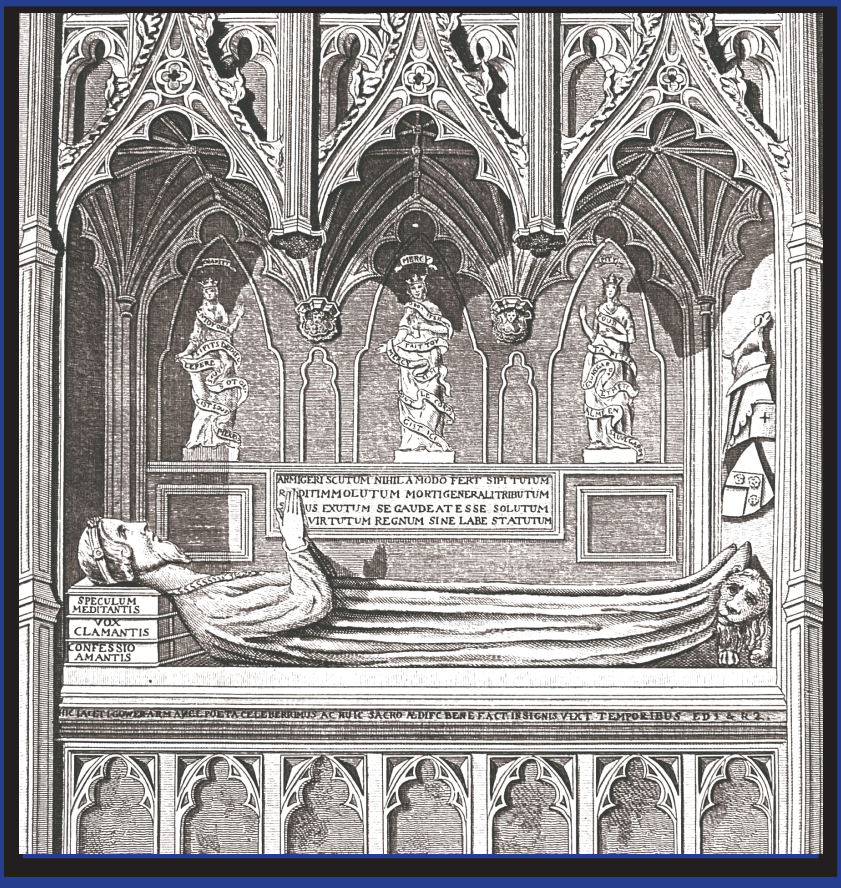
John Gower
Trilingual Poet



Language, Translation and Tradition

Edited by ELISABETH DUTTON
with JOHN HINES and R. F. YEAGER

WESTFIELD MEDIEVAL STUDIES

Volume 3

John Gower, Trilingual Poet
Language, Translation, and Tradition

John Gower wrote in three languages – Latin, French, and English – and their considerable and sometimes competing significance in fourteenth-century England underlies his trilingualism. The essays collected in this volume start from Gower as trilingual poet, exploring Gower's negotiations between them – his adaptation of French sources into his Latin poetry, for example – as well as the work of medieval translators who made Gower's French poetry available in English. 'Translation' is also considered more broadly, as a 'carrying over' (its etymological sense) between genres, registers, and contexts, with essays exploring Gower's acts of translation between the idioms of varied literary and non-literary forms; and further essays investigate Gower's writings from literary, historical, linguistic and codicological perspectives. Overall, the volume bears witness to Gower's literary merit and his importance to English literary history, and increases our understanding of French and Latin literature composed in England.

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John Gower, Trilingual Poet
Language, Translation, and Tradition

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D. S. BREWER

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To the memory of Alan Deyermond

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Unless otherwise specified, citations from Chaucer are taken from *The Riverside Chaucer*, gen. ed. Larry D. Benson (Boston, MA, 3rd edn., 1987).

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Abbreviations

AND	*Anglo-Norman Dictionary*
BL	British Library
Companion	Siân Echard, ed., *A Companion to Gower* (Cambridge, 2004).
CR	*Chaucer Review*
EETS	Early English Text Society
EHR	*English Historical Review*
ELH	*English Literary History*
es	extra series
ES	*English Studies*
ESTC	*English Short Title Catalogue*
JEGP	*Journal of English and German Philology*
JGN	*John Gower Newsletter*
JMEMS	*Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*
JMH	*Journal of Medieval History*
Ker	N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd edn (London, 1964).
Ker Suppl.	A. G. Watson, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain. Supplement to the Second Edition* (London, 1987).
LALME	A. McIntosh, M. L. Samuels and M. Benskin, *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English*, 4 vols (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986).
LSE	*Leeds Studies in English*
MÆ	*Medium Ævum*
Macaulay	G. C. Macaulay, ed., *The Complete Works of John Gower*, 4 vols (London, 1899–1902)
MED	*Middle English Dictionary*
MLN	*Modern Language Notes*
MLR	*Modern Language Review*
MP	*Modern Philology*
MSt	*Medieval Studies*
NML	*New Medieval Literatures*
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
Peck	John Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, ed. Russell A. Peck with Latin translations by Andrew Galloway, 3 vols (Kalamazoo, 2000–2004)
PL	*Patrologiae: Cursus Completus Series Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris, 1844–73)
PMLA	*Proceedings of the Modern Language Association of America*
PQ	*Philological Quarterly*
RES	*Review of English Studies*
SAC	*Studies in the Age of Chaucer*

SC	F. Madan, H. H. E. Craster and N. Denholm-Young, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, 7 vols (Oxford, 1895–1937).
SP	*Studies in Philology*
SQ	*Shakespeare Quarterly*
TLS	*Times Literary Supplement*
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
YAJ	*Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*
YoES	*Yearbook of English Studies*

Introduction

ELISABETH DUTTON

2008 marked the 600th anniversary of the death of the poet John Gower, the author of major works in French, Latin and English, and highly respected, on a level with Chaucer, in the centuries following his death. Since the late seventeenth century, and particularly for academic literary critics of the twentieth century, however, Chaucer's pre-eminence has been invidious to the study of Gower. It is only recently that a body of scholarship has begun to recognize the individual character and importance of Gower's literary influence and to re-establish his reputation. Gower has more often been discussed only for purposes of comparison by Chaucerians, or as a contextual figure in studies of Ricardian literature. It has consequently been difficult both to understand and to appreciate the shape and significance of Gower's literary achievement and influence fully.

This volume draws together essays by established medievalists and up-and-coming medieval scholars which, through their collective focus on Gower, provide a thorough exploration of the voices of this significant poet and the discourses in which he participated. This has long been needed. Inspiration for the volume comes from the hugely successful conference, *1408–2008: The Age of Gower*, which was held at Queen Mary University of London, in July 2008: the conference was the first international congress devoted exclusively to Gower and attracted a large group of leading scholars from around the world, testifying to the dynamic interest in rigorous and constructive Gower research. A number of these scholars have been invited to contribute to the present volume.

Most of the essays contained in this volume are primarily literary in focus, but there are also a number of specialized studies involving translation theory, palaeography and bibliography. Gower's French and Latin works, as well as his English, are generously covered: the book is ordered in such a way as to avoid the ghettoization of Gower's French and Latin works, and to encourage comparison between them and the *Confessio Amantis*, which is generally more familiar to English-speaking Gower scholars.

The considerable and sometimes competing significance of French, Latin and English in fourteenth-century England underlies Gower's trilingual output, and essays in the volume consider Gower's negotiations between them – his adaptation of French sources into his Latin poetry, for example – as well as the work of medieval translators who made Gower's French poetry available in English. 'Translation' can also be considered more broadly, as a 'carrying over' (its etymological sense) between genres, registers, contexts. Kurt Olssen writes that

> Gower's doctrine is 'translated' not merely out of French *dits* written in his own century, but out of such works as were more certainly familiar to English courtly audiences: the Bible, the *Roman de la Rose*, political treatises such as Aegidius Romanus' *De regimine principum*, books of vices and virtues, encyclopedias *de proprietatibus rerum*, occasional 'tretes amoireux & moralitez & de caroll', as well as collections of tales and 'histories' written by authors ranging from Ovid to Godfrey of Viterbo.[1]

Olssen argues that Gower's selection and re-contextualization of the richly varied sources of his works constitutes an act of translation by which Gower 'redefined his culture'. Essays in this volume will consider Gower's acts of translation between English, French and Latin and between the idioms of varied literary and non-literary forms: the volume as a whole will demonstrate the cultural re-definitions which Gower's trilingual translations of literary traditions and languages achieved.

*

The precise year of Gower's birth is unknown, but he seems to have been born after the accession of Edward III in 1327.[2] Though 'Gower' is not an uncommon name in fourteenth-century England, John Gower can be connected to a Sir Robert Gower who died in 1349 and was buried in Brabourne, south-east Kent, and to a Gower family in Langbargh, North Yorkshire: the same coat of arms which adorns the poet's tomb is to be found on the tombs of these other Gowers. Records associated with these Gowers indicate that the poet was from a family which was itself gentry, but which had high connections, and which was advanced through military service to significant noblemen such as the Earl of Athol, who granted Sir Robert Gower property in Suffolk.

John Gower held property in East Anglia and Kent, and invested in further property as a source of security and income: his profession appears to have been the law. It is possible that he retired from this profession rather early and dedicated himself to writing; it has been suggested that he withdrew to the priory of St Mary Overey, Southwark, to write.[3] But whatever the date and nature of his association with the priory, Gower's works reveal an ongoing and direct engagement with the national politics of his day: his revisions to his English *Confessio Amantis*, for example, show him shifting his allegiance from Richard II, who had been his patron, to Henry, Earl of Derby, the future King Henry IV.

