

AMO ERGO SUM: MEDIEVAL SECULAR AND SPIRITUAL LYRICISM

J. C. Nassivera
Comp Lit Ph.D.

AMO ERGO SUM: A RETROSPECTION OF MEDIEVAL
SECULAR AND SPIRITUAL LYRICISM

by
J. C. Nassivera

DISSERTATION
submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
in
Comparative Literature

The Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
of
McGill University, Montréal
Canada
Spring, 1977

ABSTRACT

title: Amo Ergo Sum: A Retrospection of Medieval Secular and Spiritual Lyricism

author: J. C. Nassivera Degree sought: Ph.D. Dept.: Comp. Lit.

This study seeks to demonstrate that: 1) The qualitative distinction between the classical and medieval lyric amounts to the distinction between the classical poet's love as manifest in action with the loved object, and the medieval poet's love as manifest in reflection upon the loved object. 2) An important characteristic of many medieval lyrics concerns self-reflection and the degree to which such self-reflection becomes self-consciously conventionalized; in this respect the lyric poem evidences an introspection similar to that which characterizes much of medieval philosophy, commencing with Augustine himself. 3) Medieval secular and spiritual lyrics are complementary and share fundamental similarities in diction and argument with orthodox Augustinian concepts, and these similarities are born out of inherent characteristics of analogical Biblical exegesis, and the relation between analogical code and a natural language system. 4) Medieval expressions and analyses of love in poetic, theological, and philosophical contexts demonstrate a coherent theory of self-reflection in common, a theory which is trinitarian and built upon the relationships between subject and object, self and others, soul and God--love being the copulative function of mediation. 5) The basics of such a theory of self-reflection have remained functional and form one part of the historical context informing psychoanalytic theory.

PRECIS

titre: Amo Ergo Sum: A Retrospection of Medieval Secular and Spiritual Lyricism

auteur: J. C. Nassivera grade: Ph.D. dept.: Comparative Lit.

Cette étude se propose de démontrer les points suivants:

- 1) que la distinction qualitative entre la forme lyrique classique et médiévale se réduit à la distinction entre la manifestation différente de l'amour du poète: l'expression active du poète classique envers son objet aimé, et, l'expression réflexive du poète médiéval envers son objet aimé.
- 2) qu'un trait important de nombreuses lyriques médiévales touche la réflexion sur soi et le degré auquel cette réflexion personnelle devient sciemment une convention poétique; et que, dans cette optique, le poème lyrique met en évidence une introspection semblable à celle que caractérise une grande partie de la philosophie médiévale, en commençant par St. Augustin lui-même.
- 3) que les lyriques médiévales du genre séculier et du genre spirituel se complètent et possèdent des ressemblances fondamentales de diction et de raisonnement avec les concepts de St. Augustin, et que ces ressemblances dérivent de caractéristiques inhérentes de l'exégèse analogique de la Bible et du rapport entre le code analogique et le système qu'est la langue naturelle.
- 4) qu'au Moyen Âge, les expressions et analyses de l'amour dans les contextes poétique, théologique, et philosophique montrent la sous-jacence d'une théorie qui est trinitaire et basée sur les rapports entre le sujet et l'objet, entre le "moi" et les autres, entre l'âme et Dieu: l'amour étant la fonction copulative de la médiation.
- 5) que les bases d'une telle théorie de réflexion sur soi demeurent encore fonctionnelles et ne forment qu'une part du contexte historique qui forme et qui entretient le théorie psychanalytique.

"Ecce, enim regnum Dei intra vos est."

--Evangelium secundum Lucam, 17:21

Acknowledgements

I owe special debts of gratitude to my teachers, Professors Paula Valeri Tomaszuk, whose guidance and encouragement led me through Charybdis, and Benjamin Weems, whose pungent criticism of my work is unending and has been an invaluable spur in my flank over the years. My thanks to Dr. Maxine Bernstein, who found time away from her practice to mull over basic psychoanalytic questions with me during pleasant hours passed at the Quality Restaurant in Manchester, Vermont.

Researches for this study have been financed in part by several fellowships from McGill University, providing me with opportunities for teaching in the departments of English and Classics, and with summer stipends for research in southern France and Italy. My thanks to the Vergilian Society of America for their assistance and hospitality at their villa in Cuma during the summer of 1973. This most recent year of intensive research and writing has been facilitated by a Doctoral Fellowship from the Canada Council on the Arts and Humanities.

It is the policy of the Comparative Literature Programme at McGill University that quoted material other than modern European languages be accompanied by English or French texts. The principle in this study has been to provide idiomatic aids to the reader, and not to present translations in any way definitive. Whenever possible, previously published translations have been followed. When not otherwise indicated, translations are my own.

J. C. N.

Notre-Dame-de-Grâce
Montréal
Spring, 1977

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
<u>INTRODUCTION</u>	vii
 <u>PART I</u>	
<u>ANALYSIS: TEXTS AND CONTEXTS</u>	
ch. 1.0. A Classical Background	2
ch. 2.0. A Look at Several Medieval Lyrics	72
 <u>PART II</u>	
<u>DIALECTIC: A PSYCHOLOGY OF LOVE</u>	
ch. 3.0. Themes and Variations	204
3.1.1. First theme: triadic structures	
3.1.2. Variation: love, logos, and language	
3.2.1. Second theme: the mirror of love and desire	
3.2.2. Variation: self-identity, reflection, and the mirror phase	
3.3.1. Third theme: St. Bernard's Amores, The Song of Songs, and the Word of love	
3.3.2. Variation: ecstatic divagations	
 <u>CONCLUSION</u>	 306
4.0. Synthesis and Recapitulation,	
4.1.1. To love is a transitive verb	
4.1.2. Personification, projection, and intersubjectivity	
4.2. Recapitulation: Quod erat demonstrandum	
 Appendix A. A Sample of Ancient Latin Lyrical Epitaphs	 325
Appendix B. A Sample of the Erotic Wall Writings of Pompeii	328
Appendix C. Latin Concordance to the Canticum Canticorum	334
 Bibliography	 342

INTRODUCTION

0.0. In this study, the word "lyricism" is used admittedly in a broad sense. This usage is for purposes of methodology, to provide a term which may encompass not only the particular poetic genres of the secular and spiritual lyric, but also selected related texts whose concern is an introspective analysis and expression of affections and self-reflection. I intend "lyricism," as a recurrent term, to embrace the poetic activity of lyric texts of a philosophical, theological, or psychological nature. The terms "self-reflection" and "self-consciousness" are deliberately employed in an unexclusively modern, technical sense. Throughout this study, "self-consciousness" embraces a concept of "knowledge" in reflexive contexts. In Latin and Romance languages this is expressed syntactically by the use of "knowledge" with reflexive pronominal constructions (sui, se, etc.). The terms "consciousness" and "self-consciousness" appear in the English language in substantive and adjectival forms in the 17th century. The words are derived from the Latin conscientia, whose basic meaning entailed "knowledge of something together with another person" (< cum + scio). Originally, conscientia and consciis were interpersonal concepts. Ancient usage could entail a "consciousness of self" or "self-consciousness" as well, for example in Quintilian's Institutiones Oratoriae (IX, i, 17): "Plerumque

vere deprehendas arrogantium falsum de se opinionem; sed in veris quoque sufficit conscientia" (Indeed, often you find that arrogance implies a false opinion of oneself, whereas among truthful people consciousness of oneself suffices. [The reflexive of the second clause is demanded by contextual association with the first.]) Lucretius, in his discussion of the eternal presence in this world of the torments others ascribe to the other world, is led to say (III, 1018-19): "quae tamen etsi absunt, at mens sibi conscia factis / praemetuens adhibet stimulos torretque flagellis" (Even if these [torments] are not physically present, the apprehensive mind, conscious of itself, calls up vexations and torments with scourges). Intendo could also be used in reflexive constructions, embracing similar connotations, as exemplified in Seneca's Epistulae 56, 5: "animum cogo sibi intentum esse" (I compel my mind to consider itself), a clause which includes an interesting grammatical twist in that sibi normally refers to the subject of the verb rather than its object as exemplified here. Grammatically, the animum is affective and effective object; the grammatical abnormality, in effect, emphasizes the pronoun's reflexive function. Beyond this basic concept of "reflexive knowledge", usage of the terms "self-consciousness" or "self-reflection" is not meant to imply a homogeneous conception of self-consciousness, unchanging in detail over various historical periods--such, in effect, would beg the question of the entire study.

0.1. This study will show that the medieval lyric is intimately related to its contemporaneous theological traditions stemming from the work of St. Augustine and St. Bernard, for example. The lyric has an important synchronic relation with medieval marital and sexual mores on the one hand, and on the other a relation with Virgin cult worship, sacerdotal celibacy, and Church reforms--not to mention the complexities of basic interlingual synchronic relationships. Historically, medieval lyricism is undoubtedly closely related, whether sympathetically or antithetically, to pre-Christian lyricism of the late Republican and Imperial times--and this relationship extends beyond the well-worn argument of Ovid understood or misunderstood. Similarly, in the other direction, medieval lyricism is historically related to our manifestations and ongoing concerns with lyricism in this broad sense. It is commonplace to blame or bless the troubadours of southern France with having laid the foundations of our modern concept of "romantic love". While not aligning itself with a strictly ahistorical structuralist position, this study does not accept the premise that a facile linear development can be traced from the courts of Provence to the courts of contemporary divorce settlements. Yet, that some sort of relationship exists between the lyric outbursts of our medieval ancestors and aspects of our own cultural personality seems at least a reasonable proposition, and at most perhaps a deep-rooted social complex which need not be ignored.

In my researches, this study has become psychological--rather, a more accurate manner of speaking would be that this

retrospection of medieval lyricism is at the same time unavoidably an inquiry into the background of a discipline we have come to label "psychology," and specifically that subdivision known since the turn of the century as "psychoanalysis." The thesis presented is that the shift from medieval lyricism (love poetry and love theory) and its manifest concern with questions of self-consciousness to our modern concern with an inherent psychoanalytic bent, is a parametric rather than a paradigmatic shift. This is to say that the fundamental concerns of medieval love poetry and theory are the basic concerns which are confronted today under the rubric of psychoanalytic theory and its offshoots. The general nature of the ongoing dialogue has not changed so much as the specific form of the discussion has altered-- a "new" discipline has appeared. This is not to postulate a sweeping ahistorical dictum. If anything, this retrospection belies a historically determined aspect of the present psychoanalytic model.

0.2. The germ of these researches was perhaps first suggested, apart from the lyrics themselves, by a recent work called The Mirror of Narcissus in the Courtly Love Lyric by Frederick Goldin (Ithaca, 1967). This is not to say that Prof. Goldin has evidenced an interest in modern psychology. His book is carefully limited to a discussion of theology, particularly Augustine, the medieval speculum concept, and the Narcissus motif, brought to bear on several sample

troubadour and Minnesinger texts. That the book is recognized for offering extremely valuable and fresh insights into medieval lyricism can go without saying. At the same time, however, a methodological issue of import is raised. In no uncertain terms, the book is a study of medieval self-consciousness. It is, in effect, a study of medieval "psychology." But regardless of the particular reading, the fact remains that at least three of the book's primary concerns are also fundamentally central concerns of psychoanalytic theory: a) the mirror (as physical object, but more importantly as symbolic of the process of self-reflection), b) Narcissus, and c) language. Professor Goldin's study has something inherently in common with psychoanalytic theory, and by centering on what he considered to be essential to the lyric, Professor Goldin has ended up brushing upon problems essential to a contemporaneous discipline with which he is ostensibly little concerned. This leaves a further question unanswered: Is it not possible that Prof. Goldin has "discovered" these particular things in his analysis of medieval lyricism on account of the fact that he is inescapably living and working in a post-Freudian context? The crucial question, of course, is not the individual case exemplified by Prof. Goldin's study, but the general methodological issue of the relation between critic (observer) and text (observed). The issue amounts to a confrontation of the reciprocal relationships always

functioning between text, context, and critic. Part II of this study is a dialectical treatment of these relationships; the conclusion is born out of this dialectic, and amounts to a statement concerning the relations between particular sets of modern and medieval conceptual terms.

I have been able to locate three exclusively psychoanalytic studies of medieval secular lyricism: "Courtly Love: Neurosis as Institution," by M. W. Askew (Psychoanalytic Review, LII, 1965, 19-29); "Culture and the Unconscious Fantasy: Observations on Courtly Love," by R. A. Koeningsberg (Psychoanalytic Review, LIV, 1967, 36-50); and "Amour and Eros in the Middle Ages," by John Halverson (Psychoanalytic Review, LVII, 1970, 245-58). The studies of Askew and Koeningsberg both suffer equally from a fervent acceptance of the psychoanalytic model as definitive; they both proceed from an ahistorical given and avoid the whole crucial issue of the dialectic between their model and the phenomenon under consideration. Halverson criticizes both articles on this account, noting the necessity of taking culturally determined factors into account: "Psychological theories are also the products of human minds, and the student of culture does well to retain theoretical flexibility. To begin an inquiry, for example, with the unshakable conviction that all human behaviour can be reduced to the Oedipal situation is not a promising discovery procedure" (p.253). He notes the fallacy of accepting Andreas' treatise

as indicative of a straightforward social reality, and points out what he feels is the overtly sexual character of the troubadour lyric, especially in the early works of William IX (e.g. "Tant las fotei com auziretz"). His point is that the totally "sublimated" conception of fin'amors is the product of a later development, native to Italian soil (pp.255-56), which is a point affirmed in different terms in this study. Broader in scope, and generally of much more value are two essays by Herbert Moller: "The Meaning of Courtly Love," (Journal of American Folklore, LXXIIL, 1960, 39-52), and "The Social Causation of the Courtly Love Complex," (Comparative Studies in Society and History, I, 1958-59, 137-63). Moller's work offers various insights into social structures which are extremely suggestive and to which we shall return later. None of these previous studies, however, evidences an extended attempt to develop a careful textual analysis of either the lyrics themselves or the philosophical works directly relevant to the issues involved. So far as the present study can be considered psychological, it sets itself apart from these essays by taking cognizance of the dialectical relationship between our contemporary model and the past phenomenon to be examined, rather than beginning from the acceptance of one particular model as definitive.

In relation to the lyric mirror and the figure of Narcissus, apart from the extremely valuable discussion in

Goldin's book, a few other sources have been quite important, including: One of the earlier starting points for the entire discussion was an article by Jean Frappier, "Variations sur le thème du miroir, de Bernard de Ventadour à Maurice Scève," (Cahiers de l'ass. intern. des études françaises, XI, May 1959, 134-58). Louise Vinge's work is a massive thematic study with invaluable coverage of much primary source material: The Narcissus Theme in Western European Literature up to the Early 19th Century (Lund, 1967). And the particular augmentation given to the discussion in this study has an important relation to the early essay of Jacques Lacan, "Le Stade du miroir comme formateur de la fonction du Je," (Revue Française de Psychanalyse, XIII, 1949, 449-55).

The explicitly linguistic bent of Part II stems in part from various discussions of Augustine's theory of language, including: R. De Rijk, "St. Augustine on Language," (Studies Presented to Roman Jakobson, ed. C. Gribble, Cambridge, Ma., 1968); B. D. Jackson, "The Theory of Signs in St. Augustine's De Doctrina Christiana," and R. A. Markus, "St. Augustine on Signs," (both in Markus' Augustine: A Collection of Critical Essays, New York, 1972); and Jacques Lacan's seminar, "De locutionis significatione," (Le Séminaire: livre I, Paris, 1975). As will be explained in detail at the beginning of Part II, this study also employs a supplementary linguistic terminology originating in the works of Saussure, Peirce,

and Jakobson--deliberately limited to such basic concepts as have been suggested to be in accord with Augustine's own theory of language.

0.3. There is some validity in the generalization that until recently scholarship concerning medieval lyrics has tended to deal separately either with the spiritual or the secular tradition. Raby's massive tomes were actually divided into separate volumes and published at different times. Philip S. Allen's study, The Romanesque Lyric, dating from 1928 (University of North Carolina Press), follows closely the conventional genre division and seems simply to have placed the "spiritual lyric" outside the realm of consideration all together. Denis de Rougemont's book, L'Amour et l'occident (Paris, 1939), was an important step in realizing the fundamental interrelationship between "sacred" and "profane" love; at the same time, the study is based on a clearly dualistic approach. C. S. Lewis's The Allegory of Love (Oxford, 1936) ushered in the reign of Ovid and Andreas Capellanus especially over English scholarship which has followed. Lewis also firmly established a scholarly acceptance of a solidly antithetical relationship between what he called "courtly love" and the medieval institution of marriage and general Christian mores. An animated rejection of these basic conclusions of Lewis forms the central issue underlying a long recent work by Henry A. Kelly, Love and Marriage in the Age of Chaucer (Ithaca, 1975), and

Kelly's book is a good example of the contemporary trend toward dealing with spiritual and secular love as two sides of the same medieval coinage. Shortly after the work of Lewis, A. J. Denomy published an article on the relationship of "fin'amors" to Arabic culture, "Fin'amors: The Pure Love of the Troubadours, its Amorality and Possible Sources," (Mediaeval Studies, VII, 1945, 139-207). Denomy's work is rather peripheral to our present concerns in this study, but his researches have been influential and do indirectly support a tendency to view the secular lyric in antithesis to its spiritual counterpart--as could be surmised from the title of the 1945 article itself, as well as his later work, The Heresy of Courtly Love (Gloucester, Ma., 1965).

Guido Errante's work of 1943, Lirica Romanza del Primo Secolo (New York) was one of the first to deal at any length with the intermingling of secular and spiritual concerns. Errante presents, among other points, a lengthy discussion of Fortunatas' employment of the Canticum Canticorum, and a brief consideration of the medieval philosophical/theological problem of love of self and love of God, "una forza esistente e innegabile", (p.372). Ernst Curtius' classic work, Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter (Bern, 1948), has really only one chapter that bears directly on our present concern, chapter six, "The Goddess Natura". Nonetheless, this work was an important step in the recognition of the importance of

medieval Natura, as Goddess and concept, for the lyric tradition. Quite directly, Curtius gave rise to a further study specifically concerned with lyric poetry, James J. Wilhelm's The Cruellest Month: Spring, Nature, and Love in Classical and Medieval Lyrics (New Haven, 1965). Wilhelm comes to grips with at least two crucial concerns: he is able to place possibly the most important poem of the Anthologia Latina MS., the so-called Pervigilium Veneris, in relation to the medieval spring/love lyric tradition in such a way that the transition from late classical to early medieval sensibilities begins to be less enigmatic; and he is able at least to begin the discussion of the relationship between hymnology and secular lyricism in terms of a dialectic, rather than an either/or antithesis. Goldin's work, The Mirror of Narcissus in the Courtly Love Lyric, mentioned above, came out two years later. Goldin too begins from a premise of the mutual self-reinforcement between spiritual and secular expression. A year later in 1968, Peter Dronke's Medieval Latin and the Rise of the European Love Lyric (Oxford) collected a great many textual examples which have substantiated the validity of this trend to study spiritual and secular lyrics as intersecting modes of poetic expression, although his subsequent work has not especially concentrated on this point.

• Outgrowths of this general approach are two unpublished dissertations on the subject of the exegetical tradition of the

Canticum Canticorum: O. S. Wright's The Influence of the Exegetical Tradition of the "Song of Songs" on the Secular and Religious English Love Lyrics of the MS. Harley 2253 (Berkeley, 1966); and G. L. Scheper's The Spiritual Marriage: the Exegetical History and Literary Impact of the Song of Songs in the Middle Ages (Princeton, 1971). Wright's dissertation deals with some medieval Latin and Provençal lyrics as well as the Middle English Harley Collection. Scheper's work, on the other hand, while dealing extensively with Marian spirituality, has very little to offer concerning the specific issue of secular love in the Middle Ages, and does not deal with the secular lyric tradition per se whatsoever.

This is by no means a catalogue of all relevant scholarship which will be referred to throughout this study. Other specific works will be brought to bear on the discussion and their relevance made clear. But how, more precisely, is this study related to the general directions and achievements represented in these major previous researches? Some basic premises have been accepted. The researches of Curtius and Wilhelm have led to a recognition of the importance of dealing with medieval lyricism's close ancestry in late classical culture; this entails more than a consideration of Ovid, and other texts from Imperial times ought to be examined. To understand medieval lyricism, whether we wish to concentrate our efforts on the spiritual or the secular, our efforts must incorporate

researches into both as mutually reinforcing and intersecting modes of experience and expression. Goldin's book and the essays of Moller demonstrate that the lyrics are, even if relatively indirectly, dealing with crucial and complex issues of individual self-consciousness.

0.4. The present study takes issue with the methodological technique of examining one mode of expression in isolation from the other, whether this be done in a synchronic or a diachronic sense. In opposition to previous researches into the "psychology" of medieval lyricism, the present study takes issue with two methodological extremes previously employed: that we isolate medieval man's own attitudes toward the development of his self-consciousness and maintenance of self-identity, and discuss these attitudes strictly within the framework provided in the past period itself; or, that we embrace a definitive psychological model provided by our contemporaries and ourselves, and with this ahistorical key unlock the "real" attitudes underlying a past phenomenon. The latter method is clearly reductionist. The former, while admittedly an ideal often striven for when we look back upon the past, is technically impossible. In the context of the present researches, this impossibility entails unusually difficult implications. To be passably rigorous, a methodology must allow for the possibility that our own modes of experience and expression of self-consciousness have significant interrelationships with the very modes of experience

and expression we wish to look back upon and elucidate.

This study, then, proposes not to elucidate the truth, but relations between various truths. This is not to discuss the secular in terms of the spiritual, nor the medieval structures of the soul in terms of modern psychoanalytic theory; rather, this is to examine how these modes of expression interrelate. The objectives of this inquiry demand a method which blends synchronic with diachronic discussion--not because the diachronic perspective defines the synchronic phenomenon, but because each defines the other in an ongoing dialectic.

0.5. ~~The starting point will be a close look at a limited~~ number of ancient and medieval texts which more or less fit the generic category "lyric." The selection of primary texts in Part I is for the most part conventional, although within these limits some texts which seem to have been relatively ignored are here discussed. This is especially so in Chapter I, the ancient background, where epitaphic verse, Catullus, an infrequently discussed passage from Apuleius, and the *Anthologia Latina* are texts considered. None of these sources is by any means obscure, but their relevance to a study of medieval lyricism has not previously been pointed out in any detail. The selection of ancient Latin texts has been influenced by a desire to fill in gaps, to bring within the realm of medieval scholarship a few important texts which have yet to find a place there. The selection of medieval texts does not willfully

incorporate any "obscure" examples. Almost without exception the medieval poems are readily available, and most of them have been anthologized in various collections, presumably on account of their inherent "representative" character. Although these poems are not atypical--as their presence in anthologies and their discussions in Raby, Allen, Wilhelm, Goldin, and others testify--for sake of economy and argument, naturally texts are selected which best exemplify those characteristics to which the present inquiry is limited. No claim is made that these poems collectively exemplify the single most distinguishing character of medieval verse as a whole, nor even that a particular author is most characteristically represented by his work selected here. No doubt, other poems may evidence characteristics quite different from the ones discussed in this study. Nonetheless, the poems selected were, after all, composed at a given time and place and cannot help but represent certain attitudes and techniques. These I have taken as the subject of inquiry, without the assumption that this inquiry will result in a definitive reading of the medieval lyric.

Part II has presented a far more difficult problem in the selection of texts. Clearly, an attempt to be all-inclusive would be futile in the context of a study of this sort. A small slice into the available corpus must be made. This slice has been made accepting the premise that the work of St. Augustine and St. Bernard is central to medieval thought, or at least

representative of central concerns evident on many levels and in various modes of medieval expression. Augustine's discussion on the nature of the soul and the logos, along with Bernard's discussion of the grades of love offer information well disseminated and influential within the period itself, which bears directly upon and helps formulate the questions addressed in this study. Similarly, in the modern context the spectrum of psychological discourse colors our every look at ourselves, others, and our own past. Granting that psychoanalytic theory is no more exclusively representative of modern consciousness than is the work of Augustine and Bernard of medieval consciousness, the realities of our post-Freudian environment in both a social and a personal sense press upon us. Even though we may flatly reject every conclusion Freud and his freudulant band of disciples have ever propagated, these conclusions nonetheless play a formative role in contemporary discourse from which, like the present itself, there is no escape.

0.6. The limitations inherent in this study are now clear. There is no attempt at an encyclopedic survey of medieval lyricism. On the contrary, this study is a retrospection, one of many possible versions. This version is delimited by a concern for how a state of being is connected with an action, how a statement "I am" is connected with another statement "I love." This concern is rendered in the title Amo ergo sum,

a transitive alteration of the Cartesian Cogito. While my original intention, looking back into a personal history, was to limit discussion to a medieval past of completed action, this limitation was discovered methodologically untenable. Careful consideration must be given to primary texts.. Close textual analysis employing all the conventional tools in one's command is the starting point, and this in itself involves limitations, as there can be no definitive, all-inclusive reading of a text or corpus of texts. There is always a cut-off point of relevance, which is determined in turn by our relationship to the texts in question. Even the narrowest delimitation of inquiry, then, ought to include not only the texts themselves, but just as importantly a consideration of our relationship to those texts.

PART I

ANALYSIS: TEXTS AND CONTEXTS

"Alei in venereis rebus vitam conterunt,
mihei contra rite partam Venerem mors rapit.

-epitaph from Venafro

Chapter 1:

A Classical Background

1.0. In confronting the question of the classical background of the medieval lyric, one particular point has held perhaps too much sway over discussion: Of the classical Latin lyric poets preserved, whose work is known today only Ovid's was known in the medieval period. To-date there is no evidence that any manuscripts of Catullus, Propertius, or Tibullus were known among Europeans before the 13th century.¹ Knowledge of Ovid and dissemination of various works, on the other hand, was consistently part of many medieval curricula throughout Europe. A literary history which limits itself strictly to the linear ancestry of authors and literary influences can naturally lead to a jump from Ovid to "courtly love"--for example, C. S. Lewis' The Allegory of Love was simply characteristic in this respect of an established tendency of the time. Regardless of the preservation or loss of particular texts, the fact remains that the lyric poets of ancient Latin culture, whether pagan or early Christian, and the later hymnists and medieval lyricists employed a language in common and were members of a common cultural tradition. This is not to dismiss the manifest syntactic and semantic differences between ancient and medieval Latin, nor to imply that early Christianity was nothing but a slightly modified paganism. But our recognition of the continuity

between late classical and early Christian culture is obscured by a phenomenon very similar to one encountered when looking back upon the transition between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. In both cases, the latter periods in question have generated a great deal of material written by a group of individuals whose conscious intention was vigorously and explicitly to set themselves apart from the earlier "dark" eras; and, in point of fact, their selection and discussions of the "relevant" data substantiated their claims. To us, however, the boundaries of relevance have altered. Catullus and Propertius, apart from "being texts," were members of a culture which continued to live and to be transformed after their deaths. The incidental fact that manuscripts dropped out of circulation does not invalidate these poets' contact with and expression of that culture: Admittedly, the "background" of medieval lyricism cannot include every expression of experience from earlier Latin culture. On the other hand, the other extreme which limits itself to a strict paleographic genealogy of texts is equally lacking.

The history of Marian spirituality, as a related case in point, must take into consideration the so-called Venus of Pompeii on the facade of a shop in the Via dell'Abbondanza, which presents the goddess in a sky blue mantle at the prow of a ship and at her hand is her son, Cupid.² The location and

the visual techniques are strikingly similar to any one of thousands of Madonnas found on shop walls to this day throughout Italy. Unquestionably, this is less than proof that the Virgin is but a rehabilitated Venus-with-child, and yet this is more than coincidence. The popularity of Isis worship across all social classes, entailing the visual motif of Isis with her son, Horus, as well as a feminine intercessor/mediator function, must have had a relationship with early Marian cult, especially on the Italian peninsula and in southern Gaul where temples to Isis from Imperial times abound. A correlation of the sites of churches dedicated to the Virgin in the 800's and earlier in Rome with known sites of Roman temples dedicated to various pagan goddesses produces striking results, demonstrating their mutual proximity in various quarters of the city. Nor is such cross-fertilization limited only to Marian spirituality. The relationship between Dionysian-Orphic cult and early Christianity has been the subject of more than one full-length study.³ As a visual vortex, we might focus on the phallus-as-fish motif found in various mosaics.⁴ The phallus was in a relationship of mutual correspondence with the god Priapus, son of Dionysus and Aphrodite. That the fish was a widely used figure for Christ is commonplace--even though the derivation of the symbol is much debated.⁵ In turn, Catullus' possible connection with Orphic religion forms a central concern of a study by Enzo

Marmorale, L'ultimo Catullo (Napoli, 1952), noting among other things the importance of faith, trust, secrecy, rebirth, and passion in the Orphic religion. In counterpoint, the disappearance and outright eradication of phallic eroticism in the early Church Fathers, such as Augustine, is a marked characteristic of early Christianity. Questions such as these are more than academic straw men. The pagan pantheon and the mystery cults seem to have remained popular among the lower classes.⁶ At a time when for all but the very few of aristocratic and priestly classes the dissemination of information was by word of mouth and oral tradition, far-sweeping reorientations of popular religion cannot have occurred with anything approaching a post-Renaissance rate of cultural change. A letter of Pope Gregory I in the year 601 outlines how pagan temples in England still in use are to be diplomatically converted to Christian churches, and the Legenda Aurea records how St. Benedict had to exorcise the temple of Apollo on Monte Cassino before the monastery could be begun in the 7th century. Many other examples could be cited.⁷

The importance of broadening what may be background for medieval lyricism is clear. One need not assume that simply on account of particular authors, ideas, and beliefs having drifted out of historical visibility that they have ceased to exercise formative influence within a cultural tradition.

Of course, this is not to imply that the inverse is proven-- that is, that particular "unknown" authors exercised individual influence. Rather, this is say that it is important to consider a broad spectrum of that culture which forms a background, since I would maintain that it is, after all, one culture as a whole which transforms itself into another culture--cultures in and out of which individuals produce their works. If a particular text appears representative of certain basic cultural phenomena, the disappearance of that text for any length of time by no means eradicates those phenomena and their influence. It is this premise that leads to the considerations of pagan lyricism which follow.

1.1. Ancient Latin literature, as Brooks Otis has pointed out, possesses a curiously deceptive character.⁸ Underneath a veneer of formal rigidity, decorum, and admitted admiration and imitation of Greek authors, Latin literature presents us with a highly original body of expression. But what is meant by "original" in this context? Otis suggests that Latin originality lies in a certain urbane, self-introspection which is found not only in the lyricists, but to greater or lesser degrees in every major Latin author. For example:°

The important thing that is common to Cicero, Horace, and Virgil is the introspective method and the inward seizure of motive and of psychic movement that this entails. Whether they look into themselves and reveal what they see as Cicero does in his letters,

1
7
or Horace in his satires and lyrics, or whether they look into others and grasp their psyches by empathy, they are engaged in much the same activity. But this is not merely a technique, a literary procedure. The real point is the different conception of man and of human society that it implies. (p.196)

Or when he turns to Tacitus, for instance, Otis might well provide one of the most suggestive observations about the great Latin historian which recent scholarship offers:

The important point for our general argument here is Tacitus' sense of the Roman persona, his conception of history as something happening to his own Roman soul, as part of his own extended psychic development. In outliving the Republic he has, as it were, outlived himself. But so have all good Romans, since the fatal establishment of despotism by Augustus. (p.202)

But it is Otis' concluding remarks on the relation of this Latin introspection to early Christian expression which are most suggestive in the context of our inquiry. Augustine, he suggests, is a natural extension and outgrowth of the latent tendencies present in ancient Latin culture:

The inward or introspective approach that is so classically (I may say) exemplified in Augustine's Confessions is, by and large, characteristically Latin. But the most interesting thing about it in its Christian form is the extent to which it has become "self-conscious" or philosophically articulate. We can see quite easily how such cardinal concepts as god, man, sin, salvation, grace, forgiveness, freedom and predestination both receive a new meaning in Latin Christian thought and, at the same time, bring out the latent meaning of aboriginal Latin concepts. It is through such writers as Augustine, in fact, that Rome or the Latin consciousness becomes a source of new philosophy. . . . (p.205)

It is not necessary to maintain that the Romans were the first people to become highly introspective. It is enough in the present contexts to hold that such introspection, as a characteristic of written expression, is significantly marked in Latin literature, and sets the Latin corpus apart from the Greek. That this necessarily indicates more than a shift in style or academic philosophy, and is indicative of major differences in over-all world views, as Otis suggests, would be difficult to prove--although such an assumption concerning the interrelation between shifts in cultural expression and shifts in experience is commonly made.⁹

In approaching the lyric in particular, this raises the question of sincerity--the relation between the expression on the page and the flesh-and-blood experience of the poet. A biographical reconstruction of the poet's life in chronological order--as exemplified par excellence in Barth's and Lachmann's treatment of Propertius--was one extreme position which had its vogue. Today, there is still a tendency to accept the lyricist's words as portals into the poet's life--not in a strictly biographical manner, but in a more general variation. In their researches, J. P. Sullivan and J. P. Elder, as only two examples, ultimately do not question the actual existence of Cynthia and Lesbia, or that the poets actually engaged these women in social and other forms of intercourse.¹⁰ To take issue

with these approaches, it must be emphasized that to say particular texts are autobiographical (even in a general sense) and to say they are introspective are not necessarily closely related statements at all. It does not matter whether the "ladies" are real or imaginary--a question which is in fact impossible to answer anyway. They are, as Marianne Moore has so slyly put it, "real toads in imaginary gardens." Introspection is a mental activity which employs various real and/or imagined people, places, and things in its process. It is introspection as a mental and verbal activity being expressed in a text which concerns us here--its structures and dynamics. Those particular items the process of introspection might employ are of secondary importance; and although their position in the realm of the real or the imaginary in principle is impossible to determine, this by no means thwarts the aims of inquiry.

Oversimplification of the relationship between a poet's text and his day-to-day experience, and by extension the relationship between a literary text and the day-to-day experience of the culture as a whole, can lead to the rash statement that everyday heterosexual relations in ancient times did not incorporate the emotion of "love" in a sense even approximating the later phenomenon of "courtly love" or approximating our own rough definition of the word.¹¹ That this is a rash statement is born out by even a cursory examination of ancient Latin

epitaphs. Granting that epitaphs, too, were not free from the complexities of stylized, formulaic expression, it is still a reasonable assumption that the ideals present in funerary inscriptions are present there more because of their relation to functional social ideals than on account of a specific intention to continue and develop a literary tradition. In fact, many of the inscriptions exhibit abnormal grammar and spelling--evidencing that the individuals involved were not even very literate, not to mention literary.

1.2. Lattimore, in his study of Greek and Latin epitaphs, notes that the occurrence of women in the inscriptions is more common in Latin than in Greek, and that the praise of married life generally is far more common in Latin epitaphs. Regarding the issue of genuine conviction, he says:

It is of course impossible to determine just what proportion of these decorous sayings express conviction, but at least we can conclude that they outline an ideal, and that this ideal concedes considerable importance to the position of women in the household. They are thought of, not as subservient, but as free partners, and the success of the family is thought of as dependent in large measure on their qualities. Were this not generally the case, no Roman widower would have taken the trouble to write even false encomia on their gravestones.¹²

Characteristically, the wife is held to be rara, dulcissima, karissima, sanctissima.¹³ She is often considered a sodalis; and fides, along with variations employing the root, appears frequently. She is praised for her abilities to manage the

household, and among the citizens represented by these epitaphs this job would entail business and managerial skills. An inscription typical in this regard reads:

HIC SITA EST AMYMONI MARCI. OPTIMA ET PULCHERRIMA
LANIFICA. PIA. PUDICA. FRUGI. CASTA. DOMISEDA.¹⁴

But the inscriptions are not limited to business-like praise and thanks for services rendered in the call of duty. There are expressions which break the bounds of conventional formula somewhat to express a particular feeling. For example:

DIGNA FUI MERITO MEO RARA SODALI,
UNUS AMOR MANSIT, PAR QUOQUE VITA FIDELIS:
SI DOLUIT ALIQUI, ME QUOQUE IUNXI DOLORI;
PAR FUI DUM POTUI, DULCIS VALE KARE SODALIS.

Or, again:

UT COGNOVI, PUER PUELLA OBLIGATI [SUMUS] AMOR[E]
PARITER; CUM QUO VIXI TEMPOR[E] MINIMO, ET QUO TEMPORE
VIVERE DEBUIMUS, A MANU MALA DISPARATI SUMUS.¹⁵

This second example goes on to end with the husband praying to the Manes that he may see his wife in visions and in his own death soon rejoin her. The verb amo is frequently used in substantive and adjectival constructions; examples of diligo are also found:

HEIC EST SPULCRUM HAV PULCRUM PULCHRAE FEMINAE.
NOMEN PARENTES NOMINARUNT CLAUDIAM.
SUOM MAREITUM CORDE DEILEXIT SUO.¹⁶

In light of examples such as these it would be difficult to argue that, for example, amo had a particularly sexual connotation similar to our "to desire" or even "to burn."

The inscriptions tend to employ amo and diligo synonymously, or if there is a difference it is too subtle to detect.¹⁷

Generally, the inscriptions are concerned with love, beauty, faithfulness, comradery, diligence, and intelligence:

. . . SI. CASTA. ET. FORMOSA
ACUTA. SI. FRUGIA. ET. PRE
TIOSA. ACUTA. SI SEDULA.
ET BONI COSILI [sic] MARITUS
FEC. M. SEGULLIUS
SECUNDUS.¹⁸

The repetition of acuta and the final praise boni cosili are indicative of a certain equality and respect. With the single exception of the reference to diligence and competence in household matters, the epitaphs present praises and expressions of mutual love, admittedly not so intense or artful as, but very similar to, the lyric poetry of Catullus or Propertius in the general description of the emotional bond. To hold that poets such as Catullus and Propertius (and similarly this approach has been applied to the troubadours) were samples of an emotional elite whose real experience was as extraordinary as their command of the Latin language is pure romanticism. After having perused a few collections of Latin epitaphs-- the most complete being the Carmina Latina Epigraphica, edited

by Beucheler and Lommatzsch¹⁹--one must accept that Romans, like other human beings, experienced intense and lasting bonds of affection in matrimony; or, at least, they accepted the ideal that such bonds were possible and desirable. The opinion that the fires of amor were a malady to be avoided as much as possible was indeed an attitude expressed in various literary contexts, but this cannot have been the attitude underlying the hundreds of expressions of amorous affection found in epitaphs. The point that this leads to is simply to recognize the unique qualities of Latin lyricists for what they are, not to credit them with the creation and/or discovery of a new emotion not encompassed by the semantic field of amo or diligo. (Is one's indescribable love ever described by the word "love"?)

The achievement of the Latin love lyric lies in another direction. It lies in the more specified realm of poetic art itself, in the dialectic between individual artistic innovation and past tradition. Catullus and Propertius were especially responsible for a new awareness of the poetic potential of sexual relationships, an awareness that emotional, sexual relations when analyzed and verbalized in a particular manner allow for an arresting exposure of the individual psyche itself. (For further examples of ancient Latin lyrical epitaphs, I refer the reader to Appendix A.)

1.3. This brief discussion of Latin epitaphs, while helpful in placing the work of the lyric poets in perspective, is not intended to diminish recognition of the gaps in sensibilities which separate us from the ancient texts. There is little question that the sexual mores of ancient Romans, their conception of "acceptability," was significantly different from what has been a norm in the West through the Christian era down to our own day. In approaching especially the work of Catullus, this is perhaps the single most troublesome stumbling block.²⁰ It is commonplace to point out how certain attitudes toward homosexuality, prostitution, and forthright sexual language, which appear in ancient poetry as taken for granted, are radically different from our sensibilities--although admittedly the gaps separating us in relation to these particular attitudes, as of the very recent past, are becoming smaller. There is another side to Catullus' poetic character, however, which remains as far away from us as ever. This is the fact that for the ancient Roman, no matter how Catonianly conservative he might have been, sexuality and sexual acts--not merely "love"--were intimately connected with any number of religiously serious concerns. To say that the ancients were simply less inhibited than we is to miss the point entirely. Sexual inhibition, in our post-Freudian contexts, is inextricably connected to the fact that Judeo-Christian tradition has excluded the carnality of sex and sexual acts from the realm of the spiritual and the

religious.²¹ Precisely the opposite was the case in much Roman religious lore.

Perhaps the most crucial and, at the same time, the most obvious example of this might be the permeation of phallic associations--literal and metaphorical, explicit and implicit--throughout much of ancient Latin culture. A cursory perusal of the recently available photographic collections of previously secluded erotic artifacts demonstrates beyond doubt that not only was explicit sexual imagery part of everyday housewares and furnishings, but that this imagery was decidedly phallic.²² The female body is rarely presented by itself as an erotic image; male phallic figures are far and away more numerous. When a couple is presented together the focal point of the image is the phallus or the phallic penetration. To speak of these countless artifacts in terms of their relative inhibited or uninhibited character is next to meaningless. The phallus was more than a symbol for the god Priapus; the god and the phallus share a mutual correspondence. To talk about one is to talk about the other; in a literal, non-humorous sense, every erection is a Dionysian resurrection. This is not to deny that Priapus as a specific figure became effete and often rather humorous in various contexts (e.g., Catullus #47), but the Dionysian phallic principle remained a vital aspect of ancient experience. Sexual acts were erotic in the original etymological sense of

the word, which entailed a religious association--even if that association remained, in particular instances, unimportant or unacknowledged.

Throughout this chapter, I shall frequently employ the terms "erotic imagery" and "phallic eroticism." A word about them here may avoid later misunderstanding. "Erotic imagery" is in part distinct from "eroticism," as any symbol is distinct from that which is symbolized. It is conceivable that two antithetical types of eroticism could in fact employ the same erotic imagery; conversely, it is also conceivable that significant alterations in erotic imagery may reflect different types of underlying eroticism. This is to say that, at least in part, the imagery may be arbitrary, and not indicative in a one-to-one manner of the eroticism expressed. In my use of the term "phallic eroticism," phallic refers primarily to the imagery in which ancient eroticism is clothed. This is not to imply that pederasty was rampant and that the classical Roman male was indifferent to the allure of the female body--such a position would exemplify a neo-Freudian reductionism in the worst sense. Nonetheless, readings of Latin sources, hours passed at Pompeii and in the National Museum at Naples, as well as the recently available texts on Roman erotic artifacts all force upon me the conclusion that the erotic imagery of ancient Roman culture was thoroughly phallic, and that this is the

feature most clearly distinguishing ancient from medieval erotic art and literature. It seems to me a worthwhile consideration that the shift from phallic erotic imagery to a female erotic imagery, which is discussed in what follows, is related to a more fundamental, but also far more subtle, shift in the underlying eroticism itself. To anticipate conclusions somewhat, this appears as a shift from eroticism manifest in action with the woman (and the consequent satisfaction) to eroticism manifest in contemplation of the woman (sometimes even regardless of any consequent self-satisfaction). Erotic imagery and eroticism itself are undoubtedly closely related, but the following material makes no claim to elucidate ancient or medieval eroticism as a phenomenon symptomatic of a culture's "mental health" relative to its collective conception of sexuality. Rather, the eroticism discussed is approached through its imagery, with the recognition that such imagery is greatly overdetermined and is the result of numerous strata of conscious, esthetic considerations and conventional developments.

The phallic eroticism employed by Catullus bears emphasis because it is perhaps the most often ignored aspect of his poetic character, and at the same time it is a characteristic highly typical of his time. Consider, for example, the obvious double entendre of the second poem in the Catullan collection:²³

Passer, deliciae meae puellae,
 quicum ludere, quem in sinu tenere,
 cui primum digitum dare appetenti
 et acris solet incitare morsus
 cum desiderio meo nitenti
 carum nescio quid lubet iocari,
 credo ut, cum gravis acquiescet ardor,
 sit solaciolum sui doloris,
 tecum ludere sicut ipsa possem
 et tristis animi levare curas.

(Sparrow, my lady's pet, with whom she often plays while she holds in her lap, or gives her finger tip to peck and provokes to bite sharply, whenever she, the bright-shining lady of my love, has a mind for some sweet pretty play, in hope, as I think, that when the sharper smart of love abates, she may find some small relief from her pain--ah, might I but play with you as she does, and lighten the gloomy cares of my heart.)

The overtly phallic overtones of this poem have recently been cited by William Arrowsmith, along with the more general bird/phallus motif in ancient culture.²⁴ Similar to our own colloquial idiom, passer and its diminutive form, passercula, were common terms of endearment applied to males and females. This is clearly one association functioning in the poem--the passer is personified. But this is not the limit to semantic associations of the noun passer in ancient Latin. This particular noun, unlike columba for example, is appropriately masculine in gender. The grammar expresses that Lesbia is playing, ludere, with a member of the opposite sex. The lines "quicum ludere, quem in sinu tenere, / cui primum digitum dare appetenti" abound with rather precise sexual overtones: ludere, sinu, digitum, and appetenti, a verb used in idioms such as

adpetere manum osculis (Pliny, 11,45,103 & 250). The noun passer is derived from the verb pando: to extend, to expand; to plough up, used as "to plough a field." The sexual associations of the verb, especially as agricultural metaphor, need no explanation. In relation to this, the countless artifacts of winged phalli attest to the fact that the phallus was commonly associated with a bird. Of all possible birds which might have been chosen, passer, on account of its gender, semantic and mythic associations, accentuates the phallic overtone functioning in the poem. All this, we must recognize, would have been taken for granted in the context of Catullus' time, when the conventional symbolism or expression of eroticism was preponderantly phallic rather than mammillary and pubic.

Phrases found here such as deliciae puellae and solaciolum doloris have quite graphic sexual associations, rather different from the seemingly similar diction we might find in the later medieval use of such phrases. And it is on this account that this simple little poem has been singled out. In forming an impression of the background of medieval lyricism it is important to grasp differences as well as similarities. Our conventions--and here we are on common ground with medieval materials--lead us to accept that a rose may be in correspondence with or symbolic of the female breast or the vulva itself. We find nothing extraordinary about this; it is, in fact, quite conventional. At the same time, the rose has myriad spiritual

and religious connotations which need not function in absolute antithesis with the anatomical imagery associated; there may be a degree of interpermeation. In Catullus' time the organ of sexual anatomy which belonged most clearly and frequently in the realms of both the sacred and the profane was the phallus, rather than the female genitalia. To consider Catullus' poetic sexuality uninhibited or even, as C. S. Lewis did, "exhibitionistic" is to apply a completely misfitted framework to the texts. Catullus' phallic eroticism--and of course this extends beyond the conveniently superficial example above--is in its own way spiritual, in a sense analogous to the mystical rose and the general female eroticism of the Middle Ages.

A moment's consideration can reveal that phallic eroticism may naturally involve an emphasis on sexual action, in opposition to a less dynamic esthetic-erotic contemplation of woman as the object of sexual attraction. (I stress that this is not to speak of male as inherently active and female as inherently passive; here I am speaking of a specific imagery which is bound by various socially determined considerations, quite apart from biology.) Unlike the female genitalia, the phallus as erotic image is centered on only in erection. The erect phallus inherently involves action--in and of itself and in relation to the potential act of procreation. Phallic erotic imagery does not lend itself to non-active contemplative eroticism; it is in this sense quite distinct from the imagery

of the medieval lyric, whether spiritual or secular. Consequently, it is misleading to think of Catullus as a lyric poet whose love poetry primarily concerns a woman he calls Lesbia--misleading because this is an impression fostered by a contemplative erotic model applicable for much later poetry. Catullus is concerned with amorous relationships of all sorts--those of his friends, of newlyweds, those related from the mythic past, even those of the initiates of the cult of Cybele. Only a small number of his poems overtly concern Lesbia.

All of Catullus' longer works without exception concern love relationships other than Lesbia: 61 is the wedding song of the bride Aurunculeia; 62 is a dialogue between Iuvenes and Puellae on the subject of marriage; 63 is the powerful Attis poem; 64, his longest poem, concerns the story of Theseus and Ariadne; 66 concerns the affairs of Berenice and Ptolemy III; 68a centers around Laodamia's loss of her beloved husband, and only at the very end is the mythic history brought to bear on Catullus' own situation. This is not to imply that these longer works are unrelated to Catullus' love poetry in a conventionally proper sense, i.e. his lyrics involving Lesbia; rather, the large proportion of his work devoted to "love" in social, mythical, and religious senses simply demands that our conception of Catullus as poet of love must expand to include the majority of his work.²⁵

There is, for example, the arrestingly conservative poem about Septimius and his beloved Acme:

Acmen Septimius suos amores
 tenens in gremio "mea" inquit "Acme,
 ni te perditte amo atque amare porro
 omnes sum assidue paratus annos
 quantum qui pote plurimum perire,
 solus in Libya Indiaque tosta
 caesio veniam obuius leoni."
 hoc ut dixit, Amor, sinistra, ut ante
 dextra, sternuit approbationem.
 at Acme leviter caput reflectens
 et dulcis pueri ebrios ocellos
 illo purpureo ore saviata
 "sic" inquit "mea vita Septimille,
 huic uni domino usque serviamus,
 ut multo mihi maior acriorque
 ignis mollibus ardet in medullis."
 hoc ut dixit, Amor, sinistram ut ante,
 dextram sternuit approbationem.
 nunc ab auspicio bono profecti
 mutuis animis amant amantur.
 unam Septimius misellus Acmen
 mavolt quam Syrias Britanniasque:
 uno in Septimio fidelis Acme
 facit delicias libidinesque.
 quis ullos homines beatiore
 vidit, quis Venerem auspiciorem? (#45)

(Septimius, holding in his arms his darling Acme, says, "My Acme, if I do not love thee to desperation, and if I am not ready to go on loving thee continually through all my years as much and as distractedly as the most distracted of lovers, may I in Libya or sunburnt India meet a green-eyed lion alone." As he said this, Love on the left, as before on the right, sneezed goodwill. Then Acme, slightly bending back her head, kissed with that rosy mouth her sweet love's swimming eyes, and said, "So, my life, my darling Septimius, so may we ever serve this one master as (I swear) more strongly and fiercely burns in me the flame deep in my melting marrow." As she said this, Love, as before on the left, now on the right sneezed goodwill. And now, setting out from this good omen, heart in heart they live, loving and loved. Poor Septimius prefers Acme alone

to whole Syrias and Britains. In Septimius, him along,
his faithful Acme takes her fill of loves and pleasures.
Who ever saw human beings more blest? Who ever saw a
more fortunate love?)

Here amor is used in a sense definitely including explicitly sexual pleasure, delicias libidines, but also extending beyond an immediate physical bond, "amare porro omnes sum assidue paratus annos." We have seen amor, as noun and verb, used with this semantic scope in the Latin epitaphs. It would be misleading to posit a Judeo-Christian problem of simple semantic antithesis onto the ancient Latin use of amor. For the ancient Roman the burning flame of love, "ignis mollibus ardet in medullis," was indeed at times an inconvenience and consequently a malady--though not very serious--which elder generation conservatives would suggest be avoided.²⁶ But this is a far cry from the Pauline "Melius est enim nubere, quam uri." For the pre-Christian Roman there was nothing sinful (in a purposely anachronistic sense) about burning with desire. On the contrary, though it may have been considered by some and in particular contexts to have been improbis, to my knowledge it was never labelled impius.²⁷ In poem 61, the torches of the wedding entourage, faces, and the very name of the wedding veil itself, flammeum, evidence the accepted and serious role the flame of sexual desire had in matrimony. Catullus produces there a highly effective superimposition:

claustra pandite ianuae,
virgo adest. viden ut faces
splendidas quatiunt comas? (ll.76-78)

(Open the fastening of the door; the bride is coming. See you how the torches shake their shining tresses?)

The faces are personified by the commonly employed ambiguity of comas (hair, leaves, tresses). The faces, virgo, and comas all unite in a poetic device which forcefully conveys the metaphor underlying the ritual. In conjunction with the claustra ianuae, this becomes even more explicitly sexual, while in the ancient context becoming no less serious. Explicitly sexual amor was not by any means, if we accept the corroboration of the epitaphs and the poems of Catullus, seen in opposition to other broader connotations of amor. Returning to poem 45, the two lovers are, immediately after the phrase delicias libidines, considered homines beatiores. Beatus as an adjective in Catullus' time was admittedly only just beginning to take on a religious connotation; but in poem 51, there is a clear association between amor and deus: "Ille me par esse deo videtur . . . qui sedens adversus te." (This particular line appears to be after Sappho; we shall see slightly later that Propertius carries this much further.) Here in poem 45, a divine association for beatiores is reinforced in the next line by Venerem|auspicatiorem.

Few other poets' work celebrates the conventions of ancient matrimony with the skill and originality of expression found in Catullus' dialogue poem 62--written in epic hexameters, a meter fitting for the seriousness of the subject matter dealt with.²⁸ The final three stanzas run as follows:

Puellae

ut flos in saeptis secretus nascitur hortis,
ignotus pecori, nullo convulsus aratro,
quem mulcent aurae, firmat sol, educat imber,

multi illum pueri, multae optavere puellae:
idem cum tenui carptus defloruit ungui,
nulli illum pueri, nullae optavere puellae:
sic virgo dum intacta manet, dum cara suis est;
cum castum amisit polluto corpore florem,
nec pueris iucunda manet nec cara puellis.
Hymen o Hymenaeae, Hymen ades o Hymenaeae!

Iuvenes

ut vidua in nudo vitis quae nascitur arvo
numquam se extollit, numquam mitem educat uvam
sed tenerum pronò deflectens pondere corpus
iam iam contingit summum radice flagellum;
hanc nulli agricolae, nulli coluere iuveni.
at si forte eademst ulmo coniuncta marita,
multi illam agricolae, multi coluere iuveni:
sic virgo dum intacta manet, dum inculta senescit;
cum par conubium maturo tempore adeptast,
cara viro magis et minus est invisã parenti.
Hymen

et tu ne pugna cum tali coniuge, virgo.
non aequumst pugnare, pater cui tradidit ipse,
ipse pater cum matre, quibus parere necessest.
virginitas non tota tuast, ex parte parentumst;
tertia pars patrist, pars est data tertia matri,
tertia sola tuast: noli pugnare duobus,
qui genero sua iura simul cum dote dederunt.
Hymen

(As a flower springs up secretly in a fenced garden, unknown to the cattle, torn up by no plough, which the winds caress, the sun strengthens, the shower draws forth, many boys, many girls, desire it; when the same flower fades, nipped by a sharp nail, no boys, no girls desire it: so a maiden, while she remains untouched, so long is she dear to her own; when she has lost her chaste flower with sullied body, she remains neither lovely to boys nor dear to girls.

As an unwedded vine which grows up in a bare field never raises itself aloft, never brings forth a mellow grape, but bending its tender form with downward weight, even now touches the root with topmost shoot; no farmers, no oxen tend it; but if it chance to be joined in marriage to the elm, many farmers, many oxen tend it; so a maiden, while she remains untouched, so long is she aging untended; but when in ripe season she is matched in equal wedlock, she is more dear to her husband and less troublesome to her father.

And you, maiden, strive not against such a husband; it is not right to strive against him to whom your father himself gave you, your father himself with your mother, whom you must obey. Your maidenhead is not all your own; partly it belongs to your parents, a third is given to your father, a third to your mother, only a third is yours; do not contend with two, who have given their rights to their son-in-law together with the dowry.)

We are struck immediately by the image "flos secretus in hortis saeptis," a motif which is found frequently in the Anthologia Latina MS. and of course becomes commonplace in medieval lyrics. The flos image is extended into metaphoric argument, followed by a similar metaphoric development of vitis in the next stanza. The final stanza of the poem abandons poetic embellishment all together to close on a note of straightforward, practical advice-- which might seem out of character for the stereotypic image of

Catullus as the lost lover of Lesbia, but is in fact in harmony with his work in its entirety.

On the opposite end of the scale, the next poem in the collection demonstrates Catullus' treatment of a type of furenti rabie (1.4) completely antithetical to Roman amor, whether matrimonial or otherwise: the frenzied devotion of the Gallae (whom Catullus renders feminine, rather than the more common form, Gallus, -i); for the Magna Mater, Cybele. In reading this poem, it should be recalled that although the worship of Cybele had been introduced into Rome as early as 204-5 B.C., during the Republic worship was limited to her one Palatine temple and she was served only by Oriental priests.²⁹ The priesthood was not open to public membership until the time of Claudius in the early first century A.D.. The passion and frenzy of the Galli was emphatically "sexual," in the reversed sense witnessed by their obligatory self-castration which is the underlying concern of the poem. The eroticism of the ritual captured in the poem is precisely the inversion of the active, phallic eroticism permeating Catullus' whole poetic character. Unlike his employment of other mythic material, such as the stories of Ariadne (64), Berenice (66), and Laodamia (68a), Catullus' relationship to the Attis material is decidedly and explicitly antithetical. The poem ends with the lines:

Dea magna, dea Cybele, dea domina Dindymi,
 procul a mea tuus sit furor omnis, era domo:
 alios age incitatos, alios age rabidos.³⁰

(Great Goddess, Cybele, Goddess of Dindymus,
 far from my house be all thy fury, O Queen;
 others drive thou in frenzy, others drive thou
 to madness.)

The whole gist of the poem is that Attis regrets having performed the irrevokable deed, which would appear to be Catullus' own interpolation on the myth, as it is found in no other source. This is understandable in that the lyricism of Catullus involves a phallic eroticism: the passion (in all senses) for the loved object, the object, and the sexual action itself are inextricably united in a conventional manner which was a concept common to much of ancient religious lore. A religious, ecstatic frenzy which is by definition pointedly exclusive of "normal" sexual ecstasy is profoundly antithetical to Catullus' sensibilities; it is impius, as lines 17 and 18 clearly imply:

et corpus evirasti Veneris nimio odio,
 hilarate erae citatis erroribus animum.

(and unmanned your bodies out of an utter hate
 for Venus, cheer your Lady's heart with swift
 wanderings/errors.)

The goddess Venus is brought into juxtaposition with a subtle play on the ambiguity of citatis erroribus, which can mean "swift wanderings" and at the same time "swift errors."³¹

The majority of Catullus' poems are concerned with what are broadly speaking love relationships--most commonly "normal" heterosexual relations. The relations are sometimes sexual in an exclusively physical sense, especially in the humorous poems (e.g. 71, 78, 80, 88, 89, 90). Often they are relations which are sexually and emotionally lasting bonds--himself and Lesbia, couples whom he knows (see also poem 96 concerning Calvus and Quintilia), an idealization of matrimonial relations, and mates related in mythic lore. But by the same token, in a poetic sense, Catullus frequently attempts to analyse his own particular relation with Lesbia; the most celebrated example perhaps being poem 85:

Odi ed amo. quare id faciam, fortasse requiris.
nescio, sed fieri sentio et excrucior.

(I hate and I love. Why do I do so; you might ask.
I do not know, but I feel it, and I am in torment.)

Or another convenient example might be 92:

Lesbia mi dicit semper male nec tacet umquam
de me: Lestia me dispeream nisi amat.
Quo signo? quia sunt totidem mea; deprecor illam
assidue, verum disperam nisi amo.

(Lesbia always speaks ill of me, and is always talking about me. May I perish if Lesbia does not love me. By what sign? Because it is just the same with me. I am perpetually crying out upon her, but may I perish if I do not love her.)

A much more complex, but more informative example would be poem 76. The poem demonstrates in detail the complex process whereby an ancient author externalized internal feelings, and spoke of them as afflictions from without, while at the same time seemingly aware of the self-induced nature of these afflictions:

quare cur tu te iam amplius excrucies?
quin tu animum offirmas atque istinc teque reducis
et dis invitis desinis esse miser? (ll.10-12)

(Why then should you torment yourself any more?
Why do you not settle your mind firmly, and draw
back, and cease to be miserable, despite the gods?)

And yet the same poem employs a highly conventional appeal to the gods, that they might "take away" this affliction:

o di . . .
me miserum aspicate et, si vitam puriter egi,
eripite hanc pestem perniciemque mihi. (ll.17-20)

(O gods, look upon me in my trouble, and if I have led a pure life, take away this plague and ruin from me.)

This sort of device, along with the lengthy poems dealing in detail with the stories of Ariadne, Berenice, and Laodamia, represents more than stylish Alexandrian embellishments. That there was generally a realized internal dialectic between, as we would call it, ancient "mythic discourse" and ancient Latin as a natural language system is evidenced particularly, for example, in the work of Lucretius, where we discover the disarming practice of an avowed Epicurean agnostic frequently

employing elements of mythic discourse in attempting to elucidate the complexities of atomistic philosophy and cosmology. While among Latin intellectuals of the first century B.C. belief in the ancient pantheon was far from simple anthropomorphism, mythic discourse remained an inescapable and important part of ancient Latin as a highly developed language system. Reference to the categories, quantifications, and qualifications inherent in mythic material--often being accomplished automatically through the character of Latin semantics--allowed the poet to handle highly complex subjects with a coherent manner of expression capable of a high degree of differentiation and semantic shading.³²

All this is to suggest that Catullus' employment of mythic subjects need not force us to assume that his poetic self-introspection, which is so obvious in the Lesbia poems, is absent from the more Alexandrian works. For instance, the ending of the Attis poem is brought to bear directly on the poet himself. Poems 64 and 66, each too long and complex for analysis here, both include explicit suggestion as to how the mythic material relates to the experience of the poet and his audience. Poem 68a, after recounting the devotion of Laodamia, goes on:

aut nihil aut paulo cui tum concedere digna
lux mea se nostrum contulit in gremium. . . .(ll.91-92)

(My light, not at all but a little inferior to her
in passion, who came to my arms. . . .)³³

32 These poems suggest that the poet externalizes his introspection through the employment of mythic discourse--a process analogous to and another dimension, as it were, of the externalization of introspection through the employment of speech in general, specifically the written word in this case. Whether this is accomplished fully consciously or not is irrelevant here, and is an unanswerable question in any case. This introspection is not limited to the poet himself, but like all introspection, must at some point include his relation to another and to others around him.

