list, is quoted by D.W. Singer, Catalogue of Latin and Vernacular Alchemical Manuscripts in Great Britain and Ireland Dating from before the XVI Century, Brussels, 1928. Union Académique Internationale, p. 16; date, see ibid.

2. Cap. VIII:' In quo ostendit, quomodo haec Ars inventa sit, et quibus data sit, et quibus non, et quare sic obscure scripserunt eam philosophi', p. 32^{b}. Macaulay indicates that the invention of alchemy was attributed to Hermes Trismegistus (see: Confessio IV 2606 n.). It should also be noted that in his discussion of the names in Gower's list, G.G. Fox refers to Hermes as the reputed founder of the art (of alchemy) (see: op. cit., 134), basing his statement on L. Thorndike's account in: A History of Magic and Experimental Science, cit., Vol. II, 1923, 218. Thorndike here mentions some alchemical works attributed to Hermes, one of which begins: 'Hic incipiunt secreta Hermetis inventoris metallorum secundum transmutationis naturam' (see p. 218, n. 3), and the other of which begins: 'Secreta Hermetis philosophi Inventor transformationis', (see: p. 218 n. 4). Hermes is not, however, here explicitly referred to as the founder of the art of alchemy.

iii. Lists of authors of magic and their books, and of authors of the science of astronomy

Authors of magic and their books

After telling how the lover makes use of geomancy, hydromancy, pyromancy, necromancy and spatulamancy,[1] Gower mentions another magic art together with the authors and books belonging to it:[2]

> Thilke art which Spatula is hote,
> And used is of comun rote
> Among Paiens, with that craft ek
> Of which is Auctor Thosz the Grek,
> He worcheth on and on be rowe:
> Razel is noght to him unknowe,
> Ne Salomones Candarie,
> His Ydeac, his Eutonye;
> The figure and the bok withal
> Of Balamuz, and of Ghenbal
> The Seal, and therupon thymage
> Of Thebith, for his avantage
> He takth, and somewhat of Gibiere,
> Which helplich is to this matiere.

In connection with this passage, G.C. Macaulay and G.G. Fox quoted extracts from the Speculum Astronomiae, attributed to Albertus Magnus and apparently written before 1277, and perhaps before 1256.[3] These extracts are drawn from the chapter in the

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1. Confessio VI 1293-1313. 2. Ibid. VI 1311-1324.

3. Ibid. VI 1314 ff. 1316, 1320, 1321, notes. G.G. Fox, op. cit. 146. On the Speculum Astronomiae, see: L. Thorndike, A History of Magic and Experimental Science, Vol. II, 692-719. On the authorship of Albertus Magnus, see particularly 692-696, 702-706, and idem, 'Further Consideration of the Experimenta, Speculum Astronomiae, and De Secretis Mulierum ascribed to Albertus Magnus', Speculum 30, 1955, 423-427. The work is not amongst the works of Albertus Magnus mentioned by W. Kübel, in 'Albertus Magnus', Lexikon Für Theologie Und Kirche, Vol. I, 1957, col. 285-287 (II. 'Schriftstellerische Tätigkeit').

Speculum Astronomiae in which authors of works concerning astrological images are enumerated with the books ascribed to them, and run as follows in F. Cumont's text:[1]

> Cui adiungitur liber Balenis De horarum opere,...[2]
>
> Ex libris vero Toz Graeci est liber De Stationibus

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1. Macaulay (loc. cit.) quotes the extracts from: Speculum Astronomiae, Beati Alberti Magni, Operum t. Quintus, ed. P. Iammy, Lyons, 1651; Chapter 10: 'De imaginibus astronomicis et earum auctoribus licitis, atque de imaginibus superstitiosis et earum auctoribus': 660^{b}-662^{b}. Fox (loc. cit.) gives no bibliographical reference, but lists A. Borgnet's edition of the Speculum Astronomiae in his bibliography (op. cit. 161). The chapter from which these extracts are taken is the eleventh in this edition (see: ed. A. Borgnet, B. Alberti Magni, Opera Omnia, Vol. 10, Paris, 1891, 640^{b}-643^{a}). The chapter is included amongst the excerpts from the Speculum Astronomiae critically edited by F. Cumont (see: ed. F. Cumont in: Catalogus Coldicum Astrologorum Graecorum V: F. Cumont and F. Boll, Codicum Romanorum Pars Prior, Brussels, 1904; Cap. XI, pp. 98-104); I quote Cumont's text. For identification of the authors and the works ascribed to them in this chapter, see F. Cumont's notes on this passage and L. Thorndike, in 'Traditional Medieval Tracts concerning engraved astrological Images', Mélanges Auguste Pelzer, Louvain, 1947, 217-274. See also: M. Steinschneider, 'Zum Speculum astronomicum des Albertus Magnus, über die darin angeführten Schriftsteller und Schriften', Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik, 16, 1871, 357-396 (the authors mentioned in the Speculum Astronomiae are here listed alphabetically).