Gower married Agnes Groundolf in 1398, when he was in his sixties, and does not appear to have left any children. Agnes tended to him for the last ten years of his life, and was one of the six executors of his will, in

1 Kurt Olsson, *John Gower and the Structures of Conversion: A Reading of the 'Confessio Amantis'* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 3.

2 A fuller account of the biographical evidence here summarised may be found in John Hines, Nathalie Cohen and Simon Roffey, '*Iohannes Gower, Armiger, Poeta*: records and memorials of his life and death', in *Companion*, pp. 23–42.

3 John H. Fisher, *John Gower: Moral Philosopher and Friend of Chaucer* (New York, 1964; London, 1965) pp. 58–60.

which she received an income and material possessions. The will provides the most extensive evidence which survives concerning Gower's personal circumstances, and in particular highlights Gower's association with St Mary Overey, which church, now Southwark Cathedral, houses his tomb. Gower chose to be laid to rest in the St John the Baptist chapel, and made bequests for vestments and a chalice, and a missal and a martyrlogium, for that chapel: he also left money for funeral prayers to be said at St Mary Overey and in the other parish churches of Southwark; he made further bequests to Southwark's hospitals and leper houses on the understanding that there, too, prayers would be offered for his soul.

Gower's tomb remains a striking feature of Southwark Cathedral, a brightly coloured three-arched recess housing a tomb-chest on which an effigy of the poet lies with his hands clasped in prayer. An epitaph records that a 'most famous English poet, and benefactor to this sacred building, lies here'.[4] The effigy's head is pillowed by Gower's three great works: the Latin *Vox Clamantis*, the French *Speculum Meditantis* (elsewhere known as *Mirour de l'Omme*) and the English *Confessio Amantis*; the titles are now painted in this order, with the Latin work on top, but earlier descriptions of the tomb indicate that the books were originally labelled differently, with the French work first – *Speculum Meditantis*, then *Vox Clamantis* and *Confessio Amantis*. This is the order of their composition: it may also have reflected Gower's sense of the importance of his French work,[5] though he perhaps perceived his books more as a trilogy of equal parts.[6] The re-ordering of the books makes a suggestive symbol of the historical shifts in the status of the languages in which each was written; the difficulty in interpreting the re-ordering, which may or may not indicate a change in the priority given to each of Gower's works, parallels the difficulty of interpreting those shifts.

It has long been known that England was, in the Middle Ages, a nation of three languages, but whereas earlier accounts of the language emphasized the separate roles played by different languages – French the language of the law courts and the nobility, Latin the language of the church, English the language of the masses – a growing body of scholarship has, in the last ten years, complicated the picture of the relationships between languages in this trilingual nation.[7] In late medieval England differences in language use

4 'Hic iacet I. Gower Arm. Angl. Poeta celeberrimus ac huic sacro edificio benefac.'

5 See R. F. Yeager, 'John Gower's French', in *Companion*, pp. 137–51 (p. 137). The changed order is described in Hines, '*Iohannes Gower*', pp. 39–40.

6 A. G. Rigg and Edward S. Moore make this suggestion, noting that in the colophons to the manuscripts of the *Vox* and the *Confessio*, Gower gives equal weight to each of the three major works and identifies them all as written to educate. See A. G. Rigg and Edward S. Moore, 'The Latin works: politics, lament and praise', in *Companion*, pp. 153–64 (p. 153, n. 1).

7 See Jocelyn Wogan-Browne *et al.*, eds, *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England c.1100–c.1500* (York, 2009); Wogan-Browne with Nicholas Watson, 'The French of England: the *Compileison*, *Ancrene Wisse*, and the idea of Anglo-Norman', in *Cultural Traffic in the Medieval Romance World*, eds Simon Gaunt and Julian Weiss, *Journal of Romance Studies*, 4, 3 (Winter 2004), pp. 35–58; D. A. Trotter, ed., *Multilingualism in Later Medieval Britain* (Cambridge, 2000); L. C. Wright, 'Trade between England and the Low Countries: evidence from historical linguistics', in *England and the Low Countries in the Late Middle Ages*, eds Caroline Barron and Nigel Saul (Stroud, 1995), pp. 169–79.

could relate to class, gender, education and social status as well as to region or country of birth – but languages did not function discretely even within more subtly defined cultural groups. In the fourteenth century, French and Latin were the languages in which law was laid down, but the English vernacular had some influence; business was a strikingly polyglot arena, and was transacted in a rich mixture of English, Latin and French words and phrases, with a Latin grammar.[8]

In the literary realm, the situation was even more complex. For various reasons, some of them political – the Hundred Years War with France – and others less clear, the status of English writing in fourteenth-century England improved, and literary English texts increase hugely in number. English writers 'tried both to articulate their growing consciousness of the distinctiveness and coherent nature of English language and culture and to give the language a status closer to that of French or Latin'.[9] Nicholas Watson has pointed out that many English vernacular texts themselves draw attention to the language in which they are written and give reasons for writing in English: these include efforts to form a separate ethnic identity for the English, distinct from the French oppressors. Such accounts are themselves often politically driven and therefore not to be taken as reliable indicators of the historical circumstances of English, but the ideologies they reveal, however, are themselves of interest to an understanding of England's trilingualism.[10] Other texts employ the vernacular in an effort to increase access to church teaching: as their English necessarily proclaims its dependence on Latin, the status of the vernacular remains subordinate. The virtues of English as a *literary* language were not self-consciously advanced by English writers until the last years of the fourteenth century, fifty years after Dante had made such claims for the Italian vernacular:

> Writing in a Germanic language that was less closely related to Latin than Italian and had long been subordinated to Anglo-Norman, these writers adopted a less aggressive and more varied approach than Dante's.[11]

Gower is enlisted as one of the Middle English poets who contributed to an effort to 'assimilate and displace Latin [and] French hegemony'.[12] Assimilation is clear from the fact that Gower's English is crammed with rich French vocabulary, for example: it is, importantly, not the power of French and Latin which Gower challenges, but rather any exclusion of English from sharing that power. Rita Copeland writes helpfully of *Confessio Amantis* as a 'secondary translation', which thematizes the displacement of its classical

8 See W. Rothwell, 'The trilingual England of Geoffrey Chaucer', *SAC*, 16 (1994), 45–67.

9 Nicholas Watson, 'The politics of Middle English writing', in *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory 1280–1520*, eds Jocelyn Wogan-Browne *et al.* (Exeter, 1999), pp. 331–52 (p. 333).

10 *Ibid.*, pp. 334–5.

11 Ruth Evans, Andrew Taylor, Nicholas Watson and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, 'The notion of vernacular theory', in *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory 1280–1520*, eds Jocelyn Wogan-Browne *et al.* (Exeter, 1999), pp. 314–30 (p. 319).

12 *Ibid.*

sources and implicitly claims equal status with them.[13] Though his English *Confessio Amantis* sets a strong example of the achievements of the English vernacular, the fact that Gower wrote equally ambitious works in French and in Latin seems to indicate an ambition more to create a triumvirate than to topple a dictator.

*

This collection of essays begins with a consideration of a localized Gower, Jean-Pascal Pouzet's 'Southwark Gower: Augustinian Agencies in Gower's Manuscripts and Texts'. Central to this essay are themes of source and transmission: the sources which fed Gower's 'redefinitions of culture' were available to him in the library of the Augustinian priory of St Mary Overey at Southwark. The essay describes the 'flagrant presence' of several texts which are sources for Gower's work in all three languages. Gower's texts were also disseminated along Augustinian channels, as Pouzet discusses in particular relation to the Latin works. Pouzet's essay engages the scholarly debate around the 'Gower *scriptorium*', and argues that challenges to it need not challenge the image of 'Southwark Gower'.

This careful localization of the poet is then juxtaposed with remote locations in his poetry, as two essays consider 'Gower Looking East' – his translation of exotic location into his English *Confessio Amantis*. Ethan Knapp's essay on 'The Place of Egypt' indicates that Gower's use of Egyptian characters and motifs in the *Confessio* is much more specifically grounded than has sometimes been assumed: it is motivated by a very specific sense of Egypt's historical and doctrinal particularity, and Gower is particularly concerned with the Egyptian worship of animals. Animal-worship, as a historical error of religious belief, allows Gower to stage theological questions concerning the limitations of human knowledge and agency. In the process of his discussion, Knapp also draws attention to aspects of Gower's discussion of gold and economic exchange, and of the influence of astronomy – themes which are developed in later essays by Tamara F. O'Callaghan, Stephanie Batkie, Karla Taylor and Brian Gastle.

Carolyn P. Collette, in 'Topical and Tropological Gower: Invoking Armenia in the *Confessio Amantis*', argues that Gower's invocations of Armenia draw on the nation's history and myth to create verbal play but also to encode a serious, topical message about kingship and the politics of international Crusade. Armenia's fascination lay in its attempt to remain Christian and yet independent of Rome: it was also a staging point for crusaders. It represents that which is at once familiar and yet 'other' – the exotic which is yet not entirely alien, and which has therefore great potential as the site of commentary on the poet's immediate milieu.

Gower's reflections on contemporary politics and society are the focus of the next group of essays, on 'Politics, Prophecy and Apocalypse'. Essays by Elliott Kendall ('Saving History: Gower's Apocalyptic and the New Arion')

[13] Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1991), chap. 7.

and Robert R. Edwards ('Gower's Poetics of the Literal) explore Gower's use of the language of prophecy and apocalypse. Kendall considers the *Vox Clamantis* and the prologue to the *Confessio Amantis* in relation to diverging traditions of medieval apocalyptic, and argues for Gower's inflection of apocalyptic language with a commitment to human agency in contemporary history. Edwards' essays demonstrates that, as Gower draws on the various forms of prophecy that inform Christian and medieval traditions, his literalism shows the pressure of history on structures of belief that seemingly stand outside time. These essays together make a strong case for Gower as a poet who, like Chaucer and Langland, has a capacity for radical social and political critique.

