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A GERSONIAN TEXT IN DEFENSE OF POETRY : *DE LAUDIBUS*

*ELEGIE SPIRITUALIS* (ca. 1422–1425)

During the troubled period of the Great schism, of the Hundred years war and of the civil war in France, Jean Gerson (1363–1429), chancellor of the university of Paris, played an important part. However, his primary importance lies in the considerable corpus of writings that he left, rather than his rôle in political and ecclesiastical affairs. His theological writings are well known and the “literary” aspects of his works have been pointed out, especially in relation to French humanism of XIV<sup>th</sup> and XV<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>1</sup> In particular, his latin poems are important evidence of the cultural climate of these years and still survive in great number – we actually know of nearly six thousand verses. Unfortunately there is currently no complete edition which satisfies modern critical criteria.<sup>2</sup> In these circumstances any critical work on these texts must begin with a study of the manuscripts. Such an approach often reveals significant data, as in the case of the poem presented here.<sup>3</sup> It is interesting in many respects : its content shows Gerson’s attitude during the last years of his life toward the question of the legitimacy of “poetry”, a problem much debated in early fifteenth century France ;<sup>4</sup> its textual tradition makes it a valuable example of the editorial work of one of the chancellor’s brothers, also named Jean, a celestine monk.<sup>5</sup>

References to the life or to the works of Jean Gerson in the text suggest that this poem was composed during the years 1422–1425.<sup>6</sup> Some verses (vv. 47–56) in particular were first composed as a dedicatory epistle to a brief treatise by Gerson, the *Scacordum*,<sup>7</sup> and then inserted in their present context ; it is very probable that the verses and the treatise are approximately contemporary.<sup>8</sup> Later, Gerson decided to insert this poem with some others in a collection of works on the same subjects : the *Tractatus de canticis* ;<sup>9</sup> but he could not complete this project and, subsequent to the chancellor's death, his brother Jean, the celestine monk, finished putting these works in order. On this occasion he probably also revised the poems, to provide a correct text for publication.<sup>10</sup> In fact, the tradition consists of two branches that reflect the two versions of the text, but probably the poem was not diffused in the first arrangement : only two manuscripts, dependent on the same model, contain it, and it is very probably a draft that has been copied.<sup>11</sup> The manuscripts of the *Tractatus de canticis* form the second branch of the tradition.<sup>12</sup>

The poem is one hundred verses long.<sup>13</sup> Although it consists of distinct parts, probably composed at different times, it manifestly constitutes a whole. The problem of the legitimacy of poetry is set out through some traditional *topoi* in the first part ; in the second two characters discuss the value of poetry and poets' aims. Finally, a long excursus on the spiritual marriage of soul and spirit, an example of legitimate poetry and an encouragement for it, terminates the poem.

The first and the second parts (vv. 1–24, 25–46) constitute a sort of *argumentatio* and are constructed according to the rhetorical form of the *subiectio* : the text is in fact a dialogue between an older individual who writes verses – *senium*, Gerson himself<sup>14</sup> – and another who confronts him with traditional arguments against

poetry. In the first part only two interventions by the latter provide the pretext for the defence of poetry to be developed. In the second, on the contrary, the dialogue becomes more concise and there are several exchanges between the protagonists. In the dialogue itself or in the passages developing the *senium*'s theses, the demonstration is based on two sorts of arguments : *argumenta a re* – statements on the intrinsic value of poetry – and *auctoritates* – above all some examples of biblical poets and also the testimony of the classics. The *argumentatio* is preceded by an *exordium* (vv. 1–2), and followed by a *conclusio* (vv. 41–46) expressing the poetic conception of the *senium* and addressed to the reader : *Quisquis amas (...) ignoscito* (v. 1), *Tutus nostra leges* (v. 41). The third part (vv. 46–100), after the dedicatory letter of the *Scacordum*, clearly a later interpolation (vv. 47–56), contains a long *peroratio* for spiritual poetry. The return of the *senium* (vv. 57–69) serves as a transition to a glossed paraphrasis of the *Song of songs* : a description of the spiritual marriage of *spiritus* and *anima*<sup>15</sup>, to which the *elegia spiritualis* brings the poet (vv. 70–96). A conclusion (vv. 97–100), addressed to the *elegia*, follows.

A translation<sup>16</sup> will help us to see the themes Gerson uses.

First part (vv. 1–24).

You<sup>17</sup>, lover of poetry,<sup>18</sup> excuse our verses : they come spontaneously to the pen<sup>19</sup> and turn the heart away from profane charm<sup>20</sup> (1–2). “Seductive elegy,<sup>21</sup> will gladly sing of the loves of (pagan) gods ; like a slave, as she is so often attracted to evil, so she makes an old man accustomed to desire<sup>22</sup>” (3–5). Certainly not. If the slave’s mind is freed and purified – captive with cut nails and worthy of chaste marriage-bed<sup>23</sup> –, why should you not be comforted on (her) pleasing breast ? (6–8). Using verse does not undermine the majesty of what is said, it gives it more weight<sup>24</sup> (9–10). We know

the prophets such as Jeremiah, Job, David, Moses, have employed all manner of verse ; king Solomon composed five thousand poems ; the capable wife has been praised by his mouth<sup>25</sup> (11–14). Verses discipline the mind, so that it will not wander, channel several (matters) into a few (words) and stay in the memory better (15–16). If you dedicate yourself to studying them, verses become more meaningful, clearer, their order makes them more powerful (17–18). Writings in verse form are preserved more accurately and more concisely<sup>26</sup> (19–20). “Verses in fact directly promote vice” (20). The voice which is channeled through narrow gaps has more force than which goes unhindered (21–22). In the same way a sentence compressed into harmonious meters sounds more forceful, it strikes and pierces<sup>27</sup> (23–24).

Second part (vv. 25–46).

“Does an old man become a fool if he searches again for childish things?<sup>28</sup>” “He does not, but, like the eagle, he would like to return to a former life<sup>29</sup>” (25–26). “While you love to waste your time in fruitless study, take care that the devil is not hidden there” (27–28) – “Vain things pass away, please. On the contrary, sacred poetry can be fruitful<sup>30</sup>” (29–30) – “But the time and age of lamentation<sup>31</sup> can be better occupied ; and who, in this age, wants to know poems ?” – “What better things can an exiled man do, excluded from all responsibilities<sup>32</sup> ? On the contrary, the poems are not an obstacle to lament” (31–34). Job, unfortunate king, says : at night God gives poems, the Lord has sent a new song<sup>33</sup> (35–36). I admit : poetry is far too rare, but I sing to heaven, and perhaps a better time will come (37–38). Theatrical or<sup>34</sup> amusing things are rightly to be banished<sup>35</sup> (39). Who would reprove verses on pious matters ?<sup>36</sup> (40). you will be safe reading our verses : the wonders of (pagan) gods are not here, nor immoral (mythological) fables<sup>37</sup> (41–42) ; they will be helpful, rather than delightful to a young

man<sup>38</sup> (43), so it follows that the search for stylistic beauty<sup>39</sup> must be enough for them (our verses) (44). Circumstances give (us) leisure–time :<sup>40</sup> we must write with wisdom<sup>41</sup>, leisure–time, (when) spent in idleness, is mortal, as Jesus testifies<sup>42</sup> (45–46).