2. See: Cap. XI, p. 100 l. 10. See also L. Thorndike, 'Traditional Medieval Tracts concerning engraved astrological Images', cit. 'BELENUS', pp. 242-243. Gower's spelling 'Balamuz' resembles the spelling 'Balenuz' (see ed. F. Cumont, p. 100, apparatus criticus, l. 11. P.), Balemus and Balemiz (see L. Thorndike, art. cit., 242). The continuation of this passage is relevant to Gower's mention of:

> 'The figure, and the bok withal
> Of Balamuz'

and runs: 'qui sic incipit: Dixit Balenis qui et Apollo dicitur, imago prima, etc: et liber eiusdem de quatuor imaginibus ab aliis seperatis, qui sic incipit: Differentia in qua fiunt imagines magnae, etc.' The 'imagines Balenis' have been mentioned previously in the chapter (see p. 98 l.10).

> ad cultum Veneris, qui sic incipit: Commemoratio historiarum, etc;[1]
>
> Ex libris autem Salomonis est liber De quatuor anulis, quem intitulat nominibus quatuor discipulorum suorum, qui sic incipit: 'De arte eutonica et ideica, etc, et liber De novem candariis,[2] ... et alius parvus De sigillis ad daemoniacos, qui sic incipit: capitulum sigillis gendal et tanchil, etc.[3]
>
> Est etiam unus liber magnus Razielis, qui dicitur liber Institutionis.[4]
>
> Super istis imaginibus reperitur unus liber Tebith ben Chorah.[5]

Comparison of Gower's lines with the extracts from the Speculum Astronomiae makes it clear that Gower is here listing authors of works on astrological images, and that the magic art he refers to is the art of such astrological images. The only author mentioned by Gower not accounted for is 'Gibiere' who, as indicated by Fox, is probably to be identified as Geber.[6] Geber is described as a magician in the Pretiosa Margarita Novella:[7]

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1. See: p. 101, l. 11-12. The 'Imagines Toz Graeci' have been mentioned previously in the chapter (see: p. 98, l. 8). See also: L. Thorndike, art. cit., 248-249 'TOZ GRECUS'.

2. See: p. 100, l. 16-18. L. Thorndike, art. cit., De quatuor annulis, pp. 250-251. De novem candariis, p. 251.

3. See: p. 101, l. 21-22. L. Thorndike, art. cit., De sigillis ad demoniacos, p. 242.

4. See: p. 102, l. 3-4. Raziel has been mentioned previously in this chapter, see p. 99, l. 18. See also, L. Thorndike, art. cit., 'RAZIEL', pp. 253-254. The spelling 'Rayzel' (art. cit. 254) resembles Gower's spelling 'Razel'.

5. P. 103, l. 28. See: L. Thorndike, art. cit., 229-238, 'THEBIT ON IMAGES'.

6. See: Fox, op. cit., 147.

7. Cap. XVI, p. 59^{b}.

> Haec est responsio Geberi Hispani hactenus Philosophi praecipui et Astrologi, et Magici, et Alchemici.

Accordingly, Fox's statement that '... with the exception of Geber, the authors named are reputed magicians'[1] may be corrected.

The lines immediately following those already discussed run as follows:

> Babilla with hire Sones sevene,
> Which hath renonced to the hevene,
> With Cernes[2] bothe square and rounde,
> He traceth ofte upon the grounde,
> Makende his invocacioun;[3]
> And for full enformacioun
> The Scole which Honorius
> Wrot, he poursuieth: and lo, thus
> Magique he useth forto winne
> His love, and spareth for no Sinne.

The reference to

> The Scole which Honorius
> Wrot,

is probably to the work entitled Liber Sacratus, Liber Sacer, or Liber Juratus, which was associated with the name of

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1. See: op. cit., p. 147.

2. 'cerne': A magic circle or other enclosing figure, traced on the ground: Middle English Dictionary, ed. H. Kurath and S.M. Kuhn, C-D, 1959.

3. 'Babilla with hire Sones sevene' are identified neither by Macaulay (see: Confessio VI, 1306, ff. n.) nor by Fox (op. cit. 147). It may be noted that in the 'Index: de litera B' to Vincent of Beauvais' Speculum Historiale, there is a reference to 'Babyllus, et pueri sui'. The chapter referred to as containing this reference is lib. 12. c. 22, but does not contain it. The editions of Venice, 1591, and Douai, 1624 (Photomechanical Reprint, Graz, 1965) were consulted.

Honorius, and which is concerned with the art of magic.[1] Whether Gower had actually seen a copy of this work remains uncertain, but we know that it was extant in England in his lifetime. A 'liber honorii divisus in 5 tractatus' is one of the books listed under the heading '<u>Prophecie et supersticiosa</u>' which belonged to John Erghome not much later than 1372.[2] A manuscript of the work of English origin is British Museum, Sloane MS. 313, dating from the late fourteenth or fifteenth century.[3] In addition, a translation of the work into English ('<u>The Sworne Booke</u>' of Honoryus) is found in a fifteenth century manuscript, British Museum, Royal MS. 17 A XLII.[4]

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1. See: Fox, op. cit., 147. On this work, see: L. Thorndike, op. cit., Vol. II, 281, 283-289. See also: L. Thorndike and P. Kibre, <u>A Catalogue of Incipits of Mediaeval Scientific Writings in Latin</u>, London, 1963, col. 287: 'Honorius Magister Thebarum, <u>Liber Juratus</u>, 'Cum convenissent maligni spiritus↓..,' '.