George Shuffelton and Nigel Saul also draw observations about Gower's political purposes from considerations of his adaptation of source material. Shuffleton, in 'Romance, Popular Style, and the *Confessio Amantis*: Conflict or Evasion?', argues that the *Confessio Amantis* is not, as has often been thought, elitist high art, but rather a more democratic work which, in its use of folktales and popular lyric, erodes the differences between formal registers and genres: this Shuffelton attributes to Gower's political idealism, rather than elitism. By contrast, Saul's essay, 'John Gower: Prophet or Turncoat?', stresses Gower's authoritarian political tone in relation to his views of kingship: Gower's emphasis on ethical self-government and common profit – ideas he derived from Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum* – leads him to stress the king's ascendancy, but also causes his alienation from Richard II, whom he sees as failing to govern himself appropriately.

David R. Carlson's 'The Parliamentary Source of Gower's *Cronica Tripertita* and Incommensurable Styles' demonstrates that Gower's *Cronica Tripertita* was based on the parliamentary record of the deposition of Richard II, a Latin prose text which he adapted to verbally ornate verse. The translation from prose to verse occasions, strikingly, ubiquitous lexical change, even though Gower is not shifting his source from Latin: Carlson argues that lexical change is necessitated by the extreme stylistic difference between source text and Gower's poem. Gower creates an 'official verse panegyric of the Lancastrian advent', and enters the pay of the Lancastrian regime.

Gower displays his support of Henry IV further in his English poem 'In Praise of Peace', which is addressed to the king. In the first of a group of essays considering 'Science, Law and Economy' in Gower, Candace Barrington's 'Gower's Legal Advocacy and "In Praise of Peace"' argues that the poem draws on a repertoire of linguistic and structural gestures associated with the legal profession, and that Gower chose this as an appropriate language in which to discuss the king's business. With striking difference, as Andreea Boboc argues, Gower also uses legal language to discuss seduction, more usually considered a moral offence: Gower connects seduction to legal offences including perjury, breach of contract and treason. In 'Se-duction and Sovereign Power in Gower's *Confessio Amantis* book V' Boboc, like Barrington, connects Gower's legal language with the crown, since seduction is rendered criminal by Gower because of its disastrous and wide-ranging effect on kingship.

Three essays consider Gower's literary deployment of the language of science. Tamara F. O'Callaghan, in 'The Fifteen Stars, Stones and Herbs: book VII of the *Confessio* and its Afterlife', makes a case for the importance of Gower's discussion of astronomy in the seventh book of *Confessio Amantis*: she demonstrates that, though modern scholars have paid little attention to it, Gower's presentation of astronomy provides a theoretical and philosophical framework for the rest of the poem. She shows, further, that these passages are often cited by readers from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, for whom the *Confessio Amantis* seems to have been a source of occult knowledge more than a story collection (the essay thus also contributes to discussion of Gower's afterlives in the final section of this volume, 'Gower translated'). As Stephanie Batkie and Karla Taylor discuss, Gower also deploys the language of alchemy, another occult pseudo-science and one reviled by many of Gower's contemporary writers. Batkie, in '"Of the parfite medicine": *Merita Perpetuata* in Gower's Vernacular Alchemy', notes that, whereas Latin alchemical texts are in cryptic and often impenetrable language, Gower translates this into a plain style by a 'vernacular alchemy': she argues that alchemy becomes an image of idealized textual practice in which vernacular reading transforms the reader through interpretive effort. Taylor's 'Inside Out in Gower's Republic of Letters' provides a complementary argument – that Gower's 'plain' alchemical language is used as an imaginative model to reconcile sacramentalism with change into the vernacular, while avoiding increasingly divisive theological polemics which aligned the vernacular with heresy.

Brian Gastle's essay, 'Gower's Business: Artistic Production of Cultural Capital and the Tale of Florent', argues that there is a significant intrusion of fiscal language into the Tale of Florent which complicates its status as knightly romance *exemplum*. Gower's knight learns from the economic realities of marriage, which were shifting in the economic and social landscape of the fourteenth century. In introducing the theme of marriage as well as economics, Gastle's essay leads into discussion of love and sex in the following section, on 'Sin, Love, Sex and Gender', which also contains an essay on the Tale of Florent by Richard F. Green, treating the misogyny of its view of marriage.

Essays by Matthew Irvin, Peter Nicholson and John Burrow consider Gower's exploration of love and sin through the figure of Genius, the confessor and also the priest of Venus. Irvin's 'Genius and Sensual Reading in the *Vox Clamantis*' focuses on Gower's Latin work, in which Genius appears as confessor in a convent and encourages nuns to sexual licence through a sensual reading practice: he suggests continuities with the portrait of Genius in the English *Confessio Amantis*, which Nicholson argues depends for its power not on irony but on paradox. Nicholson, in 'Irony v. Paradox in the *Confessio Amantis*', argues that the *Confessio*'s more fully developed Genius is not, as is often thought, an inadequate confessor, but rather one who is aware of the bewildering complexity of moral and amatory experience. Burrow agrees that the *Confessio Amantis* finds a harmony, rather than an opposition, between divine ethics and love. His 'Sinning against Love in

Confessio Amantis' points out that Gower is the first poet to apply the priestly scheme of Seven Deadly Sins to a systematic exploration of love, and argues that the scheme facilitates an analytical, rather than narrative or chronological, tone which proves appropriate to the portrait of Amans' predicament.

Holly Barbaccia's essay, 'The Woman's Response in John Gower's *Cinkante Balades*', focuses on love as a gendered discourse in Gower's French ballads. Barbaccia discusses the five-ballad woman's reply which completes the narrative of the *Balades*, and shows that it is in the woman's voice that Gower most strongly echoes his French contemporary poets. Gower's rhetorical deployment of the female voice is also explored in Kim Zarins' essay focusing on the authority given to the voices of women and peasants when, in *Confessio Amantis*, they speak in *rime riche*. Whereas Barbaccia concludes that Gower is using the woman's voice in the *Balades* to make a renewed claim for his own mastery of the French lyric tradition, for Zarins, in 'Rich Words: Gower's *Rime Riche* in Dramatic Action', the fictionally framed women within the *Confessio*'s tales challenge the containment of the *rime riche* form as they use it to clarify their experience of abuse by powerful men.

Essays by Richard F. Green and Cathy Hume consider non-literary influences on Gower's French and English works. Green's 'Florent's *Mariage sous la potence*' shows Gower making capital out of a folk custom rather than a narrative device – the practice of *mariage sous la potence*, by which a man could be saved from the death sentence if there were a woman willing to marry him. The custom spawned a misogynistic folktale in which a young man was so appalled at the ugliness of the woman who offered to save his life that he chose to die instead: Green's essay discusses the connections between this tale and the 'loathly lady' tradition, and argues that Gower seeks to mitigate the misogyny of the tradition.

Hume's essay, 'Why did Gower Write the *Traitié*?', relates Gower's treatment of love and sex to the political realities of his time. Hume argues that Gower's French *Traitié pour essampler les amantz marietz* is not, as has sometimes been thought, a translation and abridgement from his English *Confessio Amantis*, but that it has much in common with Gower's *Mirour de l'Omme* and was written, like the *Mirour*, in criticism of Edward III's affair with Alice Perrers. Gower later translated his *Traitié* in a new context, as appendix to his English *Confessio*, re-addressing it to the whole world.

This example of Gower 'translating' his own work, shifting it from French to English and from specific to generalized context, leads into the final section of the book, 'Gower "Translated"', in which are considered various aspects of the afterlives of Gower and his poetry. This section on the transmission of Gower and his influence begins with John Bowers' 'Rival Poets: Gower's *Confessio* and Chaucer's *The Legend of Good Women*', on the immediate impact of the *Confessio Amantis* on Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*. Following Kathryn Lynch's re-assessment of the chronology of the Chaucer canon, Bowers makes a case for Gower's influence on Chaucer's depiction of the classical figures Cleopatra, Medea and Queen Alceste. Bowers also suggests that the Man of Law of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, with his detailed knowledge of the *Legend*, is a figure of Gower himself, who had

acted as Chaucer's attorney: Gower as a figure appearing in literature is discussed further by Martha Driver in the final essay of this volume.

Andrew Galloway's 'Reassessing Gower's Dream-Visions' considers that passages in the *Mirour*, the *Vox Clamantis* and the *Confessio Amantis* show a development in his treatment of the genre, from a disenchantment with transcendent authority to a focus on human need and appetite. Gower helped to demolish the traditional kinds of authority in dream visions, and as a consequence writers of the fifteenth century have great difficulty with the genre: Galloway argues that Samuel Daniel's sonnet 'Care-Charmer Sleep' is an heir to Gower's achievement, and shares his vision of the dangerous power of appetite.

R. F. Yeager's essay, 'John Gower's French and His Readers', considers the eighteen French balades of Gower's *Traitié pour essampler les amantz marietz* and their translation into English by a fifteenth-century Yorkshireman who signed himself 'Quixley'. Yeager's close examination of the manuscript – London, British Library MS Stowe 951 – in which Quixley's translations appear, leads him, on literary, historical and palaeographical grounds, to identify the translator as a prior of Nostell Abbey, sister house to St Mary Overey in Southwark. Yeager's essay shows Gower's work being translated by others soon after his death, and provides an Augustinian context for Gower in the fifteenth century which echoes the Augustinian context for Gower's writing defended by Pouzet in the opening essay of this volume.

