

INFORMATION TO USERS

This reproduction was made from a copy of a manuscript sent to us for publication and microfilming. While the most advanced technology has been used to photograph and reproduce this manuscript, the quality of the reproduction is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted. Pages in any manuscript may have indistinct print. In all cases the best available copy has been filmed.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help clarify notations which may appear on this reproduction.

1. Manuscripts may not always be complete. When it is not possible to obtain missing pages, a note appears to indicate this.
2. When copyrighted materials are removed from the manuscript, a note appears to indicate this.
3. Oversize materials (maps, drawings, and charts) are photographed by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each oversize page is also filmed as one exposure and is available, for an additional charge, as a standard 35mm slide or in black and white paper format.*
4. Most photographs reproduce acceptably on positive microfilm or microfiche but lack clarity on xerographic copies made from the microfilm. For an additional charge, all photographs are available in black and white standard 35mm slide format.*

***For more information about black and white slides or enlarged paper reproductions, please contact the Dissertations Customer Services Department.**

UMI University
Microfilms
International

8614712

Wejksnora, Louise R.

CLASSICAL GODS AND CHRISTIAN GOD: RELIGIOUS ALLUSIONS AND
THE MORAL OF CHAUCER'S "TROILUS AND CRISEYDE"

City University of New York

PH.D. 1986

University
Microfilms
International 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106

Copyright 1986

by

Wejksnora, Louise R.

All Rights Reserved

PLEASE NOTE:

In all cases this material has been filmed in the best possible way from the available copy.
Problems encountered with this document have been identified here with a check mark ✓.

1. Glossy photographs or pages _____
2. Colored illustrations, paper or print _____
3. Photographs with dark background _____
4. Illustrations are poor copy _____
5. Pages with black marks, not original copy ✓
6. Print shows through as there is text on both sides of page _____
7. Indistinct, broken or small print on several pages ✓
8. Print exceeds margin requirements _____
9. Tightly bound copy with print lost in spine _____
10. Computer printout pages with indistinct print _____
11. Page(s) _____ lacking when material received, and not available from school or author.
12. Page(s) _____ seem to be missing in numbering only as text follows.
13. Two pages numbered _____. Text follows.
14. Curling and wrinkled pages _____
15. Dissertation contains pages with print at a slant, filmed as received ✓
16. Other _____

University
Microfilms
International

CLASSICAL GODS AND CHRISTIAN GOD:
RELIGIOUS ALLUSIONS AND THE MORAL OF CHAUCER'S
TROILUS AND CRISEYDE

by

Louise R. Wejksnora

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in
English in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, the City University
of New York.

1986

Copyright by
Louise R. Wejksnora
1986

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in English in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

May 1, 1986
date

Robert O. Payne
Chairman of Examining Committee

April 30, 1986
date

Michael Tumbro
Executive Officer

Robert O. Payne

SE Levin

Martin Stevens

Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

Abstract

CLASSICAL GODS AND CHRISTIAN GOD:
RELIGIOUS ALLUSIONS AND THE MORAL OF CHAUCER'S
TROILUS AND CRISEYDE

by

Louise Wejksnora

Adviser: Professor Robert O. Payne

Geoffrey Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde makes pervasive use of references to the Christian God and medieval Christianity, classical gods and myths, and medieval personifications as goddesses. Explicating the meaning and significance of these varied and complex religious allusions is a useful key for unlocking the poem's theme(s) and moral.

Chapter I examines the pagan scene, the medieval figures of Fortuna and Natura, courtly love matter and its deities, and the Christian God and Christian rites in the Troilus, presenting findings of previous research and determining that a syncretistic study of the full set of religious references and all their possible implications has not previously been undertaken.

Chapter II defines and examines different types of religious allusions in the Troilus: colloquial language and Christian allusions, references to gods and goddesses, astrological passages, and Narratorial expressions. A range of casualness and seriousness in each group of refe-

rences is identified, and the possible meanings and functions of each type of reference are explicated. Other medieval literature is used to support the point that multiple possible meanings, and complexity and double-meaning, were well within Chaucer's received tradition.

Chapter III examines the Troilus linearly, analyzing important groups of religious allusions in each Book and establishing the cumulative impact of each group of references within the text and in relation to each other. Cupid, Venus, Fortuna, and Jove, colloquial language and allusions to Christianity, infernal references, less significant classical gods, Narratorial judgemental statements, astronomical and astrological passages, and Boethian allusions are each considered in context. Possible implications of each group as they actually appear are defined. The love gods' benignity of presentation, and Chaucer's strategy of consistently using references with multiple possible meanings and leaving all the possibilities open, are revealed.

Chapter IV posits that the Troilus is a doubly-focussed poem: it can properly and accurately be read as presenting a Christian viewpoint and moral; or equally correctly be understood as a poem celebrating human love; both these readings are simultaneously present and valid. Both readings are set forth to show how each fully accounts for all of the poem's religious allusions.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work would most certainly not have reached its present form without the kind support, counsel, advice, and help of many people:

My parents, Helen D. Henkin and Norman E. Henkin,
sine qua non

My daughter, Ruth Ann Wejksnora, just turning seven
years old, who has thrived despite having never until now
known what it's like to have a mother who isn't a
graduate student

Peter, for early encouragement

Professor Robert O. Payne, for incredible patience
and faith in me, advice, insight, and friendship

Professor Martin Stevens, for constructive criticism

Professor Sam Levin, for being there

Professor Helaine Newstead, who first welcomed me to
the Graduate Center's community of medievalists; I wish
she was still here to see this result

all the fellow students in the Medieval Seminar from
whom I've learned and with whom I've shared a love for
medieval literature and culture.

Lynn Kadison and Billie Goldman, secretaries for the
Graduate Center's English Department, unsung heroes
without whom many a graduate student, including this one,
would never have made it through the red tape

faculty members at the University of Wisconsin -
Milwaukee, especially Professors Xavier Baron, Bruce
Stark, Gareth Dunleavy and John Goulet, who welcomed me
to their classes as an auditor and so helped me maintain
contact with the community of scholarship in my field
while completing this thesis

Tom Phillipson, computer salesman extrodinaire,
without whose ready assistance this would have taken
an extra six months

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction: The Multiplicity of Possible Readings of the <u>Troilus</u> and the Suggestion that Any One Interpretation May Be Inadequate by Itself	page 1
Chapter I: Religious Allusions in <u>Troilus</u> and <u>Criseyde</u> : Research to Date	13
i the pagan scene	14
ii medieval goddesses: Fortuna and Natura	30
iii courtly love material, Cupid and Venus, and the celebration of love	41
iv the Christian God	54
v conclusion	69
footnotes	71
Chapter II: Types of Religious Allusions in <u>Troilus</u> and <u>Criseyde</u> and Their Possible Functions in the Poem	85
i references to God and Christianity	88
ii deities other than God	136
iii astrological references	211
iv the Narrator and his expressions	214
v conclusion	234
footnotes	238
Chapter III: The Religious Allusions in Context: A Linear Analysis of Their Appearances in <u>Troilus</u> and <u>Criseyde</u>	246
i Book I	247
ii Book II	261
iii Book III	284
iv Book IV	317
v Book V	344
vi conclusion	377
footnotes	381
Chapter IV: The Double Reading of <u>Troilus</u>	384
i summary of the problem thus far	384
ii a Christian reading of the <u>Troilus</u>	393
iii a celebration-of-love reading	419
iv the implications of a doubly-focussed poem	447
footnotes	458
Conclusion	459
Appendix	464
Bibliography	507

INTRODUCTION

THE MULTIPLICITY OF POSSIBLE READINGS OF THE TROILUS AND THE SUGGESTION THAT ANY ONE INTERPRETATION MAY BE INADEQUATE IN ITSELF

It is ironic that Troilus and Criseyde, Chaucer's most carefully finished and revised work, is also his most debatable. Indeed, there is little question about the poem's plot; however, its meaning, "moral," sentence, the conclusions towards which its themes drive, remain very much in dispute. Thus it is still the case that equally respectable scholars see the work as celebrating or as denigrating human love, as destinal or as revealing human freedom of will, as taking place in a Christian or a pagan context. The ongoing fact of such basic disagreement regarding Chaucer's intentions and message renders appropriate another look at the poem. This dissertation takes such a look, using the poem's religious allusions and references as a key to its meaning. And I will show that the Troilus can best be interpreted not by discovering a single sentence but rather by identifying the poem as a "doubly-focussed" work.

One crucial underpinning of my approach is my evaluation that widely differing, even mutually exclusive, interpretations of the Troilus are often based equally well on the poem's text. For example, a

celebration-of-love reading can point to undeniable statements and actions in the work: Troilus and Criseyde do experience great joy in their love; the god of Love and Venus are praised unreservedly by the Narrator in the noblest language he can find; Troilus is really ennobled by his love, and this worldly lover is last seen at ease in his comprehension of true heavenly felicity. Yet an interpretation which denies the validity of the love can truthfully and soundly point to equally important passages and circumstances in the text: Troilus experiences great misery and sorrow at both the beginning and end of his loving; even the true love depicted ends in betrayal; and there is in the epilogue an unequivocal recommendation to love God rather than our frail fellow-mortals.

Again, a critic who sees the poem as revealing how characters with free will bring their problems on themselves can point out that Troilus' "predestination soliloquy," borne out by events as it is, is nonetheless a misquoting of the Boethian passage from which it is derived; that the poem has much suggestion of Christianity in it and concludes on an absolutely Christian note, which is significant since Christianity maintained an insistence on human freedom of will; that the characters are extensively depicted making choices as if they were free and their choosing mattered; and that

the choices they agonize over are what move the main action of the story, involving as they do each lover's decision on whether to accept the love open to him/her, and whether or not Troilus should ravish Criseyde or allow her to be exchanged for Antenor. Such passages as these are clear and important enough to support a reading of the poem that accepts human free will in it. Yet it must also be acknowledged that a critic who considers the poem *destinal* has at least equally valid reason to do so in the way Cupid and Venus overcome Troilus' and Criseyde's initial lack of interest in loving, in the astral conjunction that keeps Criseyde at Pandarus' house "byside hire leve," in many distinctly *destinal* Narratorial comments, and in the complete justification by events of Troilus' fatalistic understanding (despite the flaws in his logic).

My point here is that in these cases, each of two mutually exclusive views are specifically supported by passages in the poem's text. I suspect that the attempts of much of previous scholarship to reach unequivocal interpretations of the Troilus -- which were then open to challenge by differing scholars -- derived from this presence in the text of both mutually exclusive sides of an idea, of equally strengthened oppositions. It appears to be impossible to settle on any single view unless we

choose to ignore or deny or explain away certain passages -- and the text in itself provides no clear clues as to which passages should be given more weight than any others. Yet merely concluding that the Troilus is ambiguous, without examining how that ambiguity functions and what ideas it produces in the end, is surely begging the question.

Given this situation, in which the sentence and meaning of Troilus and Criseyde are still disputable and disputed, I believe it is necessary to investigate the poem again, and in a manner which will minimize chances of being misled by preconceived beliefs concerning the Troilus' meaning. I therefore worked by choosing a textual manifestation -- the religious references in the poem -- which I felt would be a useful key for unlocking the poem's themes and direction, and analyzing these references without presupposed expectations as to where they would lead.

I chose to use deities and religious allusions as my key to interpreting the Troilus for several reasons. First, they are ubiquitous in the poem, from its sixth line where Thesiphone is invoked to the prayer to the Trinity which is the poem's last stanza. Second, they are concretely present in the text, furnishing words and phrases which give something objective to deal with amidst the miasma of possible readings, expectations, and

views. Third, the gods and religious allusions, although their names and descriptions are in that textual sense objective, nonetheless do carry many and various associations, and these mythical and moral associations of each religious reference perform various possible functions in establishing the poem's meaning. I will show, in fact, that as a body they are consistently ambiguous. And as a result, they are a rich and fruitful source for clues to the work's sentence. Indeed, and as a fourth important reason for focusing on them, the possible associations for the Troilus' gods and religious allusions touch on virtually every critical nexus in it. And finally, Chaucer's use of religious references in the Troilus is highly unusual.

Troilus and Criseyde uses religious language and allusion in colloquial exclamation, in namings of classical deities, in Boethian paraphrase, in clear Christian allusion, in medieval allegorical personification, in courtly love contexts, in anachronistic and in time-appropriate ways, and in both apparently casual and deeply serious passages. Unquestionably many other medieval works, both by Chaucer and by others, used these different types of religious references, and I will be showing that complexity and double-meaning in such uses was common. Yet no others used all of these sorts of

references in a single work. Even an encyclopedic medieval opus like Roman de la Rose, which uses classical deities, allegorical figures, and courtly love manifestations of gods, presents Christian religious ideas, and includes both casual and serious uses of religious language, still lacks such qualities as the Troilus' Boethian paraphrase and pointed anachronism, and so fails of the latter's range and complexity in this matter; Roman de la Rose may be taken as a model for Chaucer's complexity of treatment, but it is a model which Chaucer elaborated on considerably. And it is also the case that Chaucer's uses of religious reference in his own other works fall short of the complexity and multiplicity of their use in the Troilus. The Knight's Tale, for example, like the Troilus, includes colloquial uses of God's name (such as "God woot"), classically apt appearances of the pagan pantheon, courtly love sentiments, and Boethian ideas, but it lacks additional factors which the Troilus has, such as overt discussion of chronology coupled with blatant anachronism, distinctly Christian references, involved considerations of fatalism versus free will under God and Fortuna, and the varieties of ways in which deities like Jove and the love gods appear. Again, the Parliament of Fowls uses classical deities, allegorical figures, courtly love ideas, and colloquial exclamatory namings of God, but includes nothing of

Boethian paraphrase or anachronism or even very deeply felt serious philosophical concerns (apart from those of proper loving). Venus provides a representative example of these differences. In the Knight's Tale, Venus' temple is described in terms which remark on the sufferings and characteristics of love, especially courtly love, mention famous lovers of classical and Biblical story, and acknowledge Venus' beauty and power to cause love; Palamon later prays to her humbly and with reference to her grace, power, and classical connections with Jove, Vulcan, and Adonis (frag. A I, ll. 1918-66 and 2221-60, pp. 36-9 in F. N. Robinson's 2d ed. of Chaucer's Complete Works). In the Parliament of Fowls, Venus' temple and its grounds are described as beautiful, peopled with the characteristics of courtly love, and decorated with depictions of famous lovers; later the formel eagle describes loving as service of Venus and Cupid. But these appearances of Venus do not approach the multiplicity of associations for her in the Troilus, where in Proem III her classical connections to Jove and Mars, her links with courtly love, and her power to cause love are expanded and complicated by the beautiful description of the universality of her power, its relation to God's love, the great importance and value of love, its ennobling qualities, and the mystery and cosmic nature of

the love associated with Venus; further, in the Troilus she is named in connection with astrological influence and repeatedly described in terms of bliss, grace, and benignity. There are thus many more ways that Venus is named in the Troilus than in the Knight's Tale or the Parliament, and this greater variety and range of her uses in my poem necessarily correlates with many more, and more complexly interrelated, possible implications and functions for Venus in the Troilus than in these other Chaucerian poems. Nor do any of Chaucer's other works begin to approach even these two in complexity of religious allusion. My subject is precisely this: the implications and functions in creating the poem's sentence of all the associations that are suggested for each deity and type of religious reference, and the interrelations with each other of the various associations for each deity, as well as the interrelations between the complex of possible meanings and uses for each god and the similar complexes for the poems' other deities. And since the complications of religious allusion in the Troilus are of so much greater magnitude than in any other of Chaucer's works, I feel that examining them would cast little light on his uses of gods and religion in the Troilus.

It would seem reasonable that when an author includes in a major work a unique strategy -- in this

case an atypical complexity and range of variety of religious references -- which furthermore presents associations that persistently suggest directions for interpreting and understanding the work, that this body of details should be accepted as significant in interpreting its meaning. Yet I have found that, although many studies of one or another god or group of religious references in the Troilus have been done, there has been little work on the implications of all the poem's religious allusions taken together. This dissertation, then, uses the full set of religious references in Troilus and Criseyde, taken together in all their complexity, to address the still-unresolved problem of the poem's meaning and sentence. And I will show that the result of this investigation will be to find the Troilus to be a doubly-focussed poem.

I use the term "doubly-focussed poem" here to identify a pattern in which two distinctly different yet equally sound interpretations of the work may be simultaneously and reasonably derived from its single text. In each of the two readings I will identify -- one that focusses on the poem's celebration of love and one that focusses on a more orthodox Christian understanding -- finding a coherent sentence requires giving more weight to some passages and to some possible connotations

of phrases, and less weight to others; the differences in the two readings depend on which passages one chooses to rely on more heavily, and which possible implications one chooses to accept. But it appears to me that the poem is uniformly ambiguous, giving no clues as to which possible associations of a reference are the "right" ones, while simultaneously establishing so many possibilities as to be self-contradictory unless some choices are made by the reader. In this situation, mere confusion will result if we make no choices, while we are free -- in fact we are obligated -- to choose with some arbitrariness. But our doing so does not invalidate another reader's making a different set of choices. So long as the choices a critic makes, regarding which connotations of ambiguously suggestive passages to weight seriously, are soundly based on the text and add up to a consistent interpretation and include all the important references in some way, those choices, and the patterns they produce, are valid. By this logic, two distinct and varying interpretations of Troilus and Criseyde can both be made: it has not one but two proper interpretations or readings. It is a double-focussed poem.

The method necessary to find and make a double interpretation of the poem involves suspending judgement while analyzing all the possible sound implications of each of these ambiguous allusions to God, gods, and

religious ideas. It is necessary to analyze carefully when an interpretive decision is text-required and when two or more different implications are available and therefore require an arbitrary decision regarding which to accept. Once the valid possible readings of each religious reference are established, the next step is to determine whether consistent patterns of meaning emerge from the possibilities when the potential implications of all the religious references are considered together. And again, I will submit that any pattern which accounts for all the textual references is a valid one, even if another equally sound reading also exists and differs from it, and taking into account that self-contradiction is inevitable unless certain arbitrary interpretive decisions are made. It is by following this method -- accepting all the reasonable possibilities which the text presents, and recognizing when an interpretive decision is arbitrary -- that I believe more than one valid reading of the Troilus can be made.

I will accordingly begin by reviewing what readings of Troilus and Criseyde's religious references have been found in the past. In my second chapter, I will sort out the various kinds of religious references -- the characters' references to God and Christianity, the references to pagan and allegorical deities, astrological

reference, and Narratorial expressions -- and define the possible meanings and functions of each. In the third chapter, I will proceed more or less linearly through the Troilus and identify which of these possible meanings work in the context of the poem itself, and what possible pattern of meaning they cumulatively establish. And in chapter four I will identify and review the two readings of the poem which I believe can be made.

CHAPTER 1

RELIGIOUS ALLUSIONS IN TROILUS AND CRISEYDE: RESEARCH TO DATE

The deities in Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde are a particularly heterogeneous lot. Some are clearly major figures in the poem; others appear in quite minor ways. Some are members of the classical Greco-Roman pantheon; others are medieval allegorical personifications. Some references are purely astronomical; others are distinctly astrological. Some references, indeed, are to gods, while others are clearly to the Christian God -- and still others ascribe to the former the attributes of the latter. There are many clearly pagan references, yet there is much Christian theology (some of it in the form of Boethian paraphrase). These various kinds of passages and allusions need to be sorted out, and the possible functions and implications of each, as explicated by previous research, need to be examined, as a first step towards defining the role of God and gods in creating the Troilus' sentence.

In this chapter I will look first at the pagan gods and Trojan scene in Troilus and Criseyde. A second section will consider the medieval figures of Natura and Fortuna and their appearances in the poem. Thirdly, I will examine the presence of courtly love and its deities

in the Troilus and their relation to my topic. The fourth section of this chapter will deal with God and Christian belief and practice in the poem. Finally, I will summarize what has been done in the area of my topic by previous criticism, and what remains to do.

i
the pagan scene

Two generalizations can be made about the classical gods in Troilus and Criseyde: that they are pervasively and meaningfully present in the work; and that Chaucer invariably used them correctly (according to the lore available to him) and aptly.

The presence of the classical pantheon has been frequently noted, as often in passing as when focussed on. Such critics as Meech, Kean, Gaylord, Koretsky,¹ Gill, Boughner, Rowe, Bloomfield, Whitlark, and Cotton, for example, remark on the gods' presence in and importance to the Troilus. Criticism like that of Kittredge, who focusses on the "impending doom of Troy" and calls the gods the force which set the "resistless² mechanism...in motion for the ruin of the Trojan race," suggests both the pantheon's presence and its weight of significance. A similar treatment is Tatlock's, in his concern about the ancient Trojan setting, and the prominence of vividly pagan gods in creating it.³ McCall's

dissertation is another critical work in which the gods are a primary concern; they are discussed there as filling the important functions of elaboration of themes, characterization, and commentary on the action, as well as creation and maintainance of a pagan atmosphere.⁴

Appendix A of this thesis documents the occurrences of pagan gods in the Troilus; between I, 6 and V, 1853, they have some 128 appearances. The criticism mentioned here is an indication of critical cognizance of this presence, but also, and more importantly, of the fact that the gods are significant to the poem's meaning.

It will be useful here to define which gods are present, as well as which are major and which minor figures. Cupid and the god of Love are identical (in I, 206-7 the "god of Love" wields the bow which is Cupid's traditional accoutrement, and Troilus prays to "Love" naming Citherea/Venus as his mother in III, 1254-5). Concerned with the courtly love matter and frequently named or prayed to, he is a major figure. Venus, though appearing less frequently, must also be considered a major deity in the poem because of her patronage, as goddess of love, of the love affair which is the poem's matter, and also because of her place in Proem III. Fortuna, a medieval personification who I will treat in section ii of this chapter, is a third major figure in the Troilus. And I will suggest that Jove also, because

at times the qualities of God are attributed to him and because Troilus' important predestination speech (IV, 958-1085) is addressed to him, is a major figure as well.