Third part (vv. 47–100).

Place your trust in Greeks : a dolphin, soothed by a lyre, brought Arion through the waves (47–48). Another dolphin (and) king brought us through a howling sea, finally he established us on a safe shore (49–50). Praise to you, o god, who<sup>43</sup> gave us leisure to play the cithara and the psaltery (51–52). We have offered him an exemplar of these (poems<sup>44</sup>) and one of the *Monocordum* and we<sup>45</sup> will add the *Scacordum* too<sup>46</sup> (53–54). Everybody who is grateful offers presents to his king. It is not a slight matter<sup>47</sup> to offer (him) mystical poems<sup>48</sup> (55–56). And, day by day, if our man becomes a child inwardly, who will forbid this child from playing with verses ? (57–58) His heart is fervent,<sup>49</sup> he loves,<sup>50</sup> the age and the time of love is near<sup>51</sup> (59–60). A wedding–poem encourages holy love and people do not approve marriage without music or song<sup>52</sup> (61–62). But beware that this child does not return<sup>53</sup> inwardly to (former) unworthy (profane) love and to earlier impurity (63–64). Let his rapture<sup>54</sup> be temperate,<sup>55</sup> his bed holy, his embrace, his kisses pure (65–66). By his love he is<sup>56</sup> neither a male nor a female of flesh. Spirit is naked and not sexual, and so is love (67–68). That is what you admire : although here they are man and woman, the husband considers his beloved bride as a friend<sup>57</sup> (69–70). Here it is necessary that the spirit joins with the soul, which understands such a mystery<sup>58</sup> (71–72). Only the living word of God, judging the heart and seeing all, can understand<sup>59</sup> these things (73–74). Ardour is for both husband and wife to enjoy, only the hope of heaven<sup>60</sup> surpasses everything else : “Flee from here, my beloved”, the bride says. She knows that her husband’s marriage bed is not here but in

heaven (75–78). Many times she seeks out where he pastures (his flock), where he rests at midday, so that she does not wander in uncultivated land (79–80). She receives her husband's kisses while feeding her flock and milking their scented teats (81–82).

Ravished, she is loaded with fruits and flowers, she rests in the arms<sup>61</sup> of her husband (83–84). She rests happily. He asks that no one awake her (85–86). When she awakens, he comes, eager and trembling, secretly looking at her and he says in a loud voice : “Come” (87–88). Then, in turn, she comes, she searches,<sup>62</sup> she languishes for holy love (89–90). When he speaks, she melts<sup>63</sup> and they rejoice in his praise of her ; they do nothing but love (91–92). The bride likes solitude, she seeks out solitary places, neither she nor her husband like turbulent people<sup>64</sup> (93–94). A force like fire tears her words from her, it heats her inside, she cannot keep it in her heart nor has (she) the strength to disclose it (95–96). To where are we ravished? Where, elegy, do you lead us ? Fine! I see that spiritual love has enflamed us (97–98). Now be silent, a greater hour will come, now it is enough to have freed you from those who speak evil of you<sup>65</sup> (99–100).

Gerson's purposes are undoubtedly traditional, but his attitude to the problem, and the conception of poetry that he defends, are clearly dependent on the cultural climate of these years. The aim of the poem itself, a defence of poetry, must be seen in the context of the “débat” of the end of the XIV<sup>th</sup> century, linked with the diffusion of Boccaccio's *Genologie* in France.<sup>66</sup> In fact, even if Gerson's aim is simply a defence of the *elegia spiritualis*, and this poem is an example of the legitimate *carmina mistica*, the contemporary conception of poetry – mythological fables, and in a larger sense, classical literature<sup>67</sup> – is clearly present in the cultural background ; we can see it, for example, in the conclusion to the second part of the poem (vv. 41–46), where Gerson assures the

reader that he is not writing about the deeds of the pagan gods nor mythological, immoral fables.

Gerson's defence is a well constructed one, his organization of traditional arguments in a coherent whole is noteworthy. He develops themes setting out the value of the technical aspects of versification and emphasizes the specific characteristics of poetry in contrast with prose.<sup>68</sup> The traditional opposition of *prodesse* and *delectare*<sup>69</sup> and the testimony of biblical poets<sup>70</sup> supply other important arguments in support of the fundamental theme : namely, the mystical content of his poems.<sup>71</sup> Nevertheless Gerson is forced to broaden his frame of reference. While keeping such a limited definition of poetry, he must nevertheless reply to detractors and defend his verses. Moreover the *topos* of the *pulchra captiva*,<sup>72</sup> and even more, the reference to the Greek myth of Arion, quoted as an *auctoritas*, provide further references to classical culture. But finally Gerson's position is coherent : poetry, in both its content and its technical aspect, is a means to obtain a higher end, the spiritual elevation of man. Gerson is in keeping with the traditional perspective, derived from Augustine<sup>73</sup> and always present in medieval culture,<sup>74</sup> of a christian humanism : with all the caution of a churchman,<sup>75</sup> taking up the classical and medieval heritage, he assumes a humanistic attitude.

It is not surprising that this attitude had important repercussions on the formal aspect of his work, particularly versification. Allusions are numerous : Gerson works from biblical passages – the description of spiritual marriage is composed of terms and forms borrowed from the *Cantica canticorum* –, classical authors and Petrarch's texts.<sup>76</sup> He has paid considerable attention to the metre, with a few exceptions, all belonging to the third part (perhaps not a definitive text),<sup>77</sup> and a few particular scansiones – which are probably following different rules.<sup>78</sup>



As we have seen, the textual tradition consists of two branches, both rising from different stages of editorial work on the poem undertaken probably by Gerson's brother.<sup>79</sup> A study of the codicological aspects confirms the unity of the text.