Finally, Martha Driver's 'Conjuring Gower in *Pericles*' discusses the 'translations' of Gower himself, as the poet who, according to Skelton, 'first garnished our English rude'. Gower appears as an emblem of the great poet in works by Greene, Jonson, Webster and, of course, Shakespeare, for whom he represents, according to Helen Cooper, 'the native English traditions of poetry'. Driver discusses this assertion in her exploration of Shakespeare's representation of Gower in *Pericles*, and goes on to examine the ways in which modern stagings of *Pericles* highlight, suppress or misunderstand Gower as poet, story-teller and figure of the medieval English tradition.

Chapter 1

Southwark Gower: Augustinian Agencies in Gower's Manuscripts and Texts – Some Prolegomena*

JEAN-PASCAL POUZET

John Gower's long-standing association with the community of Augustinian canons at the priory of St Mary 'Over(e)y' in Southwark is variously documented,[1] but the influence of this singular relationship has not always been fully considered in studies of the poet's literary activities. In terms of internal textual evidence, for instance, G. C. Macaulay signalled the technical use of *corrodium* in book IV (line 215) of the *Vox Clamantis* as a possible reflection of the poet's allowance of a corrody by the priory for his sustenance – probably in return for an endowment to the community.[2] More significantly, while arguments put forward by Macaulay and John Fisher in favour of Gower's reliance on the library and a possible scriptorium at the priory maximized the forms of this association, M. B. Parkes and A. I. Doyle have challenged these views and foregrounded other factors explaining patterns of revision and scribal collaboration in Gower manuscripts.[3] But the arguments of Parkes and Doyle are centred on manuscript production and revision *per se*, and their case against the idea of a 'Gower scriptorium'

* I thank N. G. Morgan, D. Wakelin, D. Wallace, J. Willoughby and R. F. Yeager for their support, R. Hanna for constructive criticism (not fully attended to for reasons of space) and E. Dutton for some stylistic ministrations.

1 R. S. Allen, 'John Gower and Southwark: the paradox of the social self', in *London and Europe in the Later Middle Ages*, eds J. Boffey and P. King (London, 1995), pp. 111–47; J. Hines, Nathalie Cohen and Simon Roffey, '*Iohannes Gower, Armiger, Poeta*: records and memorials of his life and death', in *Companion*, pp. 23–41; and R. Epstein, 'London, Southwark, Westminster: Gower's urban contexts', in *Companion*, pp. 43–60.

2 Macaulay, iv, p. 390, n. to line 215. See also the discussion by R. F. Yeager, 'Gower's French audience: the *Mirour de l'Omme*', *CR*, 41, 2 (2006), 111–37 (pp. 118–19 and nn. 44–8).

3 Macaulay, ii, pp. cxxx–cxxxi; J. H. Fisher, *John Gower: Moral Philosopher and Friend of Chaucer* (London, 1965), notably pp. 66, 93, 101, 117 (more prudent statements), 124–7, 303–6; M. B. Parkes and A. I. Doyle, 'The production of copies of the *Canterbury Tales* and the *Confessio Amantis* in the early fifteenth century', in *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays Presented to N. R. Ker*, eds M. B. Parkes and A. G. Watson (London, 1978), pp. 163–210 (p. 200, n. 98); M. B. Parkes, 'Patterns of scribal activity and revisions of the text in early copies of works by John Gower', in *New Science out of Old Books: Studies in Manuscripts and Early Printed Books in Honour of A. I. Doyle*, eds R. Beadle and A. J. Piper (Aldershot and Brookfield, 1995), pp. 81–121 (pp. 81–2).

at the priory does not invalidate the notion that Gower may have made the most of books at Southwark – a theory which has been floated before – nor that Augustinian canons from St Mary and elsewhere may have been instrumental in the dissemination of the poet's works. In his memorial lecture for the great Gower scholar Jeremy Griffiths, Ralph Hanna pointed out that some palpable Augustinian connections 'seem nonetheless worth pursuing':[4] certainly such connections extend beyond the missal bequeathed by Gower for use at the altar of the chapel of St John Baptist in the priory, which once stood adjacent to the north transept of the priory church and which was erected on the funds of the poet who saw to his spiritual needs by founding a chantry therein.[5] This essay – in more than one sense only a critical overview – addresses the need for a fresh consideration of a 'Southwark, or Augustinian, Gower' through an examination of the manuscript evidence – evidence which interweaves two essential strands of thought.

The first strand is signalled by new evidence and suggestions concerning the relationship between aspects of Gower's œuvre and works transmitted by Augustinian channels and/or produced through Augustinian agency. This strand starts with an exploration of the possible influence on the poet's writings of the volumes plausibly found in the late-fourteenth and early-fifteenth century book-holding (if not library, strictly speaking) of the Priory of St Mary. I offer a list (Appendix 1, below), drawn from the identifications of N. R. Ker and A. G. Watson, which presents known records from St Mary, plausibly thought to have been held in the priory (essentially in what must have been a common *armarium*; yet **no. 4** may well have been an altar book) in Gower's time. The reasoning behind this list requires some explanation. Whereas the exclusion of early printed books is self-evident, the evolving resources of a monastic library and the nature of the association with the priory of twenty known manuscripts (in total, so far) impose a measure of caution on the reconstruction of the shape of its manuscript holdings in the time of Gower's long residence. There has been, as yet, no concerted attempt to sketch the history of the book resources at St Mary. Ker had customarily based the identification of surviving Southwark books on the tangible evidence of provenance, which, save in two cases, are *ex libris* inscriptions; he had noted that their usual form is 'Liber beate Marie Overey'. A new examination of most manuscripts, in consultation with the 'Ker Index' held in Duke Humfrey's Library, Oxford, confirms that this *ex libris* inscription is the more attested form of two, is found in twelve manuscripts, and that the possibly two (or three) different hands which wrote them can be dated *s.* xv *ex*, or *s.* xvi *in* to *s.* xvi *med*. These bibliographical gestures may betray relatively late policies of census or ownership identification – some being

4 R. Hanna, 'Augustinian canons and Middle English literature', in *The English Medieval Book: Studies in Memory of Jeremy Griffiths*, eds A. S. G. Edwards *et al.* (London, 2000), pp. 27–42 (p. 34).

5 The fact that London, BL, MS Additional 59855 may really be the 'large new missal' itself is moot, on account of the dating of the manuscript, thought to be *c.*1410–20 by A. G. Watson, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain. Supplement to the Second Edition* (London, 1987), p. 63 and n. 1.

perhaps as late as immediately pre- or post-Dissolution – and as such do little to secure the presence of a pre-fifteenth-century book or booklet in the priory in Gower's days. Problematically, such presence should not be formally ruled out for some manuscripts, at least among those dated *s.* xii, *s.* xiii and *s.* xiv: on the one hand, some early booklets or books might have been acquired by the priory at a date later than Gower's time; but on the other hand, a late *ex libris* inscription in an early book (which might have been, unsurprisingly, without an early *ex libris*) might be retroactive. Naturally, the probability of presence is seriously diminished for manuscripts datable as *s.* xv: only manuscripts dated or datable *ante* 1408, such as **no. 7**, might have been available to Gower. That a late *ex libris* inscription does not preclude a strong possibility of earlier Southwark ownership – coeval with the poet in residence – is shown, however, by the conjunction of the (probably) *s.* xv *ex* inscription with variants of the much earlier formula (*s.* xiii), the standard redaction of which is 'Liber sancte Marie de Suwerk(e)', in two *s.* xiii manuscripts, London, British Library, MSS Cotton Faustina A. viii and Egerton 272. My rather prudent list thus reflects an attempt to take account of all these parameters, as it marks in **bold type** the earlier discernible stratum of St Mary books while maintaining a penumbra of manuscripts with potential earlier presence (books dated *s.* xii, *s.* xiii or *s.* xiv, with *ex libris* inscriptions of s. xv *ex* to s. xvi *med*).[6]

Southwark Priory's now vestigial holdings are indeed an important cultural and textual indicator for serious and more systematic study than was possible for Fisher. He based his list solely on Dugdale's *Monasticon* (only three known extant manuscripts), and did not take the matter any further than a short, although thought-provoking, discussion of the relevance of the miscellaneous contents of MS Cotton Faustina A. viii **(no. 5)** essentially to the thematic orientations of the *Mirour de l'Omme*.[7] The contents of those extant manuscripts with a very high (nos 5, 6, 10, 12, 14) or tolerable (nos 1–4, 7–9, 11, 13) probability of presence at Southwark in Gower's time tend to confirm the impression that a once significant canonical, quasi-metropolitan

[6] This list is adapted principally from the following sources: the 27 entries (20 manuscripts and 7 early printed books) for 'Southwark, St Mary Overy Priory (Surrey)' in the 'Ker Index' in Duke Humfrey's Library; N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd edn (London, 1964), pp. 180–81; Watson, *Supplement*, p. 63; and N. G. Morgan's work-in-progress *List of liturgical texts of English Augustinian canons* (I did not use the 'Handlist of English Augustinian Liturgical Manuscripts' proposed by T. M. Morris, 'The Augustinian use of Oseney Abbey: a study of the Oseney Ordinal, Processional and Tonal' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1999), pp. 136–42, on which see now the comments of R. W. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 274, n. 8). The proposed dating of *ex libris* inscriptions is mine, on the strength of the opinions of Ker and Watson whenever possible (Ker did not always express an opinion as to dating, even in the fiches in the 'Ker Index'). Further bibliographical information and technical description of these manuscripts will be found in my forthcoming project, provisionally entitled 'Augustinian Canons and the Making of English Culture, *c.*1180–*c.*1540'.