Mention of Venus here has already indicated the problem of multiple names of deities. Chaucer seems to have used Greek and Latin names, and case variations, interchangeably: it seems clear to me that Jove and Jupiter are one and the same, and that Pallas is Minerva. A case requiring slightly more care involves the astronomical deities. Apollo would seem to be the god of oracles and foretelling, Calchas' patron, while Phebus would seem to name him as the sun -- yet his first appearance specifically gives him both appellations (I, 70). The moon-goddess too has several names -- Diana, Latona the clear, Lucina the "sheene" -- yet in each case the moon is obviously being referred to. And for this reason I shall be treating different names for a given deity as interchangeable in my thesis, just as Chaucer did in this poem.

A more important point to determine, however, is which gods are of major importance and which minor. Minerva, the sun- and moon-deities, Juno, and Mars, for example, each appear several times, and each might be carrying thematic associations. yet I would argue that the several appearances of each are of a different order

of magnitude from the far more frequent and obviously active involvement of Venus, Cupid, and Fortuna, and therefore that the latter three are major figures where the others are minor. Jove, because of his protean characteristics in the Troilus, is a separate case, but where his appearances as a pagan god might be minor, his usages which parallel or recall the Christian conception of God cannot be. Another problematical figure is Natura/Kynde, for she is actually named only rarely in the poem, yet her implications might be major, and some few critics have found them so (as will be treated in section ii). A different case again is that of infernal references, for there are a great many different ones. Cerberus and Tantalus, for example, each appear only once, and each in itself could not be a major reference -- yet there are enough infernal references to make them significant as a group, and I shall consider them to be so. Then there are a plethora of references to demi-gods and figures of classical myth and legend: muses Clio and Calliope, Niobe, Procne, Janus and so on. All of these are one-time occurrences and obviously minor figures, yet I feel they must also be explicated in order to make a complete reading of the gods in the Troilus, for there is a considerable body of them.

With the presence of pagan gods in the Troilus established, and some preliminary definitions made of

which gods are there and which of them are especially important, remaining considerations are the correctness, appropriateness, and function of their appearances.

Regarding the relation between fourteenth century knowledge of the classical gods and their appearances in the Troilus, such critics as Bloomfield, Costello, McCall, Lopresti, Whitlark, and Koretsky⁵ are among those who comment on the accuracy of Chaucer's lore and the aptness of its use, in general terms. And this relation has been noted at greater length in regard to specific deities and references as well.

Venus presents a typical example; and characteristics attributable to her in the fourteenth century have been noted by scholars working on the Troilus. Venus was goddess of love; but two Venuses were identified in the Middle Ages, a bright one who represented the force of necessary and lawful regeneration under Natura and God,⁶ and a base one of lascivious carnal (and sinful) lust. Critics differ over which of these is presented in the Troilus. McCall believes that the base Venus is depicted, with the result of showing Troilus' love to be sinful, and Bloomfield feels that Venus underlines "the pagan quality of the lust";⁷ but Dorothy Bethurum Loomis and Lopresti feel that the Venus we see is a positive figure, not just astrologically correct and mythologi-

cally rich, but a civilizing influence and Lucretian power of generation and bond, making Troilus' love under her tutelage into something akin to God's love, an unascivious figure used to glorify all the praiseworthy aspects of love, from physical attraction in its place to cosmic harmony.⁸ Or, indeed, the Venus of Troilus and Criseyde may be seen as complex: Apstein speaks of⁹ Chaucer as having given Venus a many-layered meaning; and Costello, at greater length, points out Venus' ambiguity in Proem III, and discusses the Venus of the Troilus as the sensual Venus, patroness of carnal love, yet also as ennobling Troilus such that his affair under her auspices prepares him to leave her behind when he loses Criseyde, and so to find a higher love among the stars.¹⁰ The point in all these instances is that all critics, even in their disagreements with each other, have found the Venus of the Troilus to be used by Chaucer both meaningfully and aptly, in accordance with various portions of the lore about her that was available to him.

A similar statement may be made about Cupid, the god of Love. To the extent that Cupid is Venus' son, his characteristics and associations may be seen as partaking¹¹ of hers. Cupid has additional implications as well, however. For Cupid acquired, in the course of the Middle Ages, associations with "courtly love", and became its god, often depicted as worshipped in ways paralleling

Christian worship.¹² And whether courtly love is seen as sinful, or idealistic and benign, it is beyond question that the Cupid we see in the Troilus is identified with it, and is depicted with all the characteristics that the Middle Ages ascribed to the god of courtly love.¹³

Courtly love in Troilus and Criseyde will be discussed in section iii of this chapter; my point here is that Cupid in the Troilus is recognized as being presented correctly and aptly, according to medieval conceptions of him.

A third major deity in the Troilus is Jove, and he too appears in the poem very much as the fourteenth century conceived of him. For previous scholarship has noted that Jove could take on two different sets of associations. One set was that of the pagan god of Ovid's Metamorphoses, the one whom euhemeristic tradition had identified as derived from a lecherous king of Crete, and who was indeed associated with sinful lechery.¹⁴ The other was that of the all-powerful ruler of the gods, a majesty endowed with omniscience and omnipotence, a creator or "vivifying power in the universe" as Lopresti puts it, a being who can signify the Christian God.¹⁵ Furthermore, Jove's ambiguity, in the way he seems to slip back and forth between these sets of associations, has been granted critical consensus.¹⁶ Again, what I wish to point out here is that Jove in the Troilus has

been recognized as a figure described and used according to fourteenth century lore about him.

Venus, Cupid, and Jove (as well as Fortuna and just possibly Natura, both of whom will be treated in section ii) are defined here as major figures in the Troilus. But there is a myriad of minor deities and references as well, and they too are used by Chaucer both correctly and aptly. Thesiphone is a good example, for her place in a rhetorically significant invocation as well as her being the poem's first religious reference has made her the object of considerable critical attention. Thus Thesiphone's associations with lamentation, torment, and irrationality are documented and deemed appropriate (in various ways) by McCall and Whitlark, Cotton and¹⁷ Boughner. Further, Thesiphone is only the first of a sizable body of infernal references in the Troilus, and as one of this group of references, Thesiphone is partly explicable by the critical discussion of them. Boughner and Lopresti thus find references to Furies and Parcas, Thesiphone, Mars, and Tityus, to be aptly used by Chaucer in the sense that his usages fall within the medieval principles of high rhetorical style, but Whitlark noted invocations to Pluto, Flegetoun, Proserpine, Furies, and Cerberus as being similar to the Christian conception of devils, while Cotton suggests more generally that references to Hell and torment in Books IV and V

establish an analogy between damnation and thwarted
 earthly love (just as he considers Book III to draw
 divine analogies with earthly love realized).¹⁸ McCall
 gives special attention to infernal references in the
Troilus, investigating mentions of the underworld,
 Tityus, Cerberus, Pluto, Phlegetoun, Styx, Orpheus and
 Eurydice, Minos, Ixion, Furies, Fates, Thesiphone, and
 Tantalus. His aim is to show that all these references
 carry associations which would make them part of a
 Christian and love-negating interpretation of the
Troilus. He therefore describes links in medieval belief
 between Tityus and insatiable desire; between Cerberus
 (cited by Pandarus in an oath to Criseyde concerning his
 good intentions) and sensuality, cupidity, and the acts
 of leading people into hell and keeping them there;
 between Phlegetoun (from which Troilus says Pandarus
 rescued him) and fury, wrath, and desire; between Mars
 and furious irrationality and discord -- and being
 seduced and rendered effeminate by female beauty;
 between Troilus and Orpheus, who could signify reason,
 and Criseyde and Eurydice (signifying earthly goods and
 appetites).¹⁹ This discussion of Thesiphone in
 particular and infernal references in general returns,
 however, to my point, that each of the Troilus' minor
 references to gods and myths can be explicated in terms

of medieval interpretations of them, and that in each case Chaucer's usages of them can be shown to be correct and apt in one way or another.

Not all minor references in the Troilus are infernal, of course. Bloomfield, Costello, and Lopresti all speak of the Muses, and especially Clio, the Muse of history, as helping establish both historicity and cultural distance and relativity.²⁰ Boughner, as well as Lopresti, comments on Chaucer's selections of Clio, Muse of history, and Calliope, the Muse of epic poetry, in discussing epic grandeur in the poem.²¹ McCall discusses Pallas' medieval associations with the contemplative life as well as with wisdom, and relates these associations to what Criseyde's life as a widow might be expected to be; again, he suggests that Juno's associations with marriage point out the absence of marriage in the poem's love affair.²² Even Matthews' comment on so minor a figure as the three-eyed Prudence, to whom Criseyde alludes at V, 743-9, describes the accuracy of the reference in relation to other medieval works of literature and art.²³

In sum, what critical work has been done on minor figures in the Troilus has invariably shown Chaucer's uses of gods and myths to be accurate, apt, and significant. And even though scholars have disagreed with each other on what that significance was, they have

been unanimous in finding that Chaucer's usages coincided with such lore on these figures as was current in the Middle Ages. And the crucial importance of all this for my thesis is that each of the poem's references to a god or myth is therefore rich in association and implication; and these associations can be seen as forming, with their amalgamated weight, a body of evaluatory implications that create and validate the poem's sentence.

Related to the fact of the pagan references' significance is the question of what function(s) this group of references may have in the Troilus. Answers to this question have included creation of a Trojan setting, creation of a rhetorical high style, and opening the story to wider implications than those of its face value.

Several critics have suggested that the references to pagan gods and legends help create an ancient, pagan, Trojan setting and backdrop for the story. Thus, as mentioned above, both Tatlock and Kittredge base much of their commentary on the poem on their analyses of the Trojan scene and the paganness of its gods. Lopresti, McCall, and Koretsky are other critics who find the creation and maintenance of an ancient or pagan atmosphere to be one function of the poem's allusions to classical gods and myths. Bloomfield and Dunning not only observe that the gods contribute to creating an

ancient atmosphere in the poem, but add that this atmosphere serves to generate distance between poem and audience.²⁵ Creation of a Trojan setting is not the only function which has been suggested for the poem's pagan gods, however.

A second answer to this question is that they help create a high rhetorical style, an epic grandeur for the love story. A variety of critics have satisfied themselves that comparison of Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde with its source, Boccaccio's Il Filostrato, reveals a systematic addition by Chaucer of rhetorical devices or "colors".²⁶ And equally widespread is the idea that the effect of these rhetorical figures is to heighten the poem's style, with critics like Everett, Apstein and Stewart joining Boughner and Koretsky in seeing Chaucer's Troilus as having epic grandeur, and high, sublime, "grave and stately" tone, as a direct consequence of Chaucer's addition of invocations, mythological allusions, and classical pagan touches to his tale.²⁷

A third possible function of the references to gods and myths is that of opening the earthly story to higher implications, as Cotton, for example, suggests with, "We cannot fail to observe the extent to which the cosmic nature of the allusions widens our perspective,

compelling recognition...of other, more universal forces, whilst in no way diminishing the stature or the claims of the central characters upon our sensibilities."²⁸

Costello, in another vein, finds allegorical implications in some of the gods, consequently also finding that their appearances open wider implications than their face values might suggest (as I will discuss below). Everett and Koretsky are other critics who suggest that Chaucer used his rhetorically elevated references to gods and myths as a device for opening up the basic plot to encompass larger issues.²⁹

In a way, however, this idea is most extensively worked out by Payne, who considers lyric interpolation and authorial commentary the most important of the six areas he recognizes as forms of rhetorical amplification in the Troilus. He feels that the poem's "system of lyric interpolation and apostrophe...provides the opening through which Chaucer may move outward from the action into a larger evaluation," and that these passages, with their dense rhetorical figuration, are the poem's key points for both emotional and evaluatory significance.³⁰ And although Payne is not concerned about the gods per se, it is notable that most of his ten crucial lyric passages are apostrophes, several are prayers, most address God or a god at some point, and all name God and/or pagan gods and legends, in complex and important usages. If these

passages do serve the function of indicating the poem's sentence, then the gods, a significant factor in the rhetorical tone-heightening of these passages, must be part of that function. Thus, opening up the Troilus to themes more profound than its simple unhappy love story may be added to establishing a Trojan scene and creating epic grandeur of style as a possible function of the poem's religious references.

The issue of the pagan references' function(s) in the Troilus touches on the possibility of allegory; but indeed, medieval allegory is here only part of a larger problem, that of the place of gods and goddesses in the medieval understanding. And while this subject is not in itself my own topic, it is related to it, and some brief discussion of this problem must be made.

Apstein has documented the quandary of early Christians who, steeped in classical literature and unwilling to forgo it, needed to reinterpret its gods so as to bring them under Christian aegis; euhemeristic interpretation, astrology, and especially moral allegory were methods by which this was done. By the time the humanists of Chartres, and Dante and Boccaccio, had finished with them, the gods had become quite domesticated into medieval thinking, in rather complex ways. They could be seen as fallen angels and thus

powerful in a demonic sense, or they could be seen as dim pagan perceptions of aspects of God. They could be seen as beneficent powers subordinate to God; and the planetary deities could, in this framework, be seen as God's delegates who had been mistaken for actual deities by the pagans. Classical gods could be euhemeristically interpreted as humans elevated to godhood by legend, or tales about them could be explained as allegorical expositions of moral truths.³¹ All these interpretive methods enabled a fourteenth century author to accept and use the pagan gods in a medieval work. And because it was possible to apply several of these interpretive methods to a given deity or story, multifarious and hence complex associations were available for each.

Since the possible interpretations of the gods were various rather than single or simple, the problem of reading the gods in the Troilus must be approached with some caution. I have already indicated how Jove, for example, may be read euhemeristically at one passage, and allegorically, as suggesting God, at another. Indeed, one critic attempts to read the whole poem allegorically. Costello's treatment of the Troilus, although available only in her dissertation, is one of extremely few thesis- or book-length examinations of deities in this poem, and is therefore particularly relevant to my own consideration of them; and it reveals how they may be read

allegorically. Costello considers the Troilus to be a³² story about pagans, but not a pagan story; she cites ambivalent references to gods, suggesting that the ambiguity of Chaucer's inherited tradition enabled him to use them literally, as pagan gods, yet simultaneously as manifestations carrying Christian connotations: she suggests that Chaucer was enabled by the medieval traditions concerning the gods to name a deity in such a fashion that God or some aspect of God is also³³ recalled. In particular, she identifies Cupid, Venus, and Jove as especially significant, suggesting that Jove tends strongly to connote God the Father while Venus and Cupid tend to recall the Christian God as the God of Love; she calls these identifications "never complete but always convenient" and even suggests an adumbration of the Trinity to these three deities, with Jove representing the Father, Cupid the Son, and Venus the³⁴ Spirit of Love. Yet despite Costello's acknowledgement of -- and basis in -- the ambiguity of pagan gods in medieval Europe, I am not convinced that her reading allows for all possible meanings of them; certainly she discounts Fortuna, who I will show is an equally major figure in the Troilus, and she gives relatively little attention to the many minor references. Her contribution lies in showing that allegorical interpretation is one

way in which the gods of the Troilus can indeed be explicated.

The gods, myths, and legends of Greco-Roman pagan lore are thus pervasively present in Chaucer's Troilus. Jove, Venus, and Cupid (under assorted names) are major figures, but Mars, Apollo, Diana, Juno, Pallas, infernal deities and figures, and other mythical references are all present. Further, their usages can invariably be shown to be accurate according to medieval lore about them, and aptly used in one way or another. As I have begun to suggest, this lore was quite complex, with allegory being only one of several ways that gods could be understood by medieval Christianity. My aim here has been to show that the gods must be acknowledged and accounted for in any valid interpretation of the Troilus, as well as to point out the whole cluster of possible functions which has been found for them: rhetorical ornamentation; opening the poem to larger issues through allegorical suggestion of God; creating a Trojan setting; opening distance; and assisting in characterization.

ii
medieval goddesses: Fortuna and Natura

Two goddesses, at least one of whom must be considered a major figure in the Troilus, have not yet

been discussed, for Fortuna and Natura, though present in Troilus and Criseyde, were not notable classical deities. Yet Chaucer did not act outside of his received tradition in his use of them. For once the allegorical methods of the fourth through sixth centuries developed ways of incorporating pagan gods into a Christian worldview, medieval writers had available to them as well methods of using personified powers, who were characterized, and even explicitly named, as gods and goddesses.³⁵ Boethian personifications of Fortuna and Lady Philosophy, indeed, were part of this development; twelfth century presentations of Natura further elaborated and defined it. Consequently, Chaucer had readily available to him methods of using these important medieval figures as deities in quite the same class as gods and goddesses of the traditional pagan pantheon. And in Troilus and Criseyde this is exactly what he did.

My task in this section will be to define the characteristics of Fortuna and Natura, as conceptualized in the Middle Ages and depicted in the Troilus, as well as to discuss the place and significance of each in this poem.

H. R. Patch traces Fortuna back to a minor Roman deity of fate or chance, but finds, ironically, that while the Church assimilated the other gods in various ways, only the relatively minor Fortuna retained some

sort of theological status as a goddess. Patch accounts for this by suggesting that, although Christianity initially tried to deny Fortuna's existence, denial of chance's role in the world does not square with human experience, and Christianity perforce had to adopt her, with writers from Boethius through Dante explaining her as the visible and active servant of the invisible and all-ordering Christian God.³⁶ As such, Fortuna's characteristics were enumerated by Boethius -- a seminal writer in this area, whose depiction of Fortuna was neither rejected nor superceded throughout the Middle Ages -- as follows: Fortuna is the source of all worldly goods (Bk. II, pr. 2),³⁷ who lends them to men and takes them back at her whim, and for whom this conduct is natural and right since worldly goods do not by nature belong to the men who have them but to Fortuna who lent them. She is equipped with a wheel, which she constantly turns, on which people who are miserable and have nothing are set up and brought to riches or glory, for a time, and on which people who have wealth, power, and fame are cast down and bereft with the wheel's further turn (Bk. II, pr. 1, m. 1, pr. 2). She is full of deceitful blandishment when she seems favorable to a man (Bk. II, pr. 1), and is seen truly -- and is even beneficial in teaching the true (low) worth of worldly goods -- when she is

contrary (Bk. II, pr. 8). Her gifts are actually brittle, transitory, and when truly understood not worth having (Bk. II, pr. 5-6). Her basic nature is her changefulness and instability: "Yif Fortune bygan to duelle stable, she cessed thanne to ben Fortune." (Bk. II, pr. 1, l. 114-5). One who accepts her gifts had better be prepared to lose them at any moment (Bk. II, pr. 1). And it is to be noted that Fortuna is, in this presentation, a most powerful agent of human destiny, for all riches and material possessions (Bk. II, pr. 5), political power and office (II, pr. 6), children and marital happiness (pr. 3) -- all the good things of this world -- come to men through her. It is important too that this Boethian figure is generally recognized as being³⁸ basically the Fortuna who appears in the Troilus.

Fortuna was seen in the Middle Ages, then, as a powerful, active, interested and callous deity in the world, subordinate to God indeed, yet wielding enormous authority over mankind through holding absolute sway over who receives the good things of this world -- and for how long. This was the figure that Chaucer, translator of Boethius' De Consolatione, had available to him, and he had available ways of conceptualizing and presenting her as a goddess. In the Troilus he used them, and Fortuna in named, invoked, and prayed to in precisely the same fashions as Venus, Juno, Jove et al. Indeed, the

manipulative Pandarus seeks to use Fortuna's proffered opportunities, while Criseyde and especially Troilus feel more subject to and victimized by her, and the Narrator seems constrained to merely lament her vagaries, but the important thing is that all of them in their different ways acknowledge her godlike power over the characters' lives. It is this use of Fortuna as if she were the same order of deity as the other classical gods and goddesses which makes her a goddess like them in the poem.

From early in Book I of the Troilus, where we first meet Fortuna orchestrating the chances of battle, to the end of Book V just before the epilogs begin, where Fortuna refuses to allow Troilus and Diomedes to die by each other's hand, Fortuna is a powerful and present figure in the poem. Part of her importance is her determining influence on the poem's action, not just in governing the chances of the Trojan War, but in creating the conditions for the love affair's consummation and enjoyment, and its dissolution. An equally significant aspect of her importance is her association with several vital themes in the work. The free-will/predestination issue and de casu tragedy, the mutability theme and the human quest for earthly felicity and the impossibility of finding it due to human blindness and worldly instability, all form a constellation of topoi in the

Troilus associated with Fortuna's presence therein.

The question of fatalism and free will, in all its knottiness, is an issue in the Troilus not only because of Troilus' famous Boethian paraphrase on the subject (which states the issue but leaves off the Consolation's doctrinally correct solution), but also due to many statements by the Narrator which point out the characters' inability to avoid what is fated, coupled with depictions of them making crucial choices. And Fortuna, as arbiter of earthly chances and "goods" in general, and as instigator of the astral conjunction which causes all to be "execut biside [Criseyde's] leve," is heavily involved in this issue in the poem. Critics like Moorman, Stevens, and Curry have associated Fortuna with destinal and fatalistic tendencies in the poem;³⁹ Robertson, Sommer and Patch are examples of critics who show in various ways how Fortuna can be part of an interpretation in which Christian beliefs about free will are upheld⁴⁰ -- but there is consensus that Fortuna in the Troilus is involved in this issue.

A medieval de casu tragedy (as defined by Boethius, and, relying on him, Chaucer) was a story of unmerited suffering and falling-from-prosperity of good people due to Fortuna's whims. Mogan, Farnham, Berryman, and Robertson, and even in a sense Malone, are among critics who characterize the Troilus as presenting the rise and

fall pattern of de casu tragedy, very much related to
⁴¹Fortuna's presence. Kean mentions "an inescapable
 pattern of alternate ascent and descent in human affairs,
 including love" which is imposed by Fortuna, in an
 article which examines the blindness of the human
 condition as Chaucer presents it in the Troilus; and
 Conlee too deals with the poem as explicating Boethius'
⁴²understanding of human/mortal blindness. And in
 complement to this concern, DiPasquale writes of
 "sikernesse" and Troilus' and Criseyde's blindly human
 attempts to find it in their worldly love for each other
 -- and of the impossibility of finding it in this world
⁴³due to Fortuna's actions.