2. M.R. James, 'The Catalogue of the Library of the Augustinian Friars at York, now first edited from the MS. at Trinity College, Dublin', <u>Fasciculus Ioanni Willis Clark dicatus</u>, Cambridge, 1909, 54. Reference to the work associated with Honorius occurs in entry no. 362, which is written in a hand not much later than the first hand of the year 1372: see 5-6.

3. I owe information concerning the origin of this manuscript to an Assistant Keeper. The work is incomplete in this manuscript. Date: see L. Thorndike, op. cit., 281.

4. Date: see L. Thorndike, op. cit., 286.

Authors of the science of astronomy

The authors of the science of astronomy are enumerated in a passage at the end of the section concerning astronomy in the seventh book of the Confessio Amantis:[1]

> And whom it liketh forto wite
> Of hem that this science write,
> On of the ferste which it wrot
> After Noë, it was Nembrot,
> To his disciple Ychonithon
> And made a bok forth therupon
> The which Megaster cleped was.
> An other Auctor in this cas
> Is Arachel, the which men note;
> His bok is Abbategnyh hote.
> Danz Tholome is noght the leste,
> Which makth the bok of Almageste;
> And Alfraganus doth the same,
> Whos bok is Chatemuz be name.
> Gebuz and Alpetragus eke
> Of Planisperie, which men seke,
> The bokes made: and over this
> Ful many a worthi clerc ther is,
> That writen upon this clergie
> The bokes of Altemetrie,
> Planemetrie and ek also,
> Which as belongen bothe tuo,
> So as thei ben naturiens,
> Unto these Astronomiens.
> Men sein that Habraham was on;
> Bot whether that he wrot or non,
> That finde I noght; and Moïses
> Ek was an other; bot Hermes
> Above all othre in this science
> He hadde a gret experience;
> Thurgh him was many a sterre assised,
> Whos bokes yit ben auctorized.

Some of Gower's references to authors and works in these lines paralleled those in a passage of the Speculum Astronomiae quoted

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1. Confessio VII, 1449-1480.

by G.C. Macaulay[1] and referred to by G.G. Fox.[2] This passage runs:[3]

> Ex libris ergo qui post libros geometricos et arithmeticos inveniuntur apud nos scripti super his, primus tempore compositionis est liber quem edidit Nemroth gigas ad Iohathonem discipulum suum,[4] qui sic incipit: Sphaera caeli, etc., in quo est parum proficui, et falsitates nonnulae: sed nihil est ibi contra fidem, quod sciam.
>
> Sed quod de hac scientia utilius invenitur, est liber Ptolemaei Pheludensis, qui dicitur graece Megasti,[5] arabice Almagesti, ... Quod autem in

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1. See: Confessio VI 1449 ff. n. Macaulay quotes from, ed. P. Iammy, Cap. II: 'De libris astronomicis Antiquorum:' p. 657a.

2. See: op. cit., 82. (Discussion of Gower's lines: 81-83). Fox gives no bibliographical reference, but, as has been pointed out, mentions Borgnet's edition in his bibliography (p. 161).

3. See: Cap. II: p. 86 l. 2-p. 87 l. 1, p. 87 l. 5-7, p. 88 l. 7-8. The works and authors are identified in Cumont's notes on the text. See also, M. Steinschneider, art. cit.,

4. Cf. 'it was Nembrot,
To his disciple Ychonithon'.
On the astronomical treatise written in the form of a dialogue between Nimrod and his disciple Joaton, see: C.H. Haskins, 'Nimrod the Astronomer', Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science, Cambridge, Mass., 1924, pp. 338-345. A. Van der Vuyver, 'Les Plus Anciennes Traductions Latines Médiévales (X^e-XI^e Siècles) de Traités d'Astronomie et d'Astrologie', Osiris I, 1936, 684-687. The spellings 'Nembroth' (p. 86 apparatus criticus, l. 4v) and 'Nebrot' (see: C.H. Haskins, op. cit. 336 and 337) of the name Nimrod resemble Gower's spelling 'Nembrot'.

5. The spelling 'Megaster' (see p. 87 apparatus criticus l. l. L.) corresponds with that found in Gower's lines, and Macaulay's note of the confusion in Gower's lines must therefore be qualified: 'It would seem that, either owing to corruption of his text or to misunderstanding, our author separated the name 'Megasti' from its connection with Ptolemy and the Almagest, and made of it a book called 'Megaster' which he attributes to Nembrot'. (Confessio VII, 1449 ff. n.)

> Almagesti diligentiae causa dictum est prolixe, commode restringitur ab Azerbeel (?)[1] Hispano, qui dictus est Albategni in libri suo.[2]
>
> Voluit quoque Alpetragius corrigere principia et suppositiones Ptolomaei.

Gower's references to Alfraganus and his book 'Chatemuz', to the books of 'Planisperie' of 'Gebuz' and Alpetragius, and to Hermes, Moses, Noah and Abraham are not accounted for in the passage quoted from the Speculum Astronomiae. Alfraganus is mentioned in a passage of the Speculum Astronomiae which occurs shortly after the one already quoted:[3]

> Sine demonstratione vero habentur per viam narrationis apud Alfraganum Tiberiadem eaedem conclusiones, quae in Almagesti demonstratae sunt, in libro suo qui sic incipit: Numerus mensium Arabum, etc.'