As "background" material for an understanding of medieval lyricism, Catullus is important not so much on account of his possible uniqueness as an individual lover; but, on the contrary, it is because as a poet he has expressed certain general fundamentals of the ancient, classical lyric. In a general way, both Catullus and the medieval lyricists are concerned with love relations in philosophical and religious senses. The fundamental distinction between them in this regard stems largely from Catullus' employment of the phallic eroticism common to his day. There was a "religion of love" in Catullus' time--and this can be discerned in his verse--which was incorporated in conventional religious attitudes and included an acceptance of phallic eroticism centered on Eros as sexual action. This is fundamentally different from

the later development of an eroticism which centers on the esthetic-erotic contemplation of the loved object, and which is decidedly contemplative purposely in opposition to active eroticism, whether in a secular or a spiritual context.

A study of this sort is not the place for a lengthy analysis of every classical Latin lyricist. Catullus, however, was recognized by all the later poets as the founder of Latin Alexandrian lyricism (e.g. Tibullus 3,6,41; Ovid, Amores 3, 9,62; Martial 1,61). He was, in ancient contexts, already recognized as the starting point, ushering in a veritable literary revolution.³⁴ Paradoxically, the so-called Lesbia poems (perhaps as many as twenty-five, if one accepts Quinn's biographical criticism³⁵) do not constitute the majority of the Catullan corpus; yet, these were the pieces which have had the greatest literary influence on later writers. Catullus presents the first lyric corpus which, at least in part, centers around one woman, who is unique and special in many ways (not all positive) to the poet. This is the quality of the "lyric" which comes to characterize the genre--Tibullus has his Delia, Propertius his Cynthia, Ovid his Corinna, et al.. Catullus represents the earliest corpus of Latin lyric poetry and a corpus relatively free of the complexities of stylistic, satirical, and political developments which come to permeate all the later lyricists. By simple virtue of his historically primary position, Catullus is not writing purposely against an already clearly

established Latin lyric tradition. He is celebrating Eros (albeit at times frustrated Eros) in a relatively straightforward manner--often even in his clearly humorous poems as well. This has been the main point of these comments, for although Catullus is the "founder" of the Latin lyric, his sensibilities and celebration of Eros as vital force are in sharp contrast to the development of the genre which occurs after him in the ancient context.

1.4. For the purposes at hand, the poetry of Propertius generally evidences characteristics basically similar to Catullus--similar enough so that close textual analyses, for sake of economy, are not in order. Significant differences ought to be noted, however, in passing. Perhaps the most striking characteristic of Propertius is his extreme Alexandrianism; what was a noticeable tendency in the work of Catullus becomes an obsessive characteristic of Propertius bordering on mannerism. Apart from stylistic differences, however, Propertius, unlike Catullus, has lost faith to a degree in the integrity and vitality of Roman society. This is a fundamental characteristic which has repercussions throughout all the Propertian corpus:

proloquar: atque utinam patriae sim verus haruspex.
frangitur ipsa suis Roma superba bonis.
certa loquor, sed nulla fides. . . . (III,13,59-61)³⁶

(I will speak out; and may my country find me a true seer. Rome is being shattered by her own prosperity. I speak the truth, but none believe me.)

We find no spirited epithalamia and no didactic songs in praise of matrimony, such as Catullus' poems 61 and 62, in Propertius (excepting the single, oblique treatment given in IV,2).

He emphatically values the flame of sexual passion and the "madness" of amor, but unlike Catullus, he continually sets himself as "lover" against the stereotypical "warrior" to achieve his characteristically urbane and ironic social satire. While Catullus was led to write of his love of Lesbia in much the same manner, diction, and spirit as he might write of other couples around him or from myth, Propertius is led to set his relation with Cynthia in ironic opposition to the world around him. This is a subtle but important shift. Where Catullus has his Lesbia it is true Propertius has his Cynthia, but the amor of Catullus partakes of the erotic vitality he sees all around him (significantly excepting the initiates of Cybele); in Propertius this harmony between poet and surrounding world is absent:

at nunc desertis cessant sacraria lucis:
 aurum omnes victa iam pietate colunt.
 auro pulsa fides, auro venalia iura,
 aurum lex sequitur, mox sine lege pudor. (III,13,47-50)

(But now the shrines lie neglected in deserted groves; piety is vanquished and all men worship gold. Gold has banished faith, gold has made judgment to be bought and sold; the law follows gold, and with law gone, gold rules chastity as well.)

By extension of a conventional device, the poet's age is contrasted to the mythic Golden Age, analogously as his love of Cynthia is contrasted to the social corruption and silliness of military grandeur around him. But it does not stop here. Later, Cynthia herself becomes part of such corruption, and is ruled by gold as well:

frange et damnosae iura pudicitiae!
 et simulare virum pretium facit: utere causis!
 maior delata nocte recurrent amor.
 se tibi forte comas vexauerit, utilis ira:
 post modo mercata pace premendus erit. (IV,5,28-32)

(Break the nonprofitable rules of chastity. Invent a husband to fetch a better price. Come up with excuses. His love is but stronger after a night's delay. If perhaps he should mess your hair; you'll profit by wrath: torment him to a purchased peace.)

But, counter to this, at the same time there is a new concern with the immortal found in Propertius, a concern which is only suggested in Catullus--a personal immortality. On several occasions, Propertius employs divine comparisons in reference to Cynthia (e.g. I,3; II,2; II,14), and elsewhere in reference to himself he says:

Quanta ego praeterita collegi gaudia nocte:
 immortalis ero, si altera talis erit. (II,14,9-10)

(Theirs was nought compared to the joys that were mine last night. Come such another night, and I shall be immortal.)

Or even more explicitly:

Quod mihi si secum tales concedere noctes
 illa velit, vitae longus et annus erit.
 si dabit haec multas, fiam immortalis in illis:
 nocte una quisvis vel deus esse potest. (II,15,37-40)

(But if she be willing again to grant me such nights
 as last, one year will be long life for me. If she
 give me many, they will make me immortal; one such
 night might make any man a god.)

As always with Propertius, it is very difficult to say to what
 degree such lines are written with self-irony, but in the
 context of later lyric developments these lines are important
 regardless of the tone intended.

The eroticism of Propertius, like Catullus, is still
 phallic, active, and physically sexual:

O me felicem! o nox mihi candida! et o tu
 lectule deliciis facte beate meis!
 quam multa apposita narramus verba lucerna,
 quantaque sublato lumine rixa fuit!
 quod si pertendens animo vestita cubaris,
 scissa veste meas experiere manus:
 quin etiam, si me ulterius provexerit ira,
 ostendes matri bracchia laesa tuae. (II,15,1-4;17-20)

(Happy! Oh, lucky night! And you, blessed little
 bed, place of my lovings. How many words we exchanged
 by the lamp, what love-fight there was with light
 gone out.

But if you come to bed resisting and dressed,
 you'll feel my hands strip the torn clothes off
 you. What's more, if passion move me more you'll
 be showing bruised arms to your mother.)

But the same poem ends on an ominous political note which belies the underlying and overt social comment central to the piece:

qualem si cuncti cuperent decurrere vitam
 et pressi multo membra iacere mero,
 non ferrum crudele neque esset bellica navis,
 nec nostra Actiacum verteret ossa mare,
 nec totiens propriis circum oppugnata triumphis
 lassa foret crinis solvere Roma suos. (ll.41-46)

(If all men desired to pass such a life, and lie with limbs heavy with much wine, there would be no cruel steel, no worships, nor would our own bones toss in Actium's sea, nor would Rome, with hair hung down, so often be hemmed round by her own oppressive triumphs.)

In Propertius, eroticism is employed in a highly stylised, satirical manner, in effect "contemplative" of general social ills. The celebration of Eros as a social as well as a personal vital force is not characteristic of Propertius; yet, in reference to his own amorous experience, he has retained an evident degree of poetic seriousness and sincerity. The poet does love Cynthia and an acceptance of a poetic sincerity of feeling is essential to many of the poems, despite the polished veneer of urbane wit--perhaps the most famous example being:

mi neque amare aliam neque ab hac desistere fas est:
 Cynthia prima fuit, Cynthia finis erit. (I,12,19-20)

(I have no right to love another, or to leave her;
 Cynthia was the first, Cynthia will be the last.)

1.5. Such emotional sincerity, underlying the poetic persona and the related social comment, is patently not the case when we turn to the Amores of Ovid. So much is commonplace among classicists, but such a distinction has been less emphasized by medievalists in their recourse to the Ovidian origins of medieval lyricism. In fact, playful irony is the single most distinguishing characteristic of the Amores as a whole. The first poem sets a tone which remains throughout the collection:

Arma gravi numero violentaque bella parabam
 edere, materia conveniente modis.
 par erat inferior versus: risisse Cupido
 dicitur atque unum surripuisse pedem.
 'quis tibi, saeve puer, dedit hoc in carmina iuris?
 Pieridum vates, non tua, turba sumus.
 quid si praeripiat flavae Vanus arma Minervae,
 ventilet accensas flava Minerva faces?
 quis probet in silvis Cererem regnare iugosis,
 lege pharetratae virginis arva coli?
 crinibus insignem quis acuta cuspide Phoebum
 instruat, Aoniam Marte movente lyram?
 sunt tibi magna, puer, nimiumque potentia regna.
 cur opus adfectas, ambitiose, novum?
 an quod ubique tuum est? tua sunt Heleconia tempe?
 vix etiam Phoebos iam lyra tuta sua est?
 cum bene surrixit versu nova pagina primo,
 attenuat nervos proximus ille meos.
 nec mihi materia est numeris levioribus apta--
 aut puer aut longas compta puella comas.'
 questus eram, pharetra cum protinus ille soluta
 legit in exitium spicula facta meum
 lunavitque genu sinuosum fortiter arcum
 'quod que 'canas, vates, accipe' dixit 'opus.'
 me miserum, certas habuit puer ille sagittas.
 uror et in vacuo pectore regnat Amor.
 sex mihi surgat opus numeris, in quinque residat.
 ferrea cum vestris bella valet modis.
 cingere litorea flaventia tempora myrto,
 Musa per undenos emodulanda pedes.37

(My epic was under construction--wars and armed violence
 in the grand manner, with metre matching theme.
 I had written the second hexameter when Cupid grinned
 and calmly removed one of its feet.
 'You young savage' I protested 'poetry's none of your business.
 We poets are committed to the Muses.
 Imagine Venus grabbing Minerva's armour
 and Minerva brandishing love's torch!
 Imagine Ceres queen of the mountain forests
 and Diana the huntress running a farm!
 Or longhaired Phoebus doing pike drill
 and Mars strumming the seven-stringed lyre!
 You've a large empire, my boy--too much power already.
 Why so eager for extra work?
 Or is the whole world yours--the glens of Helicon included?
 Can't Phoebus call his lyre his own these days?
 Page one line one of my epic rises to noble heights
 but line two lowers the tone
 and I haven't the right subject for light verse--
 a pretty boy or a girl with swept-up hair.'
 In reply the god undid his quiver and pulled out
 an arrow with my name on it.
 'poet' he said, flexing the bow against his knee,
 'I'll give you something to sing about--take that!'
 Alas his arrows never miss. My blood's on fire.
 Love has moved in as master of my heart.
 I choose the couplet--rising six feet, falling five.
 Farewell, hexameters and iron wars.
 Garland your golden hair with myrtle from the seaside,
 hendecametric Muse, my Elegia.)

Ovid has his Corinna, it is true, but the whole relationship
 has become effete and he knows it. Although she is clearly
 beautiful and desirable (e.g. I,5), her "reality," of course
 in the poetic sense and not biographical sense, is dissolved.
 Corinna, like the poems themselves, is a carefully created
 literary device, a stock figure of the lyric convention, whose
 function in the poems lies as much in her relation with past
 literary tradition as in her relations with the poet. His
 secretive tabulaic correspondence with her is sheer farce:

Colligere incertos et in ordine ponere crines
 docta neque ancillas inter habenda Nape,
 inque ministeriis furtivae cognita noctis
 utilis et dandis ingeniosa notis,
 saepe venire ad me dubitantem hortata Corinnam,
 saepe laboranti fida reperta mihi,
 accipe et ad dominam peraratas mane tabellas
 perfer et obstantes sedula pelle moras.
 nec silicum venae nec durum in pectore ferrum
 nec tibi simplicitas ordine maior adest.
 credibile est et te sensisse Cupidinis arcus.
 in me militiae signa tuere tuae.
 si quaeret quid agam, spe noctis vivere dices.
 cetera fert blanda cera notata manu.
 dum loquor hora fugit, vacuae bene redde tabellas.
 verum continuo fac tamen illa legat.
 aspicias oculos mando frontemque legentis,
 et tacito vultu scire futura licet.
 nec mora, perlectis rescribat multa iubeto.
 odi cum late splendida cera vacat.
 comprimat ordinibus versus oculosque moretur
 margine in extremo littera rasa meos.--
 quid digitos opus est graphio lassare tenendo?
 hac habeat scriptum tota tabella--veni!
 non ego victrices lauro redimire tabellas
 nec Veneris media ponere in aede morer.
 subscribam 'Veneri fidas sibi Naso ministras
 dedicat. at nuper vile fuistis acer.' (I,xi)

(Napè, the coiffeuse,
 no ordinary maid,
 backstage-manager of my love-life,
 my silent prompter,
 keeper of Corinna's conscience,
 averting crisis--
 please, Napè, take her this note,
 immediately.
 You're flesh and blood,
 no fool.
 You must have suffered in Cupid's wars
 so help a comrade in arms.
 If she asks about me, say I live for our next meeting.
 This note will explain.
 But I'm wasting time. Hand it to her when she's free,
 make sure she reads it then and there,
 and watch her face meanwhile--
 there's prophecy in faces.

See she replies at once--a long letter.
 Blank wax is a bore.
 Get her to space the lines close and fill the margins
 so it takes me longer to read.
 Wait. Why tire her fingers pushing a stylus?
 YES will do, in huge block capitals.
 I'll garland those writing-tablets with Victory's laurel
 and hang them up in the temple of Venus
 above this dedication:
 'From Naso--in wooden gratitude.'

Ovid is playing games with the whole genre and all the love
 conventions that go along with it. When his tablet fails, he
 is not crushed; it is simply further opportunity for humor:

Flete meos casus. tristes rediere tabellae.
 infelix hodie littera posse negat.
 omina sunt aliquid. modo cum discedere vellet,
 ad limen digitos restitit icta Nape.
 missa foras iterum limen transire memento
 cautius atque alte sobria ferre pedem. (I, xii, 1-6)

(Weep for my failure--writing-tablets returned
 with a sorry answer: 'Can't manage today.'
 The superstitious are right. Nape stubbed her toe
 on the step as she left.
 You must have been drinking, my girl.
 Next time be more careful, and pick up your feet.)

Ovid's later and perhaps better known works, the Ars Amatoria
 and the Remedia Amoris, are continuations of this elaborate
 and ironic critique of the ancient lyric contentionalities.
 Of course, the influence of these works in the 12th and 13th
 centuries--the aetas Ovidiana after Traube's coinage--has long
 been recognized.³⁸ They form the model of the De arte honeste
amandi of Andreas Capellanus and are cited in the Rota Veneris
 of Boncompagno da Signa, for example. Since this discussion

is to be centered on texts which have received less attention in the contexts of medieval "backgrounds," I shall not elaborate on the well-known influence of these texts here.

Along these lines, a particularly curious aspect of the relationship between ancient and medieval lyricism has been pointed out by J. P. Sullivan. While not wishing to give an impression of being in accord with Sullivan's psychoanalytic interpretations of Catullus and Propertius, I cite his conclusions regarding the relation between Ovid and the earlier Latin lyric poets:

But the gulf between the love poetry of Catullus and Propertius and the love poetry of Ovid is immense. For Ovid seems to revert to the 'classical' attitudes to women: Ovid degrades women, as the first book of the Ars Amatoria makes clear. They are not to be idealized: at best they are human, and at worst we have Pasiphae, the uncontrolled bestialist. . . . It is not mere chance that after Ovid Roman elegy was finished as a literary form. The amorous sensibility of the elegist was replaced by the sexual cynicism of Ovid, which is present also in satirists like Petronius and Juvenal; and Ovid's over-facile versification made it impossible to return to the manner of the older elegists.³⁹

As Sullivan points out, we ought to be very wary of forming an idea of the character of Roman lyric poetry looking backwards through Ovid. In Ovid a counter-revolution in opposition to the sentiments of the poetae novi has already been effected. The skeleton key of "Ovid misunderstood" is useful for an understanding of fin'amors, as far as it goes. But the

paradox remains that in some significant ways, despite the fact that texts of Catullus and Propertius were not available, fin'amors has much in common with the sentiments of the earlier lyric poets. As Sullivan suggests:

In fact, when the troubadours misunderstood Ovid they were returning to sentiments and attitudes of the earlier Roman love poets. The similarities between Courtly Love and Propertius' [or Catullus'] attitude to love are closer to each other than either is to the traditional classical attitudes which Ovid so persuasively represents--arte regendus amor. Roman gravitas in one case and Christianity in the other put each on the defensive; each worked through highly formalized poetic conventions. Through these conventions a similar sensibility may be discerned in both literatures, and both pose the same pseudo-problem of 'sincerity.' The 'feudalization of love,' the humility of the lover, exemplified in the poets of the Languedoc, is paralleled by the servitium amoris of the Roman elegist; serf or slave, the human situation is roughly the same.⁴⁰

Sullivan goes on to point out briefly a few differences between the two sensibilities, but in the contexts of our inquiry this discussion must be expanded to include new considerations.

To say that the Roman lyricists were lacking in some aspects of courtoisie is beyond misleading understatement. The physical act of sex, the active eroticism centered around the erect phallic image, whether visual or mental, which is so central in ancient lyricism, is most often purposely and carefully excluded from the poetic experience of the medieval lyricist--and this is true in both secular and spiritual contexts. Even the mystic's consummated union with God, while

5
within the logic of the spiritual model clearly analogous to a physically sexual consummation, is rarely dealt with employing diction with the degree of explicitness common to the ancient lyrics; but medieval spiritual eroticism, no matter how "active" by analogy, of course always remains contemplative through the very nature of the Christian religious experience itself. This distinction between ancient and medieval sensibilities is qualitative and evidences a paradigmatic shift of sensibility. It is commonplace to attribute this shift to early developments within the Christian experience itself, but an examination of Late Latin sources reveals otherwise.

Ovid, as Sullivan has said, does represent the last vestiges of Roman elegiac poetry. After Ovid, elegiac developments are forestalled by the genre's self cross-examination, an example of evolutionary reductio ad absurdum, brought to masterful culmination in the hands of a great poet. The elegy ends here, but Ovid is by no means the last word in pre-Christian lyricism.

60

1.6. Beginning in Ovid's time and culminating, shortly afterward, ancient Latin culture became permeated with the so-called mystery cults, whose popularity at this time grew immensely.⁴¹ Within the Roman context, Christianity itself was originally nothing more than a cult similar to the other popular Orphic, Mithraic, and Isiac mystery cults--although Christians, it is true, became politically more troublesome and later more powerful as well. Several works have been preserved which were written by a Latin African, educated at Carthage, Athens, and Rome, who seems to have been an avowed initiate of the Isiac cult: Apuleius of Madaurus, whose works were known in the Middle Ages. At one point in his life (fl. 150 A.D.) Apuleius was apparently accused of being a magician; his speech in his own defense against the accusation has come down to us as the Apologia or De Magia. He begins first by disposing of certain accusations stemming from some lyric poetry he had admittedly written some years before. In the process he makes reference to Catullus, Propertius, and Tibullus; but the most interesting portion of his discussion stemming from these first accusations comes in his concluding remarks, wrapping up this part of his defense before going on to other charges:

mitto enim dicere alta illa et divina Platonica,
rarissimo cuique piorum ignara, ceterum omnibus
profanis incognita: geminam esse Venerem deam,
proprio quamque amore et diversis amatoribus pollentis;

earum alteram vulgariam, quæ sit percita populari amore, non modo humanis animis, verum etiam pecuinis et ferinis ad libidinem imperitare vi immodica trucique percussorum animalium serva corpora complexu vincientem: alteram vero caelitem Venerem, præditam [quæ sit] optimæ amore, solis hominibus et eorum paucis curare, nullis ad turpitudinem stimulis vel illecebris sectatores suos percellentem; quippe amorem eius non amoenum et lascivum, sed contra incom[i]tum et serium pulchritudine honestatis virtutes amatoribus suis conciliare, et si quando decora corpora co[m]mendet, a contumelia eorum procul absterrere; neque enim quicquam aliud in corporum forma diligendum quam quod ammoneant divinos animos eius pulchritudinis, quam prius veram et sinceram inter deos videre. quapropter, ut semper, eleganter Afranius hoc scriptum relinquat: 'amabit sapiens, cupient ceteri.'⁴²

(I forbear to tell the deep and holy mysteries of the Platonic 'philosophy' which, while they are revealed to only few of the pious, are unknown to all the profane: that Venus is a twin goddess, that each twin produces her peculiar love in different types of lovers. One is the vulgar, who is prompted by common love to command the libido not only of humans but also of cattle and wild beasts, and she commits the enslaved bodies thus stricken to immoderate and furious embraces. The other is the heavenly Venus, who attends to men alone and only to a few of them, and who does not influence her followers to baseness with stimulants or allurements. Her love is neither wanton nor lascivious, but on the contrary it is unadorned and serious, and by its beauty it guides her respectable lovers to virtue. If at any time she should commend herself to beautiful bodies, she protects them well from abuse. Indeed, there is nothing in the beauty of bodies worthy of desiring other than that beauty which reminds us of the divine spirits, that beauty which in all its truth and purity it once beheld among the gods. Hence it is that Afranius, eloquent as always, has left us this line: "The wise man will love, others will desire.")

18 Apuleius was writing in the second century A.D., and what is of arresting importance here is the precision with which he distinguishes the two natures of Venus gemina.⁴³ To my knowledge, this is the first Latin text which clearly elucidates two opposing types of love, one vulgar and lascivious (amorem lascivum), and the other virtuous and spiritual. The distinction is no longer a matter of taste, but represents two separate realms of love. Apuleius quotes a line from the second century B.C. poet, Afranius, "Amabit sapiens, cupient ceteri." We shall never know how Afranius used the line, or in what contexts, as his work has not survived; an argument maintaining that Afranius, 300 years earlier, intended the line to convey something approaching Apuleius' elaboration of Venus gemina would be tenuous at best, especially in light of the fact that the later lyric poets do not employ this dualistic distinction. The most reasonable position is to admit a degree of interpolation in Apuleius' interpretation of the line. In the context of his own argument, Apuleius is emphasizing the connotations of cupio, a verb which was used for involuntary, unbridled desire, in opposition to volo used for energetic will, or opto for deliberate choice. In the Christian context, it is cupiditas, from the same root, which becomes set in opposition to the higher, more spiritual levels of amor; but here Apuleius already makes the distinction through a thoroughly "pagan" argument.

49

Neither is this simply the philosophy of Plotinus, who we must remember was writing nearly a full century later than Apuleius. In Apuleius there is a fascinating, early synthesis of concepts derived from his backgrounds in tradition Roman a Greek culture, as well as his knowledge of, if not his actual conversion to, the Isiac mystery cult. In the above quote he implies that the concept is related in the divina Platonica-- a slightly ambiguous phrase which seems to connote something other than philosophia Platonis would have. The relation of Apuleius to Platonic philosophy entailed more than an academic, "philosophic" attitude; this is evidenced by various references to Plato, by the preliminary story regarding a character named Socrates in the Metamorphoses, and by his treatise De Deo Socratis. Lacking corroborating evidence from other sources, we shall probably never know with much accuracy what Apuleius means by divina Platonica; we can be reasonably sure, however, that his attitude entails a semi-religious, cult-like character of some sort.

8

This discussion of Venus gemina is tinged with spiritual overtones ("divinos animos . . . inter deos videre"). Here again there are intimations of a "religion of love;" but unlike the eroticism of Catullus--which, as was pointed out, in its own way had its religious, serious side as well--Apuleius is very careful to place on a lower status the amor vulgaris

which drives one to turpitudinem percellentem, in opposition to the amor non amoenus et lascivus which leads the lovers to virtutes. Indeed, he goes on to state that there is nothing corporeal worthy of diligendum excepting that which is divine. A basic paradigm of amor carnalis / amor spiritualis underlies Apuleius' discussion. On a much grander and more complex scale, the same paradigm underlies Apuleius' masterpiece, the Metamorphoses. Lucius is transformed, at the zenith of his notorious sexual escapades, into an ass. In ancient times, the ass was emblematic of stupidity and, related to the biological trait of always being in heat, was also emblematic of sexual lasciviousness.⁴⁴ Within Isiac cult the ass corresponded to Seth, the arch enemy of Isis and Osiris. The ass's association with sexual lasciviousness also functions in both the Metamorphoses and Isiac myth in that the goddess demands sexual abstinence of her followers--total in the case of priests and periodic for lay initiates.⁴⁵ Lucius is transformed back to human form only through the grace of Isis, and the final book is purportedly a genuine account of his conversion to the pure life governed by Isiac beliefs.⁴⁶

In passing, Apuleius' well-known tale of Amor and Psyche, which forms books IV,28 - VI,24 of the Metamorphoses, should not go unmentioned. This is one of the clearest examples of the ancient employment of personification as a method whereby internal mental operations and affections are externalized by

51 projection onto other individuals, often from mythic discourse. This tale of Apuleius is not the only example of Psyche's close association with Isiac mystery cult. For instance, in the Palatine Aula Isiaca, built by Caligula (c. 37-41 A.D.), there is a fresco which represents the Isiac mysteries of redemption and the living water through a mythic scene of Amor and Psyche.⁴⁷ It is commonplace that Psyche as a mythic female personification of the psyche was from her birth associated with mystery cult in Orphic Sicily.⁴⁸ Within its ancient and early formative contexts, Christianity too was a form of mystery cult, and there are many examples of sarcophagi and frescos in the catacombs, which employ Psyche as a metaphorical figure for the human soul.⁴⁹ André Grabar's general point, however, is well taken, that by this time classical mythic figures had become clearly established artistic images representative of various concepts other than or beyond the classical myth itself.⁵⁰ Psyche becomes a conventional symbol for the "soul" or the "mind," which entails a higher degree of abstract conceptualization, quite removed from earlier anthropomorphic residues and daemonic overtones. The employment of Psyche in the Isiac and early Christian cults is marked by the recognition that the "old" myth has been converted to "new" purposes, and is a conventional metaphor for an abstraction beyond the myth itself. A similar employment of mythic discourse is evident in the

Alexandrianism of Catullus, but--to this reader at any rate-- it does not entail the same degree of self-conscious conventionality, the operation of projection in the Catullan texts remaining to a greater extent a subconscious or automatic activity.

It is striking that contemporaneous with this development in mythic personification--Apuleius being only one example of a more general phenomenon, there appears in the same author a new distinction, elucidated in terms of Venus gemina, itself a type of personification. A conceptual paradigm of amor carnalis / amor spiritualis underlies both the Apologia and the Metamorphoses. That which is properly spiritual has come to be achieved through a specific rejection of "baser" physical sexuality, and particularly this involves abstinence from sexual activity. As regards these sensibilities, Apuleius has much more in common with his medieval successors than he has with his classical predecessors. A major shift in attitude has already been effected.

53 1.7. The Anthologia Latina MS. provides a type of lyric quite different from anything found in classical Latin. The collection of poems which comprises the Anthology was made probably in the fourth century A.D., although opinions regarding the date of compilation vary from the third to the early fifth century. For our purposes, the exact dating is not essential. What is important is that the Anthology represents the latest corpus of pagan lyric verse which has survived, and at least two MSS. were known during the Middle Ages, one of which may have been in the Cistercian library at Cluny.⁵¹ The MS. includes not only several lyrics of spring, but also, for example, a prayer of some thirty verses to the Terra Mater and a short piece on the death of a young boy, which may evidence early Christian overtones.⁵² Of course, the best known poem from the collection is the so-called Pervigilium Veneris. A very helpful and thorough consideration of this poem's importance as background for medieval lyricism forms the first chapter of James J. Wilhelm's book, The Cruellest Month: Spring, Nature, and Love in Classical and Medieval Lyrics (New Haven, 1965). For sake of necessary economy, his elaborate discussion of this poem cannot be augmented here, but the relevance of Wilhelm's work to our present inquiry is self-evident.

Apart from the celebrated Pervigilium Veneris, there are several shorter poems in the Anthology which are of value as

background pieces for a study of medieval verse, although these have received little scholarly attention. These poems, too, evidence a new orientation to Nature, a new sensibility which Wilhelm has considered at length (pp.3ff.); but they also evidence a new type of eroticism, and this is just as important. Each of the poems centers on the image of the rose.

[A] quales ego mane rosas precedere vidi!
 nascebantur adhuc neque erat par omnibus aetas.
 prima papillatos ducebat [tectis] corymbos,
 altera puniceos apices umbone levabat,
 tertia iam totum calathi patefecerat orbem,
 quarta simul nituit nudato germine floris.
 dum levat una caput dumque explicat altera nodum,
 ac dum virgineus pudor exsinuatur amictu,
 ne pereant, lege mane rosas: [cito] virgo senescit.
 (I, pp.119-20)

(O, what roses I have seen come forth in the morning. They were born just then and were without any equal. The first, concealed, covered her nipples buds; a second raised with a swelling her scarlet tips; a third revealed all the roundness of her flower-cups; a fourth blossomed with her buds bared. While one raises her head another unties her tresses, and a virgin blush is exposed by the opened fold. Before they pass away, gather roses in the morning--quickly a virgin ages.)

The rose is commonly used in reference to a female loved one in earlier classical Latin. It is a term of endearment as early as Plautus (Asinaria 3,3,74). But the extended development of the rose into a vivid erotic image such as this is something found only in Late Latin. The erotic shading of the Latin diction in this poem is difficult to translate: papillatos corymbos is explicit; the double meaning of puniceos

55 apices is reinforced by associations of umbone, related to umbilicus, used to refer to the navel as well as to the parts of flowers; orbem calathi is interesting in that calathus, apart from botanical usage, also meant "basket" or "milk bowl," the mammillary associations being obvious; and nodum can mean "node" or more generally "knot," and was used specifically for a woman's "girdle." The last two lines, with the appearance of virgo, resolve the artful double entendre and the poem's erotic content is made obvious. The eroticism of this poem is contemplative: through description of the beauty of roses (and this entails an internal dialectic of spring/nature/beauty/love), the poet is contemplating at one and the same time the beauty of the virgo as loved object. The following poem employs very similar diction, also playing on nodus and calathus:

Venerunt aliquando rosae. pro veris amoeni
ingenium! una dies ostendit spicula florum,
altera pyramidas nodo maiore tumentes,
tertia iam calathos; totum lux quarta peregit
floris opus. pereunt hodie, nisi mane legantur. 53
(I, p. 121)

(At last the roses have come. Spring is here. One day brings forth the thorns, another the swelling cones from the larger bud, a third the flower-cups, a fourth completes the work. Even now they perish, unless they are gathered in the early morn.)

Another poem introduces the rosa centum foliis, a prototype of the medieval mystical rose, exemplified par excellence

56(in Paradiso, cantos 30-31. Of course, here it is the rose's association with Venus which is played upon:

Hanc puto de proprio tinxit Sol aureus ortu
 aut unum ex radiis maluit esse suis.
 sed si etiam centum foliis rosa Cypridis extat,
 fluxit in hanc omni sanguine tota Venus.
 haec florum sidus, haec Lucifer almus in agris,
 huic odor et color est dignus honore poli.
 (I, p. 284)

(Golden Sol has tinged this flower by his own rising, or he has wished it to be one of his own rays, but if this Cypridian rose with its hundred petals exists, Venus has flowed all her blood into it. This is the star of flowers, the nourishing Morning Star in the fields, whose odor and color are worthy of the honour of heaven.)

It is interesting to note that the last two lines interject a rose/Venus/star correspondence similar to what we shall find conventionally applied to the Virgin Mary in medieval hymns. One final example is a bit more allegorical, but introduces two more important tropes:

Hortus erat Veneris, roseis circumdatus herbis,
 gratus ager dominae, quem qui vidisset amaret.
 dum puer hic passim properat dicere flores
 et velare comas, spina violavit acuta
 marmoreos digitos: mox ut dolor adtigit artus
 sanguineamque manum, tinctus sua lumina gutta
 pervenit ad matrem frendens defertque querellas:
 "unde rosae, mater, coeperunt esse nocentes?
 unde tui flores pugnant latentibus armis?
 bella gerunt mecum. floris color et cruor unum est." 54
 (I, pp. 120-21)

(There was a garden of Venus, encircled with rose bushes, the Lady's free park, which tended one who loved. While the boy hastened here and there gathering flowers and leaves, a sharp thorn cut into his marble white fingers. As soon as the pain struck his limbs and his bloody hand, colored with his own shining drop, he ran to his mother lamenting and complaining: "Why, Mother, must the roses be harmful? Why do the flowers fight you with hidden weapons? They fought with me. The color of the flower and its bloodshed are the same.")

The hortus Veneris circumdatus is particularly significant in light of the later Marian trope, hortus conclusus, derived most directly from the Canticum Canticorum (4:12). The concentration of this piece on the harmful character of the beautiful rose's thorns is also to be noted. When the rose later becomes emblematic of the Virgin, we find exactly the opposite emphasized: she is typically the rosa sine spina--possibly a variation of lilium inter spinas found in the Canticum Canticorum (2:2). The Virgin becomes the rosa totally beautiful, without thorn in that she has no negative, harmful aspects but is eternally the Mother of Grace, the great Mediatrix. We shall have to return to this point in later chapters.

1.8. The selection of these few poems from the Anthology is not meant to suggest that the active eroticism common in earlier Latin lyrics had totally disappeared by the fourth century, but rather that a new type of contemplative eroticism has come on the scene. It could be argued that the decidedly phallic, active eroticism had in fact become quite uncommon,

but this would not be essential to the considerations at hand. The important point is that, whether beside or in place of an eroticism explicitly centered on the sexual act itself, in Late Latin an eroticism develops which is contemplative of the loved object and entails either a lack of concern for sexual action, or an outright rejection of lascivious amor all together. Further, this development was not unique to early Christianity, but was occurring in at least some pagan contexts as well.

The type of eroticism and erotic imagery employed in the lyric is not a peripheral concern, but is conducive to and/or indicative of fundamental alterations in the genre. It is not my intention to speak in terms of cause and effect, but merely to emphasize the significance of interrelations between lyric sensibilities and erotic imagery--imagery used here in verbal, visual, and mental (the "mind's eye") senses. As was discussed earlier, the imagery of phallic eroticism inescapably involves sexual action. On the other hand, due to the anatomical fact that the female genitalia are "hidden" and demonstrate a much less visibly active manifestation of Eros, female erotic imagery--which is not only mammillary or pubic but tends to include all the body--lends itself more readily to a non-active, contemplative character. As an operational definition, then, we can say that contemplative eroticism concerns the beauty of the loved object, while active eroticism concerns either expectation or remembrance of overtly physical, sexual acts.⁵⁵

But this contemplative character has further implications. These implications are, in turn, perhaps related to repercussions inherent in the basic anatomical images themselves. Not only are the female genitalia hidden, they are inside the loved object (who is, in fact, another subject); whereas the phallus is outside. This binary opposition, inside/outside, is fundamental to human experience,⁵⁶ and it is a reasonable assumption that such a shift in erotic imagery would entail fundamental alterations of sensibility. But such correspondence between differences of anatomical gender and differences of poetic genre may encounter a justifiable degree of scepticism, and I hasten to add that the observation is intended to be more suggestive than conclusive. A general observation, however, remains to be made, and in doing so again a certain anticipation of later conclusions must be allowed. The classical lyricism of Catullus entails a degree of introspection expressed in relatively straightforward terms of the poet as subject looking "inside" himself as subject; as discussed earlier, this also entails a degree of introspection carried out in another fashion: by the objectification of subjective experience through projecting that which is internal onto external figures and situations seen around him or related in mythic materials.⁵⁷ In some of the poems this is made explicit by the poet's overt comparison of the situation to himself.

60

The classical lyricist such as Catullus is an actor (in the literal sense of one who performs actions) engaged in acts of love with a partner. The medieval poet may desire to achieve active consummation; often, however, it remains forever a future event, something to be striven for, as opposed to something continually reenacted by the classical lyricist. The shift from classical to medieval lyricism involves a shift from the lover-poet as actor to the lover-poet as contemplator. This contemplation of the loved object entails introspection: both intrasubjective, as the poet looking within himself as subject, and intersubjective, involving the poet's projection of part of his own subjectivity into another, who is the loved object contemplated in the poem.⁵⁸ What we shall eventually see in the medieval lyric is a development clearly analogous to what Brooks Otis has noted in regard to the theological writings of Augustine: what strikes us in Augustine and again in the fully developed medieval lyric is the degree to which introspection becomes "'self-conscious' and philosophically articulate." The medieval poet becomes acutely aware of the interpersonal dynamics underlying his poetic expression. The complexities of medieval intersubjective speculation are elucidated at length in Augustine's De Trinitate, a text to which we shall return in some detail in chapter three.

20

Unfortunately, the textual preservation of secular lyrics comes to a halt with the Anthologia Latina MS. Examples of

61
early medieval Latin secular verse from the sixth to the eleventh centuries are few and far between. We simply do not have the texts to construct a detailed model for the historical development of the secular Latin lyric from late Imperial times into the "twelfth century renaissance." The accidents of textual preservation, to a greater or lesser degree, at this point govern the direction of further inquiry. For the moment, we must jump from the fourth century into the eleventh and twelfth, when we shall find a wealth of secular and spiritual lyrics to choose from. Following the discussion of lyrics themselves, we shall return in time to the work of St. Augustine, and a temporal continuity of sorts will begin to take shape.⁵⁹

NOTES:

Chapter 1

¹M. D. Knowles, "The Preservation of the Classics," in The English Library before 1700, ed. F. Wormald & C. E. Wright (London, 1958), pp. 145-46; and Remigio Sabbadini, Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci ne' secoli XIV e XV: nuove ricerche (Firenze, 1967), pp. 196-265.

²Within the medieval period there were various etymological explanations of the epithet "Stella Maris." The epithet was also associated with Venus and Isis; for example, see (passim): Jean Seznec, La survivance des dieux antiques, Studies of the Warburg Institute, vol. XI (London, 1940); and R. E. Witt, Isis in the Graeco-Roman World (London, 1971).

³e.g.: R. Eisler, Orpheus: Orphisch-dionysische Mysteriengedanken in der christlichen Antike (Leipzig & Berlin, 1925); Gustaf Freden, Orpheus and the Goddess of Nature, Göteborgs Universitets Arsskrift, LXIV, no.6 (Stockholm, 1958); and John B. Friedman, Orpheus in the Middle Ages (Cambridge, Ma., 1970).

⁴see: Jean Marcadé, Roma Amor: Essay on Erotic Elements in Etruscan and Roman Art (Geneva, 1965), pp. 104-5.

⁵A. N. Didron, Christian Iconography, trans. E. J. Millington (1851; rpt. 2 vols., New York, 1965), vol. I, pp. 344-67, "Jesus, Figured by the Fish."

⁶see: Seznec, especially part I, chapter 2.

⁷cf. J. C. Nassivera, "Ancient Temples to Pagan Goddesses and Early Churches to the Virgin in the City of Rome: A Topographical Survey," Echos du monde classique, XX, 2 (April, 1976), 41-54. A large portion of the letter of Pope Gregory I is provided in this article.

⁸Brooks Otis, "The Uniqueness of Latin Literature," Arion, VI,2 (1967), 185-206. Page references to this article will follow quotes in the text.

⁹In fact, such an assumption underlies Bruno Snell's classic study, The Discovery of the Mind: the Greek Origins of European Thought, trans. T. G. Rosenmeyer (Cambridge, Ma., 1953).

¹⁰J. P. Elder, "Notes on Some Conscious and Subconscious Elements in Catullus' Poetry," Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, 60 (1951), 101-36; J. P. Sullivan, "Castas odisse puellas: a reconsideration of Propertius I,1," Wiener Studien, 74 (1961), 96-112, and "Cynthia prima fuit: a causerie," Arion, I,3 (1962), 34-44. Sullivan claims that the reality of Cynthia as an individual woman is not important to his interpretation, but his analysis does not bear this out. Sullivan's use of the psychoanalytic model is not only based on a definite acceptance of it as a static truth, but even more problematic is the fact that he is not careful to distinguish between clinical and critical discourse. Consequently, he is led to employ specifically clinical aspects of psychoanalytic theory in the context of textual analysis. At these points his essays become very weak by virtue of the simple fact that Propertius is not, after all, a patient and is not sitting before us engaging in free association, etc. In the end, Sullivan is talking as if Propertius were a patient, and this is an over-simplification of the psychoanalytic critique of literary texts.

¹¹"There can be no mistake about the novelty of romantic love: our only difficulty is to imagine in all its bareness the mental world that existed before its coming. . . . We must conceive a world emptied of that ideal of 'happiness'--a happiness grounded on successful romantic love--which still supplies the motive of our popular fiction." And later on, "If Catullus and Propertius vary the strain with their cries of rage and misery, this is not so much because they are romantics as because they are exhibitionists." C. S. Lewis, The Allegory of Love (London, 1936), pp. 4-5; also cf. L. Alfonsi, "L'amore-amicizia negli elegiaci latini," Aevum (1945), 372-8.

¹²Richmond Lattimore, Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs (Urbana, 1962), p. 280.

¹³see: Inscriptionum latinarum selectarum, eds. Orelli & Henzen (Turici, 1828), vol. II, caput xx, section 6 "Sepulcralia: affectus coniugum," #4620, 22.

¹⁴ibid., #4639. I have felt that the formulaic simplicity of the Latin in these epitaphs renders translation unnecessary.

¹⁵Lattimore, p. 277.

¹⁶Inscriptiones Latinae selectae, ed. H. Dessau (Berolini, 1892-1916), vol II, pars II, caput xvii "Tituli Sepulcrales," # 8403.

¹⁷Of course, diligo appears only in verbal forms in classical Latin; the noun dilectio is not found until Late Latin: e.g. Tert. Adv. Marc. 4,27; dilector, in Apuleius, Flor. no. 9, 347.

¹⁸Inscriptionum latinarum selectarum, #4645.

¹⁹vol. 1 & 2, ed. Buecheler (Leipzig, 1895-97); vol. 3 (numbered continuously), ed. Lommatzsch (Leipzig, 1926).

²⁰To my knowledge, the most recent full-length study of Catullus which confronts some of the issues here discussed is: Henri Bardon, Propositions sur Catulle, Collection Latomu's, vol. 118 (Bruxelles, 1970). This is a markedly psychoanalytic approach, evidencing some acquaintance with the work of Jacques Lacan; but on the whole the study suffers from a superficial treatment of both Catullus and Lacan.

²¹This remark may not necessarily include the separate Jewish-Kabbalist tradition. For an interesting study of this issue, see: David Bakan, Sigmund Freud and the Jewish Mystical Tradition (Boston, 1958).

22

²² see: Michael Grant & A. Mulas, Eros in Pompeii: the Secret Rooms of the National Museum of Naples (New York, 1975); Ove Brusendorf & Poul Henningsen, A History of Eroticism, vol. I: Antiquity (Copenhagen, 1963); and Jean Marcadé, Roma Amor: Essay on Erotic Elements in Etruscan and Roman Art (Geneva, 1965).

23

²³ Text of Catullus used is: ed. F. W. Cornish, Loeb edition (Cambridge, Ma., 1913), and the English trots provided here closely follow the Loeb versions. The sexual double entendre of this poem was pointed out by the Renaissance scholars Muretus and Politian in their respective commentaries. In ancient contexts, we see a similar play in Martial XI,6,15,16; and in Persius II,2,10. (My thanks to Prof. Valeri Tomaszuk of McGill University for pointing out these other instances.)

24

²⁴ "Aristophanes' Birds: the Fantasy Politics," Arion, new series 1/1 (Spring, 1973), 119-67. This includes much information and many photographs of Greek artifacts demonstrating the phallus as bird motif: Arrowsmith mentions the specific example of Catullus' poem in Appendix II, "A Note on Eros and Pteros." Other Catullan poems exemplary of phallic double entendre are: #4, a poem about a "ship," phasellus/pha[se]llus; #17, an untranslatable mélange of phallic punning, extremely graphic in metaphoric detail; and following 17 there is a fragment which may or may not be Catullan, a Priapean piece:

Hunc lucum tibi dedico conscroque Priape,
qua domus tua lampsacist quaeque [silva] Priape,
nam te praecipue in suis urbibus colit ora
Hellespontia ceteris ostreosior oris.

For an extended interpretation of the phallic overtones of poem 17, see: Nial Rudd, "Colonia and her Bridge," Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association, 90 (1959), 238-42. And I should like to add that Catullus' "Mentula" poems (94, 105, 114, 115) are further examples of phallic-erotic humor. The slang usage of mentula ("prick") is exemplified in countless graffiti at Pompeii (see appendix B).

25 This is not to deny the validity of the "levels of intent" argument developed skillfully by Quinn and later by Charles Witke in his Enarratio Catulliana (Leiden, 1968). In part, my own argument is similar; Catullus does posit himself in others, and in a way all the poems evidence this technique of projection. At least on one level, most of the poems do not exclusively concern the Catullus-Lesbia relationship. I simply do not wish to pass over the surface of the texts, and posit one underlying man-woman relationship, which provides the "key" to the entire corpus.

26 e.g.: Lucretius, De rerum natura, IV, ll. 1058-1084.

27 In the Aeneid Virgil does employ impius in reference to the relation between Dido and Aeneas (books I & IV), but the context is clearly epic and political, not directly relevant to our concerns relative to social (rather than epic) mores.

28 The poem is a conventional epithalamium, originally in Greece a song sung by young men and maidens before the bridal chamber. There are only some seventeen Latin verse epithalamia extant, including one in the Anthologia Latina MS.; see The Oxford Classical Dictionary, eds. N. Hammond and H. Scullard (Oxford, 1970), pp. 400-1. In part, the content of this poem is probably also conventional, but I would suggest that there is not necessarily any reason to assume that Catullus was at all unsympathetic to the status quo message of the poem-- cf. poem 66, ll. 79ff.

29 Dionysius Halicarnassensis, Antiquitates Romanae, II, 19, 3-5. In general, see: H. Graillot, Le culte de Cybèle, mère des dieux (Biblio. des Ecoles Franc. d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 107, 1912); and John Ferguson, The Religions of the Roman Empire (London, 1970), pp. 26-31.

30 The poem's meter recapitulates the profoundly anti-thetical character of the cult's passion. The "Galliambic" meter is rarely found and only in passages dealing with the cult in some way. It is extremely difficult to read and produces an almost hypnotic, syncopated cadence clearly imitative of the Galli's frenzied dancing.

31 In fact, the use of error for physical "wandering" would appear to be chiefly poetic usage. The connotation of "uncertainty," "wandering from the path of truth," appears to be the earlier usage--found, for example, in Plautus (Amphitruo 1,2,8) and other places. See the Lewis and Short unabridged for a full account of the word.

32 I believe my basic point is quite similar to that made by E. R. Dodds in his The Greeks and the Irrational (Berkeley, 1951), particularly his discussion of Plato's "guardians" in chapter 7, pp. 207-24; cf. also the classic study by Ernst Cassirer, Language and Myth, trans. S. K. Langer (New York, 1946); and Bruno Snell, The Discovery of the Mind, trans. T. G. Rosenmeyer (Cambridge, Ma., 1953), ch. 9 "From Myth to Logis," pp. 191-226.

33 Translation is as suggested by Prof. Valeri Tomaszuk.

34 cf. George Luck, The Latin Love Elegy (London, 1959), p. 122, for a related point concerning the Lesbia poems: ". . . the mistress becomes domina, the lover her 'slave' (a metaphor which is as rare in Greek erotic poetry as it is frequent in Latin elegiac verse). The earliest evidence for this inversion is found in Catullus."

35 K. Quinn, Catullus: an Interpretation (London, 1972), pp. 72-3.

36 Oxford text used: Sexti Properti Carmina, ed. E. A. Barber (2nd ed., Oxford, 1960); references to this text follow quotations in text.

37 Text and translations from: Ovid's Amores, ed. & trans. Guy Lee (New York, 1968). These translations are admittedly very free; but since in the context of our discussion it is primarily the tone of the poems which concerns us, I have used this edition because the translations capture the tone of Ovid very well. References follow in text.

38 Ludwig Traube, Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen, II, Einleitung in die lateinische Philologie des Mittelalters (Munich, 1911), p. 115; on Ovid's general standing in the Middle Ages, see: G. Pansa, Ovidio nel medioevo e nella tradizione popolare (Sulmona, 1924); C. S. Lewis, The Allegory of Love (Oxford, 1936), pp. 1-43; H. A. Kelly, Love and Marriage in the Age of Chaucer (Ithaca, 1975), pp. 71-100.

39 "Cynthia prima fuit: a causerie," Arion, I, 3 (1962), p. 40.

40 ibid., pp. 40-1.

41 see: Samuel Angus, The Religious Quests of the Graeco-Roman World: a Study in the Historical Background of Early Christianity (New York, 1929); G. Boissier, La fin du paganisme, 2 vols. (Paris, 1891); F. Cumont, Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain (Paris, 4th ed. 1929).

42 Opera quae supersunt, vol. II, fasc. 1, "Pro se de magia liber (Apologia)," ed. Rudolf Helm (Lipsiae, 1959), pp. 13-15.

43 In poem 68a (l. 11), Catullus uses the phrase duplex Amathusia in reference to Venus, but the context clearly indicates that the meaning is pain/pleasure, and not in any sense the high/low opposition seen here in Apuleius.

44 The jennet will remain in heat continuously until she is bred (similar to a house cat, for example), unlike most larger domestic animals. For attitudes toward the ass in antiquity, see: K. Freeman, "Vincent, or the Donkey," Greek and Roman Studies, 14 (1945), pp. 33-41.

45 e.g. Propertius IV, 5, 34: "fac simules puros Isidis esse dies."

46 cf. A. J. Festugière, "Lucius and Isis," in Personal Religion among the Greeks, Slather Classical Lectures, 26 (Berkeley, 1954), pp. 68-84; also see the recent full-length study by J. Gwyn Griffiths, The Isis-Book (Metamorphoses, Book XI), (Leiden, 1975).

47 R. E. Witt, Isis in the Graeco-Roman World (London, 1971), p. 223.

48 cf. The Oxford Classical Dictionary, p. 895.

49 A. N. Didron, Christian Iconography, trans. E. J. Millington (1851; 2 vols, rpt. New York, 1965), vol. II, p. 176; for a discussion of Eros and Psyche in funerary art, also see: Franz Cumont, Récherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des romains (Paris, 1942), pp. 319-20, n.8.

50 "This was a new application of religious iconography; there was no precedent for it in the imagery of Greco-Roman paganism. In the latter descriptive scenes from mythology and history had been currently employed but were rarely intended to convey religious truths. It is only in the later period of antiquity, and chiefly in the mystery religions, that recourse was had to this procedure; for example in the underground basilica of Porta Maggiore in Rome and the recently discovered tomb under the Via Latina, where the Labours of Hercules are obviously meant to symbolize man's struggle for salvation from his lower self." André Grabar, Early Christian Art, trans. S. Gilbert & J. Emmons (New York, 1968), p. 36.

51 J. W. MacKail, ed. & trans., Pervigilium Veneris, Loeb ed. (Cambridge, Ma., 1913), p. 343.

52 Anthologia Latina, eds. F. Buecheler & A. Riese (2 vols., Leipzig, 1899-1906), vol. T, pp. 26, 122-23. References to this edition follow material quoted in the text.

53 Wilhelm's translation of this poem in his The Cruellest Month ignores much of the blatant eroticism, possibly because his discussion is directed at what he sees to be the poem's philosophic implications in the context of his argument.

54 This poem could also be interpreted as an "allegorical" account of defloration, whether consciously so or not. The encircled garden could be seen as the vulva surrounded by the pubic hair; the rupture of the hymen produces the drop of blood, which the inexperienced and playful boy takes to be his own. Such an interpretation is not essential to my general point being made here, and is, moreover, likely to seem overly "Freudian" to many readers. I therefore mention it as an aside, and do not argue for its validity.

55 A similar dichotomy, it could be argued, underlay the general distinction between Roman state religion and Christian cult--a dichotomy of religion as external actions of public ritual vs. religion as mental attitude and inner faith. "The Christians were hounded, not because their tenets presented a problem to the pagan creed, but because they were unwilling to participate in the official cults, above all in the cult of the Roman emperor, i.e. the ceremonies of the State. They were never called upon to renounce their beliefs, but merely to carry out the prescribed rites. They however refused to do so, religion being for them a matter of conviction and faith." Bruno Snell, The Discovery of the Mind, trans. T. G. Rosenmeyer (Cambridge, Ma., 1953), p. 27.

56 e.g., see: Jean Piaget, The Construction of Reality in the Child, trans. M. Cook (New York, 1954), ch. 1 "The Development of Object Concept"; Six Psychological Studies, trans. A. Tenzer (New York, 1968), ch. 1, part 1 "The Neonate and the Infant"; also see the delightfully simple discussion by R. D. Laing, The Politics of the Family (Toronto, 1969), pp. 22-23.

57 It should be noted that throughout this study I employ the words "projection" and "objectification" deliberately in harmony with their usage in modern psychology--e.g., cf. P. L. Harriman, Handbook of Psychological Terms (Totawa, N.J., 1959); and J. Drever, A Dictionary of Psychology (Harmondsworth, revised ed. 1964).

58

58 "Intersubjectivity" (particularly as vs. intrasubjectivity), a term employed frequently throughout this study, is an important concept in modern psychology--particularly the work of H. S. Sullivan, for example, but also especially the theory of Jacques Lacan, which will concern us most in the later portion of this study. Important "roots" of the intersubjectivity issue are to be found in the phenomenology of Edmond Husserl; see the discussion in: Phenomenology: The Philosophy of Edmund Husserl and its Interpretation, ed. J. J. Kockelmans (New York, 1967), especially ch. 7 "Intersubjectivity," and Part III, "Phenomenology and the Sciences of Man."

59

59 There is a further text which is generally related as background for much of the material in this chapter, but since the book is limited to Greek contexts and textual analysis of the drama, I have not made specific recourse to it: Philip E. Slater, The Glory of Hera: Greek Mythology and the Greek Family (Boston, 1968). Slater's study evidences a firm grasp of basic psychoanalytic concepts, and has a great deal of significance to offer regarding the Greek mother-son relationship (mythic and social) and the "oral-Narcissistic dilemma" in Greek culture.

Chapter 2:A Look at Several Medieval Lyricsfrom the period c. 1150-1250

2.0. The word "period" is used in literary discussions with at least two separate meanings. One can speak of a period of time in a literal sense, referring simply to a given span of years or centuries. One can also use the word in a conventional fashion, referring to a given span of time and implying unities other than the temporal--as in the terms Classical period, Medieval period, Renaissance period. Preference is given here to the literal interpretation of the word, recognizing that the conventional usage, while often necessary as an idiomatic expression of literary discourse, can lead to over-generalizations and a too facile acceptance of conventional "unities." The exact dating of the period in question, 1150-1250, is a symmetrical convenience. The internal coherence of this period of time is a relative concept; what appears as a group of coherent, interrelated data from the point of view of this study, may seem only tangentially related from the point of view of another study. Our concern is a given corpus of texts to be seen in relation to their contexts, the parameters of which are temporally and spatially defined. The contexts in their entirety cannot be encompassed here; however, a slice into the relevant data can be made.

The years 1150-1250 correspond roughly to what Marc Bloch would describe as the end of the second feudal age; it was a time of "economic revolution," of a movement of repopulation which transformed the face of Europe.¹ Within these years, Charles Haskins would include the high point of his "Twelfth Century Renaissance."² It is in this period that Ernst Curtius held France to become the model of literature and intellectual culture for other nations.³ France also supplies the clearest manifestation of the feudal system--an economic and social structure often synonymous with the medieval period itself. The courts of France set the courtois fashion of the day; their influence was felt from England to Sicily among the widening circles of the nobility.

But this is not an age of any one nation.⁴ This is especially evident in the realm of learning. Latin was indeed a great unifying force--not only as the language of the Church, but of law, of medicine, of science, of education itself in whatever university or monastery. While the actual mechanics of the transmission of information were limited, the resource of a common language made an exchange of ideas possible which transcended linguistic barriers wherever men and women of learning were to be found. Latin transcended linguistic barriers, but in turn emphasized social barriers, the barriers of class. Auerbach, in his study Literary Language and its Public in Late Antiquity and in the Middle Ages (trans. R. Manheim, London, 1965),

has carefully pointed out the limited audience of this great "common language." The coherence of what Curtius has termed the "Latin Middle Ages" was a coherence of the realities of social class structures, as well as a coherent state of literary and intellectual affairs.

Our period can be conveniently enclosed at either end by two important members of this Latin community. St. Bernard of Clairvaux died in 1153; in his work we find perhaps the most fully developed analysis of spiritual love, and the relationship between spiritual and secular love. Some indication of the importance and influence of Bernard's writings can be grasped from the fact that Dante chose him as his final guide through the concluding cantos of *Paradiso*. St. Thomas Aquinas died in 1274, and he marks the culmination of scholastic philosophy. In Thomas we find a monumental synthesis of previous scholastic thought, and his influence in turn on later Church thinkers down to our day is pervasive.

If we turn to the spiritual lyric itself, one of the greatest exponents of devotional poetry to the Virgin flourished during this period: Adam of St. Victor, who died in 1192. His hymns to the Virgin, which will be discussed in what follows, provide examples of the finest Mariological poetry of the period. In fact, so exemplary is his work that Raby has based his analysis of the "Symbolism of the Virgin Mary" almost entirely on the work of Adam of St. Victor.⁵

But Adam was only one example in a vast development of increasing Marian devotion, which had begun to take organized shape in a multitude of devotional practices since about the year 1000. In the course of the 12th century, the Ave Maria came into universal usage across all social classes; Saturday was dedicated by special practices to the Virgin, and feasts of her Conception and Nativity were celebrated. First impulses toward these developments in Marian devotion seem to have come from the monasteries. During the 12th century, the Cistercians-- the order of St. Bernard--exercised an immense influence in Marian devotion; the Virgin came to be the special patroness of the order. Special consecration of Mary was followed soon after by the Dominicans, the Carmelites, and the Servites, among other orders. The increase in popular devotion is indicated by the large number of shrines which sprung up at this time, along with countless compilations of Miracles of the Virgin. Marian devotion was universal.⁶ In fact, throughout the 12th century the most common reckoning of the beginning of the new year was from March 25, the feast of the Annunciation. Lady Day, as it is known in England, remained the official British mode of reckoning until 1752.⁷

Marian cult was only one of several important developments which shaped the character of the religious community in this period. Another is marked by the First Lateran Council in 1123, when an enactment was passed which can be said to have

established a victory for the cause of clerical celibacy. Steps had been taken in the mid-11th century by Nicholas II and Gregory VII, but it is not until after 1123 that canon law pronounced conjugal relations on the part of the clergy in sacred orders to be no more than concubinage. By the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 this new, uncompromising attitude toward celibacy had been pronounced in no uncertain terms. For all practical purposes, the establishment of clerical celibacy in canon law can be said to date from the second half of the 12th century.⁸

The interests of the Latin communities in monasteries and universities, however, extended beyond the limits of celibate devotion. We find lyrics of secular love sandwiched into manuscripts between the works of Augustine and Jerome. Entire collections were compiled of secular and spiritual verse together, the most famous being the Cambridge Songs MS. of the monastery of St. Augustine at Canterbury and the Carmina Burana MS. of the monastery at Benedicteuern. The Carmina Burana, although compiled in Germany, contains poems whose origin is demonstrably from France, Italy, and England--which is another indication of the international character of the Latin community. Peter Dronke has argued for the chronological primacy of the courtois lyric in medieval Latin poetry, holding that the appearance of the genre is visible in Latin slightly before the vernacular. Apart from the issue of origins, however, he also stresses the reciprocal relationship of mutual enrichment between the Latin and the vernacular lyrics.⁹

This period embraces the time during which vernacular literatures began to establish themselves. By 1250 both Provençal and Old French had generated a large corpus of texts. In Italy, by the middle of the duecento the Scuola Siciliana had reached its high point, setting the stage for the Dolce Stil Novo which followed. Guido Cavalcanti, foremost of the Stilnovists, was born in the 1250's. On the island of Britain, what we call Middle English is usually considered to have taken shape by about 1150.¹⁰ The MS. Harley 2253 in the British Museum dates from the first half of the 1300's. The lyrics themselves of course antedate the MS., and Constance Wright in her study places them perhaps as early as the middle of the 13th century.¹¹ The Harley MS. is one of the most important single collections of lyrics, and, like the Latin collections of the Cambridge Songs MS. and the Carmina Burana MS., the Harley lyrics are an intermingled collection of secular and spiritual poems.

Of course, from an over-all perspective the primary literary language of Western Europe at this time was still unquestionably Latin. However, a flourishing production of vernacular lyric verse of both a secular and a spiritual nature is clearly visible beside the Latin corpus. A certain cross-fertilization cannot be denied; the exact amount would be impossible to determine. It is significant that these collections of lyrics cannot be classified as either entirely

secular or entirely spiritual in tone. Only in Italy does the distinction seem easy to establish, but in the Italian poets the spiritualization of the secular reaches such extremes that the very nature of such a distinction comes into question, as we shall see exemplified later in a sonnet by Cavalcanti.

The troubadours could write poems to their ladies on the one hand, and poems to the Virgin or for the Crusades on the other. The Latin lyrics, although assuredly the productions of people with at least some clerical education, provide perhaps the most overtly erotic verse of the period. In England, the influence of the Franciscan revival on the lyrics of the MS. Harley has been dealt with in some detail by Constance Wright in her dissertation, and more recently has formed the subject of a full-length study by David L. Jeffrey, The Early English Lyric and Franciscan Spirituality (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975).