Finally, the constant turning of Fortuna's wheel,
 and the consequent continual changes in worldly
 prosperity, and instability and transience of all
 Fortuna's gifts (which is to say all the good things of
 the material world), constitute a quintessential expres-
 sion of and metaphor for the literary topos of mutabi-
 lity. And as a result, Fortuna is at the heart of the
Troilus' expression and use of this theme. And although
 mutability in the Troilus was extensively examined, and
 specifically related to the poem's Boethian elements
⁴⁴(including Fortuna), only by Mogan, the mutability
 theme in the poem was remarked or suggested by other

critics as well, including Farnham, Donaldson, Jefferson,
Shorter, and Schuman.⁴⁵ Once again, to the extent that
this is a significant theme in the Troilus, it is
inextricably involved with Fortuna's presence and presen-
tation in the poem.

Because of her determininng influence on the poem's
actions and the love affair, and because of her
association with important themes -- including the free-
will/predestination issue and the theme of worldly joys'
transience -- Fortuna must be considered a major figure
in the poem. Because she is depicted, and in various
fashions prayed to, in precisely the same variety of ways
as members of the pagan pantheon, and because medieval
literary tradition had created ways to place and use gods
within a Christian scheme, she must be considered a
goddess of the same order as Venus, Jove, and Cupid. She
is a powerful, present, important, and Boethian figure in
the Troilus, and it is the various implications of these
characteristics which must be accounted for in an
interpretation of the poem.

A somewhat different case is presented by the other
medieval personification/goddess in the Troilus, Natura
or Kynde. For while Fortuna is frequently named and
distinctly active in the poem, as well as heavily
involved with important thematic material, Natura is

named in only a few brief instances. Nonetheless, she had a considerable medieval lineage, and as a result of this, those few scholars who have focussed on her have considered her role in the Troilus very significant.

Bernardus Silvestris and Alanus ab Insulis (Alan of Lille) were two humanist scholastics who brought Natura to literary prominence (Bernardus in his Cosmographia, and Alan in The Complaint of Nature and the Anticlaudianus); and her extensive part in Jean de Meun's section of the Roman de la Rose secured her place in the medieval imagination. The keys to her character were the two points of her subcreating power and benignity, and her limitation to the created ("natural") world. Alan, Bernardus, and Jean de Meun all portrayed Nnatura as a goddess of this world, a spirit obediently subordinate to God but nonetheless powerful,⁴⁶ creator or co-creator of Man,⁴⁷ mighty administrator of God's wisdom in ruling man and the natural world, entrusted with the chain that binds all things together,⁴⁸ God's vicar on earth. Yet she is clearly a subcreator, daughter of Noys/Providence in Bernardus or the offspring of God in the Complaint;⁴⁹ as such she is humbly subordinate to God, despite her power and benignity. Indeed, it is repeatedly made clear that Natura is governess of the created world and has neither ability nor jurisdiction in heavenly matters, and that she is imperfect and her

abilities are limited to the natural order.⁵⁰

Significantly, a major factor in all these conceptions of Natura is that continuation of species through natural procreation is especially under her aegis: the sexual act can thus be defined, through Natura, as blessed in God's scheme;⁵¹ furthermore, Venus and Cupid and their works were defined positively in this connection.⁵²

Lovemaking with this association partakes of Natura's benignity and strength, though it is also qualified by her imperfection and limitation to things of this world.

The obvious thematic implication for the Troilus of this characterization of Natura is that the powerful benignity and limitations of the goddess may be applied to the carnal love in the poem. This is what Kurtz does in her dissertation; she finds Troilus' love for Criseyde to be in association with love according to Natura's laws, and therefore finds positive value, and even virtue -- along with the limitation of belonging to this world and so being unable to reach to eternal values -- to be conferred on Troilus' love by this association.⁵³ Indeed, several critics identify the love in the Troilus with love under Natura and within natural law, or with the cycles of the natural world, though they come to different conclusions about it. Thus Reiss and Scrivner both see the connection as rendering the love

acceptable; McCall in contrast describes the "law of kynde" as indicating fallen nature and therefore having negative connotations; Schuman's belief, that the poem's imagery of the circles of nature is transcended in the final ascent out of the natural world to the eighth sphere, is in keeping with Natura's dual characteristics of powerful benignity and limitation, and so is Knapp's suggestion that Criseyde is especially linked to Natura and her cyclical changes, such that Troilus' devotion to Criseyde makes him Natura's devotee and is associated first with his ennoblement and then with his disappointment.⁵⁴ There are thus various possibilities for dealing with the relation of the figure of Natura to the meaning of the Troilus; my points here are that the goddess was undoubtedly a potent figure in the medieval imagination, that she is named a handful of times in the Troilus, and that the interpretation of her presence there must fit with possible medieval understandings of her. It is possible, though not necessary, to read Natura's associations as very important in determining the poem's meaning; whether we do so or not, the implications of her presence, along with those of all the other gods, must be accounted for in any full interpretation of the Troilus.

To sum up this section, Fortuna and Natura were medieval allegorical personifications. But they were

used by medieval authors as goddesses; these usages were within the Christian scheme but were made possible by medieval methods for assimilating pagan deities into the Christian scheme; consequently Fortuna and Natura were capable of being presented as the same order of being as the classical gods. In Troilus and Criseyde Chaucer used them in this way. Fortuna is a prominent, active and powerful figure in the Troilus, and important themes of free-will/fatalism, mutability, and the impossibility of stable earthly felicity are associated with her. Natura, a potent figure in medieval literature, has only a few brief appearances in the Troilus, and could be considered a minor figure, yet her associations and implications for the story, including the possibility that she may back up and enhance a reading which sees the love as benign, must also be taken into account in interpreting it.

iii
courtly love material, Cupid and Venus, and
the celebration of love

The central action and focus of the Troilus is of course a secular love affair, and many scholars have recognized the poem's presentation of its feelings and conduct to be in accord with fourteenth century ideas of "fin amour" or "courtly love". This section will briefly identify the courtly love machinery in the Troilus, and

will examine its implications for the poem's meaning and sentence. For the involvement of Venus and especially Cupid in the courtly love material inescapably involves it in any consideration of these deities' parts in the poem, while the medieval values on courtly love must necessarily affect the interpretation of a poem which uses courtly love as heavily as the Troilus does.

Much typical courtly love business appears in the poem. Troilus falling in love through being shot with Cupid's arrow is solidly in the courtly love tradition, as are the springtime setting, and Pandarus' reminder to Criseyde to love while she has her youth and beauty.⁵⁵ Love's irresistibility and characteristic of ennobling lovers, and love's place in the law of Natura -- all ideas stated explicitly in the Bayard passage (I, 211-59)⁵⁶ -- were typical courtly love attitudes. Troilus' sufferings, such as paleness, sleeplessness, loss of appetite and obsessive brooding (see for example I, 439-504),⁵⁷ were traditional; so were the unreasonableness of love (I, 400-20),⁵⁸ the idea that seeing the beloved simultaneously wounds the lover and salves the wound it makes (I, 445-9),⁵⁹ the idea that the lover may die unless the lady grants him her favor (I, 533-6; II, 319-64, 384-5, 533-6, etc.),⁶⁰ and the need for secrecy (I, 902; II, 264-6, 281-329; III, 1620-388, etc.).⁶¹ Other matters in the Troilus which have been recognized as

typical of courtly love include the lover becoming
 tongue-tied in the lady's presence (III, 50-98), love
 being the "old dance" (III, 111, 220, 1106; IV, 1431),
 love as being, for a lady, a servitude she might fear
 (III, 771-84), and the idea of lovers obeying each
 other's desires (III, 1699);⁶² also typical were explicit
 teaching of the code of courtly love conduct,⁶³ Troilus'
 intensity of feeling and humility,⁶⁴ his taking
 Criseyde as his sovereign,⁶⁵ love-talking in Pandarus'
 speeches with Criseyde,⁶⁶ the ideas expressed in
 Antigone's song (II, 827-75),⁶⁷ and Criseyde's regret not
 for her illicit union with Troilus but only for her
 betrayal of him.⁶⁸ Further, Troilus' (and Criseyde's)
 membership in their culture's aristocracy,⁶⁹ his
 progressive ennoblement through love (as mentioned
 above), which involves his knightly prowess, and his
 steadfastness in loving,⁷⁰ have prompted critics from
 Lewis to David and Muscatine to describe Troilus as the
 quintessential stereotype of a courtly lover.⁷¹
 Criseyde's beauty and virtuous characteristics (I, 100-5,
 170-5, 286-7, 880-90; II, 745-8), and the idea that a
 lady had some obligation to love a worthy man (I, 985-7)
 are ways in which Criseyde is identified as a
 specifically courtly-love lady.⁷² And the depiction of
 Pandarus as an older and more experienced, slightly

cynical go-between and confidant have also been noted as⁷³
being part of traditional courtly love.

The courtly love material in the Troilus is massive enough, in itself, to require explication in any thorough reading of the poem; what makes it especially important for me is its use of Venus and Cupid. That Troilus falls in love because Cupid shoots him with an arrow has already been mentioned; in fact, the frequency with which the god of Love is named in the poem and the scope of his activities and character in regard to the love are to a considerable extent what makes him prominent in the work. More than that, Cupid in the Troilus is very much the traditional courtly love deity. Troilus commends himself to the god of Love (I, 421-31), for example, and considers himself in Love's service, in ways highly⁷⁴ reminiscent of other courtly love literature. And in fact courtly love recognized both Cupid and Venus as its deities, and treated them extensively and significantly. Seventeen of the 101 sections of Roman de la Rose deal with Cupid and Venus, for example, and Andreas Capellanus (besides many passing mentions of Love) devotes a ten-page⁷⁵ section to a personification of Love as a god. And such critics as Dodd, McCall, Lopresti, Sommer, and Costello have identified the Cupid and Venus of the Troilus as the versions of the classical deities that had been incorporated into (and modified for) the courtly

76

love convention.

Much of the presentation of Cupid and Venus as gods of courtly love involved their being worshipped in rites and precepts parallel to Christian worship. Troilus' and Criseyde's falling in love is treated as religious conversion to a powerful deity, for example, as noted by Apstein, Lopresti, and Slaughter.⁷⁷ Troilus confesses and prays to Cupid, and in one passage prays to Pandarus as Cupid's "priest" -- who formally absolves him (I, 932-40); and Dodd and Lopresti, Costello and Meech all note the resemblance of the "religion of love" in the Troilus to contemporary Catholic Christianity.⁷⁸ Slaughter examines the parallel of Christian grace to grace (again associated with Cupid) in the Troilus.⁷⁹ Moral precepts and commandments by the god of Love were almost as much a part of the code of courtly love as of Christian religion, and descriptions of Troilus' increased virtue as a result of becoming a lover accord with this aspect of the convention (I, 1079-85; III, 1804-6).⁸⁰

Another major factor in the parallel of courtly love convention to Christianity, both in general and in the Troilus, had to do with phraseology. Hafner, indeed, found this extensive enough to write an entire dissertation on, analyzing religious allusion and terminology in troubador poetry, Chretien de Troyes,

Roman de la Rose, and fourteenth century French poetry, before devoting a full chapter to this manifestation in the Troilus.⁸¹ And Kirby and Dodd both remark on ecclesiastical terms in courtly love and its presentation of Cupid; while Howard mentions the injection of the spirit, doctrines, and language of Christianity into courtly love amor as a "familiar courtly practice," and Salter and Shanley both note the Troilus' application of religious terms to love and its joys.⁸² And the Troilus does indeed make frequent and striking use, often in regard to the love, of such terms as "savacioun" (I, 464; II, 563, 486), "penaunce" (II, 1105; IV, 1429; V, 361), "repentyng" (I, 318), "gospel" (V, 1265), "Of gilt misericorde" (III, 1177), "converte" (I, 308; II, 900-3), "grace" (IV, 116-7; V, 581, 592), and "shryve" (II, 440).

A major area of striking religious expression which involves Cupid and Venus was the use -- in courtly love in general and the Troilus in particular -- of these deities' names with such ambivalence that some aspect of God could be implied in or associated with the usage. Troilus' hymn to Love (III, 1751-64), which addresses Cupid in terms Boethius used for cosmic harmony within the Christian understanding, is one example of such usage. Another, noted by Apstein and Malone, involves Venus, especially in Proem III, where the goddess is invoked as generative force, benign planet, mythological

goddess, and divine Providence -- that is, she is addressed in terms sufficiently ambiguous to cover both mythological and Christian ideas.⁸³ Mogan describes Chaucer's treatment of the love throughout Book III as both sensuous and celestial, celebrating carnal love (the kind Venus and Cupid are associated with) "in terms of the beatific vision"; while Lopresti emphasizes the freedom with which Chaucer used various associations of Venus, such that she bears both pagan, courtly, and Christian connotations, and Sommer remarks on the addressing to Venus of language normally reserved for the Virgin Mary. Whitlark comments on Cupid rather than Venus, discussing the ambiguity of the term "god of Love", and pointing out that this expression recalls both the Christian God and the pagan Cupid. And Costello agrees that Cupid in the Troilus especially recalls the Christian God of Love, adding that both Cupid and Venus "often lose their own identities in the ambient light of Christian implication."⁸⁴

It can be seen, then, that courtly love, massively present in the Troilus, is intimately involved there with the traditional courtly love deities Cupid and Venus. Further, the love gods are presented in our poem quite in accordance with their usual medieval courtly love portrayals; these included parallels to Christian

worship and Christian ways of naming and describing God, to the extent that references to the love gods may be ambiguous in their allusions to God. What remains to be considered is the values and implications of the Troilus' love, and how these might affect the interpretation of the poem. And this is a most vexed question, because the place and value of medieval courtly love was clear neither in the Middle Ages nor since.

Because courtly love was ambiguously represented in ways paralleling Christian religion, it can be interpreted, when found in a pagan setting as in the Troilus, as a form of pagan religion. Lewis thus speaks of the quasi-religious elements of "traditional Frauen-dienst", and Meech and Dunning both comment on the religious factor in Troilus' amatory attitude.⁸⁵ But beyond this, David suggests that "love becomes religion in the Troilus...Chaucer has made the doctrine of courtly love a part of the polytheism of the people in his ancient historical world..."; Howard too feels that Chaucer used courtly love to close distance and bring immediacy to the past, by using medieval courtly love, in its most idealized and traditional manifestation, as the custom and religion of the ancient world -- yet he feels that this makes courtly love part of the rejected pagan rites.⁸⁶ Christmas, in contrast, finds Chaucer to have assimilated courtly love to religion in an attempt to

unify "these two great structures of understanding," adding that Chaucer reconciled courtly love with the understanding of the eighth sphere, and that he did not repudiate love;⁸⁷ and indeed, it is part of this view to see the love presented in the poem as transitory and ultimately inadequate, yet beautiful and uplifting while it lasts.

Thus, one set of possible implications for love and the love gods revolves around taking courtly love as a basically benign pagan religion. Another and quite different possibility, which has to do with the relationship of courtly love to moral conduct, also results in finding the courtly love to confer positive value. I have already noted that moral precepts and commandments were part of courtly love, and that the virtues thus advocated were in many ways parallel to Christian standards of conduct, and further, that courtly love was claimed to ennoble its practitioners. Even when seen only as a code of gentle conduct, such virtues as humility, generosity, valor, honesty, piety, patience, helpfulness, prudence, and diligence, as well as courtesy and chastity (at least in being true to the beloved and completely eschewing promiscuity), were among its precepts.⁸⁸ Clearly, the advocacy of such standards of conduct aspired to some sort of goodness; and in fact

courtly love, being aristocratic and literally a product of rulers' courts, involved a good deal of refinement and idealization. Windeatt's view of courtly love as a basically literary idea of lovers' behavior, Green's view of it as a game which was both literary and social fiction, and Moorman's seeing it as a rather artificial aristocratic code of conduct,⁸⁹ are all based in the sense that courtly love was a formal upper-class fiction. But as such it reflected standards of conduct and faithfulness which were idealistic in the extreme, and which actually were, in many ways, expressions of good morality. It is because of this that courtly love has the potential to be seen as human love idealized and purified, and therefore as a form of love which might be virtuous in its place. And as such it can be seen as reflecting back a positive value on the love affair, making it more serious or spiritual. Thus both Kirby and Malone, for example, suggest that Chaucer deliberately worked to depict the poem's human love as spiritual,⁹⁰ regenerative, and coming from God. Salter's examination of the phenomenon finds the religious language in Book III to reconcile human and heavenly love, giving the human love positive value by the linguistic solemnity of applying religious language to it, so that the love is endorsed and celebrated as good and blessed by God. Even Dunning and Denomy, who both feel that Chaucer

rejected the poem's human love in the end, consider that the love is solemnized and positively valued during the body of the work, through presenting the courtly code as benign and as the highest form of human love, which links human to celestial love under God.⁹¹

These assessments see the courtly love parallel to Christianity, and the consequent use of Christian language and allusion in the courtly love story, as giving solemnity and positive value to the love; and they border on a further view expressed by several critics: that in Troilus and Criseyde, Chaucer portrayed a spectrum of love, a unified concept of love in which both human, carnal affection and Divine Love are encompassed; a chain of love in which one of these can lead to the other. One aspect of such readings takes account of the fact that unmarried carnal love and correct Christian values were mutually exclusive -- but does so in the process of describing Chaucer's Troilus as deliberately obscuring the distinction between human passion and Divine Love, in order to present Troilus' and Criseyde's affection as honorable and benign. Slaughter, Brewer, Maguire and Gallagher are critics who in various ways describe Chaucer's blending or blurring of Christian and human love so as to depict the human passion as not irreconcilable with love of God.⁹² Rowe and Anthony

Farnham also find that, despite Troilus' and especially Pandarus' deception and feigning in the first half of the poem, the consummation contains a real approach to, or glimpse of, the glorious and ideal quality of Divine Love. Farnham additionally points out that Troilus at the end of Book III and Chaucer at the end of the poem praise the highest kind of love, and that although natural love imprisons, its ideals seek heavenly love, so that Chaucer seems to be telling us to neither eschew⁹³ natural love nor settle for it. Helterman shows how Troilus' love, initially quite human and this-worldly, approaches the selflessness of Divine love after he loses Criseyde but continues to love her.⁹⁴ And Heidtmann, echoing Bethurum's analysis of the ladder of love which included both human and heavenly love on its rungs, points out that although Troilus' love was obviously, in formal terms, illicit, he nonetheless achieves salvation as the end result of his carnal loving; Heidtmann's suggestion is that Chaucer tried to combine this-worldly and other-worldly love in the Troilus into one general⁹⁵ view of love in which they are not mutually exclusive.

It is clear, then, that the courtly-love parallel of Christian language and rite could be taken as conferring solemnity and heavenly qualities on the love in the Troilus. Yet this same phenomenon may also be taken ironically, and seen as undercutting the love. For

the actual dichotomy between worldly love and strict Christian precepts, reflected, for example, in Andreas Capellanus' palinode, or the scene in Roman de la Rose in which Genius contrasts Love's Garden to the Shepherd's Park to the former's detriment,⁹⁶ could be understood as undercutting worldly love even in works that claimed to parise it. And in line with this attitude, we find a critic like Hafner describing the religious phraseology in the Troilus' courtly love matter as preparing for the poem's Christian ending, by bringing Christianity and its strictures to mind without blatantly interrupting the love tale.⁹⁷ Costello also suggests that Chaucer's purpose in keeping hints of God in the naming of Cupid, Venus, and Jove was to prepare for the openly Christian ending.⁹⁸ And these suggestions are somewhat supported by Gordon's work, which defined ways of reading Christian doctrine in the Troilus as seriously meant but praises of love as ironically intended, and so saw the poem as undercutting its celebration of love while including Christianity-reminiscent material to keep us in mind of Christian truth.⁹⁹

Courtly love material, then, forms the framework for the central action of the Troilus, and it can clearly be understood in several different ways. For it may be seen as presenting a basically benign pagan religion in terms

that a medieval audience could easily understand and accept; or it may be seen as presenting human love as idealized, seriously good, and even as approaching or leading to heavenly love; or it can be seen ironically, as a snare and delusion compared to the Christian understanding of true Divine Love. Because courtly love in the Troilus is extensive and obviously involved in some way with the value of the poem's human love, these possibilities are crucially important to making a full interpretation of the poem. And because courtly love makes heavy use of Venus, Cupid and hints of Christian religion, belief, and practice, my own topic -- God and gods in the Troilus -- is inextricably involved with the presence and implications of the courtly love.

iv
the Christian God

I have thus far discussed previous scholars' documentation of pagan gods, of medieval personifications which are tantamount to goddesses, and of courtly love and its forms of worship in the Troilus; and I have noted the implications and critical interpretations of these appearances. This list, however, does not yet include the complete group of deities in the poem, for the Christian God, and the beliefs of Christianity, are also present. This fourth section of this chapter will

deal with Christian material in the Troilus, observing briefly what Christian material is present, and tracing the functions and implications that have been suggested for it.

The consciously historical, ancient, pagan setting for Troilus and Crisedye notwithstanding, the poem has enormous amounts of Christian allusion and material as well as its pervasive pagan mythology. One Christian manifestation in the poem is its colloquial language. Chapter II will detail the various colloquial religious usages, and the implications of each kind; here it is simply necessary to note that the poem includes literally hundreds of colloquial religious exclamations. Some, as simple as "by God," or "Lord!" are nonetheless suggestive of fourteenth century Christian language. But many suggest, however casually, such concepts as God's love, grace, bliss, might, creatorship, and omniscience, so that the "God" casually sworn by is a deity with the characteristics of the Christian God. Even more interesting are many details which tend to suggest Christianity specifically: such passages as Criseyde's "by that God that boughte us bothe two" (III, 1165), or "For his love, which that us bothe made..." (II, 500); the religious phraseology which I have already mentioned as involved with the poem's courtly love matter; and details like the opening Proem's allusion to bidding

prayers, Christian charity, and the Pope's title. Furthermore, Troilus' "conversion" to love, and the extensive depictions of him repenting and praying to Love and conversing with Pandarus as with a confessor (I, 906-1008), are too clearly reminiscent of Catholic rites to ignore. And the poem's concerns with such theological issues as free will versus fatalism, and mutability and worldly felicity's impossibility, introduce additional Christian attitudes and ideas. Finally, the epilog explicitly endorses Christianity over human love and ends with a prayer to the Trinity. With this much Christian material in a fourteenth century work, it is inevitable that many critics read the Troilus in terms of Christianity and its values and outlook.