[7] Fisher, *John Gower*, pp. 93 and 347 (n. 50); but he seemed to assume that the first booklet (fols 4^{r}–39^{v}) of MS Cotton Faustina A. viii, containing the penitential materials, was held at Southwark, which was not the case. Allen, 'John Gower and Southwark', likewise only briefly touched on the subject (p. 120, n. 17); her count of books potentially available to Gower coincides in number with my larger list of fourteen books.

institution may have constituted a reservoir of creative lore for a tenant-*cum*-poet-in-residence. Rather unsurprisingly in an Augustinian community, readership at St Mary, predominantly but not exclusively in Latin (at least from the fourteenth century onwards) seems to have been vibrant, with various strands of subject matter and discourse. The number and diversity of books might have inspired Gowerian curiosity, versatility and erudition, which are expressed in the form of borrowing, metrical re-employment and *cento* writing;[8] and at least some of the works these extant books preserve may underlie the pointed political, historical, scientific, exegetical, theological, even ethical actuality of some of the issues broached by the poet. Thus, for instance, the presumed presence at Southwark of a copy of John Wyclif's *De veritate sacrae Scripturae* **(no. 11)** just in time for Gower to have known it within these precincts might make the circumstances of the two versions of his *Carmen Super Multiplici Viciorum Pestilencia*, as well as his sympathies with Arundel in the *Vox Clamantis* and the *Cronica Tripertita*, more biographically palpable.[9]

The clear presence of several texts which are sources throughout his works in all three languages thus invites sustainable reconstructions of Gower's possible contact with at least some Southwark books. In Cambridge, St John's College, MS N. 11 (524) **(no. 1)** Gower would have had access to a good copy of the Vulgate Bible; remarkably, this carefully transcribed Bible has some marginal *notae* suggesting pen-in-hand consultation, and few words added with *caret* signs; but one of these, 'hebes', added in the Hieronimian prologue to the book of Genesis (fol. 3^{v}, right margin), naturally cannot escape – eye-catching as it is – a tempting comparison with the famous choice of 'ebes sensus' in the first line of Latin verse at the very start of the *Confessio Amantis*. Between the glossed Genesis and Exodus of Paris, Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne, BS MS 153 **(no. 14)**, the comprehensive literal exposition of the four Gospels by Peter Comestor in MS Egerton 272 **(no. 6)** and, possibly, the fine twelfth-century copy of Isidore's commentary on the Heptateuch represented by Oxford, Trinity College MS 31 **(no. 13)**, Gower would have been equipped with authoritative guides to essential narrative and interpretative materials for several books of the Bible. In addition to the *Historia Evangelica*, MS Egerton 272 also communicates in its second booklet (fols 34ra–84^{rb}) many of Comestor's popular sermons addressing secular and regular clerics: 'Incipiunt Sermones Magistri Petri manduc*atoris*. p*ri*mo ad Sacerdotes. dein*de* ad Reg*u*lares *et* ad Scolares' (fol. 34ra) – a concern famously vented by 'moral Gower' in book IV of the *Vox Clamantis* and again in the *Mirour de l'Omme*. In one of the sermons *ad scolares* there is a marginal notifi-

8 On *cento* writing, see R. F. Yeager, 'Did Gower Write *Cento*?', in *John Gower: Recent Readings*, ed. R. F. Yeager (Kalamazoo, MI, 1989), pp. 113–32, with the contextualising remarks of D. R. Carlson, 'Gower's early Latin poetry: text-genetic hypotheses of an *Epistola ad regem* (*ca.* 1377–80) from the evidence of John Bale', *MSt*, 65 (2003), 293–317 (p. 308, n. 29).

9 Contacts between Gower and Arundel are plausibly speculated by Allen, 'John Gower and Southwark', p. 123 – but, *pace* Allen, All Souls College, MS 98 could only be, at most, the draft of a presentation copy to Arundel: see A. G. Watson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of All Souls College Oxford* (Oxford, 1997), p. 202.

cation of a passage on idolatry and images (at fol. 70va); and at the beginning of another such sermon on the Assumption of the Virgin ('De Assu*m*ptione beate Marie Virginis', fols 74^{vb}–76va) are to be found a marginal *manicula* (fol. 74^{vb}, right margin) and a *Nota* in the lower margin (fol. 74^{vb}, under col. b): it is tempting to associate these with a reader's particular hermeneutic or devotional preoccupations in a house dedicated to the Virgin Mary – and one may recall Gower's long final, now atelous, lyrical Marian envoy and dedication in the *Mirour de l'Omme*. But, of course, much more palaeographical and textual comparative work, of the magnitude of that undertaken by Macaulay, would be needed for such rapprochements to materialize as a concerted argument.

If we like to imagine Gower yielding to the temptation of serendipity, it is fruitful to focus briefly on Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 1285 **(no. 10)**, a fantastically accretive library *in parvo* consisting of no fewer than fourteen booklets of patristic snippets and philosophical, constitutional, theological, medical, astronomical and homiletic texts almost undoubtedly brought together at the priory (some of them probably having been copied there); it is one of those books in which the scientific, meditative and pastoral traditions of Augustinian canons are exemplified. Booklet 4 (fols 50^{r}–89^{r}) communicates a quality copy of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, so immensely influential in totality and in many textual details to Gower's works, as shown by Macaulay and Winthrop Wetherbee.[10] This copy is uniquely prefixed (fol. 50^{r}, top margin) with a five-line annotation on old age and its physiology (blood, flesh, skin), in a hand which is responsible for other annotations in this booklet and elsewhere. Looking at the second booklet, which consists of an essentially patristic *florilegium* (fols 8^{r}–19^{v}), Table 1 in Appendix 2 offers two suggestions (among several other possible examples) as to how Gower, through imaginative expansion, may have been inspired to rework citations on hypocrisy and on idleness in the Latin verses about these vices in books I and IV of the *Confessio Amantis*, and (in the second case) perhaps again in English later in the same book. Moreover, the principal of possibly two annotating hands in informal Anglicana, which occurs repeatedly in the upper margins of this second booklet (fols 8^{rv}, 9^{rv}, 10^{rv}, 11^{rv}, 12^{rv}, 13^{rv}, 14^{rv}, 15^{rv}, 16^{rv}, 17^{r}, 18^{v}, 19^{r}) and also twice in the preceding first booklet (fol. 5^{rv}), looks intriguingly close in ink (very pale brown-greyish) and duct to the 'informal Anglicana' of Parkes's Scribe 5, who entered a direction for revision on fol. 184^{v} of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Fairfax 3 (though such a small sample is obviously hard to compare decisively).[11]

[10] W. Wetherbee, 'Latin structure and vernacular space: Gower, Chaucer and the Boethian tradition', in *Chaucer and Gower: Difference, Mutuality, Exchange*, ed. R. F. Yeager (Victoria, B.C., 1991), pp. 7–35, and 'Classical and Boethian tradition in the *Confessio Amantis*', in *Companion*, pp. 181–96.

[11] This page is reproduced and discussed by Parkes, 'Patterns of scribal activity', pp. 91 and 112–13 (Plate 15).

Table 2 presents evidence for a conceivable exploitation by Gower in book VI of yet another portion of MS Ashmole 1285. Its fourteenth booklet consists of a series of homilies connected through their common exploration of the branches of gluttony ('gula') based on several of the minor Prophets (Joel, Hosea, Amos and Jonah); the collection begins with drunkenness, from which it takes its title and a sense of ramification: '*De ebrietate multiplici*'. The binary division into '*Ebrietas*' and '*Delicacia*' in Gower's Latin marginalia is reflected to some extent (though with greater sophistication) in the structure of the homiletic collection in MS Ashmole 1285. Once more, the use might be more creative than strictly textual – often the lure, yet the limit, of reconstructive source studies.

Gower's œuvre also reflects various forms of engagement with works of Augustinian authorship or transmission attested in Augustinian libraries whose presence at Southwark cannot, however, be demonstrated. Other possible Augustinian routes by which the poet could have had access to a range of influential texts beyond the priory of St Mary must thus be considered. One brief example must suffice here: as long ago as 1955, Paul Beichner showed Gower's use of the Continental Augustinian canon Peter Riga's *Aurora* in *Vox Clamantis*, where Riga is famously named in book III (lines 1853–4).[12] Several copies of Riga's versified rewriting circulated under Augustinian auspices in England. Among reported manuscripts, one was at Llanthony Secunda in the fourteenth century and two others were listed by William Charyte in his late-fifteenth-century catalogue of books at the abbey of St Mary-in-the-Meadows in Leicester.[13] Beichner also demonstrated that the manuscript of the *Aurora* principally chosen by Macaulay to point out extensive borrowing spread over thousands of lines (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 822) does not reflect the greatest textual proximity with Gower's exemplar. As R. F. Yeager most recently reminds us in his discussion of London, British Library, MS Stowe 951, inter-house circulation of books is likely, for instance at the convocation of the triennial chapters of the Augustinians after 1215.[14] It is therefore relevant that a representative of the actual form of text used by Gower (among a group of other textually eligible manuscripts) is shown by Beichner to be a very good copy of the 'unexpanded' redaction preserved in Oxford, Merton College, MS 325, which has an *ex libris* inscription (*s.* xiv *in*) of the Augustinian priory of Bridlington (East Yorkshire). Whether or not the Augustinian affiliation of the author of the *Aurora* may have meant anything to Gower, Riga's exceptional

[12] P. E. Beichner, 'Gower's use of *Aurora* in *Vox clamantis*', *Speculum*, 30 (1955), 582–95, and the updated list of borrowings (with revised line numbers to match the unexpanded redaction of the *Aurora* from which Gower drew): Peter Riga, *Aurora. Petri Rigae Biblia Versificata. A Verse Commentary on the Bible*, ed. Peter E. Beichner, 2 vols (Notre Dame, 1965), II, Appendix, pp. 62–4.