The two manuscripts belonging to the first branch were copied very probably from the same model<sup>80</sup> in the 1430s.<sup>81</sup> Although they were copied after Gerson's death, they witness to a draft version of the text : perhaps it was circulated before Gerson decided to insert it in the *Tractatus de canticis*. However, it is more probable that an earlier copy remained among the chancellor's papers and was circulated after his death.<sup>82</sup> In this version of the text verse initials are all the same size, so no distinction exists within strophes. Neither is there any distinction between the second and the third part and, if a slight distinction is made between the first and the second part, this is only to signify the beginning of the dialogue : in one of the manuscripts by a *semipunctus* (preparation for a paragraph sign) and a rubric in the margin : *Questio et responsio* ;<sup>83</sup> in the other by a blank line between the two parts.<sup>84</sup>

The text of the *Tractatus de canticis* has been prepared for copying with more care. We actually know a few manuscripts of these tractatus<sup>85</sup> and among them three manuscripts of a very high quality, copied toward the middle of the XV<sup>th</sup> century on the one hand in the abbey of st. Victor,<sup>86</sup> on the other hand on the initiative of Gérard Machet and Thomas Gerson.<sup>87</sup> In these copies, the presentation of the inserted poems and of our poem above all, has been completely revised. The text has been divided into three parts ;<sup>88</sup> within the text some verse initials have received a different status as initials of strophes ;<sup>89</sup> the replies in the dialogue in the second part have received appropriate rubrics : *questio* and *responsio*.<sup>90</sup> Furthermore, some marginal or interlinear variants and notes bear witness to some philological work, executed on the original

copies.<sup>91</sup> The editions of the *Tractatus de canticis* later reproduced this format, but they neglected the careful work executed on the text itself to facilitate its comprehension.<sup>92</sup>

*DE LAUDIBUS ELEGIE SPIRITUALIS*

Quisquis amas prosam, metris ignoscito nostris :

Sponte stilo veniunt corque lepore trahunt.

“Divos blanda libens elegia cantet amores,

Tracta malis totiens serva, libidinibus

5 Soletur senium”. Iam non. Captiva resectis

Unguibus et casto coniugis apta thoro,

Cur non ancille fronesis si libera fiat

Mundaque complacito confoveare sinu?

Non maiestati dictorum detrahit usus

10 Metrorum, maius pondus eis tribuit.

Versibus omnimodis vates scripsisse sciuntur

Ut Ieremias, Iob, sic David et Moyses.

Carmina composuit Salomon rex milia quinque,

Cantata est mulier fortis ab ore suo.

15 Frenant ne vaga sit metra mentem, plurima paucis

Artant et prestant esse sui memores.

Plus sensus, plus lucis habent, plus ordine pollent

Versus, si cor eis cum studio dederis.

Verius et brevius servantur scripta ligata

20 Metro. “Nam viciū protinus insinuant”.

Fortior est vox que per stricta foramina transit

Quam que decursu liberiore meat.

Non aliter metris sententia pressa canoris

Vi maiore sonat, percutit et penetrat.

*Legatur per modum dialogi*

25 “Desipit an senium repetens puerilia?” “Non, sed

Vult aquile ritu vita redire prior”.

“Demonium, caveas, lateat ne meridianum,

Vanis in studiis perdere tempus amans”.

“Cedant vana, precor, cedant, sed cum pietate

30 Carminibus textis fructus inesse potest”.

“Ast meliora potest flendi quoque tempus et etas

Et quis in hoc evo scire poemata vult?”

“Que meliora potest exclusus ab omnibus exul

Officiis? Sed nec carmina flere vetant”.

35 Nocte Deus dat, ait Iob, carmina, rex tribulatus,

Misit, ait, Dominus carmen in ore novum.

Rara nimis fateor poesis modo, sed cano celis,

Forsitan et veniet tempus amicitius.

Scenica nobis sunt vel ludicra iure fuganda.

40 Quis pia culparit sub numeris redigi?

Tutus nostra leges : non hic portenta deorum,

Non hic que castis moribus obvia sint ;  
 Plus prodesse volunt quam delectare minorem,  
 Quo fit ut ornatum querere sat sit eis.

45 Otia tempora dant : quibus est sapientia scriptis  
 Danda, Ihesus testis, otia pigra necant.

Prebe fidem Grecis : delphinus Ariona vexit  
 Fluctus per medios dum lira mulcet eum.

Alter delphinus rex sevum per mare vectos,  
 50 Nos tandem tuto lictore constituit.  
 Iste Deus, tibi laus, nobis hec otia fecit  
 Ludere cum cythara psalterioque dedit,  
 Exemplar quorum transmisimus et monocordum,  
 [Scacordum quoque] mens addere nostra cupit.

55 Offert quisque suo gratus sua munera regi,  
 Carmina non nichil est [mistica] posse dare.

Inque dies intus si noster homo puerescit,  
 Quis neget huic puero ludere carminibus ?

Dum cor fervet ei, dum totus amat per amorem,  
 60 Dum venit etas et tempus amantis ei?

Consiliat sacros himeneum carmen amores,  
 Coniugium nec gens absque canore probat.

Sed caveat puer hic quid degeneres in amores  
 Rursus et in veteres corde redire feces.

- 65 Ebrietas in eo sit sobria sitque cubile  
 Sanctum, complexus, oscula casta nimis.  
 Sit nec amore suo vel mas vel femina carnis,  
 Nudus et abs sexu spiritus est et amor.  
 Est quod mireris : tamen istic femina virque,  
 70 Sponsam dilectam sponsus amicus habet.  
 Spiritus hic anime sit condivisus oportet,  
 Tale sciendum cui misterium fuerit.  
 Sermo Dei vivus valet unicus ista secare,  
 Discretor cordis cunctaque prospiciens.  
 75 Mutuus est zelus sponsi sponseque fruendi,  
 Se totis superest unica spes patrie :  
 “Hinc fuge, dilecte mi”. Clamat sponsa, scit ipsa  
 Non hic sed celis esse viri thalamum.  
 Ipsa subinde petit ubi pascit, ubi cubat alta  
 80 Meridie, terris ne vaga sit stolidis.  
 Pascitur interea, si suscipit oscula sponsi,  
 Ubra si tractet que redolentia sunt.  
 Ebria fulcitur malis et floribus, inter  
 Brachia se sponsi proicit in requie.  
 85 Felici fruitur somno ; sponsus coniurat et omnis  
 Audeat ut somnum rumpere nemo suum.  
 Ad vigilem quandoque venit saliens et alacris  
 Clanculo prospiciens voce sonante : “Veni”.

- Alternat veniendo vices, alternat amica
- 90        Querendi studium, languet amore pio.
- Ad vocem liquefit sponsi gaudentque vicissim
- Laude sua, demum quicquid agunt amor est.
- Otia sola placent sponse, loca sola requirit,
- Nec sponso nec ei turbida turba placet.
- 95        Rumpit verba sibi vigor igneus, estuat intus,
- Quem nec corde capit nec reserare valet.
- Quo rapimur, quo nos, elegia, pertrahis? Euge,
- Concaluit video spiritualis amor.
- Iam sileas, olim veniet spatiosior hora,
- 100        Nunc satis a labiis te liberasse malis.

Basis MS **V** (Tours, B.M. 379 ; ff. 57r–58v) ; collation on **B** (BNF, lat. 3126 ; ff. 207v–208r), **Br** (Bruxelles, Bibl. Royale 2198 ; ff. 218r–219v), **D** (BNF, lat. 14905 ; ff. 168r–169v), **Ja** (BNF lat. 3638 ; ff. 8r–9v), **Q** (BNF lat. 3624 ; ff. 15r–17r), **S** (BNF, lat. 17487 ; ff. 218v–220r), **Ge** (ed. by Geiler von Kaysersberg, 1488 ; III, 80 M–O), **P** (ed. by E. Du Pin ; III, 675–677).