Many such readings of Troilus and Criseyde find that the poem was written from a Christian vantage-point, and expresses Christian beliefs, an idea suggested by such critics as Shanley, Whitlark, Robertson, Cofer, Gordon,¹⁰⁰ Gill, and Patch. And others again -- Hafner, Jordan, David, and Denomy, for example -- point out that a work as serious as the Troilus at least should have expressed such ideas.¹⁰¹ Patch, Gordon, and Robertson are examples of people who feel, further, that the characters could or should have known enough of Christian morality to follow it in their conduct.¹⁰² And many others, who take a more

forgiving view of the pagan characters' behavior, still suggest that we audience at least can take a Christian view of, and lesson from, the characters' tragedy, with Hafner, Gill, Kean and Howard as examples of critics who¹⁰³ feel this way.

An issue related to the question of how to judge the poem's characters is that of how to value the love, and here there is some dissension. In the previous section, I showed that when the poem's love is seen as courtly love, different values may be found for it; here I wish to point out that Christian interpretation also allows several possibilities for the love's meaning and value. Thus some scholars, in suggesting that Troilus and Criseyde could and/or should have resisted the temptation to love each other, necessarily imply that their love was wrong or even sinful. Patch, Gallagher, and Howard present examples of this approach, while Robertson goes so far as to state that there is no love presented¹⁰⁴ in the poem at all, but only sinful lascivious lust. Other critics, such as Denomy, Gill, Reiss, and even Howard acknowledge courtly love and Christian ethics as presenting two opposing moralities in the Troilus -- although all these critics, as well as others including Patch, Hafner, and Donaldson, insist that Chaucer finally favored Christian beliefs and love of God unequivocally.¹⁰⁵ Yet while Christian interpretations tend to see

the love as devalued or negatively valued in the end, many of these critics, including Donaldson, Reiss, Shanley, Kean, Hafner, Cofer, Jordan and Gill, acknowledge that human love could, in the Christian scheme, be understood as a good thing in its place even though it is inferior to Divine Love.¹⁰⁶ Christian readings of the Troilus thus tend to deal with the poem's human love, and tend to agree that this human love is ultimately unworthy in comparison to Christian love of God, yet they present some disagreement on whether or not the poem's human love has positive value in its limited place.

The possibility of resisting temptation, which is related to the idea of Troilus and Criseyde being "tempted" to love each other, involves another concern of Christian readings of the Troilus: that of free will. As already mentioned, the poem's characters are carefully depicted making choices, despite the poem's many fatalistic elements. And several critics seem to invoke the Christian idea that fallen man should control his desires and heed his reason, together with the concept that even pre-Christian post-lapsarian man could, though barely, comprehend virtuous behavior through reason and follow it through will-power. In this regard, Howard, Shanley, and Patch state that Troilus and Criseyde could

have used their wills to resist falling in love,¹⁰⁷ while Robertson explains at some length how Troilus could and should have used his will to resist the temptation of accepting Fortuna's favor, and it is only because he fails to exert himself in the beginning that he loses all freedom by Book IV.¹⁰⁸ Shorter and DiPasquale are other critics who go so far as to suggest that the lovers make free choices at least in deciding to go ahead with loving each other;¹⁰⁹ both of them do so in making specifically Boethian readings of the Troilus. And indeed, ApRoberts and Lorrah, and to a lesser extent Owen, in their various explanations of how destiny and free will co-exist in the Troilus along the lines of Boethius' model of their co-existence in the Christian scheme of things,¹¹⁰ all show how a Christian reading of the Troilus and an analysis of free will versus predestination in it are integrally related to each other. It is important to note that Christian readings tend to insist on Troilus' and Criseyde's freedom, at least at the beginning of their affair, to choose their fates.

Another general characteristic of Christian readings of the Troilus is their insistence that the turning to Christ in the poem's epilog is prepared for throughout the body of the work. Thus Hafner sees religious phraseology and the characters' sometimes unconsciously

ironic statements as supplying the point of view which the epilog makes explicit; Gordon finds irony in the narrative to do the same job; Robertson feels that the poem's religious imagery is present to remind the audience of the true values we should keep in mind and judge by.¹¹¹ Indeed, Shanley, Gill, Patch, Donaldson, Jordan, Gaylord, Kean, Gallagher, Costello, and Howard are among critics who, at greater or lesser length, have discussed the appropriateness of the epilog to the whole of the poem, and ways that the ending is prepared for in the body of the work.¹¹²

Related to this aspect of Christian readings of the Troilus is the question of irony in the poem. For there are many outright praises of human worldly love in the work, and an interpretation which sees this love as finally rejected and devalued, and which further sees this rejection of love as prepared for during the course of the poem, must find some way to explain the obvious celebrations of it. And they tend to find that Chaucer used irony for this purpose: it is suggested by Hafner, Gill, Gordon, Patch, Shanley, McCall and Howard, for example, that praises of love are expected to be taken ironically, while statements consonant with Christian doctrine are expected to be read seriously.¹¹³ In this way, passages not congruent with the Troilus' epilog may

be seen as thoroughly undercut, even humorous, and therefore not to be taken seriously.

That the Troilus should be considered as written from, and giving expression to, a Christian attitude on life, that its characters and actions should be regarded in the light of Christian values and ethics, that the love should not be considered as ultimately valuable or equal to God's love, that the characters choose their conduct freely and so bear responsibility for their tragedy, that colloquial Christian language and allusion to Christian practice help remind us of Christianity and its values, that the moral of the epilog is inherent in and prepared for by the whole poem, and that the poem's praises of love are undercut by irony, are thus common factors in Christian interpretations of the Troilus. To the extent that they recognize allusions to Christianity and its God in the poem they are part of my topic. And it is also necessary for me to observe how Christian readings of the poem handle the pagan gods' presence in it -- insofar as they deal with the phenomenon at all.

Whitlark, as mentioned above, points out resemblances of infernal references in the Troilus to the Christian conception of devils who both suffer and inflict torment. Robertson also makes some mention of the gods, considering Troilus a fool of Fortuna and therefore seeing Fortuna as significant in being a

"useful designation for an idea which fitted neatly into the scheme of Christian theology;" he also sees Thesiphone as representing wrath, cupidity, and libido and therefore appropriate for the commencement of Troilus' tragedy, and he considers Cupid a figure solely of this-worldly lust.¹¹⁴ However, I have found only two extensive treatments of the gods in Christian interpretations of the Troilus: McCall's and Costello's dissertations.

McCall's dissertation was written under Robertson's direction, and reflects the latter's views that a rigidly Christian reading of the poem is both possible and necessary, and that the love is completely sinful and devalued. Analyses of infernal references in the Troilus which might imply that the love is hellish, as identified in section i of this chapter, come mostly from McCall's chapter-length examination of them, in which he suggests that infernal references show Troilus, in his loving, to be in hell on earth.¹¹⁵ McCall further considers several other deities in the poem in this same light. He sees Jove as the euhemeristic pagan deity providing pejorative commentary on Troilus' love, while simultaneously reminding us of Christianity and its values, thus recalling the values we should hold and judge Troilus by.¹¹⁶ Cupid and Venus are identified as presenting only

their base manifestations in the poem;¹¹⁷ Mars' asso-
 ciations with wrath, madness, discord and death are said
 to depict Troilus' self-destructive irrationality;¹¹⁸
 Pallas and Juno are considered as signposts to Criseyde's
 character, and specifically to her lack of virtue in
 being neither married nor chaste;¹¹⁹ though Apollo and
 Diana are treated primarily as astronomical figures.¹²⁰
 McCall, in short, finds the gods to be used to elaborate
 Chaucer's themes, to aid in characterization through
 supplying implicit commentary on the characters, and to
 comment on the action, as well as to create a Trojan
 setting;¹²¹ and in explicating these usages he shows how
 the gods can be fitted into an extremely rigorous and
 love-denying interpretation of the Troilus.

Costello's treatment, also in a doctoral thesis,
 shows how the gods can be part of a Christian interpre-
 tation which is nonetheless far more sympathetic to the
 poem's human love. For Costello too sees the ambivalent
 references to pagan gods, the parallel of courtly love
 "worship" to Christian practices, Boethian echoes and
 philosophy, and medieval traditions about the gods as all
 being factors that keep us in mind of Christian beliefs
 without interrupting the story, and that supply silent
 commentary on the characters and action, and that give
 the audience the right answers to the questions Troilus'
 plight raise.¹²² But, in an important distinction,

Costello's position is that Troilus himself should not necessarily be blamed for not having these answers, or acting on them, during his life.¹²³ Indeed, Costello finds Troilus' love to ennoble him, pointing out that although Troilus' love is obsessive and finally fails him, he does, through his experience in living and loving, reach true insight in the eighth sphere; she considers that the beauty, as well as the transience and inadequacy, of human love is presented, and that this view is in accord with Christian understanding.¹²⁴

Consequently, where McCall sees Venus and Cupid in the Troilus as base, Costello finds them to carry Christian and moral connotations simultaneously with their pagan identities, and to be so ambiguous that Chaucer was able to use these pagan gods to suggest God and keep the Christian world at the edge of awareness.¹²⁵ Indeed, her view of the love as failing yet ennobling Troilus fits her perception of Venus as ambiguously suggesting both Divine and earthly aspects of love.¹²⁶ So far from seeing the gods as making only negative comments on the love affair, Costello sees Jove, Cupid and Venus as recalling the three persons of the Trinity in an identification that she calls "never complete but always convenient, and suggests that manifestation of gods in threes within the poem prepare for the final prayer to the Trinity.¹²⁷

Thus Costello's extensive examination of the gods in the Troilus comes to a Christian reading of the poem, accepting the poem's love as good in its place (though inferior), and finding the gods not so much to be supplying pejorative or judgemental commentary as to be ambiguously presenting Christian awareness along with the sympathetically viewed human love.

It may therefore be noted that, although there have been few critical attempts in the past to analyze the place of the pagan gods in a Christian reading of the Troilus, the two dissertations in which such attempts were undertaken present a good sense of the range of possibilities which the endeavor may reveal.

One final area which I will have to take into account here is astrological material in the Troilus. For Phebus Apollo, Cynthia/Lucina/Diana, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter/Jove, and Saturn were classical deities appearing in the Troilus who were also heavenly bodies: sun, moon, and "erratic stars". And although sun and moon gods are named mostly in astronomical references, Venus, Saturn, Jove and Fortuna, and, in a sense, Mercury, are all involved in specifically astrological passages (II, 680-86; III, 1-4, 617-28, 715-21; V, 1826-7; see also II, 74-5 and IV, 744-5). The relation of astrology in the Troilus to interpretation of the poem,

and the implications of these passages for an understanding of the gods in it, is a last area I must treat here. And I have saved this issue for this final section because it is only if one sees the poem as Christian that astrological suggestions pose a problem. If the Troilus is simply about pagans in a pagan world, planet-determined destiny, and an afterlife among pagan planetary-deities' spheres, are perfectly appropriate. But if one insists on Christian free will and on heavenly reward only for Christians, one may have difficulty assimilating and explaining the poems' astrological passages.

The question of astrology in the fatalism/free-will issue is one concern in the Troilus. And while Curry and Moorman accept astrological influences as part of a destinal reading of the poem (with Curry working also to show how fatalism could fit a Christian view),¹²⁸ other critics refuse in various ways to accept this possibility. Thus Kean and Greenfield consider astrological determinism in the Troilus, in its relation to divination and pagan gods, as part of the pagan rites that are condemned in the end.¹²⁹ But Wood and O'Desky both suggest that Chaucer could simply have used astrological material without believing in it; while Gordon and Carpenter join these latter two critics in further explanations of how astrological influence can be

seen as establishing conditions in which choices may
still be freely made.¹³⁰ Clearly, all these critics are
seeking ways to acknowledge the astrological passages in
the Troilus while still making a Christian reading of it.

The other problem regarding the stars in the
Troilus, which concerns Troilus' final reward, is even
knottier. For aside from the much-vexed question of
which sphere the poem's hero actually ends up in (whether
seventh or eighth, and whether to count inwards or
outwards), and the related problem of what the identified
sphere implies regarding the nature of Troilus' heavenly
fate, there is the further question of how to evaluate
Troilus' final insight and reward in relation to his pre-
Christian identity and love affair. Cope and Scott thus
find that Troilus' final resting place is pagan and even
indicative of the hero's mistakes in life, while
Robertson simply refuses to believe that Troilus' end is
really¹³¹ heavenly. But Bloomfield, Conlee, Steadman and
Wood all suggest that Troilus' ascent, as Chaucer depicts
it, is that of a purified soul, and that Greco-Roman and
Christian ideals of purification and heavenly rest among
the stars were similar enough for Chaucer to have
combined the resonances of these pagan and Christian
traditions, or to have used the one to lead into the
¹³² other.

Astrological references thus present again the pagan gods and the problem of how they are to be related to a Christian understanding. For they raise the question of whether Chaucer's Troilus portrays a post-lapsarian, pre-Christian paganism, or a set of astrological beliefs still current in the Middle Ages though not endorsed by the Church, or a Christian attitude towards astrological influence. The problem of the relations of pagans to Christian truth, and of their fate in a Christian universe, arises, with the astrological references as a destinal element yet as potentially a way to reconcile the pagan setting to Christian belief. And the question of predestination arises as well, since the astrological passages can be viewed as indications of planetary influence on human destiny; and although they can be seen as subsumed into a Christian scheme, they can also be seen as connoting irresistible preordained fate. Astrological references in the Troilus are thus another of the poem's meeting-points of pagan gods and Christian implications.

The implications of this section's discussion for my thesis are several. First, it must be observed that Christian interpretations of the Troilus are based on a great deal of material in the poem, including exclamations and colloquial speech, religious phraseology, references to Christian practice and beliefs, and

Christian Boethian material. And these readings may also be based, at least in part, on suggestively ambivalent presentations of pagan gods, as made possible by medieval allegorical methods. Since Christian readings constitute a major and important area of interpretation of the poem, I cannot ignore them. And because Christian readings, like others, are based on both pagan gods' appearances in the Troilus and namings of God and Christian ideas, they are very much part of my topic.

v
conclusion

I have tried to show in this chapter that much work on gods and God in the Troilus has already been done. The classical gods and myths, as well as possible meanings for them, have been identified by various critics. The medieval conceptions of the allegorical personifications, Fortuna and Natura, have also been described by previous criticism, as have their medieval meanings and possible functions in the Troilus. The presence and nature of medieval "courtly love" has been identified in the poem, and its possible implications for the poem have been touched on; and these have included discussion of the presence and possible meanings both of Cupid, god of Love, and of Venus, as well as suggesting the interpretive problems posed by the parallels in

language and rite of courtly love and Christian worship. Finally, Christian readings of the poem have been given some attention, and their common characteristics briefly described, along with a look at how Christian interpretations of the Troilus can read the gods in it. What has never yet been done is a correlation of the Troilus' usages of all these different references together. No one has yet attempted to put together in a single reading of the poem the implications and associations of Venus and Fortuna, God and pagan gods, as they all appear together in their respective complexities in this work. It is such a comprehensive examination of deities in Troilus and Criseyde that I will attempt in this dissertation's succeeding chapters.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

1

Sanford B. Meech, Design in Chaucer's Troilus (Syracuse, 1959; rpt. New York: Greenwood Press, 1969), pp. 213-5; P. M. Kean, "Troilus and Criseyde," in Chaucer and the Making of English Poetry, Vol. I of 2 vols. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), pp. 163-5, 171; Alan T. Gaylord, "Chaucer's Tender Trap: The Troilus and the 'Yonge, fresshe folkes'," English Miscellany 15, pp. 25-6; Allen C. Koretsky, "Chaucer's Use of Rhetoric in Troilus and Criseyde," diss. Univ. of Toronto, 1967, pp. 135, 279; Sr. Anne Barbara Gill, Paradoxical Patterns in Chaucer's Troilus: An Explanation of the Palinode, (Washington, D. C.: The Catholic Univ. of America Press, 1960, rpt. 1969), pp. 22-3, 81-7; Daniel C. Boughner, "Elements of Epic Grandeur in the Troilus," ELH, 6 (1939), pp. 191-3; Donald W. Rowe, O Love, O Charite!: Contraries Harmonized in Chaucer's Troilus, (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1976), pp. 93-106; Morton W. Bloomfield, "Distance and Predestination in Troilus and Criseyde," PMLA, 72 (1957), 14-26, rpt. in Chaucer Criticism, Vol. II: Troilus and Criseyde and The Minor Poems, ed. Richard J. Schoeck and Jerome Taylor (Notre Dame, Ind.: Notre Dame Univ. Press, 1961), pp. 201-3; James S. Whitlark, "Chaucer and the Pagan Gods," AnM, 18 (1977), pp. 70-1; Michael E. Cotton, "The Artistic Integrity of Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde," ChauR, 7 (1972), pp. 38-40.

2

George Lyman Kittredge, Chaucer and His Poetry (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1967, c. 1915), p. 117.

3

John S. P. Tatlock, "The Epilog of Chaucer's Troilus," MP, 18, no. 12 (Apr. 1921), pp. 113-47.

4

John P. McCall, "Classical Myth in Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde: An Aspect of the Classical Tradition in the Middle Ages," diss. Princeton Univ., 1955, pp. 259, 315.

5

Bloomfield, op. cit., esp. pp. 202-3 on appropriateness of invocations in proems; Sister Mary Angelica Costello, "The Goddess and God in the Troilus," diss. Fordham Univ., 1962, pp. 33-91, esp. p. 64-5 and p. 165 on Chaucer's knowledge and the appropriateness of its use; McCall, op. cit., e.g. pp. 14-92, 199; Vincent August Lopresti, "Chaucer's Treatment of the Gods in Relation to Source, Analogue, and Tradition," diss. Univ.

of Wisconsin, 1966, pp. 137-92; Whitlark, op. cit., pp. 65, 70-1; Koretsky, "Chaucer's Use of the Apostrophe in Troilus and Criseyde," ChaucR, 4 (1969-70), p. 26.

6

McCall, op. cit., pp. 138-170; Dorothy Bethurum Loomis, "The Venus of Alanus ab Insulis and the Venus of Chaucer," in Philological Essays: Studies...in Honour of Herbert Dean Merritt, ed. James L. Rosier (The Hague: Mouton, 1970), pp. 182-195; Costello, op. cit., pp. 132-3; Rowe, op. cit., pp. 95-6; Barbara Apstein, "Chaucer and the Gods," diss. City Univ. of New York, 1971, pp. 25-6.

7

McCall, Ibid., pp. 154, 160-67; Bloomfield, op. cit., p. 203.

8

Bethurum Loomis, op. cit., p. 195; Lopresti, op. cit., p. 141-6. See also C. S. Lewis, The Allegory of Love (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1977, c.1936), p. 121.

9

Apstein, op. cit., pp. 34, 124-6.

10

Costello, op. cit., p. 133-8.

11

McCall, op. cit., pp. 149-62, 166-7; Rowe, op. cit., pp. 25, 80, 161-2 where ability to pray to Love and to Venus are equated.

12

For primary sources, see, for example, Andreas Capellanus, The Art of Courtly Love, tr. with introd. and notes by John Jay Parry (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1969, c. 1941), pp. 74-83; Guillaume de Loris and Jean de Meun, Roman de la Rose, tr. Harry W. Robbins, ed. with an introd. by Charles Dunn (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1962), 4.-5., 8.-11., 49.-52., 69., 74.-76., 89.-90., 95. Subsequent references to these two works may be made in the text.

For critical discussion, see C. S. Lewis, "What Chaucer Really Did to Il Filostrato," in Selected Literary Essays, ed. Walter Hooper (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1969), pp. 36-8; his Allegory of Love, op. cit., pp. 6, 18, 31-2, 37-9, 129-39, 179-80, 191-2; William George Dodd, Courtly Love in Chaucer and Gower (Milford: Ginn, 1913; rpt. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1959), pp. 16-20; Costello, op. cit., pp. 147, 161.

13Dodd, Ibid., pp. 129-208, esp. pp. 129-30, 189-205; Costello, op. cit., p. 160. See also this dissertation, Chapter I, section iii.

- 14
McCall, op. cit., pp. 113-5; Costello, op. cit., pp. 124-5; Lopresti, op. cit., pp. 144, 159.
- 15
McCall, Ibid., pp. 119, 123-6; Costello, Ibid., pp. 119-21, 126-8; Lopresti, Ibid., pp. 144, 155, 159.
- 16
McCall, Ibid., pp. 113-9; Costello, Ibid., pp. 105, 117-30, 167; Lopresti, loc. cit.
- 17
McCall, Ibid., pp. 75-85; Whitlark, op. cit., pp. 65, 70-1; Cotton, op. cit., pp. 40-2; Boughner, op. cit., pp. 191-2. See also Bloomfield, op. cit., pp. 201-2.
- 18
Lopresti, op. cit., pp. 147-8, 165; Boughner, Ibid., pp. 91-2; Whitlark, op. cit., pp. 65, 70-1; Cotton, op. cit., pp. 40-2.
- 19
McCall, op. cit., pp. 87-101, 128-38.
- 20
Bloomfield, op. cit., p. 203; Costello, op. cit., p. 159; Lopresti, op. cit., pp. 140-1.
- 21
Lopresti, loc. cit.; Boughner, op. cit., pp. 191-2.
- 22
McCall, op. cit., Pallas, pp. 204, 212; Juno, pp. 213-21.
- 23
Lloyd J. Matthews, "Chaucer's Personification of Prudence in Troilus (V.743-749): Sources in the Visual Arts and Manuscript Scholia," ELN, 13 (1975-76), pp. 249-55.
- 24
Lopresti, op. cit., pp. 137-8, 154-72; Koretsky, op. cit., pp. 135, 279; McCall, op. cit., p. 259.
- 25
Bloomfield, op. cit., pp. 192, 201-3; T. P. Dunning, "God and Man in Troilus and Criseyde," in English and Medieval Studies Presented to J. R. R. Tolkien on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday, ed. Norman Davis and C. L. Wrenn (London: Allen and Unwin, 1962), pp. 167-71.
- 26
Dorothy Everett, "Troilus and Criseyde," in Essays in Middle English Literature, ed. Patricia Kean (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), pp. 118-28, 131-2; Boughner, op. cit., pp. 186-9; Lopresti, op. cit., p. 137; Robert O. Payne, The Key of Remembrance: a study of Chaucer's poetics (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1963), pp. 177-9; Koretsky, op. cit., p. 279; C. S. Lewis, "What Chaucer Really Did..." op. cit., pp. 31-2.