2.0.1. One cannot speak of medieval lyrics, especially in the vernacular, for very long without coming to grips with a convention known variously as "courtly love," fin'amors, or amour courtois. To the best of my knowledge, the term amour courtois was an invention of the 19th century scholar Gaston Paris around 1883; the term appears in no known medieval text. The convention known to English medievalists as "courtly love" has remained until relatively recently the product of 19th century scholarship and its synthesis presented through our

"founding father," C. S. Lewis, in his book The Allegory of Love (Oxford, 1936). Part and parcel of this concept of the convention was a very heavy emphasis placed on the importance of the writings of Ovid and of a medieval chaplain known as Andreas Capellanus, who wrote a treatise entitled De arte honeste amandi, c. 1180. The tone of Andreas' work has since been called in question, most notably by D. W. Robertson, Jr. who claimed that Andreas, far from anything "courtly," has presented an elaborate, ironic affirmation of straightforward Augustinian philosophy.¹² Likewise, Lewis' other fundamental concept, the idea of "Ovid misunderstood," as the key to an understanding of courtly love is no longer a widely accepted opinion. Lewis' scholarship has engendered disagreement of such magnitude in some circles of medievalists that a recent contribution in this area by Henry Kelly, Love and Marriage in the Age of Chaucer (Ithaca, 1975), is presented largely as a specific rebuttal against Lewis' tetrad "Humility, Courtesy, Adultery, and the Religion of Love."

A very useful analysis of the state of affairs was written by Francis Utley in 1972, "Must we Abandon the Concept of Courtly Love?" printed in Medievalia et Humanistica (New Series, #3). While it is pointless to ignore the obvious connection between the Provençal concept of amors and the social reality of courtoisie, a continuation of the 19th century coinage amour courtois seems a needless promulgation of what has become a

bugbear among warring camps of medievalists. If a rose will smell as sweet, fin'amors seems a more appropriate term. In its favor at least is the fact that it is a common phrase in the medieval texts themselves, both in French and in Italian, and fin' approximates various adjectives commonly found in Latin and Middle English, none of which is anything close to courtois. Neither does fin'amors imply the limitation of social class implicit in courtois; the fact is that many aspects of what has been called "courtly" love appear in many texts whose origins seem very unlikely to have had anything to do with the society of courts. This is especially true concerning the Latin lyrics, which are found not only in France, but in Italy, Germany, England, and Spain as well. The concept which, for sake of convenience, we may call fin'amors was limited neither to the language nor to the courts of the Languedoc.

A more important issue lies beyond the semantics involved. Fin'amors is only one type of love elaborated by an age which was very much concerned with the definition of amor in the broadest sense. To concern ourselves only with the secular fin'amors is to see only half the tapestry before us. The other half we might call, after the fashion of the period itself, amor spiritualis. This dialectic between various types of amor spiritualis and amor carnalis permeates the entire tapestry; a convenient bisection, such as is often employed in discussions

of secular medieval literature, is actually impossible. Spiritual and secular amor are continually defined in complex self-juxtaposition. While on the one hand we must recognize that in the medieval sensibility there were various levels and two distinct types of what today we simply term "love," on the other hand, we must continually be aware that ultimately an understanding of medieval amor must embrace the dialectic itself. Such an understanding involves recognizing not only what Lewis has called the "religion of love" and its relation to a long and sometimes rather esoteric rereading of the Ovidian texts, but just as importantly this involves dealing with the psychology and the sociology of love in relation to the medieval context itself.

2.0.2. This relates back to the concept of feudal order in the second feudal age, as a social system which defined and was defined by the people living in it. In its ideal form-- which, if it ever existed, probably was in Normandy, not in the Languedoc--the feudal order, from the point of view of the people living and functioning in it, would have had a place for everything and everything in its place. Feudal organization, like medieval cosmology itself, was ideally a clearly defined system of hierarchical relationships. The "place" of the earth was at the center of the universe; this was the plan in the mind of God, and this was the only place natural for the element earth in relation to the other three elements, water,

air, and fire. Analogously, a person's place was defined by his relation to other people, to the saints, to the angels, and to God. The natural place of the knight, as the case in point in this ideal form of the system, was in service to his lord; his social identity was defined in relation to the lord, and this relation is defined through service, fides, amicitia, and amor. Similarly, the place of the monk was in service to the Lord, and his social identity was defined in this relationship--with the crucial difference, however, that while the knight defines his social identity through his relationship to another man, the monk defines his social identity through his relationship to God.¹³ The structures of the secular and spiritual hierarchies bear strong external similarities, while the internal, functional "meanings" differ immensely. For the establishment of a personal identity, the imitatio Christi should ideally hold the key for every man, but a potential contradiction inherent in the knight's position is readily noticeable. Unlike the monk in service to God Himself, the knight is continually exposed to the temptation of establishing his inner, personal identity¹⁴, as well as his social identity through his relationship to his lord, rather than through his supreme relationship with the Lord. Even in an ideal state of affairs, the knight would be susceptible at least to a degree of uncertainty in a somewhat vulnerable position.

The second feudal age, however, was not an ideal state of affairs; it was an age of economic and social change. One of the social groups most dramatically affected was the courtly class. Expansion in many forms had brought about an economy less tied to the land, at least in the earlier sense of land's importance. The Crusades along with increase in the viability of trade during the 12th century were bringing about an economy in which capital played a much larger role. Indeed, in some situations "service" to the lord was being rendered not in any personal sense but in the form of money.¹⁵ Likewise, lords were sometimes faced with the problem of simply not having enough land to supply those who had rendered them service. Money again began to be used, along with the promise of good prospects through crusading, for those of the knightly class who wanted their own lands.

At the same time, cities were drawing the land laborers away from feudal estates, and within the cities there was a growing merchant class which, through the accretion of monetary wealth, was beginning to gain powers which were comparable to those powers previously secured through land alone. In Italy, where the growth of powerful cities began earlier than in France and England, feudalism in the strict sense of the word can hardly be said to have established itself at all. In England, the French court exercised some influence and much has been made of

Eleanor of Aquitaine's marriage to Henry II as marking the transplant of troubadour verse onto English soil.¹⁶ But this court was not indigenous, and the social situation must have remained quite different from what was the state of affairs in the Aquitaine itself. The social situation in southern France retained a conservative character. While England was experiencing invasion and its subsequent social alterations, and Italy was reaping the advantages of increased growth in mercantile shipping, and northern France was beginning to prosper through the first stages of industrial development--the social order in southern France remained of a conservative, courtois character.

Social change and increasing mobility took the form of expansion within the courtly class itself in the southwestern area of France. One of the reasons for this was that politically this area had become decentralized during the course of the 11th century, resulting in an increase in the number of smaller lordships, each with the power to grant knighthood. In southern France, mercantile and urban development was rapid only in the eastern area, precisely where troubadour poetry did not flourish; the trend toward urbanization did not reach the southwest until the later part of the 13th century. In the Languedoc the court itself experienced a growth and an increasing opportunity for social mobility, which was analogous to what was occurring elsewhere in the form of industrialization and urbanization.

With this growth and change, the stability of the feudal order was shaken, and with it, in turn, the identity of the court itself.¹⁷

The urban craftsman or merchant no longer defined his social identity primarily in his relation to other people in the same way as the vassal or the knight of the feudal estate. In the city, a man's identity became more closely associated with his wealth in the form of money, and with his individual trade. With this flexibility of social hierarchies introduced into the feudal order through the existence of cities and the new city way of life, men experienced a more individualistic potential for self-identification. It may be more than coincidence that from the 12th century onwards the practice of individualized second names becomes common. Instead of the simple Christian name followed only by some arbitrary clarification--often the locality of residence--a second name in specific unchanging form becomes the rule. This appears to have begun among the upper classes, but very quickly became universal.¹⁸ It is also significant that within the landed class this second name was often derived from the land itself, whereas the urban tradesman often took his name from his particular trade. The need for this second, unchanging name was brought on not only by the increase in travel, trade, and generally wider social intercourse; but also, on another level,

by the beginnings of a breakdown of strict feudal order-- an order which had provided for a different set of relationships through which an individual established his social and his personal identity.

Returning to the opinion of Curtius that France provided the model of intellectual culture during this period, we must be willing to accept certain qualifications before the general validity of this assertion is clear. On the one hand, as Curtius himself has stressed, the Latin community of this period retained its international character; and while it is possible and often useful to single out particular monasteries and universities for their specific contributions to the character of the age, the individuals active in these centers were often well travelled, well read in the productions of other centers of learning, and sometimes themselves not native to the locality where they were working. On the other hand, from the point of view of the development and influence of French vernacular literature, while certain exterior characteristics of a given genre may appear with clarity in other vernacular texts, the social contexts involved varied significantly. What was the nature of a genre in a truly courtly environment in the Languedoc need not be assumed automatically to encompass the variations within a genre existing in a different social context. Nonetheless, the usefulness of the generalization made by Curtius need not be overlooked. The poetry of the troubadours does provide many

characteristics common to medieval lyrics of secular love in other vernacular literatures during the period. By the same token, the abbey of St. Victor in Marseilles, the Cistercian abbey in Clairvaux, and the Platonist school in Chartres are key centers in the development of medieval Mariology and philosophy during this time.

The exchange of ideas on an international scale among Latin centers of learning allows for a justifiable breadth of selections across national barriers, and in what follows materials from French, English, and Italian sources are considered. We pass now from a general literary and social aspect of the period to a more specific aspect of its character. From a brief consideration of the medieval lyric's secular and religious context, we move now to the lyric texts themselves. It is, after all, here in the texts that our inquiry must find its roots.

2.1. The first poem comes from the abbey at Marseilles, some time during the second half of the 12th century. The "Salve, mater Salvatoris" is a hymn by Adam of St. Victor, who lived from 1130 to 1192. Adam has left a large body of liturgical poetry, in which there are some twenty poems concerning the Virgin Mary. As Raby has already pointed out, Adam's work is exemplary of the finest liturgical poetry to the Virgin from the period--especially, perhaps, in his employment of Biblical tropes as conventional forms of symbolism for the Virgin.

Salve, mater Salvatoris,
 vas electum, vas honoris.
 Vas coelestis gratiaē;
 ab aeterno vas provisum,
 vas insigne, vas excisum
 manu Sapientiae.

Salvi, Verbi sacra parens,
 flos de spinis, spina carens,
 flos, spineti gloria.
 Nos spinetum, nos peccati
 spina summus cruentati,
 sed tu spinæ nescia.

Porta clausa, fons hortorum,
 cella custos unguentorum,
 cella pigmentaria:
 cinnamomi calalum,
 myrrham, thus et balsamum
 superas fragrantia.

Salve, decus virginum,
 mediatrix hominum,
 salutis puerpera;
 myrtus temperantiae,
 rosa patientiae,
 nardus odorifera.

Tu convallis humilis,
 terra non arabilis,
 quae Deum parturiit;
 flos campi, convallium
 singulare liliū,
 Christus ex te prodiit.

Tu coelestis paradus
 Libanusque non incisus,
 vaporans dulcedinem:
 tu candoris et decoris,
 tu dulcoris et odoris
 habes plenitudinem.

Tu thronus es Salomonis,
 cui nullus par in thronis
 arte vel materia:
 ebur candens castitatis,
 aurum fulvum charitatis
 praesignant mysteria.

Palnam praefers singularem
 nec in terris habes parem,
 nec in coeli curia;
 laus humani generis,
 virtutum prae caeteris
 tenes privilegia.

Sol luna lucidior,
 et luna sideribus;
 sic Maria dignior
 creaturis omnibus.

Lux eclipsim nesciens
 virginis est castitas,
 ardor indeficiens,
 immortalis charitas.

(Dum venerabilis Adam sequenti versiculo Beatum
 Mariam Virginem salutaret, ab ea resalutari et
 regratiari meruit.)

SALVE, MATER PIETATIS,
 ET TOTIUS TRINITATIS
 NOBILE TRICLINIUM.

Verbi tamen incarnati
 speciale majestati
 praeparans hospitium.

O Maria, stella maris,
 dignitate singularis,
 super omnes ordinis
 ordines coelestium:
 in supremo sita poli,
 nos assigna tuae Proli
 ne terrores sive doli
 hos supplantent hostium.

In procinctu constituti,
 te tuente simus tuti,
 pervicacis et versuti
 tuae cedat vis virtuti,
 dolus providentiae.
 Jesu, Verbum summi Patris,
 serva servos tuae matris,
 solve reos, salva gratis,
 et nos tuae claritatis
 configura gloriae. Amen. 19

(Hail, mother of the Saviour. Honoured vessel elect, vessel of heavenly grace. Vessel known before creation. Noble vessel, formed by the hand of Sapientia.

Hail, holy parent of the Word. Flower among thorns, without thorn; flower, glory of the thornbrake. We are the thornbrake, surrounded with the thorns of sin, but you are without thorn.

Closed gate, fount of the gardens. Storehouse of unguents and paints. Cinnamon, myrrh, balsam, you surpass in fragrance.

Hail, type of virgins, mediatrix of men, perpetual health. Myrtle of discreetness, rose of patience, nard of sweet scent.

You humble valley, earth unplowed which gave birth to God. Flower of the field, elect lily of the valley, Christ was born from you.

Heavenly paradise, Lebanon undivided, breathing sweetness. White and beautiful, sweet and savory, you have all in plenitude.

You are the throne of Solomon, which is without equal in art and substance. Shining ivory of chastity, gold of charity signaling the mystery.

Peerless is the palm you bear and you on earth are peerless and among the court of heaven; you are graced with the greatest virtue of mankind.

As the sun outshines the moon, and the moon the stars, so Mary is more worthy than all God's creatures.

Light knowing no eclipse is the chastity of the Virgin; heat never ceasing is her immortal charity.

--As the venerable Adam was saluting the Blessed Virgin Mary in the following stanza, he was himself in return saluted and thanked by her.--

HAIL, MOTHER OF PIETY, TRICLINIUM OF THE TRINITY,

preparing a dwelling of special majesty for the Word incarnate.

O Mary, star of the sea, /dignity elect, above all
the ranks of heaven. In highest heaven, commend us
to your Offspring, and from terrors defend us lest
we are overthrown.

Extended in battle line, may we be defended by you;
may enemies' shrewdness bow before your virtues.
Jesus, Word of God, guard your mother's servants,
pardon our sins, grant us grace; and with the clarity
of your glory enlighten us. Amen.)

Perhaps the first characteristic which strikes the modern reader is Adam's use of anaphora. This poem is typical of Adam's preference for this rhetorical device. In the first stanza, the phrases vas electum, vas honoris, vas coelestis gratiae are all examples of the Hebrew genitive construction, so common in the Latin Vulgate. In fact, anaphora goes hand in hand with the use of grammatical parallelism, which forms a foundation of the Hebraic prosody of the Old Testament. It is only fitting that these verse techniques should appear in Latin liturgical poetry. It is not only a manifestation of the natural evolution of liturgical Latin, but also a stylistic affirmation of the poem's intrinsic relation to scripture.

In relation to this, anaphora and grammatical parallelism provide perfect syntactical mechanisms for the techniques of description used in the poem. The general technique seen here is typical of medieval description as a whole, whether of a religious or a secular nature. While the description is both qualitative and quantitative, the quantitative character of the

description reinforces the qualitative. This is to say, the qualities of the Virgin are clearly enumerated, while the method of enumeration employs quantitative devices. For example: a) anaphora (vas electum, vas honoris, vas insigne; cella custos unguentorum, cella pigmentaria); b) simple repetition of individual words (salve/Salvatoris, flos, spina, tu, etc.); c) repetition of syntactical constructions (Salve, mater Salvatoris / Salve, Verbi sacra parens; tu convallis humilis terra non arabilis / tu coelestis paradus Libanusque non incisus; tu candoris et decoris / tu dulcoris et odoris); d) purposeful synonymous redundancy and enumeration of nouns of the same class (mater/parens; flos/rosa/lilium; cinnamomi/calamum/myrrham/balsamum; myrtus/rosa/nardus; ebur/aurum); e) the "outdoing" technique, that is comparison with emphasis on the superlative (tu thronus es Salomonis, cui nulus par; nec in terris habes parem; sol luna lucidior, et luna sideribus, sic Maria dignior creaturis omnibus). To modern sensibilities such repetition, both semantic and syntactic, may seem tiresome. However, its widespread use in mediæval description attests to the popularity of the technique.

A rhetorical device of a similar nature is the polynomial character of the Virgin's description. This is accomplished largely through metaphoric appellations. In this single poem the Virgin is called: mater Salvatoris, vas, flos, porta, fons cella, mediatrix, myrtus, rosa, nardus, terra, lilium, paradus,

Libanus, thronus, ebur, aurum, triclinium, stella maris, dignitas.

This polynomial character of the Virgin's description in this poem is a continuation of the technique of the Canticum Canticorum, where the Sponsa is called, among other appellations: columba, flos, fons, hortus, lilium, myrrha. Not only the general technique of quantitative repetition, but specific words and phrases in the poem allude to the Canticum: flos, fons hortorum, unguentum, myrrham, spina, lilium, sol luna lucidior. (See the Latin concordance to the Canticum at the end of this study, Appendix C.)

Every descriptive phrase in the poem alludes in one way or another to scripture. The vas electum we find in Acts 9:15. The phrase ab aeterno vas provisum suggests Proverbs 8:22-31, a passage used for the mass of the Immaculate Conception. The porta clausa alludes to Ezekiel 44:2; the thronus Salomonis alludes to I Chronicles 9:17-19. All of these tropes are explained in detail in any number of earlier exegetical texts.²⁰

Several words and phrases in the poem are clear allusions to Ecclesiasticus 24:17-31:

Quasi cedrus exaltata sum in Libano,
 Et quasi cypressus in monte Sion;
 Quasi palma exaltata sum in Cades,
 Et quasi plantatio rosae in Jericho.
 Quasi oliva speciosa in campis,
 Et quasi platanus exaltata sum iusta aquam in plateis.
 Sicut cinnamomum et balsamum aromatizans odorem dedi,
 Quasi myrrha electa dedi suavitatem odoris;
 Et quasi storax, et galbanus, et ungula, et gutta,
 Et quasi Libanus non incisus vaporavi habitationem meam.
 Et quasi balsamum non mistum odor meus,
 Ego quasi terebinthus extendi ramos meos,
 Et rami mei honoris et gratiae.
 Ego quasi vitis fructificavi suavitatem odoris;
 Et flores mei fructus honoris et honestatis.
 Ego mater pulchrae dilectionis, et timoris,
 Et agnitionis, et sanctae spei.
 In me gratia omnis viae et veritatis;
 In me omnis spes vitae et virtutis.
 Transite ad me, omnes qui concupiscitis me,
 Et a generationibus meis implemini;
 Spiritus enim meus super mel dulcis,
 Et haereditas mea super mel et favum.
 Memoria mea in generationes saeculorum.
 Qui edunt me adhuc esurient,
 Et qui bibunt me adhuc sitient.
 Qui audit me non confundetur,
 Et qui operantur in me non peccabunt;
 Qui elucidant me vitam aeternam habebunt. 21

(I grew tall like a cedar in Lebanon,
 and like a cypress on Mount Zion;
 I grew tall like a palm tree in Cadi,
 and like rose plants in Jericho.
 Like a beautiful olive tree in a field,
 and a plane tree near water in a plain I grew tall.
 Like cinnamon and balsam I gave forth sweetness of odor;
 and like stacte, balbanum, anycha, and oil,
 and like frankincense I fill my tabernacle.
 And like pure balsum is my odor,
 I spread out my branches like the terebinth,
 and my branches are glorious and graceful.
 Like a vine I caused sweetness to bud,
 and my blossoms fruits of glory and purity.
 I am mother of beautiful love, of fear,
 of knowledge, and of holy hope.
 in me is all grace and the way of truth,
 in me is hope of all life and virtue.

Come to me all who desire me,
 and eat my produce;
 for my spirit is sweeter than honey,
 and my inheritance sweeter than the honeycomb.
 My memory lives through generations.
 Those who eat me will hunger for more,
 and those who drink me will thirst for more.
 Whoever obeys me will not be put to shame,
 and those who work with my help will not sin;
 those who enlighten me shall have eternal life.)

Along with the Canticum Canticorum, this passage is one of the most important portions of Scripture relative to any study of mediæval spiritual and secular lyrics. In these verses Sapiientia is given her own praises. The passage is important not only for the occurrence of specific words such as cedrus, palma, rosa, myrrha--all appellations of the Virgin--but also for the concepts introduced in the second half of the passage. "I am mother of beautiful love, of fear, of knowledge, of holy hope. In me is hope of all life and virtue. . . . My memory lives through generations. He who obeys me will not be put to shame; and those who work with my help will not sin. . . ." These phrases are all echoed in the fundamentals of both spiritual and secular lyrics. Love, fear, knowledge, hope, virtue are all concepts which reappear constantly in the verses of love, whether of the Virgin or of a Lady. Obedience is necessary. Memoria is a crucial concept of mediæval lyricism. It is part of the triadic structure of the mind as defined by Augustine in the De Trinitate, XIV (Memoria, intellegentia, voluntas).

Contemplation, whether of the Virgin or of a Lady, must necessarily make use of the faculty of memoria. We shall return to this point in Part II.

Returning to Adam's poem, we note that the Virgin is given at least two doctrinal functions. She is the mother of the Savior, parent of the Word; and she is the "mediatrix" between man and God. The poem is directed, in its ending, toward the Virgin's function of mediation. Like many hymns to Mary, the basic structure is a section of praise, followed by a second section which is a prayer for grace, protection, and guidance, directed to the Virgin herself, and through her mediation, to Christ. The Virgin's mediation is stressed again in the closing verses, "guard Your mother's servants," with an interesting play on the words serva/servos. The poem ends on a specifically spiritual type of protection and grace, which, simply by the nature of the words employed, at the same time echoes the feudal relationship between protection and service. There is no ambiguity in meaning; on the contrary, we see here an example of how the medieval spiritual and secular connotations each reinforce the other.

The conventional metaphoric appellations employed in this poem also reinforce the mediating role of the Virgin. Not only is the Virgin symbolised by earthly objects representing superlative degrees of excellence such as the flos, fons hertorum,

myrrham, rosa, ebur, aurum, etc.; but she is also symbolised by reference to "heavenly" objects such as vas coelestis gratiae, paradisus coelestis, thronus Salomonis, stella, etc. Mediation between the heavenly and the earthly, an important function of the Virgin in the Christian scheme, is continually implicit in the metaphorical appellations themselves, which were already conventional before Adam employed them in this particular poem.²²

Another hymn of Adam of St. Victor further exemplifies similar epithets, both heavenly and earthly; and also is another typical example of possibly the most common trope in hymns to the Virgin, the stella maris:²³

Hodiernae lux diei
celebris in matris Dei
agitur memoria:
decantemus in hac die
semper virginis Mariae
laudes et praeconia.

Omnis homo, omni hora,
ipsam ora et implora
ejus patrocinia;
psalle, psalle nisu toto
cordis, oris voce, voto:
"Ave plena gratia."

Ave, regina coelorum,
inexperta viri thorum,
parens parvis nescia.
fecundata sine viro,
genuisti more miro,
genitorem, filia.

Florens hortus, austro flante,
 porta clausa post et ante,
 via viris in via;
 fusa coeli rore tellus,
 fusum Gedionis vellus
 Deitatis pluvia.

Salve, splendor firmamenti,
 tu caliginosae menti
 desuper irradias:
 placa mare, maris stella,
 ne nos involvat procella
 et tempestas obvia:
 Amen dicant omnia. (III, pp. 124-27).

(On this bright day the fame of the Mother of God is celebrated. Let us sing today to the ever Virgin Mary our praises.

Every man, every hour, pray for her protection.
 Sing, sing with all your heart, with your voice sing:
 Ave filled with grace.

Ave, Queen of heaven, untouched by man, parent
 peerless. Fertile without man, miraculously you
 have given birth to your birth giver, daughter.

Flowering garden with the south wind, closed gate
 before and after, pathway man never passed. Earth
 dampened with dew from heaven. Gideon's fleece, to
 which was given the shower of the Deity.

Hail, splendor of the firmament. From above shine down
 your rays onto our darkened minds. Calm the sea, star
 of the sea, lest in the storm our little bark is lost.
 Amen says every man.)

The stella maris trope is directly connected with the more general trope of the naufragus, the shipwrecked sailor. These are curious tropes with histories too long to be covered in detail here. Both were common in the pre-Christian Latin context, not only as lyrical tropes but as aspects of popular religion as well. The famous Venus of Pompēii fresco portrays the goddess on the prow of a ship, and we know that she was the patroness of sailors.²⁴ That the goddess Isis was also associated with the guiding of sailors has been demonstrated elsewhere.²⁵ In the ancient lyric, the naufragus trope occurs in Ovid's Amores, "auferor ut rapida concita puppis aqua" (II, 4,8), and three times in Propertius, "nuñc a te, mea lux, veniat me litora navis/servato, an mediis sidat onusta vadis" (II,14, 29-30), and "vidi te in somnis fracta, mea vita, carina" (II, 26a,1), as well as in III,24,11-12. Specifically Christian overtones originate from the shipwreck of St. Paul at Malta (Acts 27-28), and his metaphorical usage of the theme in reference to spiritual shipwreck (2 Corinthians 11:25, and 1 Timothy 1:19-20). The Marian trope, stella maris, dates very early and we find it even in St. Jerome.²⁶ The etymological explanation stems from the Hebrew word for Mary, Miryām, which, after Jerome's time, was broken down to mean "star of the sea"--possibly on account of the common substitution of e and i, thus stilla (drop, Heb. mār) becomes stella (star). Etymologically,

there is no absolutely clear understanding of the origin of the trope.²⁷ What is particularly to be noted from the point of view of this study, however, is that in the medieval period the trope retained its usage in secular as well as spiritual contexts. In the Carmina Burana, for instance: "navicula/levis in equore,/dum caret anchore subsidio," which is employed in a secular sense.²⁸ The troubadours also employed the trope:

E d'altra part sui plus despers,
Per sobr'amar,
Que naus can vai torban per mar,
Destrecha d'andas e de vens,
Tan me destreing lo pensamens.

(Yet, on the other hand, I founder more through over-loving than a ship when it goes tossing on the sea, assailed by waves and winds, so much does deep thought assail me.).

And another example:

Per que.l devon esser obediens
Las plus prezans, quar enaissi es guitz
Per dreg guidar, sos gens cors ben aibitz,
Las pros en pretz, cum las naus en mar guida
La tramontana e.l fers e.lh caramida.

E puyz guida.l ferm'estella luzenz
Las naus que van perillan per la mar,
Ben degre me cil, qi.l sembla, guidar,
Qu'en la mar suy per lieys profundamens
Tant'esvaratz, destreitz, et esbaltz,
Que.i serai mortz ans que.n hiesc'e peritz,
Si no.m secor, quar non truep a l'yssida
Riba ni port, gua ni pont, ni guerida.²⁹

(For this should ladies who merit most be obedient to her, that in the same way is her gracious and perfect person a guide, truly to guide in merit those ladies of worth, as the pole-star or magnet or lode-stone guides ships on the sea.

(And since the constant, shining star guides ships that go in peril on the sea, she should indeed, who is like it, guide me who for her am so deeply at sea, so lost, distressed and in dismay that I'll be dead before I emerge from it, and perished, unless she helps me; for I find not at journey's end a shore, or haven, or bridge, or shelter.)

The trope was popular in both secular and spiritual contexts, and thus is a fitting example of one general point of this chapter. The two modes of discourse intersect continually, each, in effect, reinforcing the other, since surely the audiences would have been sensitive to various associations--without necessarily "confusing" them by any means: such would be an anachronistically imposed problem, as we shall explain later.

Along these lines, we may also note that Marian lyrics freely expound the physical beauty of the Virgin-- in a fashion which on the surface has much in common with secular lyricism as well. The Virgin not only mediates between the terrestrial and the ideal, the material and the spiritual, but she is in herself also a perfect image of the ideal. She is unique among mankind, "virtutum prae caeteris terres privilegia"; she is our guide, the guiding star, the stella maris. Her physical beauty, like the beauty of the Sponsa of the Canticum, is symbolic of her virtuous perfection.³⁰ An anonymous poem of the 12th century is an outstanding example of this:

Ave, pulcra pelle, pulpa,
foecundata sine culpa,
sine viri semine.

Ave, cujus pulcrimenti
totus fulgor firmamenti
vincitur vibramine.

Ave, pulcra naso, malis,
pulcra dorso, pulcra palis,
dentiumque serie.

Pulcra, pulcram aliorum
formam vincis et olorum
olorina facie.

Ave, pulcra columellis,
et gingivis, et labellis,
pulcro pulcra cilio.

Ave, cujus calcam clare
nec centenni commendare
sciret Seraph studio.

Ave, pulcra pulcris suris,
pulcra pulcri nomine [sic] cruris,
masculis et tibiis:

pulcra plantis, pulcra talis,
umbilico, coxis, aliis [l. alis],
pernis et arteriis.

Ave pulcra fauce, nare,
cujus nemo caraxare
potest formam graphicis;
pulcre nomine [sic] digitorum,
scapularum, lacertorum,
et interscapulis [sic].

.
.
Ave, caste foecundata,
nulla carnis titillata
lasciva libidine.

Ave, templum summi regis
et posteris novae legis
altare thuricaeum.

Ave, cujus faber poli
reservavit sibi soli
virginale hymeneum [sic].³¹

(Hail, beautiful skin, flesh, fertility without sin, without the seed of man. Hail, whose beauty surpasses the brightness of the heavens.

Hail, beautiful nose, cheeks, beautiful back, beautiful [pallis?], and teeth all in a row. Beautiful, you surpass all others' beauty and your face the face of the swan of swans.

Hail, beautiful little columns, and gums, and lips, beautiful, beautiful, eyelids. Hail, whose heel Seraph knows not a hundred to command such worship.

Hail, beautiful, beautiful calves, most beautiful legs, and shins; beautiful soles, beautiful ankles, navel, hips, underarms [?other things?], hams, veins.

Hail, beautiful throat, nostrils, whose form no one is able to capture with paints, most beautiful fingers, shoulders, arms, and back.

Hail, chaste fertility, nothing wanton, passionate, or of fleshy desires.

Hail, temple of the King and of the new law, altar [thuricaeum?]. Hail, whose heavenly maker reserved for you alone the virginal hymen [also with connotation of "marriage"].

Again, the technique of the re-enforcement of qualitative description through quantitative enumeration is employed. It is clear that the poem was never intended to achieve success through adjectival constructions describing the qualities of the Virgin's beauty. Only one adjective is used to describe physical beauty in the entire poem, pulcra. The description builds on repetitive enumeration of various specific parts of the Virgin's body. This technique, though not necessarily so extensive in detail, is a typical device employed in either

religious or secular medieval Latin verse. Although the technique may seem out of harmony with this poem's subject from a modern point of view, I do not think that the poem is primarily a parody. Its over-all structure and the use of some highly "original" phrasing such as "cujus pulcrimenti totus fulgor firmamenti vincitur vibramine" and "olorum olorina facie" are indications of the sincerity of this devotional piece.

Structurally, although the poem concentrates decidedly on the corporeal beauty of the Virgin, the poem begins in the realm of the heavenly and the ideal, "foecundata sine culpa . . . cujus pulcrimenti totus fulgor firmamenti," and ends there as well after the unambiguous emphasis "nulla carnis titillata lasciva libidine." However, even though the description concentrates on detail, it is not the sort of detail which produces an individualized portrait. "Corporeal" and "physical" as this may seem at first glance, upon consideration it becomes clear that we do not have a corporeal portrait at all, but a collection of abstract details. The Virgin remains a "synthetic" Lady embodying theoretically conceivable excellences of feminine beauty. Later we shall see that the same can be said of many secular descriptions of feminine beauty as well.

Admittedly, this is an example par excellence of the sensual treatment of spiritual beauty. More often individual

phrases are dispersed throughout poems, rather than entire poems constructed with sensuous diction. However, such sensuality is not unique or revolutionary in the 12th century. A similar tone can be found in some of St. Anselm's (1033-1109) prayers to the Virgin, for example:

O pulchra ad intuendum, amabilis ad contemplandum, delectabilis ad amandum, quomodo evadis capicitatem cordis mei? Praestolare, domina, infirmam animam te sequentem. Ne abscondas te, domina, parum videnti animae te quaerenti. Miserare, domina, animam post te anhelando languentem.³²

(O beautiful to look upon, lovable to contemplate, delectable to love, why do you evade my open heart? Lady, accept my infirm soul attending you. Do not hide yourself, Lady, from the gaze of my imploring soul. Urgently, Lady, my languishing soul pants for you.)

Undoubtedly, Anselm is here speaking of spiritual beauty and languishing (Canticum 2:5, "quia amore langueo"); however, the twists of phrasing bring sensual connotations to mind. This is emphasized within the prayer by the fact that it begins addressing the Virgin as femina and virgo, but domina (a word with specific social as well as religious connotations) is used exclusively in these last lines. Anhelando is an extraordinarily vivid word in these contexts, emphasizing the physical aspect of languentem animam. It is also a typical stylistic device in poems of this tone that while both dilectio and amor appear here in adjectival constructions,

charitas, being the only term specifically exclusive of any carnal connotations, does not appear in any constructions in the prayer.

None of this is to say that there was theological confusion in the minds of these medieval Christians upon composing these devotional pieces. On the contrary, it is precisely because of the Virgin's unquestionable unattainability that such sensual and corporeal treatment was possible. No amount of metaphorical sensuality can bring the Virgin into the realm of terrestrial, sensual corporeality. The Virgin, by her spiritual existence in itself, is a mediation to and an embodiment of the divine ideal; her death and Assumption are historical facts. If she chooses to stand before the poet, or to acknowledge his praises--as we are told she did for Adam of St. Victor--she does so, by the nature of her own existence, in a spiritual manner.

But by the same token, the bivalence of the poetic diction which might be directed to the Virgin is exemplified very clearly in an interesting poem recently edited by Peter Dronke:

Ad Dei genitricem Mariam*

Instar solis, ave! tocius luminis atque--
 Ut flos cum lauro, sicut christallus in auro,
 Sic luces corte mulierum sola cohorte.
 Sol superat lunam, mulierum tuque figuram.
 Hinc tuus aspectus succendit denique pectus
 Sic in amore tuo, quod nil intendere curo
 Preter te solam, post Christum patris Sophiam.
 Corpore nunc absum, tibi sensu sedulus assum;
 Non vetat hora cibi me sepe tui reminisci.
 Hoc tacitus dicat quando considera vitam:
 "Eia! si nobis iam iam locus esset amoris!"
 Optans gaudebo, sed quod nequit esse dolebo.³³

(Hail, image of the sun and of all light.
 Like a flower in the midst of a laurel,
 like a crystal set in gold, you alone
 shed radiant light among a legion of women.
 Sun surpasses moon--and you surpass woman's
 form. Indeed your presence so inflames
 my heart with love that I cannot aspire to
 any but you, you who after Christ are the Sophia
 of the Father. I am not with you now in body,
 yet in my senses with you ardently; even in the moment
 of eating I often think of you. When I contemplate
 life I shall say silently, "Ah, if only this moment
 we had a place for love." In desiring it I shall
 take joy--and grieve for what cannot be.)

The MS. in which this poem is found dates from the 12-13th centuries. Dronke notes that the underlined passages (also marked here with asterisk) were added in a 14th century hand. The original poem was clearly bivalent (whether intentionally so or not); the flos, christallus, the outdoing technique, sol superat lunam, all emphasize the spiritual associations. The use of the word amor, which could always mean either spiritualis or carnalis, depending on context would seem to have been purposeful. (This point will be discussed further in chapter 3.)

Of course, what is most revealing is that the 14th century interpolator seemed to feel that such little change was necessary to convert the piece into a straightforward spiritual lyric--a title and one phrase, and the bivalence of the original text is resolved. Admittedly, then, the diction of the lyric is the same, whether the affection involved be sacred or profane. In effect, this poem is a perfect example of the inescapable bivalence inherent in any analogical discourse, which is a basic linguistic principle that will be important in the second half of this study.

We turn now to the secular Latin lyric proper, poems which are manifestly written to a secular Lady, even though they may employ blatantly "spiritualizing" techniques. The secular Latin poets of this period provide us with many elaborate, blasphemous and sometimes brilliant satirical and parodic verses. For instance, "Si linguis angelicis," found in the *Carmina Burana*, is a masterpiece of playfully impious tomfoolery. A long poem telling of the poet's affair with the flos mundi, the decus virginum, in it we can find a great number of Mariological phrases, appellations, and Biblical allusions employed in purely secular contexts--indeed, this is the most fundamental technique of the entire poem. It is discussed at length in C. Wright's dissertation (pp.138-47). But the satirical mode is not the concern of this study, and we shall not approach such overtly parodic verses. Medieval secular Latin also provides us with examples of openly sincere love poetry as well. A very good example can be taken from the *Carmina Burana*:

Hebet sidus leti visus
 cordis nubilo,
 tepet coris mei risus
 carens iubilo;
 iure mereo,
 occultatur nam propinqua,
 cordis virga florens, in qua
 totus hereo.

In amoris hec chorea
 cunctis prenitet,
 cuius nomen a Phebea
 luce renitet,
 et pro speculo
 servit polo: illam colo,
 eam volo nutu solo
 in hoc seculo.

Tempus queror tam diurne
 solitudinis,
 qui furabar vi nocturne
 solitudinis
 oris basia,
 a quo stillat cinnamomum
 et rimatur cordis domum
 dulcis cassia.

Tabet, illa tamen caret
 spes solatii,
 iuvenilis flos exaret;
 tanti spatii
 intercisio
 annulletur, ut segura
 adiunctivis prestat iura
 hec divisio.³⁴

(The star of the joyous face is dulled by the cloud
 of the heart; the smile of my lips grows cold; without
 my joy I shall perish; who once was near is hidden now;
 she in whom my heart gains strength, she in whom I
 dwell totally.

In the dance of love she was best of all, whose name
 shines with Phoebus' light and serves me as a mirror;
 I worship her; I wish for only her command in this world.

I lament always my loneliness; I who stole in my dreams
 many a kiss from lips damp with cinnamon; the sweet
 scent of her cassia pierces my heart's home.

Yet she wastes away, without hope of solace; the
 flower of youth grows dry; if only this great space
 between us could be taken away, so that this parting
 might grant rights secure for those who are joined.)

This poem is straightforwardly secular, yet Scriptural allusions
 are evident. The cinnamomum and cassia of the third stanza
 echo various Biblical passages in which the beloved is com-
 pared to spices--e.g. Ecclesiasticus 24:20; Psalms 44;
Canticum Canticorum 1:2, 3:6, 4:6, 4:15, etc. This poem also
 introduces the Lady-as-mirror trope, one of the most common
 motifs of troubadour lyricism, and which will occupy our dis-
 cussion at some length later. Another example of sincere
 secular lyricism has been edited by Peter Dronke, and intro-
 duces further considerations:

Virgo Flora,
 tam decora,
 tam venusta facie,
 suo risu,
 suo visu
 me beavit hodie.

Visus eam
 facit deam;
 mens excedit hominem.
 Frons est tota
 sino nota,
 sicut decet virginem.

Eius cultus,
 eius vultus
 recens est cottidie;
 digna coli cum nec soli
 cedit in meridie.

Si sit cura
 nostri, iura
 per paludem Stygiam,
 est firmandum
 iusiurandum,
 propter amiciciam.

Tantum gerit
 quantum querit
 species potentie;
 letam labe,
 plenam tæbe
 reddunt excellentie.³⁵

(The maiden Flora, so lovely, so fair of face,
 has blessed me today with her smile and with
 her presence.

Her aspect makes her a goddess, her mind is more
 than human; her forehead utterly unblemished, as
 becomes a maid.

Her attire and her features are fresh from day to
 day. Worship is due to her--she is not surpassed
 even by the sun at noon.

You may swear by the Stygian lake that she is all
 my care--an unalterable oath--so great is our affection.

She fulfills every potentiality towards which her
 being strives. Her perfections make her joyous
 even in adversity, full even in waning.)

The manifest sincerity of this poem is striking, and immediately places it in a category quite divorced from the parodic. While the poem does not evidence the use of specific Mariological tropes in secular contexts--as do many satirical works--the over-all tone of the poem is similar to Marian verse.

Rhetorically, we note the use of the "outdoing" technique (mens excedit hominem; nec soli cedit in meridie; tantum gerit quantum querit species potentie); the use of synonymous nouns (facie/visus/vultus); and the repetitive enumeration of qualities in general. Interestingly, however, there are not readily observable allusions to Scripture in the poem, while there are two allusions to pagan myth: the maiden's name, Flora, and the swearing by paludem Stygiam--neither allusion nearly so obtuse as is sometimes the case in secular texts. But the most interesting technique of the poem may well be the "deification" of the maiden throughout. This poem is by no means unique in this characteristic. The piece "Annualis mea" in the *Carmina Burana* ends with the lines "illam pre cunctis diligo / veneror ut deam." And another poem edited by Dronke from a 13th century MS, "O quam formosa," ends with the line "solus hac prestantior deus invenitur."³⁶

Returning to "Virgo Flora," heavenly associations close the first stanza with the use of the verb beavit, normally employed in medieval Latin for specifically religious contexts,

and of course closely related to the title of the higher clergy, beatissimus. The second stanza is explicit, visus eam facit deam. Connotations of worship are introduced in the third stanza, and emphasized through a play on the words coli/cultus. The closing stanza, however, provides the clearest indication of the process involved, tantum gerit quantum querit species potentie. It is precisely this fulfillment of potentials that constitutes the ideal. Ideal beauty is that which fulfills the theoretical potentials of the beautiful as an ideal class. The concluding stanza of this poem provides us with a statement in its simplest form of the fundamental philosophical, or psychological, principle underlying the technique of "outdoing" and of metaphorical appellations indicative of ideal superlatives in general. The ideally beautiful Lady is she who fulfills every potential for beauty. Of course, in the terrestrial world such a Lady can never exist. Flora, as her mythological name suggests, is not solely terrestrial. Like the Virgin, Flora is in an intermediary position as well-- she too mediates between the earthly and the ideal. And, like many of the secular Ladies in vernacular lyrics, Flora remains "beyond carnal caresses. There is no physical contact between the poet and his virgo in this poem; there is only visu. And where we might expect to find a construction employing amor or dilectio, we find amicicium--very likely carrying familiar Ciceronian connotations.³⁷

*

*

*

2.2. Contemporaneous with the development of lyrical verse in medieval Latin, there appeared a flourishing of vernacular lyricism in the south of France, in the area generally known today as the Languedoc. (It is one of the ironies of nomenclature that the area now known as Provence is the eastern part of southern France, and has nothing to do with the so-called Provençal troubadours who were active in the area west of the Rhône.) There has been and still is a long debate centered around the origins of troubadour poetry. Claims have been made for the primacy of the Latin lyric and the influence of spiritual models for secular lyricism.³⁸ Others, for example, have dealt in detail with the influence of earlier Hispano-Arabic love poetry, which was flourishing just south of the Pyrenees.³⁹ For the interests and limitations of the present study, a lengthy discussion of this controversial question is unnecessary. We can assume that there were many elements of "influence" functional within the milieu of the Languedoc, and the chronological primacy of a particular corpus of texts is not crucial to the interests at hand.

Another controversy which concerns especially the troubadour poets, but also logically must apply to secular lyricists in general throughout the period, centers around

the question of the "sincerity"--for lack of a better word--of the texts. This is to say, whether the texts are dealing with social relations as described literally, or whether the social situations explicitly and implicitly described are primarily simply part and parcel of the genre to which the texts belong.⁴⁰ This question is of importance, and in fact it forms one of the main concerns of this entire study. The answer, however, is not a simple one, and it will be developed slowly throughout what follows--because, in fact, there are elements of both social reality and poetic convention functioning in many of the lyrics, the two levels often providing for a certain contrapuntal effect.

Our first text has become something of an exemplum in recent scholarship of the troubadours. Bernart de Vendadour's "Can vei la lauzeta mover" is discussed in detail, for example, by both Frederick Goldin and James Wilhelm in their respective books on medieval lyrics.⁴¹ As is the case with most of the troubadours, we know practically nothing of Bernart's life; he was writing roughly between 1150 and 1180. What follows is one of his best known works:

Can vei la lauzeta mover
 De joi sas alas contra.l tai,
 Que s'oblid'e.s laissa chazer-
 Per la doussor c'al cor li vai,
 Ai, tan grans enveya m'en ve
 De cui qu'eu veyà jauzion,
 Meravilhas ai car desse
 Lo cor de dezirer no.m fon.

Ai las, tan cuidava sabèr
 D'amor, e tan petit en sai!
 Car eu d'amar no.m posc tener.
 Celeis don ja pro non aurai.
 Tout m'a mo cor e tout m'a me,
 E se mezeis e tot lo mon,
 E can se.m tolc, no.m laisset re
 Mas dezirer e cor volon.

Anc non agui de me poder
 Ni no fui meus de l'or'en sai
 Que.m laisset en sos olhs vezer,
 En un miralh que mouç me plai.
 Miralhs, pus me mirei en te,
 M'an mort li sospir de prèon,
 C'aissi.m perdei com perdet se
 Lo bells Narcisus en la fon.

De las domnas me dezesper;
 Ja mais en lor no.m ffarai,
 C'aissi com las solh chaptener,
 Enaissi las deschaptendrai.
 Pois vei c'una pro no m'en te
 Vas leis que.m destrui e.m cofon,
 Totas las dopt'e las mescre,
 Car be sai c'atretals se son.

D'aisso.s fa be fèmna parer
 Ma donna, per qu'e.lh o retrai,
 Car no vol so c'om deu voler
 E so c'om li deveda, fai.
 Chazutz sui en mala merce,
 Et ai be faih co.l fols en pon;
 E no sai per que m'esdeve
 Mas car trop puyei contra mon.

Merces es perduda per ver,
 Et eu non o saubi anc mai,
 Car cilh qui plus en degr'aver
 No.n a ges, et on la querrai?
 A, can mal sembra, qui la ve,
 Qued aquest chaitiu deziron
 Que ja ses leis non aura be
 Laisse morir, que no l'don!

Pus ab midons no.m pot valer
 Precs ni merces ni.l dreihz qu'eu ai,
 Ni a leis no ven a plazer
 Qu'eu l'am, ja mais no.lh o dirai.
 Aissi.m part de leis e.m recre;
 Mort m'a e per mort li respon,
 E vau m'en, pus ilh no.m rete,
 Chaitius, en issilh, no sai on.

Tristans, ges non aures de me,
 Qu'en m'en vau, chaitius, no sai on.
 De chantar me gic e.m recre,
 E de joi a d'amor m'escon.⁴²

(When I see the lark beating with joy its wings against
 the ray of the sun until, oblivious, it swoons and drops
 for the sweetness which enters its heart, ah, such great
 envy takes me of whatever I see rejoicing, I marvel that
 on the instant my heart melts not with desire.

Alas, I thought to know so much of love, and I know of
 it so little! For I cannot help loving her from whom
 good will never come to me. She has taken from me my
 heart, and taken myself from me, and her own self and
 all the world; and when from me she took herself, she
 left me naught but desire and a longing heart.

I never had mastery of myself, nor was I ever mine from
 the moment when she let me see into her eyes, into a
 mirror which pleases me much. Mirror, since I mirrored
 myself in you, sighs from deep down have slain me, and
 thus I was lost as, in the pool, the fair Narcissus
 was lost.

Of ladies I despair, never more will I trust in them;
 and, just as I used to hold them dear, so will I hold
 them for naught. Since I see that not one of them gives
 me help against her who destroys and confounds me, I
 doubt them all and mistrust them, for I know they are
 all the same.

By this my lady well shows herself a woman, and hence I
 reproach her thus: that she wants not that which one
 ought to want, and that which one forbids her, she does.
 I've fallen into bad grace, and have indeed done like
 the fool on the bridge; and I know not why this happens
 to me, except because I tried to climb too high.

Mercy is lost, in truth, and that I never once knew; for she who should have most of it has none at all-- where then shall I seek it? Ah! how little it appears to one who sees her, that this wretch so full of longing, who will never have good without her, she lets die, and helps him not.

Since with my lady neither prayer nor mercy, nor the right that I have can avail me, and it comes not to please her that I love her, I'll never more tell her so. Thus I part from her, and give up; she has caused my death and by death I answer her and go away, since she does not retain me, a wretch, into exile, I know not where.

Tristan, you'll have nothing from me, for I'm going away, a wretch, I know not where. I quit and give up singing, and from joy and from love I take leave.)

Like the Latin poem "Virgo Flora" and like the devotional piece to the Virgin "Ave, pulcra pelle," this poem begins on a heavenly level. Bernart calls to mind the image of a lark in quest of a ray of the sun: Or course, the bird quests for the unattainable. But in this quest there is, curiously, such joi that the bird swoons from the pleasure. Joi is a Provençal word seemingly of Poitevin-North French development; it stems from the Latin root gaudium, a word used frequently in devotional material, with overtly spiritual connotations. On the other hand, there is no denying that joi can be used by the troubadours for specifically carnal connotations, similar to the modern French jouissance. It is clear in this poem, however, and in this regard it is not atypical, that joi also

connotes something other than or more than carnal pleasure.

In fact, in another poem Bernart states clearly:

Ja per drudaria
no m'am, que no.s cove;
pero si.lh plazia
que.m fezes cal que be. . . .⁴³

(Let her by no means love me as a paramour [mistress],
that does not fit.
But if, perhaps, it should please her
to do me some kind of good. . . .)

But in the poem before us, Bernart has lost all hope of even obtaining cal que be. Yet he still loves, he cannot help himself, "Car en d'amor no.m pòsc tener / Celeis don ja pro non aurai." The poet, it seems, loves his Lady in a fashion analogous to the proper Christian sense of "dilicit Deum propter Deum," regardless of reward, which is also similar to the Ciceronian model of friendship regardless of personal advantage, explained in his De Amicitia--a work very popular in the medieval period.⁴⁴

The third stanza is marked by a preponderance of reflexive constructions, stylistically analogous to the stanza's subject matter: reflection. The passage reveals that the relation between the poet and his Lady is, in at least some respects, imaginary, in both senses of the word: it is not a relationship primarily or necessarily established in the real world of "social relations"; and it is also a relationship involving the root of the word, the concept of the imago, the mirror image.⁴⁵

Since the poet feels that he has "mirrored himself" in his Lady, her failure and rejection of the poet are compared to the fruitless and lethal self-reflection experienced by Narcissus. The Lady has indeed taken away not only herself (se mezeis), and not only the heart of the poet, but the poet away from his own self (tout m'a me) as well. In the context of a genre which by convention deals openly with social relations and the concepts of the poet's self-image in a social sense (the "courtliness" inspired by love), in this poem Bernart has employed these conventions in an inward direction and with the loss of his Lady the poet experiences a loss of his own identity in a more personal sense.⁴⁶

The employment of the myth of Narcissus and the closely related mirror is by no means a motif limited to Bernart de Ventadour. There is the extended early treatment in the 12th century poem "Narcissus," discussed at length by Goldin. Analyses of Ovid's tale by John of Salisbury, Arnolphe d'Orleans, and Alexander Neckam were well known.⁴⁷ Of course, there were also the famous passages in the "Roman de la Rose," also discussed in detail by Goldin in his book.⁴⁸ The motif is very common in other troubadours as well; a few examples of their usage follow.

Peirol:

48 Car anc Narcissus qu'amet l'ombra de se,
Si be.s mori, non fo plus fols de me.⁴⁹

(For not even Narcissus, who loved his own image
so tenderly that he died, was more mad than I.)

Guirout de Calanso:

49 Et atressi cum en un mirador
Vezon li uelh manta belh color,
Pot om en vos tot autre ben chausir,
Per que.m plai mout lo lauzars e l'espandres.⁵⁰

(And just as in a mirror the eyes see many a
beautiful color, so can one discern in you every
other good; wherefore it pleases me much to praise
you and spread your fame.)

Aimeric de Peguilhan:

50 et ieu cum folhs ai gaug de ma dolor
e de ma mort, quan vey vostra faisso.
Quo.l bazalesc qu'ab joy s'anet aucir,
Quant el miralh se remiret e.s vi,
Tot atressi etz vos miralhs de mi,
Que m'aucietz quan vos vei ni.us remir.⁵¹

(and I, like a madman, feel joy from my grief and
my death when I see your face. Like the basilisk
which went joyfully to its death when it was re-
flected in the mirror and saw itself, even so are
you my mirror, for you slay me when I see you and
look upon you.)

And a fascinating anonymous poem employs what we might
anachronistically call a "developmental" variation of the
Narcissus motif, the child recognizing himself in a mirror:

6 Aissi m'ave cum a l'enfan petit
que dins l'espelh esgarda son vizatge
e.i tast'ades e tan l'a assalhit
tro que l'espelhs se franh per son folatge,
adonca.s pren a plorar son damnatge:
tot enaissi m'avia enriquit
us fels semblans, qu'er an de mi partit,
li lauzengier per lor fals vilanatge.

E per so ai conques gran consirier
 e per so tem perdre sa drudaria
 et aisso.m fai cantar per dezirier;
 car la bela tan m'a vencut e.m lia
 que per mos alhs tem que perda la via
 com Narcisi, que dedins lo potz cler
 vi sa ombra e l'amet tot entier
 e per fol'amor mori d'aital guia.52

(I am like the little child which sees its face in the mirror and presently touches it and fingers it all over so that finally the mirror is broken by the child's folly; thereupon it starts weeping over the harm it has suffered. In like manner a beautiful sight had enriched me, which fault-finders have now, however, removed from me by their false villainy.

And therefore I am sunk in deep distress, and therefore do I fear to lose her love. And I am driven thus to sing with longing. For the fair lady has so defeated me and fettered me that I fear to lose my life through my eyes, just like Narcissus, who saw his shadow in the limpid well and loved it to the utmost, and died from the madness of love.)

In passing, we must note that this example is particularly interesting from the modern perspective in light of the contemporary significance attached to the infant's self-perception through mirror images, which is a point to be discussed at some length in chapter three. At this point, however, we must return to our reading of Bernart de Ventadour's poem which is still before us.

Illogically, but understandably, the poet in stanza four then goes on to despair of all Ladies on account of having lost himself to his Lady. Continuing in this vein, in the fifth stanza a difference is implied between the Provençal words

femna and domna. We see that the woman who no longer remains on the level of the ideal is no longer a domna, but merely a member of the opposite sex, a femna--perhaps with the slightly derogatory ring of a long misogynistic tradition behind it, against which the concept of the domna has been defined.

The sixth stanza deals with merces, a word with various connotations in Provençal. It could be used similarly to the modern merci, as "thanks"; it might also be used for "pity," "kindness," or in the more concrete sense of "reward." It also, of course, had specifically religious connotations, as for example employed by another troubadour, Peire Cardenal, in a poem to the Virgin where we find the lines: "per ta vera merce / sia / qu'eret en me tos heres" (by your true grace let it be that your heir inherits me). Along with various ambiguous associations, it would seem that with the line "Car cilh qui plus en degr'aver non a ges" Bernart is defining his Lady in part through a negative opposition to the Virgin, who is gratia plena as his Lady ought to be, but is not.

The shift to the masculine gender, midons in the seventh stanza is interesting. Back in the fifth stanza the more common feminine form is used, ma domna, but here at the close of the poem a significant shift to a masculine form of address suddenly appears. This gender shift in forms of address is not grammatically improper in Provençal; it is a relatively common

variation found in many different contexts.⁵³ Nonetheless, the abrupt and perhaps, in the context of this poem, ambiguous shift employed here is striking. In Bernart's poem, the stylistic employment of the gender shift is enhanced by the previous establishment of his Lady as the mirror of himself. Since it is himself whom he sees in her, then this form of masculine address is simply the logical stylistic continuation of the reflective relationship previously introduced, and appearing at the close of the poem serves to emphasize the relationship yet again. Tristans (from L. tristis--sad, forbidding, harsh), the Lady's name, continues the grammatical gender shift and by allusion to the legendary pair of lovers emphasizes again the "imaginary" character of the poet's Lady, while at the same time associating her with Tristan rather than with Iseult--an interchanging of roles analogous to the poet's loss of himself in his Lady.

But let us now turn to another troubadour text, one which exemplifies the double dedication of Lady and Lord, feminine and masculine, explicitly. This is the poem "Cel qui s'irais ni guerreia ab Amor" by Aimeric de Péguilhan (fl. 1190-1220). Little is known about Aimeric. He was born in Toulouse; his father was of the merchant class, not of the nobility. Like many troubadours around the beginning of the 13th century, after establishing himself as a poet in the Languedoc, he spent the rest of his career elsewhere, in Spain and Northern Italy.

Cel qui s'irais ni guerreia ab Amor'
 Ges que savis non fai, al mieu semblan,
 Car de guerra vei tart pro'e tost dan,
 E guerra fai tornar mal en peyor.
 En guerra trob, per q'ieu no la volrïa,
 Viltat de mal e de ben carestïa.
 Mas fin'Amors, sitot me fai languir,
 A tant de joi qe.m pot leu esjazir.

Qe.ill plazer son plus qe.il enoi d'Amor,
 E.il ben qe.il mal, e.il sojorn qe.il afan,
 E.il gaug qe.il dol, e.il leu fais qe.il pesan,
 E.il pro qe.il dan son plus, e.il ris qe.il plor.
 Non dic aissi del tot que mal no.n sïa,
 E.l mals c'om n'a val mais que si.n garïa;
 Car qui ama de cor non vol garir
 Del mal d'Amor, tant es dolz per sofrir.

Ancaras trob mais de ben en Amor,
 Qe.l vil fai car, e.l nesci gen-parlan,
 E l'escars larç, e leial lo trüan,
 E.l fol savi, e.l pec conoissedor.
 E l'orgoillos domesg'et homellïa,
 E fai de dos cors un, tant ferm los lïa.
 Per c'om non deu ad Amor contradir,
 Pois tant gen sap esmendar e fenir.

S'ieu l'ai servit, pro n'ai canje d'Amor,
 Ab que ja püois non agues mas aitan;
 Q'en mains luocs m'a faich tant aut e tant gran
 Don ja ses lieis non pogr'aver honor;
 E maintas vetz m'engart de vilanïa
 Que ses Amor gardar no m'en sabrïa,
 E mains bons motz me fai pensar e dir
 Que ses Amor no.i sabrïa venir.

Bona dompna, de nos teing e d'Amor,
 Sen e saber, cor e cors, motz e chan;
 E s'ieu ren dic que sïa benestan,
 Devetz n'aver lo grat e la lauzor,
 Vos et Amors, qe.m datz la mäestrïa.
 E si ja plus de ben no m'en venïa,
 Pro n'ai cambi segon lo mieu servir;
 E si fos plus, ben saubra.l plus grazir.

Chanssos, vai t'en de mà part e d'Amor,
 Al bon, al bel, al valen, al prezan,
 A cui servon Latin'et Alaman,
 E.l sopleion cum bon Emperador;
 Sobre.ls majors a tant de majoria,
 Larguez'e pretz, honor e cortesia,
 Sen e saber, conoissens'e chausir--
 Ric de ricor per ric pretz conquerir.⁵⁴

(He who grows vexed or wages war with Love behaves, it seems to me, scarce like a wise man, since from war I see advantage coming slowly and harm swiftly, and war makes bad turn to worse. In war I find--wherefore I'd want it not--a deal of evil and of good a dearth. But noble Love, although it makes me languish, has so much joy that it can soon make me rejoice.

For the pleasures are more than the pangs of Love, the good than the bad, the solace than the anguish, the joys than the sorrows, and the gay moments than the grievous; the advantages than the harms are more, and the smiles more than the tears. I do not say by this at all that therein is no ill, but the illness one has of it is worth more than if one were cured; for he who loves nobly seeks not to be cured of Love's ill, so sweet it is to suffer.

I find still more good in Love, for it makes what is common precious, the blockhead eloquent, the mean man liberal, and trustworthy the rogue, the fool wise and the ignorant learned. It tames and humbles the haughty, and makes of two hearts one, it binds them so strongly. On this account one should not gainsay Love, since it can so well make better and more fine.

If I have served it, I've much in exchange from Love, even if I had never again so much as this; for in many a place it has made me so high and great where, without it, I never could have had honour; and many a time it keeps me from lowly actions when, without Love, I would not have refrained therefrom, and many fine words does it cause me to think and utter which, without Love, I could not have come upon.

Good Lady, I hold from you and from Love sense and knowledge, heart and body, words and song; and if I say aught that is seemly, you should have the thanks and the praise for it, you and Love who give me the mastery. And if no more good were ever to befall me, I have much in exchange for my service; and if there were more I could well, for that more, give thanks.

Song, go now in my name and in Love's, to the good, the fair, the valiant and the praiseworthy, to him whom Latins and Germans serve, to whom they bow down as to a good Emperor; above the most eminent he has such eminence, liberality, merit, honour and courtliness, wisdom and knowledge, judgement and discernment--great in that greatness by which great merit is won.)

The poem opens with an observation of wisdom: that to wage war with love is foolish. From this premise the poet then speaks directly to the evils of war in general. (Curiously, this opposition between love and war is similar to what we have seen in Propertius--although, as far as we know, the Propertian corpus was not available at this time.) Love is then opposed to war, "mas fin'amor," with the conclusion that "sitot mi fai languir / A tant de joi qe.m pot leu esjauzir." The analogy, conscious or not, to the spiritual model is apparent: "amore langueo" (Canticum 2:5), and the reward for this spiritual languishing is ultimately the experience of heavenly gaudium, root of the Provençal joi.

The second and third stanzas make use of rhetorical anaphora and grammatical parallelism in much the same fashion

as we have seen in the hymns of Adam of St. Victor. Both stanzas employ the technique of quantitative reinforcement of qualitative enumeration, which we saw in various hymns. The second stanza introduces a fundamental paradox of fin'amors: "qui ama de cor non vol garir / Del mal d'Amor, tant es dolz per sofrir." The Latin pun, which captures the paradox in a play on the words rendered clearest in the ablative, amaro/amore, has now appeared in Provençal in the form mal d'amor. The third stanza enumerates the good which love produces; love improves all the failings and evils of men. And further, love "fai de dos cor un, tant ferm los lia"--a statement found, for instance, a few years later formulated clearly in the Summa of St. Thomas Aquinas:

Cum autem sit duplex amor, scilicet concupiscentiae et amicitiae, uterque procedit ex quadam apprehensione unitatis amati ad adantem.⁵⁵

(Now love being twofold, love of concupiscence, and love of friendship; each of these arises from a kind of apprehension of the oneness of the thing loved with the lover.)

This concept has roots in Plato's Symposium (192), in Aristotle's Ethics (IX,iv), and in Augustine's De Trinitate (VIII,xi), as well as in the exegetical interpretation of I John 4:16: "Deus charitas est: et qui manet in charitate, in

Deo manet, et Deus in eo." We shall return to this concept in some detail in chapter three; it is central to an understanding of both secular and spiritual lyricism in the Middle Ages.