**QI** means corrections executed on **Q** copy by a second hand.<sup>93</sup>

*Tit.* **V B Br D S Ge P]** Carmen de elogia (*sic*) spirituali **Q** *deest* **Ja** 1 amas]  
 amans **Q** 3 cantet] cantat **B** 4 totiens] toties **P** 6 thoro] choro **B** 10 maius] *corr. ex* inanis  
**QI** inanis **Ja** 10 eis] ei **Ja** 15 frenant] frenat **Br** 22 quamque] *quamque corr.* **QI** 23

metris] metus **Br** 23 *canoris* **QI** *corr. ex ...oris* (?) 24 *questio et responsio add. in marg.*  
**Ja** *rubrica v. 25 deest* **Ja Q** 25 *desipit*] *decipit* **Ja** *resipit* **P** ; *puerilia*] *responsio add. V*  
**B D S** 25, 27 *et 31 questio add. in marg. V B D S* 29 *et 33 responsio add. in marg. V B*  
**D S** 37 *poesis*] *poesis corr. ex presis* **QI** *presis* **B** *pressis* **Ja** 39 *scenica*] *seneca* **Br** ;  
*ludicra*] *ludrica* **B Ja** 40 *pia*] *i. res pias add. in marg. V* 44 *sit*] *sis* **Br** 45 *tempora*] *tempera* **Q** ; *scriptis*] *dictis* **Br D Ge P** 46 *Ihesus*] *Ihesu* **Ja** *rubr. v. 47*] *de eodem* **Br D**  
**Ge P** 49 *sevim*] *senum* **Ja** 49 *delphinus*] *s. Viennensis add. in marg. V B S* 51 *nobis*  
*om.* **Br** 53 *monocordum*] *monacordum* **Ja** 54 *scacordum*] *scacacordum* **Ja Q** ;  
*scacordum quoque*] *atque scacordum* **V** 55 *gratus*] *gratias* **Ja Q** 56 *mistica*] *musica* **V S**  
60 *etas et*] *et etas* **Ja Q** 61 *himeneum*] *hymeneum* **Ge** 62 *coniugium*] *coiugium* **B** ;  
*absque*] *adsque* **Ge** 67 *sit*] *sic* **B** 69 *est*] *et* **Ja Q** 69 *istic*] *illic* **Ja** 71 *condivisus*] *cum*  
*divisus* **Br Ge P** 73 *secare*] *secari* **Br** 77 *scit*] *sit* **B** 79 *pascit*] *pascitur* **Q** 80 *terris*] *terres*  
**B** ; *sit*] *scit* **Ja** ; *stolidis*] *solidis* **Br** 81 *interea corr. QI* (?) 84 *requie*] *requiem* **Br Ge P**  
85 *coniurat*] *conutrat* **Br** ; *omnis*] *omnes* **S Ge P** 88 *clanculo*] *clancula* **S** 89 *amica*] *corr.*  
*ex amicat* **QI** 91 *liquefit*] *liquescit* **Ja** 95 *i. (vel B al. D) rupta refert verba (vigor add. D)*  
*add. in marg. V B D* 97 *pertrahis*] *protrahis* **Br D Ge P** *pertrahit* **Ja** 99 *spatiosior*] *speciosior* **Br Ge P** *spatiosior hora* **QI** *corr. ex spa... (?) hora* 100 *satis*] *est add. B Br*  
**Ja Q** *add. in interl. V B S* ; *a*] *in Ge om. P*

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1. Cf. Ovid. *Rem. am.* 579 : *Quisquis amas ...* ; Petr. *Bucol.* 3.37 : *Quisquis amore voles ...* (cf. also Claud. *Carm. min.* 22.6 : *Carmen amat quisquis carmine digna gerit.*).



2. Cf. Verg. *Georg.* 2.10 : sponte (...) veniunt.
3. Cf. Ovid. *Rem. am.* 379 : Blanda pharetratos elegeia cantet amores.
- 5–6. Cf. *Deut.* 21 : 10–13.
8. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4.686 : Semianimemque sinu germanam amplexa fovebat ; Petr. *Bucol.* 12.5 : Faustula quem complexa sinu mulcente fovebat.
- 13–14. Cf. *Prov.* 31 : 10 : Mulierem fortem quis inveniet ?
17. Cf. Hor. *Ars poet.* 242 : ... tantum series iunctura que pollet.
25. Cf. Petr. *Bucol.* 8.10 : delires senior ; *Metrice* 1.14.112 : Tu longum senior curas extendis in evum ; *Laurea occidens* 386 : aut ubi iam senior nova carmina cantem?
26. Cf. *Ps.* 102 : 5 : renovabitur ut aquilae juvenus tua.
27. Cf. *Ps.* 90 : 6 : ... et daemonio meridiano.
31. Cf. *Eccles.* 3 : 4 : Tempus flendi et ...
35. Cf. *Ps.* 41 : 9 : In die mandavit Dominus misericordiam suam et nocte canticum eius ; *Job* 35 : 10 : Ubi est Deus qui fecit me, qui dedit carmina in nocte.
36. Cf. *Ps.* 39 : 4 : Et immisit in os meum canticum novum.
43. Cf. Hor. *Ars poet.* 333 : Aut prodesse volunt aut delectare poetae.
- 47–48. Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 8.56 : inter delphinas Arion ; Prop. *Eleg.* 2.26.17–18 : Sed tibi subsidio delphinum currere vidi // Qui, puto, Arioniam ante lyram ; Ovid. *Ars am.* 3.326 : Arioniae fabula nota lyrae ; *Fast.* 2.116 : Cantat et aequoreas carmine mulcet aquas ; Hor. *Ars poet.* 30 : Delphinum silvis adpingit, fluctibus aprum ;

*Epist.* 2.2.85 : Fluctibus in mediis (also Ovid. *Trist.* 5.6.7 ; Lucan. *De bello civ.* 5.670) ; Stat. *Theb.* 9.248 : mediisque in fluctibus.

50. Ovid. *Trist.* 1.5.36 : Et date naufragio litora tuta meo.

51–52. Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 1.6 : O Meliboe, Deus nobis hec otia fecit ; and 1.10 : ludere quae vellem ... ; *Ps.* 32 : 2 : Confitemini Domino in cithara, In psalterio decem chordarum psallite illi ; *Ps.* 56 : 9 and 107 : 3 : Exsurge, psalterium et cithara ; *Ps.* 80 : 3 : psalterium jucundum cum cithara ; *Ps.* 91 : 4 : In decachordo, psalterio, cum cantico, in cithara ; *Ps.* 150 : 3 : Laudate eum in psalterio et cithara ; also *I Sam.* 10 : 5 ; etc.

58. Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 10.3 : neget quis carmine Gallo? ; Hraban. *Carm.* 1.4.10 : Ludere dum libuit carmine versifico.