Only a tentative explanation can be offered for Gower's attribution of a book called 'Chatemuz' to Alfraganus; the passage immediately following the lines just quoted runs:[4]

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1. This name is also spelt 'Azarchele' (see: p. 87, apparatus criticus l. 6 Lv), and another spelling is 'Azarchel' (see: p. 90, apparatus criticus, l. 6 Lv). The astronomical author referred to is Arzachel (see: Steinschneider, art. cit., No. 5, p. 359, and No. 17, pp. 367-369). Gower's 'Arachel' is probably another spelling of this name; (Fox points out that Gower probably here referred to Arzachel: see op. cit., 82).

2. Cf; 'An other Auctor in this cas
Is Arachel, the which men note;
His bok is Abbategnyh hote.'
Gower here makes Albategnius ('Abbategnyh') the name of a book of Arzachel ('Arachel'), instead of the name of the astronomical author. This confusion is noted by Fox, op. cit., 82-83.

3. Cap. II, p. 89, l. 3-6.

4. p. 89, l. 6-14.

> Et plura ex eis in libro Tebith de Diffinitionibus, qui sic incipit: Aequator diei.
>
> Exercitium autem ad inveniendum loca planetarum et capitis et quaedam alia est in libro qui dicitur Liber canonum Ptolemaei, quem non puto fuisse Pheludensem, sed alium ei aequivocum qui fuit unus forsan ex regibus Aegypti, et sic incipit: Intellectus climatum, etc. Et constitutus est super annos Aegyptiorum, qui dicitur Thildoniac (?) (one variant form: 'Chilvenuz')[1] ad mediam diem civitatis Alexandriae.

It may be suggested that Gower took Alfraganus to be the author of the books mentioned in this passage, that 'Chatemuz' may be a variant of 'Chilvenuz', and that Gower took this name to be a book title.

As Fox points out, 'Gebuz' is probably to be identified with Geber.[2] Geber is mentioned in some manuscripts of the Speculum Astronomiae after the mention of the Almagest in the passage already quoted:[3] '... et in commento Geber super Almagesti de eodem agitur satis late', and he is mentioned again in a later chapter:[4] 'De quibus agitur apud Geber, qui creditur esse Albumasar, in Libro naturae suo dicto'. Geber is not however associated with books of 'Planisperie' in either of these passages. Gower's association of Alpetragius with books of 'Planisperie' could have been suggested by a passage

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1. p. 89, apparatus criticus, l. 13, G.
2. See: op. cit., 82.
3. p. 87, l. 2-3 and apparatus criticus, p. 87, l. 2.
4. Cap. VII: p. 93, l. 5-6.

of the Speculum Astronomiae, in which, after the discussion of the book of Alpetragius,[1] Ptolemy's Planisphaerium is said to concern the same science as that treated of by Alpetragius:[2] 'Subtilius autem quod de hac scientia, est liber eiusdem Ptolemaei, qui dictus est arabice Walzagor, latine Planisphaerium'.

Hermes is amongst those mentioned in a list of teachers of the art of astronomy ('doctores huius artis') in the history of astronomy or astrology in the prohemium to Michael Scot's Liber introductorius.[3] The Liber introductorius, Liber Particularis, and Phisonomia were sections of one work and may have been written between 1198 and 1216.[4]

Noah, Abraham and Moses are mentioned as teachers of astronomy in a digressional note by Roger Bacon on the discussion of astronomy in the Secretum Secretorum:[5]

Nam Josephus dicit, primo libro Antiquitatum,[6] quod Deus

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1. p. 88, l. 7-15.
2. p. 88, l. 15- p. 89, l. 1.
3. See: Bodley MS. 266 fol. 25^{Rb}; this passage occurs in the section headed: 'de inventione huius artis et de nominibus inventorum priorum successione temporis et virorum': fol. 24^{Rb}-25^{Va}, and is referred to by L. Thorndike, in: A History of Magic and Experimental Science, Vol. II, 322. Bodley MS. 266 is listed on p. 307 n. 1, and dates from the 15th century: see ibid.
4. See: L. Thorndike, op. cit., 309 and 310.
5. See: ed. R. Steele, Oxford, 1920. Prima Pars. Cap. 22. 'de regimine vite per astronomiam': n. 5, p. 62, l. 30-37, p. 63, l. 1-4, 6-8.
6. See: Josephus, Antiquitates Iudaicae, I. iii. 9. In: The Latin Josephus I. The Antiquities. Book I-V, ed. F. Blatt, Acta Jutlandica Publications of the University of Aarhus, XXXI. Humanities Series 44, 1958, p. 136, l. 29 - p. 137, l. 2. 'deinde propter virtutes et gloriosas utilitates

(continued on following page)

filiis Ade in secunda generacione per Seth dedit eis vivere per sexcentos annos propter gloriosas sciencias in quibus studuerunt, videlicet, Geometriam et Astronomiam. Et Noee et filii ejus et Habraam docuerunt illas sciencias post dilŭvium. Nam Noee et progenitus ejus Sem docuerunt Astronomiam primo in Babilonia, scilicet, in terra post diluvium, ut docet Albumazar. 6. libro Introductorio in Astronomiam,[1] ... Et Habraam, testante Josepho,[2] descendit in Egiptum et docuit Egiptios Arithmeticam et Astronomiam, et Moyses fuit peritus in omni sciencia sive sapiencia Egiptiorum, ut dicitur septimo capitulo Actuum,[3] ... Et Moyses docuit verum motum Lune et Solis, et conjuncciones et opposiciones propter sacrificia legis, et multa alia nobilia.