Service is introduced in the fourth stanza, and the reward: honor, and a general "ennoblement" of character. The poet goes on in the next stanza to affirm that if indeed he has improved himself and if indeed his song is benestan, then thanks and praise should be given to his Lady and to love. This alone would be reward enough for his service; however, he is careful to leave open the possibility for more, "si fos plus. . . ."

In the last stanza of this canzo we learn that, although the poem is seemingly a description of the nature of fin'amors and an expression of love for a bona dompna, the song is actually addressed and sent "a cui servon Latin et Alaman"-- the Emperor Frederick II. In effect, then, this is a further example of the mediating function of the poet's Lady, and of her "imaginary" character. By addressing his "Lady" the poet is able to make a series of statements which, at the close of the piece, are then directed, through the intermediary position of the Lady, to the lord himself. The imaginary relationship established in the poem between the poet and his bona dompna is a reflection of the desired relationship which the poet hopes will exist between himself and the powerful lord directly and indirectly addressed.

The double dedication is a characteristic quite common in troubadour verse. Another of Aimeric's poems, mentioned above and discussed briefly by Goldin (pp. 88-92), entirely concerns his relation with his dompna and yet ends with two lines seemingly unrelated:

Reys Castellas, ges vostre pretz no col
de melhurar c'uey val pro mais que hier.

(King of Castile, may your fame not cease to grow, which is far more renowned today than yesterday.)

We know little in detail about Aimeric's life, but we do know that already before 1200 he had left his native Toulouse and for over ten years cultivated the patronage of the Kings of Castile and Aragon.⁵⁶ Later, he received the patronage of Frederick II, as we see exemplified in the double dedication of the poem just considered.

The double dedication is employed by almost all the troubadours in one poem or another, in some more frequently than others. It is a curious device, since it may seem that these poems end rather arbitrarily on a note unrelated to the verse as a whole. A few examples follow:

Peir d'Auvergne's "Ab fine joia comenssa" is a fine example of the "noblesse" achieved through the love relation; the last two stanzas runs as follows:

Ben es fis de gran valenssa
 Mos cors, s'aqest m'abarona
 Per cui totz pretz creis e genssa;
 E sap pauc qui so m'enseigna
 Que ja nuill'otra.m sosteigna.
 Tant bella filla de maire,
 Ni tant cum cels plou ni trona,
 Non ac tal el ling d'Azam.

Als comtes mand en Proenssa
 Lo vers, e sai a Narbona,
 Lai on pren jois mantenenssa
 Segon aqels per cui reigna.
 E ieu trob sai qm reteigna,
 Tal dompna don sui amaire;
 Non ges a la lei gascona;
 Segon las nostras amam.⁵⁷

(My person is assured of great worthiness, if this one ennobles me through whom all merit increases and grows more fair; and he knows little who advises me thus: that any other lady should ever comfort me. So fair a mother's daughter, by as much as the sky sheds rain, and thunders, there never was in Adam's line.)

To the Counts in Provence I commend the poem, and hereby at Narbonne, there where joy has its cult, thanks to those through whom it reigns. And I find here to retain me such a lady whose lover I am; not at all in the Gascon fashion; in our own ways do we love.)

Peire Vidal's "Per mielhs sofrir lo maltrait e l'afan" is composed of five stanzas; the first four concerning a fin'amors relationship explicitly, the fifth ending the poem on a different note:

Al pro Marques qu'a pretz, e valor gran
 Manten, e sap gen donar e despendre,
 E sos rics pretz fai los autres dissendre,
 Vas Montferrat, chansoneta, te man;
 Que.l sieu ric fait son dels autres tri'an,
 E per melhor lo pot hom ben eslire,
 Qu'el es la flors de totz, a cui que tire,
 E de totz bes comensamens e fis.
 E s'aissi fos cum ieu vuelh ni devis,
 Corona d'aur li vir'ed cap assire.⁵⁸

(To the worthy Marquis who has merit, who maintains great worth, and knows how to give and spend graciously, and whose great merit lowers that of all others, to Montferrat, my little song, I send you; for his great deeds stand out from all others, and one can indeed elect him as the best, for he is the flower of all men, no matter whom that offends, and of all good the beginning and the end. And if things were as I wish and foretell, I'd see a crown of gold set on his head.)

Sordello's philosophic piece, "Qui be.is membra del segle qu'es passatz," ends with two short stanzas:

N'Agradiva, qui quez estei malvatz,
 Per vos azir malvestat et enjan,
 Et am valor e joi e pretz e chan,

Al rei tramet mon sirventes v'atz,
 Cel d'Aragon, que.l fais lo plus pesan
 Sosten de pretz, per que.l ten en treman.⁵⁹

(Lady Delightful, no matter who lives wickedly, for you I hate wickedness and deceit, and I love valour and joy and merit and song.

To the king I send my sirventes swiftly, he of Aragon who sustains the heaviest burdens of merit, and thus holds it in some trepidation.)

Guilhem de Montanhagol's song on the noble effects of fin'amors, "Ar ab lo coinde pascor," ends:

Totz hom pert feun'la,
 Qi.us esgar', am'la.
 E ieu, las, a cui mais platz,
 Mueir, qan vei vostre cors gen,
 D'enveia tan mi destrenh.

Fis pretz deschair'la,
 Si no.l sosten'la
 Lo reis Castellans onratz,
 Qe fai totz sos faitz tan gen
 Q'en ren non cal q'om l'ensenh.⁶⁰

(Every man loses ill-feeling if he beholds you, beloved.
 And I, alas, to whom you are most pleasing, I die when
 I see your fair person, with longing it so torments me.

Fine merit would decline if the honoured King of Castile
 did not maintain it, for he does so graciously all that
 he does that he has no need to be taught anything more.)

Jaufré Rudel's "amour lointain" has been interpreted with
 great diversity, partly on account of the extremely ambivalent
 diction of his verses as a whole--whether they are purely
 carnal, or rather spiritualizing, or allegorically political
 are questions perhaps unanswerable.⁶¹ Only six poems are
 now attributed to Rudel. The one which seems to have become
 the center of critical debate also exemplifies the double
 dedication device:

Quan lo rius de la fontana
 S'eclarzis, si cum far sol,
 E par la flors aigentina,
 E.l rossinholetz el ram
 Volf e refranh ez aplana
 Son dous chantar, e l'afina,
 Be's dregz qu'ieu lo mieu refranha.

Amors, de terra lonhdana,
 Per vos totz lo cors mi dol;
 E no.n puesc trobar mezina
 Si non al vostre reclam,
 Ab maltrait d'amor doussana
 Dinz vergier o part cortina,
 Ab dezirada companha.

Pus totz jorns m'en falh aizina,
 No.m meravilh si n'ai fam;
 Quar anc genser Crestiana
 Non fo--ni Dieus non o vol--
 Juz'ia ni Sarrazina.
 Ben es selh paguatz de mana
 Qui de s'amor ren guazanha!

De dezir mos cors no fina
 Vas selha ren qu'ieu pus am;
 E cre qui volers m'enguana
 Si cobezeza la.m toI.
 Que pus es ponhens d'espina
 La dolors que per joi sana,
 Don ja non vuelh qu'om m'en planha.

Senes breu de parguamina
 Tramet lo vers que chantam
 En plana lengua romana,
 A.N Hugo Bru, per Filhol;
 Bo.m sap, quar gens Peitavina,
 De Berri e de Guizana,
 S'escgau per lieys, e Bretanha. 62.

(When the fountain's stream runs clear as it used to do,
 and the wild rose flower appears, and the nightingale
 on the bough turns and softens and smooths its sweet song,
 and refines it, it's indeed right that I should soften mine.

Oh love, of distant land, for you my whole heart aches;
 and I can find no cure if not in your alluring call, with
 pangs of sweet love in meadow or within curtained chamber,
 beside the desired companion.

Since always ease of it forsakes me, I marvel not that
 I hunger for it; for there was never Christian lady more
 fair--nor does God wish there to be--nor Jewess nor Saracen
 Lady. He is indeed fed with manna who wins anything
 of her love!

My heart never ends its longing for her whom I love most;
and I fear lest my will should cheat me if urgent desire
robs me of her. And sharper than thorn is the pain which
by joy is healed and for which I want no one ever to pity me.

Without parchment brief I send off the poem, which we sing
in the plain Romance tongue, to Lord Hugo Brun, by Filhol;
I am pleased, for the folk of Poitou, of Berry and of
Guyenne rejoice in it, and Brittany.)

That this poem freely borrows its diction from Biblical tropes
has been demonstrated, for instance, by Robertson and Wright
in their discussions of the piece.⁶³ Is Rudel's "Lady" the
Countess of Tripoli, the city of Jerusalem, the Virgin Mary,
or a mystical experience of the divine? Each interpretation
has its followers. I would support Press's observation,
"that no one interpretation is entirely satisfactory; the
reader is caught in a cunningly constructed puzzle, so that the
more he tries to break through it with one simple interpretation,
the more he becomes involved in the mystery."⁶⁴

At least part of the inherent ambiguity of this particular
poem, I believe, stems from a more general aspect of the
Lady's position and function in many medieval poems, not only
in troubadour verse. The troubadour double dedication device
exemplifies implicitly this particular aspect of the lyrics.
I would suggest that the closing reference to the secular "lord"
is not merely a conventionalized "tag-line" for sake of pro-
priety, nor is this lord yet another means for flattery

directed to the Lady by association; but rather, the relatively common occurrence of the lord in closing lines demonstrates in a concrete fashion the mediating function of the Lady addressed. As "mirror," she not only performs mediation for the poet in relation to his own image of himself, allowing him to "see himself in her"; she also mediates beyond this to a metaphorically and at the same time concretely higher level, the level of the powerful lord and patron of the double dedication. This relative hierarchical position of the Lady in medieval verse generally, not only in the troubadour lyrics, is susceptible to an over-simplification. While it is justifiable to say that there is often a certain metaphoric and poetic "deification" process underlying even some of the most sensuously carnal verses of the period, this is not to say that the Lady "becomes like God" in her relation to the poet. On the contrary, the Mariological model is much more accurate, and if extended carefully avoids the potential over-simplification: The Virgin is indeed heavenly and she is indeed metaphorically and popularly a "goddess." However, doctrinally and exegetically she is the Mother of God, the Sponsa of the Canticum, who upon her death was assumed into heaven to sit at the side of the Father. She is not equal with the Godhead. In fact, this is her most important characteristic: she is the great Mediatrix, both in her function and in her relative position in the spiritual hierarchy. I would suggest that the troubadour's Lady performs

an analogous mediation: she is an embodiment of the ideal and she mediates between the poet and his ideal, whether in a specifically social sense (pragmatic social station and patronage) or in a more general philosophical sense; and this is often, though not necessarily always, what underlies the device of the double dedication.

We do not have to turn only to Latin examples of the lyric mediation of the Virgin. There are troubadour samples of Mariological poetry as well. In fact, a masterful one has come down to us composed by Peire Cardenal (fl. 1200-1250):

Vera vergena, Maria,
vera vida, véra fes,
vera vertatz, vera via,
vera vertutz, vera fes,
vera maire, ver'amia,
ver'amors, vera merces:
per ta vera merce sia
qu'eret en me tos heres!
De patz, si.t plai, dona, traita,
qu'ab to filh me sia feita!

Tu restauriest la follia
don Adams fon sobrepres,
tu iest l'estella que guia
los passans el san paes,
e tu iest l'alba del dia
don lo tieus filhs solelhs es,
que.l calfa e clarifia,
verais, de dreitura ples.
De patz, si.t plai, dona traita,
qu'ab to filh me sia feita!

Tu fust nada de Suria,
gentils e paura d'arnes,
umils e pura e pia
en fatz, en ditz, et en pes;
faiata per tal mal'stria:
sos totz mais, mas ab totz bes.
Tan fust de doussa paria
per que Dieus en tu se mes.
De patz, si.t plai, dona, traita,
qu'ab to filh me sia faiata!

Aquel que en te se fia,
ja no.l cal outra defes,
que sitot lo mons peria
aquel non perria ges;
quar als tieus precx s'umilia
l'auzismes, a cui que pes,
e.l tieus filhs non contraria
ton voler neguna ves.
De patz, si.t plai, dona, traita,
qu'ab to filh me sia faiata!

David, en la prophetia
dis, en un salme que fes,
qu'al destre de Dieu sezia,
del rey en la ley promes,
una reyna qu'avia
vestirs de var e d'aurefres:
tu iest elha, ses falhia;
non o pot vedar plaides.
De patz, si.t plai, dona, traita,
qu'ab to filh me sia faiata!

Quar al' latz Dieu estas, traita,
que.m sia patz de luy faiata.⁶⁵

(True virgin, Mary,
true life, true belief,
true truth, true way,
true power, true reality,
true mother, true friend,
true love, true pity:
by your true pity let it be
that your heir inherits me.
Treat of peace, if it please you, Lady,
let it be made with your Son, for me.

You repaired the madness
 in which Adam was seized,
 you are the star that guides
 travelers to the Holy Land,
 you are the dawn of the day
 and your Son is its sun,
 who brings it warmth and clarity,
 righteous, full of justice.
 Treat of peace, if it please you, Lady,
 let it be made with your Son, for me.

You were born in Syria,
 of great nobility and poor in things,
 humble, and pure, and filial,
 in deeds, in words, in thoughts,
 made with such mastery,
 free of all evil, abounding in good.
 You waited with such sweet welcoming,
 God put Himself in you.
 Treat of peace, if it please you, Lady,
 let it be made with your Son, for me:

He who trusts in you
 needs no other to defend him,
 for if all the world should perish,
 he would not perish.
 Before your prayers the Most High in heaven
 humbles Himself--that weighs heavily on someone--
 and your Son does not oppose
 your sweet will, ever.
 Treat of peace, if it please you, Lady,
 let it be made with your Son, for me.

David, in his prophecy,
 says, in a psalm that he made,
 beside the right hand of God,
 beside the King we are promised in the Law,
 there sat a Queen
 in rich raiments of gold:
 you are that Queen, o immaculate,
 no lawyer can contest it.
 Treat of peace, if it please you, Lady,
 let it be made with your Son, for me.

Because you are beside the hand of God, treat,
 that peace with Him be made for me.)

This devotional piece begins by employing the rhetorical device of anaphora--highly conventional for devotional verse as we have seen in Adam of St. Victor. The stanza is constructed entirely of the repetitive enumeration of metaphoric appellations, and here we might notice that every appellation is of feminine gender. It is an interesting variation from the Latin that the Provençal amors is a feminine noun, a characteristic which modern French echoes in amour, being masculine in the singular but usually feminine in the plural. This accident of gender facilitates Peire's employment of the appellation, and at the same time sheds light on Provençal secular lyrics as well. The common association and sometimes apparent confusion between the Lady and amors her/itself, which is evidenced somewhat in Aimeric's poem above, for example, is perhaps related to the words' agreement in gender. This allows for a certain amount of stylistic ambiguity and internal reinforcement, whether in religious or in secular contexts, which is unique to Provençal. The close of this first stanza employs three words which, apart from their spiritual denotations here, are commonly used in secular contexts and which have specifically feudal connotations: merce, heres, and dona. The refrain introduces the particular import of the prayer, reserved for a position following a

section of praise, as we have seen before: the asking for intercession, for mediation, on the part of the Virgin with her Son, "De patz, si.t plai, traita / qu'ab to filh me sia feita."

The second stanza employs the Mariological trope of the concept that Mary was the second Eve, and repaired the sin of Adam and Eve. The Virgin is again called a guiding star, then, continuing the association with light, the dawn of day, associated with warmth, clarity, and justice. The third stanza stresses her humble and earthly origins, "nada de Suria . . . paura d'arnes," in counterpoint to the preceding emphasis on heavenly associations. In the fourth stanza again the Virgin's mediating function is stressed in a much stronger fashion than in the refrain, leading into the final stanza's elaboration of her unique position, "al destre de Dieu sezia," an allusion to Psalm 44, "Astitit regina a dextris tuis," which is a passage relevant to Peire's verses in more ways than one. The tornada repeats the thrust of the preceding stanza and ends with a final prayer that peace be made ("patz sia feita") by her intercession.

The repetition of the word patz in conjunction with the Scriptural allusion of the final stanza suggest what is, in the context of Peire's works as a whole, a type of double dedication somewhat similar, at least structurally, to the example we have just seen by Aimeric. Several of Peire's satirical poems deal directly with the cruelties of the Albigensian Crusades, which were centered around the area of Toulouse where he spend most of

his life. Understandably, he felt disgust at the hypocrisy and injustice of these crusades, and his allusion to Psalm 44 (45 in English versions) speaks directly to this:

Dico ego opera mea regi. . . .
 Accingere gladio tuo super femur tuum, potentissime.
 Specie tua et pulchritudine tua
 Intende, prospere procede, et regna,
 Propter veritatem, et mansuetudinem, et iustitiam. (2-5)

(I address my work to the king. . . . Gird your sword upon your thigh, mighty one. In your glory and majesty, go forth and reign for the cause of truth, gentleness and justice.)

The peace asked for in this poem is not only the explicitly stated personal peace between the poet and his Lord God, but it is also implicitly the social peace between the Pope and the people of Toulouse. The poem has, as it were, a double-double dedication: it speaks not only to the Virgin so that she might mediate with her Son, but also so that, by extension, she might mediate with the Pope. The poet's relationship with the Virgin is a reflection or mirror image not only of his relation with the Lord God in a spiritual sense, but also of his relation with the Pope as the "lord" of the Church in an earthly sense. The Virgin mediates from an intermediate position with both the heavenly and the earthly Lords addressed.⁶⁶

Peire's poem to the Virgin is a masterpiece of double entendre in a "high style" of great rhetorical sophistication. It also provides us with a stylistic sample of the language and techniques employed by troubadours in specifically spiritual verse. The careful and conscious stylization of Provençal poetry

is exemplified very well in a poem by another of the later troubadours, Guilhem de Montanhagol (fl. 1230-1250):

Non an tan dig, li primier trobador
 Ni fag d'amor,
 Lai el temps qu'era guays,
 Qu'enquera nos no fassam, apres lor,
 Chans de valor,
 Nous, plazens e verais;
 Quar dir pot hom so qu'estat dig no sia,
 Qu'estiers non es trobaires bos no fis
 Tro'fai sos chans guays, nous e gent assis,
 Ab nobels digz de nova maestria.

Mas en chantan dizo.l comensador
 Tant en amor
 Que.l nous dirs torn'a fays.
 Pero nou es, quan dizo li doctor
 So que alhor
 Chantan no dis hom mais,
 E nou, qu'ieu dic razo qu'om mais no dis,
 Qu'amors m'a dat saber, qu'aissi.m noiris
 Que s'om trobat non agues, trobaria.

Be.m platz qu'ieu chan, quan pes la gran honor
 Que.m ven d'amor,
 E.n fassa ricx essais,
 Quar tals recep nom chan e ma lauzor
 Que a la flor
 De la beutat que nays.
 Pero be.us dic que mielhs creire deuria
 Que sa beutatz desus del cel partis,
 Que tan sembla obra de paradis
 Qu'a penas par terrenals sa-conhdia.

D'una re fan donas trop gran follor,
 Quar lor amor
 Menan ab tan loncx plays
 Que quascuna, pus ve son amador
 Fi, ses error,
 Falh si l'alonga mais.
 Quar hom no viu tan quan faire solia,
 Doncx convengra que.l mals costums n'issis
 Del trop tarzar, qu'ieu no cre qu'om moris
 Tan leu com fai, si d'amor si jauzia.

Trop fai son dan dona que.s do ricor
 Quant hom d'amor
 La comet, ni.s n'irays,
 Que plus bel l'es que sofran preyardor
 Que si d'alhor
 Era.l peccatz savais.
 Que tals n'i a, quays qu'om non o creir'la
 Ab que fos dig, qu'en fan assais fraydis;
 Per qu'amors falh entr'elas e vilsis,
 Quar tenon mal en car lor carest'la.

Ieu am e blan dona on ges non cor
 Enjans d'amor,
 Per que no m'en bl'ays,
 Ni o dey far, qu'om la te per melhor
 E per gensor;
 Per qu'amors m'i atrays,
 Qu'amans se fols quant en bon loe non tr'ia,
 Quar qui ama vilmen se eis aunis,
 Qu'a las melhors deu hom esser aclis,
 Don nais merces, valors e cortez'la.

N'Esclarmonda, qui etz vos, e Na Gu'la,
 Quascus dels noms d'ambas o devezis;
 Que quecx dels noms es tan cars e tan fis,
 Qu'om que.l mentau pueys non pren mal lo d'la. 67

(The early troubadours have not said and composed so much on the subject of love, in the past when times were gay, that we may not still, after them, compose songs worthwhile, new, pleasant, and true; for one can say what may not have been said, and in no other way is a troubadour good or fine but in making his songs gay, new, and nobly fashioned, with new things to say with new art.

But in song the first poets say so much inspired by love that to say anything new becomes difficult. Yet new it is when the experts way that which nowhere else has been said in song before, and new if someone says what he has never heard; and new when I say things which no one has said, for love has given me the knowledge and so instructs me that, had no one made poetry, I would a poet be.

It pleases me well that I sing, now when I think of the great honour which comes to me from love, and that I give fine proof of it, because such a one receives my song and my praise who has the flower of beauty, newly-born. On this account I tell you indeed that I ought rather to believe that her beauty came from heaven above, for it seems so like the work of paradise that scarce does her loveliness appear terrestrial.

In one thing do ladies commit too great a folly, because they spin out their love with such lengthy procedures that each one of them, once she sees that her lover is noble and without fault, does wrong if she then protracts it further. Because men live not so long as they used to, it would be fitting that the low practise of long delay should disappear, for I believe that men would not die as soon as they do, if they had joy of love.

Great harm to herself does the lady who puts on fine airs when a man woos her in love, and who thereat takes offence, for she finds it better that humble suppliants should suffer than if, from elsewhere, there were wicked sin. And there are such, though one would not believe it even if it were said aloud, who of this give hateful proof; wherefore love fails among them and is debased, for wrongly they prize too high their preciousness.

I love and serve a lady in whom love knows no guile, and hence I turn not from her, nor should I do so for she is considered the best and the most noble; on this account love draws me to her, for the lover is foolish who does not choose where there is good, since he who loves cheaply brings shame on himself, and one should be devoted to the best ladies, from whom are born mercy, worth, and courtliness.

My lady Esclarmunda, who you are, and lady Guida, each of your names reveals; for each of these names is so precious and noble that he who is mindful of them cannot then come to harm, the day long.)

Guilhem opens this poem with a conscious recognition of his place in a cultural tradition, and the difficulties facing a poet who wishes to find a place in that tradition which has said so much so well that now the task is challenging indeed, "Mas en chantan dizo.1 comensador / Tan en amor / Que.1 nous dirs torn'a fays." But Ghilhem is confident that he has something new to say, and in the third stanza we encounter the thrust of the poem. In fact, if not actually new, surely the emphasis

and the extremes which Guilhem presents here represent a shift of some importance:

Pero be.us dic que mielhs creire deuria
 Que sa beutatz desus del cel partis,
 Que tan sembla obra de paradis
 Qu'a penas par terrenals sa conhdia.

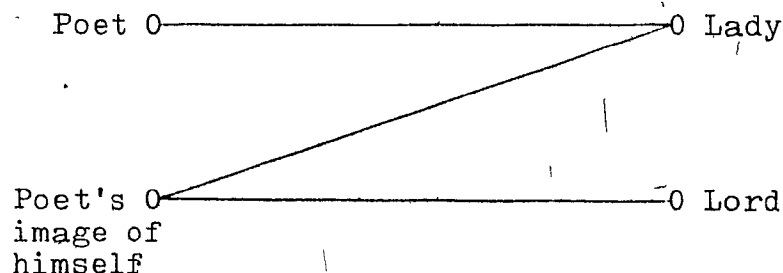
This is one of the clearest examples of the tendency in later troubadours to "celestializè" the Lady. Here the statement is explicit: she is of such beauty that it seems not possibly terrestrial, but "de paradis." But this uncompromising affirmation is followed by one of an opposite character in the next two stanzas. A Lady does herself harm by withholding for a great length of time the joy of love from her devoted and faithful preyador. These Ladies are warned, "Per qu'amors falh entr'elas e vilsis,/ Quar tenon mal en car-lor carestia." Apparently, however, the poet feels that his Lady does not (yet?) fall within this negatively exemplary class.

In the dedication of the poem, however, we learn that it may not, in fact, have been written to any one Lady at all, but to two, Esclarmonda and Guia--depending on how the grammar is interpreted. The symbolic character of the names is obvious; in another poem Guilhem explains, "Esclarmonda, vostre noms signifia / Que vos donatz clardat al mon, per ver."⁶⁸ And here we also see a common play on words, domna/donatz. The symbolic association of these names belies their "imaginary"

character. If in fact these Ladies addressed are actual people within the poet's social circle, this seems immaterial in the context of the poem itself. Yet there is a conflict within the poem. While, on the one hand, the poetic tradition of which the poet states he is a part establishes at least the token social authenticity of the Lady; on the other hand, the poem's internal emphasis is decidedly on the ideal and "heavenly" character of the Lady(s). It is as if the poet's idea of his ideal Lady were purposefully being placed in opposition to the lower, terrestrial women whom he sees around him in everyday social reality.

Returning to the issue of the authenticity of the social relations portrayed in these lyrics, and attempting some form of answer to this important question: the social relations are indeed authentic--but this is not to say "authentic" in the simple, literal sense that these poems are actually concerned with "love affairs," which is an interpretation sometimes taken as a conditio sine qua non of troubadour lyricism. The authenticity of these lyrics lies rather in their accurate representation of certain structural relationships functional in feudal society, in reference both to religious and to social structures. Whether this accuracy is the result of conscious intention or not is not essential to my point.

Certain basic relationships remain constant, whether they appear in lyric verse written to a Lady or to the Virgin Mary. I have tried to show that the intermediary function and position of the Lady and the Virgin are fundamental in these troubadour poems. Basically, these poems have dealt with four "persons": the Lady, the Lord; the poet, and the poet's image of himself, whether in a social, personal, or spiritual sense. Through his relationship with his "Lady" the poet is able: a) to communicate more easily with the Lord, whether in a spiritual or a social sense; b) to improve himself through the inspiration afforded by his ideal Lady (This may entail his social position, his personal character, or his Christian piety.); c) to see himself mirrored in his Lady, this is to say, to objectify through projection both his relationship to his own self-image and his relationship to his Lord, by and in whom the poet's identity is ultimately defined--either in terms of earthly, social status or spiritual, personal piety. These structural relationships can be shown by a simple diagram:⁶⁹



Here the lines connecting the four "persons" graphically indicate the discourse which occurs in and through the poems. The Lord so often explicitly or implicitly present in the troubadour lyrics is not an inessential person "tacked on" to the poems for sake of a chivalrous, feudal decorum. The earthly and heavenly Lords are both "other persons" on a higher plane in and through whom the poet ultimately defines his self-identity. But, as the lines in the diagram visually emphasize, the poet's access to the Lord is not direct. The Lady onto whom the poet projects his self-image and in whom he sees his self-image reflected is the mediator in this discourse; she is the mediatrix of these structural relationships. The relationships captured in and underlying these poems, then, have reverberations on personal, religious, and social levels of medieval experience. To the extent that these relationships were fundamental to feudal society, especially in the Languedoc as discussed earlier, we can say that these lyrics are "authentic" and reflect more than a purely poetic and stylized fabrication of social affairs.⁷⁰

* * *

2.3. Slightly later than the flourishing of troubadour lyricism in southern France, at least according to the chronology suggested by texts which have been preserved and discovered, there was a similar but perhaps lesser development of lyric verse on the island of England. Spiritual lyricism remains a relatively constant factor. In fact, what may be the earliest poem in Middle English is a short piece of devotional verse to the Virgin Mary attributed to St. Godric around the middle of the 12th century. Later, the implications of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 and the arrival of the Franciscans in England in the 1220's were both probably strong influences generating even more spiritual verse composed in the vernacular, as one part of the general concern for a better spiritual education for the laity.⁷¹

Secular lyricism, however, is not necessarily of such a widely similar character. From what we can gather about the social situation in England, there is no reason to assume that there commonly existed various circles of individuals of varying degrees of nobility centered at important "courts"--the general character of the so-called "courtly" culture of France. As Bloch has explained in detail, in England beginning roughly with the 13th century the formal assumption of knighthood in

the military sense was required of all free men who possessed a given quantity of land.⁷² Knighthood had the form in England of a fiscal-military institution, and thus it did not supply a strictly limited, élite social class which maintained an internal continuity such as was the case in France where knighthood remained, especially in the Languedoc, largely a conservative, hereditary institution.

The secular lyrics which have survived from England during this early period are largely preserved in only one manuscript, the so-called Harley 2253. It is difficult, under the conditions of this accidental preservation of such a small sample, to argue that these lyrics are necessarily representative of what may have been being produced in England at the time. Discussion about secular lyricism in England during the 13th and early 14th centuries must make allowances for these limitations imposed by necessity.

Our first poem, like ~~all~~ the Middle English examples dealt with here, is of anonymous authorship. It is preserved in the British Museum, Egerton MS. 613 (f.2a), and dates from the 13th century:

Of on that is so fair and bright,
 Velud maris stella,
 Brighter than the dayes light,
 Parens et puella:
 Ic crye to thee--thou se to me--
 Levedy, preye thy sone for me,
 Tam pia,
 That ic mote come to thee,
 Maria.

Levedy, flowr of alle thing,
 Rosa sine spina,
 Thu bere Jesu, Hevene King,
 Gratia divina.
 Of alle thu berst the pris,
 Levedy, Quene of Parais
 Electa;
 Maide milde, moder es
 Effecta.

All this world was forlore
 Eva peccatrice,
 Till our Lord was ibore
 De te genitrice.
 With "Ave" it went away,
 Thuster night, and cometh the day
 Salutis.
 The welle springeth ut of thee
 Virtutis.

Well he wot he is thy sone,
 Ventre quem portasti;
 He will nought werne thee thy bone,
 Parvum quem lactasti.
 So hende and so god he is
 He haveth brought ous to blis
 Superni,
 That haveth idut the foule put
 Inferni.

Of care, conseil thou ert best,
 Felix fecundata;
 Of alle wery thou ert rest.
 Mater honorata.
 Besek him with milde mod,
 That for ous alle sad his blod
 In cruce,
 That we moten comen till him,
 In luce⁷³

This macaronic poem is indicative in a concrete sense of the mutual interpermeation of the vernacular and the Latin traditions. The first stanza opens with the Virgin's heavenly character, with her conventional associations with light in general, specifically superior to the earthly "dayes light." We might also note the prayer for mediation, "Levedy, preye thy sone for me." The dona of Latin, and the domna of Provençal are now rendered by the English "levedy," a form of address also common in both religious and secular lyrics. The second stanza associates the Virgin with earthly appellations of perfection, the "flour" and the "rosa sine spina"; and then shifts back to her place in Paradise. This stanza ends stressing the paradox that although a "maide" Mary is also "moder," echoing the same paradox introduced in the fourth line with the Latin "parens et puella." The third stanza builds on the trope of Mary as the second Eve, as in Peire Cardenal, and employs the common play on the words Eva/Ave from the Latin tradition. The stanza ends on the concept that Mary is the well spring of all virtue--a concept analogous to the inspirational character of the Lady in troubadour poetry. The last two stanzas emphasize the mediating function of Mary repeatedly. And the poem ends, metaphorically, where it began, with a return to the associations with light of the first lines, in luce.

This poem is a useful example if only for its extremely conventional character; it also makes a pleasing use of the blending of two languages. In its conventionality it provides the proper background for approaching the next poem, another devotional piece from the 13th century, preserved in the Corpus Christi Collection, Oxford MS. 59 (f.113b). Here we see a treatment much less conservative, and an employment of elements from what was conventional in both the religious and the secular traditions:

Edi be thu, Hevene Quene;
 Folkes froure and engles blis,
 Moder unweimed and maiden clene,
 Swich in world non other nis.
 On thee it is well, eth sene
 Of alle wimmen, thu havest that pris.
 My swete Levedy, her my bene,
 And rew of me yif thy wille is.

Thu asteye so the dais-rew
 The deleth from the derke night;
 Of thee sprong a leme newe
 That all this world haveth ight.
 Nis non maide of thine hewe
 So fair, so shene, so rudy, so bright.
 Swete Levedy, of me thu rewe,
 And have mercy of thine knight.

Spronge blostme of one rote,
 The Holy Ghost thee reste upon;
 That wes for monkunnes bote,
 And here soule to alesen for on.
 Levedy milde, softe and swote,
 Ic crye thee mercy: ic am thy mon,
 Bothe to honde and to fote,
 On alle wise that ic con.

Thu ert erthe to gode sede;
 On thee lighte the Hevene dewes;
 Of thee sprong the edi blede--
 The Holy Ghost hire on thee sews.
 Thu bring us ut of care, of drede,
 That Eve bitterliche us brews.
 Thu shalt us into Hevene lede--
 Welle sweete is the ilke dewes.

Moder, full of thewes hende,
 Maide, dreigh and well itaught,
 Ic em in thine lovebende,
 And to thee is all my draught.
 Thu me shilde from the Fende,
 Ase thu ert fre, and wilt and maught;
 Help me to my lives ende,
 And make me with thine sone isaught.

Thu ert icumen of heghe cunne,
 Of David the riche king.
 Nis non maiden under sunne
 The mey be thine evening,
 Ne that so derne loviye cunne,
 Ne non so trewe of alle thing.
 Thy love us broughte eche wunne:
 Ihered ibe thu, swete thing!

Selcudliche ure Louerd it dighte
 That thu, maide, withute were,
 That all this world bicluppe ne mighte,
 Thu sholdest of thine boseme bere.
 Thee ne stighte, ne thee ne prighte,
 In side, in lendé ne elleswhere:
 That wes with full muchel righte,
 For thu bere thine Helere.

Tho Godes sune alighte wolde
 On erthe, all for ure sake,
 Herre teyen he him nolde
 Thene that maide to ben his make:
 Betere ne mighte he, thaigh he wolde,
 Ne swetture thing on erthe take.
 Levedy, bring us to thine bolde
 And shild us from helle wrake.

Amen.⁷⁴

This poem opens on a conventional note with the balancing of Mary's heavenly position, "Hevene Quene," against her earthly position, "Of all wimmen thu havest that pris." The first stanza bridges into the second with a play on the phonetic similarity of "rew" and "rewe," emphasizing and at the same time bridging back to the associations of heavenly light which form the central metaphor of the second stanza. This stanza concludes with an interesting employment of specifically feudal associations in the word "knight," thus calling to mind the structurally analogous relationship which exists between the secular lyricist and his mediating Lady as in the troubadour poems. We might also note the use of "mercy," an ambivalent word we have also seen in the secular lyrics.

The third and fourth stanzas both open with botanical tropes, which again serve to emphasize the Virgin's earthly associations, and both are drawn from Biblical exegesis. "Spronge blostme of one rote" is an allusion to Isaiah 11:1, "Et egredietur virga de radice Iesse, et flos de radice eius ascendit." This passage is commented upon by Honorius in his exegesis, and is alluded to similarly in several of Adam of St. Victor's hymns.⁷⁵ Honorius also suggests the metaphor of the Virgin as the untilled field, similar to the first line of the fourth stanza, "Thu ert erth to gode sede"--punning on God/gode. The next line, continuing this blend of the heavenly and the

earthly. "On thee lighte the Hevene dewes," is an allusion to and a blend of Exodus 16:13 and 14, the story of the manna from heaven:

Factum est ergo vespere, et ascendens coturnix, cooperuit castra: mane queque ros iacuit per circuitum castrorum. Cumque operuisset superficiem terrae, apparuit in solitudine minutum, et quasi pile-tusum in similitudinem pruinae super terram.

(In the evening quails came up and covered the camp; and in the morning dew lay round about the camp. And when the dew had gone up, there was on the face of the wilderness a fine, flake-like thing, fine as hoar-frost on the ground.)

Exegetical writers identified the hoar-frost of this passage with Christ.⁷⁶ Thus, this line in the poem is a metaphorical reference to the Immaculate Conception, employing a continuation of the botanical associations previously established in the poem. The end of the third stanza also refers back to the preceding stanza with the continuation of the analogy of the feudal relationship, "ic am thy mon." The English "mon" and the French "homme" were specific feudal terms. To serve a given lord meant to be his "man"; the more specialized words such as "vassal" were not always used. In French, with direct allusion to the ritual actions of homage, a man was often called an "homme de bouche et de mains."⁷⁷

The fifth stanza opens with the familiar paradox "Moder/Maide." The third line suggests again the use of secular conventions in its connotations, "Ic em in thine lovebende." The sixth line evidences another use of specifically feudal

diction, "Ase thu ert fre"--"fre" in Middle English meaning simply "free," but also very commonly by extension, and this is clearly the case here, "noble." Unlike what might be considered the norm for Mariological pieces of the period, there is only one brief reference to the Virgin's mediating function in this poem, and it closes this fifth stanza.

The final three stanzas continue with conventional praises, stressing the uniqueness of Mary among women. The poem closes with a prayer directly to the Virgin herself, without employing the common technique of closing with a prayer directed to Christ through addressing the Virgin as intermediary.

An interesting aspect of this poem, and one which is not easily explained, is the obvious play which is being made upon the "courtly" conventions of the poet's knightly service to his "Lady." The curious point, however, is that these poetic conventions--judging from the Harley MS--do not seem to have been particularly characteristic of secular English lyricism during this early period. This is not to say that such conventions were unknown--this devotional piece in itself shows that they were. The conventions, it would seem, were known, but simply not employed in secular lyrics with the same frequency as we find in the Provençal verses. I would suggest that this is related to the differences between the social contexts involved. England was not a courtois society.

There was, of course, close contact between the English and the French cultures at this time, especially among the upper, ruling classes. In fact, much has been made of Eleanor of Aquitaine's influence in this regard. However, if indeed there were troubadours living in England, their close connection with particular patrons would have necessarily limited their influence on indigenous poetry--as surely would have their language in itself, being very different from the Norman-French and Anglo-Norman speech familiar to English ears. A macaronic poem in the Harley MS. employs rather irregularly Latin, a form of Norman French, and a dialect of Middle English:

Dum ludis floribus velud lacinia
 le dieu d'amour moi tient en tiel angustia,
 merour me tient de duel e de miseria
 si ie ne la ay quam amo super omnia.

Eius amor tantum me facit feruere
 que ie ne soi quid possum inde facere;
 pur ly couent hoc seculum relinquere
 se ie pus l'amour de li perquirere.

Ele est si bele e gente dame egregia
 cum ele fust imperatoris filia,
 de beal semblant e pulcra continencia,
 ele est la flur in omni regis curia.

Quant ie la vey-ie su in tali gloria
 come est la lune celi inter sidera;
 Dieu la moi doint sua misericordia
 beyser e fere que secuntur alia.

Scripsit hec carmina in tabulis;
 mon ostel est en mi la vile de Paris;
 may y sugge namore, so wel me is;
 yef hi deye for love of hire, duel hit ys. 78

(When you play among the flowers it is as if the
 god of love holds me by the collar in such anguish,
 as if a mirror of grief and pain holds me--
 if I do not have her as the one I love above all others.)

Love of her brings me to such burning
 that I do not know what I can do;
 for it is necessary to give up this life
 if I cannot obtain her love.

She is such a beautiful, gentle, and distinguished Lady
 as if she were an emperor's daughter,
 of beautiful appearance and perfect self-possession,
 she is the flower of the court of every king.

When I see her I am in such glory,
 like the moon is among the stars of heaven;
 God in your mercy give her to me
 to kiss and to do all the rest which follows.

I've written this song in a writing tablet;
 my home is in my city of Paris;
 may I say no more, such happiness is mine;
 yet if I die for love of her, a great grief it will be.)

This short poem opens with two highly "classical" twists of
 speech. "Dum ludis floribus" echoes hauntingly any one of
 several poems found in the Anthologia Latina MS., which deal
 coyly with images of boys and girls playing among flower gardens,
 as we have seen in chapter one.⁷⁹ The poet's humorous use of
lacinia--which we might render idiomatically as "I was button-
 holed"--echoes a similar use of the word in Cicero (de Or.
 3,28,110); it is certainly a refreshingly original addition to
 the stock of lyric images--the god of love yanking a poor
 fellow up by his shirt collar.

Again, in this first stanza we come upon the lyrical "merour" which we have seen so often exemplified in troubadour verse. Again, interestingly, mentioned in what is potentially a negative context, "de duel e de miseria." The concept of the mirror will be discussed in chapter three.

The second stanza introduces the familiar disease of love, the approaching death from angustia if the poet is not favored. In the third stanza we are acquainted with this dame's noble qualities. The final line is an interesting blend of a slightly spiritual metaphor with a specifically feudal one, "la flur in omni regis curia--in fact, one could say specifically courtly, at least in a literal sense.

The fourth stanza brings the whole relationship in contact with heavenly associations. This dame puts the poet in gloria, a word with obvious religious overtones which are emphasized in the next two lines with the simile involving the moon and stars, and then with an appeal to God himself. But the final line comes back to earth, to the corporeal and the carnal, employing a humorous blend of the languages: the tongue-in-cheek "que secuntur alia" is a use of the Latin tongue for a euphemistic joke.

The poem closes with a variation on the scribal "scripsit," found so commonly in medieval manuscripts, in which the scribe simply tells that he has finished, identifies himself, and often asks for God's blessing. Here we are told where our poet is from, that he will say no more, and one final time he stresses his precarious position.

In general, there is more "influence" of learned and often religious elements in the secular lyrics of the Harley MS. than "courtly" elements--here using the word "courtly" in its literal sense with reference to the social reality underlying troubadour verse. On this account, I personally would prefer to state that these secular English lyrics deal with a concept of fin' amors, in common with the troubadour verses; and not claim that these English poems are "courtly love lyrics," which--in the context of what is known about the English situation--is an avoidable misnomer.

The secular love lyrics of the Harley MS. are all similar in technique and tone--this is not to imply, however, that they are all of the same authorship or even written in the same dialect.⁸⁰ At any rate, for the purposes at hand, a discussion of one example will have to suffice. I have chosen "Blow, northerne wynd" as a representative piece, at least in terms of the particular but limited collection provided the manuscript:

Burden: Blow, northerne wynd,
 sent thou me my suetyng!
 blow, northerne wynd,
 blou! blou! blou!

1. Ichot a burde in boure bryht
 that fully semly is on syht,
 menskful maiden of myht,
 feir ant fre to fonde;
 In al this wurhliche won,
 a burde of blod & of bon
 neuer yete y nuste non
 Lussamore in londe.
2. With lokkes lefliche & longe,
 with frount & face feir to fonde,
 with murthes monie mote heo monge--
 that brid so breme in boure,
 with lossom eye grete ant gode,
 with browen blysfol vnder hode.
 he that reste him on the rode
 that leflich lyf honoure!
3. Hire lure lumes liht
 ase a launterne a-nyht,
 hire bleo blykye so bryht,
 so feyr heo is ant fyn.
 a suetly suyre heo hath to holde,
 with armes, shuldre ase mon wolde
 ant' fyngres feyre forte folde.
 god: wolde hue were myn!
4. Middel heo hath menskful, smal,
 hire loueliche chere as cristal:
 theyes, legges, fet, and al
 ywraht wes of the beste.
 a lussum ledy lasteles
 that sweting is & euer wes;
 a betere burde neuer nes,
 yheried with the beste.
5. Heo is dereworthe in day,
 graciously, stout, & gay
 gentil, iolyf so the Iay,
 worhliche when heo wake.
 Maiden murgest of mouth;
 bi est, bi west, by north & south,
 ther nis fiele né crouth
 that such murthes maketh.

6. Heo is cōral of godnesse,
 heo is rubie of ryhtfulnesse,
 heo is cristal of clannesse
 ant baner of bealte,
 heo is lillie of largesse,
 heo is paruenke of prouesse,
 heo is solsecle of suetnesse
 ant ledy of lealte.
7. To loue, that loflich is in londe,
 y tolde him as ych vnderstonde
 hou this hende hath hent in honde
 on huerte that myn wes;
 ant hire knyhtes me han so soht,
 sykyng, sorewyng, & thoht,
 tho thre me han in bale broht
 ayeyn the poer of pées.
8. To loue y putte pleyntes mo,
 hou sykyng me hath siwed so,
 ant eke thoht me thrat to slo
 with maistry yef he myhte,
 ant serewe, sore in balful bende
 that he wolde, for this hende,
 me lede to my lyues ende
 vnlahfulliche in lyhte.
9. Hire loue me lustnede vch word
 ant beh him to me ouer bord,
 ant bed me hente that nord
 of myne huerte hele
 ant bisecheth that swete ant swote,
 'er then thou falle ase fen of fote
 that heo with the wolle of bote
 dereworthliche dele.'
10. For hire loue y carke ant care,
 for hire loue y droupne ant dare,
 for hire loue my blisse is bare,
 ant al ich waxe won;
 for hire loue in slep y slake,
 for hire loue al nyht ich wake,
 for hire loue mourning y make
 More then eny mon. 81

This poem employs a burden which seems to be from popular song, something that the poet has borrowed from the contemporaneous oral tradition. At the same time, however, this borrowed burden seems particularly apt in the context of the techniques used in the poem as a whole. The popular burden provides our poet with an appropriate Scriptural allusion, which may have been purely accidental in the original oral song, but which calls to mind a similar phrase from the Canticum (4:16):

Surge, aquilo; et veni, auster;
Perfla hortum meum, et flaunt aromata illius.

Aquilo is the Latin word for the North Wind. The hortus of the Canticum is commonly the Virgin Mary in the exegetical tradition; this trope is used, for example, in several of Adam of St. Victor's hymns. Granted, the burden is not a direct quotation or even a perfectly obvious allusion to the Canticum, but we must keep in mind that it may be a borrowed passage in the first place. The over-all technique of the poem reinforces this indirect allusion.

The first stanza begins with a reference to light, "in bowre bright." The "burde" is beautiful, of course, and again "fre," noble. This first stanza ends with the "out-doing" technique; the poet knows no other "burde of blod & of bōn" so beautiful in all the world. The second stanza employs rhetorical anaphora in beginning the enumeration of the Lady's beautiful qualities, which is to continue in a repetitive form for the next three stanzas.

In effect, the Lady as a totality, in this type of description, is broken down into parts which can be universally recognized as ideally beautiful. The device has roots in the description of the Sponsa in the Canticum which proceeds from head to toe in an orderly, repetitive fashion (4;1-7). Because of the highly conventional nature of such a description, the qualities enumerated have an almost objective validity in and of themselves. It remains then simply to list these parts in an interesting and pleasing manner to the ear. To stress their superlative character is unnecessary--there is only one adjectival superlative in the entire poem, "Maiden murgest of mouth" (1.41). The superlative degree of her excellence is established by quantitative repetition of the simple qualities themselves. And yet, as we saw in the Latin poem to the Virgin "Ave, pulcra pelle," despite the large amount of detail provided, the portrait achieved is not that of an individualized, particular Lady--there remains a certain collage-like quality about the portrait. It is a collection of all the theoretically beautiful parts of the idea of the ideally beautiful woman, rather than the description one individual, total woman who is ideally beautiful in her own particular way. (The latter is a concept of female beauty much more in harmony with modern artistic sensibilities than is the medieval concept exemplified in this poem.) Although the poet may seemingly be addressing his poem and his love to one particular Lady, the poem is really speaking always in terms of a universal Lady who is decidedly unindividualized.

Specifically heavenly associations are emphasized at the end of the second stanza, "He that reste him on the rode / That leflich lyf honoure." Christ himself honors such a lovely woman. The implicit analogy being played upon, which has already been suggested in the burden, is that the Lady is comparable in beauty to the Virgin, the Sponsa of the Canticum in exegetical tradition. The employment of the Mariological model is again evidenced in the sixth stanza, again with the use of anaphora. The stanza begins with metaphorical appellations of precious stones, a common Mariological device mentioned, among others, by St. Bernard in his Sermo in Cantica (27, I, 3):

Sic prudentia, sic temperantia, sic fortitudo
et si quae sunt virtutes aliae, quid nisi
margaritae quaedam sunt in sponsae ornatu,
splendore perpetuo coruscantes? 82

(Such prudence, such temperance, such fortitude,
and so much of all the virtues, are they not
those pearls adorning the Sponsa, glittering
in eternal splendor?)

The stanza then introduces three appellations of flowers, "lilie," "paruenke," and "solscle." The two groups of three appellations each are separated by the line "ant baner of bealte" which is grammatically parallel to the concluding line of the stanza "ant lady of lealte," both lines also employing parallel alliteration. The two anaphoral triplets each present paragons of excellence taken from two separate classes of objects, stones and flowers--both classes, however, being specifically earthly. The stanza itself is of perfectly

symmetrical proportions, rhetorically representative of the perfection being described.

The seventh stanza moves from description of the object loved to description of the affect of love. The first metaphor is very ancient--the activity of love likened to warfare, followed by the employment of personification in the characters of "knyhtes": "Sykyng, Sorewyng, and Thoht." Also at this point the poet speaks directly to Love himself, for the first time in the poem, which is fitting for the change of content from object to affect. Love listens, renders a word of advice, and in so doing provides us with a significant indication of the poet's hierarchical position in relation to his ideal Lady, "Er then thou falle ase fen of fote."

The last stanza--being the tenth, the perfect number for the perfect Lady--in its strict use of anaphora echoes stanzas two and six. The poem has three strictly anaphoral stanzas: one (2) concerning the particular details of the Lady's beauty; one (6) concerning metaphorical appellations indicative of her over-all superlative excellence; and one (10) concerning the affect of this love for the Lady in the poet himself, who seems to be of Aimeric's opinion, "tant es dolz per sofrir."

While the tendency to associate the Lady with heavenly comparisons is clearly a part of these lyrics, in both Middle English and Provençal she keeps one foot on the ground, so to speak. For example, in "Blow northerne wynd" the line "a burde

of blod & of bon" has the ring of a colloquialism and emphasizes quite literally this Lady's earthly and corporeal existence in the flesh--although this is not to say her corporeal existence as a particular individual in the flesh. In the macaronic poem "Dum ludis floribus," despite the explicit associations with gloria and the moon and stars, the poem ends on an unambiguously carnal note, "beyser e fere que secuntur alia."⁸³

The Lady can occupy an intermediary position, somewhere between the heavens and the walks of the earth, while decidedly leaning more one way than the other. While the Virgin's unique position among the world of women is established particularly through her humble, earthly, and mortal origins, no amount of sensuous metaphorical love diction will lower her from her assumed place in heaven; the Virgin occupies an intermediary position in the medieval world hierarchy, but there is no question that she leans more toward the spiritual than toward the corporeal and carnal. Such is not necessarily the case with the secular Ladies of the lyric genre. There is a good deal of variation in their relative positions "above" the terrestrial. And now turning to a few lyrics from Italy, we shall see the secular Lady rising to still greater heights of perfection and unattainability.

* * *

2.4. The first flourishing of lyrical poetry in Italian comes from Palermo, where the king and poet Federico II presided over the Magna Curia, which was among the most important political and cultural centers of Europe at the time. The group of poets, all writing roughly during the first half of the 13th century, came to be known as the Scuola Siciliana. The differences in the lyric genre on Italian soil are striking. In the Scuola Siciliana poets already the Italian tendency to dematerialize the Lady, to treat her in an ultra-spiritualizing fashion, is clearly evident. Even the most scrupulous reference to any sort of carnal contact is all but totally absent in these verses--exceptions are very difficult to find. In these texts the occurrence of words connected with sight is a distinguishing feature: veggio, occhi, spera, sembiante, figura, immagine, pittura, mirare, ombra, etc. The Lady has become an image, a reflection, and she purposefully incorporates much more than her material substance.

Our first poem is by Federico himself. He was one of the first of the Scuola Siciliana poets, and he presided over his court from 1208 until his death in 1250.

Poi che ti piace, Amore,
 che eo deggia trovare,
 faronne mia possanza
 ch'eo vegna a compimento.
 Dato aggio lo meo core
 in voi, madonna, amare,
 e tutta mia speranza
 in vostro piacimento.
 E no mi partiraggio
 da voi, donna valenté,
 ch'eo v'amo dolcemente,
 e piace a voi ch'eo aggia intendimento.
 Valimento mi date, donna fina,
 che lo mio core a desso voi s'inchina.

S'i' inchino, ragion aggio
 di sí amoroso bene,
 ché spero, e vo sperando
 ch'ancora deggio avere
 allegro mio coraggio
 e tutta la mia speme.
 Fui dato in coi amando,
 ed in vostro volere:
 e veggio li sembianti
 di voi, chiarita spera,
 che aspetto gioia intera.
 Ed ho fidenza ne lo mio servere
 a piacere di voi, che siete fiore
 sor l'altre donne, e avete più valore.

Valor sor l'altre avete,
 e tutta canoscenza;
 null'omo non poria
 vostro pregio contare,
 di tanto bella siete.
 Secondo mia credenza
 non e donna che sia
 alta, sí bella, pare,
 né ch'aggia insegnamento
 di voi, donna sovrana.
 La vostra cera umana
 mi dà conforto e facemi allegrare.
 Allegrare mi posso, donna mia: 84
 più conto me ne tegno tuttavia.

(Because it pleases you, Love, that I should write, I shall as best I can create something to please you. I have given my heart in loving you, my Lady, and all my hope in pleasing you. And I shall never leave you, worthy Lady, since I love you sweetly and thanks to you I have understanding. You give me virtue, fine Lady, so my heart gives itself up to you.

If I give up myself, my reason is because I love so much that I hope, and shall go on hoping that I should have yet my cheerful heart and all my hope. I am given over to you in loving and subject to your will: I see only resemblances of you, clear and luminous mirror, and so I await for total joy. I have faith in my service to please you, who are beyond all other Ladies, and are more worthy.

You have more worth than all others, and more intelligence of all things; no one can reckon your excellence, you are so beautiful. In my opinion, no Lady is there who could seem so high, so beautiful unless she had instruction from you, sovereign Lady. Your compassionate face gives me comfort and makes me delight. I can delight and be cheerful, my Lady, the more so that I am held worthy to do so by you.)

There is not, among Italian poets, confusion between Amor and the Lady addressed. This may be related to the simple fact that amore is a masculine noun in Italian. It may also be related to the fact that the Italian poets of Sicily and Tuscany were for the most part quite learned men, with solid backgrounds not only in religious writings but in the pagan classics as well; this would have forestalled any confusion in gender of the god of love. (Federico, for instance, wrote a treatise on falconry in Latin which was highly regarded in his

time for its polished style.) This poem begins with a formal address to Amor, similar to the Vergilian technique of briefly addressing various deities at the start of each book in the Georgics or when beginning particularly challenging passages in the Aeneid.

With line five the poet begins the lyric proper by directly addressing his Lady. He has given himself totally to her; she is all his hope. He can never leave her because it is from her that he has received his intendimento. This is an extremely interesting word, and it is difficult to know exactly how broad a meaning it may have encompassed in Federico's time. The word comes from the Latin intendo, which was often used in reference to thinking: as in "to turn one's thought to," "to direct attention," "to intend," etc. With a reflexive construction, such as in se intendat, it could mean "he contemplates himself." In Italian the noun form could mean "intention," very similar to the Latin, but it also could mean "understanding," or simply "mind" itself. Clearly, then, the implication of this line is that the poet's own ability to think and to understand has come from his Lady, "piace a voi," as he says himself.

In the second stanza the poet goes on to explain why he has given himself to his Lady, and he repeatedly emphasizes how much he is subject to her will rather than his own--indeed he seems to have none remaining. Again we are introduced to the lyrical mirror, "chiarita spera," which we have seen in many

other examples; and it seems that wherever he looks he sees the semblances (reflections) of his Lady. And the stanza closes with reference to his faith and his service, and employs the "outdoing" technique, placing the Lady in the superlative class, "siete fiore sor l'altre donne."

The last stanza continues the affirmation of her incomparable perfection, including a characteristic rarely mentioned in the lyrics of Provençal or Middle English, that she is tutta canoscenza. The concept of beauty itself, even in an explicitly secular poem such as this one, has been considerably dematerialized. Even in her mind this beautiful Lady is incomparable. (And we must remember that the commonplace English distinction mind/soul is not a characteristic of Italian; the common word animo has both meanings, mind and soul, and is used freely in both contexts.) Federico's form of address, donna sovrana, might have an almost ironic ring in light of the fact that he himself is Il Sovrano, were it not for the fact that the tone of the entire poem places the language consistently on a level beyond any specific connotations of an "authentic" social situation. The social position of Federico is not at all similar to the minor nobles and court poets of the Languedoc. And yet his Lady is still sovrana, and through her compassion grants this great and powerful man his sole comfort and happiness. Socially, there is no lord or king left with whom this Lady can mediate, in

the manner of the troubadour verses. This poet is the king himself, he need not improve his social standing through his poetic skills. But in light of this poem's personal relationship to the poet, it is still quite similar to the previous lyrics we have seen. Like other poets, Federico sees himself; the Lady is a chiarita spera, and he can better himself in a personal, inner sense through her mediation.

An anonymous poet of the Scuola Siciliana, for instance, employs the lady-as-mirror trope in a similar fashion:

E si gli ochi ne formo
 e, come omo a lo specchio
 si vede afigurato,
 cosi suo stato--parmi vedere. . . . 85

(And thus I form in her eyes and,
 like a man looking in a mirror sees
 himself figured there as he is--so
 it seems to me I see. . . .)

The mirror image is extended in various ways by the Italian poets. For instance, one common variation is the legendary basilisk which, upon seeing itself reflected in a mirror, dies. (The frequency of this trope in the Sicilian poets may be related to the simple fact that the basilisk, or a very similar form of lizard, is indigenous to the island.) This variation carries rather negative associations, related to the danger of such self-reflection, and indirectly stresses the power of the Lady. For instance, we find the lines in Bondie Dietaiuti:

Madonna, ben ò inteso che lo smiro
 aucide 'l badalischio e la 'mprimera;
 di voi similemente m'è avvenuto
 per un vedere ond'io piango e sospiro. . . . 86

(Madonna, I have heard that his reflection
 kills the basilisk and the amprimera[?];
 similarly from you it befalls me, out of
 such a vision I mburn and sigh. . . .)

The mirror image is also related to another development found in the Italian lyrics, the extension in the form of the Lady-as-painted-image, sometimes painted by the poet himself. This is exemplified in the next poem.

The lyric in the hands of the Italian artists becomes something of a philosophic exercise. Were it not for the subtlety of thought and the beauty of the language employed--as well as the foundations the lyrics have in a "poetic reality" of a real Lady--we might find this verse cold and rather dull. It is no longer so easy to find remnants of carnal passion bleeding through the texts (whether purposefully or not), managing to break past even the most strict of poetic conventions, such as occasionally found in the Latin and Provençal lyrics, for example. An excellent example of this is provided by another Scuola Siciliana poet, Iacopo da Lentini or Il Notaro (died c. 1250), who was the Imperial Notary of Federico II. Dante called Iacopo the "caposcuola" and felt that he had great influence not only on the Scuola Siciliana poets but also on the later Stilnovists in Tuscany.

Maravigliosamente
 un amor mi dstringe,
 e sovenemi a ogn'ura,
 com'omo, che ten mente
 in altra parte, e pinge
 la simile pintura.
 Così, bella, facci'eo:
 dentr'a lo core meo
 porto la tua figura.

A cor par ch'eo vi porte
 pinta, come voi sete,
 e non pare di fore:
 anzi m'assembra morte
 ché non so se savete
 como v'amo a bon core;
 ca son sì vergognoso
 ca pur vi guardo ascoso,
 e non vi mostro amore.

Avendo gran disio,
 dipinsi una pintura,
 bella, voi simigliante.
 E quando voi non vïo,
 guardo in quella figura,
 e par ch'eo v'aggia avante;
 sì com'om, che se crede
 salvare per sua fede,
 ancor non ha davante.

A cor m'arde una doglia,
 com'om che ten lo foco
 a lo suo seno ascuso,
 che, quanto più lo 'nvoglia,
 allora arde più loco,
 e non può stare incluso.
 Similmente ardo,
 quando passo, e non guardo
 a voi, viso amoroso.

S'iscite, quando passo,
 in vèr voi non mi giro,
 bella, per risguardari.
 Andando, ad ogni passo
 gittone uno sospiro,
 che mi face ancosciari.
 E certo bene ancoscio,
 ché appena mi conosco,
 tanto bella mi pari.

Assai v'aggio laudato,
 madonna, in molte parte,
 di bellezze ch'avete.
 Non so se v'è contato
 ch'eo lo faccia per arti,
 ch'è voi ve ne dolete.
 Sacciatelo per signa
 ciò che vo' dire a lingua,
 quando voi mi vedete.

Canzonetta novella,
 va', e canta nova cosa;
 levati da maitino
 davanti a la piú bella,
 fiore d'ogni amorosa,
 bionda piú ch'auro fino:
 -Lo vostro amor, ch'è caro,
 donatelo al Notaro, 87
 ch'è nato da Lentino.

(In a marvelous way a love is binding me
 and holds me constantly. As a man concentrates
 on another object and paints a picture that is
 like it, so, lovely one, I do, who within my
 heart carry the figure of you.

In my heart it seems I carry you painted,
 as you are, and you do not seem to be outside;
 I seem to die because I do not know how I love
 you with a true heart; that I am so timid that
 I look at you secretly and do not show you my love.

Having a great desire, I painted a picture
 resembling you, my fair one, and when I do not
 see you I look upon that image and it seems that
 I am before you: as one who thinks to gain his
 own salvation through his faith, yet he sees
 nothing before him [var. text: ancor non
 veggia inante].

In my heart a pain burns me, like a man who
 holds a flame hidden in his breast, who, the more
 he hides it the more it burns inside, and cannot
 remain enclosed. Like this I burn, when I pass
 and do not look at you, lovely of face.

The flame escapes me when I pass and do not
 pause near you, fair one, so I may gaze at you.
 Leaving, at every step I let out a sigh which
 makes me suffer. But surely it is good that I
 suffer because then I remember to myself how
 beautiful you appear to me.

I have praised you a great deal, my Lady, in
 many places, for the beauty you possess. I do not
 know if I have said of you what I can do with
 paints, since in words you suffer. You must
 perceive my poem through signs, that is to say
 by language when you read my work.