- 27
 Everett, *Ibid.*, p. 134; Apstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-4; George R. Stewart, Jr., "The Moral Chaucer," in Essays in Criticism by members of the Dept. of English, Univ. of California Publications in English 1 (1929), pp. 104-6; Boughner, *op. cit.*, esp. pp. 189, 191-5; Koretsky, "Chaucer's Use of Rhetoric..." *op. cit.*, p. 279, and his "Chaucer's Use of the Apostrophe in Troilus and Criseyde," ChauR, 4 (1969-70), p. 247.
- 28
 Cotton, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-3.
- 29
 Everett, *op. cit.*, p. 131; Koretsky, "Chaucer's Use of the Apostrophe..." *Ibid.*, p. 242.
- 30
 Payne, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-9, 184-7, 202, quote from p. 184.
- 31
 Apstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-34.
- 32
 Costello, *op. cit.*, p. 199.
- 33
Ibid., pp. 54-8, 118-20, 147-8, 154-7, 197, 199, 205.
- 34
Ibid., pp. 91, 115-48, 160-1, 167, 208-10, quote from pp. 118-9.
- 35
 Bernardus Silvestris, The Cosmographia, tr. with introd. and notes by Winthrop Wetherbee (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1973), pp. 75, 104, 113; Alanus ab Insulis, Anticlaudianus, or The Good and Perfect Man, tr. and commentary by James J. Sheridan (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1973), pp. 46, 79, 143, 150; Roman de la Rose, *op. cit.*, 79.26, 88.51.
- 36
 Howard Rollin Patch, The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature (1927; rpt. New York: Octagon, 1967), pp. 3-4, 10-12, 15-20, 178-9; see also Samuel Schuman, "The Circle of Nature: Patterns of Imagery in Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde," ChauR, 10 (1975), p. 107.
- 37
 Boethius, De Consolatione Philosophia, tr. Geoffrey Chaucer, as "Boece", in The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, ed. F. N. Robinson, 2d ed., *op. cit.* All subsequent citations of Boethius' Consolation will be from this translation, and will appear in the text.
- 38
 Patch, The Goddess Fortuna, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-2, 54; Patch, "Chaucer and Lady Fortune," MLR, 22 (1927),

pp. 380-85; Walter Clyde Curry, Chaucer and the Medieval Sciences, rev. and enl. ed. (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1960), pp. 241-4, 249-76, see esp. p. 276; Martin Stevens, "The Winds of Fortune in the Troilus," ChauR, 13 (1978-9), pp. 287-9, 291; Bernard L. Jefferson, Chaucer and the Consolation of Philosophy of Boethius, (1917; rpt. New York: Gordion Press, 1968), pp. 57, 62, 68, 120-2; Joseph J. Mogan, Jr., Chaucer and the Theme of Mutability, (The Hague: Mouton, 1969, c. 1968), pp. 117-21, 133; Apstein, op. cit., pp. 16-22, 127-8; Robert Newland Shorter, "Boethian Philosophy as the Informing Principle in Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde," diss. Duke Univ., 1964, p. 110.

39

Charles Moorman, "Once More Unto the Breach': The Meaning of Troilus and Criseyde," Studies in the Literary Imagination, 4, ii (Oct. 1971), pp. 62-5; Stevens, op. cit., pp. 285-307; Curry, op. cit., pp. 242-4.

40

George Joseph Sommer, "The Narrator of the Troilus: A Study of the Prohemia and Epilogue," diss. Fordham Univ., 1963, pp. 109, 123; D. W. Robertson, Jr., "Chaucerian Tragedy," ELH, 19 (1952), 1-37; rpt. in Chaucer Criticism, Vol. II, ed. Schoeck and Taylor, op. cit., pp. 88-91, 96-7; Patch, The Goddess Fortuna, op. cit., pp. 31-2, 312; his "Chaucer and Lady Fortune," op. cit., p. 383; his On Rereading Chaucer, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1939), p. 113; his "Troilus on Determinism," Speculum, 6 (1931), pp. 241-2.

41

Mogan, op. cit., pp. 121, 126-7, 140; Willard Farnham, The Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1963, c. 1936), pp. 143, 149-50; Robertson, op. cit., pp. 86-7; and his A Preface to Chaucer (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1962), pp. 472-3; Charles Berryman, "The Ironic Design of Fortune in Troilus and Criseide," ChauR, 2 (1967-8), p. 1; Kemp Malone, Chapters on Chaucer, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1951), pp. 105-6 -- Malone's suggestion that the Troilus presents not a strict rise-and-fall but rather a smaller fall/larger rise/deeper fall/more profound rise structure nonetheless acknowledges that this de casu pattern is to be considered in reading the poem.

42

Kean, "Chaucer's Dealings With a Stanza of Il Filostrato and the Epilogue of Troilus and Criseyde," M AE, 33 (1964), p. 39; John W. Conlee, "The Meaning of Troilus' Ascension to the Eighth Sphere," ChauR, 7 (1972), p. 27.

43
Pasquale Di Pasquale, Jr., "Sikernessee" and Fortune in Troilus and Criseyde," PQ, 49 (1970), pp. 152-63.

44
Mogan, op. cit., esp. pp. 116-44.

45
Farnham, op. cit., pp. 145, 149-50; E. Talbot Donaldson, Speaking of Chaucer, (London: Athlone Press, 1970), pp. 92, 98; Jefferson, op. cit., pp. 120, 124, 129; Schuman, op. cit., pp. 107-9; Shorter, op. cit., pp. 99, 146-8.

46
Bernardus Silvestris, op. cit., introd., pp. 6, 67-9, 94; Alanus ab Insulis, The Complaint of Nature, tr. Douglas M. Moffat, Yale studies in English, 36, (New York: Henry Holt, 1908; rpt. Cleveland: Micro Photo Inc., n. d.), pp. 27-8, 32; and his Anticlaudianus, op. cit., pp. 44-62; Roman de la Rose, op. cit., 81.49-63. Modern criticism recognizing Natura's role as creator and/or maintainer of order within the world includes: Dorothy Bethurum, "Chaucer's Point of View as Narrator in the Love Poems," PMLA, 74 (1959), pp. 511-2; Diane Gray Kurtz, "The Significance of the Tradition of Nature in Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde," diss. Univ. of Illinois, 1975, pp. 3, 58, 67, 116; Curry, op. cit., pp. 242-6, 257, 259, 261; Rowe, op. cit., pp. 22-5.

47
Bernardus, op. cit., p. 94; Alanus, Anticlaudianus, op. cit., pp. 44-62.

48
Alanus, Complaint, op. cit., p. 32; Roman de la Rose, op. cit., 81.64-74.

49
Bernardus, op. cit., p. 6; Alanus, Ibid., p. 32.

50
Bernardus, Ibid., pp. 67-9; Alanus, Ibid., pp. 29-31, 84; his Anticlaudianus, op. cit., pp. 44-5, 51-4, 68-9, 144; by implication in Roman de la Rose, op. cit., 88.236-44.

51
Alanus, Complaint, op. cit., pp. 34-8, 43-56, 94-5; Roman de la Rose, op. cit. 21.139-144, 22.79-90, 77.3-19, 85-92, 78.1-10, 87.-88.

52
Alanus, Ibid., pp. 43-56; Roman de la Rose, 89.-94.; For critical confirmation see Bethurum, op. cit., p. 512; Kurtz, op. cit., pp. 72-80, 116; Bethurum Loomis, op. cit., p. 195; Rowe, op. cit., pp. 94-5.

53
Kurtz, op. cit., esp. pp. 116-198.

54

Edmund Reiss, "Chaucer's Paradies of Love," pp. 27-44 in Chaucer the Love Poet, ed. Jerome Mitchell and William Provost, (Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1973), p. 37; Buford Scrivner, Jr., "Chaucer's Early Poetry: A Study of Imagery in Relation to Theme and Structure," diss. Florida State Univ. Coll. of Arts and Sciences, 1972, pp. 245-6; McCall, "Troilus and Criseyde," in Companion to Chaucer Studies, ed. Beryl Rowland, (Toronto: Oxford Univ. Press, 1968), p. 380; and his Chaucer Among the Gods: The Poetics of Classical Myth, (University Park, [Penn.]: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 1979), p. 45; Schuman, op. cit., esp. pp. 104-11; Peggy A. Knapp, "The Nature of Nature: Criseyde's 'Slydyng Corage'," ChauR, 13 (1978-9), pp. 133-40, esp. p. 137.

55

Troilus being shot with Cupid's arrow: Roman de la Rose, op. cit., 7.1 - 8.148; Andreas Cappellanus, op. cit., p. 45; Lewis, "What Chaucer Really Did..." op. cit., p. 38; Thomas A. Kirby, Chaucer's Troilus: a study in courtly love, (1940; rpt. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1958), p. 246; Dodd, op. cit., pp. 14, 190.

springtime setting: Roman de la Rose, op. cit., 1.33-72.

taking advantage of fleeting youth and beauty: Roman de la Rose, Ibid., Guillaume: 1.14-5, 1.142-85, 4.349-63; and Jean: 50.13, 62.156; Andreas Capellanus, op. cit., pp. 32-3.

56

Roman de la Rose, Ibid., Guillaume: 6.102-34, 7.1-8, 8.200-4, 16.20; Jean: 21.82-6, 81.64-72, 87.26-57, 89.-92.; Andreas Capellanus, op. cit., pp. 31-2, 40-4, 61, 72, 88; Kirby, op. cit., pp. 282-3; Peter Heidtmann, "Sex and Salvation in Troilus and Criseyde," ChauR, 2 (1967-8), pp. 246-8; Lewis, "What Chaucer Really Did..." op. cit., p. 39; Alexander J. Denomy, "The Two Moralities of Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 44, Ser. III, sec. 2 (1950), 35-46, rpt. in Chaucer Criticism, Vol. II, ed. Schoeck and Taylor, op. cit., p. 151. See also E. E. Slaughter, Virtue According to Love in Chaucer, (New York: Bookman Associates, 1957), pp. 19-48 on earthly love as virtuous.

57

Roman de la Rose, op. cit., 8.13-136, 10.4-217, 11.1-10, 13.100-6, 18.183-205, 19.165-9; Andreas Capellanus, op. cit., pp. 28-9, 37, 45, 54-5, 70, 132; Kirby, op. cit., pp. 7-11.

58

Roman de la Rose, op. cit., 21.-25., 28., 33.

59

Ibid., 8.91-100, 124-36, 142-8; Andreas Capellanus, op. cit., p. 99.

60

Roman de la Rose, Ibid., 8.33-6; Andreas Capellanus, Ibid., pp. 39, 45, 54-5, 70, 132; Richard F. Green, "Troilus and the Game of Love," ChauR, 13 (1978-9), pp. 204-5.

61

Roman de la Rose, Ibid., 18.10-37; Andreas Capellanus, op. cit., pp. 34, 151-2, 156-7; Barry Windeatt, "'Love That Oughte Ben Secree' in Chaucer's Troilus," ChauR, 14 (1979-80), pp. 118-9; Dodd, op. cit., pp. 156-9; Kirby, op. cit., p. 154.

62

Roman de la Rose, Ibid., 10.68-115, 19.95; Andreas Capellanus, Ibid., pp. 36, 70-2, 167.

63

Lewis, "What Chaucer Really Did..." op. cit., p. 42; Windeatt, op. cit., pp. 116, 121-6; Green, op. cit., p. 212; Roman de la Rose, Ibid., 9.-11.; Andreas Capellanus, Ibid., pp. 81-2.

64

intensity of feeling: Windeatt, op. cit., p. 128; Green, op. cit., p. 214; humility: Alfred David, "The Hero of the Troilus," Speculum, 37 (1962), p. 566; Dodd, op. cit., p. 137; Kirby, op. cit., pp. 204-5.

65 Kirby, idem; Green, op. cit., p. 216.

66

Green, Ibid., pp. 209-10.

67

Dodd, op. cit., p. 198; Denomy, op. cit., pp. 150-1.

68

Kirby, op. cit., pp. 230-31; Dodd, op. cit., pp. 156-9.

69

Roman de la Rose, op. cit., 2.9-227, 3.4-363, 8.185-204; Andreas Capellanus, op. cit., pp. 35-141, 149-50.

70

knightly prowess: Andreas Capellanus, Ibid., p. 60; Dodd, op. cit., p. 137; Kirby, op. cit., p. 279; David, op. cit., p. 568.

steadfastness in loving: Roman de la Rose, op. cit., 9.15-22, 15.89-106, 49.1-5ff, 66.59-62; Andreas Capellanus, Ibid., p. 120; Green, op. cit., pp. 216-7; Donald R. Howard, The Three Temptations: Medieval man in search of the world, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), p. 112; David, Ibid., p. 568, 579;

Donaldson, op. cit., p. 96; Kittredge, op. cit., p. 143.

On Troilus' general nobility of character see also Meech, op. cit., p. 17, and Kurtz, op. cit., p. 133.

71

Lewis, Allegory, op. cit., p. 195; Peter Christmas, "Troilus and Criseyde: The Problems of Love and Necessity," ChauR, 9 (1975), p. 291; Mamie Hafner, "The Use of Religious Phraseology in Medieval Love Poetry: Provençal and French Poems and Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde," diss. University of Wisconsin, 1965, pp. 148-51; Joseph E. Gallagher, "Theology and Intention in Chaucer's Troilus," ChauR, 1 (1972), p. 52; Dodd, op. cit., pp. 137-43; Howard, op. cit., p. 112; David, op. cit., p. 566; Green, quoting Muscatine, op. cit., pp. 211-2.

72

Roman de la Rose, op. cit., 39.83-105; Andreas Capellanus, op. cit., pp. 34, 74-83, 87-9; Windeatt, op. cit., p. 119; Kirby, op. cit., pp. 194-231; ApRoberts, "Criseyde's Infidelity and the Moral of the Troilus," Speculum, 44 (1969), pp. 395-7; and his "The Central Episode in Chaucer's Troilus," PMLA, 77 (1962), pp. 373-85; S. Nagarajan, "The Conclusion of Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde," EIC, 13 (1963), pp. 3-7.

73

Roman de la Rose, Ibid., 15., 34.-39., 47., 57.-60., 62., 64.-65.; Andreas Capellanus, op. cit., pp. 30, 165; Green, op. cit., pp. 208, 212, 216-8; Lewis, "What Chaucer Really Did..." op. cit., pp. 34-5, 42-3; Windeatt, op. cit., p. 116; Dunning, op. cit., p. 166; Kirby, op. cit., pp. 106-17, 187-9; Hafner, op. cit., p. 154-5; David, op. cit., p. 568.

74

Roman de la Rose, Ibid., 8.151-208ff, 49.1-89; Andreas Capellanus, Ibid., pp. 37, 45.

75

Roman de la Rose, Ibid., 4.-5., 8.-11., 49.-52., 69., 74.-76., 89.-90., 95.; Andreas Capellanus, Ibid., pp. 74-83.

76

Dodd, op. cit., pp. 16-8; McCall, "Troilus and Criseyde," in Companion, ed. Rowland, op. cit., p. 380; and his Chaucer Among the Gods, op. cit., p. 27; Lopresti, op. cit., pp. 138, 173, 183-6; Sommer, op. cit., pp. 40-1, 86; Costello, op. cit., pp. 135-43, 160-1.

77Apstein, op. cit., p. 119; Lopresti, op. cit., pp. 175-80; Slaughter, "Love and Grace in Chaucer's Troilus," in Essays in Honor of Walter Clyde Curry, (Nashville, Tenn.: Vanderbilt Univ. Press, 1954), p. 68.

78

Dodd, op. cit., pp. 18-20; Lopresti, op. cit., pp. 138, 173; Costello, op. cit., p. 147; Meech, Design, op. cit., pp. 264-8; and his "Figurative Contrasts in Chaucer's Troilus," in English Institute Essays -- 1950, ed. Alan S. Downer, (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1951), p. 71; There is a confessional scene with Natura and Genius in Roman de la Rose, op. cit., 79.-90.

79

Slaughter, "Love and Grace," op. cit., pp. 63-68.

80 Roman de la Rose, op. cit., 2.28-107, 9.15-22, 78-81, 89-93, 21.85-9, 50.14; Andreas Capellanus, op. cit., pp. 31-2, 72, 81-2, 88, 120; Denomy, op. cit., p. 148; Howard, op. cit., p. 113.

81

Hafner, op. cit.

82

Kirby, op. cit., pp. 141, 211; Dodd, op. cit., pp. 189-208; Howard, op. cit., pp. 116-7; Elizabeth Salter, "Troilus and Criseyde: A Reconsideration," in Patterns of Love and Courtesy: Essays in Memory of C. S. Lewis, ed. John Lawlor, (London: Edward Arnold, 1966), pp. 97-8, 101-3; James Lyndon Shanley, "The Troilus and Christian Love," ELH, 6 (1939), pp. 271-81, rpt. in Chaucer Criticism, Vol. II, ed. Schoeck and Taylor, op. cit., p. 138.

83

Apstein, op. cit., pp. 124-5; Malone, op. cit., p. 119.

84

Mogan, op. cit., p. 126; Lopresti, op. cit., pp. 143-4, 173-85; Sommer, op. cit., pp. 100-2; Whitlark, op. cit., p. 70; Costello, op. cit., pp. 110-2, 115-6, see also pp. 119, 148.

85

Lewis, "What Chaucer Really Did..." op. cit., p. 36; Meech, Design, op. cit., p. 264; Dunning, op. cit., p. 172.

86

David, op. cit., p. 567; Howard, op. cit., pp. 112-4, 146.

87

Christmas, op. cit., p. 291-3.

88

Roman de la Rose, op. cit., 2.9-107, 186-209, 4.1-18, 254, 348, 9.55-197, 34.79-164, 50.; Andreas Capellanus, op. cit., pp. 31-2, 59-61, 81-2, 152, 184-6.

89

Windeatt, op. cit., p. 116; Green, op. cit., pp. 202-8; Moorman, op. cit., pp. 67-8.

- 90
Kirby, op. cit., pp. 248, 252; Malone, op. cit., p. 119.
- 91
Salter, op. cit., pp. 98, 101-6; Dunning, op. cit., pp. 171-4; Denomy, op. cit., pp. 149-53.
- 92
Slaughter, "Love and Grace," op. cit., pp. 63-4; and his Virtue According to Love, op. cit., pp. vii-viii, 156-78, 198, 220-4; D[erek] S. Brewer, "Love and Marriage in Chaucer's Poetry," MLR, 49 (1954), pp. 461-4; John B. Maguire, "The Clandestine Marriage of Troilus and Criseyde," ChauR, 8 (1973-4), pp. 262-78; Gallagher, op. cit., p. 56.
- 93
Anthony E. Farnham, "Chaucerian Irony and the Ending of the Troilus," ChauR, 1 (1966-7), pp. 208-16; Rowe, op. cit., pp. 106-7.
- 94
Jeffrey Helterman, "The Masks of Love in Troilus and Criseyde," CL, 26 (1974), pp. 14-31.
- 95
Heidtmann, op. cit., pp. 246-53; Bethurum, "Chaucer's Point of View..." op. cit., pp. 512, 519-20.
- 96
Andreas Cappelanus, op. cit., pp. 187-212; Roman de la Rose, op. cit., 94.
- 97
Hafner, op. cit., pp. 16, 156-9, 178.
- 98
Costello, op. cit., pp. 154-5.
- 99
Ida L. Gordon, The Double Sorrow of Troilus: a study of ambiguities in Troilus and Criseyde, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970).
- 100
Shanley, op. cit., pp. 137, 144; Whitlark, op. cit., p. 70; Robertson, Preface, op. cit.; Bernice Grace Cofer, "Chaucer's Religious Consciousness in Troilus and Criseyde," M.A. thesis, Univ. of Washington, 1938, pp. 16, 120; Gordon, op. cit., pp. 131-2; Gill, op. cit., pp. 101-10; Patch, On Rereading, op. cit., p. 113.
- 101
Hafner, op. cit., pp. 15, 167-8; Robert M. Jordan, Chaucer and the Shape of Creation: the aesthetic possibilities of inorganic structure, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1967), pp. 7-8, 29-34; David, The Strumpet Muse: art and morals in Chaucer's poetry, (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1976), pp. 5, 26; Denomy, op. cit.

102

Patch, On Rereading, op. cit., pp. 72-5; Gordon, op. cit., pp. 58-9; Robertson, Preface, op. cit., pp. 472, 676-7; his "Chaucerian Tragedy," op. cit., p. 97.

103

Hafner, op. cit., p. 146; Gill, op. cit., pp. xix-xx, 23, 30; Kean, "Troilus and Criseyde," op. cit., p. 169; Howard, op. cit., p. 111.

104

Patch, On Rereading, op. cit., pp. 74-82; Gallagher, op. cit., pp. 59-60, 62-6; Howard, op. cit., pp. 81, 121-33; Robertson, Preface, op. cit., pp. 472-3, 478-9, 482, 487; "Chaucerian Tragedy," op. cit., pp. 89, 95-6, 101.

105

Denomy, op. cit., p. 147; Gill, op. cit., pp. 2, 28, 92, 109-10; Reiss, op. cit., pp. 95-111; Howard, op. cit., pp. 8, 81-88; Patch, On Rereading, op. cit., pp. 72-3; Hafner, op. cit., pp. 162-5; Donaldson, op. cit., p. 96.

106

Donaldson, *Ibid.*, p. 92; Reiss, op. cit., pp. 131-44; Shanley, op. cit., pp. 138-42; Kean, "Troilus and Criseyde," op. cit., pp. 115-45; Hafner, op. cit., pp. 17, 148, 159, 178; Cofer, op. cit., p. 120; Jordan, op. cit., p. 3; Gill, op. cit., p. 110.