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quas igitur perscrutabantur, id est astrologiam et geometriam, deus eis amplius vivendi spatia condonavit. quae non caute discere potuissent, nisi sexcentis viverent annis. per tot enim annorum curricula magnus annus impletur'.

1. No such passage occurs in the sixth book of Albumasar's work in the printed edition, see: Liber Introductorius, Venice, 1506, sig. e 2^{R}- f 4 fol. 4^{R} (this is Hermann of Carinthia's translation, dating from before 1143, see: F.J. Carmody, Arabic and Astrological Sciences in Latin Translation, Berkeley, 1956, 89-90).

2. See: Antiquitates Iudaicae, I.viii.2, p. 145, l. 10-12. It is said of Abraham: 'arithmeticam quoque eis contulit et quae de astrologia sunt ipse contradidit. nam ante adventum Abraham in Aegyptum, haec Aegypti penitus ignorabant'.

3. See: Actus Apostolorum, VII. 22: 'Et eruditus est Moyses omni sapientia Aegyptiorum'.

iv. The first lawgivers

Gower enumerates the first lawgivers in the following lines:[1]

> Unto thebreus was Moïses
> The ferste, and to thegipciens
> Mercurius, and to Troiens
> Ferst was Neuma Pompilius,
> To Athenes Ligurgius
> Yaf ferst the lawe, and to Gregois
> Foroneüs hath thilke vois,
> And Romulus to the Romeins.

Macaulay quotes[2] the following passage from Latini's Trésor[3] in connection with these lines:

> Moyses fu li premiers ki bailla la loi as ebreus, et li rois Foroneus fu li premiers ki le bailla as grezois, Mercurius as egyptiens, Salon[4] as athenes, Ligurgus as troiens, Numma Pompalie, ki regna aprés Romulus en Rome, et puis ses fius, bailla et fist lois as romains premierement.

It is evident that Gower has made Lycurgus first lawgiver of Athens instead of Solon, Numa Pompilius first lawgiver of the Trojans instead of Lycurgus, and Romulus the first lawgiver of the Romans instead of Numa Pompilius. Macaulay noted of the passage in the Trésor: 'If we suppose Solon to have been omitted in the MS., the passage might read, (with changes of punctuation) nearly as we have it in Gower'. The fact that

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1. Confessio VII 3054-3061.
2. Ibid. VII 3054 ff.n.
3. See: ed. F.J. Carmody, University of California Publications in Modern Philology, 22, 1948, 31, l. 7-11; I Cap. XVII: 'COMMENT LOI FU PREMIERS ESTABLIE'. 2.
4. Apparatus criticus p. 31, l. 8: 'solon', 'sacieis', 'saeieis'.

such considerable corruption of the name Solon occurs as to make it unrecognizable is evident from the apparatus criticus in Carmody's edition, and this may explain Gower's confusion in these lines.

It should be noted that the first lawgivers were enumerated in the Etymologiae:[1]

> DE AUCTORIBUS LEGUM. Moyses gentis Hebraicae primus omnium divinas leges sacris litteris explicavit. Phoroneus rex Graecis primus leges iudiciaque constituit. Mercurius Trimegistus primus leges Aegyptiis tradidit. Solon primus leges Atheniensibus dedit. Lycurgus primus Lacedaemoniis iura ex Apollinis auctoritate confinxit. Numa Pompilius, qui Romulo successit in regno, primus leges Romanis edidit;

The coincidence of many forms of the names in Gower's lines and the Trésor as against those in the Etymologiae,[2] in addition to the fact that the confusion in Gower's lines may be explained by the text of the Trésor, indicates that the Trésor was Gower's source and not the Etymologiae.

Conclusion

It is not claimed that Gower made direct use of many of the passages here given as parallels. However we know that he

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1. Ed. W.M. Lindsay, 2 Vols., Oxford, 1911; V.i: 'De auctoribus legum' 1-3. Reference, F.J. Carmody, ed. Trésor, p. 31, l. 7-13 n.

2. e.g. Confessio Amantis and Trésor:

Confessio Amantis	Etymologiae:
Mercurius	Mercurius Trimegistus
Troiens	Lacedaemoniis
Athenes	Atheniensibus

but cf:

Confessio Amantis	Etymologiae	Trésor
Neuma Pompilius	Numa Pompilius	Numma Pompalie

made use of the Pantheon, the Trésor, and the Polychronicon elsewhere in the poem. It is therefore reasonable to assume that he also used the Pantheon in the passage on the four world empires, and in the list of discoverers and inventors (Cadmus, Jubal, Tubal and ' Jahadel', and part of the description of Saturn). His use of the Trésor in the passage on the four world empires and in the list of first lawgivers may also be assumed. It is likewise reasonable to suppose that he drew upon the Polychronicon in his description of Saturn, and either the Pantheon or the Polychronicon in his description of Apollo. In view of his knowledge of the Secretum Secretorum, he could have derived his reference to Philemon from this work. He could also have derived his reference to 'Zenzis' from his knowledge of the Roman de la Rose. Apart from these works, some others may be added to the number of Gower's sources. Evidence shows that he made use of the 'Tractatus Enoch' in the account of the fifteen stars, their stones and herbs. There are many parallels between the Speculum Astronomiae attributed to Albertus Magnus and Gower's lists of authors of magic and their books and of authors of the science of astronomy, showing that Gower probably knew this work. He refers to Honorius in his list of authors of magic and their books, but it is uncertain whether he actually knew the Liber Juratus associated with Honorius.