[13] T. Webber and A. G. Watson, eds, *The Libraries of the Augustinian Canons* (London, 1998), respectively p. 38 (Llanthony Secunda, item A 16.6, described as 'liber mediocris') and p. 123 (Leicester, items A 20.20 and A 20.21a).

[14] See note 35 below, and R. F. Yeager's essay in this volume. Yeager (n. 31) makes judicious implications concerning opportunities of Augustinian inter-house book circulation from evidence in *Chapters of the Augustinian Canons*, ed. H. E. Salter (London, 1922).

creative condensation of the Bible (a magisterial illustration of the discursive subtleties of *abbreviatio*), and the subsequent density of his idiom, must have particularly appealed to Gower, both as a mine for borrowing and as a model of creative *exercitatio* and 'imitative embodiment' in writing Latin verse – in addition, for instance, to Ovid's poetry, and to the *De vita monachorum* of Alexander Nequam, another Augustinian luminary.[15]

A second thread of Augustinian implication can be seen to run through the history of Gower manuscripts, texts and excerpts, and the other works preserved in their company. In line with the spirit animating the *Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the Works of John Gower*, this thread promises a significant array of reconsiderations and discoveries of Augustinian contexts. Kate Harris has paved the way with her examination of the content of the textually puzzling *collage* of materials forming a sort of universal history which is now Oxford, Trinity College, MS D 29: this late-fifteenth-century manuscript in the hand of one scribe with some interesting corrections perhaps by another, its late provenance the Augustinian priory of Bisham Montague (in a part of Berkshire not far from Surrey), includes four distinct excerpts of the *Confessio Amantis*.[16] In the later fifteenth century the well-endowed library at Leicester Abbey (already mentioned above) is known to have held one copy of Gower's *Cronica Tripertita*;[17] additionally, some carefully chosen tales, perhaps excerpted as exemplary narratives from the *Confessio Amantis* in London, British Library, MS Harley 7333 (at the beginning of the fourth booklet, fols 120^{r}–129^{r}) are thought to have been within the walls of the abbey, not inconceivably worked on (if not positively assembled, or in part written) there between 1485 and 1500. For some reason, none of the works in this famously atypical anthology seem to have been reported by Charyte in his inclusive census, though his own hand might be identifiable as that of one of the (perhaps) eight scribes. Some booklets, including the works by Chaucer and Hoccleve, and the Gower excerpts, are thought to have been derived from exemplars copied at some removes by John Shirley (d. 1456), who was associated with St Bartholomew's Hospital in London, an institution also under Augustinian rule.[18] Inter-house procurement of Gower texts both within a (quasi-) metropolitan context – from Southwark to St Bartholomew's – and then out to Leicester, may once more be presumed.

15 The felicitous phrase 'imitative embodiment' is used by Carlson, 'Gower's early Latin poetry', p. 309.

16 Kate Harris, 'John Gower's *Confessio Amantis*: the virtues of bad texts', in *Manuscripts and Readers in Fifteenth-Century England: The Literary Implications of Manuscript Study*, ed. Derek Pearsall (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 27–40, and 'Unnoticed extracts from Chaucer and Hoccleve: Huntington MS HM 144, Trinity College, Oxford MS D 29 and *The Canterbury Tales*', *SAC*, 20 (1998), 167–99.

17 Webber and Watson, *Libraries*, p. 238 (item A 20.649); see the discussion below.

18 On Shirley, see M. Connolly, *John Shirley: Book Production and the Noble Household in Fifteenth-Century England* (Aldershot, 1998). On MS Harley 7333, see recently L. R. Mooney, 'John Shirley's heirs', *YoES*, 33 (2003), 182–98 (pp. 190–94 and 198); M. Gullick and T. Webber, 'Summary catalogue of surviving manuscripts from Leicester Abbey', in *Leicester Abbey: Medieval History, Archaeology and Manuscript Studies*, eds J. Story *et al.* (Leicester, 2006), pp. 173–92 (pp. 189–90); and Alexandra Gillespie, *Print Culture and the Medieval Author: Chaucer, Lydgate, and their Books 1473–1557* (Oxford, 2006), p. 59 (and n. 108).

One manuscript of the first recension 'intermediate', London, Society of Antiquaries, MS 134 (*s.* xv *med*), was owned until the Dissolution by the Abbey of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St John the Evangelist at Halesowen, Worcestershire. Its copy of the *Confessio Amantis* (fols 30–249) is flanked by Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady* (acephalous, fols 1–30), Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes* (fols 250–283), and a fragment (fols 283^{v}–297) of the English verse translation of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* by John Walton, the famous Augustinian canon of Osney, all copied by one scribe.[19] This rather well-endowed abbey was Premonstratensian, thus a member of a regular order following a permeable variant of the rule of St Augustine under which Augustinian canons lived.[20]

Furthermore, issues related, directly or indirectly, to the layout and content of Augustinian books raise new questions about intricate features of Gowerian transmission. One remarkable example of this may also serve to substantiate the first strand of thought. In London, British Library, MS Harley 3490, the 'Rede/Boarstall' Gower fully described twice by Derek Pearsall (as a forerunner of the *Descriptive Catalogue*), the *Confessio Amantis* (first recension, but not consistently 'intermediate' in Macaulay's pedigree) is preceded by a booklet (fols 1^{r}–6^{v}) containing a copy of Edmund of Abingdon's *Speculum Religiosorum* written in the same hand as that of the Gower text: the scribe may not have been working commercially, and it is conceivable that the copy of the Latin article was commissioned by Sir Edmund Rede himself for devotional purposes.[21] The latter assumption is lent support by the fact that Helen Forshaw, the editor of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Latin theological and devotional treatise, noticed that the 'best copy' of both the *Speculum Religiosorum* and its Latin reflex, the *Speculum Ecclesie*, belonged to Augustinian priories.[22] Originally composed in the second half of the thirteenth century, the *Speculum Ecclesie* is the resulting re-Latinisation of the *Speculum Religiosorum* via the intermediary Insular French *Mirour de*

[19] John Gower, *The English Works of John Gower*, ed. G. C. Macaulay, 2 vols, EETS e.s. 81–82 (London, 1900–1901; rpt 1979), I, pp. cxliii–cxliv; John Lydgate, *A Critical Edition of John Lydgate's 'Life of Our Lady'*, eds. R. A. Klinefelter and V. F. Gallagher (Louvain, 1961), pp. 45–6.

[20] Thus Halesowen even came to absorb the small poor Augustinian priory of St Mary at Dodford in two stages, 1332 and 1446; see D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 2nd edn (London, 1971), p. 156.

[21] Derek Pearsall, 'The Rede (Boarstall) Gower: British Library, MS Harley 3490', in *The English Medieval Book: Studies in Memory of Jeremy Griffiths*, eds A. S. G. Edwards *et al.* (London, 2000), pp. 87–99, and his revised description in *JGN*, 28, 1 (2009), 20–34. In the latter description, Pearsall deems (p. 20) the *Speculum Religiosorum* to be 'an unexpected companion for the *Confessio*', and suggests (p. 25) that the scribe of MS Harley 3490 was William Salamon (originally from the diocese of León in Spain, but established in Catte Street, Oxford) whose work is documented in a multi-volume series of works of Hugh of St Cher commissioned between 1451 and 1465 by Roger Keyes, Archdeacon of Barnstaple (now MSS Oxford, Exeter College 51–68); but this is unlikely. Salamon is evoked as an example of a commercial scribe by M. B. Parkes, *Their Hands Before Our Eyes: A Closer Look at Scribes* (Aldershot, 2008), p. 47 (and n. 95).

[22] Edmund of Abingdon, *'Speculum Religiosorum' and 'Speculum Ecclesie'*, ed. H. P. Forshaw (London, 1973), pp. 1–2, notes that the Augustinian priory of St Thomas at Baswich, near Stafford, owned Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 26, deemed the 'best copy' of the *Speculum Religiosorum* (fols 183^{v}–204^{v}).

Seinte Eglise, the latter vernacular text having been itself translated from a copy of the original Latin tract, and most probably itself caught within a network of Augustinian dissemination (if not authorship as well). MS Harley 3490, though not deemed a 'best copy' of the *Speculum Religiosorum*, has a text not so far removed from it; while – as seen above – the 'best copy' of the *Speculum Ecclesie* was precisely a Southwark manuscript, MS Royal 7. A. I (fols 12^{r}–22^{v}), copied around 1400 according to Forshaw – a manuscript possibly at St Mary at an acceptably early date in the fifteenth century, though not necessarily before Gower's death. Both Latin redactions were sometimes textually interdependent, and are apt to have been circulated in bespoke booklets, not necessarily or simply on a commercial basis, and possibly – in part at least – through Augustinian industry.[23]

The *Vox Clamantis* and the *Cronica Tripertita* may have circulated even more extensively under Augustinian auspices. There are five known copies of the *Cronica Tripertita*, in four of which it is transmitted – as might be expected – with the *Vox Clamantis*. Hanna suggests that the *Cronica Tripertita* once at St-Mary-in-the-Meadows in Leicester, identified in Charyte's catalogue as 'Cronica I. Gower in quaternis', reflects 'a case of transmission by ordinal channels.'[24] Additionally, one may speculate that it may owe its presence to late-fourteenth-century local interest in chronicles, probably fostered by the famous canon chronicler Henry Knighton (d. 1396), a man of Gower's generation whose own house production, the famous *Chronicle*, has one reported copy in the catalogue which still exists (London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius C. vii, *s.* xiv *ex*).[25] In his catalogue Charyte very often systematically recorded the whole contents of each manuscript containing more than one text; if the apparently self-standing *Cronica Tripertita* had had the company of the *Vox Clamantis* this might not have gone unnoticed.