My new little song, go sing what is new;
 as morning comes, arise before the loveliest
 one, flower of all Ladies who love, more fair
 than fine gold, say "Your love, which is dear,
 give to the notary who is Lentino's son."

Perhaps this lyric's most striking characteristic is that it
 is not really about the Lady addressed at all. The poem centers
 on the poet himself and the actions and states of mind he goes
 through on account of the Lady in question, who is not addressed
 directly or even described at all until the last five lines of
 the poem. The affect of loving is what concerns this poet,
 but his treatment is unlike what we have seen up to now.

There is no longer such a recourse to conventional tropes and
 metaphorical appellations, no allusions to appropriate Scripture;
 the rhetorical technique used here is not the familiar employ-
 ment of various repetitive devices like those found in many
 spiritual lyrics of the period. Yet this poem is perhaps the
 most noncorporeal, noncarnal example of secular lyricism which
 we have dealt with. There is no mention of actual physical
 contact and no implication that any is at all desired.

Love has become above all else a form of self-speculation, a "psychological" introspection which is "spiritual" in the philosophical sense, more similar to works of mystical theology rather than the hymns of Adam of St. Victor. The subject of this poem is not the poet's relationship with his Lady; it is the poet's relationship with the image of his Lady, which, as he stresses, remains inside himself--it is her figura. In the context of the poem itself, it would seem that the actual painting the poet claims to have made is in fact an elaborate analogy explaining by concrete example the psychological process being carried on inside the poet's mind. Surely this is stressed when the poet first mentions the painting analogy in the first stanza, "com'omo . . . pinge la simile pintura."

That the poet is aware of the religiously philosophical implications of his poem is evidenced by the analogy employed in the third stanza, specifically comparing the lover to a religious devotee, "si com'om, che si crede / salvare per sua fede / ancor non ha davante." Like the religiously faithful, the lover must take a leap of faith; he must believe in what is beyond his human grasp. While employing the aid of a particular figura, whether an actual painting or simply an image in the mind, the poet realizes--as does the unidolatrous Christian--that his actual ideal Lady exists beyond what is before him.⁸⁸

Necessarily, in the sixth stanza the poet now extends the analogy from painting to writing itself. He is no longer only reflecting upon himself, but he now moves to a reflection upon this action of self-reflection--that is, to the writing of the poem itself. There is a clear recognition of the mediation of linguistic signs, "Sacciatello per signa / ciò che vo' dire a lingua." These signs are, by extension of the original analogy, the colors on his palette, through which the artist captures--however imperfectly--the perfection of his Lady.

In the last stanza, our poet says that he sings of a "nova cosa," and in light of Iacopo's known acquaintance with Provençal poetry (In fact, the canzone is an adaptation of the troubadour canzo.), his claim is legitimate in a literal sense. He is knowingly building on the foundations of the Provençal tradition--a tradition which for him, as an Italian poet, remains by definition separate and definable as "raw material" to be used in the establishment of a new, even more conventionalized and intellectual type of verse.

The highly speculative and imaginary quality of the Italian lyric is also exemplified very well in a sonnet by the Tuscan, pre-Stilnovist Chiaro Davanzati (fl. c. 1250), one of the most important and influential lyricists in Tuscany before the actual Stilnovist school itself. The entire poem is built

around the lyrical mirror and the lover's similarity to the plight of Narcissus:

Come Narcisi in sua spera mirando
 s'innamoraò per ombra a la fontana,
 veggendo se medesimo pensando,
 ferissi il core e la sua mente vana;
 gittovis'entro per l'ombria pigliando,
 di quello amor lo prese morte strana,
 ed io vostra bieltate rimembrando
 l'ora ch'io voglia non paria partire:
 innamorato son sì feramente,
 che poi ch'io voglia non poria partire:
 sì m'ha l'amor compreso strettamente,
 tormentami lo giorno e fa languire.
 Com'a Narcisi parami piacente,
 veggendo voi, la morte sofferire. 89

(Just as Narcissus, looking at his own reflection, fell in love with the image in the fountain, seeing and thinking of himself, he wounded his own heart and vain mind; he threw himself into the image, the love of which brought him to a strange death, likewise, I remembering you beauty when I saw you, sovereign Lady, I fell in love just as fatally, and ever since I've wished you would never go away: so tightly has love enwrapped me, tormenting me all day and making me languish. I seem like the pretty Narcissus, upon seeing you, I suffer death.)

The poet, surely aware of the Provençal models employing the Narcissus motif, makes a straightforward comparison between himself and the legendary Narcissus seeing his own reflection in the pool. The Italian lyricist has realized that he is ultimately writing about himself. Again, in this poem it is above all else the image of the Lady in the poet rimembrando,

rather than the Lady herself, which "figures" in the poem. In fact, by logical extension of the Narcissus analogy, the Lady has no substance at all; rather, she is indeed the ombria, the shade or image (in Italian the word carried both connotations), and that in essence is the poet's predicament.⁹⁰

The structure of the intersubjective relationships, which we described earlier between the four "persons" of the lyrics, has remained the same; but a shift has occurred in that the figure of the "lord" as an external, other person, outside the poet in objective reality--either spiritual or secular--is no longer present in the verses. The Italian poets are much less concerned with the social aspect of their writings--they were not, after all, dependent on patronage in the same way as the troubadour poets. The poems are overtly philosophic. As Wilhelm has said, "Early Italian poetry grasps upward for superior values, is not content to reside in a social sphere." And further, he continues, "The persistent attempts to link the early Sicilian vocabulary with the Provençal, though enlightening, have obscured the fact that the Italian vocabulary, even in its rudimentary stages of development, was awaiting the philosophical sanctions of Guido Guinizelli in Bologna and Dante and the dolce stil nuovo in Tuscany."⁹¹ In support of Wilhelm's general point, I would suggest that one of the essential differences between troubadour and early Italian lyrics is the

absence of the double dedication device in the Italian lyrics-- which is a concrete manifestation of a more general shift. This shift is the further internalization of the lyric dialogue as part of the lyric convention itself. The position occupied by the lord figure is still operative in the intersubjective relations underlying the poems; what has shifted is that the poet no longer projects this figure into the external world in the same manner. Like the Lady herself, this figure has been internalized in the poet's mind as well. This is a complex process, however, and a fuller explanation must involve a broader approach to the issue in terms of some basic points of medieval philosophy, to be confronted in Part II.

* * *

2.5. To recapitulate the major points of Part I: Amor, in substantive and verbal forms, throughout ancient and medieval lyric verse encompasses a very large semantic field. Some of the examples suggest that any claims of a particular poet discovering or inventing a "new emotion" would be at best quite tenuous. A cursory glance at Latin epitaphs has warned against drawing too rash conclusions from literary texts alone. What we can safely credit poets with is a realization of different potentials of expression latent in the social discourse (in a broad sense) of which they are a part. "Social discourse," in this context relative to a corpus of lyric texts, must at

least encompass religious beliefs, legal-matrimonial mores, and subjective, emotional (lyric) considerations. The several texts examined in some detail suggest that there are vital interrelations between lyric expression and the more general social context.

For instance, Catullus employs an erotic imagery which is phallic and embraces sexual action; his lyricism is built upon a dynamic Eros of action, and he seems to be, in this regard, in harmony with his social context. To the degree that we discover a "religion of love" in Catullus, we must also grant that such a poetic "religion" reinforces and is reinforced by religious tendencies inherent in his social context--a context which was permeated with phallic imagery and a related embracing of Eros as an active, dynamic principle. What occurs within the lyric genre between the end of Republican times and the height of the Empire is a significant shift in erotic imagery. Somehow, and a history in great detail of this development has not been within the limits of this study, a new erotic imagery has developed in later Latin lyricism, exemplified in Apuleius and in the *Anthologia Latina* MS. I have suggested, although space does not allow for elaborate argument, that this shift is related to the increased popularity of the various mystery cults. In Late Latin the significant change is that the female body becomes the central erotic image; and, hand-in-hand with

this, is a lyricism which tends toward the contemplative rather than the active celebration of Eros. The context of the late Empire is itself a setting of the stage for the highly contemplative character of medieval lyricism, in which the single most distinguishing feature might well be the "over-evaluation" of the female loved object. The differences between classical and medieval lyrics, whether spiritual or secular, are fundamental; and yet, relative to their respective contexts, the lyrics are similar in that the love relationship captures and is a metaphoric representation of fundamental social structures. This has been discussed relative to the medieval feudal context.

The medieval lyrics raised many, but not all, of the questions I wish to confront in the remainder of this study. It would indeed be pleasant if any several examples could encompass the breadth of interesting reverberations present within the corpus of the medieval lyric. The very fact that I have felt free to imply such a homogeneity as to justify the terms "corpus" and "medieval lyric" presents an interesting direction of inquiry. The nature of an "age" or "period" demanded examination, an examination of internal coherency across a given span of time and space--here, of course, we are confronting what has already come to be called the "twelfth century renaissance." But the nature of a period must be examined not only in terms of specific literary data; these data must

must be, within the limits of honesty and competence, seen in relation to other data which are afforded through individual inquisitiveness and the collective redefinition of the discipline itself. Implicit value systems, social concepts, and psychological structures lie beneath the texts. In a way, every text is a palimpsest of sorts, and new meanings come to light when we attempt to view the texts in relation to their environment, that is, within their own contexts.

The concept of feudal order was examined briefly at the beginning of this chapter. Very generally, what has been dealt with was not the entirety of the perfect feudal system, but only a slice of that system which appears to relate most clearly to various characteristics of the poetry before us. The use of the word "feudal," as is often the case with any terminology, borders on misnomer, since to speak of feudal order in Italy or England is quite a different matter than to talk of feudal order in France or Germany during the same period. There are, however, certain basic social concepts and structures inherent in what we call feudalism which are, to a greater or lesser degree, applicable within the areas defined as France, England, and Italy. Feudalism, like any other social system whose parameters can be at all approximated, influenced not only individuals' conceptions of their collective identity as social groups, but also individuals' conceptions of personal identity

in relation to others within and outside their social group. One of the concerns of this study has been to suggest how the medieval lyric is a functional part of the conceptualization of individual identity within the feudal context.

Questions of this sort concerning identity quite naturally and necessarily lead to questions of psychology, both individual and collective. One problem that immediately arises at this point is that what was considered "psychology" or the study of the soul in the Middle Ages seems quite removed from what we term psychology today. Along these lines, however, it might be pointed out that a similar idea was commonly held regarding the field of modern linguistics until a short time ago; now we are confronted with articles by medievalists dealing with, for example, Augustine's theory of signs and its relationship to the philosophy of Charles Sanders Peirce.⁹² Neither was psychology born from the head of Zeus, or Freud, as the case may be. Nor should the possibilities of ancestry be limited only to those texts carefully labelled by their authors as explicitly "psychological."

Frederick Goldin has written a thoroughly psychological analysis of the medieval lyric, The Mirror of Narcissus in the Courtly Love Lyric--an interpretation, however, which remains within the terminological and theoretical paradigm of the medieval period. A few recent studies have been done employing

psychoanalytic theory in an analysis of troubadour lyrics-- for instance, by Melvin Askew, Richard Koenigsberg, and Herbert Moller.⁹³ Both Askew and Koenigsberg, in their treatment of the social period, the texts, and the psychoanalytic theory employed, reduce and over-simplify. Moller's articles show a much fuller appreciation of the importance of social situations and structures, yet there are weaknesses which cannot be overlooked in his treatment of the texts themselves and his use of psychoanalytic theory. None of these writers has seriously taken into account psychological concepts found elaborated within the period itself.

In this study, whenever possible, explicitly psychological concepts found in period prose writers themselves are dealt with--within the limits of space and competence. At the same time, it is useless to deny that as far as theologians were concerned, entire realms of what we now think of as "human experience" went almost completely unanalysed. While thousands of pages were spent discussing the relation between one man and another, and between one man and his God, the relationship between man and woman occupied a less important position within the theological paradigm. Were we to base our conceptions of medieval heterosexual relations on the testimony of Church writers alone, we would not begin to understand the realities of the period. By the same token, it is only foolhardy to ignore

these writings, since the influence of the Church was indeed pervasive. We are left, on the one hand, with the problem of dealing with a question which was rarely if ever clearly and explicitly proposed in so many words within the medieval period itself. On the other, the huge corpus of medieval texts other than theological dealing with "heterosexual relations," whether in the secular or in a more "spiritualizing" sense, demands the hypothesis that heterosexual relations posed questions which were, at least implicitly, central to the period's collective concerns. In effect, one body of texts complements the other. What may be dealt with minimally in theological writings, is sometimes dealt with extensively in secular writings. The medieval lyric is the case in point.

The lyric, whether addressed to the Virgin Mary or to an earthly Lady, provides a great many indications of the complexities and subtleties inherent in the relationship between medieval man and woman--perhaps more accurately, between medieval man and his concept or image of woman. If in what follows my study employs psychoanalytic concepts, seemingly an anachronistic device, it is not out of any desire to "Freudianize" the texts through ill-conceived reductionism. Rather, it is related to a two-fold observation: that there are certain psychoanalytic concepts which provide a relatively well defined and accepted framework for the discussion of a given realm of human experience;

and, moreover, that these concepts themselves have their own roots, among other places, in the very material which forms the object of this study.

. NOTES:

Chapter 2

¹Marc Bloch, Feudal Society, trans. L. A. Manyon (2 vols., Chicago, 1961), I, p. 69.

²Charles Haskins, The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century (1927; rpt. New York, 1957), p. 10.

³Ernst Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trans. W. R. Trask (Princeton, 1953), p. 34.

⁴Haskins, p. 11.

⁵F. J. E. Raby, A History of Christian Latin Poetry, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1953), pp. 363-75.

⁶e.g., see: The Catholic Encyclopedia (New York, 1913), vol. XV, pp. 463-64; also the classic study of Henry Adams, Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres (Cambridge, Ma., 1905), pp. 250-51: "The Virgin filled so enormous a space in the life and thought of the time that one stands now helpless before the mass of testimony to her direct action and constant presence in every moment and form of the illusion which men thought they thought their existence. . . . If you need more proof, you can read more Petrarch; but still one cannot realize how actual Mary was, to the men and women of the Middle Ages, and how she was present, as a matter of course, whether by way of miracle or as a habit of life, throughout their daily existence."

⁷R. J. Poole, "The Beginning of the Year in the Middle Ages," Proceedings of the British Academy, X (1921-23), pp. 113-37.

⁸The Catholic Encyclopedia, III, p. 486; and see Henry C. Lea, History of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church, 3rd ed. (London, 1907), pp. 306-26.

⁹Peter Dronke, Medieval Latin and the Rise of the European Love Lyric (Oxford, 1968), pp. 264, 285.

¹⁰e.g., A. C. Baugh, A History of the English Language (New York, 1957), chapter 7.

¹¹C. S. Wright, The Influence of the Exegetical Tradition of the "Song of Songs" on the Secular and Religious Love Lyrics of MS. Harley 2253, Ph.D. dissertation (Univ. of Calif., Berkeley, 1966, micro. # 66-8432), p. v & footnote 7.

¹²D. W. Robertson, "The Subject of the De Amore of Andreas Capellanus," Modern Philology, 50 (1952-53), 145-61.

¹³I recognize that the monk also "served" under his abbot, and in a way was perhaps subject at times to similar "temptations" as was the knight. However, the imitatio Christi concept was a part of everyday monastic instruction in a manner and way of life quite different from that of the secular knight at court.

¹⁴This is not to imply that "inner, personal identity" is some universal, unchanging aspect of the human condition. It is reasonable to assume that the "personal identity" of a medieval individual may have been formed through a process different from anything shared by moderns. Here, and elsewhere in this study, my point is that it is legitimate to talk about a personal and a social identity as separate categories which may or may not coincide. This would be a valid distinction regardless of differing conceptions of what may be considered "social" and what "personal." Admittedly, the relationship between what may be social and what personal is complex and problematic ab initio.

¹⁵J. R. Strayer, "The Development of Feudal Institutions," in Twelfth-Century Europe and the Foundations of Modern Society, eds. M. Clagett, G. Post, & R. Reynolds (Madison, Wisconsin, 1966), p. 80.

¹⁶e.g., Amy Kelly, "Eleanor of Aquitaine and her Courts of Love," Speculum, XII (1937), pp. 3-19.

¹⁷H. Moller, "The Social Causation of the Courtly Love Complex," Comparative Studies in Society and History, I (1958-59), pp. 143ff.

¹⁸Bloch, Feudal Society, I, pp. 140ff. These statements refer primarily to the French and Norman peoples; Bloch is not talking here about the Northern European peoples, among whom feudal society as he understands the term did not exist.

¹⁹The Liturgical Poetry of Adam of St. Victor, Latin-English texts, ed. & trans. D. S. Wrangham (3 vols., London, 1881), II, pp.218-25. Translation here follows Wrangham closely with minor colloquial changes.. References for other poems of Adam of St. Victor will follow quotes in the text.

²⁰For detailed discussions of the exegetical tradition relative to medieval lyrics, see: C. S. Wright (above, note 11); F. J. E. Raby, A History of Christian Latin Poetry, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1953), pp.363-75; and Beryl Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1952).

²¹Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Clementinam, eds. A. Colunga & L. Turrado (Matriti, Spain, 1965). All quotes of Vulgate are from this edition.

²²Similar epithets are common in the writings of St. Hildegard (12th century). Mediation: "O virga mediatrix, sancta viscera tua mortem superaverunt, et venter tuus omnes creaturas illuminavit, in pulchro flore de suavissima integritate clausi pudoris tui horti" (p.451); Heavenly comparisons: "O coruscans lux stellarum! o splendidissima specialis forma regalium nuptiarum! o fulgens gemma, tu es ornata in alta persona, quae non habet maculatam rugam; tu es etiam socia angelorum et civis sanctorum" (p.449); The earthly, material aspect: "O splendidissima gemma, et serenum decus solis, qui tibi infusus est, fons saliens de corde Patris, quod est unicum Verbum suum, per quod creavit mundi priam materiam, quam Eva turbavit: hoc Verbum effabricavit tibi, Pater, hominem, et ob hoc es tu illa lucida materia, per quam hoc ipsum Verbum expiravit omnes virtutes, et eduxit in prima materia omnes creaturas" (p.442). From Analecta Sanctae Hildegardis Opera, ed. Joannes Baptista Card. Pitra (Monte Cassino, 1832; rpt. Gregg Press Ltd., 1966), vol. VIII. Regarding the doctrine of the mediation of the Virgin, see G. Frenaud, "Marie et l'Eglise d'après les liturgies latines du VIIe au XIe siècle," Marie et l'Eglise, I (1951), pp.41,44.

²³In fact, the epithet was so popular that the 13th century hymnist John of Garland used it as the title of his collection of miracles of the Virgin, see: The Stella Maris of John of Garland with a Study of Certain Mary Legends in 12th Century France, ed. E. F. Wilson (Cambridge, Ma., 1946). Of course, we have the office hymn, "Ave maris stella," Thesaurus hymnologicus, ed. H. A. Daniel (Leipzig, 1855-56), vol. I, p.204; also, for

instance, St. Anselm, "Psalter of Mary," Lateinische hymnen des Mittelalters, ed. F. J. Mone (Freiburg, 1853-55), vol. II, p.234, ll. 101ff: "Ave perfusa lumine / tuoque digna nomine / nam quod Maria dicitur / stella maris exprimitur."

²⁴This characteristic was taken directly from Greek origins, as was the character of Venus generally among Romans; cf. The Oxford Classical Dictionary, eds. N. Hammond & H. Scullard (Oxford, 1970), pp.80-81.

²⁵See the detailed numismatic study by A. Alföldi, A Festival of Isis at Rome under the Christian Emperors of the IVth Century, Dissertationes Pannoniae, II, 7 (Budapest, 1937).

²⁶St. Jerome, De nomin. hebraic. de Exod., de Matth., in PL, XXIII, cols. 789-842.

²⁷For a detailed discussion of this etymology question see The Catholic Encyclopedia (New York, 1913), vol. XV, p.464A.

²⁸Carmina Burana, ed. J. A. Schmeller (Stuttgard, 1894), #159, st.3, ll.3-5.

²⁹Texts and translations from: Anthology of Troubadour Lyric Poetry; ed. & trans. A. R. Press (Austin, 1971). First quote is from "Can lo glatz e.l frechs e la neus" by Girout de Borneil (ll.35-39, p.134); second is from "Aitant, ses plus, viu hom quan viu jauzens" by Sordello (ll.12-24, p.240).

³⁰This point is discussed at length by C. Wright in her dissertation, The Influence of the Exegetical Tradition. . . , pp. 61-69.

³¹Edélestand du Ménil, Poésies populaires latines du Moyen Age (Paris, 1847), pp. 222-23. Ménil's comment: "Les expressions sensuelles et même licencieuses choquaient se peu la naïveté du moyen âge qu'on ne se faisait pas scrupule de s'en servir en parlant de la Vierge, et des sentiments qu'elle insperait à Dieu. Nous citerons, comme exemple, une pièce que M. Croke a publiée d'après un ms. du XIIe siècle."

³²Anselm, Opera Omnia, ed. F. S. Schmitt (Edinburgh, 1946-61), vol. III, #vii, ll. 82-92.

³³Text and translation from Peter Dronke, Medieval Latin and the Rise of the European Love Lyric, p. 518.

³⁴Carmina Burana, ed. J. A. Schmeller (Stuttgard, 1894), #169.

³⁵Text and translation from Peter Dronke, Medieval Latin and the Rise of the European Love Lyric, p. 363.

³⁶ibid., pp. 387-90.

³⁷C. Wright discusses several medieval Latin poems in some detail which further demonstrate the close relationship between secular and spiritual diction. I refer the reader to her discussions of: "Iam, dulcis amica, venito," "Levis exsurgit zephrus," "Vestiunt silve," each from the Cambridge Songs MS. (pp.116-38); "Si linguis angelicis," "Tempus transit gelidum," "Ob amoris pressuram," each from the Carmina Burana MS. (pp.138-59).

³⁸For instance, see the works of Peter Dronke and the dissertation of C. Wright cited above.

³⁹e.g., see: A. J. Denomy, The Heresy of Courtly Love (Gloucester, Ma., 1965); Robert Briffault, The Troubadours (Bloomington, 1965).

⁴⁰Regarding this issue, see: E. Koehler, "Observations historiques et sociologiques sur la poésie des troubadours," Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, 7 (1964), 27-51; R. Lejeune, "Formules féodales et style amoureux chez Guillaume IX d'Aquitaine," Atti: VIII Congresso internazionale di studi romanzi, 2 vols. (Firenze, 1959), II, pp. 227-48; H. Moller, "The Social Causation of the Courtly Love Complex," Comparative Studies in Society and History, I (1958-59), 137-63.

⁴¹Frederick Goldin, The Mirror of Narcissus in the Courtly Love Lyric (Ithaca, 1967), pp.92-106; James J. Wilhelm, The Cruellest Month: Spring, Nature, and Love in Classical and Medieval Lyrics (New Haven, 1965), pp. 151-93.

⁴²Text and translation from Anthology of Troubadour Lyric Poetry, ed. & trans. A. R. Press (Austin, 1971), pp. 76-78.

⁴³Text and translation from Lyrics of the Troubadours and Trouveres, ed. & trans. F. Goldin (Garden City, 1973), p. 152.

⁴⁴cf. J. Lawlor, Patterns of Love and Courtesy (London, 1966), pp. 45-53.

⁴⁵In passing, it should also be noted that the Virgin was also a mirror. She is so called in the well-known Litany of Loreto, "Speculum justitiae." The Biblical passage relevant to the Virgin-as-mirror trope is Sapientia 7:26: "Et speculum sine macula Dei maiestatis, / Et imago bonitatis illius." Also cf. St. Hildegard's sequence "O virga ac diadema," Analecta Opera, ed. J. Pitra (Monte Cassino, 1882), #LV, ll.14-15: "quam fecit speculum omnis ornamenti sui, et amplexionem omnis creaturae suae."

⁴⁶cf. Jean Frappier, "Variations sur le thème du miroir," Cahiers de l'ass. intern. des études françaises, 11 (May, 1959), p. 138: "Le miroir aide ainsi les poètes à regarder le monde intérieur, où tout semble se différent du monde extérieur, à expliquer les phénomènes étranges qui se dégoulent dans les coeurs. . . . Le thème du miroir chez les poètes de l'amour . . . de Bernard de Ventadour à Maurice Scève, devient de plus en plus intérieur."

⁴⁷These interpretations of Ovid are discussed in: Louise Vinge, The Narcissus Theme in Western European Literature up to the Early 19th Century (Lund, 1967), pp. 72-76.

⁴⁸Goldin, The Mirror of Narcissus in the Courtly Love Lyric, pp. 20-58.

⁴⁹Text and translation from Vinge, p. 67.

⁵⁰Text and translation from Goldin, The Mirror of Narcissus, pp. 72-73.

⁵¹Text and translation from The Poems of Aimeric de Pequilha, eds. & trans. W. P. Shepard & F. M. Chambers (Evanston, 1950), Pillet and Carstens, 10, poem 50; also quoted by Goldin, pp. 88-89.

⁵²Text and translation from Vinge, p. 67. Still further examples from the period are: Benoit de Sainte-Maure's epic, Le Roman de Troie (c.1165), ed. L. Constans (Paris, 1907), t.3, ll. 17690-17714 (also discussed in Vinge, pp. 68ff.); the Flamenca romance, ed. Paul Meyer (Paris, 1901), t.1, ll.646-49; Thibaut de Champagne, Les chansons, ed. A. Wallensköld (Paris, 1925), p. 74; and I refer the reader to Goldin's study, The Mirror of Narcissus in the Courtly Love Lyric, pp. 69-106, for further examples.

⁵³J. Anglade, Grammaire de l'Ancien Provençal (Paris, 1921), p. 252.

⁵⁴Text and translation from Anthology of Troubadour Lyric Poetry, ed. & trans. A. R. Press (Austin, 1971), pp. 226-28.

⁵⁵Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologiae, cura Instituti Studiorum Medievalium Ottaviensis (Ottawa, 1949), I-II, 28, art. 1, p.865. Precisely the same point is made by St. Bernard in his Sermones super Canticum Canticorum, 8:9, 83:3 (PL, vol. 183). It is a theological commonplace, countless examples of which might be cited.

⁵⁶A. R. Press, ed. & trans., Anthology of Troubadour Lyric Poetry (Austin, 1971), p. 217.

⁵⁷ibid., text and translation, pp. 90-91.

⁵⁸ibid., pp. 214-15.

⁵⁹ibid., pp. 248-49.

⁶⁰ibid., pp. 274-75.

⁶¹For a discussion of the academic debate on Jaufre Rudel, I refer the reader to C. Wright's dissertation, pp. 181ff. It is striking that in her printing of the poem in question, she simply leaves out the entire last stanza, that is, the double dedication--thus avoiding by fiat, as it were, the very issue which I would suggest is so crucial.

⁶²Text and translation from Anthology of Troubadour Lyric Poetry, ed. & trans. A. R. Press (Austin, 1971), pp.30-31.

⁶³D. W. Robertson, "Amors de terra lonhdana," Studies in Philology, 49 (1952), pp. 566-82.

⁶⁴A. R. Press, ed. & trans., Anthology of Troubadour Lyric Poetry, p. 28.

⁶⁵Text and translation from Lyrics of the Troubadours and Trouveres, ed. & trans. F. Goldin (Garden City, 1973), pp. 296-300.

⁶⁶For a thorough classification of the various forms of Provençal Marian lyrics, see D. Scheludko, "Die Marienlieder in der altprovenzalischen Lyrik," Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, 36 (1935), 29-48; 37 (1936), 15-42. This poem is also the subject of an essay by Frederick Goldin, "The Law's Homage to Grace: Peire Cardenal's Vera Vergena, Maria," Romance Philology, 20 (1967), 466-77. Goldin stresses the function of Mary as Mediatrix in the poem, citing further examples: "The theme of the division of offices between Christ and Mary appears quite often in the Provençal lyric. Lanfranc Cigale mentions the opposition between razo and merce (En chantan and Gloriosa). Guiraut Riquier asserts that without Mary's compassion there is no salvation (Cor ai). Scheludko, citing these and other examples, remarks, 'Mit der Verbreitung des Marienkultes wird die göttliche Gerechtigkeit und Barmherzigkeit Maria zur ausschliesslichen Trägerin der Misericordia wird' (XXXVII, 19)" And further, "Vera vergena, Maria celebrates the integrity of that dual nature, the unity of Mary's grandeur and humility. Thus it reflects the harmony between Grace and the Law. . . ." (p. 475) Goldin sees a definitely secular side to the poem, "a forensic justification of Grace," but he does not go on to what I feel is quite straightforward, the particular problem of the Albigensian crusades, which we know concerned Cardenal in other poems.

⁶⁷Text and translation from Anthology of Troubadour Lyric Poetry, pp. 264-68.

⁶⁸*ibid.*; p. 268.

⁶⁹This diagram is intended to foreshadow discussion in chapter three of Jacques Lacan's "schéma L," although elucidation of his model is not necessary at this point.

⁷⁰Distinctly antithetical to these poems' contextual meaning, but clearly analogous in terms of structure, is the mediating function of the woman as an object of exchange in the feudal system. The exchange of women in marriage within the landed feudal class is fundamentally a process of mediation between landed families, in which the woman herself performs the role of mediatrix. I mention this point in passing, as I do not have space for a thorough discussion of the topic in a study of this sort, which is not intended to be primarily sociological in this sense.

⁷¹C. Wright, pp. 208ff.

⁷²Bloch, Feudal Society, II, pp. 329ff.

⁷³Medieval English Lyrics, ed. R. T. Davies (London, 1963), pp. 53-54.

⁷⁴ibid., pp. 64-67.

⁷⁵Raby, A History of Christian Latin Poetry, pp. 372ff.

⁷⁶cf. Leo Spitzer, "'Explication de texte' applied to three great Middle English Poems," Archivum Linguisticum, 3 (1951); 1-165.

⁷⁷Bloch, Feudal Society, I, p. 146.

⁷⁸The Harley Lyrics, ed. G. L. Brook (Manchester, 1948), p. 55.

⁷⁹Anthologia Latina, eds. F. Beucheler & A. Riese (Lipsiae, 1894-97), see poems in vol. I, pp. 119-21, 284.

⁸⁰see G. L. Brook, "The Original Dialects of the Harley Lyrics," Leeds Studies in English, II (1933), 38-61.

⁸¹The Harley Lyrics, pp. 48-50. Leo Spitzer discusses this poem in detail in the article cited in note 76, and my discussion incorporates various points from his analysis.

⁸²Text from Sermones super Cantica (Opera Omnia I, II), eds. J. Leclercq, C. H. Talbot, & H. M. Rochais (Rome, 1958).

⁸³The lyrics of the Harley MS. have been discussed at length, particularly relative to their secular/spiritual diction derived from exegesis, by C. Wright in her dissertation on this subject (pp.204-302). I do not feel that I can augment her researches in a study of this type, and have decided not to repeat her efforts here, but refer the reader to her text for further textual analyses. I have devoted relatively little space to the Middle English lyric, mainly because the selection from this period is so limited and therefore no argument can be made that what little has survived is actually "representative."

⁸⁴Poesia del duecento e del trecento, eds. C. Muscetta & P. Rivalta (Torino, 1956), pp. 29-30.

⁸⁵Repertorio tematico della scuola poetica siciliana, ed. W. Pagani (Bari, 1968), p. 437.

⁸⁶ibid., pp. 449-50; other examples are cited as well in Pagani's study.

⁸⁷Poesia del duecento e del trecento, pp. 37-39.

⁸⁸cf. Auerbach's now famous discussion of the concept of the figura: "Figura," in Scenes from the Drama of European Literature, trans. R. Manheim (New York, 1959), pp. 11-76.

⁸⁹Poesia del duecento e del trecento, p. 465.

⁹⁰Other instances of the Sicilian School's use of the Narcissus myth are not wanting. I give two further examples:

Guardando la fontano, il buon Narcisio
de lo suo viso forte 'namorao,
e'n tanto che lo vide fue conquiso
e disarmato sî, che s'oblidao
pensando che 'infra l'aqua foss'assiso
ed incornate ciò c'allor mirao;
vogliendo tenere, feu diviso
da tutte gioie, e sua vita finao.

Text from Repertorio tematico. . . , ed. W. Pagani, p. 471.
Another example is from Rinaldo d'Aquino's "Poi li piace ch'
avanzi suo valore," ll. 25-36:

Belleze ed adorneze in lei è miso,
 caunoscenza e savire
 edesso fanno co' lei dimoranza;
 e son di lei si innamorato e priso,
 che già de lo partire
 non ho podere e non faccio semblanza.
 Altresi finamente
 come Narciso in sua spera vedere
 per sé si 'nnamorao
 quando in l'aigua isguardo,
 cosi posso io ben dire
 che eo son preso de la più avenente.

Text from La poesia lirica del duecento, ed. S. Salinari
 (Torino, 1968), p. 146.

⁹¹James J. Wilhelm, The Cruellest Month (New Haven, 1965),
 pp. 245, 248; cf. F. Goldin, The Mirror of Narcissus in the
 Courtly Love Lyric (Ithaca, 1967), pp. 254-55: "For the courtly
 [Provençal and German] poet there is nothing left once he
 realizes that the 'mirror is a mirror,' with few qualities
 beyond what he projects there. There is no vision per speculum
 for him; he cannot be inspired to look 'beyond' the mirror to
 see what it reflects. He is a secular man; the mirror is the
 secularization of his word. It reflects his absolute commitment
 to the values of his society. It is a mirror for all to see,
 and in it they recognize him as one of their own. This
 recognition by the others of his class is essential to him; he
 cannot exist without it. . . . It is altogether different
 for the stilnovist, who does not require the image to preserve
 his social identity."

⁹²e.g. R. A. Markus, "St. Augustine on Signs," in his
Augustine: A Collection of Critical Essays (Garden City, 1972),
 pp. 61-91.

⁹³Melvin Askew, "Courtly Love: Neurosis as Institution,"
Psychoanalytic Review, 52 (1965), 19-29; R. A. Koenigsberg,
 "Culture and the Unconscious Fantasy: Observations on Courtly
 Love," Psychoanalytic Review, 54 (1967), 36-50; H. Moller,
 "The Meaning of Courtly Love," Journal of American Folklore,
 73 (1960), 39-52; and "The Social Causation of the Courtly
 Love Complex," Comparative Studies in Society and History, I
 (1958-59), 137-63.

PART IIDIALECTIC: A PSYCHOLOGY OF LOVE

"In principio erat Verbum."

--John 1:1

"I fear indeed that we shall never rid ourselves of God, since we still believe in grammar.

--Nietzsche

"C'est le monde des mots qui crée le monde des choses."

--Jacques Lacan

Chapter 3:Themes and Variations

3.0. The English phrase "psychology of love" has an obviously anachronistic character in these contexts. Neither "psychology" nor "love" were terms employed in this fashion within the medieval context itself. The nonexistence of these abstractions is not proven by this semantic observation, however. The study of the soul, whether anima, animus, or mens in the Latin phrasing, was an issue central to the work of theologians. Among pagan works, Aristotle's De Anima was important and widely read in Latin versions of varying accuracy. Plotinus was likewise available in Latin versions. Augustine's discussion in the De Trinitate, particularly books 8-11, 14, and 15, is an important foundation for later Latin theologians. An analysis of the soul occupies a large section of the first book of the Summa of Thomas Aquinas. The study of love, whether amor, dilectio, cupiditas, or charitas in the Latin phrasing, was the subject of major treatises both in the religious and in the secular vein. An elaborate discussion of love is an inherent part of Augustine's analysis of the Trinity; later, St. Bernard made an important contribution to the ongoing dialogue in his De Diligendo Deo; and a sizeable portion of St. Thomas Aquinas' Summa, II, concerns love and the affects of love. The psychology of love in the medieval period may perhaps be less

anachronistically phrased as the relation of love to the nature and progress of the soul. In the end, however, the lapse of a millennium is not to be bridged through semantics alone.

And yet, it is precisely this bridge which is one concern of this study. Psychoanalytic discourse, beginning with Freud himself, has frequently found itself concerned with such a dialectic between ontogeny and phylogeny.¹ A rough rephrasing of this concern would be to confront the dialectic between the synchronic "state" of an individual at one point in time (whether in modern times or medieval) and the individual's relationship to the diachronic history of a culture. From the start, however, it must be stressed yet again that any such psychological discussion of cultural phenomenon is distinctly apart from clinical discourse. For instance, in connection with the psychoanalytic model, the primal methodological doctrine of free association is simply inapplicable in the case of literary texts which are highly stylized, overdetermined, and carefully constructed modes of expression whose authors are unknown to us in any strictly personal sense. And yet the idea that there are at least some fundamental interrelations between ontogenic and phylogenic human characteristics continues to hold fascination. If these interrelations are to exist, it is left to establish them through the structures underlying both individual and collective human experience, rather than through the specific

"content" or the constructions of particularized "meanings" established within given contexts--whether these contexts be basically ontogenic or phylogenic.² This is not to divorce structure from meaning (syntax from semantics) in a syntagmatic sense; but this methodological tool does allow for a treatment of diachronic interrelations in terms of structures, without necessarily implying that the various expressions of particularized meanings manifest in these structures have not altered significantly through a diachronic evolution.

To speak precisely, a study of this sort, concerned only with those texts which have been written through a self-conscious activity we call "literary," "scientific," or "philosophic," is not dealing with ontogeny in the clinical sense of the word. The extension of the word, however, to include not only the nature of an individual, but also how an individual conceptualizes this nature, is straightforward and relatively common. In turning to the texts of Augustine or a troubadour, of Freud or Lacan, we are clearly, at least one full step away from primary functions and mental operations. This obvious point is worth stressing if only to steer clear of the too common biographical fallacy which is apt to mar psychological criticism.

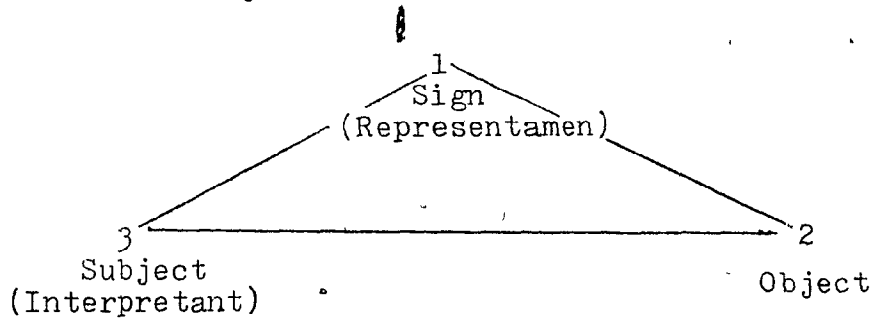
The method of this chapter is dialectical. The concern is two-fold: a) an attempt to understand how a medieval subject objectifies and conceptualizes the love relationship, a process

which entails an objectification of his own subjectivity; and b) an attempt to understand how a modern subject (critic, analyst) objectifies his subjectivity and in turn attempts to understand another subject (text, analysand) who is separated from him in time and space. Expressed in this fashion, the manner in which the two aspects of inquiry dovetail becomes evident. Interpretation, in these contexts, entails interpretation of texts and interpretation of ourselves. One without the other would be incomplete. The remainder of this study will present themes and variations on those themes; a medieval discussion will be followed by a modern variation of that discussion.

In turn, as a methodological tool, this dialectical approach is governed by a deliberately simple set of terms taken from modern linguistics, specifically concerning: a) the nature of the sign (or for our purposes "word" might be just as useful), and b) the nature of the sentence. These concepts and terms remain deliberately simple, both for sake of clarity and to avoid as much as possible highly theoretical issues currently under debate among linguists of various schools. Since Peirce and Saussure, modern linguistics has recognized that the sign is ultimately two-sided and irreducible beyond this bivalent nature, which might be represented as:

SIGN	~	SIGNIFIED
		SIGNIFIER

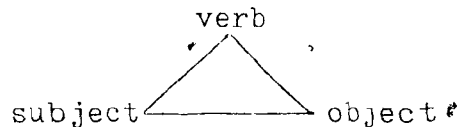
(Where the symbol \sim indicates a relationship of equivalence.) This bivalence is the inherent mediation which the sign performs between the subject and the external world of objects, which in terms of function renders signification essentially triadic. Peirce has phrased the same point similarly, "A sign or representamen is something which stands to somebody for something in some respect or capacity."⁴ The triadic nature of signification is implicit in Saussure, but explicitly stated perhaps more clearly in Peirce:



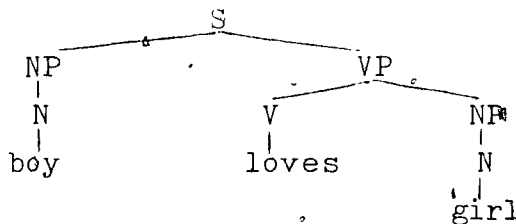
"A Sign, or Representamen, is a First which stands in such a genuine triadic relation to a Second, called its Object, as to be capable of determining a Third, called its Interpretant, to assume the same triadic relation to its Object in which it stands itself to the same Object."⁵ R. A. Markus, for instance, has shown that Augustine's theory of signs is also triadic and is essentially in harmony with the modern analysis.⁶ We shall return to this important point later in this chapter.

Signification, then, is a triadic process in which the sign mediates between the subject and the object. Up to this

point, the terms "subject" and "object" have not been used in their specifically grammatical senses. Turning to a grammatical analysis of the functions "subject" and "object," we note that an analogous structure presents itself:



In the simple sentence (and this is valid for Latin, English, and the Romance languages), which is built of the functional components subject-verb-object, the verb performs a mediation in sentence syntax which recapitulates the mediation of the sign in signification. A phrase-marker tree diagram of the simple sentence "Boy loves girl" would be: (note: S = sentence, NP = noun phrase, VP = verb phrase)?



Described through rewrite rules, this sentence would be rendered as follows: (note: \longrightarrow = "rewrite as" or "break down as")

- I. a) $S \longrightarrow NP \quad VP$
 b) $VP \longrightarrow V \quad NP$
 c) $NP \longrightarrow N$
 d) $NP \longrightarrow N$
- II. a) $V \longrightarrow \text{loves}$
 b) $N \longrightarrow \text{boy}$
 c) $N \longrightarrow \text{girl}$

Such an analysis of the syntactic structures demonstrates clearly the mediation performed by VP. All the functional components of S are incorporated in I(a) and (b); and VP I(a) provides the mediating step to the rewrite rule I(b), where the second NP (functional object) is first introduced in the composition of this simple sentence. The sentence which is to include the functions subject and object must possess this triadic structure: subject (NP) - verb (V) - object (NP), either explicitly, as this example, or implicitly through the conversational context. This syntactic triad is a linguistic universal among the Romance and Germanic languages as fundamental as the triadic nature of signification itself. J. H. Greenberg has discussed in detail the universality of subject-verb-object structure, beyond the Indo-European family, in his important essay, "Some Universals of Grammar with Particular Reference to the Order of Meaningful Elements."⁸

As a heuristic device, in this study I shall at times employ the grammatical functions subject/object along with or as synonymous with the epistemological subject/object, noting that this is useful because the simple sentence "Boy loves/sees/etc. girl," syntactically expresses the epistemological subject/object relation of perception and cognition:

subject --- perceives/conceives --- object

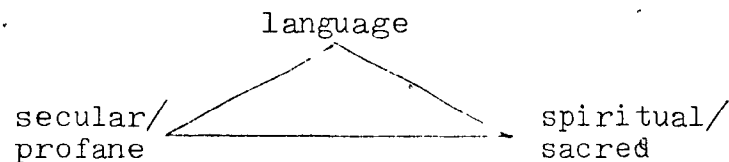
Clearly, this amounts to taking the position that language structures cognition and perception. In conflicting ways, but not necessarily mutually exclusive, many modern linguists have already put forth this proposition--Bloomfield, Sapir, Whorf, Chomsky, to mention a few. As Cassirer has phrased it, "Language does not merely enter into a world of objective and completed perceptions, then simply adding 'names' to individual objects, clearly distinct in relation to each other, such 'names' being purely exterior and arbitrary signs. On the contrary, language is itself a mediator in the formation of objects; it is in a sense the denominator par excellence."⁹ So much may be commonplace. Jacques Lacan, in the field of psychoanalysis, builds upon a like proposition, beginning from the statement that "the unconscious is structured like a language." The present study does not purport to establish the validity of this proposition, whether in the linguistic or in the psychoanalytic realm. Rather, this proposition, deliberately borrowed from modern linguistics, is employed as a starting point, and a simple linguistic terminology is employed to unify the discussion of various texts.

The proposition that language mediates between the subject (or a collection of subjects) and the world is a corollary of the statement that the sign mediates between subject and object. In relation to the remainder of this study, it is important to note that language also metaphorically transcends the world in

at least two senses, for example: 1) the word "person" may express one, individual, particular, unique "person," but at the same time there is a class concept of "person" which transcends any and all particular individuals, and this class concept is that which allows for the individual predication "person"; 2) the word "Person," however, expressing a Divine member of the Trinity, transcends the world in a different manner. The Divine Person transcends not only the world into the class of the "other world," but He paradoxically transcends language itself. In the predication Person, language predicates what God is not, because language cannot predicate that which transcends it. God is truth, light, love, logos, and yet God is none of these because He transcends each of them. The transcendence of (1) is an operation placing one object in relation to a class of which it is a part: David is a person \sim David is one object exemplary of the whole class "person." The transcendence of (2) is an operation placing one object in relation to an object which it is not: God is three Persons \sim God is somehow similar to three persons, but He is not three persons. (The negative comparison underlying the metaphor is emphasized in this case by the orthographic device Person used in the special set of theological terms; but a certain negation is always operative in metaphor: thus "A rose is my true love's mouth" depends on the semantic fact that a rose is not a mouth--otherwise we would have the line "A rose is a rose is a rose.") The internally

consistent extension of metaphoric operations comprises analogical discourse, as exemplified of course in so many medieval texts and medieval exegesis of Scripture.¹⁰

The distinguishing characteristic of medieval analogical discourse is again a certain bivalence, in which language performs a mediation, rendering a triadic structure analogous to that of signification and subject-object syntax discussed above:¹¹



Thus, characteristically, exegesis deals with the sensus literalis and the sensus altior of Scriptural language. In this sense, Scripture is admittedly bivalent, and this admission is the implicit starting point of medieval exegesis. Scripture and spiritual discourse in general are bivalent by necessity, because there is no exclusively sacred language, separate and self-contained. The disaster at Babel had driven language ever further from that original sacred Language, the Logos, when all speech was at one with God's own Language. In compensation for this lack of the Divine code, which must evermore be beyond predication, medieval analogical discourse establishes another code which, in effect, is composed of elements of natural language primed:

natural language = (a,b,c,d, . . . x)

analogical code = (a',b',c',d', . . . x')

Thus, we have little trouble recognizing the intended meaning of a simple example: "The Lord is my shepherd," which we realize does not mean "The Lord of this estate tends to my flock of sheep for me," for such would be an incomprehensible misunderstanding of a very simple message in the analogical code. The important point, however, is that the specifically spiritual, analogical code runs exactly parallel to natural language, as this simple example demonstrates.

This parallel relationship between the natural and the analogical codes is crucial. Discussion throughout the remainder of this study must start from these points: a) the bivalence of signification and language reflects the epistemological binary relation subject/object; b) the sign, and by extension language, mediates between subject and object, rendering the triad, subject - language - object; c) in the syntax of the simple sentence with functional components subject-verb-object, the verb recapitulates the mediation of language as a whole, and renders an analogous syntactic triad; d) analogical discourse is established through the mediation of language by extended metaphorical operations, rendering an analogous triad, profane - language - sacred.

We are now about to consider several medieval texts, and at the same time we shall consider primarily one contemporary "text," the work of Jacques Lacan. Before approaching these disparate texts, the unifying framework of discussion must be clear. The following materials have been chosen in order to augment the analysis of the lyrics previously considered, and to open the discussion to new directions; these texts themselves are "lyrical" in the broad sense in that each is concerned with the subject's emotional state, self-awareness, and expression. Of course, the terms self-awareness or self-consciousness in a medieval context cannot express exactly the same semantic field as the terms encompass in a contemporary context; such an assumption would, in effect, beg the question of this inquiry. Nonetheless, that the medieval theory of self-consciousness and at least one manifestation of contemporary theories of self-consciousness do in fact share something in common is an hypothesis of this study. This assumption has led to the selection of Jacques Lacan as a spokesman for a particular contemporary theory, one direction in psychoanalysis. What this something may be which is shared in common is the question to be confronted.

Lacan has been chosen for various reasons: a) Although controversial, his work is recognized as an important contribution to contemporary psychoanalytic theory and to establishing

the relation of psychoanalysis to other disciplines.¹²

b) Lacan's linguistic interpretation of Freud not only returns to Freud's own starting points (i.e., On Aphasia, 1891; The Psychopathology of Everyday Life, 1901; Jokes and their Relation to the Unconscious, 1905; The Antithetical Meaning of Primal Words, 1910), but just as importantly Lacan's linguistic interpretation places his theory squarely in a Western European continuity which is firmly established in the medieval period (or earlier, for that matter), as will be demonstrated below.

c) Three crucial phenomena of medieval lyricism--the mirror, Narcissus, and language itself--are in turn three central phenomena in psychoanalytic theory, beginning with Freud himself, and Lacan's interpretation is particularly indicative of these concerns.¹³

d) Again continuing an approach begun by Freud himself, Lacan is aware of the continuity of psychoanalysis in relation to its philosophical backgrounds, and various essays speak directly to specific issues of Augustine's philosophy, troubadour lyricism, and medieval mysticism.¹⁴

The medieval texts primarily considered and interrelated in Part II are: St. Augustine's De Trinitate, St. Bernard's De Diligendo Deo, Boncompagno's Rota Veneris, and the Canticum Canticorum. What links together these texts from the point of view of this inquiry is fundamentally present in the De Trinitate itself: the interrelation of verbum (logos) and amor (eros),

and in turn the relation of verbum and amor to self-consciousness Augustine's De Trinitate sets the stage, as it were, both in terms of the specific method of this study and in terms of the historical development of medieval Christian speculation on the nature of mind. Amor is the great mediator in Augustine's trinitarian structures. In this light, Bernard's De Diligendo Deo and Boncompagno's Rota Veneris are instructive texts in that they are exemplary of the inherent bivalence of analogical discourse on the nature and expression of amor, being treatises on amor spiritualis and amor carnalis respectively. The Canticum Canticorum, perhaps even more so than the Ovidian corpus, is the repository of the bivalent analogical discourse of amor throughout the medieval period--perhaps more influential than the Ovidian repository because the exegetical tradition of the Canticum had established early a solid analogical code for any discourse on love and loving.¹⁵ The inescapable bivalence of love discourse, then, is a priori in respect to medieval lyricism, because this bivalence is built into the parallel relation between natural language and analogical code as explained above.

I propose to discuss a link between a medieval and a contemporary speculation on affections and self-reflection, implementing simple linguistic principles to provide a framework for discussion. This linguistic base employs deliberately simple principles which are universal within the given contexts

of Latin, English, and Romance languages, regardless of the historical position of the various texts in question. This methodological tool provides a set of terms with the capacity for a treatment that does not necessitate one text being considered derivative of another.

3.1.1. First theme: triadic structures

Ultimately, the medieval period's fascination with the triad could be traced back indirectly to Plato's Timaeus. Here we must limit ourselves, however, to beginning with St. Augustine, whose triadic model of the structure of the soul remained functional throughout medieval thought. I know of no point-by-point elaboration of the model in later medieval philosophers; nonetheless, Augustine was the most widely read of the Latin Church Fathers and familiarity with his works must be assumed a priori among the learned at any time and place throughout medieval Christendom. In fact, the modern concern for a precise chronology of texts and authorities is something quite foreign to medieval thought. All auctores have an equal importance in the Middle Ages. No distinction is made between the various periods of antique Latin writers; pagan are read along with Christian. With the passage of years this list of auctores simply increases.¹⁶ It is unnecessary to demonstrate the specific "influence" of Augustine in terms of who may have read him when and where; his work is a major factor in the formulation of the medieval sensibility itself; his influence cannot be measured by the size and nature of his potential readership alone.

Since this study is concerned with the question of self-consciousness, whether personal, social, or spiritual, it is

Augustine's discussion of how the soul "knows itself" which is of primary concern.¹⁷ His most explicit treatment of this subject is found in the second half of the De Trinitate. In the first seven books he deals primarily with the Trinity of the Godhead as a subject in and of itself; beginning in the eighth book, the discussion moves to a consideration of the individual soul or mind of man--the "intellectual soul," mens-- and an explanation of the various analogous "trinities" which are found in man and in man's relation to corporeal reality. The importance of the inner trinities within man is fundamental, occupying half of the entire work, and Augustine begins his explanation with an allusion to I John 4:8, saying: "Why then do we set out for and run to the heights of the heavens and to the depths of the earth in search of Him who is within us, if we wish to be with Him?" (VIII, vii, 11). From this passage of Scripture Augustine goes on to build his discussion around the idea that within ourselves we have various trinitarian structures, and by looking within ourselves we then see these "images" of the Holy Trinity, "in whose image" we are made. The first inner trinity dealt with is mens, notitia, amor:

. . . cum se novit mens et amat se, manet trinitas:
mens, amor, notitia. . . . (IX, v, 8)¹⁸

(. . . when the mind knows itself and loves itself,
a trinity remains: the mind, love, and knowledge. . . .)

The mind, the mind's self-knowledge, and the love which binds all three as one soul--this is the first of the inner trinities which Augustine elaborates. Within the soul, then, the mind as "subject" and as "object" together with its own self-perception are an indissoluble trinity. And this inner trinity is in turn a reflection (imago) of the Holy Trinity itself: God the Father (Potestas), God the Son (Sapientia, Verbum), and the unifying Holy Spirit (Amor).

The soul loves itself because in so doing it loves its Ideal, the Holy Trinity, from whence the soul receives its substance and form; likewise, the very form of the soul coincides with the form of that which it loves. God created man in His own image; God is the Trinity: the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit, of one substance. Man's self-knowledge, his self-identity, is established through his own analogous inner || trinities. The soul's knowledge of itself is made possible through its love of itself and of God, and this knowledge-through-love enables the mind to form its own self-image, which Augustine terms the verbum of man. This verbum is in turn related to self-knowledge, analogously as God the Son is both Sapientia and Verbum:

. . . cum profecto ex quo esse coepit [mens],
nunquam sui meminisse, nunquam se intelligere, nunquam
se amare distiterit, sicut jam ostendimus. Ac per
hoc quando et se ipsam cogitatione convertitur, fit
trinitas, in quae jam et verbum possit intelligit:
formatur quippe ex ipsa cogitatione. . . (XIV,x,13)

(. . . since from the moment that it began to be, it has certainly never ceased to remember itself, never ceased to understand itself, and never ceased to love itself, as we have already shown. And, therefore, when it is turned to itself by thought, then arises a trinity, in which a word, too, can at last be identified, for it is formed from thought itself. . . .)

Earlier, back in book IX, Augustine has already explained that this verbum is at the same time self-knowledge and the self-image:

Ex quo colligitur, quia cum se mens ipsa novit atque approbat, sic est eadem notitia verbum ejus, ut ei sit par omnino et aequale, atque identidem: quia neque inferioris essentiae notitia est, sicut corporis; neque superioris, sicut Dei. Et cum habeat notitia similitudinem ad eam rem quam novit, hoc est, cujus notitia est; haec habet perfectam et aequalem, qua mens ipsa, quae novit, est nota. Ideoque et imago et verbum est, quia de illa exprimitur, cum cognoscendo eidem coaequatur, et est gigenti aequale quod genitum est. (IX, xi, 16)

(We conclude from this that, when the mind knows itself and approves what it knows, this same knowledge is in such way its word, that it is wholly and entirely on par with it, is equal to, and is identical with it, because it is not the knowledge of a lower essence, such as the body, nor of a higher essence such as God. And since knowledge has a likeness to that thing which it knows, namely, that of which it is the knowledge, then in this case it has a perfect and equal likeness, because the mind itself, which knows, is known. And, therefore, knowledge is both its image and its word, because it is an expression of that mind and is equalled to it by knowing, and because what is begotten is equal to its begetter.)

But it is not until the last book that the analogous relationship between the word of man and the Word of God is explicitly stated in the final, most clarified fashion, and the harmony of the long argumentation is resolved:

Proinde verbum quod foris sonat, signum est verbi quod intus lucet, cui magis verbi competit nomen. Nam illud quod profertur carnis ore, vox verbi est: verbumque et ipsum dicitur, propter illud a quo ut foris appareret assumptum est. Ita enim verbum nostrum vox quodam modo corporis fit, assumendo eam in qua manifestetur sensibus hominum; sicut Verbum Dei caro factum est, assumendo eam in qua et ipsum manifestaretur sensibus hominum. Et sicut verbum nostrum fit vox, nec mutatur in vocem; ita Verbum Dei caro quidem factum est, sed absit ut mutaretur in carnem. Assumendo quippe illam, non in eam se consumendo, et hoc nostrum vox fit, et illud caro factum est. (XV, xi, 20)

(Hence, the word which sounds without is a sign of the word that shines within, to which the name of word more properly belongs. For that which is produced by the mouth of the flesh is the sound of the word, and is itself also called the word, because that inner word assumed it in order that it might appear outwardly. For just as our word in some way becomes a bodily sound by assuming that in which it may be manifested to the senses of men, so the Word of God was made flesh by assuming that in which He might also be manifested to the senses of men. And just as our word becomes a sound and is not changed into a sound, so the Word of God indeed becomes flesh, but far be it from us that it should be changed into flesh. For by assuming it, not by being consumed in it, this word of ours becomes a sound, and that Word became flesh.)

In knowing itself as it is, the mind knows itself in its resemblance (but, of course, not identity) with the Divine. As God the Son, the Word, is the perfect resemblance and yet is one with God the Father; so the mind's word, its own self-image, is the perfect resemblance and yet is one with the mind itself.

Augustine, and St. Bernard later reemphasizes the same point, explains that true love--charitas, vera dilectio-- is this love of the Divine Ideal, love of Truth; it is to love

other things and persons for sake of this Ideal, this Truth.¹⁹ When the verbum of man is properly conceived in the good Christian soul, it is the ideal self-image of the soul's potential perfection--always remaining potential because the Divine perfection of God Himself is of course beyond earthly grasp.

But human experience is not simply summed up by this one inner trinity in and of itself. Augustine emphasizes that there are many others, and he discusses the inner trinity of memoria, intelligentia, voluntas (amor) in detail in the tenth book. Another trinity, for example, is the outer trinity of sight: the subject seeing, the sight, and the object seen. This is an "outer trinity" concerning the corporeal senses and their relation to the physical world; it is specifically earthly. He who is caught in this trinity and who gazes upon this is not participating in the spiritual activity of the good Christian who gazes within:

Male itaque vivitur et deformiter secundum trinitatem hominis exterioris: quia et illam trinitatem, quae licet interius imagnetur, exteriora tamen imaginatur, sensibilibus corporaliumque utendorum causa peperit. Nullus enim eis uti posset etiam bene, nisi sensarum rerum imagines memoria tenerentur: et nisi pars maxima voluntatis in superioribus atque interioribus habitet, eaque ipsa quae commodatur, sive foris corporibus, sive intus imaginibus eorum, nisi quidquid in eis capit ad meliorem verioremque vitam referat, atque in eo fine cuius intuita haec agenda iudicat, acquiescat, quid aliud facimus, nisi quod nos Apostolus facere prohibet, dicens, "Nolite conformari huic saeculo" [Rom. 12:2]? Quapropter non est ista trinitas imago Dei: ex ultima quippe, id est corporea creatura, qua superior est anima, in ipsa anima fit per sensum corporis. (XI, v, 8)

(Therefore, he lives wickedly and shamefully according to the trinity of the outer man, because it was for the purpose of using sensible and corporeal things that it has also begotten that other trinity, which although it imagines within, yet imagines things that are from without. For no one could use these things, not even in a good way, unless the images of sensible things were retained in the memory, and unless the will for the most part dwells in the higher and more inward things, and unless the same will, which is adapted both the bodies without and to their images within, refers whatever it takes from them to a better, and truer life, and rests in that end upon which it gazes, and for the sake of which it judges that these things ought to be done--what else do we do but that which the Apostle prohibits us to do when he says: "Be not conformed to this world"? Wherefore this trinity is not an image of God, for it is produced in the soul itself through the sense of the body from the lowest, that is, from the corporeal creature, to which the soul is superior.)

The triadic structure in itself is not limited only to spiritual experience. Purely secular and base experience evidences triadic structures as well. Returning to book IX, although the verbum of man, in its relationship with the mind, is structurally analogous to the Verbum of God, this is no indication that the human verbum is necessarily good, pious, and beneficial:

Ergo aut cupiditate, aut charitate; non quo non sit amanda creatura; sed si ad Creatorem refertur ille amor, non jam cupiditas, sed charitas erit. Tunc enim est cupiditas, cum propter se amatur creatura. Tunc non utentem adjuvat, sed corrumpit fruentem. Cum ergo aut par nobis, aut inferior creatura sit, inferiore utendum est ad Deum; pari autem fruendum, sed in Deo. Sicut enim te ipso frui debes, sed in eo qui fecit te; sic etiam illo quem diligis tanquam te ipsum. Et nobis ergo et fratribus in Domino fruamur, et inde nos nec ad nosmetipsos remittere, et quasi relaxare deorsum versus audeamus. Nascitur autem verbum, cum

excogitatum placet, aut ad peccandum, aut ad recte faciendum. Verbum ergo nostrum et mentem de qua gignitur, quasi medius amor conjungit, seque cum eis teritum complexu incorporeo, sine ulla confusione constringit. (IX,viii,13)

(Therefore, it [verbum] is conceived either by desire, or love: not that the creature ought not to be loved, but if that love for him is referred to the Creator, it will no longer be desire but love. For desire is then present when the creature is loved on account of himself. Then it does not help him who uses it, but corrupts him who enjoys it. Since the creature, therefore is either equal or inferior to us, we must use the inferior for God and enjoy the equal, but in God. For just as you ought to enjoy yourself, but not in yourself but in Him who made you, so you ought to enjoy him whom you love as yourself. And, therefore, let us enjoy ourselves and our brethren in the Lord, and not dare to return from there to ourselves, and, as it were, to let ourselves slip downwards. But the word is born when that which is thought pleases us, either for the purpose of committing sin or of acting rightly. Love, therefore, as a means, joins our word with the mind from which it is born; and as a third it binds itself with them in an incorporeal embrace, without any confusion.)