The themes in the Confessio Amantis which have been here discussed all adhere to accepted medieval motifs. The account of the four world empires is traditional, and that of the

fifteen stars their stones and herbs is closely modelled on its source account. The lists are typical of those found in other medieval works.

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

In this examination of the sources of the Confessio Amantis, an attempt has been made to identify the sources Gower actually used. Gower's own testimony concerning his sources has only been referred to in passing. In general, experience shows that the testimony of medieval authors concerning their sources is not always reliable evidence that they had in fact used these sources. Gower's citation of authorities in the Confessio Amantis bears this out; the following instances may be noted as regards classical Latin authors. Gower attributes to Horace a statement about Achilles and Thersites, which in fact occurs in Juvenal's eighth Satire.[1] However, Gower's citation of Ovid does reflect his use of Ovidian sources.[2] Gower cites 'Valeire' as authority for the story of Codrus. This does not imply Gower's direct use of the version of the story of Valerius Maximus, since he could have found the story together with the authority of Valerius Maximus in second-hand versions.[3] Gower cites 'Solyns' (margin:

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1. See Confessio VII 3581, and margin. Discussion, see above pp. 120-1

2. Confessio I 333 (Actaeon), 386 (Medusa; also citation of 'Metamor' or Met., l. 389), 2274 (Narcissus), II.106 (Acis and Galatea), 2297 (Deianira and Nessus), III 361, 381 (Tiresias and the snakes), 736 (Jupiter, Juno and Tiresias), IV. 3317 (Argus and Mercury), V. 140 (Midas), 635 (Vulcan and Venus), 878 (Ovid has written about Jupiter), 4229 (Jason and Medea; Gower uses the Met. in the latter part of the story), 5570 (Tereus), 6146 (Neptune and Cornix), 6710 (Leucothoe; also citation of 'Methamor' l. 6711). VIII 2266 and 2273 (Cupid and Venus).

3. Ibid. VII 3181. Discussion, see above, p.80.

'Solinum') as authority for the account of the harpy, though Solinus did not in fact describe it and is not cited as authority for other descriptions of it, such as those in the bestiary of Pierre de Beauvais, the Speculum Naturale, and the Convertimini.[1] Gower cites Valerius in the margin as authority for the story of 'Alexander and the knight'.[2] In the main text, the authority is:[3]

> Of Alisandre in his histoire
> I rede

However, the story is not told by Julius Valerius in the Res Gestae Alexandri Macedonis, as we would assume from the authority cited by Gower, or for that matter, by Valerius Maximus.[4] Gower cites 'Vegecius' as authority for the story of Mars and Ilia, though the story is not told by Vegetius, but by Servius in his commentary on the Aeneid; however, Gower may well have been indebted to Vegetius for the detail of Mars' birth in Dacia, which is given directly before the story of Mars and Ilia.[5]

To Gower's citation of classical Latin authorities may be added that of other authorities. Gower's citation of the Bible reflects his actual use of it.[6] Gower cites the

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1. Confessio III 2600 and margin. Discussion, see above, pp.216-217.
2. Ibid. VII 3168* margin.
3. Ibid. VII 3168*-3169*.
4. Cf. discussion above: p. 129.
5. Confessio V 888; discussion above, pp. 252-253.
6. See for instance: Confessio Prologue 573 (Nebuchadnezzar's dream), I 2788 (Nebuchadnezzar's punishment), IV 1960 (Saul), V 7025 (Belshazzar), VII 2527 (Ahab and Micaiah), 3624 (Gideon), VIII 224 (Lot and his daughters).

'Almageste' in connection with the fading of the moon, though he is not here directly indebted to the passage relating to this subject in the Almagest, but to a passage in the Trésor, as G.L. Hamilton indicates.[1] The 'Almageste' is cited again,[2] and there are two citations of 'Tholomeüs',[3] in connection with the number and arrangement of the stars in three of the signs of the zodiac, Aries, Gemini, and Capricornus. However, Gower's description does not correspond with that in the Almagest.[4] Gower cites 'Albumazar' in connection with the association of the signs of the zodiac with parts of the world.[5] The passage referred to is one in the Liber Introductorius of Albumasar in which the signs of the zodiac are associated with

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1. See Ibid. VII 739 (whole passage to which authority refers: 739-745). G.L. Hamilton, 'Some Sources of the Seventh Book of Gower's Confessio Amantis,' Modern Philology, IX, 1912, n. 7, pp. 341-2. Hamilton cites the passage from the Latin translation of the Almagest in the Venice edition of 1515 (relevant part of passage: p. 342 n. 7, l. 6-8). This is Gerard of Cremona's translation, dating from 1175, see: F.J. Carmody, Arabic and Astrological Sciences in Latin Translation, Berkeley, 1956, 15. Cf. Brunetto Latini, Li Livres Dou Trésor, ed. F.J. Carmody, 1948. University of California Publications in Modern Philology, 22. I Cap. CXVI: 'COMMENT LA LUNE EMPRUNTE SA LUMIERE DOU SOLEIL, ET DES ECLIPSES' 3. p. 102.