107

Howard, op. cit., p. 133; Shanley, op. cit., pp. 137-42; Patch, On Rereading, op. cit., pp. 110-1, 115-6.

108

Robertson, Preface, op. cit., pp. 482, 487, 494; "Chaucerian Tragedy," op. cit., pp. 88-9, 97.

109

Di Pasquale, op. cit., pp. 158-9; Shorter, op. cit., pp. 60-1, 121-2.

110

apRoberts, "The Boethian God and the Audience of the Troilus," JEGP, 69 (1970), pp. 430-6; Jean Lorrain, "The 'Present Eternite' of Chaucer's Troilus," diss. Florida State, 1968, pp. 1-5, 68-83; Charles A. Owen, Jr., "The Problem of Free Will in Chaucer's Narratives," PQ, 46 (1967), pp. 439-41, 444-5.

111

Hafner, op. cit., p. 16; Gordon, op. cit., esp. pp. 53-5; Robertson, Preface, op. cit., p. 487.

112

Shanley, op. cit., pp. 136, 144; Gill, op. cit., pp. xxi, 109; Patch, On Rereading, op. cit., p. 102; Donaldson, op. cit., p. 96; Jordan, op. cit., pp. 105-6; Gaylord, op. cit., pp. 24-45; Kean, "Troilus and Criseyde," op. cit., pp. 148-50, 163; Gallagher, op.

cit., p. 45; Costello, op. cit., pp. 29-30, 197-205;
Howard, op. cit., pp. 13-4.

113

Hafner, op. cit., pp. 18, 147-8, 160-1; Gill,
op. cit., pp. xxi, 3-4; Gordon, op. cit., pp. 22, 40,
75-7, 84-7, 93, 132, 137; Patch, On Rereading, op. cit.,
p. 102; Shanley, op. cit., p. 138; McCall, "Classical
Myth..." op. cit.; Howard, op. cit., pp. 13-4.

114

Robertson, "Chaucerian Tragedy," op. cit., p. 87
(quote); his Preface, op. cit., pp. 474-7.

115

McCall, "Classical Myth..." op. cit., pp. 72-12.

116

Ibid., pp. 114-27.

117

Ibid., pp. 54-5, 138-70.

118

Ibid., pp. 128-38.

119

Ibid., pp. 204, 212-21.

120

Ibid., pp. 171-91.

121

Ibid., pp. 259, 315.

122

Costello, op. cit., pp. 2, 90, 119-20, 147, 151,
157, 167-9, 197, 205.

123

Ibid., pp. 167-70.

124

Ibid., pp. 2, 137, 146-7, 169.

125

Ibid., pp. 56-8, 90, 118, 148, 154-7.

126

Ibid., pp. 133-8.

127

Ibid., pp. 118-48, 160-1, 167, 208-10, quote pp.
118-9.

128

Moorman, op. cit., pp. 64-5; Curry, op. cit.,
pp. 241-98.

129

Kean, "Troilus and Criseyde," op. cit., pp. 165-
8, 171-3; Stanley B. Greenfield, "The Role of Calkas in
Troilus and Criseyde," M AE, 36 (1967), p. 146.

130

Chauncey Wood, Chaucer and the Country of the
Stars: poetic uses of astrological imagery, (Princeton:
Princeton Univ. Press, 1970), pp. 5-7, 17-8, 47-9, 52-3;
Leona O'Desky, "Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde:"

Astrology and the Transference of Power," diss. Rutgers Univ., 1974, pp. 28-9, 105; Gordon, op. cit., pp. 47-50; Nan Cooke Carpenter, "Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde, III, 624-628," Explicator, 30, item 51.

131

Forrest S. Scott, "The Seventh Sphere: A Note on Troilus and Criseyde," MLR, 51 (1956), pp. 2-5; Jackson I. Cope, "Chaucer, Venus and the 'Seventhe Spere'," MLN, 67 (1952), p. 245; McCall, "Classical Myth..." op. cit., pp. 312-3.

132

Bloomfield, "The Eighth Sphere -- a Note on Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde, V, 1809," MLR, 53 (1958), pp. 408-10; Conlee, op. cit., pp. 27-36; John Steadman, Disembodied Laughter: Troilus and the apotheosis tradition: a re-examination of narrative and thematic contexts, (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1972), pp. 12-7, 21-41; Wood, op. cit., pp. 62-3, 180-7.

Chapter II
TYPES OF RELIGIOUS ALLUSIONS IN TROILUS AND CRISEYDE
AND THEIR POSSIBLE FUNCTIONS IN THE POEM

In Chapter I, I defined the different sorts of deities present in Troilus and Criseyde, along with findings of previous scholarship on their natures and functions in the poem. But before the Troilus' allusions to deities can be fruitfully considered, a more detailed categorization of the different kinds of religious references in the poem must be made, along with a more complete analysis of their possible functions and meanings in it. For, as I suggested at the close of Chapter I, a complete explication of the associations and possible meanings of the poem's religious allusions, taken in toto, still needs to be done. And in order to attempt it here, I must now deal directly with the text of the Troilus, considering the possible meanings that the text itself suggests for its religious references.

One problem lies in the range of casualness to seriousness of each kind of religious allusion. Some references to God seem, from their contexts, quite insignificant, while others' contexts indicate urgent prayers -- with still others representing every shade of seriousness in between; again, some references to a given pagan deity can seem quite casual or specifically pagan, while

other references to the same god may strongly suggest specific qualities of the Christian God, and in ways significant for the poem's sentence. One facet of this chapter's categorization of references to deities will therefore be the effort to determine just how significant each group of references is, whether each may be taken at face value or whether it conveys further implication, and what this determination means for the poem's interpretation.

This question, indeed, leads to a further problem: that of whether a given group of references can or must be understood as having a single definable reading or whether it is possible -- or even necessary -- to find a multiplicity of meaning and function for some or all of the references. Does a reference to Mars, for example, work simply on the surface, to help establish a Trojan setting? Does it help characterize Troilus instead -- or as well? If it does help define Troilus' character, does it describe him as a praiseworthy warrior? Or does Mars constitute a pejorative comment on Troilus' irrationality as a lover? Can, or should, we take just one of these possibilities as a reference's function; or can, or should, we accept more than one usage for it? And when there are conflicting possibilities, which should we accept? And on what grounds do we make all these decisions?

I wish to emphasize this last issue, because it is of particular importance to my thesis. For my discussion here will show that Chaucer's ambiguity creates the real possibility of more than one valid meaning for references both to classical gods and to God and Christianity. And this persistent ambiguity is what will ultimately permit (indeed, require) me to suggest an understanding of the poem which accepts different and even contradictory functions for these references simultaneously.

In order to show how this can occur, the different kinds of references to each set of deities in the Troilus need to be defined, and these questions of how to understand each category of reference must be answered, before the actual poem can be properly examined. This chapter will therefore look first at colloquial language and exclamations to God or Lord, and at Christian material; then will examine references to classical gods, simply as gods, and also as suggesting aspects of God, and as character-revealing devices; then will look at astrological material; and finally will deal with the Christian Narrator's language and usages as a separate category. Each kind of reference will be treated so as to identify the subgroups in each category, and the levels of seriousness for each subgroup, in addition to identifying the possible functions and meanings, and implications for

the sentence of the Troilus, of each kind of religious reference. In the course of this process, other medieval literature will be cited to shed light on the methods a medieval writer had available for using religious allusions, and for using them meaningfully and ambiguously. For I will show that in virtually every case, multiple possibilities exist for interpretation of these references in the Troilus, both as regards the level of seriousness of each, and also as regards how many meanings or levels of meaning may be accepted for each kind of reference to a deity.

i
references to God and Christianity

There are some 276 exclamatory references using "God" or "Lord" in the Troilus, plus some 11 uses of "pardieux" or similar expressions. These exclamations break down into several subgroups, each of which requires separate definition and illustration, and evaluation. These groups are: usages that seem to function simply as exclamations; exclamatory/colloquial usages which ascribe some quality or ability to God, such that they might be seen as suggesting the Christian God; exclamatory invocations and prayers to "God" or "Lord"; and expressions which include allusion to the religious

context of fourteenth century culture. The very explicit Christian allusion of the "predestination soliloquy" and other Boethian paraphrases are in a class by themselves but most closely related to this last group.

One obviously exclamatory usage is the word "Lord" in phrases such as "But, Lord, so she wex sodenliche red" (III, 956); or Criseyde's "'Lord, so faste ye m'avise'" (II, 276). Such usages are obviously emphatic and colloquial, and there is no particular pointer to their being more than that. A number of other expressions, such as "God woot", seem to be similar in import, or lack of it. The Narrator's description of Troilus riding by is a typical example of this: in "God woot if he sat on his hors aright,/ Or goodly was biseyn.../ God woot wher he was lik a manly knyght!" (II, 1261-3), the expression seems simply to reinforce the Narrator's own inability to do verbal justice to how well Troilus did in fact sit on his horse like a proper manly knight. "God toforn" is another expression that seems to be used this way (II, 992; III, 849; V, 963). "By God" is used by both Pandarus and Criseyde on occasions when a deity's attention is not especially required, as in Pandarus' assertion that he will not tell Criseyde what he has in mind for her, "'By God.../ For prouder womman is ther noon on lyve'" (II, 137-8), or in Criseyde's later, "'wol ye so?/ Nay, sitteth down; by God, I have to doone/ With yow, to

speke of wisdom er ye go.'" (II, 212-4). "O mercy God!" is another such expression, used by all three protagonists; Troilus' "'O mercy God,' thoughte he, 'wher hastow woned...'" on first seeing Criseyde (I, 276) is an example. "For Goddes love" and its variants also use what might be the language of a serious theological concept in a purely emphatic fashion: it is difficult to imagine Criseyde expressing any very thoughtful idea of God's concern when she begs Pandarus, "'Now, my good em, for Goddes love, I preye,/ ...come of, and telle me what it is!'" (II, 309-10). Even when the priest Calkas is concerned, the expression does not seem very theologically serious: at the beginning of Book IV, Calkas goes to the Greek leaders, "And with a chaunged face bade hem a boone,/ For love of God, to don that reverence,/ To stynte noyse, and yeve hym audience." (IV, 68-70) There are even some expressions that might appear to suggest God's ordering power or care for His creatures if the contexts did not seem simply exclamatory: Troilus' thought about the possible exchange, "And if they wolde graunte, as God forbede..." (IV, 157); Pandarus' "'If God wol, thow art not agast of me,/ Lest I wolde of this lady the bygyle!'" (I, 715-6); or his farewell to Troilus at the end of their first reported conversation, "'Adieu! be glad! God spede us bothe two!/ Yef me this

labour...'" (I, 1041-2).

In all these expressions we hear the colloquial language of fourteenth century England. To what extent is this usage simply colloquial, and/or to what extent is it intentionally Christian? Critics such as Hafner, Robertson, Costello and Howard have found in these expressions an intention on Chaucer's part to keep us in mind of God and Christian values;¹ but others, such as Meech, Everett, and Tatlock have considered these references to be no more than colloquial speech, and a way of making the characters easily sympathetic to the fourteenth century audience.² To what extent do these exclamatory references function like "pardieux" and its variants (cf. I, 197, 1047; II, 759, 1057, 1212, 1319, etc.) or "mafoy" (III, 52), which are French-derived expressions that swear mildly be God (Dieu) or one's faith, yet in English use cannot be expected to immediately connote either? We of the twentieth century are aware either of ourselves or of people we know who make use of similar expressions -- "Omigod!" or "Oh, for God's sake!" -- merely for emphasis, yet we also know that some groups of people among us are careful to avoid such expressions, and to substitute "for goodness sake" so as to avoid invoking God in a mere exclamation. How, without clear clues, are we to assess our fourteenth century author's intention in this matter? Was he a

sophisticated courtier making merely exclamatory use of these colloquial expressions, or was he a conscientious Christian writer using them seriously within the framework of the characters' speech? Or could Chaucer, indeed, be quite intentionally employing such phrases ambiguously, to create both a lurking Christian awareness and secular colloquial expression simultaneously? Chaucer nowhere states outright which of these possibilities we should take as intended, and we are thrown back on our perceptions of the literary context of these usages.

Using our own perceptions inevitably involves subjective judgement, yet it appears clear to me that the colloquial/exclamatory function of the expressions here discussed is unquestionable, but that Chaucer has not presented us with any unmistakeable indication of any meaning beyond that. That such additional meaning may be present is distinctly possible, but it is by no means necessary. We may thus establish as a starting-point the datum that colloquial exclamations which name God work to create cultural familiarity, while they may or may not also establish an undertone of awareness of Christianity.

A second subcategory of colloquial uses of "God" involves expressions that do imply or hint at the Christian God's attributes, though with an apparent primary function of exclamation and emphasis.

Exclamations suggesting God's power and authority are one example of such expressions. They can be bare epithets like Criseyde's "'Now, myghty God, thow on my sorwe rewe!'" (V, 707), or they can be more expansive and suggestive, as in Troilus' oath to Pandarus "'by that God.../ That as hym list, may al this world governe'" that he will keep the affair secret (III, 372-85). Such expressions not only name God but ascribe power to Him, referring to His might and ability, and thus suggesting a real and powerful Deity to some greater extent than the expressions of the first subgroup. Yet even in such usages as these, the exclamatory or emphatic function seems primary. Troilus' oath at III, 372 ff is a good, mouth-filling -- and therefore more emphatic -- exclamation; Criseyde's hope for God's governance at II, 464-9 expresses her sense of needing help in handling a tricky situation more than it does a serious prayer. God's power is suggested, but hardly focussed on, by these exclamations, so that God hangs in the background, a real presence, perhaps, but one rather thoughtlessly referred to.

The exclamations cited in the last paragraph refer to God's might and ordering power; quite a few others of similar sort speak of God's ability to save or help. Pandarus' inquiry after Criseyde on the morning following her first tryst with Troilus is answered, "'Nevere the

bet for yow!/ ...God yeve youre herte kare!/ God help me so, ye caused al this fare'" (III, 1564-6); here God's help is obviously invoked mainly for emphasis -- yet it also intrudes a note of a different morality than that of the courts of love. Criseyde's declaration that she does not even know Horaste, "'God helpe me so'" (III, 807), seems to invoke God's ability to help her essentially for emphasis; yet in the same style of speech, she tells Troilus that, "'helpe me God so at my mooste nede'" he need not worry about her ability to keep her promise to return (IV, 1527-33), and here again the colloquial and emphatic usage also admits some more serious background sense of God as a Being who is able to help people, and to judge whether they are worthy of His aid. Wishes that God may assist the lovers take whole lines (e.g., II, 1230-31; III, 966) and suggest God's helping power, yet are part of the conversation of love-play and the arrangement of a love-affair, in which serious theological thought has no obvious place. And exclamations suggesting God's ability to save carry the same ambiguity as those suggesting His power to help. Criseyde asks whether dancing is proper for a widow, "'so God yow save'" (II, 114) in a very casual kind of expression. Nor is Pandarus' language much more suggestive of urgency when he advises her to treat Troilus with friendship,

"'And, God so wys be my savacioun,/ As I have seyde, youre beste is to do soo'" (II, 381-2). The use of "salvation" and expressions about God saving one's soul are again suggestive of the theological conception of the Christian God, yet these usages are here again embedded in very colloquial love-talking, and used for emphasis in casual speech.

God's might, and his ability to help and save, are thus referred to in colloquial expressions in the Troilus, and God's grace and holiness, omniscience and function of Creator are also alluded to in exclamations of this sort. Thus Troilus wishes, "'As wolde blisful God now, for his joie'" that he might see Criseyde home again (V, 608); and Criseyde wheedles Pandarus with "'Ye, holy God,' quod she, 'what thyng is that?'" (II, 127). Troilus' aubade asks day why it seeks them, "'Ther God thi lighte so quenche, for his grace,'" (III, 1456), and Criseyde avows to Pandarus that she is beholden to him "'And with the grace of God'" would never offend him (II, 243). Once again in these expressions God, as well as His attributes (according to Christian belief) of grace, holiness, and blissfulness, are invoked in contexts which do not support much theological intention: emphasis and wish are suggested rather than careful consideration of the Deity -- and yet some qualities of God as Christians conceived of Him are suggested.

God's omniscience and creatorship present similar cases. When everyone arrived at Deiphebus' house, for example, "But God and Pandare wist al what this mente," (II, 1561); and Troilus swears his fidelity to Criseyde with "'Now God, to whom ther nys no cause ywrye,/ Me glade..." (IV, 1653-5). Pandarus swears "'by that Lorde that formede est and west'" (II, 1053) that he hopes to bring Troilus an answer to his letter; while Criseyde's aubade chides Night, "'that shapen art by God this world to hide'" (III, 1430); and Troilus begs Criseyde to guide his life, "'for the love of God, my lady deere,/ Syn God hath wrought me for I shall yow serve.'" (III, 1289-95) In these expressions it is God's character as Creator of the world and its inhabitants that is used as part of the colloquial conversation of a love affair -- yet in ways which bring forward this aspect of His nature.

These references are more ambiguous than a simple "Lord" or even "God woot." As with the first set of references, the colloquial and emphatic function of these expressions cannot be doubted. But the possibility that some additional function may be served is greater in the case of this second group, in direct proportion to the greater extent to which these references suggest the Christian understanding of God's nature and attributes. It is also true, however, that Chaucer has here, again,

provided us with no clue to indicate that we ought to hear such implications. Again, we have the possibility but not the necessity of understanding a Christian world-view as being presented in the poem through these references. The distinction between this second group of references and the first is that a more detailed and precisely Christian implication is suggested by the second group.

A third subcategory, and one in which these same ambiguities are further exacerbated, is that of exclamations which not only refer to God's existence or qualities but which actually invoke Him. The Narrator's, "O myghty God, what shal he seye?" (II, 1757) is a colloquial exclamation, but one which actually addresses God. Troilus' "'If no love is, O God, what fele I so?'" (I, 400) is a colloquial exclamation which appeals to God rather fervently. The Narrator several times appeals to God to aid Troilus' love affair, as in "To God hope I, she hath now kaught a thorn,/ She shal not pulle it out this nexte wyke./ God sende mo swich thornes..." (II, 1272-4; see also III, 1048, 1385-93, 1400).. Troilus takes leave of Criseyde with, "'Ther God graunte us sounde and soone to mete!'" (III, 1526); and Pandarus takes "'God, that al woot...to witnesse'" that it is not for gain that he has become a pander (II, 260). And there are passages, too, which seem from the characters'

emotional intensity while speaking them, to be quite genuine prayers, despite using the same colloquial style of speech as other, more casual, utterances. Thus Criseyde's relatively casual oath to Diomedes that, "'I mene wel, by God that sit above!'" is followed by her addressing Troy much more earnestly with, "'Yet bidde I God'" that she may see it again (V, 1004-8). Troilus, in the anxiety and hope of composing his first love-letter, invokes God (as well as Minerva) for help with a pious "'And blisful God prey ich with good entente/ the viage and the letter I shal endite/ So spede it...'" (II, 1060-2). And although this is a prayer for an object of limited weight, Troilus later invokes God far more seriously again, and as a moral Judge, in his penultimate cry concerning Criseyde's betrayal, "'O God...thow oughtest taken heede./ To fortheren trouthe, and wronges to punyce,/ Whi nyltow don a vengeance of this vice?'" (V, 1706-8).

All such expressions wish for God's aid or witness, and a God so appealed to is a Being conceived and presented as a real deity by the nature of the invocation. Furthermore, such prayers as these are the sort that a fourteenth century Christian might make. Yet these usages are still basically exclamations and part of conversation belonging to a secular love-affair, and an

important question is the extent to which phrases like "God grant us to meet again" or "all-knowing God be my witness" may be said thoughtlessly as a colloquial exclamation or seriously as a considered invocation. As with the second subcategory considered above, these usages suggest a real Deity, and one with the characteristics of the Christian God, yet their function in the poem is exclamatory and colloquial, and if they were to be seen as no more than colloquial conversation and emotional exclamation, their presence would require no further explanation. They are certainly exclamatory expressions, and nothing in the poem indicates that we must take them as more than that. Yet they suggest a world in which people refer themselves and the conditions of their existence to a Deity who is alluded to as possessing the Christian God's characteristics, and while we are certainly not forced by Chaucer to read these expressions as implying a Christian world-view, the possibility of our (as opposed to the characters) hearing an echo of a Christian ethos is by no means denied; scholars such as Hafner, Howard, and Costello who do hear such an echo (as observed above and documented in footnote 1 of this chapter) are not automatically wrong.

When we attempt to interpret ambiguous utterances, we must ultimately read a poem on the basis of its own text. At the same time, however, some sense of how

similar expressions were used in contemporary works whose interpretation seems clearer may assist in understanding our poem. And since my purpose in this thesis will be to reveal that Chaucer used ambiguity of utterance both purposefully, consistently, and meaningfully, it will be helpful to determine that ambiguous and intriguing references to God and Christian practice were common in medieval literature.

To investigate this, I will pause to look briefly at references to God and Christian practice in some other examples of writing which are more or less contemporary with Chaucer. For Troilus and Criseyde is far more complex in its range of religious references than any of Chaucer's other works, as I discussed in my introduction; furthermore, the Troilus combines time-appropriate usages with anachronistic ones (both in having pagan characters swear by a Christian sort of God and in showing the Christian Narrator invoking pagan deities) far more persistently and ambiguously than any of Chaucer's other poems do. Given these differences between the Troilus and Chaucer's other works, we can guess that Chaucer created the ambiguities of his references to God in the Troilus deliberately and with the intention of meaning something by them. But because the Troilus is so different, Chaucer's other writings are unlikely to shed

much light on the possible functions of his ambiguous and anachronistic references to God or gods in the Troilus; it will therefore be more helpful to look at the literary milieu in which he worked for strategies he may have been able to use, and for possible functions of those strategies, than to investigate the rest of Chaucer's opus for them.