The world of sensuous experience is a world of potential temptations and misleading appearances. Trinitarian structures and the ensuing verbum occurring in the "outer man" and his contact with corporeal reality are subject to sinful repercussions--even though they reflect the structure of the Divine Trinity itself.

In the De Trinitate we are introduced to a great many trinitarian structures. Generally, however, the three central ones mentioned here are schematic of the over-all treatment in the treatise. We can posit them in a hierarchical order graphically:

for the Greek logos.) The theory of signs, however, even if accepted as no more than a specific discussion of signs themselves, does clearly evidence a recognition of the mediating function of the sign, relating the subject to the external object. This recognition is fundamental not only for Augustine's general framework of linguistics, but indeed for a great deal of the linguistic theory which has followed in the European tradition.²¹ Augustine's triadic conception of signification presents a linguistic structure analogous to his structures of sensory, mental, and spiritual experience.

As the De Trinitate unfolds, we learn that love is the basic "unifier" of Augustine's trinitarian structures; love is frequently the third term which relates or binds the other two in an indissoluble trinity. But moreover, love itself presents yet another and perhaps the most fundamental trinity of all:

Quid est autem dilectio vel charitas, quam tantoperè Scriptura divina laudat et prædicat, nisi amor boni? Amor autem alicujus amantis est, et amore aliquid amatur. Ecce tria sunt; amans, et quod amatur, et amor. Quid est ergo amor, nisi quaedam vita duo aliqua copulans, vel copulare appetens, amantem scilicet, et quod amatur? Et hoc etiam in externis carnalibusque amoribus ita est: sed ut aliquid purius et liquidius hauriamus, calcata carne ascendamus ad animum. Quid amat animus in amico, nisi animum? Et illic igitur tria sunt: amans, et quod amatur, et amor. (VIII,x,14)

(But what is love or charity, which the divine Scripture praises and proclaims so highly, if not the love of the good? Now love is of someone who loves, and something is loved with love. So then there are three: the lover, the beloved, and the love. What else is love, therefore, except a kind of life which binds or seeks to bind some two together, namely, the lover and the beloved? And this is so even in external and carnal love. But that we may draw from a purer and clearer source, let us tread the flesh under foot and mount up to the soul. What does the soul love in a friend except the soul? And therefore, even here there are three: the lover, the beloved, and the love.)

Stated in this basic form, the sublime simplicity of Augustine's model cannot escape us. The trinity of the love relation is as fundamental as grammar itself:²²

subject - - - - verb - - - - object
(lover) (loves) (beloved)

We have now worked our way to what is, in the context of this inquiry, the most central manifestation of the trinitarian structure: the trinity of love itself. In this basic form, Augustine's triadic model encompasses the relationship between the medieval poet, his Lady, and the love that unites them, whether in a spiritual or in a secular embrace--and at the same time presses upon us a recognition of the close interrelationship between love and language itself.

3.1.2. Variation: love, logos, and language

M. Beirnaert: Tout ce que vous venez d'énoncer sur le sujet de la signification, est-ce que ça ne serait pas illustré dans le Disputatio de locutionis significatione, que constitue la première partie du De magistro?

M. Lacan: Vous parlez d'or! ²³

Jacques Lacan has asked that we understand La Rouchefoucauld's famous maxim, "Il y a des gens que n'auraient jamais été amoureux, s'ils n'avaient jamais entendu parler de l'amour," as a legitimate recognition of what the individual speech act (parole) entails of love and desire.²⁴ We immediately confront a slight translation problem, but more importantly a related problem relative to a controversy central to the contemporary discipline of psychoanalysis. The translation problem, or simply the reading of Lacan even in his own language, is central to the more general issue of Lacan's rereading of Freud. The particular term here, parole, presents relatively little difficulty; the Saussurian distinction langue/parole is generally equivalent to the English terms code/message (Jakobson) or competence/performance (Chomsky). The larger extension of structural linguistics into the realm of psychoanalysis is Lacan's major contribution, and at the same time the source of his insights as well as of his unique French style. I shall not enter the debate over Lacan's tortuous syntax and the possible reasoning behind it. Mannoni, GeorGIN, and Mehlman have each provided coherent discussion of the value if not the necessity

of Lacan's particular use of language, and generally how his style is in fact an inescapable and important part of his message.²⁵ On the other hand, Wilden, translator and commentator (but not disciple) of Lacan, has recently lost patience with Lacanese, while nonetheless affirming the importance of the message.²⁶

This is not the place for an introduction to reading Lacan, but a word about the linguistic bent of his interpretation cannot be avoided. The starting point (if there is one in particular) for Lacan's rereading might well be the passage early in Freud's Beyond the Pleasure Principle, in which he recounts a "fleeting observation" of his grandson playing a game by making small objects disappear and reappear, at the same time approximating the sounds fort (gone) and da (there).²⁷ Continuing and yet apart from Freud's own interpretation, Lacan sees this language-born-out-of-lack (whether it be a wooden top, the mother, or whatever) as a crucial phase: the infant's (in-fans = "not speaking") beginning mastery of privation is his birth into language. "His action thus negatives the field of forces of desire in order to become its own object to itself. And this object, immediately taking body in the symbolic couple of two elementary jaculations, announces in the subject the diachronic integration of the dichotomy of the phonemes, whose synchronic structure existing Language offers to his assimilation [fort, da]. . . ." ²⁸ Desire born out of privation/absence

is developmentally related closely to the infant's first attempts at speech.²⁹ Objectification is possible only through the mediation of language. For the infant there are many of what Lacan calls "partial objects" (objects whose separateness is not part of the infant's perception of the world--e.g. the mother's breast). The object in its distinct otherness from the subject is established by its absence and the infant's subsequent assimilation of the object's absence through language. "In other words, speech is as dependent upon the notion of lack as is the theory of desire. Since Lacan does not distinguish thought from speech, there is no question for him of speech articulating in time and space something already 'given' in thought."³⁰

The shift from "desire" to "love" can be accomplished through a consideration of unification or "at-one-ment." The subject's desire in the fundamental sense is for unification: a) with the other (that is, object) and b) with the Other. The dichotomy other/Other (autre/Autre) in Lacan's writings is fairly straightforward: The other or others are simply objects and other people surrounding the subject and with whom he enters intersubjective relations. The Other is more complex. It corresponds generally to the Freudian Id or unconscious, and yet Lacan's development is more discursive and intersubjective. The Other is the locus from which the question "Who am I?" is put to the subject, and the locus of the Other corresponds to

that of the symbolic father (e.g. "God the Father"). Further discussion of the relations between the subject, the self, the other, and the Other will follow in 3.2.2. during consideration of the Schema L. The desire "to be One again" or, in religious terms, "to be One with God" is irreducible--excepting the particular states achieved by the psychotic or the mystic, depending on the context and terminology. Such a state amounts to being One with the unconscious. In later works, Lacan has employed a mathematical analogy to the effect that this primordial One cannot be one at all, since logically one requires a second from which it is different.³¹ The primordial "One" is really zero, precisely as in the mathematical analogy the function of zero is the concept under which no object falls. The infant, as hypothetical absolute subject (zero, with no recognition of objects) who discovers one object, in one fell swoop discovers the "two," in the sense that "one" requires the perception of difference, which the fort/da game enacts as presence/absence. "The subject is the binary opposition of presence and absence, the discovery of One--the discovery of difference--is to be condemned to an eternal desire for the nonrelationship of zero, where identity is meaningless."³² It is this desire for at-one-ment (or "zerness") which Lacan suggests is what makes us human. Such unification is forever irreducible, and yet we forever desire to achieve it.

Returning to the more specifically linguistic terms, the Other is timelessly manifest in the realm of language; while the subject is manifest linearly and chronologically in the realm of speech--Saussure's dichotomy remaining relatively unchanged. Despite differences in beginning hypotheses and method, Chomsky's competence/performance dichotomy is very similar--the Other being equivalent to the "ideal speaker" manifesting total competence.³³ On another level, then, the speaking subject (no longer in-fans) always limited in his performance and condemned to the linearity of speech desires unification with perfect competence, the "completeness" and "wholeness" of language (logos) which simply is, and is that which controls (as code, law) the subject's utterance and expression of his very self.

At this point we can at least begin to understand what Lacan is implying with his famous dictum, "The unconscious is structured as a language,"

... and when I say "as a language" it is not some special sort of language, for example, mathematical language, semiotical language, or cinematographical language. Language is language and there is only one sort of language: concrete language--English or French for instance--that people talk.³⁴

This proposition has many repercussions--in Lacan's case a whole life's worth--and this study could not possibly reflect the full complexity of his system, even if it were crystal clear and easily synopsisized. It is not. For instance, Lacan has

extended Jakobson's cardinal dichotomy of language directly into psychoanalytic theory, to the effect that: the patient's symptom and the mechanism of condensation operative in parapraxis and the dream-work are metaphoric operations; the displacement of affections, projection, and wish fulfillment (desire) are metonymic operations.³⁵ As another important example, pronouns are particularly troublesome for the child, and inversely are the first speech elements lost in certain types of aphasia; in Lacan, the nature of the I as pronoun is precisely the nature of the subject, in that I as a shifter is always a movable signifier whose referent necessarily varies with the circumstances of its enunciation. The I is always defined by other signifiers, just as the subject is always that which is signified by signifiers. Before the child can signify for himself with the use of language, he has already been signified; his place and identity have been defined for him through the discourse of kinship, parents, and society as a whole. This is fundamentally what Lacan insists on when he reverses Saussure's signified to signifier / signifier to signified. Lacan insists on the primacy of the signifier, which is a logical corollary of the Other being in the realm of language (All Signifiers), the Other which controls the subject through language (equivalent here in Lacan's terms to the "Symbolic Order"). "C'est le monde des mots qui crée le monde des choses. . . . L'homme parle donc, mais c'est parce que le symbole l'a fait homme."³⁶

The individual consciousness of the subject is established in the realm of the individual word (parole, speech act, performance), and this establishment of the conscious subject is achieved in relation to the subject's unconscious, the Other, in the realm of language (competence). The relationship between subject and Other is precisely analogous to the relation between the individual act of speech and the collective wholeness of language. This psychoanalytic structuring of the relation between the subject and the Other, the subject's word and the Other's language, is a variation (consciously or subconsciously achieved) of Augustine's discussion of the two types of verbum: the individual subject's verbum and the Verbum which is the logos, the Word of God. When we recall that in the Symbolic Order the locus of the Other is the Symbolic Father, the Augustinian overtones are more striking. "L'Autre, l'Autre comme lieu de la vérité, est la seule place, quoiqu' irréductible, que nous pouvons donner au terme de l'être divin, de Dieu pour l'appeller par son nom."³⁷ The connection is inescapable: the Other is to Language as God is to Logos.

A further corollary: discourse with another in the realm of speech is analogous to discourse with the Other in the realm of language. This is the crux of intersubjective discourse between the subject's self and another (the Imaginary Order), and the inner intersubjective discourse between the subject's self and the Other (the Symbolic Order). We have met these

four persons before: they structured the dialogue of the love relationships discerned in the lyrics of chapter two. Love "unites" the pairs of the discourse; but such "unification" is forever irreducible in that the "unity" is always composed of the one and the other: "L'amour est impuissant, quoiqu'il soit réciproque, parce qu'il ignore qu'il n'est que le désir d'être Un, ce que nous conduit à l'impossible d'établir la relation d'eux. La relation d'eux qui?--deux sexes."³⁸ As the English idiom has it, love is indeed "beyond words" to the extent that love is a transcendence beyond the performance of one's speech toward the forever unembraceable total competence of language itself. The eternal desire that two lovers "be one" is no more attainable than one's conscious can "be one" with one's unconscious, or that one's speech can "be one" with language itself.³⁹

3.2.1. Second theme: the mirror of love and desire

Plato's mirror (Republic X, 596E) comes into the medieval world through the hands of Plotinus and the Neoplatonists, and becomes the speculum of medieval philosophy. Perhaps no other single term captures so much of what was essential to the medieval conception of reality. Through the philosophical implications of the speculum concept came the recognition of matter itself as the empty semblance of real things which pass through it, as in a mirror the semblance is in one place (imago) while the substance is in another. Matter then provides us with but the copies and shadows of ideal forms; it has no forms of its own (Plotinus, Enneads, III, 6, 7). Sensible experience is made possible through our relationship to this mirror of matter; while it is of necessity illusive and constantly shifting, it is the only window open to the senses themselves.

But the Platonic model was extended beyond the realm of purely sensible experience; this is especially important in consideration of the speculum concept as it functioned in the Christian scheme. St. Paul, in his letters to the Corinthians, discusses the mirror twice, and Augustine comments on both passages in the De Trinitate:

Incorporalem substantiam scio esse sapientiam, et lumen
 esse in quo videntur quae oculis carnalibus non videntur:
 et tamen vir tantus tamque spiritualis, "Videmus nunc,"

inquit, "per speculum in aenigmate, tunc autem facie ad faciem" [1 Cor.13:12]. Quale sit et quod sit hoc speculum si quaeramus, profecto illud occurrit, quod in speculo nisi imago non cernitur. Hoc ergo facere conati sumus, ut per imaginem hanc quod nos sumus, videremus utcumque a quo facti sumus, tanquam per speculum. Hoc significat etiam illud quod ait idem apostolus: "Nos autem revelata facie gloriam Domini specularantes, in eandem imaginem transformamur de gloria in gloriam, tanquam a Domini Spiritu" [2 Cor.3:18]. "Specularantes" dixit, per speculum videntes, non de specula prospicientes. Quod in graeca lingua non est ambiguum, unde in latinam translatae sunt apostolicae Litterae. Ibi quippe speculum ubi apparent imagines rerum, a specula de cuius altitudine longius aliquid intuemur, etiam sono verbi distat omnino; satisque apparet Apostolum a speculo, non a specula dixisse, "gloriam Domini specularantes." Quod vera ait, "In eandem imaginem transformamur": utique imaginem Dei vult intelligi, eandem dicens, istam ipsam scilicet, id est, quam specularumur; quia eadem imago est et gloria Dei, sicut alibi dicit, "Vir quidem non debet velare caput suum, cum sit imago et gloria Dei" [1 Cor. 11:7]: de quibus verbis jam in libro duodecimo disseruimus. "Transformamur" ergo dicit, de forma in formam mutamur, atque transimus de forma obscura in formam lucidam; quia et ipsa obscura, imago Dei est; et si imago, profecto etiam gloria, in qua homines creati sumus, praestantes caeteris animalibus. (XV, viii, 14)

(I know that wisdom is an incorporeal substance, and a light in which those things are seen that are not seen with carnal eyes, and yet a man so great and so spiritual has said: "We see now through a mirror in an enigma, but then face to face." If we inquire what this mirror is, and of what sort it is, the first thing that naturally comes to mind is that nothing else is seen in a mirror except an image. We have, therefore, tried to do this in order that through this image which we are, we might see Him by whom we have been made in some manner or other, as through a mirror. Such is also the meaning of the words spoken by the same Apostle: "But we, with face unveiled, beholding the glory of God, are transformed into the same image, from glory to glory, as through the Spirit of the Lord." He uses the word specularantes, that is, beholding through a mirror [speculum], not looking out from a watch-tower [specula]. There is no ambiguity here in the Greek language, from which the

Epistles of the Apostle were translated into Latin. For there the word for mirror, in which the images of things appear, and the word for watch-tower, from the height of which we see something at a greater distance, are entirely different even in sound; and it is quite clear that the Apostle was referring to a mirror and not to a watch-tower when he said "beholding the glory of the Lord"; but when he says: "we are transformed into the same image," he undoubtedly means the image of God, since he calls it the "same image," that is, the very one which we are beholding; for the same image is also the glory of God." We have already explained the meaning of these words in the twelfth book. Therefore, he says "we are transformed," that is, changed from one form into another, and we pass from an obscure form to a bright form, for though obscure, yet it is the image of God; and if the image, then certainly also the glory in which we were created as men, surpassing other animals.)

Implicit behind the recurrent usage of this term imago throughout medieval thought is the logical extension of the imago per speculum. The mirror concept, whether explicitly stated in any given context or not, is always present through the meaning of imago itself. When the soul establishes its own self-image through contemplation, which is in fact speculation, of the Holy Trinity, this is possible because the pure Christian soul is the mirror of God Himself. When the good Christian looks within his soul, it is to see not only himself, but Himself as well; and by definition self-knowledge is actually self-reflection in a literal sense, truly self-speculation.

But St. Paul says not only that we see through a mirror, but that we see through a mirror in an enigma. This is an equally important part of the speculum concept and Augustine comments at length on this point as well:

Una est enim cum tota sic dicitur, "Videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate." Proinde, quantum mihi videtur, sicut nomine speculi imaginem voluit intelligi; ita nomine aenigmatis quamvis similitudinem, tamen obscuram, et ad perspiciendum difficilem. Cum igitur speculi et aenigmatis nomine quaecumque similitudines ab Apostolo significatae intelligi possint, quae accommodatae sunt ad intelligendum Deum, eo modo quo potest; nihil tamen est accommodatius quam id quod imago ejus non frustra dicitur. Nemo itaque miretur etiam in isto modo videndi qui concessus est huic vitae, per speculum scilicet in aenigmate, laborare nos ut quomodocumque videamus. Nomen quippe hic non sonaret aenigmatis, si esset facilitas visionis. (XV, ix, 16)

(For it has one meaning when the whole is uttered: "We see now through a mirror in an enigma." Therefore, it seems to me, as he would have us understand an image by the word mirror, so a likeness by the word enigma, yet a likeness that is obscure and difficult to perceive. Since by the terms image and enigma, therefore, any likenesses whatsoever intended by the Apostle can be understood, which are suited to lead to an understanding of God in the manner that is now possible, yet nothing is better suited than that which is not unreasonably spoken of as His image. Let no one wonder, therefore, that we must labor to see anything at all, even in this manner of seeing, which has been granted in this life, namely, through a mirror in an enigma. For the word enigma would not be used here if this seeing were something easy.)

The mirror is not without the potential of "deceit" through the subject's misinterpretation: the process of inner seeing is not easy. Although the subject loves and desires to see and embrace the face of Truth, it is desire itself which can lead him to misinterpret the face that he sees, or that he thinks he sees. In contexts such as these, the mirror image (with purposeful ambiguity: the image of a mirror, and the image in a mirror) employed in medieval lyric verse takes on important reverberations.

The employment of the mirror image is not mere poetic ornament; it is essential to the medieval conceptualization of mental perception and self-perception, to the conceptualization of any relationship between a perceiving subject and an object perceived, whether in an "outer" or an "inner" sense. Narcissus is the natural character from mythic discourse who is expressive of the dilemma: knowledge/self-knowledge; love/self-love; the image of another/the image of oneself. The similarity between Narcissus and the lover does not escape medieval poets.

In fact, the frequency of allusions to the myth of Narcissus and the implicit mirror in the 12th and 13th centuries is striking, as was already noted by Fauriel in his history of Provençal poetry (1846). Fauriel has brought to our attention Petrus Cantor's (d. 1197) outburst against certain priests who will quickly begin the mass anew to please an audience and induce them to leave offertory gifts: "Hi similes sunt cantantibus fabulas et gesta, qui videntes cantilenam de Landrico non placere auditoribus statim incipiunt de Narciso cantare; quod si non placuerit, cantant de alio" (They are like those singers of fables and tales who, seeing that the song of Landricus does not please the audience, at once begin to sing of Narcissus; and if that does not please them, then they sing yet another.)⁴⁰ Of course, this is more anecdotal than conclusive. Yet one cannot deny the prevalence of speculum titles for works of all sorts during the period: e.g., Speculum mundi, Speculum

doctrinale, Speculum historiale, Speculum naturale; or in French, Miroir de l'âme, Miroir de vie et de mort, Miroir aux dames.⁴¹ Period allegorical explications of the Narcissus myth are found in John of Salisbury's Policraticus, in Arnolphe d'Orléans' Allegoriae super Ovidii Metamorphosin, in Alexander Neckam's De naturis rerum, and in Alain de Lille's De planctu naturae.⁴² Each of these explications sees the fable as an exemplum of warning against vanitas, in a straightforwardly didactic Christian moralizing. The first extended treatment of the story appears to be an anonymous poem of the 12th century, "Narcissus," of some 1000 lines. It too is an allegorical treatment of a plot closely developed from Ovid. Frederick Goldin and Helen Laurie have both published detailed and similar interpretations of the poem; the conclusion of Laurie's study being that, "By the realization of his state Narcissus is brought to see himself alienated from God. It is his act of self-will which brings upon him inevitably the terrible concrete self-idolatry leading to death."⁴³ This 12th century version is fundamentally a specifically Christian moral exemplum as well. The negative associations implicit in the story are of import--vanitas, the folly of love, the sin of self-love, etc. This is a straightforward reading of the texts, supported by Laurie, Vinge, and Goldin, among others.⁴⁴

However, the occurrence of the Narcissus/mirror motif in troubadour verse and the later Italian poets (and we have seen several examples in chapter two) is marked by a shift of emphasis. While indeed various negative associations are still present, there is an implication that such self-reflection has positive, though difficult and troublesome, aspects as well. This is precisely the point argued by Jean Frappier (1959), for instance: ". . . le thème du miroir chez les poètes de l'amour . . . disons de Bernard de Ventadour à Maurice Scève, devient de plus en plus intérieur. Son développement marque un progrès de l'introspection." And later he phrases the same point more distinctly in reference to Bernard de Ventadour in particular, "Alors que chez Bernard de Ventadour le miroir amoureux éloigna de l'introspection, absorbe un moi tout passif, il apparaît ensuite comme le principe d'une analyse sentimentale, d'une méditation active sur l'objet aimé, et, par conséquent, d'une connaissance de soi."⁴⁵ Goldin's book, The Mirror of Narcissus in the Courtly Love Lyric, is a full-length study of the same point: the troubadour poet's employment of the Narcissus/mirror motif marks a process of medieval self-reflection with a particularly secular bent. Unlike the lyrics, the "Narcissus," the "Roman de la Rose," and the "Ovide Moralisé" each share fundamental starting points in common; the mirror involved in each is specifically the "mirror of God":

. . . denying that the welter of experience is in itself intelligible, [the authors] look above it for a source of meaning, and find that meaning in its resemblance to an eternal, pre-human ideal. . . . Only so long as life is contemplated as an image can it have form and integrity. If it is conceived as a reflection of the forms in the Mirror of God, it enjoys a moral certainty otherwise impossible, for regarded in itself it is a false mirror whose beautiful images are dangerous because they seem to be real. . . . The Ovide Moralisé contrasts the instability of secular life with the immutable truths in that Mirror; Jean de Meun perceives in it a divine sanction of man's instinctual life (God gave us our sexuality in accordance with His plan for the perpetuation of the species). Both responses are characteristically medieval. (Goldin, pp. 65-66)

On the other hand, the lyric poet's employment of the Narcissus/mirror motif, as discussed in chapter two, is not narrowly allegorical in this Christian moralizing sense. The lyric self-reflection is "enigmatic" in the Augustinian sense cited above, and the poet-lover is, to a degree, caught in the negative realm of the "imaginary," in Augustine's trinitas hominis exterioris. In fact, the negative, dangerous element of the mirror relationship fascinates the poets. For instance, an anonymous troubadour stanza reads:

E per so ai conques gran consirier
 e per so tem perdre sa drudaria
 et aisso.m fai chantar per dezirier;
 car la bella tan m'a vencut e.m lia
 que per mos alhs tem que perda la via
 com Narcisi, que dedins lo potz cler
 vi sa ombra e l'amet tot entier 46
 e per fol'amor mori d'aital guia.

(And therefore I am sunk in deep distress, and therefore do I fear to lose her love. And I am driven thus to sing with longing. For the fair lady has so defeated me and fettered me that I fear to lose my life through my eyes, just like Narcissus, who saw his shadow in the limpid well and loved it to the utmost, and died from the madness of love.)

Or in a macaronic lyric of the Harley MS.:

'merour me tient de duel e de miseria. . . .

But the Harley text continues with more positive associations:

Quant ie la vey ie su in tali gloria
come est la lune celi inter sidera;
Dieu la moi doint sua misericordia,
beyser e fere que secuntur alia.⁴⁷

As seen in chapter two, positive associations are not uncommon, and this sets the lyrics distinctly apart from the moralizing tone of prose treatises admonishing against vanitas and the allurements of this world. GuiROUT de Calanso can say:

Et atressi cum en un mirador
Vezon li uelh manta belha color,
Pot om en vos tot autre ben chausir,
Per que m plai mout lo lauzars e l'espandres.⁴⁸

(And just as in a mirror the eyes see many a beautiful color, so can one discern in you every other good; wherefore it pleases me much to praise you and spread your fame.)

And on Italian soil, the Donna is tutta canoscenza for Federico II; or Iacopo da Lentini can elaborate the process of internalization even further:

Maravigliosamente
 un amor mi dstringe,
 e sovenemi a ogn'ura,
 com'omo, che ten mente
 in altra parte, e pinge
 la simile pintura.
 Così, bella facci'eo:
 dentr'a lo core meo⁴⁹
 porto la tua figura.

(In a marvelous way a love is binding me and holds me constantly, as a man concentrates on another object and paints a picture that is like it. So, lovely one, I do, who within my heart carry the figure of you.)

The self-reflection of the lyric mirror leads not to "self-love" in the negative sense--in fact, the poet-lover's unworthiness is a common theme. The lyric self-reflection leads to a self-consciousness. The poet sees himself (and comes to know himself, potentially a painful experience) as he is mirrored in his loved object. His rejection by the Lady is tantamount to his failure to come up to the standards of his peers and superiors, his failure to gain the "patronage" (in a literal or metaphorical sense) of his "lord." This process of identity through self-reflection is precisely analogous to the process of self-knowledge explained by Augustine as the subject seeing himself reflected in God's image, the crux of the De Trinitate. We shall return to this point in the next section, employing another descriptive tool.

At this point, we may ask again, Whom does Narcissus see in the pool? He sees neither another in the pool, nor does he

see what would have been anachronistic in the pagan context of the myth, Himself in the pool (imago Dei). For Narcissus, as a mythic subject, a realization that he is made "in God's image" is an anachronistic impossibility which is an important function in the medieval employment of the myth. In the medieval context, "pre-history" before Christ necessarily condemns Narcissus eternally to be the lost soul, cut off from the sight of God. When he looks into the pool, at first he thinks he sees another and falls passionately and exclusively in love with the image; he then comes to the painful realization that what he sees and loves in the pool is only the image of himself--not his soul, since what he sees is the image of his external body, a "body image," not the mind, the soul, within. In the popular medieval context of the myth, Narcissus falls in love neither with another nor with God, but with himself for sake of himself--which leads him inevitably to forsake himself as well as Himself. The allegorical extension, then, is that the Narcissistic soul offers the reflection of "nothing"; when Narcissus looks within he sees nothing other than what is without. Narcissistic self-knowledge is nothing but self-speculation in an exterior sense only; it is the subject caught in Augustine's trinitas hominis exterioris. The self-identity of Narcissus is established and destroyed in one glance through total tautology.

The pure and spiritually healthy Christian soul is to reflect its own Ideal, and to define its own self-image and

identity through this reflection; this is the most fundamental operation of the imitatio Christi.⁵⁰ In this light, it would appear that the subject who has fallen in love with another human being is at least in a somewhat better position than is Narcissus drowning in the superficial depths of self-engendered tautology. The poetic subject who has fallen in love with a woman at least has the opportunity of establishing a self-image in relation to the ideal he sees reflected and embodied in another, the Lady herself. However, this very embodiment entails its own ambivalent implications. That which is to reside in the realm of the ideal must, by definition, remain unattainable beyond the body of its embodiment. The earthly woman of flesh and blood who is to embody such an ideal is clearly placed in an all-powerful and unapproachable position. While her existence in the realm of corporeal sensibilities cannot be denied, complete access to her corporeality must be barred if she is to remain the embodiment of the very ideal which is so necessary to her servant's conception of his own self-identity. As we have seen earlier, the Lady is, after all, in a position of mediation, and such ambivalence is part and parcel of her mediating operation. We have seen in chapter two that this mediating function and position of the Virgin is essential to Marian spirituality. Analogously, this is generally implicit in the secular lyrics through the lack of emphasis on physical contact and the all but

total exclusion of any reference to the physical consummation of the love relationship.

An essential manner in which love (vera dilectio, fin'amors) is distinct from desire (cupiditas) lies in this: the love relation involves not only a relation with another, but at the same time a relation with another realm, the realm of the ideal, whether this ideal be of a personal, a social, or a specifically religious character, depending on the context. This is a crucial concept and it is reflected in the mirror motif itself, for there are necessarily three aspects of the mirror image:

1) the mirror of matter, that is, the mirror which is itself composed of matter and which consequently can remain but a material seduction and delusion--such a mirror reflects the false image exemplified in the moralizing versions of the Narcissus story, warnings against vanitas and self-love;

2) the mirror of the ideal, a mirror image which reflects an ideal beyond the material, such a mirror image is what Augustine employs in the De Trinitate, for instance--the self-image within, imago Dei est (XV, viii, 14); and 3) the bivalent mirror, which

is born out of the fact that one can always consider the mirror relative to its material or its ideal aspects; such a bivalent aspect is emphasized by Richard of St. Victor, for example:

"Rerum ergo visibilium similitudine pro scala utamur, ut quae in semetipsis per speciem videre non valeamus, ex ejusmodi specula et velut per speculum videre mereamur" (Therefore, let

us use as a ladder the similitude of visible things, so that what we cannot see by direct vision we may become able to see on this lookout as in a looking glass.)⁵¹ The love in the spiritual lyric to the Virgin is inescapably ideal, in that the Virgin, assumed into heaven, is not material in only an earthly sense. She reflects the Ideal from an intermediary position between God and man (as in fact do all the saints). On the other hand, the interpersonal love of the secular lyric is inescapably bivalent, in that the loved object as mirror is capable of reflecting the realm of the ideal, while at the same time as material is capable of simple carnal seduction and delusion. Moreover, this secular "ideal" is not necessarily a moral ideal in a narrowly Christian sense, but may represent a realm less dogmatically defined and more related to a certain philosophic self-speculation, as we have seen especially evident in the Italian lyrics.

3.2.2. Variation: self-identity, reflection, and the mirror phase

The psychological and ritualistic significance of the mirror has fascinated modern researchers as well. Freud's development of his conception of Narcissism (implicitly entailing the mirror image) runs hand in hand with early developments in ethnology, such as found for example in various contexts throughout Frazer's work, and in the encyclopedic examination of mirror customs and rituals from all over the world by Géza Róheim, Spiegelzauber (Leipzig & Vienna, 1919). It is now commonplace that the mirror has been considered a magical item in a great many cultures and in a great variety of ways. We have just seen part of the mirror's particular fascination for the medieval period. It comes as no surprise to discover that certain contemporary psychoanalytic considerations are centered around the mirror image as well.

In the 1940's Jacques Lacan developed a concept which he came to call "le stade du miroir," frequently rendered in English as "the mirror phase."⁵² This was one of Lacan's first major theoretical postulations, and is fundamental to the entire Lacanian rereading of Freud--in so much as each of the various new directions of Freudianism seems to center itself around some new "trauma": e.g., Anna's trauma of the absence of the breast; Otto Rank's trauma of birth; Freud's own trauma of the Oedipus complex. For Lacan, recognizing the importance and implications

of primary and secondary Narcissism, the infant's crucial experience becomes the recognition of his own image reflected in a mirror. But like the medieval concept of the speculum, the mirror phase is a concept which employs the mirror not so much exclusively as an actual material object, but more importantly as a metaphorical starting point from which Lacan later builds his elaboration of the so-called "imaginary relationships"--with a purposeful use of the root imago, carrying connotations directly relevant to the immediate history of the psychoanalytic movement, as well as connotations inherent in the root's etymological association with the Latin speculum in an historical sense.

The first step in the child's development of his concept of his own self-identity, and the step subsequently formulative and fundamental for all later development of self-identity, is what Lacan's employment of the term "mirror phase" entails. One simple manifestation of the activity of this stage--and from this the name derives--as that at this time, generally any time after the age of six months, the child is able to recognize as such his own image reflected in a mirror. The fascination which this reflected image offers to the human infant is not manifest in any other higher primate's behavior; it is a (or perhaps the) specifically human recognition which the child is capable of establishing. "Il y suffit de comprendre le stade du miroir comme une identification au sens plain que l'analyse

donne à ce terme: a savoir la transformation produite chez le sujet, quand il assume une image. . . ."53 The child is now discovering images of his "ideal self," and already the establishment of this self is being accomplished through an externalized, projected image. This first development of self-identity, which is perhaps no more at this stage than the infant's body image and basic motor concepts, is also the first instance of the "alienating function" inherent in the process: that is, the formulation of the self-image is dependent upon an image reflected "outside" in another object or person (what Lacan calls the autre, with a lower case a, "other"). But this "alienating function" is double edged, in that at one and same time it also lays the foundation for the constant interdependence of the one and the other, the subject and the object, the self and the Other, which operates throughout all the individual's later development.

The mirror phase underlies all later conceptualizations of self-identity, according to Lacan's model, precisely because it is during the mirror phase that we observe the early functioning of the imaginary relationships between the object or another (autre) and the subject's self (moi, ego). The object in these contexts may be a mirror, an ordinary object such as a doll, an animal, another person (especially the parents),⁵⁴ or in fact another imaginary person--the child's invisible playmate, yet very "real," having an objective "reality" from the perspective of the child. In later life, the social determination of the

subject's self-identity to a greater or lesser extent is manifest in intersubjective relationships with others, relationships which are "imaginary" in that they involve the reflection and projection of the subject's self-image. In particular cases, one of these other persons may of course be the psychoanalyst himself (such is the case of the psychotic or neurotic). Commonly, one of the most important others of later life is found in the other mate of a heterosexual coupling.

Referring to the question of individual bisexuality in heterosexual relationships, Freud wrote in the letters to Fliess: "And I am accustoming myself to the idea of regarding every sexual act as a process in which four persons are involved."⁵⁵ The four "persons" involved in a couple become central to the entire Lacanian model of interpersonal relationships, and their structural interrelations are elaborated in a manner suggested but undeveloped by Freud himself. The locus from which the question "Who, what, how am I?" can be put to the subject, is what Lacan calls the Other (Autre with capital A). And, "L'Autre, dans mon langage, cela ne peut donc être que l'Autre sexe."⁵⁶ In the heterosexual "love" relationship, then, there are two pairs which are homologous: 1) the subject and another of the other sex; and 2) the subject's self and the Other of the "Other sex."

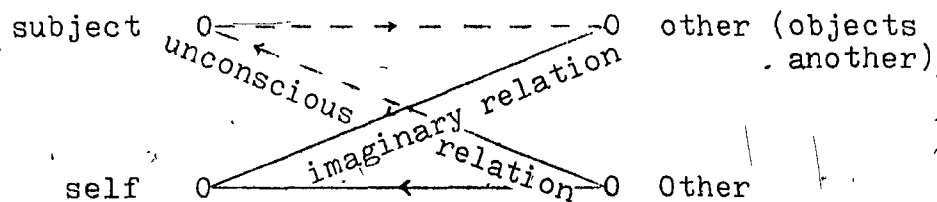
At this point we must confront the three "orders" or "registers" of intra- and intersubjective experience presented

by Lacan: the Real, the Imaginary, and the Symbolic. The Real is simply what is "real" for the subject, not necessarily external reality, but what the subject takes for reality. The imaginary is the realm of images, doubles, mirrors, in much the same sense as we have just seen in our previous discussion. These images provide the subject with opportunities for self-identification in a positive sense, but at the same time in a negative sense introduce the subject to alienation in that the self is established through the image of the other, and results in a Hegelian master-slave relationship.⁵⁷ The Imaginary order is distinctly bivalent; in the Imaginary there is no Other, but only others, material objects in the Real order. The Other is manifest only with the passage into the Symbolic order. The Symbolic order is the realm of rules--specifically, for example, the rules of language (as opposed to speech acts) and the social rules of our still patriarchal society. Passage into the Symbolic order is possible only through speech, as the Symbolic is above all else the realm of language. The Symbolic father (not necessarily the same individual as the Real father) is the Lawgiver, the Creator, and in our patrilinear kinship system in a literal sense the Name-of-the-father. For Lacan, the resolution of the Oedipus complex marks developmentally the completed passage into the Symbolic order. Developmentally, the child passes from a) the Real, when there is only that which is "real" in relation to his absolute

subjectivity (Freud's primary narcissism); to b) the Imaginary, when he recognizes difference and distinguishes subject and object, but can only perceive himself as another (reflected in the child's late acquisition of full usage for pronouns and shifters, and the common tendency of the child to refer to himself with his given name, as a "third" person); to c) the Symbolic, when the child acquires the full function of the "I," the shifter, and assimilates the definition of himself presented to him to the rules of language and society. These rules--and here is where Lacan, Lévi-Strauss, and structural linguistics as a whole come together--are unconscious rules. The child may be born "with a copy of Syntactic Structures in his head," but if he is, Chomsky would counter, he is not conscious of it, these structures being in Chomsky's argument innate, and the greater portion of language learning is accomplished unconsciously. The same can be said socially, in that before the child can consciously analyse "who he is" in relation to others (his kinship status) he has already assimilated that information unconsciously--in the psychoanalytic model, especially through the resolution of the Oedipus complex. Returning to our quotation regarding the Other, "cela ne peut donc être que l'Autre sexe," Lacan's point is fairly straightforward. The Real Other is the Other sex; in the triangle of a boy's family, the mother is the Real Other, while the Name-of-the-father is the Symbolic Other.⁵⁸

These intersubjective relationships and three orders do not compose an exclusively developmental (genetic) model for Lacan, but a structural model as well which is operative continuously in the subject's life. The structural diagram for these relations was first introduced by Lacan in 1956 in "Le séminaire sur 'La Lettre volée,'" and he calls the diagram the Schéma L. (It is presented here with the English words other=autre, Other=Autre, self=moi.) The introduction to the schema runs as follows:

C'est ainsi que si l'homme vient à penser l'ordre symbolique, c'est qu'il y est d'abord pris dans son être. L'illusion qu'il l'ait formé par sa conscience, provient de ce que c'est par la voie d'une béance spécifique de sa relation imaginaire à son semblable, qu'il a pu entrer dans cet ordre comme sujet. Mais il n'a pu faire cette entrée que par le défilé radical de la parole, soit le même dont nous avons reconnu dans le jeu de l'enfant un moment génétique [fort, da], mais que, dans sa forme complète, se reproduit chaque fois que le sujet s'adresse à l'Autre comme absolu, c'est-à-dire comme l'Autre que peut l'annuler lui-même, de la même façon qu'il peut en agir avec lui, c'est-à-dire en se faisant objet pour le tromper. Cette dialectique de l'intersubjectivité, dont nous avons démontré l'usage nécessaire à travers les trois ans passés de notre séminaire à Sainte-Anne . . . s'appuie volontiers du schéma suivant: 59



We recall that the Other is the locus from which the question "Who am I" is presented to the subject. But we now see that this question is not put directly to the subject, for in Lacan's model the Other is in an unconscious relation with the subject. The subject's consciousness encompasses only the subject-object-self relations. In 1958 Lacan published a simplified variation of the Schéma L, which is a simple "Z" connecting the subject-other-self-Other in that order, and he comments that this schema signifies "que la condition du sujet (névrose ou psychose) dépend de ce que se déroule en l'Autre. Ce que s'y déroule est articulé comme un discours (l'inconscient est le discours de l'Autre), dont Freud a cherché d'abord à définir la syntax pour les morceaux qui dans des moments privilégiés, rêves, lapsus, traits d'esprit, nous en parviennent."⁶⁰ The Symbolic Other is in an unconscious relation with the subject; the discourse of the Other directed to the subject must pass from unconscious to conscious, and this passage is achieved through the mediation of the imaginary relation between the self and the other. We now recognize the importance of the mirror phase in Lacan's model; this imaginary mediation, which is always bivalent, remains a crucial part of all intersubjective relations. The process of analysis (or for that matter of any "deep" intersubjective relationship) is, then, a passage from "empty words" which are born out of only the Imaginary order (i.e. with repressed recourse to the Other, the self being merely an object,

a mask) to "full words" which are born out of the Symbolic order (i.e., with unrepressed recourse to the Other, the mask of the self being recognized as such at least in part).⁶¹

Lacan's mirror is bivalent. The Imaginary order is inescapably part of our everyday life and yet is also inescapably bivalent in that if one does not look beyond the Imaginary--that is, toward the Symbolic--one does not approach the self except in an empty, superficial sense. This is an important point. It is the crux of Lacan's thorough rejection of the Anglo-American development of ego psychology, as Mehlman has recently made clear:

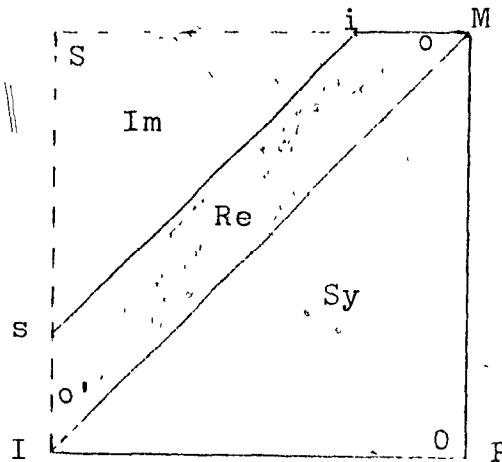
Lacan's break with American ego psychology, which he has denounced as the ideology of free enterprise, is thorough. Whereas the American theorists have retained the Freudian notion of the ego [self] as an agent of synthesis, mastery, integration, and adaptation, Lacan's point of departure (in the stade du miroir) has been to revive a far more worrisome conception of the ego, which is implicit in Freud's papers on narcissism and on mourning and melancholia: the ego as constituted by an identification with another as whole object, perpetually threatened by its own otherness to itself, essentially suicidal. Whereas the Americans write of ego mastery, Lacan's ruse has been to situate that mastery in a (Hegelian) dialectic of master and slave. What for the Americans is an agent of strength, for Lacan is the victim of the illusion of strength; the would-be guardian of objectivity is the ideologue par excellence, whose main function is to insulate the ego from the scandal of primary process thinking.⁶²

Mastery of one's self by oneself appears to Lacan as the ultimate fantasy of a rampant and naïve individualism; such mastery is precluded by that very recognition of difference which

distinguishes the subject from the object (the fort/da assimilation of presence/absence), and its impossibility is manifest in the mirror phase itself, whereby the recognition of self is the recognition of the other, the image out there.⁶³

One can still drown in the pool of Narcissus; in Lacan's terms this amounts to the complete repression and/or suppression of the Other in a technical sense: that is, recognition of the Other being "actively or automatically thrust out of consciousness into the unconscious, in which, however, it still remains active, determining behavior and experience."⁶⁴

In what may seem a paradoxical way, Lacan has returned to a theory of self-knowledge as bivalent self-speculation (speculum/imago). Lacan's model of intra- and intersubjectivity is fundamentally--though not exhaustively--in accord with what we may call the Augustinian model presented in the De Trinitate and which I have argued implicitly underlies the lyrics previously considered. And further, the Other is the locus of the Symbolic father (the Name-of-the-father, the Lawgiver, God the Father), "la seule place, quoiqu' irréductible, que nous pouvons donner au terme de l'être divin, de Dieu pour l'appeler par son nom," in Lacan's own words.⁶⁵ In order to elaborate on this contemporary recapitulation of a medieval model, first we must turn to the later and what seems to be final variation of the Schéma L as presented by Lacan in 1959, which he calls the Schéma R. A slightly simplified version is given here:⁶⁶

KEY:

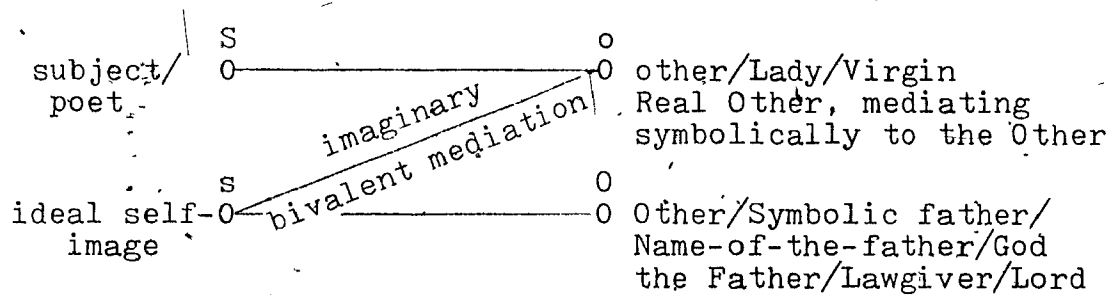
- S the subject
 o the image of the other in the mirror phase
 o' the identification of the subject's self through identification with the ideal of the self (e.g., paternal imago)
 O Other
 P the Symbolic father, the Name-of-the-father in the locus of the Other
 Sy the Symbolic order
 Re the Real order
 Im the Imaginary order
 M the Mother, signifier of the primordia object, the Real Other
 I the Ideal self-image
 i the self-image reflected in the other
 s the self
 i-M the axis of desires (love object choice)
 s-I the axis of identifications (narcissism)
 (broken line delimits imaginary relations)

Note: "The distances between s and I and that between i and M represent the distinction the subject has achieved between the primordial relationships of being and having (I and M) and later ones; this delimits the Real for the subject." (Wilden, p.295)

The schema is algorithmic--that is, it affords a common denominator through a graphic representation of the relationships between given loci. In fact, here the subject himself is not so much a thing as a place, an intersection of vectors. The schema is developmental and structural, dynamic and static; it seeks to represent both the growth of the child and the mature state of the adult. (Of course, the balance and symmetry of the schema are represented for sake of clarity, not necessarily indicating such analogous psychic balance and symmetry.) The elements of the diagram have appeared previously in this section; the schema now pulls the elements together and establishes the respective loci and their interrelationships. It is to be particularly noted that the triangle of the Symbolic order is established by the relations between: O, the locus of the Other (Symbolic father, Lawgiver); M, locus of the other (mother as signifier of primordial object, the Real Other who is symbolic of the Other); and I, the locus of the internalized ideal self-image.

What is striking is that the Schéma L/R, understood in its full versatility, is applicable to the common schema of relationships we discovered in the secular and spiritual lyrics considered in chapter two. I believe that this is accomplished without any overly reductionist treatment of either the medieval or the contemporary model. It will be recalled that we arrived

at four "persons" involved in the lyrics: the poet, the Lady, the poet's image of himself, and the Lord (secular or spiritual). These four were related through a Z diagram in which the mediation of the Lady was represented. I now elaborate on that same diagram as follows:



Loci: S=subject; s=self; o=other; O=Other

This is decidedly not a model based on a biographical, ego-psychological analysis. In fact, the starting point is quite the reverse. The conception of "self" (whether as "soul," or social courtly station, or whatever) is defined for the subject by his relationships:⁶⁷ a) Imaginary relations, seeing himself mirrored in and in relation to others around him; b) Real relations, that is, those that appear real from the perspective of the subject (undefinable through historical analysis); and c) Symbolic relations, seeing "beyond" the imaginary to recognition of his relation to the Symbolic father, the Lord, the Lawgiver (in a purely medieval terminology, allegorical and allegorical relations). The most important distinction between the medieval model and the contemporary recapitulation concerns the nature of the Symbolic order, and rests at the locus of the

Other. Historically, this is simply to say that the unconscious had not been "discovered."⁶⁸

In the medieval context, the locus of the true "Other" (anachronistically speaking for a moment) is God. The doctrine of the transubstantiation is one concrete example of this crucial difference.⁶⁹ When a priest utters the words "Hoc est enim Corpus meum, Hoc est enim Calix Sanguinis mei" in the Mass, the Word is made flesh, the Divine is made present among the earthly. The Divine in its utter difference becomes otherness--that is, the material objects of bread and wine and Christ's body--and is materially assimilated by the subject. As phrased by Pope Gregory VII (1095): the bread and wine "substantialiter converti in veram et propriam et vivificatricem carnem et sanguinem Jesu Christi."⁷⁰ The transubstantiation is the mirror of matter becoming (not reflecting, not symbolizing) the Divine. Once at a particular historic moment that complete "Otherness" which is the Divine was present in the materiality of the flesh, and the Eucharist of the Mass marks the reoccurrence of that presence again and again. The bread and wine which in other contexts are words and symbols, in the Mass become the Word made flesh. This is analogy (metaphor), or better, correspondence not as a literary device, but as a mode of being, which was an essential process of medieval man's relation to the world.

Today we speak of the schizophrenic as one for whom words and symbols become things,⁷¹ but the extension of this which

can amount to a thesis of religion as mass neurosis is folly born out of a perspective indifferent to history and the historical shift of conceptual paradigms. Unlike various contemporary theorists and even Freud himself, Lacan is careful not to place himself in this position.⁷² This is accomplished quite simply, again by starting from Jakobson's linguistic proposition of metaphor and metonymy as two cardinal aspects of language. Analogy is a metaphoric operation; by extension analogical discourse may admittedly be employed as a literary device, but just as importantly analogical discourse is an inherent aspect of language itself. Since Lacan begins from the proposition that language structures mind, analogical discourse, as an aspect of language, is a mode of being and an essential process of one's relation to the world. We shall return to this point, the locus of God in Lacan's model, in the final section of this chapter.

Returning to the schema representing the relations discerned in the lyrics, the intersubjective reflection and dialectic can now be summarized. The intermediary position of the Virgin is evident from the start. The Virgin as loved object is "another" through whom the poet achieves self-reflection. She is of humble, earthly origins, but has been assumed into heaven, and is thus in a position between God and man--and she mediates man's appeals to God who may seem too distant and too all-powerful.⁷³

On the other hand, the secular poet composes his lyric, knowingly employing certain techniques, tropes, and diction in common with spiritual, specifically Mariological verse; but at the same time there is no doubt that despite all his spiritualizing tone, no matter to what degree, his Lady is simply not the unique Blessed Virgin Mary. We saw in the case of the troubadours that in a literal sense the poet's social identity was defined ultimately in his relation to the Lord in whose court or through whose influence the poet established his particular position. In a straightforward sense, the Lady mediates between poet and Lord (on all levels, Real, Imaginary, Symbolic) in a manner analogous to the mediation of the woman as "gift" through marriage in the feudal social system--a more general system of social relations to which the poet is related only indirectly. When we turned to the early Italian lyrics, in contexts quite different from the feudal order of the Languedoc, we noted that the Lord so commonly addressed in the troubadour lyrics is no longer mentioned. Yet the Italian poet is still clearly questioning and establishing his self-identity through some relation to his Lady, or the image of his Lady. The poet still confronts the question "Who am I?" but the question is no longer posited from outside--neither from the heavenly Lord nor from the earthly Lord--it is posited inside the poet himself. The locus of the Lord internalized is the Other: "Ecce enim regnum Dei intra vos est" (Luke 17:21).

It is commonplace that the distinction between the medieval spiritual and secular lyric is often not easy to establish. There are a great many poems which will remain wonderfully ambivalent. The fact is, this ambivalence is inherent in the common structuring of intersubjective relations involved in the lyrics. For all the lyricists--secular, spiritual, and undecided--self-identity is established through imaginary, speculative relationships. These relationships, as defined within the lyric contexts themselves, are love relations of varied types and degrees. The next step, then, must be a consideration of this amor as it was understood in the period itself. And we shall see that this irreducible ambivalence is further enhanced by the nature of the medieval "language of love," with its built-in bivalence born out of analogical exegesis of the Divine Word.

3.3.1. Third theme: St. Bernard's Amores, the Song of Songs, and the Word of love

From St. Jerome's translation of the Bible the medieval period inherited four words commonly used to signify various types of love: cupiditas, amor, dilectio, and charitas. Excepting cupiditas, each is found in the Canticum Canticorum. Despite academic attempts to dogmatically establish set meanings for each of these words in medieval scholarship, the fact remains that in medieval writings, themselves there is a large amount of interpermeation: amor may signify sexual love, brotherly love, paternal or maternal love, and divine love; dilectio has the same flexibility; cupiditas is nearly always used for carnal passion; charitas is nearly always used for spiritual love. The connection between love, knowledge, and God is clear. In 1 John 4:8 we find: "Qui non diligit, non novit Deum: quoniam Deus charitas est" (He who does not love, does not know God: since God is love). Amor, dilectio, and charitas often in fact signify the same type of love. In the Carmina Burana MS. we find John's maxim given a new twist in a two line poem:

Non est crimen amor, quia, si scelus esset amare,
nollet amore Deus etiam divina ligare.⁷⁴

(Love be not crime, since, if love be crime,
with love God would not the sacred bind.)

Here, the potential double meaning of amor provides the crux of the poem--without it the poem makes no sense. But for the

clearest statement of the interrelation of these terms and concepts we must turn to St. Bernard of Clairvaux.

3.3.1.1. St. Bernard was widely read during his own time. His holiness could only have been reaffirmed in the eyes of conservatives by his confrontation with Peter Abelard. The particular aspect of his thought which concerns us here is, admittedly, only one relatively small point among much very important material. His De Diligendo Deo is an explicit and detailed analysis of what Bernard calls the "grades" of love. There are four grades, leading from the baseness of total self-love to the heights of ecstasy experienced in the selfless love of the fourth grade.

The first gradus is quo diligit homo se, propter se (that by which man loves himself for his own sake). In its most basic form, this first grade would include the totally autogenic love of Narcissus, who loves not another, nor himself for what his self entails of God Himself: Narcissus is he who se diligit propter se, nothing more. The second grade begins to entail the love of God:

Amat ergo jam Deum, sed propter se interim adhuc,
non propter ipsum. Est tamen quaedam prudentia
scire quid ex te, quid ex Dei admutorio possis,
et ipsi servare te infensum, qui te tibi servat
illaesum.⁷⁵

(He now loves God, then, but still somewhat for his own sake, not for God himself. It is, however, a kind of prudence to know what you can do of yourself and what by the aid of God; and to preserve yourself guiltless to him who preserves you to yourself unharmed.)

The third grade represents the limit of progress-in-love which is achieved by most who strive. Here man loves God not primarily in relation to man himself, but God is loved primarily for sake of Himself:

Sic amat qui dicit: "Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus." [Ps. 117:1] Qui Domino confitetur, non quoniam sibi bonus est, sed quoniam bonus est; hic vere diligit Deum propter Deum, et non propter se ipsum. . . . Iste est tertius amoris gradus, quo jam propter se ipsum Deus diligitur. (pp. 96-97)

(So he loves who says: "Give praise to the Lord, for he is good." He who gives praise to the Lord, not because the Lord is good to him, but because the Lord is good, he truly loves God for Himself and not for his own sake. This is the third grade of love, by which God is loved now for Himself.)

The fourth grade is reached rarely and only by the few; this is cum nec se ipsum diligit homo nisi propter deum (when man does not even love himself except for the sake of God). Here we are in the realm of ecstasy:

Quando hujuscemodi experitur affectum, ut divino debriatus amore animus, oblitus sui, factusque sibi ipsi tanquam vas perditum, totus pergat in Deum, et adhaerens Deo unus cum eo spiritus fiat. . . . (pp. 98-99)

(When shall the soul experience affection like this, so that inebriated with divine love, forgetful of itself and become to itself like a broken vessel of clay, it may completely pass over into God, and adhering to God, become one spirit with Him. . . .)

The fourth grade is a profound atonement in the original, literal sense of the word, an at-one-ment in which the subject experiences a unification in spirit with his God. It is a complete identification in the strict, even strictly contemporary, sense: "a process by which an individual, unconsciously or partially so, as a result of an emotional tie, behaves, or imagines himself behaving, as if he were the person with whom the tie exists."⁷⁶ This is of course a fundamental characteristic of mysticism, and Bernard is not unaware of this. Another characteristic of mystic discourse is an abundance of sexually charged constructions and elaborately extended erotic metaphors. Bernard's own work is an example of this, but discussion of this characteristic and of the relation between erotic and mystic ecstasy will have to await the next section of our study. But related to this, it is significant that throughout his treatise, in speaking of all four grades of love, Bernard employs amor and dilectio interchangeably. Of the four commonly used substantives for medieval "love," these two encompass the broadest semantic fields--neither automatically excludes any type of "love," high or low. A certain semantic ambivalence is definitely functional throughout the treatise.

It is the first grade which especially concerns us at this point. For it is in his discussion of the first grade that Bernard establishes the connection which exists between amor

carnalis and amor spiritualis. He opens his discussion of the first grade as follows:

Unde et dictum est primum et maximum mandatum:
 "Diliges Dominum Deum tuum," etc. [Matt. 22:37] Sed quoniam natura fragilior atque infirmior est, ipsi primum imperante necessitate compellitur inservire. Et est amor carnalis, quo ante omnia homo diligit se ipsum propter se ipsum, sicut scriptum est: "Prius quod animale, deinde quod spirituale." [1 Cor. 15:46] (pp. 86-87)

(Hence it is the first and greatest commandment: "Thou shalt love thy Lord God," etc. But since nature is too weak and feeble, it is compelled, by necessity, first to serve itself. And this is carnal love, by which before all things man loves himself for his own sake, as it is written: "That first which is natural, and afterward that which is spiritual.")

Still remaining within the first grade, this amor carnalis, when extended to others, can become what Bernard calls amor socialis:

Tunc amor tuus et temperans erit, et iustus, si quod propriis subtrahitur voluptatibus, fratris necessitatibus non negetur. Sic amor carnalis efficitur et socialis, cum in commune protrahitur. (pp. 88-89.)

(Thus your love will be both temperate and just, if what is withdrawn from your own pleasure is not denied to the necessities of your brother. Thus carnal love becomes social when it is extended for the good of others.)

The most important statement concerning the relative importance and nature of amor carnalis is made by Bernard in a later chapter. Chapter XV is an over-view of all four grades, and it begins:

Verumtamen quia carnales sumus, et de carnis concupiscentia nascimur, necesse est ut cupiditas vel amor noster a carne incipiat; quae si recto ordine dirigitur, quibusdam suis gradibus duce gratiâ proficiens, spiritu tandem consummabitur: quia non prius quod spirituale, sed quod animale; deinde quod spirituale. Et prius necesse est portemus imaginem terrestris; deinde caelestis. [1 Cor. 15:46,49]. (pp. 130-31)

(Nevertheless, because we are carnal and born from the concupiscence of the flesh, our desire or love must begin from the flesh; and if it is directed by the right order, advancing by its several degrees under the guidance of grace, it will at last be consummated by the spirit: for that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; afterwards that which is spiritual. And first we must bear the image of the earthly, afterwards the image of the heavenly.)

For Bernard, amor carnalis is simply one, or perhaps the one, natural level of love. It is in fact necessitated by our own corporeal existence. The pattern that emerges from the De Diligendo Deo is not an abrupt antithesis of amor spiritualis vs. amor carnalis, but rather a continuous hierarchy of tetradic relationships.⁷⁷ The spiritual and the carnal partake of a dialectic, and the nature of each of the grades is bound in this dialectic itself. Bernard moves naturally from the earthly to the divine in a manner most common to medieval discourse in general; it is not a question of speaking of the moral in terms of the immoral, or some equally over-simplifying, convenient antithesis. Such an "either-or" interpretation is an anachronistic imposition on the texts, and does injustice to the beauty of the issue as it confronted the medieval sensibility. A simplification we can allow ourselves is a

prius-deinde, which Bernard suggests himself, and which he in turn has taken from St. Paul: "Et prius necesse est portemus imaginem terrestris; deinde caelestis". (1 Cor.15:49).

Similarly, this prius-deinde system is a factor common throughout much exegesis of the Canticum Canticorum. The Canticum, perhaps more than any other Biblical text, presented the medieval exegete, hymnist, parodist, and lyricist with a vivid example of the erotic imagery of spiritual discourse. It is a crucial text for any look at medieval lyricism. It is the single most important source of the medieval words and Word of love.

* * *

3.3.1.2. Before the modern critical eye the Canticum Canticorum is a collection of lyric poems whose origins are admittedly secular in nature. "The book is a collection of about twenty-five lyric poems or fragments of poems of human love and courtship such as would be sung appropriately at weddings. The poetry is graceful, sensuous, and replete with erotic imagery and allusions to the ancient myth of the love of a god and a goddess on which the fertility of nature was thought to depend."⁷⁸ Of course, this was not the manner in which the Canticum was interpreted throughout the medieval period. In the Latin Vulgate the Canticum is a long dramatic poem, a dialogue between the Sponsus and the Sponsa. Medieval

exegetical tradition commonly interpreted the figure of the Sponsus as Christ and the figure of the Sponsa as the human soul, or as the community of souls, the Ecclesia. The dialogue, then, could be read as the soul's desire for and progress toward its "marriage" with God. At the same time, since the Church is the "Bride of Christ" and the Virgin is parens et puella as well, another common interpretation read the Sponsa as the Virgin Mary. This Mariological interpretation is exemplified already by St. Ambrose in his Sermo de Virginitate Perpetua S. Mariae and by St. Gregory the Great in his Expositio super Cantica Canticorum.

The exegetes do not deny that the diction of the Canticum is carnal, and many begin from this point. Since the Canticum was admittedly carnal in diction, while spiritual in meaning, both secular and spiritual poets found the Canticum to be a storehouse for the "word of love." This was particularly the case with the writers of Mary hymns, since exegetical tradition had already identified the Virgin with the Sponsa of the text. While the diction of the Canticum appears in many examples of secular poetry, in terms of the exegetical tradition of the period the Canticum was read "officially" only for the sensus altior--the sensus litteralis being admittedly the diction of amor carnalis.