2. Confessio VII 983.

3. Ibid. VII 1043, 1201.

4. Ibid. VII 983 n. Macaulay does not mention the reference to 'Tholomeüs' at l. 1201 (Capricornus), but he indicates that Gower's whole description of the number and arrangement of the stars in the signs of the zodiac (ibid. VII 979-1263) does not tally with that in the Almagest. See also: G.G. Fox, The Mediaeval Sciences in the Works of John Gower, Princeton Studies in English, 6, 1931, 68-80.

5. Confessio VII 1239.

places.[1] Gower cites 'Hermes in his bokes olde' in connection with the account of the fifteen stars, their stones and herbs; his source for this passage was the 'Tractatus Enoch', but he either may have cited Hermes mistakenly, or may have been aware that Enoch and Hermes were considered to be the same person.[2]

Gower cites 'Valerie' for the story of 'Emperors and virgins', but this story in fact occurs in St. Jerome's Adversus Jovinianum; it would not be surprising if Gower had in mind Walter Map's Dissuasio Valerii, which sometimes circulated under the name of Valerius or Valerius Maximus, since it is an anti-feminist tract, like the Adversus Jovinianum.[3] Gower cites the Pantheon once in connection with the story of 'Apollonius of Tyre' and he drew on it here,[4] but he also drew on it in other passages in the poem without making any mention of it.

In citing authorities without actual use of them in order to confer authority on passages, Gower was following a known literary convention of the day. An instance of such citation

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1. Ibid. VII 1239 ff. n. Liber Introductorius, Venice, 1506; VI., Cap. on 'De signis ad motum et quietum ducentibus' sig. f 3R-V (in translation of Hermann of Carinthia, dating from before 1143, see F.J. Carmody, op. cit., 89-90).

2. Ibid. VII 1437. Discussion of passage, see above, pp. 292-293.

3. Ibid. V. 6360. Discussion, see above, p. 149.

4. Ibid. VIII 272. Discussion, see above, pp. 156-157.

by Chaucer may well be that of 'Swetonius' in the story of Nero in The Monk's Tale.[1] Chaucer may have derived the reference from the Roman de la Rose, where much of the story of Nero is told and the reference to Suetonius given.

Gower gives indirect testimony of written sources in the phrases 'I finde write'[2] and 'I rede'.[3] The majority of these phrases occur in connection with passages based on known

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1. See: The Canterbury Tales Fragment VII 2465, The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, ed. F.N. Robinson, London, 1957; see also 2463 n. Reference to Suetonius, Roman de la Rose l. 6458. Concerning Chaucer's citation of sources, see: C.C. Page, Chaucer's Testimony Concerning His Sources, Diss., Yale, 1947, which I have been unable to consult.

2. Confessio Prologue 572-3 ('Nebuchadnezzar's dream'), I 2458 ('Albinus and Rosemund'), II 95-6 ('Acis and Galatea'), II 191 ('The travellers and the angel'), II 1614 ('Demetrius and Perseus'), II 3187 ('Constantine and Silvester'), III 730 (moralization), III 1200 ('Diogenes and Alexander'), IV 145 ('Ulysses and Penelope'), IV 978 ('Phaeton'), V 745: 'In the manere as it is write' (beliefs of the nations) V 2028 ('Virgil's mirror'), V 2960 ('Achilles and Deidamia'), V 4238 ('Phrixus and Helle'), V 4374 (final species of avarice), V 4808 ('Babio'), VI 485 ('Pirithous'), VII 3142-3 ('Trajan'), VII 4149 (wisdom in a King's council), VII 5130: 'as it is write' ('Virginia').

3. E.g. Confessio II 2140: 'who these olde bokes rede (previous 'ensamples'), II 2462 ('Geta and Amphitryon'), III 142 ('Canace and Macareus') III 818 ('Jupiter and Laar') III 971: 'The bok of Troie who so rede' ('Nauplius and the Greeks'), III 1331 ('Pyramus and Thisbe'), III 2361 ('Alexander and the pirate'), III 2548 (examples of homicide), IV 74 ('Aeneas and Dido'), IV 234 ('Grosseteste'), IV 448 ('Iphis'), IV 1504 ('Jepthah's Daughter') IV 1614: 'as men mai rede' (deeds of lovers), IV 1815 (knighthood), IV 1960: 'As men mai in the bible rede' ('Saul') IV 2034: 'For if thou wolt the bokes rede' (Lancelot and others), IV 2362: 'In sondri bokes thou miht rede' (uses of labour), IV 3512: 'These olde bokes who so rede ('Iphis and Anaxarete'), V 137 ('Midas'), V 1366 ('Manes'), V 2218 (incident of Hannibal, gold rings and bridge of corpses in story of 'Virgil's mirror'), V 2273 ('Tale of the two coffers').