One fertile field for such examination is the body of medieval lyric poetry, for it furnishes an enormous range of subject matter, style, and treatment -- and, as will be seen, of complexity. Many lyrics, of course, are simply and directly devout and religiously serious. Many others are quite secular, however: love songs, drinking songs, caroling songs, and so on; yet in these God, Mary, and elements of Christian worship are often used.

Quite casual, even simply exclamatory uses, occur in some lyrics. A drinking song written down not too much later than Chaucer's time exclaims, "ffrende, and we ar³ ferr yn dette/ For your fyne gode wyne, god watte"; another has a chorus of "...ffore owr blyssyd lady sak, bryng vs in good ale!"⁴ The context in which a third lyric names God can best be shown by quoting it in full:

Tappster, fille An~~o~~^oper Ale!
Annonne have I doo;
god send vs good sale.
Avale þe stake, Avale,
here ys good Ale I-founde!
drynke to me,
& I to þe,

And lette þe coppe goo Rounde. (emphasis mine)⁵
 These are obviously mentions of God and Mary with little
 if any serious significance. Similarly, what seems to be
 a Yule song swears "by mary myld" and "by god þat me
 bowght" in lines that invite householders and carolers to
 sing together -- but do not even mention the cause of
 Yule's festivities.⁶ In a different kind of lyric, the
 "Agincourt Carol" thanks God -- in Latin, no less -- for
 a military victory; this is not necessarily
 inappropriate but is certainly and simply secular.⁷ And
 similarly direct and secular usages in quite different
 contexts occur in lyrics that revolve around love-making.
 Thus one begins, "A dere god, qwat I am fayn,/ for I am
 madyn now gane!" and includes the lines, "Now wyll not my
 gyrdyll met --/ a, dere god, qwat xal I sayn?"⁸ Another
 begins with, "O Lord, so swett ser Iohn dothe kys..."⁹

Love-lyrics are a whole category in themselves, in
 fact, and they also give examples of non-religious and
 emphatic namings of God. One love-song thus begins with,
 "Wolde god that hyt were so/ as I cowde wysshe by-tuyst
 vs too" and includes the lines, "I swere by god that ys
 Aboue,/ Non hath my loue but only he/ ...I loue hym
 trywely & no mo --/ wolde god that he hyt knywe!"¹⁰
 Another exclaims, "swete god, ȝyf vs grace sone to mete,/ and sone to spekyn yfere";¹¹ a third wishes that the
 speaker could meet his beloved often and publicly without

blame, concluding, "god 3eve pat so mizte hit be!"¹²

These again are quite simple and casual invocations: wishes for one's desires expressed to the powers-that-be rather than serious prayers. Somewhat more complicated, however, is "Bitwene Mersh and Aperil;" its lyrics indicate that the speaker has fallen in love, praise the beloved's beauty, speak of love-longing and such courtly love concepts as a springtime setting and insomnia, and state as chorus that this situation is "An hendy hap.../ ichot from hevene it is me sent..."¹³ Here, in the attribution of the beginning of a love-affair to heaven, a combination of worldly love and God's approval is suggested, and this is at the least a more ambiguous usage. And an even more interesting example is a contemporary poem (like "Bitwene Mersh and Aperil" from a fourteenth century manuscript), which describes the beloved's "tittes...As apples two of parays" and concludes that "He mighte sayen that Crist him seye/ That mighte nightes negh hire leye:/ Hevene he hevede here."¹⁴

In this poem the idea of secular love being sent from heaven is explicit, as is the problematical suggestion that one might ascribe successful love-making to Christ. And is having one's heaven here meant to be ominous or simply desirable? These are no longer simple or unambiguous usages. A different kind of complexity occurs in a lyric which uses Christian references to tell a secular

tale: the form and words of the Christmas day church service are the frame within which the speaker hints at her seduction by a clerk, concluding with "Benedicamus domino, cryst fro schame me schylde./ Deo gratias, þerto -- alas, I go with schylde!/ Kyrieleyson."¹⁵ Again, this is a basically secular poem, but it uses the language of Christianity, and plays off Christian expectations against all-too-human actions. An even more extreme example of this application of pious expectations to most secular conduct is the English version of Charles d'Orleans' confession of stealing a kiss through a window -- and tongue-in-cheek vow to restore it if he can; this poem actually begins and ends with the formula, "My gostly fadir, y me confesse,/ ffirst to god and then to yow."¹⁶

The ease with which the medieval mind could slip between love-interests and thoughts of God is again remarkably illustrated by some pairs of lyrics. In one fourteenth century manuscript (Harley 2253), for example, are two poems, one of which begins "Lutel wot hit anymon/ Hou derne loue may stonde," and concludes each stanza with "Euer & oo for my leof icham in grete þohte,/ y þenche on hire þat y ne seo nout ofte;"¹⁷ this poem longs for the beloved and laments her infidelity. The other of these poems begins, "Lutel wot hit anymon/ hou

loue hym haueþ ybounde,/ þat for vs on þe rode ran..." and closes each stanza with "Ever & oo, nyht & day, he haueþ vs in his þohte;/ He nul nout leose þat he so deore¹⁸ bohte." The similarity of phrase and verse-form would seem to indicate that one of these poems was modeled on the other. My point is to note how late thirteenth or early fourteenth century poets could use serious religious ideas and courtly-love topoi in close parallel, applying one to the other, and with both poems preserved in manuscript. It would appear reasonable to speculate that the medieval mind was interested in the complexities and resonances which such cross-applications could create.

One poem which reveals just how much complexity, subtlety, and layers of meaning a medieval lyricist could commit is the well-known:

Now goth sonne under wode --
 Me reweth, Marie, thy faire rode.
 Now goth sonne under tree --
 Me reweth, Marie, thy sone and thee.¹⁹

The presence of this poem in some 36 manuscripts may be taken as a fair indication that it was popular enough for Chaucer to have quite possibly encountered. And its puns on sun and son, rode meaning face and rode meaning cross, and wode meaning forest or cross, combine to pack into four lines visual imagery of ordinary woodland sunset and the scene on Calvary, along with warm human tenderness for a fair lady, and human

appreciation and awe of the Divine compassion. Several interwoven meanings thus make this small poem a notable example of the kind of complexity and multi-dimensional resonance that the Middle Ages could produce.

There are also examples of lyrics which apply such similar language and epithets to Mary and to a worldly lady-and-object-of-desire as to produce, on occasion, considerable ambiguity. A lyric that begins, "Upon a lady my loue ys lente" (a line which parallels or echoes "From alle wimmen my love is lente" of "Bitwene Mersh and Aperil"), continues as a love poem for twelve or fourteen lines before revealing itself to mean Mary through such language as, "Moder she ys & well of all;... Pray we to
 20
 tys lady bry^gth,/ In þe worshyp of þe trinite..." Then there is a lyric which begins by telling the "lytyll byll" to recommend the speaker to his lady, since he loves her best, and continues, after comparing the lady to lily and rose and desiring to rest in her bosom, and without ever naming her or describing her explicitly, to imply that she might be Mary through such descriptions as "enprentyd.../ With yftis of nature in-explycable,/ And eke of grace incomparable..." and "she is.../ to man in
 21
 ych langour/ Most souerayne medyatryce..." On the other hand, an early fourteenth century lyric seems to be to an earthly lady, since it praises the unnamed lady's discreteness, calling her "dernest in dale," and states

that she "bayeþ me mi bone/ when derne dede is indayne,
 derne are done," yet there is enough ambiguity to make us
 wonder, for the poem's comparisons of this lady to gems
 and flowers is highly reminiscent of Marian adoration;
 and calling her "medierne of miht mercie of mede" could
 equally have been applied to Mary or a courtly-love
 lady.²² A poem by Lydgate, again, seems to be addressed
 to an earthly lady, since its closing verses discuss her
 Desdayne and Daunger vis-a-vis her Mercy, Pitee, and
 Routhe; yet the over-statement of her perfections,
 including comparison with heroines from Penelope and
 Polixene to Griselda, Isoude, Judith, and Bathsheba, and
 expressions such as "mekenesse of Hester void of al
 outrage," "Hevenly eyeghan, aungellyk of vysage," and
 "Yee beon e myrroure and verray exemplayre,"²³ are all so
 idealistic as to be applicable to Mary, and to recall
 lyrics in her praise. A final example I will use here is
 "Blow, Northren Wynd,"²⁴ in which the epithets addressed
 to the lady are so ambiguous as to make it extremely
 difficult to state definitely whether Mary or a courtly
 lady is meant. The burden asks the northern wind to
 "Sent þou me my suetyng!" which would seem to imply an
 earthly lady. Lines 5-18 call her a "menskful maiden of
 myht" and the most "lussom in the land", which might
 apply equally to Mary or a worldly lady. Lines 19-20,

"he þat reste him on þe rode/ þat leflich lyf honour!" seem to imply Mary quite clearly, although they could conceivably express a wish for Christ to honor the speaker's worldly lady-love. The praise of her physical body in lines 21-44 might be a little odd for Mary, yet she is called "lasteles" -- faultless -- in line 33, which is ambiguous. Lines 45-52, which compare her to gems and stones, including "rubie of ryhtfulnesse" and "cristal of clannesse," recalls other Marian praise and seems to imply Mary pretty distinctly. Yet the subsequent stanzas, which describe the speaker's complaint to Love concerning this lady, and the final stanza describing his lovesickness, take us back to the world of courtly love.

There is, in this poem, such great ambiguity that it becomes virtually impossible to make an either/or determination as to whether this is a courtly love lyric or a Marian hymn: we must acknowledge that we face a textual artifact whose ambiguity and multiple possibilities are a major element of its nature, interest, and meaning. And my point in this whole discussion is that these lyrics seem to reveal a tolerance, or even a penchant, for complexity, ambiguity, and multiple meaning in the poetry of the period in which Chaucer wrote the Troilus. Medieval English lyrics would seem to indicate that Chaucer the medieval English poet

was working in a tradition which had a particular tendency towards creating deliberate ambiguity, layers of meaning, and double-meanings in its use of God's name and religious allusion.

If medieval lyrics suggest a potential for complexity of Christianity-suggesting language in Troilus and Criseyde, such works as Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, Piers Plowman, Roman de la Rose, and The Art of Courtly Love all indicate that a considerable range of seriousness in exclamations which name God may be found in a single medieval poem, whether such poem is purportedly worldly entertainment or a more seriously intended effort -- or both.

SGGK is a romantic entertainment, but one which deals with a serious problem, that of keeping faith and dealing uprightly as a Christian amid the human situations and exigencies of a post-lapsarian world. And the poem uses God's name at times quite casually and at others fairly seriously; these usages are often in close proximity to each other yet clearly different; and there are other references again which are less clear as to whether they are serious or casual.

The Green Knight himself makes one of the poem's first casual references to God: when invited to stay awhile at Arthur's court, he replies, "Nay, as helpe

me, 'quoþ þe hapeþ, 'he þat hyȝe syttes...' ²⁵ Gawain makes a similar use when Bertilak suggests to him the exchange of winnings, with "'Bi God, 'quoþ Gawain þe gode, 'I grante þertylle.'" (l. 1110) And when Gawain pays up with three kisses on the third evening, his host exclaims, "'Bi Kryst, 'quoþ þat oþer knyȝt, 'ȝe cach much sele/ In cheuisaunce of þis chaffer..." (l. 1937-8) It was in the same vein that the porter, when Gawain first asked for shelter in the castle, replied, "'ȝe, Peter..." (l. 813)

Other lines in the poem mention God quite seriously, as when Christmas morning is described as "þe morne, as uch mon myneȝ þat tyme/ at Dryȝtyn for oure destine to deȝe watz borne" (l. 994-5); or when Gawain insists he must go to the green chapel to meet his adventure there, adding "'Ful wel con Dryȝtyn schape/ His seruauntz for to save.'" (l. 2138-9)

Sometimes casual and serious uses come in close proximity, as when we are told that "Gret perile bitwene hem stod,/ Nif Mare of hir knyȝt mynne" at lines 1768-9, while in the next stanza Gawain swears a perfectly casual oath "'by sayn John'" (l. 1788). Or again, Gawain's statement that he must seek the green knight "'as God wyl me wysse'" (l. 549) seems considerably less urgent than the anxiety with which the court "hym kyst and conueyed, bikende hym to Kryst" (l. 596).

Finally, some references are of uncertain sort. When Bertilak welcomes Gawain to his castie with "'God hatz geven vus his grace godly for soþe,/ þat such a gest as Gawan grauntz vus to haue'" (l. 920-1), we hear the language of courtesy -- but perhaps something a little more heartfelt and serious as well. And when the people of that castle, preparing to bid Gawain farewell, "bikende hym to Kryst with ful colde sykynges" (l. 1982), the courteous formula again seems charged with more serious meaning. Another interesting usage occurs when the guide suggests that Gawain stay away from the chapel, and that he (the guide) will go home and swear -- falsely -- "'bi God and alle his gode halþez./ As helpe me God and þe halydam, and oþez innoghe'" (l. 2122-3) that Gawain did go to the chapel. Offering to forswear oneself so seriously is a notable and questionable way to name God. And in another usage, we are told that Gawain traveled where lived "bote lytel þat auþer God auþer gome wyth goud hert lovied." (l. 701-2) Again, a nice alliterative formula, which could be quite casual, has some greater resonance as it brings home the bleakness of Gawain's journey.

The differences between SGGK and the Troilus are obvious: the former is a Christian poem in a Christian setting while the latter is set in a pagan time, and

Gawain's moral dilemma is portrayed without the kind of discussion of it, or the Boethian material, or Christian palinode, which the Troilus displays. Yet SGGK uses references to God which are very much like Chaucer's in the Troilus, in the sense of being present in a considerable range of seriousness of casualness. Both poems, indeed, can be seen as portraying medieval aristocratic society,²⁶ and in both the characters use oaths at times quite casually, yet at times urgently and prayerfully, and at still other times ambiguously. In SGGK we seem to have casual uses of God's name in a medieval poem which may indeed be quite casual despite shading indiscernibly into the poem's other, more serious, statements. The existence of this strategy in SGGK combines with the strategy's presence in medieval lyric to reinforce the possibility that Chaucer could have used it too. In SGGK this use of Christian oath and language simultaneously conveys a sense of ordinary conversation, and, in its more serious manifestations, reminds us of moral considerations. We must acknowledge the possibility that Christian language may play these same two roles in the Troilus.

A slightly different but even clearer example of this co-existence of casual and serious references can be seen in Piers Plowman.

Without going too much into depth on this monumental

poem which is not the subject of my thesis, a brief look at a couple of its passus will suffice to demonstrate my point. For here the serious material is the poem's main thrust and is therefore right on the surface, yet colloquial use of language results in the juxtaposition of casual oaths with references to God that present the most serious Christian doctrine, thus showing again that serious and casual references to Christianity can occur in one poem, and may need to be interpreted differently -- a significant point in deciding how to read them in the Troilus.

At the opening of Passus II, the Dreamer begs Holychirche to enlighten him, "for Marie loue of heuene/
That bar þ[e] blis[sed] barn þat bouzte vs on þe Rode."²⁷
And Holychirche responds with, among other things, her own lineage: "My fader þe grete god is and ground of alle graces,/ Oo god wiþouten gynnyng, and I his goode douzter;/ And haþ yeuen me mercy to marie wiþ myselue..." (II, 29-31). These namings of God are serious doctrine. In the subsequent vision, however, Theologie uses language which is far less clearly doctrinal. He reproaches Cyuylle for trying to marry Mede to Fals with, "God graunte[d] to gyue Mede to truþe,/ And ȝow hast gyuen hire to a gilour, now god gyue þe sorwe!" (II, 120-1); here colloquial speech is mingled with serious

a serious statement:

And þerof seiþ þe Sauter in a Salmes ende:

In quorum manibus iniquitates sunt; dextra eorum
repleta est muneribus.

And he þat gripeþ hir [giftes], so me god helpe!

Shal abien it bittre or þe bock lieþ. (III, 248-51)

It is to be noted that some of these passages are simply

explicitly serious theological statements, and name God

in the course of conveying doctrinal information

concerning Him and His worship; while other passages,

containing such formulae as "by God that me made" or "God

forbid!" catch the tone of colloquial exclamation and

lack either the style or doctrinal significance of

serious statements. And both kinds of references, it is

also to be noted, co-exist cheek-by-jowl in the same

work.

The point is not merely that in Piers Plowman we have a poem where serious Christian doctrine is explicitly stated, even preached, but where highly and clearly casual references to God also occur in dialog, and even in close proximity to the serious material, nor that thus, in this fourteenth century poem, casual colloquial speech referring to God occurs in the same work as theologically serious material, without necessarily being part of the latter. The important implication of Piers Plowman for the Troilus is that Piers Plowman offers a different pattern than SGGK, yet it is a different patterning of the same phenomenon. In the latter we find serious, ambiguous, and casual references to Christian

religion which shade into each other, while in Piers Plowman there is also both colloquial language and serious doctrine, but they are fairly distinct; consequently we have in Piers Plowman an alternative way to combine a large range of casual and serious Christian reference in a single fourteenth century story. A glance at Piers Plowman thus both reinforces the probability that Chaucer could have deliberately used such a range of references, and suggests that there is more than one way he could have made use of it. We can separate casual from serious uses of Christian language in interpreting the Troilus, as we must do in reading Piers Plowman, or we can perceive the different usages as all working in their various ways towards a single message, as in SGGK. But the possibility of finding, in a fourteenth century poem with a serious sentence, both serious and casual uses of God's name and of Christianity, is affirmed by both these works.

A further example of complexity of use of Christian language in a medieval work, and one of special importance due to the certainty of Chaucer's knowledge of it, is Roman de la Rose, which I have already mentioned briefly in Chapter I's discussion of courtly-love use of religious phraseology. Here I will examine just a few examples which may be taken as representative of the

poem's usages of God's name.

Guillaume de Loris began his poem with a hope that "God grant/ That she for whom I write with favor look/ Upon my work" (Roman, 1.29-31) -- apparantly with some serious intent. When describing Courtesy, he comments, "May God forbid/ She ever be but gallant, debonaire!" (4.3-4); but while this too seems straightforward and heartfelt, one might be tempted to wonder about the poet's conception of the relation between God and a figure from the courts of Love. The problem becomes explicit when the God of Love appears, and the Lover exclaims to that deity, "'Please God/ That I rebellious thoughts may never have/ Against your rule,'" (8.164-6) and asks the God of Love for his commandments, "'For God's sake...'" (9.26-7); similar usages occur, for example, at 10.27 and 10.36. Here God is named for emphasis in colloquial speech, and peculiarly, for the context which mentions a deity of secular love reminds us that naming God can or should be serious. Usages by the Lover and Fair Welcome at 17.9, 17.22, and 17.25, however, while they perhaps convey greater intensity of passion, are basically simple examples of colloquial expression.

Jean de Meun makes colloquial but peculiar uses of God's name similar to Guillaume's; an example occurs at 20.76-9, where the Lover decides,

So help me God,
 No more complaints and clamors will you hear
 Against the God of Love, or Idleness,
 Or Hope, or friend Fair Welcome...
 A slightly different usage, which gives both a purely
 emphatic and a more thoughtful use of God in a single
 passage, occurs in Reason's discussion of the higher
 love:
 Please God you may soon drive it [passionate love]
 from your heart!
 One kind of love is friendship, that unites
 Two hearts so close in mutual accord
 That no discord can interrupt their love,
 Which seems like the benevolence of God. 23.38-42
 On the other hand, Reason makes basically colloquial use
 of Christian terms when describing people who believe
 flattering lies "'like Gospel truth;" but when they have
 lost all wealth irretrievably, "'If one/ Out of a hundred
 sycophants remains,/ ...they may thank God.'" (24.25-30).
 But she names God more seriously again when she describes
 misers: "'No love nor fear of God have they who hoard/
 More than they need or treasure.../ When out-of-doors
 they see the shivering poor/ And starving hungry. God
 will make them pay.'" (25.100-3). I have already
 discussed the confusion and peculiarity of Genius descri-
 bing the Christian idea of the Shepherd's Park (meaning
 Christ guarding His chosen flock in heaven) and its
 superiority to Love's Garden, as part of advocating Love.
 In this context it may be noted that in Jean's final
 scenes, the Lover sees the chink between the ivory
 tower's pillars and makes "a vow to God that I will go/

To make a visit to this holy shrine...Please God, I'll seek them with my staff and scrip." (98.25-30) Considering that the pillars would appear to be an allegorical veil for the lady's thighs -- and so forth -- this usage hovers somewhere between the courtly-love parallel of love-language to religious language, and sheer blasphemy. And in this it is not unlike Andreas Capellanus' use of such casual but odd language as "The Man says: '...I shall never cease to pray God earnestly to make you love the man you should'" (Andreas, op. cit., p. 67), or "'only a count or one of still higher rank is worthy of a love such as yours. God forbid that one so beautiful and of such an excellent character should ever care to select a lover from the middle class.'" (p. 84) And again, there is the advice of the lady of the third dialog to her suitor on how to become worthy of her love, where she explains that a worthy lover never mocks "God's clergy or monks" but "ought to go to church frequently and there listen gladly" -- and that if he listens to her precepts and practices them, "'you will be found worthy to plead in the court of Love'" (p. 61). In these examples, again, language of prayer to God is applied to worldly love in most remarkable ways. And Andreas' serious rejection of courtly love in his palinode does nothing to make less complicated his expressions which suggest that love of a lady and of God might go together. In both

Roman de la Rose and The Art of Courtly Love, then, we have both casual and serious references to God, including casual uses which remind us by their context of what a serious use would be. They are important because they reveal still a third way in which fourteenth century literature could have used references to Christian religion. Where Piers Plowman used colloquial religious references and serious ones differently in the same work, and SGGK used them in a spectrum of serious to casual speech, these two poems deliberately confuse the issue of whether a given reference is serious or not by applying Christian language to the distinctly non-Christian phenomenon of courtly love.