70. Cf. *Song of Sol.* ; f. ex. 5 : 16 : Talis es dilectus meus, et ipse est amicus meus ...

77. Cf. *Song of Sol.* 8 : 14 : Fuge dilecte mi.

79–80. Cf. *Song of Sol.* 1 : 6 : Indica mihi (...) ubi pascas, ubi cubes in meridie, ne vagari incipiam post greges sodalium tuorum.

83. Cf. *Song of Sol.* 2 : 5 : Fulcite me floribus, stipate me malis.

85–86. Cf. *Song of Sol.* 2 : 7 (and *al.*) : Adiuro vos (...) ne suscitatis, neque evigilare faciatis dilectam, quoadusque ipsa velit.

87–88. Cf. *Song of Sol.* 2 : 8 : Vox dilecti mei ; ecce iste venit, saliens in montibus, transiliens colles ; 2 : 9 : prospiciens per cancellos ; 7 : 11 : Veni, dilecte mi.

91. Cf. *Song of Sol.* 5 : 6 : Anima mea liquefacta est.

93. Cf. Ovid. *Rem. am.* 579–580 : Quisquis amas, loca sola nocent : loca sola caveto! /  
Quo fugis ?
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#### Relations with other Gerson's poems

8. Cf. *HEU GREGIS* (ed. Glorieux, 10, n° 531), v. 84.
25. Cf. *MAGNIFICAT ANIMA* (ed. Glorieux, 4, n° 153), v. 61.
35. Cf. *CERNE QUIS* (ed. Glorieux, 4, n° 117), v. 19.
- 47–48. The same verses in *MUSICA DIVINI* (ed. Glorieux, 4, n° 160), vv. 65–66.
- 48–51. Cf. *SE LUGDUNE* (ed. Glorieux, 4, n° 187), vv. 10–12.

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<sup>1</sup> On Gerson's personality cf. Etienne Delaruelle – Edmond–René Labande – Paul Ourliac, *L'Eglise au temps du Grand Schisme et de la crise conciliaire, Histoire de l'Eglise depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*, 14, 2 (Tournai, 1964), 837–869 ; G. Matteo Roccati, "Gersoniana", *Wolfenbütteler Renaissance–Mitteilungen* 9 (1985) : 40–46 ; Id., "Aspetti umanistici dell'opera poetica latina di Jean Gerson", *Protrepticon*, a cura di Sesto Prete (Milano, 1989), 117–124 ; Alain De Libera, *La philosophie médiévale* (Paris, 1993), 477–478 ; Daniel Hobbins, "The Schoolman as Public Intellectual : Jean Gerson and the Late Medieval Tract", *The American Historical Review* 108 (2003) : 1308–1337. I am very grateful to Kathleen Daly for the time she spent revising my English text.

<sup>2</sup> Only the *Josephina* – the most important poetical work : a virgilian poem on the holy family (2936 hexameters) – is available in a modern critical edition : Jean Gerson, *Josephina*, Introduction, texte critique, scansion, index des termes avec indication des quantités prosodiques, tables des formes métriques, établis par G.M. Roccati (Paris, CNRS – LAMOP, 2001 ; CD–Rom). For the other poems the most recent edition is in J. Gerson, *Oeuvres complètes*, éd. Palémon Glorieux (Paris–Tournai, 1960–1973), 4 : *L'oeuvre poétique* (1960), but the edition of the *Opera omnia* by Elies Du Pin (Antwerpiae, 1706), is still useful. A new critical edition of the Latin poems can be found in J. Gerson, *Oeuvre poétique latine*, éd. G.M. Roccati, unpublished "thèse de troisième cycle" (Paris, E.H.E.S.S., 1980). Some short poems have been published in different articles : Gilbert Ouy, "Gerson, émule de Pétrarque. Le 'Pastorium Carmen', poème de jeunesse de Gerson, et la renaissance de l'églogue en France à la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup>

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siècle”, *Romania* 88 (1967) : 175–231, at 224–231 ; Id., “Le thème du ‘Taedium scriptorum gentilium’ chez les humanistes, particulièrement en France au début du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle”, *Cahiers de l’Association Internationale des Etudes Françaises* 23 (1971) : 9–26, at 25–26 ; G.M. Roccati, “Note a proposito delle poesie latine di Jean Gerson”, *Studi Francesi* 22 (1978) : 341–349, at 343–346 ; Id., “En marge de l’édition critique de l’oeuvre poétique de Gerson : le manuscrit Paris, B.N. lat. 3624”, *Pluteus* 6–7 (1988–1989, printed 1994) : 79–95, at 93–95.

<sup>3</sup> In Glorieux’s edition this poem has been arbitrarily divided into three independent texts : vv. 1–24, n° 183 (*QUISQUIS AMAS*) ; vv. 25–46, n° 124 (*DESIPIT AN*) ; vv. 47–100, n° 174 (*PREBE FIDEM*).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. G.M. Roccati, “Gerson e il problema dell’espressione poetica : note su alcuni temi e immagini ricorrenti nelle poesie latine”, *Studi Francesi* 26 (1982) : 278–285, at 279 and 285 ; Id., “Jean Gerson lettore di Albertino Mussato ? La testimonianza dei testi poetici”, *Franco-Italica* 18–19 (2001) : 175–205.

<sup>5</sup> On this personnage see Max Lieberman, “Chronologie gersonienne. VI”, *Romania* 79 (1958) : 339–375 (362–375) ; Id., “Chronologie gersonienne. VII”, *Romania* 80 (1959) : 289–336 (335–336) ; G. Ouy, “Enquête sur les manuscrits autographes du Chancelier Gerson et sur les copies faites par son frère le célestin Jean Gerson”, *Scriptorium* 16 (1962) : 275–301 ; Id., “La ‘Deploratio super civitatem aut regionem que gladium evaginavit super se’”, *Miscellanea André Combes*, 2 (Roma, 1967) : 351–387 (*Divinitas* 11 (1967) : 747–784), at 353–354 ; Id. “Gerson et la guerre civile à Paris. La ‘Deploratio super civitatem’”, *Archives d’histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* 71 (2004) : 255–286 ; Id., “Manuscrits jumeaux et copies en

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facsimilé : Deux couples de manuscrits gersoniens”, *Codices manuscripti* 11 (1985) : 124–135 ; Id., “Le célestin Jean Gerson copiste et éditeur de son frère”, *La collaboration dans la production de l’écrit médiéval, actes du XIII<sup>e</sup> colloque du Comité international de paléographie latine (Weingarten, 22–25 septembre 2000)*, réunis par Herrad Spilling (Paris, 2003), 281–308 ; G.M. Roccati, “Recherches sur les poèmes contenus dans les ‘Tractatus de canticis’ de Gerson”, *Le Moyen Français* 8–9 (1983) : 149–182.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Roccati, “Recherches sur les poèmes” : 151–152.