literary sources. It is not however certain that written sources always existed whenever these phrases are used. For instance, in the tale of Grosseteste 'I rede' is used, though no precise literary source is known to exist.[1] In instances such as these the phrases may merely be a literary device. The phrases implying an aural source are used far less frequently than those which may imply a written source. They are only four in number: 'I have herde it telle also' ('Achilles and Polyxena'),[2] 'I have herde seie' ('Protesilaus'),[3] 'In every mannes mouthe it is ('Tristan'),[4] 'the tale I herde' ('Dante and the flatterer').[5] It is worth considering whether these phrases actually reflect oral transmission. It is possible that Gower heard the story of Achilles read aloud from the Roman de Troie,[6] and that of Protesilaus from the Heroides,[7] and he may also have heard versions of the other two stories. It is in particular likely that he heard the story of 'Dante and the flatterer' since no precise literary source for this story is known to exist.[8] He could have heard the stories in sermons, from which he probably derived

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1. See ibid. IV 234. Discussion, see above, pp.178-184.
2. Confessio IV 1693.
3. Ibid. IV 1900.
4. Ibid. VI 470.
5. Ibid. VII 2330.*
6. Ibid. IV 1693 ff. n.
7. Ibid. IV 1901 ff. n.
8. Discussion, see above: Chapter II, Section B.III viii, pp. 192-195, 'Dante and the flatterer'.

some of his material. On the other hand, these phrases may again merely be a literary device.

Like many another medieval author, Gower does not refer by name to the majority of books on which he drew. In this study an attempt has been made to reconstruct part of Gower's working library; consequently some of the books which he is likely to have used may be listed. This list is based on evidence brought to light in the course of this study. It is impossible to name definite sources for many of the stories Gower tells, because versions of these stories were often repeated. The arrangement of the list is chronological and by language.

Antiquity: Ovid, Heroides (with medieval gloss), Remedia Amoris, Fasti, (with medieval gloss), Metamorphoses; Statius, Thebais, Achilleis; Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri; Servius, Commentary on Virgil; Vegetius, Epitoma Rei Militaris; Avianus, Fables, and medieval version of these fables, such as the Apologi Aviani. It is uncertain whether Gower used: Livy, first decade, Ovid, Amores.

Patristic: Vulgate, St. Augustine, De civitate dei; St. Jerome, Adversus Jovinianum; Josephus, Antiquitates Iudaicae (translation), or Bellum Iudaicum ascribed to the so-called Hegesippus; Isidore of Seville, Etymologiae.

Medieval Latin: Barlaam and Josaphat (translation), Secretum Secretorum (translation), Albumasar, Liber Introductorius (translation); Historia de Preliis; John of Salisbury,

Policraticus; Walter of England, Fables; Peter Comestor, Historia Scholastica; Alberic of London, Poetarius; Vitalis of Blois, Geta; Nigel de Longchamps, Speculum Stultorum; Walter Map, Dissuasio Valerii; Godfrey of Viterbo, Pantheon; De Babione; Vincent of Beauvais, Speculum Historiale; Speculum Astronomiae attributed to Albertus Magnus; Aegidius Romanus, De regimine principum; John of Wales, Breviloquium; Guido de Columnis, Historia destructionis Troiae; 'Tractatus Enoch'; Ranulf Higden, Polychronicon; Robert Holcot, Convertimini and Commentary on Wisdom; Gesta Romanorum; Pierre Bersuire, Ovidius moralizatus; John Bromyard, Summa Praedicantium; Giovanni Boccaccio, Genealogia Deorum Gentilium. To these should perhaps be added: John of Wales, Compendiloquium; Robert Holcot, Moralitates; Walter Burley, De vita et moribus philosophorum. It is uncertain whether Gower used: Liber Juratus associated with Honorius.

Medieval French: Le Lay du Trot, Le Roman des Sept Sages de Rome, (a French prose version, but Gower also used other versions of this work); Benoit de Sainte-Maure, Le Roman de Troie; Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, Le Roman de la Rose; Brunetto Latini, Trésor; Le Roman de Marques de Rome; Ovide moralisé. It is uncertain whether Gower used: Pierre Bersuire, translation of Livy, first decade.

Anglo-Norman: Thomas of Kent, Le Roman de Toute Chevalerie, Nicholas Trevet, Anglo-Norman Chronicle.

Medieval English: Alexander A and B.

There are not really so many books in this list as there appear to be, when we allow for the possible combination of separate works in a single manuscript. For instance, the Achilleis and Avianus' fables occur in the same manuscripts, as school text-books in a series of poetical works connected with the Disticha Catonis; Walter of England's fables and the Geta sometimes appeared in this series.[1] However, a considerable number of the works listed would have filled whole volumes, as for instance the Historia Scholastica, the Speculum Historiale, the Polychronicon and the Summa Praedicantium. A man of Gower's means could not have afforded as large a library as that represented by the books listed here. Gower's working library may therefore be defined as one which included many books he did not own. In connection with this point, it should be added that there is no evidence as to the books Gower owned.

It is evident that many of the books listed here are representative works. From this it may be concluded that Gower had read widely in the literature current in his day.

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1. Discussion, see above Chapter II, Section B v: 'Gower's use of school text-books connected with the Disticha Catonis', pp.138-146.

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