Charyte's careful entry suggests, significantly, that the Leicester copy of Gower's *Cronica Tripertita* was in quires ('in quaternis') when it was catalogued – since Charyte does not often specify whether some items were in 'ligatis' or 'non ligatis' quires, it is not impossible that these specific quires may already have acquired the substance of a self-contained unit, a booklet, possibly in limp covers (the more specific sense that 'in quaternis' also had).[26] Although none of the five known extant manuscripts of Gower's chronicle can be proven to match the entry describing the copy at Leicester

[23] Some of the ideas in this paragraph are also broached in my 'Augustinian canons and their insular French books in medieval England: towards an assessment', in *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England c.1100–c.1500*, eds J. Wogan-Browne *et al.* (York, 2009), pp. 266–77 (pp. 275–6).

[24] Hanna, 'Augustinian canons and Middle English literature', pp. 34–5.

[25] Webber and Watson, *Libraries*, p. 236 (item A 20.636). On Knighton, see recently G. H. Martin, 'Henry Knighton's *Chronicle* and Leicester Abbey', in *Leicester Abbey: Medieval History, Archaeology and Manuscript Studies*, eds J. Story *et al.*, pp. 119–25.

[26] For important considerations on Leicester bindings (the source of my brief remarks on the plausible codicology of Gower's *Cronica Tripertita* at Leicester Abbey), see M. Gullick and T. Webber, 'The binding descriptions in the library catalogue from Leicester Abbey', in *Leicester Abbey: Medieval History, Archaeology and Manuscript Studies*, eds J. Story *et al.* (Leicester, 2006), pp. 147–72.

(its *secundo folio* being 'quo bona'), in matters of format the closest candidate for comparison is Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 92 (*SC* 4073).[27] On several grounds this generally intriguing manuscript, dated from the first half of the fifteenth century (perhaps in its second quarter), has an apparent claim to Augustinian provenance. It preserves a number of idiosyncratic works, including, in its first booklet (fols 4–38), the later and more complete copy of the tract *Contra Salomitos* attributed to one Maurice, supposed to have been prior of the Augustinian priory at Kirkham, probably *ante* 1188; the second booklet (fols 40–103) contains a rare assemblage made of two consecutive texts (fols 40^{r}–70^{r} and 70^{v}–100^{v}) combining prose and verse paraphrase and commentary on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, with portions attributed respectively to Arnulf of Orléans, John of Garland and, more tellingly, the London schoolmaster John Seward (1364–1435).[28] The *Cronica* is written in distinctive italic-influenced secretary by one scribe on fols 104^{r}–123^{v}, and constitutes the first and longest text in the third booklet of the manuscript (fols 104–131). Though there is no sign that this copy of the *Cronica*, possibly displaying the text in a very early version,[29] was ever transmitted with the *Vox Clamantis*, its self-standing nature has been somewhat mitigated by three palaeographical and textual factors: the later addition of a fabricated 'preface' on fol. 103^{v} (originally blank), a purpose-built filler devising some sort of continuity from booklet 1 to booklet 2; the immediate presence, at the end of the *Cronica*, of some of Gower's 'minor' poems (fols 123^{v}–125^{r}; in the same booklet and in the same fine hand); and an allusion to the *Vox* as a temporal and discursive predecessor in the form of a 'prohemium' to the *Cronica* which appears to be unique to this manuscript (fol. 104^{r}). Such a configuration suggests a well-informed scribe who might have had access to a copy of the *Vox*, insofar as he was cognizant of the cluster of short Latin poems, four of which he copied in this order: 'H. aquile pullus' (fol. 123^{v}), 'O Recolende' (fols 123^{v}–124^{r}), 'Rex celi Deus' (fols 124^{r}–125^{r}) and 'Quicquid homo scribat' (fol. 125^{r}). It must be noted that this last piece – famously a problem poem – seems to be a unique short redaction, possibly a fourth, earlier version, combining a few segments, not all verbatim, found at the end of the prose note of the 'Cotton, Harleian, Glasgow version' with four

27 F. Madan, H. H. E. Craster and N. Denholm-Young, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, vol. II, pt II (Oxford, 1937), pp. 828–9.

28 The tract *Contra Salomitos* is thought to have been composed 1169–77; still no decisive records can be found for Maurice's priorate: see D. Knowles *et al.*, eds, *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales, I. 940–1216*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 168 and 281. The Ovidian materials are listed in F. T. Coulson and B. Roy, *Incipitarium Ovidianum. A Finding Guide for Texts in Latin Related to the Study of Ovid in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Turnhout, 2000), nos 257 (pp. 83–4), 333 (pp. 101–2) and 346 (p. 105); on Seward, see V. H. Galbraith, 'John Seward and his circle', *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies*, 1 (1941–3), 85–104, A. G. Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature 1066–1422* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 302, and Richard Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540* (Turnhout, 1997), no. 883 (pp. 313–14).

29 This is argued by D. R. Carlson, 'Gower on Henry IV's rule: the endings of the *Cronica Tripertita* and its texts', *Traditio*, 62 (2007), 207–36 (p. 221); I disagree with the judgment that MS Hatton 92 is 'carelessly written' (p. 219). See also P. Nicholson's review, 'David Carlson, "Gower on Henry IV's rule"', in *JGN* 28, 1 (2009), 7–8.

lines of verse corresponding to only three lines (9–10 and 14) of its verse part – or, more consistently, with the last four lines of the all-verse 'Trentham version'.[30]

The *Vox Clamantis* may have appealed to an Augustinian readership on account of its erudite, hortatory and 'self-sacrificial' nature. In his reflection on the sense of place in Gower's poem, Kurt Olsson has pointed out the comparative relevance of *sermones ad status* to books III–VI in particular; Eve Salisbury has recently commented on the strategic presentation of apotropaic sacrificial violence performed within communities and the extreme control of overt and implied meanings of recast sources, especially through *cento*.[31] All this may be congruent with the regulars' concern for *cura animarum* and good relations with local communities, including those in Southwark;[32] with Augustinian traditions of erudition; and, more topically, with the proven presence of homilies at St Mary, notably those in MS Ashmole 1285, most of which have a theme drawn from the minor Prophets or the Gospels. But there is also biographical and scribal evidence of Augustinian agency more than once in the course of the textual tradition or ownership of the *Vox Clamantis* in the later fifteenth century; for reasons of space, only one case will be briefly illustrated here. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 138, a fine codex in regular formal secretary heavily influenced by italic features, is one among seven manuscripts known to have been transcribed by the prolific scribe Roger Walle (documented 1436–1488), whose 'versatility' and some of whose scribal traits Parkes has characterized.[33] The somewhat restless career of Walle, from the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, found him at one point at least, though briefly, in an Augustinian position: from December 1449 to March 1451 he was in the vicarage of Maxstoke, Warwickshire, the advowson of which had been the property of the adjacent Augustinian priory of Maxstoke since its foundation in 1336–7.[34] In MS Digby 138 Walle signed his name on fol. 98^{r} (top right margin), and inscribed his *ex libris* with a *rebus* of his name on fol. 145^{r} (also top right margin): 'Claudatur

30 Compare with *John Gower. The Minor Latin Works (with* 'In Praise of Peace' *Edited by M. Livingston)*, ed. and trans. R. F. Yeager (Kalamazoo, MI, 2005), pp. 46–9 (I follow Yeager's description of versions), and the note p. 79; for a discussion of the three versions, see also Parkes, 'Patterns of scribal activity', p. 85.

31 K. Olsson, 'John Gower's *Vox Clamantis* and the medieval idea of place', *SP*, 84 (1987), 134–58; E. Salisbury, 'Violence and the sacrificial poet: Gower, The *Vox*, and the critics', in *On John Gower. Essays at the Millenium*, ed. R. F. Yeager (Kalamazoo, MI, 2007), pp. 124–43. Significantly, Olsson begins his rich contextualisation with the spiritual dimension of place in Hugh of St Victor's *De sacramentis ecclesiasticis*, a copy of which would have been available to Gower in an unambiguously early St Mary book, MS Egerton 272 (**no. 6** in Appendix 1).

32 M. Carlin, *Medieval Southwark* (London and Rio Grande, 1996), p. 74.

33 A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A. D. 1500*, vol. III (Oxford, 1957, rpt 1989), p. 1966, and Sharpe, *Handlist*, no. 1594 (pp. 597–8); M. B. Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands 1250–1500*, 2nd edn (London, 1979), p. 22 and facing plates 22 (i) and 22 (ii); and *Their Hands Before Our Eyes*, p. 110, n. 41 and Plate 34; Jean-Pascal Pouzet, 'Book production outside commercial contexts', in *The Production of Books in England 1350–1530*, eds. A. Gillespie and D. Wakelin (Cambridge, forthcoming).

34 Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 166.

muro constat Liber iste Rogero'. It is perhaps both significant and ironic that he copied the *Vox* in which, in book IV, the *claustrales* and importance of life within the walls of the cloister are emphasized. It may be suggested, finally, that Roger Walle would cut a likely figure for the informed scribe who copied works by Gower in MS Hatton 92, the more so as the italic-influenced secretary script he uses in several of his manuscripts – including the totality of MS Digby 138 – is in all particulars extremely close, if not identical, to the script employed to write the Gower texts in MS Hatton 92. Both manuscripts are not inconsistent with a dating around the middle of the fifteenth century.