<sup>7</sup> Ed. Glorieux, 9, n° 485–486.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Roccati, “Recherches sur les poèmes” : 160–163.

<sup>9</sup> Ed. Glorieux, 9, n° 460.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Roccati, “Recherches sur les poèmes” : 151–157.

<sup>11</sup> MSS BNF, lat. 3624 and 3638 : cf. G.M. Roccati, “A propos de la tradition manuscrite de l’oeuvre poétique latine de Gerson : les manuscrits Paris, B.N. lat. 3624 et 3638”, *Revue d’Histoire des Textes* 10 (1980) : 277–304.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Roccati, “Recherches sur les poèmes” : 154–156.

<sup>13</sup> A *centilogium*, according to a terminology used for other texts, e.g. the *Centilogium de meditatione crucis* (ed. Glorieux, 4, n° 134 ; here for one hundred distichs).

<sup>14</sup> See *infra*, n. 46.

<sup>15</sup> On the *Song of Songs* in the Middle Ages, see the works of Ann W. Astell, *The Song of Songs in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca–London, 1990), and Edith Ann Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved. The Song of Songs in Western Medieval Christianity*

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(Philadelphia, 1990), particularly on *The Marriage of the Soul*, 123–150. Gerson composed a *Tractatus super Cantica Canticorum* (ed. Glorieux, 8, n° 422, 565–639).

<sup>16</sup> This translation is the result of a close collaboration with Kathleen Daly.

<sup>17</sup> *Quisquis amas* : “you, whoever like ...” Gerson remembers here, for his beginning, Ovid and perhaps Petrarch (see *infra* the apparatus of literary reminiscences).

<sup>18</sup> *Prosa* has undoubtedly here the medieval meaning of poetry and not the classical meaning of prose : Gerson’s terminology is very often medieval (see *infra*, n. 71) and furthermore we find this word in some of his titles : *Prosa sub cantu* “*Lauda Sion Salvatorem*” (ed. Glorieux, 4, n° 148), *Prosa in circumcissione Domini* (ed. Glorieux, 4, n° 112).

<sup>19</sup> The theme of the spontaneity of inspiration is to be connected to the theme of *furor* (see *infra*, n. 49).

<sup>20</sup> *Lepos* : charm, attractiveness, *profane* beauty.

<sup>21</sup> In the sense here of poetry in general.

<sup>22</sup> First intervention of the accuser : a traditional reference to Ovid, the example of pagan lascivious poetry ; see also *infra*, n. 38.

<sup>23</sup> *Topos* of the *pulchra captiva*, see Henri de Lubac, *Exegèse médiévale*, 1 (Paris, 1959), 290–304. Among the authors whose culture resembled that of Gerson, we find the topos particularly in Bocc., *Geneal.*, 14.18 : “... et potissime ex figura mulieris captive, raso capite, deposita veste, resectis unguibus et pilis ablatis, Israelite matrimonio copulanda” (ed. Vincenzo Romano (Bari, 1951), 736, lines 15–17). See also Roccati, “Gerson e il problema” (n. 4 above) : 281.

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<sup>24</sup> See Roccati, “Gerson e il problema” : 281. The topic of benefits brought by versified expression is traditional, see f. ex. Marbode, *Liber decem capitulorum*, vv. 39–40 (Marbodo di Rennes, *De ornamentis verborum, Liber decem capitulorum (...)*, a cura di Rosario Leotta (Firenze, 1998), 30 ; *PL* 171, 1693).

<sup>25</sup> The reference is here to *Prov.* 31 : 10–31 : *Encomium mulieris fortis*. Gerson follows traditional opinion, according to Isidore of Seville, who refers to these names and writes that biblical authors had already composed many different sorts of verses (*Etym.*, 1.39 ; see also Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (New York, 1953), 451–452). Petrarch too (*Le Familiari*, 10.4.48–52 ; ed. Vittorio Rossi, 2 (Firenze, 1934), 302) refers to these names, but he also cites other authors, the Fathers and Christian poets. Perhaps Gerson takes his inspiration here from Albertino Mussato, see Roccati, “Jean Gerson lettore” (n. 4 above) : 183–191.

<sup>26</sup> *Brevius* : on “Brevity as an Ideal of Style” see Curtius, *European Literature*, 487–494.

<sup>27</sup> The opposition prose/poetry is traditional too, but it is frequently used to prove the superiority of prose, more natural than verse.

<sup>28</sup> On the *topos* of *puer senex*, see Curtius, *European Literature*, 98–101 ; at 100 on reverse formulation (*senex puer*) appearing here. Gerson used the same themes and the dialogue form in the *Carmina super Magnificat* (ed. Glorieux, 4, n° 153), vv. 21–80, and he likes to remind us of this *topos*, see in the *Super Cantica canticorum*, the following phrase : “Gratus insuper accipiat pro succincto quasi prohemio in auxilio memoriae decadem versuum elegiacorum in qualibus nunc oblectat se otiosa senectus mea, studii memor puerilis” (ed. Glorieux, 8, n° 422, 577). The link between youthful



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studies and classical culture – in fact the term poetry includes this aspect – in opposition to the religious concerns of old age, is traditional, see Ouy, “Le thème du ‘Taedium scriptorum gentilium’” (n. 2 above), and Roccati, “Jean Gerson lettore” : 180–181.

<sup>29</sup> Literally : “a former life wishes to return”. Gerson himself gives a paraphrasis of this passage in the *De canticordo* (*Tractatus de canticis*, ed. Glorieux, 9, 578).

<sup>30</sup> Literally : “a fruit can be in poems assembled, composed with piety”.

<sup>31</sup> The elegy as a lamentation is a theme frequent in the middle ages, dependent on a false etymology of the word, see Pier Vincenzo Mengaldo, “L’elegia umile (‘De vulgari eloquentia’, 2.4.5–6)”, *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 143 (1966) : 177–198, at 187–191.

<sup>32</sup> See *infra*, n. 46.

<sup>33</sup> Literally : “in the mouth”.

<sup>34</sup> *Vel* : “so as”.

<sup>35</sup> Allusion to the *topos* of *noxia carmina*, inspired by pagan muses – the *scenicae meretriculae* of Boethius (*Cons. phil.*, 1, *Prosa* 1.28) –, which Gerson puts in opposition to *carmina pia*, inspired by love of God (see *ESTO PEREGRINIS* (ed. Glorieux, 4, n° 131), v. 4 : “Carmina divinus (...) modulatur amor”) ; see Roccati, “Gerson e il problema” (n. 4 above) : 280–281, 283, and the prologue of the *Josephina* (my edition (n. 2 above) and ed. Glorieux, 4, n° 138), vv. 8–12, cf. G.M. Roccati, “Humanisme et préoccupations religieuses au début du XVe siècle : le prologue de la ‘Josephina’ de Jean Gerson”, *Préludes à la Renaissance*, études réunies par Carla Bozzolo et Ezio Ornato (Paris, 1992), 107–122, at 114–116. See also Roccati, “Jean Gerson lettore” : 188–189.