At the end of this study there is appended a Latin concordance to the Canticum which has been compiled with concentration

on those words and phrases particularly concerned with the diction of love. The words are given in context in order that their meaning in the text may be recognized. There are, however, several words found in the Canticum which on account of their frequency in both spiritual and secular medieval texts merit special mention. No analysis of the Word of love would be complete without mention of these words and phrases:

a) The words amica, soror, charissima, and sponsa are all used as appellations for the female in the text. Amica and charissima are commonly found in secular Latin lyrics, as well as in hymns to the Virgin.

b) The word columba is applied to the Sponsa. It appears in medieval lyrics in either substantive forms as appellations, or in adjectival constructions.

c) The word flos, which is used in the Canticum in the phrase ego flos campi, is found in hymns and lyrics in a number of phrases, such as flos florum, flos sine spina, flos mundi, etc. The Provençal flors, the Middle English flowr, and the Italian fiore are commonly found, as is of course the related rose.

d) The word fons, used in the Canticum as fons signatus and fons hortorum, is found in medieval hymns in similar phrases: fons misericordiae, fons redundans, fons sublimis, etc. Variations of this appear in the vernaculars with words for fountain, well, spring, etc.

e) The word hortus, used in the Canticum as hortus conclusus, became a standard appellation for the Virgin throughout the medieval period; and, as Wright points out in her dissertation (pp.39ff.), the garden motif in general is very common in secular love lyrics as well.

f) The word lilium appears in the phrases lilium convallium and lilium inter spinas. In the vernaculars, this seems to appear most commonly in the English, lily and lily of the valley.

g) The verbs languo and vulnero are used in the Canticum in the phrases quia amore languo and vulnerasti cor meum. Both verbs are common in Latin and vernacular lyrics, in spiritual and secular contexts.

h) The word lectulus appears in the phrase in lectulo meo, per noctes, quaesivi quem diligit anima mea. It is of course in the lectulus that the union between the Sponsus and the Sponsa will be consummated, both in the spiritual and in the carnal sense.

i) In the Canticum 4:1-15, the Sponsus is given a lengthy passage in which he describes the beauty of the Sponsa. Many adjectival constructions were borrowed from this passage and were used both in medieval hymns and secular lyrics. It should be noted, however, that not all the phrases in the Canticum which happen to apply to the Sponsa or to the Sponsus are employed by the hymnists or the secular poets in reference to a corresponding

sex. This is to say, particular phrases which are in the Canticum applied to the Sponsus are sometimes used by poets in application to the Virgin or to the Lady of a secular lyric.

3.3.1.3. Perhaps the single most exemplary document from this period illustrating the employment of the Scriptural Word of love in secular contexts is a little-known treatise entitled the Rota Veneris, written by Magister Boncompagno da Signa sometime around 1215.⁷⁹ The treatise is, in effect, a composition handbook for the writing of love letters--an abecedarium amoris, as it were. In itself, however, this would not make the work particularly interesting. What is striking is that Boncompagno constructs his exemplary diction of love with much more weight placed on Scriptural foundations than on the amorous writings of Ovid, the supposed grand Magister Amoris of the medieval period. The treatise, which runs to about twenty pages in modern type, contains only six references to Ovid, while there are over thirty more or less obvious variations of amorous phrases from Scripture, most from the Psalms and the Canticum.

The format is a series of sample letters (exempla), each of which is explained and the proper order for their successive composition is laid out. In the first letter Boncompagno demonstrates how the virgo addressed is to be compared to the stella matutina (Eccli.50:6) and to the auroram diei (Cant.6:9); and then how the suitor-to-be is to say that in amiratione deficiebat spiritus meus (Ps.76:4; echo of Cant.4:9). In his

second sample letter the Magister suggests the phrase Vidisti forte virgulta in deserto et complacuerunt pomeria Damasci.

This is a masterful juxtaposition of epithets. In this variation, virgulta in deserto, Boncompagno captures both the Burning Bush of Exod.3:2 and Aaron's Rod (virga) of Num.17:8, both of which were held to be prefigurations of the Virgin Mary according to the 12th century exegesis of Honorius and of St. Bernard.⁸⁰ Pomerium is a medieval variant spelling of pomarium, which is in turn a synonym for hortus, repeatedly employed in the Canticum and a common epithet of the Virgin.

In his comment which follows Boncompagno then recommends a series of metaphors, forged to win a maiden's heart:

Transumitur enim mulier quandoque in solem, quandoque in lunam, quandoque in stellam, quandoque in palmam, quandoque in cedrum, quandoque in laurum, quandoque in rosam, quandoque in liliam, quandoque in violam, quandoque in gemmam vel in aliquem lapidem preciosum. . . .
(p.15)

(The woman ought to be transformed sometimes into the sun, sometimes into the moon, or a star, a palm, a cedar, a laurel, a rose, a lily, a violet, a gem, or othertimes into a precious stone. . . .)

Each of these is commonly found in medieval hymns to the Virgin and each is based on common Scriptural tropes. The treatise goes on in the same vein with sample letters to be written during the courtship, all of which contain further Scriptural allusions. After the letters proper, Venus is then given a speech addressed to the mulieribus universis. Boncompagno closes his handbook with a brief discussion of the various signa of love, their nature and sometimes difficult interpretation.

The Magister, however, graciously reserves his coup de maître for the very last paragraph of the treatise. Here his willfully and playfully ambiguous style is allowed free rein, and we are at once confronted with the transparent subtlety of what has been all along an amorously ironic philosophizing. He is familiar with the work of Andreas Capellanus, since he quotes from it more than once. Similarly, Boncompagno too feels the need to keep up appearances, and ends on a totally different tone. In an apology which is not quite an apology, an explanation which is not quite an explanation, and a recantation which is not really a recantation, he tells us:

Licet autem plura, que lasciviam ostendere videntur, in hoc opere posuerim, non tamen est credibile me fuisse aut velle fore lascivum, quia Salomon, qui meruit assistrici Dei, id est eius sapientie, copulari, multa posuit in Canticis canticorum, que secundum litteram magis possent ad carnis voluptatem quam ad moralitatem spiritus trahi. Veruntamen sapientes dubia in meliorem partem interpretantur, dicentes sponsam vel amicam ecclesiam fuisse, sponsum Iesum Christum. Credere igitur debitis, quod Boncompagnus non dixit hec alicuius lascivie causa, sed sociorum precibus amicabiliter condescendit. (p.26)

(But it may appear that I have written many things in this work which may reveal wantonness. Nonetheless, it is not to be thought that I have been or wish to be wanton. It was Solomon, worthy the assistance of the Lord, whose wisdom was capable of being applied to so many things in the Cantica Canticorum. They may be more readily applied to the pleasure of the flesh in the literal sense, than to the pleasure of the spirit in the moral sense. Nonetheless, scholars for the most part doubtfully interpret the sponsa or amica to have been ecclesia and the sponsus Christ. Therefore, you ought not believe that Boncompagno has spoken this for sake of any wantonness, but rather that he has condescended amicably to the entreaties of friends.)

The purposeful double-talk of this master rhetorician is not easily captured in translation. The passage, especially as seen in the context of the work as a whole, is explicitly indicative of an attitude toward the secular employment of the Divine Word. This attitude is knowingly ambiguous, and taking enjoyment in this ambiguity--for, as the French can put it, "parler d'amour est en soi une jouissance." We do not find the high seriousness of St. Bernard in this treatise, but by the same token neither do we find that certain naïveté, by the grace of which Bernard is able to expound the glorious truth of the Canticum in words of erotic ecstasy, taking little or no notice of the beautiful paradox potentially involved--in fact, a paradox built into the language itself, the inescapable bivalence of analogical discourse. For Boncompagno, far more a rhetorician than a theologian, it is the paradox itself which holds the fascination.

We too now turn to this paradox in the final section of this chapter, which is a brief examination of the interrelation between the lyric and the ecstatic in both secular and spiritual expression--again engaging a dialectic, and stepping out of the strictly medieval context in order to confront the paradox from a different perspective.

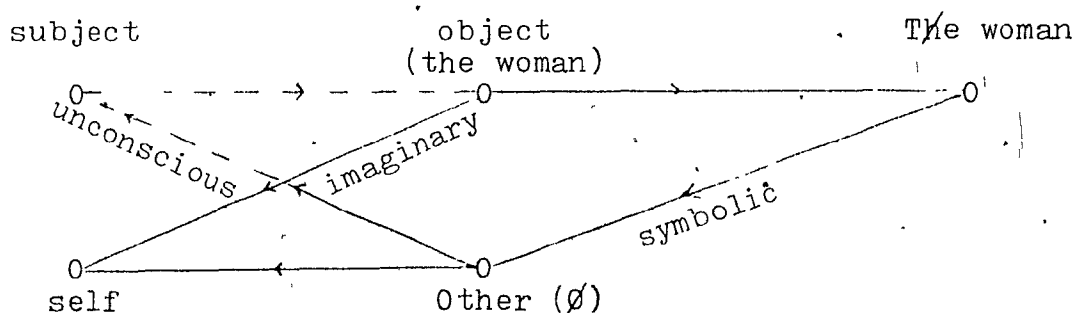
3.3.2. Variation: ecstatic divagations

Des personnes bien intentionnées . . . se sont trouvées surprises d'avoir écho que je mettais entre l'homme et la femme un certain Autre qui avait bien l'air d'être le bon vieux Dieu de toujours. --Lacan, Séminaire, 20 Feb. 1973⁸¹

To understand what is behind this proposition, which forms the main thesis of the seminar entitled "Dieu et la jouissance de la femme," a certain amount of backtracking is necessary. In the Schéma L we remember that, while the relationship between the subject's self-image and the object (another) is an Imaginary relationship, the relationship between the subject and the Other is an unconscious relationship. The internal dialectic between the self and the Other enters the realm of the subject's consciousness only through the mirror relation (Imaginary) which exists between the self and the object. Direct knowledge of the Other is forever barred (/) from the subject's consciousness; in Lacan's model this is represented by the letter A (Autre) with a bar, \bar{A} . The Other, which is always ultimately beyond conscious understanding and with which the subject always desires to be united in at-one-ment, Lacan feels corresponds substantially to "le bon vieux Dieu de toujours." In stressing this, he is purposefully reemphasizing the relationship of psychoanalytic theory to the continuity of its cultural tradition.

The title of the seminar reads "la femme" rather than "la femme" to emphasize a particular aspect of the heterosexual

relationship. This is to say, and here Lacan's affinity with medieval conceptions of woman becomes very clear, that beyond the woman who is simply another (the loved object), there is "another woman" who remains ultimately barred (/) from the subject's conscious comprehension. This is The woman in the abstract, as it were, a generalized woman with a symbolic function. It is this woman, The woman, who is, in a symbolic relation with the subject's Other, \emptyset . To assist graphically in this elucidation, the Schéma L might be thus expanded:



As Lacan points out, it is only to be expected that, "Cet Autre, s'il n'y en a qu'en tout seul, doit bien avoir quelque rapport avec ce que apparaît de l'autre sexe."⁸² That which is to be in a symbolic relation with the Other will naturally be connected with the other sex. But this is only the beginning of any sort of explanation; let us return to this phrase, "Dieu et la jouissance de la femme."

The French word jouissance is quite untranslatable in English. Not only does jouissance entail a double meaning of general "enjoyment" on the one hand, and on the other specifically

the enjoyment of orgasm; jouissance also entails connotations born out of the etymological associations between joie and the Latin gaudium, which we have seen played upon in Provençal verse, and these lend to jouissance inherent spiritual overtones as well. The word designates "an enormous weight of meaning" in French, perhaps even to the extreme that "jouissance is the only valuable meaning that is offered to our life. If the living being is something at all thinkable, it will be above all as subject of the jouissance. . . ."83 In English, to my knowledge, we have no single word which forces upon us a recognition of such interpermeation of "different" types of joy. "Ecstasy" must serve as the closest approximation, noting that we use the word to express divine, poetic, and sexual ecstasy, depending on the contexts. This is more than a mere matter of semantics; on the contrary, we are confronting a crucial reciprocity of semantics and sensibilities.

In his use of the phrase "la jouissance de la femme," Lacan is employing a certain ambiguity in that jouissance may signify the man's enjoyment of the woman, and at the same time the feminine orgasm in and of itself. Needless to say, these two meanings of jouissance are often closely related--closely related and yet decidedly different. Freud suggested in his essays on sexuality that female clitoral sexuality is homologous to male phallic sexuality, extending the evident anatomical homology. Beyond observations primarily concerned with pre-

Oedipal sexuality, as Freud himself realized, the issue of female sexuality in and of itself and in relation to the male was an area for further psychoanalytic inquiry. The final sentence of the 1932 lecture on femininity is clearly open ended: "If you want to know more about femininity, enquire from your own experience of life, or turn to the poets, or wait until science can give you deeper and more coherent information."⁸⁴ The phallic homology for clitoral sexuality is suggestive as far as it goes, but it literally and figuratively does not penetrate the surface of feminine jouissance. There is a jouissance, as Lacan picks up the discussion, "au-delà du phallus," a "jouissance supplémentaire," as distinct from "complémentaire." "Alors on l'appelle comme on peut, cette jouissance, vaginale, on parle du pôle postérieur du museau de l'utérus et autres conneries, c'est la cas de le dire."⁸⁵ Again literally and figuratively, this is a jouissance beyond the phallus. It is distinctly both the jouissance of another and, even more significantly in the patriarchal context, it is the other jouissance:

Il y a une jouissance à elle, à cette elle qui n'existe pas et ne signifie rien. Il y a une jouissance à elle dont peut-être elle-même ne sait rien, sinon qu'elle l'éprouve--ça, elle le sait. Elle le sait, bien sûr, quand ça arrive. Ça ne leur arrive pas à toutes.⁸⁶

The similarities of this jouissance with the ecstasy of the mystic experience are inescapable, and involve fundamentals of faith, knowledge, and experience in a context of vital and primordial immediacy. In the order of the Symbolic, Lacan has already established that the woman is in a symbolic relation with the Other. And it is also part of his model that the Other is the locus of the Symbolic father, the Lawgiver, God the Father. "La jouissance de la femme," then, in the Symbolic order is Divine ecstasy, in the mystical sense. "Plus ça change," Bernini has already captured the argument in marble: ". . . c'est comme pour Sainte Thérèse--vous n'avez qu'à aller regarder à Rome la statue du Bernin pour comprendre tout de suite qu'elle jouit, ça ne fait pas de doute. Et de quoi jouit-elle? Il est clair que le témoignage essentiel des mystiques, c'est justement de dire qu'ils l'éprouvent, mais qu'ils n'en savent rien."⁸⁷ It is now but a step from this proposition to the conclusion of the seminar, a conclusion which sheds at least a ray of light on the whole issue of the erotic discourse of mediéval mysticism: "Et pourquoi ne pas interpréter une face de l'Autre, la face Dieu, comme supportée par la jouissance féminine?"⁸⁸ And this exposes a fundamental difference between mystic and lyric discourse. The mystic experiences; the lyricist expresses. The ecstasy of consummation is excluded from the lyric, in both secular and spiritual contexts; whereas, it is

precisely the act of ecstatic consummation which is the mystic experience itself. The eroticism of the medieval mystic tends toward the experience and the action of consummated love; while the eroticism of the lyric, as we have seen, is the contemplation of the loved object. The realm of the medieval lyricist remains this side of ecstasy. Necessarily so, in that the art of the lyricist lies in his contemplative eroticism and in the manipulation of his own carefully expressed poetic speech. Ecstasy lies beyond the realm of speech, in the realm of language, of the Logos, knowledge which when achieved is experienced and remains inexpressible. Speech cannot embrace the embrace of love.

Returning to the lyricist in his poetic discourse established at the boundary of the inexpressible, let us consider the dilemma captured in a secular context. The poet's Lady, after all, at least in theory may stand before him at any moment in flesh and blood; yet in order to retain her symbolic and mediating function, she must always entail more than flesh and blood. The corporeal lady is simply another, the object of the poet's love; the poet's Lady in the Symbolic order, "The Lady," remains barred (//) from him. In the texts themselves, whether in Latin or in the vernaculars, the Lady's primacy through her symbolic function is manifest by the fact that the relationship between the poet and the Lady is, within the text, denied consummation in the corporeality of sexual

ecstasy itself. The dilemma of the spiritual lyricist, on the other hand, in his devotion to the Virgin is of a slightly different character. The Virgin, no matter to what extent eroticizing descriptions of her corporeal beauty are thrust upon her, is not and cannot be the corporeal object of the poet's love. A confusion between the Virgin as simply another, the loved object, and "The Virgin" of the Symbolic order is practically impossible. She is, by the very nature of her spiritual reality and Assumption, forever barred in this sense from the poet. A sonnet by Guido Cavalcanti (fl. c. 1280) captures precisely this characteristic of the relationship between secular and spiritual lyricism:

Una figura de la Donna mia
 s'adora, Guido, a San Michele in Orto,
 che, di bella sembianza, onesta e pia,
 de' peccatori è gran rifugio e porto.
 E qual con devozion lei s'umilia,
 chi più languisce più n'ha di conforto;
 l'infermi sana e' demon caccia via,
 ed occhi orbati fa vedere scorto.
 Sana, in pubblico loco, gran langori,
 con reverenza la gente la 'nchina,
 di luminare l'adoran di fori.
 La voce va per lontane cammina:
 ma dicono ch'è idolatra i fra' Minori
 per invidia che non è lor vicina.⁸⁹

(An image of my Lady is worshipped, Guido, at San Michele in Orto; she is of beautiful semblance, clear and holy, and is the great refuge and haven of sinners. Whoever with reverence kneels before her, the more he languishes, the more he is comforted. The sick are well and the demon driven out, and she makes blind eyes see. She cures great ills in a public place, with reverence the people turn to her; lamps adorn her from without. Her fame is spread far and wide--but the Franciscans cry "What idolatry!" out of envy that she is not near them.)

In this well-known poem to his friend, Guido Orlando, Cavalcanti identifies his Donna with the Madonna of San Michele in Orto. The result is a highly philosophic piece of poetic humor in the high style. The poem is not merely an example of simple parody; even a casual look at other poems by Cavalcanti would reveal the weakness of such an analysis. There is a new realization of the relationship between the earthly ideal and the Divine Ideal. The problem of epistemology which remains outside but underlying earlier lyric poetry, is incorporated into this stilnovist sonnet itself, and is in fact what "makes" the poem. If there is simple parody here, it is more a philosophic irony, an irony born out of the realization of one's own tenable yet untenable logical position. The poet's laughter is perhaps not so much at others, but at himself. It is the contemplative and resigning smile of an artful philosopher engaged in the imaginary exercise of self-reflection. There is no resolution of the paradox available to Cavalcanti. A set of conceptual terms which would allow for the analysis and synthesis of the conflicting aspects of the donna as donna (rather than donna/Madonna) is simply not part of the medieval discourse. Yet, he is aware of the striking affinity between the two donne-- this is, in fact, the crux of the poem. Such an awareness expressed so overtly is new, and is an important part of that newness which marks the dolce stil novo itself.

* * *

3.3.3. Such an interpretation of the epistemological issue underlying the lyric recapitulates in different terms the detailed analysis presented by Erich Auerbach in his important essay "Figura" (1944), which closes with an analysis of Dante's Beatrice. Dante's lyricism lies outside the realm of this study, but Auerbach's discussion of *Figura* and its relation to the lyric Lady is directly relevant. As Auerbach explains, the "figural method" has its roots in Biblical exegesis, but its implications permeated the entire medieval sensibility:

. . . the attitude embodied in the figural interpretation became one of the essential elements of the Christian picture of reality, history, and the concrete world in general. . . . Figural interpretation establishes a connection between two events or persons, the first of which signifies not only itself but also the second, while the second encompasses or fulfills the first. The two poles of the figure are separate in time, but both, being real events or figures, are within time, within the stream of historical life. Only the understanding of the two persons or events is a spiritual act, but this spiritual act deals with concrete events whether past, present, or future, and not with concepts or abstractions. . . . Since in figural interpretation one thing stands for another, since one thing represents and signifies the other, figural interpretation is "allegorical" in the widest sense. But it differs from most of the allegorical forms known to us by the historicity both of the sign and what it signifies.

But individual interpretations do not exhaust the importance of the figural method. No student of the Middle Ages can fail to see how it provides the medieval interpretation of history with its general foundation and often enters into the medieval view of everyday reality. The analogism that reaches into every sphere of medieval thought is closely bound up with the figural structure; in the interpretation of the Trinity that.

extends roughly from Augustine's De Trinitate to St. Thomas, I, q.45, art.7, man himself, as the image of God, takes on the character of a figura Trinitatis.⁹⁰

When brought to bear on the lyric in particular this statement of method has important implications, and I believe affords an interpretation which prefigures the explicitly linguistic and psychological analysis presented in this study. In Auerbach's opinion, interpretations of the medieval lyric which concentrate on the "human reality" of the Lady are but outgrowths of "the Romantic realism of the nineteenth century" and in effect approach the lyric as "a kind of sentimental novel." The other extreme, tending to dissolve the Lady into nothing but abstract theological or philosophical concepts also misses the point. Speaking directly of Dante's Beatrice, Auerbach says: "For Dante the literal meaning or historical reality of a figure [Beatrice] stands in no contradiction to its profounder meaning, but precisely 'figures' it; the historical reality is not annulled, but confirmed and fulfilled by the deeper meaning" (pp. 73-74). By extension, this is relevant to medieval lyrics as a whole, to a greater or lesser extent. Beatrice exists on at least two levels of experience. The levels are not mutually exclusive but complementary, and this is the crux of Auerbach's interpretation. A process which is an implicit foundation of medieval perception of reality as a whole has become by the time of Dante a conscious literary device.

To recall the opening of this chapter, the inescapable and necessary bivalence of all analogical discourse is a corollary in linguistic terms of what Auerbach has discussed as *Figura*. Within the linguistic framework, this amounts to the proposition that both natural language and the specific analogical code are complementarily necessary in order to embrace the establishment of meaning in a text. Without natural language, an analogical code simply cannot be formulated; and without an analogical code (extended metaphorical operations), natural language cannot transcend the "natural world" into the realm of the Symbolic, the Divine--that "Otherness," whatever it be named, beyond everyday reality and imaginary illusions.⁹¹

We have begun from the premise that language structures mind, and further corollaries, including a) that metaphor and metonymy are two cardinal aspects of language, and b) that the syntactic structure subject-copula-predicate (e.g. subject-verb-object) is a fundamental structure of language. We have seen that love (amor, vera dilectio, fin'amors) is defined in the texts considered as the desire for unification not only with the loved object, another, but also with what is beyond and symbolized by the loved object, the Other, the Symbolic father, God. Love is, then, a bivalent mediation between the one and the other, between one realm and another. In St. Bernard's terms, "necesse est ut cupiditas vel amor noster a carne incipiat. . . . Et prius necesse est portemus imaginem terrestris;

deinde caelestis."⁹² And Lacan recapitulates with contemporary variations, positing "entre l'homme et la femme un certain Autre qui avait bien l'air d'être le bon vieux Dieu de toujours."⁹³ Carnal ecstasy is not merely the earthly parody of the Divine, and if we accept an extension of Auerbach's argument, we can say that "the first signifies not only itself but also the second, while the second encompasses or fulfills the first." Neither is the "mere analogy" of the other. They form a dialectic of irreducible metaphoric complementation--just as metaphor is inseparable from language itself.⁹⁴

Ecstasy is unification--which is, in effect, the joining of the one and the other, coupling, copulation. Copulation engenders meaning is a statement whose meaning is engendered by its irreducible ambiguity. The statement expresses Lacan's dictum, "jouissance [which is copulation] is the only valuable meaning that is offered to our life."⁹⁵ At the same time, it expresses a fundamental linguistic assertion: The copula is that which relates subject and predicate; it, in effect, establishes predication, without which there is no meaning. The desire for unification into the primordial One, the absolute subject, free of all relationships is irreducible psychologically and syntactically. The subject without predication is the subject undifferentiated from object.

NOTES:

Chapter 3

¹e.g., Sigmund Freud, Totem and Taboo (1913; Standard Edition, 1950); Herbert Marcuse, Eros and Civilization (Boston, 1955), chapters two and three on ontogenesis and phylogenesis respectively.

²"Ontogenesis does not reproduce phylogenesis, or the contrary. Both hypotheses lead to the same contradictions. One can speak of explanations only when the past of the species constantly recurs in the indefinitely multiplied drama of each individual thought, because it is itself only the retrospective projection of a transition which has occurred, because it occurs continually." Claude Lévi-Strauss, The Elementary Structures of Kinship, trans. J. H. Bell, J. R. Sturmer, & R. Needham (Boston, 1969), p. 491; also cf. Jean Piaget, Structuralism, ed. & trans. C. Maschler (New York, 1970), chapter V, section 15, "Transformational Structuralism and the Relations Between Ontogenesis and Phylogenesis."

³Ferdinand de Saussure, Course in General Linguistics, eds. C. Bally, A. Sechehaye, & A. Riedlinger, trans. W. Baskin (French 1st ed. 1915; New York, 1966), p. 67.

⁴Philosophical Writings of Peirce, ed. J. Buchler (New York, 1955), essay 7, "Logic as Semiotic: the Theory of Signs," p. 99.

⁵ibid., pp. 99-100.

⁶R. A. Markus, "St. Augustine on Signs," in his Augustine: A Collection of Critical Essays (New York, 1972), p. 86; also cf. R. De Rijk, "St. Augustine on Language," in Studies Presented to Professor Roman Jakobson, ed. C. Gribble (Cambridge, Ma., 1968), pp. 91-104.

⁷cf. Noam Chomsky, Aspects of the Theory of Syntax (Cambridge, Ma., 1965), chapter two, "Categories and Relations in Syntactic Theory," pp. 63-127.

⁸ in Universals of Language, ed. J. H. Greenberg (Cambridge, Ma., 1963), pp. 173-113; also see in the same volume Charles F. Hockett, "The Problem of Universals in Language," especially pp. 20ff.

⁹ "Le langage et la construction des objets," in Psychologie du langage, contributions by H. Delacroix, E. Cassirer, L. Jordan, et al. (Paris, 1933), p. 23 (my translation). The most up-to-date survey of the research concerning the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis is a recent book devoted entirely to the subject: George W. Kelling, Language: Mirror, Tool, and Weapon (Chicago, 1975); also see Adam Schaff, Language and Cognition (New York, 1973).

¹⁰ This is similar to the point made in different terms by Kenneth Burke in his The Rhetoric of Religion (Boston, 1961), chapter 1, "On Words and the Word."

¹¹ cf. "When it is analysing complex structures, thought seems to favor triads. This is true of myths of golden, silver, and iron ages, of Hegelian logic, of Comte's patterns of history, of the physics of quarks." And elsewhere, "All speech operates with subject-verb-object combinations." George Steiner, After Babel (Oxford, 1975), pp. 253, 297.

¹² On the relation of Lacan's theory to contemporary thought in general, see: Jan Miel's introduction to Lacan in Structuralism, ed. Jacques Ehrmann (Garden City, 1970), pp. 94-101; Anthony Wilden, The Language of the Self (New York, 1968), pp. 160-311; and Jeffrey Mehlman, "The 'Floating Signifier': From Lévi-Strauss to Lacan," in French Freud: Structural Studies in Psychoanalysis (Yale French Studies, no.48, 1972), pp. 10-37.

¹³ e.g., cf. Jean Frappier, "Variations sur le thème du miroir, de Bernard de Ventadour à Maurice Scève," Cahiers de l'ass. intern. des études françaises, 11 (May, 1959), pp. 134-58; Frederick Goldin, The Mirror of Narcissus in the Courtly Love Lyric; Sigmund Freud, "On Narcissism: an Introduction" (1914; Standard Edition, XIV, 69); Jacques Lacan, "Le stade du miroir comme formateur de la fonction du Je," Revue Française de Psychanalyse, 13 (1949), 449-55; Otto Kernberg, Borderline Conditions and Pathological Narcissism (New York, 1975); Jean Laplanche, Vie et mort en psychanalyse (Paris, 1970), chapter 4, "Le moi et le narcissisme," pp. 113-144.

¹⁴ see Jacques Lacan, "De locutionis significatione," in Le Séminaire: livre I (Paris, 1975), pp. 271-86; "Une lettre d'amour," in Le Séminaire: livre XX (Paris, 1975), pp. 73-82.

¹⁵ This is discussed at length throughout C. Wright's Ph.D. dissertation, The Influence of the Exegetical Tradition of the "Song of Songs". . . . (Berkeley, 1966).

¹⁶ Ernst Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trans. W. R. Trask (London, 1953), p. 51.

¹⁷ Of course, in the context of this study a full treatment of Augustine's argumentation in all its complexity cannot be presented. An important recognition of Augustine's relevance to medieval lyricism, as well as a much more thorough introduction to the De Trinitate forms the epilogue of Frederick Goldin's book, The Mirror of Narcissus in the Courtly Love Lyric (Ithaca, 1967), pp. 207-58; and Goldin's discussion has been extremely useful in what follows.

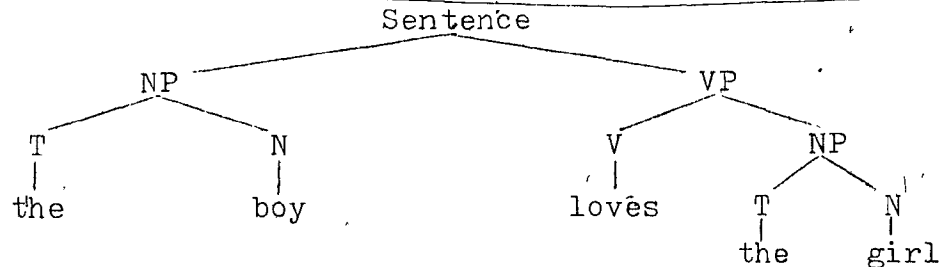
¹⁸ The De Trinitate text used here is from the P.L., vol. 42, cols. 819-1098. References will be given in the text following each quote. The translations provided follow very closely the English text given in A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, ed. Philip Schaff (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1956), vol. III, On the Trinity, trans. A. W. Haddan, revised and annotated by W. G. T. Shedd.

¹⁹ cf. De Trinitate, VIII, vii, 10; St. Bernard, De Diligendo Deo; chapter X.

²⁰ R. A. Markus, "St. Augustine on Signs," in his Augustine: A Collection of Critical Essays (New York, 1972), p. 72.

²¹ For the relationship of Augustine's linguistic theory to modern theory, see the essays by Markus and Jackson in Augustine: A Collection of Critical Essays, ed. R. A. Markus (New York, 1972); R. De Rijk, "St. Augustine on Language," in Studies Presented to Professor Roman Jakobson, ed. C. Gribble (Cambridge, Ma., 1968); and E. Vance, "Augustine's Confessions and the Grammar of Self-hood," in Genre, 6 (1973), pp. 1-28. The general point to be noted here is that Augustine's triadic analysis of signification is fundamentally in accord with the analyses of Peirce and Saussure. In fact, Jakobson was wont to call signans and signatum "the good old terms of St. Augustine," as quoted by De Rijk.

²² Although the terminology used here is perhaps old fashioned, this is basically the same point established through Chomsky's *Syntactic Structures*, for example:



Or: Sentence (NP + VP (Verb + NP))

For my purposes, I have chosen a traditional grammatical description which mingles functional notions with categorical notions, because this conventional description points out more obviously the subject/object relationship which concerns us here. For Chomsky's analysis, see: Aspects of the Theory of Syntax (Cambridge, Ma., 1965), chapter 2, "Categories and Relations in Syntactic Theory," pp. 63-127.

²³ Jacques Lacan, Le Séminaire: livre I (Paris, 1975), p.273.

²⁴ Lacan, Ecrits (Paris, 1966), vol. I, pp. 141-42.

²⁵ see: Octave Mannoni, "A Brief Introduction to Jacques Lacan," Contemporary Psychoanalysis, vol. 8, no. 1 (fall, 1971), 97-106; Robert Georjin, Le temps freudien du verbe (Lausanne, 1973); Jeffrey Mehlman, "The 'Floating Signifier': From Lévi-Strauss to Lacan," in French Freud: Structural Studies in Psychoanalysis (Yale French Studies, no.48, 1972), pp. 10-37.

²⁶ Anthony Wilden, "On Lacan: Psychoanalysis, Language, and Communication," Contemporary Psychoanalysis; vol. 9, no. 4 (Aug., 1973), pp. 445-470.

²⁷ Sigmund Freud, Beyond the Pleasure Principle (1920; Standard Edition, 1961), pp. 8ff.

²⁸ Jacques Lacan, "The Function of Language in Psychoanalysis," trans. by A. Wilden in his The Language of the Self (New York, 1968), p. 83.

²⁹cf. Jean Piaget: "The first language consists almost solely in orders and expressions of desire." Play, Dreams, and Imitation in Childhood (New York, 1951), p. 236. This is not to suggest, however, that Piaget's genetic epistemology is generally in accord with Lacan's thoroughly linguistic approach. Piaget places far more emphasis on the relevance of "sensorimotor mechanisms that are deeper than linguistics" in his opinion. See Piaget's essay "Language and Thought from the Genetic Point of View," in Language in Thinking, ed. P. Adams (Harmondsworth, 1972), pp. 170-79.

³⁰Wilden, The Language of the Self, p. 164.

³¹Lacan, "Of Structure as an Inmixing of an Otherness Prerequisite to Any Subject Whatever," in The Structuralist Controversy, eds. R. Macksey & E. Donato (Baltimore, 1972), p.191.

³²Wilden, The Language of the Self, p. 191.

³³The relation between Chomsky's theories and orthodox "structuralism" is discussed very clearly in Jean Piaget's Structuralism, ed. & trans. C. Maschler (New York, 1970), chapter V, "Linguistic Structuralism," pp. 74-96. Anthony Wilden also suggests a similarity of this sort between the systems of Chomsky and Lacan, The Language of the Self, p.309.

³⁴Lacan, "Of Structure as an Inmixing of an Otherness Prerequisite to Any Subject Whatever," in The Structuralist Controversy, eds. R. Macksey & E. Donato (Baltimore, 1972), p. 188.

³⁵Wilden makes a similar general observation in his essay, "On Lacan," cited above (note 26), p. 466.

³⁶Lacan, Ecrits, vol. I, p. 155.

³⁷Lacan, Le Séminaire: livre XX, p. 44.

³⁸ibid., p. 12.

³⁹As mentioned earlier, for a discussion which is in general closely related, but with different terminology, see: Kenneth Burke, The Rhetoric of Religion (Boston, 1961), chapter 1, "On Words and the Word," pp. 7-42.

⁴⁰C. C. Fauriel, Histoire de la poésie provençale, 3 vols. (Paris, 1846), vol. 3, appendix listing for Narcissus.

⁴¹Jean Frappier, "Variations sur le thème du miroir," Cahiers de l'ass. intern. des études françaises, 11 (1959), 136; also see: Sister Ritamary Bradley, "Backgrounds on the Title Speculum in Mediaeval Literature," Speculum, 24 (1954), 100-15.

⁴²Each of these texts is quoted and briefly discussed in Louise Vinge, The Narcissus Theme in Western European Literature up to the Early 19th Century (Lund, 1967), pp. 72-76, 349.

⁴³Helen C. R. Laurie, "Narcissus," Medium Aevum, 35 (1966), 114; also cf. Frederick Goldin, The Mirror of Narcissus in the Courtly Love Lyric, pp. 22-51.

⁴⁴Vinge, The Narcissus Theme, pp. 58-66.

⁴⁵Frappier, "Variations sur le thème du miroir," pp. 138, 154.

⁴⁶Text and translation from Vinge, The Narcissus Theme, p. 67.

⁴⁷The Harley Lyrics, ed. G. L. Brook (Manchester, 1948), p. 55.

⁴⁸Text and translation from Goldin, The Mirror of Narcissus in the Courtly Love Lyric, pp. 72-73.

⁴⁹Poesia del duecento e del trecento, eds. C. Muscetta & P. Rivalta (Torino, 1956), pp. 29-30.

⁵⁰e.g. St. Augustine, Enarratio in Psalmum CIII (P.L., XXXII, col. 1338): "Posuit tibi speculum scripturam suam; legitur tibi: Beati mundi corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt. Speculum in hac lectione propositum est; vide si hoc es quod dixit; se nondum es, gemit ut sis. Repuntiabit tibi speculum faciem tuam; sicut speculum non senties adulatorem, sic nec te palpes. Hac tibi ostendit nitor ille quod es; vide quod es. . . ." Quoted by both Bradley and Goldin as a key text.

⁵¹Richard of St. Victor, De Trinitate, ed. A.-M. Ethier (Paris & Ottawa, 1939), V,vi. For a more detailed discussion of the "three mirrors" see the introduction to Goldin's book, The Mirror of Narcissus . . . , pp. 4-15.

⁵²Lacan, "Le stade du miroir comme formateur de la fonction du Je," Revue Française de Psychanalyse, XIII (1949), 449-55; reprinted in Ecrits (Paris, 1966), vol. I, pp. 89-100.

⁵³Lacan, Ecrits, vol. I, p. 90.

⁵⁴cf. D. W. Winnicott, "The Mirror-Role of Mother and Family in Child Development," in The Predicament of the Family, ed. P. Lomas (London, 1967), pp. 26-33.

⁵⁵The Origins of Psychoanalysis (Freud's letters to Fliess), eds. A. Freud, M. Bonaparte, & E. Kris (New York, 1954), letter no. 113.

⁵⁶Lacan, Le Séminaire: livre XX, p. 40.

⁵⁷cf. Wilden's commentary in The Language of the Self, part V, "The Belle Âme: Freud, Lacan, and Hegel," pp. 284-90.

⁵⁸It is not part of Lacan's style to provide close definitions of his various terms employed over the years. This brief discussion of the three "orders" is based on my general reading of Lacan's work in conjunction with: Jean Laplanche & J.-B. Pontalis, Vocabulaire de la psychanalyse (Paris, 1967), listings for "imaginaire" and "symbolique"; Anthony Wilden's commentary in The Language of the Self, and his recent essay "On Lacan," Contemporary Psychoanalysis, vol.9, no.4 (Aug.1973), pp. 445-70.

⁵⁹Lacan, Ecrits, vol. I, p. 66.

⁶⁰ibid., vol. II, p. 63.

⁶¹see Lacan, Ecrits, vol. I, pp. 123-43, "Parole vide et parole pleine dans la réalisation psychanalytique du sujet."

⁶²Jeffrey Mehlman, "The 'Floating Signifier': From Lévi-Strauss to Lacan," in French Freud: Structural Studies in Psychoanalysis (Yale French Studies, no.48, 1972), pp. 19-20.

⁶³cf. Jean Piaget, Six Psychological Studies, trans. A. Tenzer (New York, 1968), pp. 16-17: "By contrast, when 'objects' become detached more and more distinctly from the global and undifferentiated configuration of primitive actions and percepts and become objects conceived as external to the self and independent of it, the situation becomes completely transformed. On the one hand, in close correlation with the construction of the object, awareness of 'self' begins to be affirmed by means of the internal pole of reality, as opposed to the external or objective pole. On the other hand, objects are conceived by analogy with this self as active, alive, and conscious. This is particularly so with those exceptionally unpredictable and interesting objects--people."

⁶⁴A Dictionary of Psychology, ed. James Drever, revised by H. Wallerstein (Harmondsworth, 1964), p. 247.

⁶⁵Lacan, Le Séminaire: livre XX, p. 44.

⁶⁶Lacan, Ecrits, vol. II, pp. 68ff.; Wilden, The Language of the Self, pp. 293-98. This version of the Schéma R is simplified in that the phallus is not included. It is not crucial to our present concerns, and moreover I basically agree with Wilden's recent point, "But although I object on theoretical and ideological grounds to Lacan's phallocentrism, I don't think it is any more essential to his theory than so-called penis-envy is to Freud's," in his essay "On Lacan," p.457.

⁶⁷cf. Edward Sapir (1932): "The locus, then, of psychiatry turns out not to be the human organism at all in any fruitful sense of the word, but the more intangible, and yet more intelligible, world of human relationships and ideas that such relationships bring forth. Those students of medicine who see in these trends little more than a return to the old mythology of the 'soul' are utterly unrealistic, for they tacitly assume that all experience is but the mechanical sum of physiological processes lodged in isolated individuals." reprinted in Culture, Language, and Personality, ed. D. G. Mandelbaum (Berkeley, 1949), p. 145.

⁶⁸Of course, I mean "discovered" in our sense of the terms involved. A similar mapping through projection was accomplished within theological parameters. It is a striking coincidence, is it not, that the discovery of the unconscious followed immediately upon Nietzsche's pronouncement that God was dead.

⁶⁹Peter Comestor first introduced the term transubstantio into scholastic philosophy in the 12th century. The transubstantiation controversy was not resolved until the Fourth Lateran Ecumenical Council of 1215, although belief in the conversio of the Eucharist is common much earlier. See: Hans-Georg Beck, et al., Handbook of Church History: From the High Middle Ages to the Eve of the Reformation, trans. A. Biggs (Freiburg & Montreal, 1970), pp. 89ff, 166-72; also the Catholic Encyclopedia (New York, 1913), vol. V, pp. 572-92.

⁷⁰Quoted in Friedrich Kempf, et al., Handbook of Church History: The Church in the Age of Feudalism, trans. A. Biggs (Freiburg & Montreal, 1969), p. 468.

⁷¹e.g., "Thoughts do not arise, but they can only become effective in a concrete way: just as the patient cannot deal with outer-world objects in a conceptual frame of reference, so he deals with ideas simply as things which belong to an object or situation." Kurt Goldstein, "Methodological Approach to the Study of Schizophrenic Thought Disorder" (1939), in Language and Thought in Schizophrenia, ed. J. S. Kasanin (New York, 1964), pp. 21-21; also cf. the general discussion in Roger Brown, Words and Things (New York, 1958), pp. 292-96.

⁷²e.g., Sigmund Freud, The Future of an Illusion (1927; Standard Edition, 1961); Herbert Marcuse, Eros and Civilization (Boston, 1955); Wilhelm Reich, The Imposition of Sexual Morality (1932).

⁷³Frederick Goldin makes a similar point in his article "The Law's Homage to Grace: Peire Cardenal's Vera Vergena, Maria," Romance Philology, XX,4 (1967), 474-75.

⁷⁴Carmina Burana, eds. A. Hilka & O. Schumann (Heidelberg, 1930-41), poem #121a.

⁷⁵Text and translation from The Book of St. Bernard on the Love of God, ed. & trans. E. G. Gardner (London, 1915), p. 94-95. All quotes from this text; page references follow each citation in the text.

⁷⁶A Dictionary of Psychology, ed. J. Dreyer, revised by H. Wallerstein (Harmondsworth, 1964), p. 128.

⁷⁷For a similar interpretation of St. Bernard's argument, see: E. Gilson, The Mystical Theology of St. Bernard, trans. A. Downes (London, 1940), p. 194.

⁷⁸H. G. May & B. M. Metzger, eds., The Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocrypha (Oxford, 1965), p. 815.

⁷⁹Boncompagno da Signa, Rota Veneris, ed. F. Baethgen (Roma, 1927); page references for quotations will follow in text.

⁸⁰Citations from the exegesis of Honorius and others regarding these Biblical allusions are given in Raby's A History of Christian Latin Poetry, pp. 365ff; also see C. Wright's dissertation, The Exegetical Tradition of the "Song of Songs". . . , especially chapter 1. Since the present study is not primarily concerned with the exegetical tradition per se, I have felt it unnecessary to repeat the material supplied by Raby and Wright.

⁸¹Lacan, Le Séminaire: livre XX, p. 64.

⁸²ibid., p. 65.

⁸³Lacan, "Of Structure as an Inmixing of an Otherness Prerequisite to Any Subject Whatever," in The Structuralist Controversy, eds. R. Macksey & E. Donato (Baltimore, 1972), pp. 194-95.

⁸⁴Sigmund Freud, The Complete Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis (1917, 1933; Standard Edition, 1966), p. 599. The issue of feminine sexuality was confronted shortly thereafter in the work of Karen Horney, see Feminine Psychology: Previously Uncollected Essays, ed. H. Kelman (New York, 1967); also see the recent overview by Juliet Mitchell, Psycho-analysis and Feminism (New York, 1974), especially chapters 1 and 2.

⁸⁵Lacan, Le Séminaire: livre XX, pp. 68-7d.

⁸⁶ibid., p. 69.

⁸⁷ibid., pp. 70-71.

⁸⁸ibid., p. 71.

89 Poesia del duecento e del trecento, eds. C. Muscetta & P. Rivalta (Torino, 1956), p. 500.

90 Erich Auefback, "Figura," in his Scenes from the Drama of European Literature, trans. R. Manheim (New York, 1959), pp. 52-53, 64.

91 As generally relevant to this point, cf. E. R. Dodds, The Greeks and the Irrational (Berkeley, 1951), pp. 179-206; also Mircea Eliade, The Sacred and the Profane: the Nature of Religion, trans. W. R. Trask (New York, 1959), pp. 20-67.

92 St. Bernard, De Diligendo Deo, ed. & trans. E. G. Gardner (London, 1915), p. 130.

93 Lacan, Le Séminaire: livre XX, p. 64.

94 cf. St. Ambrose: "Osculum est enim quo invicem amantes sibi adhaerent, et velut gratiae interioris suavitate potiuntur. Per hoc osculum adhaerent anima Deo Verbo, per quod sibi transfunditur spiritus osculantis: sicut etiam ii qui se osculantur, non sunt labiorum praelibatione contenti, sed spiritum suum sibi invicem videntur infundere." P.L., XIV, cols. 531-32.

95 Lacan, "Of Structure as an Inmixing of an Otherness Prerequisite to Any Subject Whatever," in The Structuralist Controversy, eds. R. Macksey & E. Donato (Baltimore, 1972), p. 195.

CONCLUSION

"Neque enim praesentior spiritus noster est ubi animat, quam ubi amat."

--St. Bernard

"Puto, anima mia, quod verius es ubi amas quam ubi animas."

--St. Bonaventura

"Cogito ergo sum, ubi cogito, ibi sum. . . .
Ce qu'il faut dire, c'est: je ne suis pas, là où je suis le jouet de ma pensée; je pense à ce que je suis, là où je ne pense pas penser."

--Jacques Lacan¹

4.0. Synthesis and Recapitulation

The following pages present concluding remarks of two sorts. Sections 4.1.1. and 4.1.2. are intended to offer a synthesis, a pulling together of underlying considerations proposed in the analysis of Part I and the dialectic of Part II. Section 4.2. is intended as a recapitulation, and as such it is bound to be somewhat anticlimactic. To a degree, all three sections overlap, and consequently are at times redundant. This redundance is deliberate, and I have opted for it, rather than invite misunderstandings born out of concern for economy of style.

4.1.1. To love is a transitive verb

Amo (and its Latin synonyms) is a transitive verb. As Augustine explains, love is a trinity: the subject loving - the love itself - the object loved (De Trinitate, VIII,x,14). This echoes the syntactic triad born from the simple fact that in Latin and modern European languages the verb "to love" demands a direct object to complete the action. This subject-verb-object structure is an aspect of syntax seemingly universal among human languages, and not unrelated to the fact that all languages also appear to have a first and second person pronoun. The I/thou distinction would appear to be a universal binomial homologous to the distinctions of subject/object, presence/absence, the one/the other, 0/1, etc. All natural languages have a class of proper names, by which individuals define their identity and relationships to others through some kinship system.² In short, those few aspects of syntax which are uncontroversially considered universal are aspects which clearly concern a mediation between the one and the other. But this is perhaps a commonplace observation born out of the premise that language is mediation, mediation between the subject and objects around him, between the subject and other subjects around him. We note that Augustine's theory of signification as triadic involves recognition of the mediating function, and a similar recognition remains central to modern linguistic theory.³

The trinitarian structure of the love relation reflects the triadic syntax of the transitive verbal construction, an aspect of syntax fundamental to language itself.

Use of the verb amo in the Cartesian postulate, amo ergo sum, plays upon a significant distinction between the verbs amo and cogito. With rare exceptions, cogito is an intransitive verb; the subject and the verb in themselves complete the action involved, and the relation to the object of thought is indirect--e.g. cogito de aliqua re. One thinks to oneself; one loves another. The postulate cogito ergo sum is manifestly intransitive and intrasubjective. Amo ergo sum is transitive and consequently intersubjective.

When the Christian reads in Leviticus 19:18, "Diliges amicum tuum sicut teipsum" (Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself), a phrase repeated by both Matthew and Mark, he does so in light of the fact that in loving himself he loves God Himself, in Whose image he is made and Whose image he sees within himself. Even in the loving of oneself love is transitive and interpersonal; Christian love of oneself is propter Deum, as St. Bernard has so carefully explained. Bernard's grades of love are organized precisely by this feature, and the highest grade is cum nec se ipsum diligit homo nisi propter Deum.⁴ In effect and affect, man (subject) loves God (Direct Object) through himself indirectly. To love oneself intransively is to

fall into the sin of self-love propter se: this is to drown in the pool of Narcissus.

The intransitive, intrasubjective establishment of self-identity implicit in the "modern" Cartesian postulate Cogito ergo sum is distinctly foreign to medieval sensibilities. The medieval world, spiritually and socially, is a world of carefully defined relationships between persons, and Persons. The bond of these relationships is love, trust, friendship, charity--amor, fides, amicitia, charitas. The bond is ultimately reducible to a bond of one kind, but of differing degrees (grades) whether it be a bond between man and God, man and his Lord, man and another man. This in turn encompasses man's bond with his Lady in her intermediary position and function, whether his Lady be the Virgin Mary or an "earthly" Lady, whose primacy is in the Symbolic order. As Augustine explains, the human verbum, the self-image, is formed aut cupiditate, aut charitate; and whether corporal or spiritual, this verbum is established through the interpersonal action of the transitive verb (De Trinitate, IX, viii, 13). Self-identity is established through self-reflection, which involves another against whom the self-image is reflected. The process is, by definition, inter-subjective. The identification of the subject necessarily entails another subject. Fin'amors and vera dilectio are different manifestations of this basic intersubjective process of self-identity-through-love, a process we find so elaborately

explained in spiritual contexts within the medieval period itself. This is not to say that fin'amors is the "secularization" of vera dilectio; rather, this is a statement of complementation, that self-identity-through-love is an essential process common to differing levels of medieval discourse.

The dialectic demonstrates that Lacan's critique of the Cartesian Cogito⁵ is, in effect, a return to the necessity of the transitive subject, the subject established through relationships with others, through desire, and through the eternal interplay between speech and language. The desire "to be" and the desire "to have"--the poles of identification and object choice (see Schéma R)--are manifestly transitive and inter-subjective. Lacan's revolutionary point of departure, the mirror phase, is at the same time a recapitulation of an ancient theme. Lacan's mirror is the medieval speculum--with "up-dated" variations of course, and as constructed within a distinct discipline, a model encompassing not only a static structure of truth but a dynamic developmental process as well. Mirror relations (the Imaginary order) remain an essential and inescapable aspect of the experience of everyday reality, and Lacan augments the argument with the presentation of the mirror phase as an empirically verifiable developmental process.⁶ Similarly, the developmental acquisition of linguistic predication (whether in telegraphic speech or not) is the corollary of the recognition of subject/object distinction born out of presence/

absence, and the assimilation of lack (absence, privation) through language (see section 3.1.2.). In a fundamental sense, to be human is to recognize the primordial lack, the ineffable lack of unification with the other and the Real Other, the "absent" unconscious, the Symbolic father (whatever the exact terms employed may be). "Love" is the transitive copula, coupling the one with the other in an imaginary intersubjective self-reflection, which is the only route to this ever unattainable unification. "L'amour est impuissant, quoiqu'il soit réciproque, parce qu'il ignore qu'il n'est que le désir d'être Un, ce que nous conduit à l'impossible d'établir la relation d'eux. La relation d'eux qui?--deux sexes."⁷ This is fundamentally the analysis put forth in Plato's Symposium (192): every lover wants to melt into his beloved, and that they should be one being instead of two; the reason being that this was their primitive condition when they were wholes, and Plato's love is simply the name for the desire and pursuit of the whole.⁸ And this is recapitulated by Augustine: "Quid est amor, nisi quaedam vita duo aliqua copulans, vel copulare appetens, amantem scilicet, et quod amatur? Et hoc etiam in externis carnalibusque amoribus ita est" (Then what is love but a kind of life somehow uniting or seeking to unite two, the lover and the loved? And this is also the case in external carnal loves. De Trinitate, VIII,x,14).⁹

4.1.2. Personification, projection, and intersubjectivity

Chapter one concerned two basic characteristics of pre-Christian Latin lyricism: a) the predominance of phallic eroticism and the emphasis on an active celebration of Eros rather than on a contemplation of the loved object, which shifted dramatically within the later pre-Christian context to a contemplative eroticism centered on the beauty of the loved object rather than the action itself; and b) the employment of personification as a method whereby internal mental operations and feelings are externalized by projection onto other individuals, often taken from mythic discourse.

A shift occurs by the time of Augustine which entails, on the one hand, a thorough rejection of the active celebration of Eros; and on the other, an intellectual form of iconoclasm, resulting in a demythification of the ancient discourse on the nature of the psyche. The discontinuity of the ancient collection of mythic materials is supplemented by a coherent implementation of these materials for the elucidation of a new religious "truth," which proposed a more abstract conceptualization of the "soul" beyond anthropomorphic and daemonic residues.¹⁰ The soul is still conceptualized through a type of personification within the Augustinian scheme, but Augustinian personification is of a different order. It is significant that the substantive psyche occurs in post-classical Latin only as a proper name of

mythic discourse. Augustine employs anima, animus, mens, or spiritus as the common noun. The personification fundamental in the De Trinitate has become the crucial principle of a new religious truth: the treatise is, after all, on the three Persons of the Trinity. The Imago Dei introduces a new epistemology, whereby knowledge and self-knowledge (sapientia, conscientia) begin a priori from personification: the recognition that man himself is made in the image of God Himself. Knowledge of the Divine Person is at one and the same time knowledge of the earthly person, and vice versa--this is the crux of the entire treatise. The second half of the De Trinitate is a straightforward analysis of self-consciousness within the epistemological framework demanded by the Imago Dei. It is a thoroughly interpersonal conception of self-consciousness. It is inescapably analogical through a careful procedure of extended metaphorical operations.

A characteristic of the medieval lyric again involves projection and personification: the poet's art entails a projection of the internal self-image onto another person, through whom the poet undertakes an intersubjective process of self-reflection. This is closely related to and manifest in the Narcissus motif and the usage of mirror imagery in general in the lyrics--elements which were discussed through textual analysis in chapter two; and within a dialectical framework, in chapter three.

This imaginary relation between the poet and his Lady is metaphoric of the relation between the poet's self-image and his Lord, that earthly or Divine "Other" who ultimately establishes the foundations of the poet's identity in a personal, social, and spiritual sense. Within the paradigm of Christian patriarchy, the function of the Virgin as Mediatrix, so commonly an important aspect of Marian verse, is indicative of a basic intermediary function and position of the lyric "Lady" in general. As the Virgin mediates between the humble hymnist and the unyielding demands and stringent Law of the Father, providing hope through her eternal grace; so the secular Lady can mediate between the humble poet and the unyielding demands of his "courtly" society, the "Law of the Court" being embodied in the person of the presiding Lord and patron. The troubadours' stylistic device of the double dedication is a concrete statement of the Lady's social mediation in this sense. At the same time, consciously so or not, such mediation between a subject and a supreme Law is an inner, psychological phenomenon as well. But the conceptual terms which would allow for such an analysis of individual and intersubjective psychology qua psychology were, needless to say, outside the realm of medieval discourse. Within Christian contexts, what is germinal in the secular lyric is an establishment of the earliest discourse on the nature of self-consciousness which is formulated outside

strictly theological parameters. To employ an orthographic device, self-consciousness is not only interpersonal, as in the Augustinian development of the Imago Dei, but has become overtly interpersonal as well, "miralhs, püs me mirei en te." In a historical sense, this introduces a significant interconnection between love, language, and self-consciousness. The conceptualization of a fin'amors runs hand-in-hand with the development of a vernacular literary language closely related to but distinct from its Latin background, and in this process a new discourse of self-reflection is established. This discourse is marked by a recognition of personification and projection/reflection as activities inherent in relationships between individual persons themselves, and this amounts to a radical understanding of intersubjectivity--often implicit and perhaps even subconscious in the troubadour texts, but becoming a poetic technique of the Italian vernacular lyrics. In the Latin context, this new development of the secular word is further marked by a new consideration of its relation to the Scriptural Word, such as we have seen in Boncompagno's treatise, Rota Veneris. Boncompagno is acutely aware of the bivalence and close interrelation between the secular and the spiritual sensus of Biblical exegesis. An analogous awareness is the crux of Cavalcanti's sonnet, "Una figura de la Donna mia," which is built upon a recognition of the paradoxical and complementary duality embodied in the Donna/Madonna of the poem.

The mirror image, so extensively employed and analysed in the materials of this study, is, in a literal sense, a concrete manifestation of projection and metaphor. The mirror re-presents an image which is a resemblance identical in form with the reflected object. Although the precise optics involved were not understood until after the medieval period,¹¹ as an optical activity, mirror reflection is analogous to the mental operations of projection and personification, and the closely related operation of metaphor, an activity of association and substitution governed by similarity and identification. The lyric trope of seeing oneself mirrored in the eyes of the loved object is a corollary, entailing implications fundamental to self-consciousness. The poetic trope captures the crucial function of the other person, interrelation with whom is eternally necessarily for any subject's establishment of self-identity-- in effect, that inmixing of an otherness which is prerequisite to any subject whatever.¹² Self-consciousness is a form of knowledge inescapably born out of intersubjectivity. In the end, perhaps this is only to recapitulate the etymology of the term itself, discussed in the opening paragraph of this study: conscientia (< cum + scio) is knowledge of something together with another person. The evolution of this term is more than arbitrary semantic drift; it approaches a historical demonstration of ontology recapitulating philology in an irreducible and ongoing dialectic.

4.2. Recapitulation: Quod erat demonstrandum

Throughout this study the word "lyricism" has been used in a broad sense, encompassing not only the particular poetic genres of the secular and spiritual lyric, but also selected related texts whose concern is specifically an introspective analysis of affections and self-reflection. "Lyricism" has embraced the poetic activity of lyric texts per se as well as the self-reflective activity of certain speculative texts of a philosophical, theological, or psychological nature.


The method has been first to analyse selected lyric poems from the ancient and medieval contexts; this portion of the study was deliberately limited to textual analysis. Secondly, various medieval prose works exemplary of lyricism in the broad sense were examined and related to the poetic lyric. At the same time, this retrospective view of medieval lyricism was compared to one sample of contemporary concern with lyricism in this broad sense: the psychoanalytic theory developed by Jacques Lacan. The method of Part II was dialectical, and the aim was not to produce a Lacanian or even a psychoanalytic reading of medieval lyricism; but rather the aim was to examine interrelationships, and out of these to suggest tangentially at least one historical aspect of the context informing the contemporary theory.

In order to achieve this aim, the method incorporated a supplementary terminology born out of modern linguistics--a terminology which remained, at least in part, separate from both the medieval literary and the contemporary psychological texts considered. The conceptual terms employed were deliberately simple, both for sake of clarity and of economy; they originated primarily out of: a) the analysis of signification as developed by Saussure and Peirce; b) Roman Jakobson's analysis of metaphor and metonymy as two cardinal aspects of language; and c) the recent analyses of syntactic structures of universal grammar as developed particularly by Noam Chomsky and J. H. Greenberg.

The texts which were considered in some detail break down as follows: Chapter one was a consideration of particular distinguishing characteristics of the ancient Latin background, deliberately concentrating on several texts whose relevance to medieval lyricism has previously received little attention: i.e. funerary inscriptions, the classical lyric of Catullus, the late Anthologia Latina MS., and a passage from the Apologia of Apuleius. Chapter two was devoted to textual analyses of several secular and spiritual lyrics from a roughly one hundred year period, c. 1150-1250. Chapter three marked the transition from a discussion primarily analytical to a dialectical discussion, generated out of considering several texts in relation to each other: the Canticum Canticorum as medieval repository of the Word (Verbum) and words of love, Augustine's De Trinitate as

fundamental for a medieval theory of mind and self-reflection based on analysis of trinitarian structures, and the interrelation of amor, imago, and Verbum; St. Bernard's De Diligendo Deo as an important treatise on amor spiritualis; Boncompagni's Rota Veneris as a treatise on amor carnalis as well as the rhetorical employment of the Divine Word in secular contexts; and lastly, the psychoanalytic writings of Jacques Lacan as exemplary of one important facet of contemporary speculation on eros and logos and their interrelation in a theory of mind.

This study has sought to demonstrate that: 1) The qualitative distinction between the classical and medieval lyric amounts to the distinction between the classical poet's love as manifest in action with the loved object, and the medieval poet's love as manifest in reflection upon the loved object. 2) An important characteristic of medieval lyrics concerns self-reflection and the degree to which such self-reflection becomes self-consciously conventionalized; in this respect the lyric poem evidences an introspection similar to that which characterizes much of medieval philosophy, commencing with Augustine himself. 3) Medieval secular and spiritual lyrics are complementary and share fundamental similarities in diction and argument with orthodox Augustinian concepts, and these similarities are born out of inherent characteristics of analogical Biblical exegesis and analogical language as a system.



4) Medieval expressions and analyses of love in poetic, theological, and philosophical contexts demonstrate a coherent theory of self-reflection in common, a theory which is trinitarian and built upon the relationships between subject and object, self and others, soul and God--love being the copulative function of mediation. And tangentially, 5) Such a theory of self-reflection evidences a structuring of intersubjective relationships which has remained fundamental and is one part of the historical context informing psychoanalytic theory.

NOTES:

Conclusion

¹St. Bernard, De praecepto et dispensatione, 60, in Opera, eds. J. Leclercq & H.M. Rochais (Rome, 1963), vol. III, p.292 (trans. "For our spirit is not more present where it animates than where it loves."); St. Bonaventura, Soliloquium, in Opera Omnia (Quaracchi, 1898), vol.VIII, p.49 (trans. "I think, my soul, that you are more truly where you love than where you animate."); Jacques Lacan, Ecrits, vol.I, pp.275,77.

²These sweeping statements are proposed and substantiated in detail in the following essays: A. I. Hallowell, "Personality Structure and the Evolution of Man," and "The Self and Its Behavioral Environment," in his Culture and Experience (Philadelphia, 1955), pp.2-13, 75-111; J. B. Casagrande, "Language Universals in Anthropological Perspective," in Universals of Language, ed. J. H. Greenberg (Cambridge, Ma., 1953), pp. 279-98. I refer the reader also to Franz Boas, The Mind of Primitive Man (New York, 1911), passim; and to the recapitulation in George Steiner, After Babel (Oxford, 1975), pp. 97ff.