In sum: manuscript and textual evidence contributes to a canvas on which are traced the remarkable codicological and textual associations central or immediately adjacent to the production of Gower's œuvre, and the circulation of Gower manuscripts and texts, in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is hoped that, thanks to these prolegomena, a realistic 'Southwark Gower' may start to emerge, a complex figure silhouetted against this canvas. There is a density of evidence which may be found significant and awaits further exploration. Such considerations may also be taken to chime with (my) current attempts to map out the larger pattern of Augustinian implication in the production and dissemination of texts important to the religious and literary culture of medieval England.[35]

[35] In this respect, further to R. F. Yeager's essay in this volume (referred to in my note 14 above), evidence for Augustinian influence in the making of the *Mirour de l'Omme* and the circulation of the *Traitié pour essampler les amantz marietz* is discussed by him in 'Gower's French audience: the *Mirour de l'Omme*' and 'John Gower's French and his Readers', in *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England c.1100–c.1500*, pp. 135–45. Inferentially, the meditative strand in the *Mirour*, examined by T. H. Bestul, 'Gower's *Mirour de l'Omme* and the Meditative Tradition', *Mediaevalia*, 16 (1993), 307–28, may be seen as congruent with Augustinian *ethos*. Such an adequacy may be fruitfully contectualised also in the light of the sociolinguistic approach offered by T. W. Machan, 'Medieval Multilingualism and Gower's Literary Practice', *SP*, 103 (2006), 1–25 and which Yeager's essays also consider.

Appendix 1: Volumes held by the Priory of St Mary in Gower's time

Bold type indicates volumes known definitively to have been held at St Mary's in Gower's lifetime: items not in bold are plausible, but not certain, holdings contemporary with Gower.

1. Cambridge, St John's College, MS N. 11 (524): Bible (fols 1–553^{r}) + alphabetical *Interpretationes* (fols 553^{v}–594) (*s.* xiii *med*; *ex libris* inscription *s.* xv *ex*).

2. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O. 2. 30 (1134) (fols 1–128; not inconceivably the whole book): devotional and theological anthology in booklets of various dates, including extracts of Isidore's *Etymologiae*; Augustine's *De trinitate*; *Vita sancti Dunstani*; *Regula Sancti Benedicti* (*s.* ix, *s.* xi / xii, *s.* xii; *ex libris* inscription *s.* xvi *in*, perhaps 2nd quarter).

3. Canterbury Cathedral, Dean and Chapter Library, MS Lit. E. 10 (101): theological anthology (*Testamenta XII Patriarcharum*; *Suidas*; *Meditationes beati Bernardi*) (*s.* xiii *ex*).[1]

4. London, British Library, MS Additional 63592: Psalter (s. xiii *ex*, but Morgan '*c.*1250'; *Dedicacio* of St Mary 'ouery' added at 11 July, in hand *s.* xv *ex*).

5. London, British Library, MS Cotton Faustina A. viii, fols 40–178: booklets including theological and administrative *miscellanea*; a Calendar; Ralph de Diceto's historical works; prophecies from Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*; the Southwark Chronicle (AD 1–1240); a Southwark register (mostly *s.* xiii *in* to *s.* xiv *in*; Calendar dated *c.*1205–7 for its main part by Morgan; *ex libris* inscriptions *s.* xiii *ex*, *s.* xv *ex* and *s.* xvi *in* or *med*).

6. London, British Library, MS Egerton 272: 3 booklets containing respectively Peter Comestor's *Historia Evangelica* (fols 2ra–33^{vb}); Comestor's *Sermons* (fols 34ra–84^{rb}); Hugh of St Victor's *Tractatus de Sacramentis Ecclesiasticis* (fols 86ra–99^{vb}) (*s.* xiii; *ex libris* inscriptions *s.* xiii *ex* and *s.* xv *ex*).

7. London, British Library, MS Royal 7. A. I: theological and devotional anthology, including two anonymous gospel homilies; an 'excellent copy' of the *Speculum Ecclesie* (fols 12^{r}–22^{v}); meditations and prayers of St Anselm; Bonaventure's *Meditationes Vitae Christi*; Pseudo-Augustine's *Visitacio Infir-*

[1] C. E. Woodruff, *Catalogue of the Manuscript Books in the Library of Christ Church, Canterbury* (Canterbury, 1911), p. 52; N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries* (Oxford, 1969–92), vol. II, p. 284. This manuscript is treated as 'borderline', because there is no Southwark *ex libris* inscription *per se*, its evidence of provenance being apparently found in a post-medieval *ex dono* inscription to Canterbury (by William Kingsley, 1667); in somes cases Ker treated notes of gift on a par with *ex libris* inscriptions (both subsumed under his criterion 'e').

morum; Dindimus's letter to Alexander; *Stimulus amoris* (*s.* xiv/*s.* xv, Forshaw '*c.*1400'; *ex libris* inscriptions *s.* xv *ex*).[2]

8. London, British Library, MS Royal 7. A. IX, fols 1–65 according to Ker, but more probably the whole book (*ex libris* inscriptions at fol. 6^{r} *and* fol. 117^{v}): theological anthology, including some works by Robert Grosseteste (mostly *s.* xiii; *ex libris* inscriptions *s.* xv *ex*).

9. London, British Library, MS Royal 10. B. VII: Richard Fishacre's Commentary on Peter Lombard's *Sentences* (*s.* xiii; inscription *s.* xiv *in*, and *ex libris* inscription *s.* xv *ex*, probably 2nd quarter).

10. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 1285: fourteen booklets including patristic *florilegium*; a Customary (glossed Hymnary); Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophie*; computistica; astronomica; medica; one Augustinian chapter; devotional/theological texts; one French song; homilies (*s.* xii *ex* to *s.* xiv *in*; Customary dated '*c.*1275–1300' by Morgan; *ex libris* inscriptions *s.* xiv *in*).

11. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 924: J. Wyclif's *De Veritate Sacrae Scripturae* (*s.* xiv / *s.* xv; *ex libris* inscription *s.* xv *in*).

12. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B. 177: historical compilation (in 2 booklets) communicating principally Roger of Wendover's *Flores historiarum* (*s.* xiv *in*; *ex libris* inscription *s.* xiv *in*).

13. Oxford, Trinity College, MS 31: Isidore's Commentary on the Heptateuch (*s.* xii; *ex libris* inscriptions *s.* xvi *in*).

14. Paris, Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne, MS 153: Genesis and Exodus glossed (*s.* xiii).

[2] Edmund of Abingdon, *'Speculum Religiosorum' and 'Speculum Ecclesie'*, ed. Forshaw, p. 7 and passim; she chose London, BL, Royal 7. A. I as her base text for the *Speculum Ecclesie*.

Appendix 2: Gower's possible inspiration from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 1285

Table 1

Confessio Amantis		MS Oxford, BodL. Ashmole 1285	
I.v (verse)	Laruando faciem ficto pallore subornat Fraudibus Ypocrisis mellea verba suis. Sicque pios animos quamsepe ruit muliebres Ex humili verbo sub latitante dolo.	Bklet 2 (fol. 14^{v})	§ annotation (s. xiv *ex*?) in upper margin (under the authority of 'Augustinus'): 'ypocrit*us et* dol*um* ~~et~~ laudar*e* do*minum* Aliud loq*ui* aliud intelligere'
IV.v (verse)	Absque labore vagus vir inutilis ocia plectens, Nescio quid presens vita valebit ei. Non amor in tali misero viget, immo valoris Qui faciunt opera clamat habere suos. (see also *Confessio* IV, lines 1757–60 on the oxymoron 'besinesse' | 'ydelnesse')[1]	Bklet 2 (fol. 10^{v})	§ annotation (s. xiv *ex*?) in upper margin: 'mens ociosa' § 'Gregori*us*. Ociose menti maligni sp*iritus* pr*a*uas cogi*tati*ones initiunt. ut *et* si quiescit ab op*e*re no*n* quiescat malorum op*e*rum delectat*i*one'

Table 2

Confessio Amantis		MS Oxford, BodL. Ashmole 1285	
VI.i (verse)	Est gula que nostrum maculauit prima parentem Ex vetito pomo, quo dolet omnis homo. Hec agit vt corpus anime contraria spirat, Quo caro fit crassa, spiritus atque macer. Intus et exterius si que virtutis habentur, Potibus ebrietas conuiciata ruit. Mersa sopore, labris, que Bachus inebriat hospes, Indignata Venus oscula raro premit.	Bklet 14 (fol. 334^{r})	fols 334^{r}–375^{r} 'De ebrietate multiplici' = series of homilies on the branches of that topic, based on minor Prophets (Joel, Hosea, Amos, Jonah) *[Incipit] <Experg[esc]imini ebrii et flete etc.* Joel 1. Duo dicenda sunt. primo quot modis sumatur ebrietas …>
VI.i marg.	Hic in sexto libro tractare intendit de illo capitali vicio quod Gula dicitur, nec non et de eiusdem duabus solummodo speciebus, videlicet Ebrietate et Delicacia, ex quibus humane concupiscencie oblectamentum habundancius augmentatur.		(Joel 1. 5: expergescimini ebrii et flete et ululate omnes qui bibitis vinum in dulcedine quoniam periit ab ore vestro)

[1] On this oxymoron, see John Gower, *The Latin Verses in the 'Confessio Amantis': An Annotated Translation*, eds Sîan Echard and Claire Fanger, with A. G. Rigg (East Lansing, MI, 1991), p. 50, n. 75.