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<sup>36</sup> Literally : “who would reprove writing pious subjects in, by verses?”.

<sup>37</sup> Literally : “nothing against, contrary to chaste morals”.

<sup>38</sup> On the opposition *prodesse/delectare* see Roccati, “Gerson e il problema” : 281 ; Giuseppe Di Stefano, “Il Trecento”, *Il Boccaccio nella cultura francese*, a cura di Carlo Pellegrini, Atti del Convegno di studi *L’opera del Boccaccio nella cultura francese*, Certaldo, 2–6 settembre 1968 (Firenze, 1971), 1–47, at 16–21.

<sup>39</sup> *Ornatus* : the technical term which indicates the qualities of rhetorical style, see Curtius, *European Literature* (n. 25 above), 71.

<sup>40</sup> Gerson’s concept of “otium” is a positive one and it often implies literary activity : explicitly subordinate to prayer and active life, it is nevertheless clearly recommended : “Redde prius Domino quod debes, deinde vacabis // Scripto vel studio, seu meditare silens” (*Carmen de laude canendi*, ed. Glorieux, 4, n° 188, vv. 23–24). On the theme of “otium” in this period see Dario Cecchetti, *Petrarca Pietramala e Clamanges* (Paris, 1982), ch. 3 : *Clamanges lettore di Petrarca : “vita solitaria” et “otium”*. To write in order to occupy idleness is a traditional theme, see for example Baudri de Bourgueil, *Carm.*, ed. Karlheinz Hilbert (Heidelberg, 1979), 1.56–62.

<sup>41</sup> Literally : “during them (the *otia*) wisdom (*sapientia*) is to be given to writings”.

<sup>42</sup> Probably *Matt.* 12 : 36–37.

<sup>43</sup> Literally : “This god gave us ... ”.

<sup>44</sup> The *Psalterium decachordum*, including different schemes and figures, see Roccati, “Recherches sur les poèmes” (n. 5 above) : 178–179, and the manuscripts

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quoted (these works have been edited, in part and incorrectly, in ed. Glorieux, 9, 704–718).

<sup>45</sup> Literally : “our mind”.

<sup>46</sup> Gerson refers to the works he offered to the king ; on the autobiographical value of this passage see Roccati, “Recherches sur les poèmes” : 160–163.

<sup>47</sup> Literally : “nothing”.

<sup>48</sup> All manuscripts, except **V** and **S** (see *infra*, n. 87) have the adjective *mistica* ; **V** and **S** have *musica*. This variant may be correct : *musicus* may be an adjective and perhaps Gerson was uncertain in his composition. Nevertheless, as in v. 54, we follow the testimony of the other copies, more reliable when all are in accord against **V** and **S**.

<sup>49</sup> The term *fervor* could perhaps refer to the theme of *furor*, very frequent in the humanistic defenses of poetry (see Roccati, “Gerson e il problema” (n. 4 above) : 283, particularly the bibliography quoted in n. 38). Gerson reconsiders the terms of the “débat” in order to eliminate any ambiguity : *furor* could convey an unorthodox interpretation, in place of it he prefers *fervor*.

<sup>50</sup> Literally : “entire, whole, he loves through love”.

<sup>51</sup> Literally : “is coming”.

<sup>52</sup> *Canore* : harmonious, melodious sound or song.

<sup>53</sup> *Caveat ... quid ... redire* : the construction is perhaps difficult, but it seems to me preferable to an interrogative one : “Sed caveat puer hic quid? ... redire ...”.

<sup>54</sup> *Ebrietas* is a technical term to designate mystic rapture, see Roccati, “Gerson e il problema” : 283, particularly the text quoted n. 40 (*VERNUM TEMPUS*, ed. Glorieux, 4, n° 204).

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<sup>55</sup> Literally : “in him rapture be temperate”.

<sup>56</sup> Literally : “let be”.

<sup>57</sup> Literally : “the husband as a friend considers his beloved bride”. From v. 70 to v. 96 Gerson gives a paraphrasis, where we find a bucolic style, and at the same time an allegorical reading of the *Song of Songs* ; the biblical text is followed, the words are repeated and explained : the *Song* is seen as an example of *elegia spiritualis* that Gerson wants to compose, as he says at the end of his explanation and in the conclusion of the poem (vv. 95–100).

<sup>58</sup> Literally : “by whom such a mystery will have to be known”.

<sup>59</sup> *Valet ... secare* : “is able to divide, subdivide”.

<sup>60</sup> *Spes patrie* : the hope of fatherland.

<sup>61</sup> Literally : “she throws herself in the arms”.

<sup>62</sup> *Querendi studium* : “zeal, ardour for searching, seeking”.

<sup>63</sup> Literally : “she melts at husband’s voice”.

<sup>64</sup> See *supra*, n. 40. Here, and not only in these verses, Gerson is using a passage of Ovid which furnishes him with several words and expressions. In *Remedia amoris*, vv. 579–582, Ovid exhorts the lover to flee from solitary places in order to alleviate the pains of love : “Quisquis amas, loca sola nocent : loca sola caveto! // Quo fugis? in populo tutior esse potes. // Non tibi secretis (augent secreta furores) // Est opus ; auxilio turba futura tibist”. The expression that opens the poem is taken from this passage and the idea of flight (v. 77) is common to this text and to the *Song of Songs*. But it is noteworthy that here Gerson is using Ovid’s words to contradict Ovid’s ideas : he exhorts the lover to cultivate God’s love far away from the noise of people. We can find

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an analogous play on words and ideas in the prologue of the *Josephina*, cf. Roccati, “Humanisme et préoccupations religieuses” (n. 35 above) : 113–115.

<sup>65</sup> *A labiis ... malis* : from evil lips.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Roccati, “Gerson e il problema” : 279 and 285. Nevertheless Gerson does not borrow precise passages from Boccaccio’s text, especially from chapter 14 of the *Genologie*, he refers to traditional *topoi*. See also Roccati, “Jean Gerson lettore” (n. 4 above).

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Di Stefano, *Il Trecento* (n. 38 above) : 18–19 ; Marc-René Jung, “Poetria. Zur Dichtungstheorie des ausgehenden Mittelalters in Frankreich”, *Vox Romanica* 30 (1971) : 44–64 ; G.M. Roccati, “Mito classico e storia antica nella cultura del Trecento francese”, *L’analisi linguistica e letteraria* 6 (1998) : 7–29.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Roccati, “Gerson e il problema” : 281.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. *ibidem* : 281, and *supra*, n. 38.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. *ibidem* : 282, and *supra*, n. 25.

<sup>71</sup> The adjective *misticus* or *spiritualis*, frequently used, removes any possible ambiguity, see Roccati, “Gerson e il problema”, 283. For this reason Gerson prefers terms and concepts belonging to the Christian tradition, for example the terms designating the poems themselves (see *ibidem*, n. 27), some important concepts such as *fervor/furor* (see *supra*, n. 49) or poetical inspiration interpreted as mystic *ebrietas* (see *supra*, n. 54).