³cf. R. A. Markus, "St. Augustine on Signs," in his Augustine: a Collection of Critical Essays (New York, 1972), pp. 61-91; B. D. Jackson, "The Theory of Signs in St. Augustine's De Doctrina Christiana," ibid., pp. 92-148; and R. De Rijk, "St. Augustine on Language," in Studies Presented to Professor Roman Jakobson, ed. C. Gribble (Cambridge, Ma., 1968), pp.91-104.

⁴St. Bernard, De Diligendo Deo, ed. & trans. E. G. Gardner (London, 1915), p. 98.

⁵Lacan, Ecrits, vol. I, p. 275.

⁶Lacan's conception probably derives in part from Henri Wallon's earlier work, see: "Comment se développe chez l'enfant la notion du corps propre," Journal de Psychologie (1913), pp. 705-48--a study which is solidly empirical, as is the work of Bühler, Köhler, and the Chicago school in the thirties. Also see Wilden, The Language of the Self, pp.159-77.

⁷Lacan, Le Séminaire: livre XX, p. 12.

⁸Freud gives this discussion a biological bent in his development on the subject in Beyond the Pleasure Principle (1920; Standard Edition, 1961), pp. 50ff.

⁹For a discussion of the two-in-one lyric motif see: N. J. Perella, The Kiss Sacred and Profane (Berkeley, 1969), chapter 3, "The Medieval Love Lyric," especially the section "Love as Psychic Union," pp. 95-100. He also presents a photograph of a bronze-cast mirror (c.1150-1250), the handle of which is a kissing couple who merge into one from the waist down (plate #13).

¹⁰cf. André Grabar, Early Christian Art, trans. S. Gilbert & J. Emmons (New York, 1968), pp. 36f.

¹¹see A. C. Crombie, Augustine to Galileo: Science in the Middle Ages, 5th to 13th Centuries, vol. I (Harmondsworth, revised ed. 1959), pp. 110-24 "Meteorology and Optics."

¹²cf. Lacan's essay "Of Structure as an Inmixing of an Otherness Prerequisite to any Subject Whatever," in The Structuralist Controversy, eds. R. Macksey & E. Donato (Baltimore, 1972), pp. 186-200.

APPENDICES



APPENDIX A.

A Sample of Ancient Latin Lyrical Epitaphs

NOTE: Texts as established in Iscrizioni funerarie sortilegi e pronostici di Roma Antica, ed. L. Storoni Mazzolani (Torino, 1973). Page references to this text will follow each citation, as well as Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL) location. For a complete textual apparatus criticus for each citation consult the CIL.

Alei in venereis rebus vitam conterunt,
mihei contra rite partam Venerem mors rapit.

--p. 18; CIL I² 1572, X 5019.

A me, dulcis amica, bibe.

--p. 120; no CIL listing.

. . . ANTONIAE SEVERAE CONIUGI.
Me propter maria, terras atque aspera caeli
sidera trasisti mediosque timenda per hostes
invenisti viam, hiemis nefanda tulisti,
o dulcis coniunx animo gratissima nostro.
Nominē consimilis, iugali flore beata,
casta pudica meos thalamos ac fomite amoris
nondum suppleta cubilia sancta liquisti.
Saltem quod superest oro, scio namque favebis,
funde preces subolum ac votis utere nostris,
ut longum vitae liceat transducere tempus.

--p. 170; CIL VI 12072.

D.M.

ET MEMORIAE -- SIMPLICI HAVE -- STATILIAE TIGRIDIS.
VIXIT ANN. XXXVI.

O formosa nimis semperque pudica maritis,
duobus recubuisti toris, ubi duos natos dedisti amoris.
Qui primus ille fuit, si potuisset vincere fata,
hunc titulum laudis posuisset ille tibi.
Sed ego infelix, qui te talem carui ecce modo
fruitus sexdecim anni castitate et amore tui.

V.P.P. VIBIUS VERISSIMUS CONUGI INCOMPARABILI ET
SIBI.EUPHILUS SIMPLICIO.

--p. 232; CIL V 7453.

IULIA SPESINA.

Nam te su coniunx multa dilecta per anos,
obsequio pietatis superasti maritu.
Omnia quae sunt nobis, tuo sunt quaesita labore.

MARINU.

--p. 214; CIL VIII 5804.

D.M.

MEVIAE SOPHES C. MAENIUS CIMBER CONIUGI SANCTIS-
SIMAE ET CONSERVATRICI DESIDERIO SPIRITUS MEI
QUAE VIXIT MECUM AN. XIIIX MENSES III DIES XIII QUOD
VIXI CUM EA SINE QUERELLA.

Nam nunc queror apud Manes eius et flagito Ditem, aut
et me reddite coniugi meae, quae mecum vixit tan con-
corde ad fatalem diem. Mevia Sophe, impetra si quae sunt
Manes, ne tam scelestum discidium experiscar diutius.
Hospes, ita post obitum sit tibe terra levis, ut tu hinc nihil
laeseris, aut si quis laeserit, nec superis comprobetur nec
inferi recipient, et sit ei terra gravis.

--p. 106; CIL VI 7579.

NEBULLUS MARTHAE CONSERVAE.

Flevi, Martha, tuos extremo tempore casus
osseque composui. Pignus amoris habes.

--p. 48; cf. Ovid, Am. I 12,1.

Non tituli pretium sed amantis accipe curam.

--p. 242; CIL XIII 10024.

POMPEIA CHIA V.A. XXV. H.S.E.

Opto meae caste contigat vivere natae,
ut nostro exemplo discat amare virum.

--p. 116; CIL VIII 8123.

Quicumque legis titulum iuvenis, quoi sua carast,
auro parce nimis vincere lacertos.

Illa licet collo laqueatos inliget artus
et roget ut meritis praemia digna ferat,
vestitu indulge, splendentem supprime cultum:
sic praedo hinc aberit neq. adulter erit.

Nam draco consumpsit domina speciosus ab artus
infixumq. viro volnus perpetuumq. dedit.

--p. 84; CIL VI 5302.

D.M.S.

Quod potui miserandus homo me iunxi sepulcro,
kara, tuo, donec mihe mea vita manebit.
Credo tibi gratum, si haec quoque Tartara norunt.

AMPLIATUS ACT.FECIT.

--p. 178; CIL VIII 2003.

Seiquis havet nostro conferre dolore,
adsit nec parveis flere quead lachrymis.
Quam coluit dulci gavissus amore puella
hic locat infelix, unica quei fuerat
dum contracta sinunt fatorum tempora numphe.
Nunc erepta domu cara sueis tegitur.
Omne decus voltus et eo laudata figura
umbra levis nunc est parvos et ossa cinis.

--p. 16; CIL I² 1222, VI 6051.

D.M.S.

VIVIA CAELI V. A. XL H.S.E.

D.M.S.

CLAUDI IANUARIANI V. A. LXXV H. S. E. MARITO BONOSA
POSUIT.

Certavi tecum, coniunx, pietate virtute frugalitate et amo-
re, sed perii. Cunctis haec sors concedatur.

IANUARIANUS UXORI POSUIT.

--p. 150; no CIL listing.

Viva viro placui prima et carissima coniunx
quoius in ore animam frigida deposui.
Ille mihi lachrimans morientia lumina pressit:
post obitum satis had femina laude nitet.

--p. 92; CIL VI 6593.

APPENDIX BA Sample of Erotic Wall Writings of Pompeii

NOTE: Texts are rendered as established in the Corpus inscriptionum latinarum, vol. IV "Inscriptiones parietariae Pompeianae," ed. C. Zangemeister (Berlin, 1862). I have altered orthography only to the extent necessary for modern type and readability, preserving the ancient irregular spellings. For a complete discussion of the variant readings, location of discovery, and history of publication of each sample see the CIL; the CIL numbers are given with each citation.

ACCENSUM QUI PEDICAT . URIT . MENTULAM

-1882

ADMIROR O PARIENS TE . NON CECIDISSE RUINIS .
QUI TOT SCRIPTORUM TAEDIA SUSTINEAS .

-1904; cf. Priapus fragments 61

AMANDUS CUNN LINGET

-1255

AMAT . QUI SCRIBET . PEDICATUR . QUI . LEGET
QUI OPSULTAT PRURIT . PATICUS EST . QUI PRAETERIT
URSI ME COMEDANT . ET . EGO . VERPA . QUI LEGO

-2360

ARPHOCRAS HIC CUM DRAVCA BENE FUTUIT DENARIO

-2193

AURE FELLAT BENE . ERGO . TU . FELLARAS . ET . ME CELABAS

-1840

CANDIDA ME DOCUIT NIGRAS ODISSE PUELLAS
ODERO S[I] POTERO SED NON INVITUS AMABO
SCRIPSIT VENUS . FISICA . POMPEIANA

-1520; cf. Propertius I,1,5.

2
 CHIE . OPTO . TIBI . UT . REFRICENT . SE FICUS . TUAE
 UT . PEIUS USTULENTUR . QUAM USTULATAE . SUNT

-1820

CUSCUS [i.e. quisquis] AMAT VALEAT PEREAT QUI NESCIT AMARE

-3199

DECEMBER . BENE FUTUIS

-2219

FELICLA [sic] EGO HIC FUTUI

-2200

FUTEBATUR INQUAM FUTUEBATUR CIVIUM ROMANORUM
 ATRACTIS . PEDIBUS CUN[N]US IN QUA [RE]·NUL[LA]E
 ALIAE VICES ERANT NISI[SEI] DULCISIME ET PI[I]SSIMAE .

-1261

FUTUITUR CUNNUS OSSUS MULTO MELIUS quam .
 GLABER EI//EM . CONTINET . VAPOREM ET EADEM .
 //////////TE MENTULAM

-1830

FUTUTA SUM HIC

-2217

HIC . EGO . NU[NC] [F]UTUE . FORMOSA . PUELLA . LAUDATA
 A . MUITIS . SET LUTUS INTUS . [E]RAT

-1516

HIC EGO PUELLAS MULTAS FUTUI -2175
 FELIX BENE FUTUIS -2176

HIC . HABITAT
 FELICITAS

-1454; note: between the two lines is the drawing of a
 phallus

HIC . . . NUC . FUTUE . FORMOSAM FormaiI . PUELLAM .
MORBUS QU//E//LIS . FORM// IAM FACIE

TUTTU SODALES FELA.T.NT
HIC \ AD . EXEMPLAR STABIANAS . PUELLAS

-1517.

HYSOCRYSE . PUER . NATALIS . VERPA . TE . SALUTAT

-1655

MARCELLUM FORTUNATA . CUPIT

-111

MARTIALIS cUNULIGUS

-1331

M . CERRINIUM AED . ALTER . AMAT . ALTER . AMATUR
EGO . FASTIDI QUI . FASTIDIT . AMAT

-346

ME . ME MENTULAM LINGE

-1441

METHE COMINIAES ATALLANA AMAT CHRESTUM .
CORDE siT UTREIS QUE VENUS POMPEIANA
PROPIA ET SEMper CONCORDES . VEIVANT [sic]

-2457

NEMO . EST . BELIUS [sic] . NISI . QUI . AMAVIT
MULIEREM ADVIR

-1883

NIYCHERATE . VANA SUCCULA QU[AE] AMAS .
FELICIONE ET AT PORTA[M] DEDUCES ILLUC
TANTU[M] IN MENTE [H]ABETO

-2013

OBLIGE MEA FELA . . . MENTLAM [sic] ELINGES
 DESTILLATIO ME TENET

-760

PLACIDUS HIC FUTUIT QUEM VOLUIT

-2265

PUPA . QUE BELA IS [sic] TIBI ME MISIT
 QUI TUUS IS VAle

-1234

QUI . VERPAM . VISSIT . QUID . CENASSE . ILLUM . PUTES .

-1884

QUISQUIS AMAT CALIDIS NON DEBET FONTIBUS
 UTINAM . NEMO . FLAMMAS . USTUS . AMARE . POTES

-1898

QUISQUIS AMA[T] VALIA[T] PERIA[T] QUI P[ARCIT]
 A[MAR]I RE[CSAN] TE[M] PERIA[T] QUISQUIS
 AMARE VOCA[T]

-1173

QUISQUIS AMAT VENIAT VENERI VOLO FRANGERE COSTAS FUSTIBUS
 ET LUMBOS DEBILITARE DEAE SI POTES ILLA MIHI TENERUM
 PERTUNDERE PECTUS QUIT EGO NON POSSIM CAPUT ILLAE FRANGERE
 FUSTE

-1824

QUISQUIS AMATOR ERIT SCYTHIAE LICET AMBULET ORIS NEMO ADEO
 UT FERIAT BARBARUS ESSE VOLET

-1950; cf. Propertius IV, 16, 13-14.

SABINE . CALOS . HERMEROS . TE . AMAT
 SABINEI CALOS HERMEROE [sic] AMATA

-1256

5 SARRA NON BELLA FACIS SOLUM ME RELINQUIS DEBILIS

-1951

SATUR NOLI CUNNUM . LINGERE EXTRA PORTA SET INTRA PORTA
- ROGAT TE ARTOCRATE UT SEBI LINGEAS MENTULAM AT FELLATOR QUID

-2400

SCRIBENTI . MI . DICTAT . AMOR . MOSTRATQUE . CUPIDO
... PEREAM . SINE . TE . SI . DEUS ESSE VELIM

-1928; cf. Ovid, Her. 20,29; Am. III,14,40;
Propertius III, 14,10 & 15,40.

[SER]PENTIS LUSUS SE QUI SIBI FORTE NOTAVIT SEPUMIUS IUVENIS
QUOS FACIT INGENIO SPECTATOR SCAENAE SIVE ES STUDIOUS
E[Q]UORUM SIC HABEAS [LANC]ES SE[MP]ER UBIQ[UE PARES]

-1595; note: written in a wavy line like a snake;
cf. Ovid, Amor. III,2,1; Ars Am. III,351.

SI POTES . ET NON VIS . CUR GAUDIA DIFFERS
SPERMQUE . FOVES . ET . CRAS USQUE REDIRE IUBES
[ER]GO COGE MORI QUEM SINE TE VIVERE COGES
MUNUS . ERIT . CERTE NON CRUCIASSE BONI .
QUOD . SPES ERIPUIT . SPES CERTE . REDD[I]T . AMANTI
QUI . HOC LEGET . NUNC . QUAM . POSTEAC . QUAM
PALED . LEGAT NUNQUAM SIT SALVOS QUI SUPRA SCRIPSIT
VERE DICIS HEDYSTO FELICITER

-1837; cf. Tibullus II,6,17ff.

SI . QUIS FORTE . MEAM . CUPIET . VIO[LARE] PUELAM .
ILLUM . IN . DESERTIS MONTIBUS . URAT AMOR

-1645

6
 SURDA . SIT . ORANTI . TUA . IANUA . LAXA . FERENTI .
 AUDIAT . EXCLUSI . VERBA . RECEPTUS . aMANs -1893
 IANITOR . AD . DANTIS . VIGILET . SI . PULSAT . INANIS .
 SURDUS . IN . OBDUCTAM . SOMNIET . USQUE SERAM -1894

QUID POTE TAN . DURUM SAXSO AUT . QUID MOLLIUS UNDA
 DURA TAMEN MOLLI SAXSA CAVANTUR AQUA -1895

UBI . PERNA COCTA . EST . SI CONVIVAE APPONITUR
 NON GUSTAT PERNAM' LINGIT . OLLAM . AUT . CACCABUM

-1896; 1893 cf. Ovid, Am. I, 8, 7ff.; 1894 cf. Propertius
 V, 5, 47f.; 1895 cf. Ovid, Ars Am. I, 475f.; 1896 cf.
 2 Paralipomenon 35:13; Sirach 13:3.

VENERIA MAXIMO MENTLA [sic] EXMUCCAVIT PER VINDEMIA TOTA .
 ET RELINQUE PUTR . VENTRE MUCIE [?] COSPLENUCS

-1391

VENUS ENIM PLAGIARIA EST QUIA . EXSANGUNI MEUM . PETIT
 IN VIES TUMULTU[M] PARIET OPTET SIBI UT BENE NAVIGET QUOD
 ET ARIO SUA R[OGAT?]

-1410

ZETEMA MULIER . FEREBAT FILIUM SIMILEM SUI VIC NEC MEUS EST
 NEC MI SILILAT SED VELLE . ESSET MEUS ET EGO VOLEBA UT
 MEUS ESSET

-1877

Addendum: I refer the reader interested in sampling further erotic graffiti to the short book compiled by Matteo della Corte, Amori ed Amanti: antologia erotica pompeiana (Cava dei Terreni: E. di Mauro, 1958; English version titled Love and Lovers in Ancient Pompeii, trans. A. W. Van Buren, same publishes, 1960). Della Corte's collection is also from the CIL, although he refrains completely from presenting any of the overtly sexual writings. Because of this particular selectivity, his anthology is not in fact a representative sampling of Pompeii's erotic graffiti in any real sense. (For instance, he does not include one example employing the words verpa or mentula--surely these writings are "erotic" also.)

APPENDIX CLatin Concordance to the Canticum Canticatorumamica

- 1:8 Equitatus meo in curribus Pharaonis
Assimilavi te, amica mea.
- 4:1 Quam pulchra es, amica mea! quam pulchra es!
- 2:2 Sicut liliū inter spinas,
Sic amica mea inter filias
- 2:10,13 Surge, propera, amica mea
- 4:7 Tota pulchra es, amica mea,
Et macula non est in te
- 5:2 Aperi mihi, soror mea, amica mea
- 6:3 Pulchra est, amica mea, suavis,
Et decora sicut Ierusalem

amor

- 2:5 Fulcite me floribus,
Stipate me malis,
Quia amore langueo
- 5:8 Ut nuntietis ei quia amore langueo

candidus

- 5:10 Dilectus meus candidus et rubicundus;
Electus ex millibus

capilli

- 6:4 Capilli tui sicut grex caprarum
Quae apparuerunt de Galaad

caprea

- 2:9 Similis est dilectus meus capreae
- 8:14 Fuge, dilecte mi, et assimilare capreae,
Hinnuloque cervorum super montes aromatum

caput

- 7:5 Caput tuum ut Carmelus

charissima

7:6 Quam pulchra es, et quam decora,
Charissima, in deliciis

charitas

2:4 Introduxit me in cellam vinariam;
Ordinavit in me charitatem

3:10 Media charitate constravit

8:7 Aquae multae non potuerunt extinguere charitatem,
Nec flumina obruent illam

collum

1:9 Collum tuum sicut monilia

4:4 Sicut turris David collum tuum

4:9 Et in uno crine colli tui

7:4 Collum tuum sicut turris eburnea

columba

2:14 Columba mea, in foraminibus petrae, in caverna maceriae

5:12 Oculi eius sicut columbae super rivulos aquarum

1:14, 4:1 Oculi tui columbarum

5:2 Columba mea, immaculata mea

6:8 Una est columba mea, perfecta mea

comae

7:5 Et comae capitis tui sicut purpura regis
Vineta canalibus

dens, dentes

4:2 Dentes tui sicut greges tonsarum
Quae ascenderunt de lavacro;
Omnes gemellis foetibus
Et sterilis non est inter eas

diligo, dilectio

1:2 Ideo adolescentulae dilexerunt te

1:3 Recti diligunt te

- 1:6 Indica mihi, quem diligit anima mea, ubi pascas
 1:15 Ecce tu pulcher es, dilecte mi, et decorus
 2:10 En dilectus meus loquitur mihi
 3:1 In lectulo meo, per noctes,
 Quaesivi quem diligit anima mea (sqq.)
 3:5, 8:4 Ne suscitatis, neque evigilare faciatis dilectam
 8:6 Quia fortis est ut mors dilectio
 8:7 Si dederit homo omnem substantiam domus suae pro dilectione,
 Quasi nihil despiciet eam

electus

- 5:10 Dilectus meus candidus et rubicundus;
 Electus ex millibus

femur

- 7:1 Iuncturae femorum tuorum sicut monilia
 Quae fabricata sunt manu artificis

flos

- 2:1 Ego flos campi
 2:12 Flores apparuerunt in terra nostra

fons

- 4:12 Hortus conclusus, fons signatus
 4:15 Fons hortorum, puteus aquarum viventium,
 Quae fluunt impetu de Libano

fructus

- 2:3 Et fructus eius dulcis gutturi meo

gena

- 1:9 Pulchrae sunt genae tuae sicut turturtis
 4:3 Sicut fragmen mali punici, ita genae tuae
 5:13 Genae illius sicut areolae aromatum

gressus

7:1 Quam pulchri sunt gressus tui in calceamentis, filia principis

hiems

2:11 Tam enim hiems transiit;
Imber abiit, et recessit.

hinnuleus

2:9 Hinnuloque cervorum
2:17 Hinnuloque cervorum super montes Bether
8:14 Fuge, dilecte mi, et assimilare capreae,
Hinnuloque cervorum super montes aromatum

hortus

4:12 Hortus conclusus soror mea, sponsa,
Hortus conclusus, fons signatus
4:16 Surge, aquilo; et veni, auster;
Perfla hortum meum, et fluant aromata illius
5:1 Veniat dilectus meus in hortum suum
6:1 Dilectus meus descendit in hortum suum ad areolam aromatum,
Ut pascatur in hortis, et lilia colligat
8:13 Quae habitas in hortis, amici auscultant;
Fac me audire vocem tuam

labia

4:3 Sicut vitta coccinea labia tua
4:11 Favus distillans labia tua, sponsa

languëo

2:5, 5:8 Quia amore languëo

lectulus

1:15 Lectulus noster floridus
3:1 In lectulo meo, per noctes,
Quaesivi quem diligit anima mea
3:7 In lectulum Salomonis sexaginta fortes ambiunt

lilium

- 2:1 Ego flos campi,
Et lilium convallium
- 2:2 Sicut lilium inter spinas,
Sic amica mea inter filias
- 2:16, 6:3 Dilectus meus mihi, et ego illi,
Qui pascitur inter lilia
- 4:5 / Capreae gemelli, qui pascuntur in liliis
- 5:13 Labia eius lilia
Distillantia myrrham primam
- 7:2 Venter tuus sicut acervus tritici vallatus liliis

lingua

- 4:11 Mel et lac sub lingua tua

luna

- 6:9 Pulchra ut luna, electa ut sol

malus

- 2:3 Sicut malus inter ligna silvarum,
Sic dilectus meus inter filios
- 2:5 Stipate me malis,
Quia amore langueo
- 7:8 Et odor oris tui sicut malorum
- 8:5 Sub arbore malo suscitavi te;
Ibi corrupta est mater tua,
Ibi violata est genitrix tua

manus

- 5:4 Dilectus meus misit manum suam per foramen,
Et venter meus intremuit ad tactum eius.
Manus meae stillaverunt myrrham

myrrha

- 1:12 Fasciculus myrrhae dilectus meus mihi
- 3:6 Sicut virgula fumi ex aromatibus myrrhae
- 4:6 Vadam ad montem myrrhae, et ad collem thuris
- 4:14 Myrrha et aloe, cum omnibus primis unguentis

6
 5:1 Messui myrrham, meam cum aromatibus meis
 5:5 Manus meae stillaverunt myrrham,
 Et digiti mei pleni myrrha probatissima

nasus

7:4 Nasus tuus sicut turris Libani,
 Quae respicit contra Damascum

niger

1:4 Nigra sum, sed formosa, filiae Ierusalem

oculus

1:14, 4:1 Oculi tui columbarum
 5:12 Oculi eius sicut columbae super rivulos aquarum,
 Quae lacte sunt lotae, et resident iuxta fluentia plenissima
 6:4 Averte oculos tuos a me,
 Quia ipsi me avolare fecerunt
 7:4 Oculi tui sicut piscinae in Hesebon,
 Quae sunt in porta filiae multitudinis

oleum

1:2 Oleum effusum nomen tuum

osculum

1:1 Osculetur me osculo oris sui
 8:1 Ut inveniam te foris, et deosculer te,
 Et iam me nemo despiciat?

pulcherrima

1:7 Si ignoras te, o pulcherrima inter mulieres

rex

1:3 Introduxit me rex in cellaria sua
 1:11 Dum esset rex in accubitu suo,
 Nardus mea dedit odorem suum

7

rubicundus

5:10 Dilectus meus candidus et rubicundus;
Electus ex millibus

signaculum

8:6 Pone me ut signaculum super cor tuum,
Ut signaculum super brachium tuum

sol

6:9 Pulchra ut luna, electa ut sol

Sulamitis

6:12 Revertere, revertere, Sulamitis!

7:1 Quid videbis in Sulamite, nisi choros castrorum?

surgo

2:10, 13 Surge, propera, amica mea

uber

1:12 Inter ubera mea commorabitur

4:5 Duo ubera tua sicut duo hinnuli

7:7 Et ubera tua botris

7:8 Et erunt ubera tua sicut botri vineae

8:1 Quis mihi det te fratrem meum,
Surgentem ubera matris meae

8:8 Soror nostra parva,
Et ubera non habet

8:10 Ego murus, et ubera mea sicut turris

umbilicus

7:2 Umbilicus tuus crater tomatilis,
Nunquam indigens poculis

umbra

2:3 Sub umbra illius quem desideraveram sedi

4:6 Donec aspiret dies, et inclinentur umbrae

unguentum

- 1:2 Frangantia unguentis optimis
 1:3 Trahe me, post te curremus
 In odorem unguentorum tuorem
 4:14 Myrrha et aleo, cum omnibus primis unguentis

venter

- 5:4 Et venter meus intremuit ad tactum eius
 5:14 Venter eius eburneus,
 Distinctus sapphiris
 7:2 Venter tuus sicut acervus triciti vallatus liliis

vinea

- 1:5 Posuerunt me custodem in vineis,
 Vineam meam non custodivi
 1:13 Botrus cypri dilectus meus mihi
 In vineis Engaddi
 7:12 Mane surgamus ad vineas;
 Videamus si floruit vinea
 8:12 Vinea mea coram me est.
 Milla tui pacifici,
 Et ducenti his qui custodiunt fructus eius.
 8:11 Vinea fuit pacifico in eo quae habet populos

vinum

- 1:1 Quia meliora sunt ubera tua vino
 1:3 Exsultabimus et laetabimur in te,
 Memores uberum tuorum super vinum.
 Recti diligunt te.
 2:4 Introduxit me in cellam vinariam
 4:10 Pulchriora sunt ubera tua vino
 5:1 Bibi vinum meum cum lacte meo
 7:9 Guttur tuum sicut vinum optimum,
 Dignum dilecto meo ad potandum,
 Libiisque et dentibus illius ad ruminandum

vulnero

- 4:9 Vulnerasti cor meum, soror mea, sponsa;
 Vulnerasti cor meum in uno oculorum tuorum

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary

- Adam of Saint Victor. The Liturgical Poetry. ed. & trans. D. S. Wrangham. Lat. & Eng., 3 vols. London: Kegan Paul, & Trench, 1881.
- Aimeric de Peguilhan. The Poems. ed. W. P. Shepard & F. M. Chambers. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern Univ. Press, 1950.
- "Amor communis omnibus: Paris, B.N. Lat. 11,130," ed. Brian Stock. Mediaeval Studies, 33 (1971), 351-53.
- Analecta hymnica medii aevi. eds. C. Blume & G. Maria Dreves. 55 vols. Leipzig, 1886-1922; Frankfurt am Main: Unveränderter Nachdruck, 1961, rpt.
- Andreas Capellanus. De Amore libri tres. ed. A. Pagès. Castellón de la Plana: Sociedad castellonense de Cultura, 1929.
- _____. The Art of Courtly Love. trans. J. J. Parry. New York: Columbia University Press, 1941.
- Anselm, St. Opera Omnia. ed. F. S. Schmitt. 6 vols. Edimburg: Th. Nelson & Sons, 1943-61.
- Anthologia Latina. eds. F. Buecheler & A. Riese & M. Ihm. 4 vols. Lipsiae: B.G. Teubneri, 1894-97.
- Anthology of the Provençal Troubadours. ed. with notes R.T. Hill & T.G. Bergin. 2 vols. 2nd ed., New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973.
- Anthology of Troubadour Lyric Poetry. ed. & trans. A. R. Press. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971.
- Apuleius. Apologia (De Magia). ed. R. Helm. Lipsiae: Teubneri, 1959.
- _____. The Isis-Book (Metamorphoses, Book XI). ed., trans. with notes, J. Gwyn Griffiths. Leiden: Brill, 1975.
- _____. Metamorphosen. ed. R. Helm. Lipsiae: Teubneri, 1968.

Augustine of Hippo. De Trinitate. Patrologia Latinae, 42, cols. 819-1098.

_____. On The Holy Trinity. trans. A. W. Haddan, revised and annotated by W.G.T. Shedd. A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Vol. III (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1956).

Bartsch, Karl. Chrestomathie provençale. 6th ed. rev. by E. Koschwitz. Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 1903-04.

Barré, Henri. Prières anciennes de l'occident à la mère du Sauveur, des origines à saint Anselme. Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1963.

Bernard, St. The Book of St. Bernard on the Love of God. (De Diligendo Deo) ed. & trans. Edmund G. Gardner. London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1915.

_____. Cantica Canticorum: Eighty-six Sermons on the Song of Solomon. ed. & trans. S. J. Eales. London: Elliot Stock, 1895.

_____. Opera Omnia. ed. John Mabillon. 2 vols in 4 parts, 4th ed. Paris: Gaume fratres, 1839.

Bernart von Ventadorn, sein Lieder. ed. Carl Appel. Halle a. S.: M. Niemeyer, 1915.

Boncompagno da Signa. Rota Veneris. ed. F. Baethgen. Roma: W. Regenber, 1927.

Die Cambridger Lieder/Carmina Cantabrigiensia. ed. Karl Strecker. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchandlung, 1926.

Carmina Burana. ed. A. Hilka & O. Schumann. 3 vols. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1930-41.

Carmina latina epigraphica. ed. F. Buecheler, vols. 1-2. Leipzig: B.G. Tevnerus, 1895-97; vol. 3 ed. Lommatzsch, 1926.

3 (Carmina sepulcralia latina. ed. Johannes Cholodniak. 2nd ed.
St. Petersburg: C. Birkenfeld, 1903.

Catullus. Poems. trans. F. W. Cornish. Loeb Classical
Library. Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press,
1962.

Cicero. De natura deorum. trans. H. Rackham. Loeb Classical
Library. Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 1951.

_____. Laelius de amicitia. ed. J. S. Reid. rev. ed.
F.W. Kelsey. Boston: John Allyn, 1885.

Corpus inscriptionum latinarum. Academiae Litterarum Regia
Borussicae. Berlin, 1862--.

Early English Lyrics, Amorous, Divine, Moral, and Trivial.
eds. E.K. Chambers & F. Sidgwick. 2nd ed. London:
Sidgwick & Jackson, 1926.

English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century. ed. Carleton Brown.
Oxford: Clarendon, 1932.

Giacomo da Lentino. The Poetry. ed. E. F. Langley.
Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1915.

The Goliard Poets: Medieval Latin Songs and Satires. trans.
with notes, George F. Whicher. New York: New Directions,
1949.

Guillaume IX. Les Chansons. ed. A. Jeanroy. Paris:
H. Champion, 1927.

The Harley Lyrics: the Middle English Lyrics of the MS.
Harley 2253. ed. G. L. Brook. Manchester: Manchester
University Press, 1948.

Hildegard, St. Analecta Opera. ed. Joannes Baptistā Card.
Pitra. Sacri Montis Casinensis, 1832; rpt. England
[city?]: Gregg Press, 1966.

Hymns of the Roman Liturgy. ed. & trans. Joseph Connelly.
Lat. & Eng. London: Longmans, Green, 1957.

The Index of Middle English Verse. eds. Carleton Brown &
R. H. Robbins. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943.
Supplement. eds. R. H. Robbins & J. L. Cutler. Lexington:
University of Kentucky Press, 1965.

- Inscriptiones latinae selectae. ed. Hermannus Dessau.
4 vols. Berlin: Weidmannus, 1906.
- Inscriptionum latinarum selectarum. eds. Johann K. von Orelli
& J. Henzen. 3 vols. Turici: Orellii & Fuesslini,
1828-56.
- Iscrizioni funerarie sortilegi e pronostici di Roma antica.
ed. & trans. L. Storoni Mazzolani. Torino: Einaudi, 1973.
- Jaufré Rudel. Les Chansons. ed. A. Jeanroy. 2nd edition.
Paris: H. Champion, 1924.
- Jacobus de Voragine. The Golden Legend. trans. G. Ryan &
H. Ripperger. New York: Arno, 1969.
- John of Garland. Stella Maris. ed. with notes, E. F. Wilson.
Cambridge, Ma.: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1946.
- Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters. ed. Franz Joseph Mone.
3 vols. 1st ed. 1854; rpt. Darmstadt: Scientia Verlag
Aalen/fotokop, Reprografischer Betrieb GmbH, Riedeselstrabe
61, 1964.
- Lucretius. De rerum natura. ed. C. Bailey. Oxford: Clarendon,
1922.
- Lyrics of the Troubadours and Trouveres. ed. & trans. Frederick
Goldin. New York: Anchor, 1973.
- Medieval English Lyrics. ed. with notes, R. T. Davies.
London: Faber, 1963.
- Medieval Song: an Anthology of Hymns and Lyrics. ed. & trans.
James J. Wilhelm. New York: Dutton, 1971.
- Narcisus (poème du XIIe siècle). eds. M. M. Pelan & N.C.W.
Spence. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1964.
- Nouvelle anthologie de la lyrique occitane du moyen âge.
ed. Pierre Bec. Avignon: Aubanel, 1970.
- Ovid. Amores. trans. Guy Lee. Lat. & Eng. New York:
Viking, 1968.
- _____. Opera. eds. R. Ehwald & R. Merckli. Lipsiae:
Teubneri, 1897-1902.

- 5
- Ovide Moralisé. ed. C. de Boer. 5 vols. Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afdeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, XV, XXI, XXX, XLIII. Amsterdam, 1915-36.
- The Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse. ed. F. J. E. Raby. Oxford: Clarendon, 1959.
- La poesia lirica del duecento. ed. Carlo Salinari. 2nd. ed. Torino: Unione, 1968.
- Poesia del duecento e del trecento. eds. C. Muscetta & P. Rivalta. Torino: Einaudi, 1956.
- Poésies populaires latines du moyen âge. ed. Edélestand du Méril. Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1847.
- Poeti del Dolce Stil Nuovo. ed. Mario Marti. Firenze: Le Minnier, 1969.
- Pervigilium Veneris. ed. & trans. with notes, Cecil Clementi. 2nd ed. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1928.
- Pagani, Walter. Repertorio tematico della scuola poetica siciliana. Bari: Adriatica Editrice, 1968.
- Patrologiae cursus completus: series latina. ed. J. P. Migne. 221 vols. Paris, 1844-80.
- Plotinus. Works. trans. Stephen MacKenna. 5 vols in 2. Boston: Branford, 1948.
- Propertius. Carmina. ed. E. A. Barber. Oxford: Clarendon, 1953.
- Richard of St. Victor. Le "De Trinitate" de Richard de Saint-Victor. ed. A.-M. Ethier. Publications de l'Institut d'Etudes Médiévales d'Ottawa, IX. Paris & Ottawa, 1939.
- Thomas Aquinas. Summa Theologiae. cura et studio Instituti Studiorum Medievalium Ottaviensis. Ottawa, 1941.
- Tibullus. Carminum libri tres. ed. J. P. Postgate. Oxford: Clarendon, 1905.

Secondary

Adams, Henry. Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1933.

Ahsmann, H.P.J.M. Le culte de la Sainte Vierge et la littérature française profane du moyen âge. Utrecht-Nimègue: N. V. Dekker and Van de Vegt en J. W. Van Leeuwen; Paris: Picard, 1930.

Akehurst, F.R.P. "Les étapes de l'amour chez Bernard de Ventadour." Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévales, 16 (1973), 133-47.

Alföldi, András. A Festival of Isis at Rome under the Christian Emperors of the IVth Century, Dissertationes Pannoniae, II, 7. Budapest, 1937.

Alfonsi, L. "Otium e vita d'amore negli elegiaci augustei." in Studi in onore de Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni, I. Milano, 1956, pp. 187-209.

Allen, Archibald W. "Elegy and the Classical Attitude toward Love: Propertius I, 1." Yale Classical Studies, 11 (1950), pp. 253-77.

Allen, Philip S. The Romanesque Lyric. University of North Carolina Press, 1928; rpt. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1969.

Armleder, Paul J. "Augustine's Idea of Love." Rendezvous, I, ii (1966), 11-17.

Auerbach, Erich. Literary Language and its Public in Late Antiquity and in the Middle Ages. trans. R. Manheim. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965.

_____. Scenes from the Drama of European Literature. trans. R. Manheim. New York: Meridian, 1959 [German, 1944].

Bardon, Henri. L'Art de la composition chez Catulle. Publications de l'Université de Poitiers, Série "Science de l'homme;" III. Paris, 1943.

_____. Proposition sur Catulle. Collection Latomus, vol. 118. Bruxelles, 1970.

- Baron, F. X. & J. M. Davis. "Amour Courtois," the Medieval Ideal of Love: A Bibliography. Louisville: University of Louisville Press, 1973.
- Battaglia, Salvatore. Formazione e destino della lirica. Napoli: Liguori, 1967.
- Beare, William. Latin Verse and European Song. London: Methuen, 1957.
- Bezzola, Reto R. Les origines et la formation de la littérature courtoise in Occident (500-1200). 2 vols. in 3 pts. Paris: H. Champion, 1944-60.
- Bloch, Marc. Feudal Society. trans. L. A. Manyon. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.
- Boissier, Gaston. La fin du paganisme. 2 vols. Paris: Hachette, 1891.
- Bowra, C. M. Mediaeval Love-Song. London: Athlone, 1961.
- Bradley, Ritamary. "Backgrounds of the title Speculum in Mediaeval Literature." Speculum, XXIX (1954), 100-15.
- Brewer, D. S. "The Ideal of Feminine Beauty in Medieval Literature, especially the 'Harley Lyrics,' Chaucer, and Some Elizabethans." Modern Language Review, 50 (1955), 257-69.
- Briffault, Robert. The Troubadours. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1965.
- Brittain, F. The Medieval Latin and Romance Lyric to A. D. 1300. Cambridge: University Press, 1937.
- Calabi Limentani, Ida. Epigrafia Latina. Milano: Cisalpino, 1968.
- Capánaga, Victorino. "Interpretación agustiniana del amor: Eros y Agape." Augustinus, 18 (1973), 213-78.
- Chenu, Marie-Dominique. Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century. trans. J. Taylor & L. K. Little. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968.

Chersoni, Marinella Tartari. Struttura e funzionalità della lingua poetica di Properzio. Bologna: Patron, 1973.

Chevallier, R. Épigraphie et littérature à Rome. Faenza: Fratelli Lega, 1973.

Cumont, Franz. Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain. Paris: Leroux, 1906.

Curtius, Ernst. European Literature in the Latin Middle Ages. trans. W.R. Task. New York: Pantheon, 1953.

Denomy, A. J. The Heresy of Courtly Love. Gloucester, Ma.: Peter Smith, 1965.

_____. "An Inquiry into the Origins of Courtly Love." Mediaeval Studies (Toronto), VI (1944)

Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et Liturgie. eds. F. Cabrol & H. Leclercq. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1907.

Dodds, E. R. The Greeks and the Irrational. Berkeley: University of Calif. Press, 1951.

_____. Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety. Cambridge: University Press, 1965.

d'Olwer, Lluís N. "L'escola poètica de Ripoll en els segles X-XIII." Institut d'Estudis Catalans, VI (1923), 3ff.

Dronke, Peter. Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love Lyric. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1968.

_____. The Medieval Lyric. London: Hutchinson University Library, 1968.

_____. Poetic Individuality in the Middle Ages. Oxford: Clarendon, 1970.

Economou, George. The Goddess Natura in Medieval Literature. Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 1972.

Elder, J. P. "Notes on Some Conscious and Subconscious Elements in Catullus' Poetry." Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, 60 (1951), 101-36.

- 9
- Errante, Guido. Lirica romanza del primo secolo. New York: S. F. Vanni, 1943.
- Fauriel, C. C. Histoire de la poésie provençale. 3 vols. Paris: J. Labitte, 1846.
- Ferrante, Joan. Woman as Image in Medieval Literature: from the Twelfth Century to Dante. New York: Columbia University Press, 1975.
- Fowlie, Wallace. Love in Literature: Studies in Symbolic Expression. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1965.
- Frappier, Jean. "Variations sur le thème du miroir, de Bernard de Ventadour à Maurice Scève." Cahiers de l'ass. intern. des études françaises, 11 (May, 1959), 134-58.
- _____. "Vues sur les conceptions courtoises dans les littératures d'oc et d'oïl au xiie siècle." Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, 2 (1959), 135-56.
- Gardiner, F. C. The Pilgrimage of Desire: a Study of Theme and Genre in Medieval Literature. Leyden: Brill, 1971.
- Gaselee, Stephen. The Transition from the Late Latin Lyric to the Medieval Love Poem. Cambridge: Bowes & Bowes, 1931.
- Glossarium eroticum linguae latinae. Paris: Dondey-Dupré, 1826.
- Goldin, Frederick. "The Law's Homage to Grace: Peire Cardenal's Vera vergena, Maria." Romance Philology, 20 (1967); 466-77.
- _____. The Mirror of Narcissus in the Courtly Love Lyric. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967.
- Grabar, André. Early Christian Art. trans. S. Gilbert & J. Emmons. New York: Odyssey, 1968.
- Grant, Michael and A. Mulas. Eros in Pompeii: the Secret Rooms of the National Museum of Naples. New York: Morrow, 1975.
- Gray, Douglas. Themes and Images in the Medieval Religious Lyric. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972.

- Gripkey, Mary V. The Blessed Virgin as Mediatrix in the Latin and Old French Legend Prior to the Fourteenth Century. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1938.
- Hadas, Moses. Hellenistic Culture: Fusion and Difusion. New York: Norton, 1959.
- Haskins, Charles Homer. The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century. Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 1927.
- Heider, Andrew. The Blessed Virgin Mary in Early Christian Latin Poetry. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1918.
- Hill, Edmund. "St. Augustine's De Trinitate: the Doctrinal Significance of its Structure." Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes, 19 (1973), 277-86.
- Jackson, Darrell B. Semantics and Hermeneutics in St. Augustine's "De doctrina christiana." New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967.
- Jackson, William T.H. "The De Amore of Andreas Capellanus and the Practice of Love at Court." Romantic Review, 49 (1958), 243-51.
- Jeanroy, Alfred. La poésie lyrique des troubadours. 2 vols. Paris: Didier, 1934.
- Jeffrey, David L. The Early English Lyric and Franciscan Spirituality. Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1975.
- Johnson, Douglas. "Verbum in the Early Augustine (386-397)." Recherches Augustiniennes, 8 (1972), 25-53.
- Julian, John. A Dictionary of Hymnology. 2 vols. London: John Murray, 1907.
- Kelly, Henry A. Love and Marriage in the Age of Chaucer. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975.
- Kiefer, Otto. Sexual Life in Ancient Rome. trans. G. & H. Highet. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1934.

Köhler, Erich. "Observations historiques et sociologiques sur la poésie des troubadours." Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, 7 (1964), 27-51.

LaBonnardière, A.-M. "Le cantique des cantiques dans l'oeuvre de S. Augustin." Révue des études Augustiniennes, 1 (1955), 225-37.

Labriolle, Pierre de. History and Literature of Christianity from Tertullian to Boethius. trans. H. Wilson. 1924; New York: Barnes & Noble, 1968.

Lattimore, Richmond. Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1962.

Laurie, Helen C.R. "Narcissus." Medium Aevum, 35 (1966), 111-16.

Lawlor, John, ed. Patterns of Love and Courtesy. London: Arnold, 1966.

Lazar, Moshé. Amour courtois et "Fin'Amors" dans la littérature du XIIIe siècle. Bibliothèque Française et Romane, Series C, VIII. Paris, 1964.

Lea, Henry C. History of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church. 3rd ed. rev. New York: Macmillan, 1907.

LeBras, Gabriel. "Le mariage dans la théologie et le droit de l'Eglise du XIe au XIIIe siècle." Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, 11 (1968), 191-201.

Leclercq, Jean. "Modern Psychology and the Interpretation of Medieval Texts." Speculum, 48 (1973), 476-90.

Lejeune, Rita. "Formules féodales et style amoureux chez Guillaume IX d'Aquitaine." Atti del VIIIo congresso internazionale de studi romanzi, II. Firenze: Sansoni, 1959, pp. 227-48.

_____. "Thèmes communs de troubadours et vie de société." Actes et mémoires, IIe congrès internat. de langue et littérature du Midi de la France. Avignon, 1958, pp. 75-88.

Lewis, C.S. The Allegory of Love. London: Oxford University Press, 1936.

- Lieberg, Godo. Puella Divina: Die Gestalt der Gottlichen Geliebten bei Catull im Zusammenhang der antiken Dichtung. Amsterdam: Verlag P. Schippers, 1962.
- Lot-Borodine, Myrrha. De l'amour profane à l'amour sacré: Etudes de psychologie sentimentale au moyen âge. Paris, 1928; Paris: Librairie Nizet, 1961 rpt.
- Lubac, Henri de. Exégèse médiévale: les quatre sense de l'Ecriture. 2 vols. Paris: Aubier, 1960.
- Luck, George. The Latin Love Elegy. London: Methuen, 1959.
- _____. "The Woman's Role in Latin Love Poetry." in Perspectives of Roman Poetry. ed. G. K. Galinsky. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1973.
- MacKay, L. A. "The Sin of the Golden Ass." Arion, 4 (1965), 474-80.
- Marcadé, Jean. Roma Amor: Essay on Erotic Elements in Etruscan and Roman Art. Geneva: Nagel, 1965.
- Markus, R.A., et al. Augustine: A Collection of Critical Essays. New York: Anchor, 1972.
- Marmorale, Enzo. L'ultimo Catullo. Napoli: Idizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1952.
- Massey, Irving. The Gaping Fig: Literature and Metamorphosis. Berkeley: University of Calif. Press, 1976.
- Moller, Herbert. "The Meaning of Courtly Love." Journal of American Folklore, 73 (1960), 39-52.
- _____. "The Social Causation of the Courtly Love Complex." Comparative Studies in Society and History, 1 (1958-59), 137-63.
- Moore, John C. "Love in Twelfth-Century France: a Failure in Synthesis." Traditio, 24 (1968), 429-443.
- Mordell, Albert. The Erotic Motive in Literature. London: Routledge Paul Trench Trubner, 1919.

- Neumann, Erich. Amor and Psyche: the Psychic Development of the Feminine, a commentary on the tale by Apuleius. trans. R. Manheim. Princeton: University Press, 1956.
- _____. The Great Mother. trans. R. Manheim. Princeton: University Press, 1955.
- Newman, F. X. The Meaning of Courtly Love. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1968.
- Nichols, Stephen. "The Medieval Lyric and its Public." Medievalia et Humanistica, new series II,3. Cleveland, 1972.
- Nygren, Anders. Agape and Eros: A Study of the Christian Idea of Love. trans. P. S. Watson. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1953.
- O'Meara, John J. "St. Augustine's Attitude to Love in the Context of his Influence on Christian Ethics." Arethusa, 2 (1969), 46-60.
- Otis, Brooks. "The Uniqueness of Latin Literature." Arion, VI, 2 (1967), 185-206.
- Peignot, Jérôme. Le jeux de l'amour et du langage. Paris: Union Générale d'Éditions, 1974.
- Perella, Nicholas J. The Kiss Sacred and Profane: an Interpretive History of Kiss Symbolism and Related Religio-Erotic Themes. Berkeley: University of Calif. Press, 1969.
- Pichon, René. Index verborum amatoriorum. 1st ed. 1902. rpt. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1966.
- Pomeroy, Sarah B. Goddess, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity. New York: Schocken, 1975.
- Poole, R.L. "The Beginning of the Year in the Middle Ages." Proceedings of the British Academy, X (1921-23), 113-37.
- Popova, Z. "Influence de Properce sur les carmina latina epigraphica." Annuaire de l'Université de Sofia, LXVII, 1 (1973), 55-118.

- Press, A.R. "The Adulterous Nature of Fin'Amors: a Re-examination of the Theory." Forum for Modern Language Studies, 6 (1970), 327-41.
- Quinn, Kenneth, et al. Approaches to Catullus. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1972.
- _____. The Catullan Revolution. Melbourne: University Press, 1959.
- _____. Catullus: an Interpretation. London: Batsford, 1972.
- Raby, F.J.E. A History of Christian Latin Poetry. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1953.
- _____. A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages. 2 vols. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1957.
- Rijk, Rudolf P. de. "St. Augustine on Language." in Studies Presented to Professor Roman Jakobson by his Students. ed. C.E. Gribble. Cambridge, Ma.: Slavica, 1968, pp. 91-104.
- Rougemont, Denis de. Love in the Western World. trans. M. Belgion. New York: Pantheon, 1956.
- _____. Love Declared: Essays on the Myths of Love. trans. R. Howard. New York: Pantheon, 1963.
- Ruether, Rosemary R., et al. Religion and Sexism: Images of Women in the Jewish and Christian Traditions. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1974.
- Sabbadini, Remigio. Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci ne' secoli XIV e XV (nuove ricerche). Firenze: Sansoni, 1967.
- Scaglione, A. Nature and Love in the Late Middle Ages. Berkeley: University of Calif. Press, 1963.
- Scheglmann, L. "Der Subjektzirkel in der Psychologie Augustins." Zeitschrift für philosophische Forschung, 22 (1968), 327-44.

Scheludko, D. "Die Marienlieder in der altprovenzalischen Lyrik." Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, 36 (1935), 29-48; 37 (1936), 15-42.

_____. "Ovid und die Trobadors." Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, 54 (1934), 129-74.

_____. "Religiose Element im weltlichen Liebeslied der Trobadors." Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, 59 (1935), 402-21; 60 (1937), 18-35.

Seznéc, Jean. La survivance des dieux antiques. Studies of the Warburg Institute, vol. XI. London, 1940.

Sharp, D. E. Franciscan Philosophy at Oxford in the Thirteenth Century. Oxford: University Press, 1930.

Slater, Philip. The Glory of Hera: Greek Mythology and the Greek Family. Boston: Beacon, 1968.

Smalley, Beryl. The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages. 1st ed. 1940; rpt. University of Notre Dame Press, 1965.

Snell, Bruno. The Discovery of the Mind: the Greek Origins of European Thought. trans. T. G. Rosenmeyer. New York: Harper & Row, 1960.

Spitzer, Leo. "'Explication de texte' applied to three Great Middle English Poems." Archivum Linguisticum, 3 (1951), 137-65.

Stock, Brian. "The Middle Ages as Subject and Object: Romantic Attitudes and Academic Medievalism." New Literary History, V, 3 (1974), 527-47.

Sullivan, J.P. "Castas odisse puellas: a reconsideration of Propertius I,1." Wiener Studien, 74 (1961), 96-112.

_____. "Cynthia prima fuit: a causerie." Arion, I, 3 (1962), 34-44.

_____, et al. Critical Essays on Roman Literature: Elegy and Lyric. Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 1962.

- Topsfield, L.T. Troubadours and Love. London: Cambridge University Press, 1975.
- Utley, Francis L. "Must we Abandon the Concept of Courtly Love?" Medievalia et Humanistica, new series 3. Cleveland, 1972, pp. 299-324.
- Valency, Maurice. In Praise of Love. New York: Macmillan, 1958.
- Vance, Eugene. "Augustine's Confessions and the Grammar of Self-hood." Genre, 6 (1973), 1-28.
- _____. "Love's Concordance: the Poetics of Desire and the Joy of the Text." Diacritics (Spring, 1975), 40-52.
- Vecchi, Giuseppe. Poesia latina medievale. Parma: Ugo Guanda Editore, 1952.
- Vinge, Louise. The Narcissus Theme in Western European Literature up to the Early 19th Century. trans. R. Dewsnap, L. Gronlund, N. & I.S. Reeves. Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1967.
- Waddell, Helen. The Wandering Scholars. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1955.
- Wetherbee, Winthrop. Platonism and Poetry in the Twelfth Century. Princeton: University Press, 1972.
- Wilhelm, James J. The Cruellest Month: Spring, Nature, and Love in Classical and Medieval Lyrics. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965.
- Witke, Charles. Enarratio Catulliana: Carmina L, XXX, LXV, LXVIII. Leiden: Brill, 1968.
- Woolf, Rosemary. The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages. Oxford: Clarendon, 1968.
- Wright, Constance S. The Influence of the Exegetical Tradition of the 'Song of Songs' on the Secular and Religious English Love Lyrics of MS. Harley 2253. PhD dissertation, University of Calif. at Berkeley. Microfilm #66-8424.

Zorzi, Diego. Valori religiosi nella letteratura provenzale:
la spiritualità trinitaria. Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 1954.

Linguistic, Psychological, and
Related texts

18

- Askeu, Melvin. "Courtly Love: Neurosis as Institution." Psychoanalytic Review, 52 (1965), 19-29.
- Bakan, David. Sigmund Freud and the Jewish Mystical Tradition. Boston: Beacon, 1958.
- Brown, Roger. Words and Things: An Introduction to Language. New York: Macmillan, 1958.
- Burke, Kenneth. The Rhetoric of Religion: Studies in Logology. Boston: Beacon, 1961.
- Bursill-Hall, G.L. Speculative Grammars of the Middle Ages. The Hague: Mouton, 1971.
- Casagrande, J. B. "Language Universals in Anthropological Perspective." in Universals of Language, ed. J. H. Greenberg. Cambridge, Ma.: MIT Press, 1963.
- Cassirer, Ernst. Language and Myth. trans. S.L. Langer. New York: Harper, 1946.
- Chomsky, Noam. Aspects of the Theory of Syntax. Cambridge, Ma.: MIT Press, 1965.
- _____. Language and Mind. enlarged ed. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1972.
- _____. Syntactic Structures. The Hague: Mouton, 1957.
- On Noam Chomsky: Critical Essays. ed. Gilbert Harman. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1974.
- Delacroix, H., E. Cassirer, L. Jordan, et-al. Psychologie du langage. Paris: Alcan, 1933.
- Edelson, Marshall. Language and Interpretation in Psychoanalysis. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975.
- Eliade, Mircea. The Sacred and the Profane: the Nature of Religion. trans. W. R. Trask. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1959.

Ellis, Havelock. The Conception of Narcissism. Studies in the Psychology of Sex, vol.7. Philadelphia: F.A. Davis, 1928.

Foucault, Michel. Maladie Mentale et Psychologie. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1954.

Freud, Sigmund. Abstracts of the Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works. ed. C. L. Rathgeb. New York: International Universities Press, 1973.

_____. Beyond the Pleasure Principle. The Standard Ed. trans. James Strachey. New York: Norton, 1961 [Ger. 1920].

_____. The Complete Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis. Standard Ed. trans. J. Strachey. New York: Norton, 1966 [Ger. 1916-17, 1933].

_____. The Ego and the Id. Standard Ed. trans. J. Strachey. New York: Norton, 1962 [Ger. 1923].

_____. The Future of an Illusion. Standard Ed. trans. J. Strachey. New York: Norton, 1975 [Ger. 1927].

_____. Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego. Standard Ed. trans. J. Strachey. New York: Norton, 1959 [Ger. 1921].

_____. Jokes and their Relation to the Unconscious. Standard Ed. trans. J. Strachey. New York: Norton, 1963 [Ger. 1905].

_____. On Aphasia. trans. E. Stengel. London: Imago, 1953 [Ger. 1891].

_____. "On Narcissism: an Introduction." Standard Ed., XIV, 69; or Collected Papers, IV, 30 [Ger. 1914].

_____. Sexuality and the Psychology of Love. ed: Philip Rieff (collection of essays, various translators). New York: Macmillan, 1963.

_____. Psychopathology of Everyday Life. Standard Ed. trans. Alan Tyson, ed. J. Strachey. New York: Norton, 1965 [Ger. 1901].

Georgin, Robert.: Le temps freudien de verbe. Lausanne: Editions l'Age d'Homme, 1973.

Greenberg, J. H. Essays in Linguistics. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963.

_____, et al. Universals of Language. Cambridge, Ma.: MIT Press, 1963.

Hallowell, A. I. Culture and Experience. Philadelphia: University of Penn. Press, 1955.

Halverson, John. "Amour and Eros in the Middle Ages." Psychoanalytic Review, vol. 57, 2 (1970), 245-58.

Heidegger, Martin. "Logos:" trans. Jacques Lacan. La Psychanalyse, I (1956), 59-79.

Jakobson, Roman. "Implications of Language Universals for Linguistics." in Universals of Language, ed. J. H. Greenberg. Cambridge, Ma., 1963:

_____. Main Trends in the Science of Language. New York: Harper & Row, 1974.

_____. Selected Writings. 2 vols. The Hague: Mouton, 1971.

Kelling, George. Language: Mirror, Tool, and Weapon. Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1975.

Kernberg, Otto. Boarderline Conditions and Pathological Narcissism. New York: Aronson, 1975.

Kockelmans, J.J., et al. Phenomenology: the Philosophy of Edmund Husserl and its Interpretation. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1967.

Koenigsberg, Richard. "Culture and the Unconscious Fantasy: Observations on Courtly Love." Psychoanalytic Review, 54 (1967); 36-50.

Kris, Ernst. Psychoanalytic Explorations in Art. New York: International Universities Press, 1952.

Lacan, Jacques. Ecrits. 1 vol. ed. Paris: Seuil, 1966;
2 vol. ed., 1971.

_____. Le Séminaire, livre I: les écrits techniques de Freud. Paris: Seuil, 1975.

_____. Le Séminaire, livre XX: Encore. Paris: Seuil, 1975.

_____. Le Séminaire, livre XI: les quatre concepts fondamentaux de la psychanalyse. Paris: Seuil, 1973.

_____. "Some Reflections on the Ego." International Journal of Psycho-Analysis, 34 (1953), 11-17.

_____. "Le stade du miroir comme formateur de la fonction du Je." in Ecrits, I, 89-100; translation appeared in New Left Review, 51 (1968), 71-77.

_____. "Of Structure as an Inmixing of an Otherness Prerequisite to any Subject Whatever." in The Structuralist Controversy, eds. R. Macksey & E. Donato. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1972, pp. 186-200.

Laing, R.D., H. Phillipson, & A.R. Lee. Interpersonal Perception: a Theory and a Method of Research. New York: Harper & Row, 1972.

Language in Thinking. ed. P. Adams. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972.

Laplanche, J. & J. B. Pontalis. Vocabulaire de la psychanalyse. Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1967.

Lepschy, Giulio. A Survey of Structural Linguistics. London: Faber, 1972.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. Anthropologie structurale. Paris: Plon, 1958.

_____. La Pensée sauvage. Paris: Plon, 1962.

Lichtenstein, Heinz. "The Role of Narcissism in the Emergence and Maintenance of a Primary Identity." International Journal of Psycho-Analysis, 45 (1964), 49-56.

- Mannoni, Octave. "A Brief Introduction to Jacques Lacan." Contemporary Psychoanalysis, VIII, 1 (Fall, 1971), 97-106.
- Marcuse, Herbert. Eros and Civilization. Boston: Beacon, 1955.
- Mehlman, J., et al. French Freud: Structural Studies in Psychoanalysis. Yale French Studies, no. 48. New Haven, 1972.
- Musatti, Cesare. Riflessioni sul pensiero psicoanalitico. Torino: Boringhieri, 1976.
- Nietzsche, F. Basic Writings. ed. & trans. with notes, W. Kaufmann. New York: Random House, 1966.
- The Origins of Psychoanalysis. eds. Anna Freud, Maria Bonaparte, & Ernst Kris. New York: Basic, 1954.
- Peirce, Charles S. Philosophical Writings. ed. J. Buchler. New York: Dover, 1955 [ch. 7, "Logic as Semiotic: the Theory of Signs"].
- Piaget, Jean. The Construction of Reality in the Child. trans. M. Cook. New York: Basic, 1954.
- _____. "Language and Thought from the Genetic Point of View." in Language in Thinking, ed. P. Adams. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972, pp. 170-79.
- Reboul, Jean. "Jacques Lacan et les fondements de la psychanalyse." Critique, 18 (1962); 1056-67.
- Richard, Michel. La psychologie et ses domaines de Freud à Lacan. Lyon: Editions Chronique Sociale de France, 1971.
- Ricoeur, Paul. De l'interprétation: essai sur Freud. Paris: Seuil, 1965.
- Röheim, Géza. Spiegelzauber. Internationale Psychoanalytische Bibliothek, Nr.6. Leipzig und Wien, 1919.
- Rossi, Ino, ed. & contributor. The Unconscious in Culture. New York: Dutton, 1974.

- Sapir, Edward. Culture, Language, and Personality. ed. D. G. Mandelbaum. Berkeley: University of Calif. Press, 1956.
- _____. Language: an Introduction to the Study of Speech. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1921.
- Saussure, Ferdinand de. Cours de linguistique générale. ed. Tullio de Mauro. Paris: Payot, 1973 [1915].
- Schaff, Adam. Language and Cognition. trans. O. Wajtasiewicz. Warsaw, 1964; New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973.
- Sinclair-de-Zwart, H. "A Possible Theory of Language Acquisition within the General Framework of Piaget's Developmental Theory." in Language in Thinking, ed. P. Adams. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972, pp. 364-73.
- Spotnitz, Hyman & P. Resnikoff. "The Myth of Narcissus." Psychoanalytic Review, 41 (1954), 173-81.
- Steiner, George. After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation. Oxford: University Press, 1975.
- Stuart, Grace. Narcissus. New York: Macmillan, 1955.
- Sullivan, Harry S. The Interpersonal Theory of Psychiatry. ed. H. S. Perry & M.L. Gawel. New York: Norton, 1953.
- Whorf, Benjamin Lee. Language, Thought, and Reality. ed. J. B. Carroll. Cambridge, Ma.: MIT Press, 1956.
- Wilden, Anthony. The Language of the Self (includes translation and commentary for Lacan's "The Function of Language in Psychoanalysis"). New York: Delta, 1975.
- _____. "On Lacan: Psychoanalysis, Language, and Communication." Contemporary Psychoanalysis, IX, 4 (1973), 445-70.
- _____. System and Structure. London: Tavistock, 1972 [ch. XVI "Linguistics and Semiotics: the Unconscious Structured like a Language"].

Winnicott, D.W. The Child, the Family, and the Outside World.
Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964.

_____. "Mirror-role of Mother and Family in Child
Development." in The Predicament of the Family, ed.
P. Lomas. London, 1967.