<sup>72</sup> Cf. *ibidem* : 281, and *supra*, n. 23.

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<sup>73</sup> As codified particularly in the *De doctrina christiana*, see Henri Irénée Marrou, *Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique* (Paris, 1958), 402–403 and *passim*.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Franco Simone, “La ‘reductio artium ad Sacram Scripturam’ quale espressione dell’umanesimo medievale fino al secolo XII”, *Convivium* 6 (1949) : 887–927.

<sup>75</sup> The traditional position of the Church on this problem is concisely, but effectively explained by Gilles–Gérard Meersseman, “‘In libris gentilium non studeant’. L’étude des classiques interdite aux clercs du moyen âge?”, *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 1 (1958) : 1–13.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. *infra*, the edition of the text.

<sup>77</sup> *Prebe* (–.), v. 47, *petit* (–.), v. 79 ; *liquefit* (–.), v. 91.

<sup>78</sup> On this problem cf. Gerson, *Oeuvre poétique latine* (n. 2 above), XLVIII–XLIX ; Id., *Josephina* (n. 2 above), 67–73 ; G.M. Roccati, “Problemi prosodici e metrici nel primo Umanesimo francese : un’esperienza di scansione automatizzata”, *Res Publica Litterarum* 13 (1990) : 229–238 ; Id., “La métrique de la Josephina de Jean Gerson (1418) : premiers résultats obtenus par l’application d’un programme de scansion automatisée”, *Le Moyen Français* 29 (1991) : 99–113. In our poem particular scansions appear perhaps in *elegia* (– – . .), v. 3, 97 ; *Ieremias* (. . – –), *David* (. .), *Moyses* (. . – or . . .), v. 12 ; *poesis* (. . –), v. 37 ; *Ihesus* (. –), v. 46 ; *Ariona* (. – . .), v. 47.

<sup>79</sup> On Jean the Celestine see *supra*, n. 5.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Roccati, A propos de la tradition (n. 11 above) : 290–297.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. *ibidem* : 302–303.

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<sup>82</sup> In a similar way a copy of the *Pastorium Carmen* had been communicated and copied in MS BNF, lat. 3638, cf. Ouy, “Gerson, émule de Pétrarque” (n. 2 above) ; Id., “Charles d’Orléans and his Brother Jean d’Angoulême in England : What their Manuscripts have to Tell”, Mary-Jo Arn ed., *Charles d'Orléans in England, 1415–1440* (Woodbridge, 2000), 47–60, at 54–57.

<sup>83</sup> MS 3638 (unknown to Glorieux). It is certain that the second part is not considered to be an independent text : in the other cases, when there is no title, the separation between the poems is marked by *explicit* or *amen* at the end of the preceding text and by at least two blank lines.

<sup>84</sup> MS BNF, lat. 3624 (**Q** in ed. Glorieux). There is no rubric, but space has been left for an initial at the beginning of the second part. Nevertheless this does not imply that this is the start of a new text : normally the space reserved for this initial is larger and the *incipit* is written in a different form ; cf. Roccati, “En marge de l’édition” (n. 2 above).

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Roccati, “Recherches sur les poèmes” : 154, n. 30.

<sup>86</sup> MS BNF, lat. 14905 (**D**), cf. *ibidem* : 155 ; see also Danièle Calvot et G. Ouy, *L’œuvre de Gerson à Saint-Victor de Paris. Catalogue des manuscrits* (Paris, 1990), 102–117 ; G. Ouy, *Les manuscrits de l’Abbaye de Saint-Victor. Catalogue établi sur la base du répertoire de Claude de Grandrue (1514)* ([Turnhout], 1999), 1, 44–45 ; 2, 329–331.

<sup>87</sup> MSS BNF, lat. 17487 (**S**) and Tours, B.M. 379 (**V**), cf. Roccati, “Recherches sur les poèmes” (n. 5 above) : 155 ; see also Ouy, *Manuscrits jumeaux* (n. 5 above) : 5–8.

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<sup>88</sup> But they are never treated as independent poems : in addition to the separation between v. 24 and v. 25, appearing in all manuscripts, the *Tractatus* copies have a blank line between v. 46 and v. 47. This division has probably been introduced because the first two verses (vv. 47–48) appear identical in the poem *De laude musice* (ed. Glorieux, 4, n° 160 ; vv. 65–66), inserted in the *Tractatus de canticis* too. Moreover as the first eight verses were originally the dedicatory epistle of the *Scacordum*, they constitute a special entity. Only in the st. Victor manuscript has a rubric (*De eodem*) been added on the blank line, but it has been written after the copy was made, with a second, clearer, ink : in the model the verses were considered part of the same text. In the model for **S** and **V** copies, the text was considered a single poem. Some details of **S** copy, which could suggest a real separation between different poems and not strophes, are in fact innovations of this manuscript. The red verse initial of the three parts are on two lines as they were three independent texts. The copyist of these leaves in manuscripts **S** and **V** (the same copyist, maybe Thomas Gerson), has innovated : in **V**, the first copy made (cf. Roccati, “Recherches sur les poèmes” : 155), the three parts are not considered as independent texts, the red verse initial being on one line only.

<sup>89</sup> The special status of initials is marked in the manuscripts in different ways (rubrics, paragraph signs or just spaces for initials : probably the models were not perfectly homogeneous), but all give a special status to the initials of vv. 47, 57, 63 (excepted **D**) and 97. In MS **Q** some marks (.) have been written in the margin of vv. 40, 60, 65, 71, but their interpretation is not clear. Initials of vv. 31, 35, 39, 45, 55 and 61 have similarly received a new status in the poem *De laude musice* – also inserted in the *Tractatus de canticis*.



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<sup>90</sup> The interlocutor's interventions in the dialogue are marked by some rubrics : *questio* and *responsio*, and by the special character of the initial (vv. 25, 27, 29, 31, 33). In the dialogue in MS **Q** two punctuation marks (/) at the end of v. 30 and v. 32 indicate the end of two interventions.

<sup>91</sup> See v. 40, 49, 95, 100 ; some analogous notes appear in the other poems. On the circumstances of this work, cf. Roccati, "Recherches sur les poèmes" : 156.

<sup>92</sup> On Gerson's editions, see G.M. Roccati, "Geiler von Kaysersberg et la tradition imprimée des oeuvres de Gerson", *Revue française d'histoire du livre* 47 – n. s. (1985) : 271–293. Glorieux's edition does not bring any useful element ; for this reason the edition which follows has been established using only the manuscripts and the first (by Geiler von Kaysersberg, 1488) and the last (by E. Du Pin, 1706) of earlier editions of the text. The letter *i* (*j*) and the *u/v* alternance have been standardised.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Roccati, "En marge de l'édition" (n. 2 above) : 87.