In sum, all four major works here considered name God both in expressions which are obviously quite colloquial or emphatic, and in expressions which suggest the serious meaning of such language, or even expound it openly. And in each there is easy slippage back and forth between one kind of usage and another. Chaucer's slipping similarly between less and more thoughtful uses of "God" and "Lord" in the Troilus would thus appear from the examination of these poems to be fairly typical of his times. Further, the frequent presence of complexity, ambiguity, and multiple layers of meaning in fourteenth century literature means that we are justified in finding

these qualities in Chaucer's Troilus. We can see that both casual and serious references to God and Christian practice in the same work were common; therefore we will be justified if we examine references in the Troilus individually, and if we find that some are quite casual and insignificant even while some others are serious. In short, an examination of contemporary literature confirms the finding of a variety of possible ways to read this poem's colloquial references to God.

I have already begun to hint at the possible function of these colloquial uses of God's name in the Troilus. We can either take them at face value as colloquial language, or read them as supplying to the Trojan tale the ethos and ethics of Christianity. (Even if the characters mean Jove, for example, when they say "God", this would not alter the fact that Christian readers will necessarily be reminded to some extent of what they mean by "God" when they come upon the phrase; thus we must deal with the resonances for Christian readers of naming God.) If we take these passages as simply colloquial expression, we may consider their functions to be closing distance and giving the characters familiarity for the fourteenth century audience, without implying any further ideas or attitudes; this could fit an interpretation of the poem which focusses on its Trojan ancient setting and/or on its secular courtly love-interest. And since,

as I have observed, nothing in the text requires us to take these passages as more than colloquial expression, this would be a valid reading. Yet it is also the case that these references name God, and often suggest the characteristics attributed to God as Christians perceived Him, and so can be read as bringing some consciousness of the Christian God into the poem; an interpretation of the Troilus which finds the whole poem to be conveying a Christian moral would be aided by such a reading. And while some references seem quite casual, many of them could be seen as significant, while the seamlessness of the range of the Troilus' references between these poles requires the reader to use subjective judgement in deciding which is which; indeed, it is equally possible that some, or none, or all of the poem's exclamatory references to God carry thematic significance. And the general character of medieval literature is found to be such as to confirm findings of ambiguity, multiple levels of meaning, and the need to judge a text on its own merits in deciding whether one or another -- or more than one -- meaning is intended by its language and expression.

Thus references to God are seen to have considerable variety and to require careful handling. A related but somewhat different problem involves expressions which

imply the cultural context of fourteenth century Christianity, either by single words that suggest this religious context or by more extended references to it.

Several passages in the Troilus use a single word which we would expect to be part of the culture of fourteenth century Christianity. One example would be the expression, "to synge a fool to masse" (III, 88): despite its unclear meaning in the text the phrase certainly presents us with a reference to the Christian mass, applied to the condition of Troilus being loved by Criseyde. Criseyde's "benedicite" (III, 757) and "Of gilt misericorde!" (III, 1177) are similar examples, as is Troilus' exclamation to lovers that "In feith, youre ordre is ruled in good wyse!" (I, 336). Other words used similarly are "litargie" (I, 730); "sermoun" (IV, 1282); Criseyde's not being "religious" (II, 759); Amphiorax being described as a "bisshop" (II, 104-5); Antigone's and Troilus' references to saints (II, 894-6; V, 553); Pandarus' uses of "preche" (II, 496, 568-71) and "shryve" (II, 440); and "converte" applied to becoming willing to fall in love (I, 308; II, 903). In all these expressions, language which we associate with Christian religion and religious observance is used in secular conversation; and even if the usage is basically casual and/or metaphorical, the religious connotations are rather striking. Caution must be used in interpreting

these usages, for some of them clearly do not, at least on the face of them, carry religious meaning. When the Narrator comments on Troilus that, "Alle other dredes weren from him fledde,/ Bothe of th'assege and his savacioun," (I, 463-4), it is quite possible, as Robinson pointed out, that it is merely physical safety that Troilus has stopped caring about.²⁸ And this is the more possible since Criseyde also uses this word, in a quite secular context, in her statement to Pandarus that "'if ye depper go,/ That certeynly, for no salvacioun/ Of yow, though that ye sterven bothe two'" would she do more than her honor permits (II, 485-7). Again, Deiphebus comes to "preye" that Criseyde will come to dinner at his house, and she "goodly gan to his preir obeye" (II, 1487-90); prayer is obviously given a purely secular usage here, although its being part of the vocabulary of religious observance cannot be wholly dismissed. A similar problem arises with several uses of the word "goost". For we have references to Troilus' and Criseyde's "wofulle weri goostes" (IV, 1142), and to Criseyde being revived by Troilus so that "hire goost, that flickered ay on lofte,/ Into hire woful herte ayeyn it wente." (IV, 1221-2) But there is also a "gostly for to speke" by the Narrator (V, 1030), which carries the meaning and associations of "truly, in spiritual truth". To what extent does "goost"

mean simply "spirit" as opposed to body, or, on the other hand, to what extent are spiritual, mystical and religious associations with the word in play in these expressions? Did Chaucer carelessly, or carefully and meaningfully, choose a word which would have such ambiguity?

Again, the word "penaunce" is used in ways which should make us extremely cautious in interpreting it. Criseyde's anxiety during the public outcry against Calchas' betrayal, for example, is described as "gret penaunce" (I, 94), and the word in this usage seems to mean severe emotional distress rather than religious repentance. Troilus is later described as so exhausted by despair "that joie nor penaunce/ He feleth non," (IV, 342-3) -- although not long thereafter the "gret furie" of his "penaunce" about Criseyde's departure is quenched with hope (IV, 1429); in these instances as well, "penaunce" does not seem to carry a religious connotation. Yet in Book II, Criseyde had asked Pandarus to "'Tel us youre joly wo and your penaunce'" regarding his unsuccessful love affair (II, 1105-6), and here we approach the parallel use of religious terminology and courtly love expression, a use which is given full rein in Pandarus' description of overhearing Troilus praying to Love in a garden, and begging Cupid to "'sende me swich penaunce/ As liketh the...'" (II, 529-30).

"Synne" too shows how a single word can appear as

either casual or with some more serious implication. Criseyde blames her father for causing sorrow to Troilus and herself in the matter of their separation with, "'O Calkas, fader, thyn be al this synne!'" (IV, 761); here "synne" seems to be Calkas' action in secularly distressing Criseyde by interrupting her love affair. Yet Troilus in a more serious usage had listened to Pandarus and realized the truth of the latter's assertion that if he caused his own death in his love-sickness it would "bothe don unmanhod and a synne" (I, 824), and here the Christian doctrine that suicide is sinful is suggested.

Both "penaunce" and "synne" seem in these usages to have had two separate meanings, one basically secular and one essentially religious, but it still remains that Chaucer's choice of such ambiguous expression needs careful consideration. Did Chaucer expect us to take the poem's words and language at face value, or to hear and understand double meanings and secondary associations and implications?

A fairly extensive set of such references has been remarked by previous critics: those which refer to Criseyde and the enjoyment of love's pleasures as heavenly and to love's torments as hellish.²⁹ It is to be noted that, as with other groups of references here

considered, some appear to be quite casual while some of the references are much more suggestive of deeper meanings. Troilus' claim that Criseyde's absence is to him "'an helle'" (V, 1396), or his challenge to Pandarus that if the latter can't help himself in love, "'How devel maistow brynge me to blisse?'" (I, 623) are examples of relatively casual usages. Other references shade into some possibility of further meaning, however. Criseyde weeps over the coming exchange, "Remembryng hir, fro heven into which helle" she will fall in losing Troilus' company (IV, 7120), and here heaven and hell are at least metaphors, with the characteristic joy of one and the torment of the other being more meaningfully suggested. Again, Pandarus tells Troilus, when the latter is about to finally meet Criseyde in bed, "'Make the redy.../ For thow shalt into hevene blisse wende,'" (III, 703-4), implying with some clarity the theological idea of heaven being blissful (and whatever a Trojan might mean by heavenly bliss, it is, again, Christians who read the lines and hear some echo of their own associations with such phrases). Another example of the variety of such expressions involves Criseyde. The description of "Hire face, lik of Paradys the ymage" (IV, 864) alludes to a rather stereotypical notion of Paradise being pretty, while her beauty being "aungelik...That like a thing inmortal semed she,/ As doth an hevenysh perfit

creature,/ That down were sent in scornynge of nature," (I, 101-5) suggests a much more thorough conception of perfection deriving from heaven and of earth and nature being subordinate to heaven -- although this is still only implied, not outrightly asserted.

A legitimate question exists of whether to read these references as suggesting a courtly love equation of carnal affection with religion, and it is necessary here to restate the medieval possibilities. For despite the absoluteness with which courtly love and its ideas must finally be acknowledged to be contrary to Christian doctrine (see, for example, Slaughter,³⁰ Andreas Capellanus' palinode, Gallagher and Denomy³¹), it is nonetheless true as well that courtly love ideas were often expressed in religious terms, or brought into parallel with religious rites and belief. And since courtly love was highly idealistic (even if it was a secular ideal), there is always some ambiguity in its use: in a given instance, is the ideal beauty ascribed to courtly love an approximation of religious purity and love, and therefore in an association which legitimizes and verifies it, or does the parallel of religious with courtly language and implication serve to remind of true religion in the midst of love-language, and thus devalue it? Or, in light of the medieval penchant for complexity and double-meaning

that I have identified above, are we to expect that both these possibilities might be used deliberately together by a medieval author, to keep in mind a balance or a double value on love as having both positive and negative shading? At this point, all that has been established concerning courtly love references in the Troilus, including particularly at this point my examination of the references to heaven and hell, is that the text as it stands may be reasonably interpreted in more than one of these ways.

The possibility of theological ideas' potential presence in the love-story blends into several passages which allude more fully to theological conceptions. One of these is the Narratorial exclamation,

O blisful nyght, of hem so longe isought,...
 Why nad I swich oon with my soule ybought,
 Ye, or the leeste joie that was theere?...
 And lat hem in this hevne blisse dwelle...

III, 1317-22

Whether the Narrator's wish to buy with his soul, of all things, a night of great carnal pleasure -- of all things -- is taken as validating or thoroughly undercutting the protagonists' love,³² the fact which remains is that a theological notion is here used so emphatically and peculiarly, albeit so much as part of telling the love story, that we cannot ignore it. Nor is such usage special to the Narrator, for Pandarus also is given a speech which is part of a perfectly secular conversation, yet uses a theological conception as such an extended

metaphor that it raises a presence of Christian ideas to our minds. For in the course of exclaiming at Troilus'

lovesick malingerings, he asks,

Or hastow som remors of conscience,
And art now falle in som devocioun,
And wailest for thi synne and thin offence,
And hast for ferde caught attricioun?
God save hem that biseged han oure town,
That so kan...

...brynge our lusty folk to holynesse! I, 554-60

In a third example, Criseyde's words hint at notions of

Christian practice when she asserts that after leaving Troy she will wear black, "'in tokenyng.../ That I am as out of this world agon'" and that she will live in "'sorwe...compleynt, and abstinence'" (IV, 797-84). And even though the afterlife where she expects in this passage to dwell with Troilus is the pagan "Elisos", the allusion to a Christian sort of penitent's or nun's practice is remarkable. And another example is the extensive parallel to the Christian rites of confession and absolution in Troilus' addresses both to Pandarus (I, 906-45), and directly to Love (I, 421-34; II, 505-41).

Other suggestions of Christianity in the poem are briefer but as striking. Criseyde tells Troilus his arguments about why he might be jealous are foolish, and swears it "'By that God that bought us bothe two,'" (III, 1165) -- a pretty clear reference to the Christian idea of Christ the Redeemer. An even more striking reference involves her reaction to having been manipulated into bed

with Troilus by her uncle: "What! God foryaf his deth, and she also/ Foryaf..." (III, 1577-8). Several references suggest an alternate and more Christian standard of morality than that of courtly love, in that all three protagonists allude to the idea that Pandarus ought to defend and protect his niece against loving paramours, not be the one to lead her to it (I, 1022; II, 412-3; III, 253-9, 270-80). And the Narrator's describing Criseyde as first in beauty, and "makeless" (I, 172) is reminiscent of the frequent application of the word "makeless" to the Virgin Mary.

In all these references there is story-telling and (often amorous) conversation which very strikingly uses language that suggests or reminds us of Christian practices and values, though without focussing on them; and in each of these cases the same problem of interpretation arises as has already been discussed. The Narrator's regret at never having purchased such a night of love can be fully and adequately explicated as simply the most emphatic language that Chaucer the fourteenth century Englishman could find, and necessary to express³³ the absolutely superlative joy he wanted to convey. It can equally soundly be understood as colloquially revealing the lovers' joy while also reminding the Christian audience of other and truer values than those³⁴ of worldly love. The fact that these usages occur

invariably as part of the relation of the story and the love-affair and its characters, and are never themselves focussed on, means that Chaucer never insists that we read the references in any particular way. They are present, and if they do suggest an alternate value system to that of courtly love they so do consistently, yet once more we find that nothing in the text requires us to read such meanings into them.

Finally, several passages in the Troilus are not in the least ambiguous in nature, but are quite problematical for the poem's interpretation. These are Boethian passages, either expressions of Boethian attitudes or ideas, or verse formulations of Chaucer's translation of Boethius.

Several of these passages pertain largely to Criseyde, and have to do with the uncertainty of worldly happiness. The first such passage occurs during Criseyde's dramatics when Pandarus first broaches Troilus' love to her, when the dismay and astonishment she expresses at Pandarus' speaking to her of love is accented with, "'For of this world the feyth is al agoon'" and "'This false world, allas! who may it leve?'" (II, 210, 420). This note recurs, and is expanded, in her longer expression of dismay at the (deceitful) news of Troilus' jealousy, in which she describes and proves

how true worldly felicity is impossible, using such expressions as "fals felicitee" and "O brotel wele of mannes joie unstable," and calling joy "muable" and "transitorie," and concluding that "'Ther is no verray weele in this world heere'" (III, 813-36). Later, in Book IV, Criseyde again declares that love and all worldly bliss ends in sorrow, and sets herself up as an example and proof thereof (IV, 834-40). Other references of this kind are Pandarus' comfort to Troilus that if Fortune has brought him woe he can expect her to turn again and bring him joy, since she must keep changing to remain herself (I, 840-53); Pandarus' proverb that the worst thing is to have been happy and to remember happiness when it's past (III, 1625-8); and the Narrator's conclusion that Troilus' sad end on account of love fits in general with this "false worldes brotelnesse" (V, 1828-34). The transitoriness of worldly happiness and Fortuna's favor was a medieval commonplace, but a particularly Boethian one, as observed in Chapter I. And the affinities are especially pronounced in some of these passages, for Philosophy's statements in Boece, Book II, pr. 1, ll. 113-5 and II, pr. 3, ll. 75-9 are recalled exactly by Pandarus' speech in Troilus and Criseyde I, 840-53; while it is Philosophy's line of reasoning in II, pr. 4, ll. 118-27 and 138-66 which is quite precisely reproduced by Criseyde in III, 813-40. Other close

parallels are Troilus' song in praise of Love at III, 1744-71, which paraphrases Boethius' Book II, m. 8; and Troilus' "predestination soliloquy" in IV, 958-1085, which paraphrases Boethius' Book V, pr. 2 and 3. And "the blynde lust" that Troilus condemns from the eighth sphere has also been associated with Boethian ideas.³⁵ When it is not just an idea but a whole train of logic and set of images which are translated from one work to another we are justified in citing influence, as many have done in this case.³⁶ And if Boethian elements are acknowledged to be present in the Troilus, we must deal with the problem of how they function therein. Did Chaucer like the images of the hymn to love, and consider Philosophy's reasoning to be well-expressed and apt for his characters, and therefore appropriate to include, not as elements of an overarching vision but as occasional useful items with which to ornament his essentially secular narrative? Or are these passages in fact part of a coherent Christian world-view which underlies the poem and within which it is to be assessed and its action judged? Once again, Chaucer has declined to overtly guide us in making our decision: one thing his overly-impressionable and constantly commenting and interrupting Narrator does not do is give consistent moral guidance about the poem's meaning, much less about how readers

should interpret its allusions. Here once again, Chaucer has presented us with passages and expressions whose language recalls Christian conceptions, yet without imposing on his Trojan material any compulsory overt Christianity.

In short, all the expressions considered in this section are similar in that they name God, and imply or evoke Christian associations, yet rarely express Christian ideas as Christian ideas, and never focus on the Christian nature of the few expressions that are unqualifiedly Christian in character; nor do they ever expound on the potentially Christian associations of any of these expressions. There is a considerable range among the phrases which could be taken as suggesting Christian ideas and attitudes, from obviously very casual usages through prayers and clear Christian references, to Boethian paraphrases. And it is the seamlessness of this range (despite my artificial division of it into subgroups) that brings the simpler exclamations here considered into touch with, and consideration in the same class as, the more obviously ambiguous or clearly Christian references. But all the expressions discussed here, from the most colloquial and casual through the most urgently serious, and from single words through extended passages, have this in common: they are expressions with potentially Christian associations which

are used without comment or explanation from the much-given-to-commentary Narrator, in such fashion that we do not have to heed the Christian associations to get perfect sense from the passages. Yet these expressions form a consistent pattern of Christian allusion which, though never insisted on by the text, is very clear and present in it.

ii
deities other than God

Equally as important as allusions to God in the Troilus are the poem's uses of pagan deities, either as gods in themselves, and/or as veils for a Christian conception of God. As is the case throughout this chapter, my aim will be to determine what, if any, meaning the gods carry vis-a-vis the poem's sentence. Do they simply fit decorously into the presentation of a pagan pre-Christian time and place, helping to establish a Trojan atmosphere and an epic style? Or do these usages suggest the Christian God under the veil of pagan gods' names, and so help imply that a Christian understanding and morality is to be applied to the Trojan characters and their conduct? Are pagan gods used to introduce astrological suggestions, and if so, does such usage establish a high style and ancient setting, or a medieval fatalistic theme in the poem? And are pagan

deities used as character-revealing devices, as moral commentary on the characters and action? In short, can we take the poem's pagan gods at face value, or can they -- or must they -- be interpreted as carrying thematic meaning such that they present values according to which the tale is to be understood, and standards by which it is to be judged? To respond to these questions, this section of this chapter will investigate the presence of the gods in relation to several possible functions they may be performing. I will look first at those references to the classical pantheon which name the gods simply as pagan deities, and will discuss how in these references the gods function to create a Trojan setting and a high style, and possibly also to help delineate the story's characters and help supply thematic material and commentary. Beyond this, I will investigate the potentially more significant references in the poem to Jove, Fortuna, Venus, and Cupid; for these four deities appear in ways which seem to suggest Christian ideas about God. I will analyze how these four deities might be working as allegorical veils for God in the Troilus (though without losing their identities as pagan deities) and I will cite the multifariousness of the medieval tradition of uses of classical gods by Christian writers to indicate the difficulty of interpreting such

manifestations.

Along with the Troilus' many references to "God" are references to "goddes", and passages which name several deities together. Thus Troilus, finally holding Criseyde, "Gan thanken...the blisful goddes sevene" (III, 1203), and later, when told that a second tryst has been arranged, he "feithfully gan alle the goddes herie" (III, 1672). Troilus swore to Pandarus to keep the affair secret "Upon the goddes all" (III, 384), while later Pandarus found Troilus in a temple praying to "the pitous goddes everichone" (IV, 949). Criseyde intends to make her father believe he has misread the signs. "For goddes speken in amphibologies" (IV, 1406); while Pandarus disputes whether "dremes ben the revelaciouns/ Of goddes" (V, 366-7) and Troilus believes that "the blisful goddes, thorough here grete myght" have showed him the truth in his dream (V, 1250-1; 1713-5). The text makes very clear in each of these cases that multiple deities are involved. Multiple deities are also seen, for example, when Troilus orders his funeral, for in the space of just seventeen lines he commits his steed to Mars, his shield to Pallas, and his soul to Mercury's guidance (V, 306-22). And of course the Narrator, having begun the poem with both Thesiphone and Love/Cupid (I, 6-15), ends it by pointing out "Lo here, what alle hire goddes may availle; ...Of Jove, Appollo, of Mars, of swich rascaille!" (V,

1850-4).

Beyond general references to gods are individual references to one or another of them. Several of these are one-time allusions to minor deities. Janus, god of entry, for example, is called on once by the Narrator, when he asks this demigod to guide Pandarus as he sets out to woo Criseyde for Troilus (II, 77). Another such usage describes Fame reporting the news of the exchange throughout Troy (IV, 659). The invocation to the sun as Titan (III, 1463-7); the feast and service of Palladion (I, 148 ff.); and Muses Cleo and Calliope (II, 8-10 Cleo; III, 45-9, Calliope) are other one-time mentions of classical deities.

A more extensive set of references to pagan gods, which were mentioned, along with possible significances for them, in Chapter I, involves infernal gods, legendary denizens of hell, and Furies. Pandarus swears to Criseyde that he means well "or elles were hym levere.../ With Pluto kyng as depe ben in helle/ As Tantalus!..." (III, 591-3), while Troilus expects when he dies to dwell in "pyne" with Proserpyne (IV, 473-4). And we find references to woe as sharp as that of "Ticius in helle" (I, 785-8), to Troilus turning on his bed like Ixion in hell (V, 211-2), to "Flegetoun, the fery flood of helle" (III, 1600), and to dwelling eternally in "Stix, the put

of helle" (IV, 1540) as well as Pandarus' oath "To Cerberus in helle ay be I bounde" if he does not help Troilus (I, 859-61). It is to be noted that hell in these allusions does seem to be the Christian-conceived place of punishment and misery, yet it is peopled and mapped by pagan legends and gods, and is able to mutate without disruption into "the felde of pite, out of peyn,/ That highte Elisos," where Orpheus dwells with Eurydice (IV, 785-91). Finally, the Fury Thesiphone is goddess of torment in the poem's first verse (I, 6); Diomedes anticipates the Greeks taking such vengeance on Troy as to make the Manes "that goddes ben of peyne" aghast (V, 890-3); Cassandra mentions the Furies in speaking of the siege of Thebes (V, 1498); and Book IV begins with the Narrator invoking the "Herynes...Megara, Alete, and ek Thesiphone" as well as Mars (IV, 22-4). In the infernal references we find allusions which, although together forming an identifiable group, are often individually one-time references, thus falling into the same category as other brief allusions to classical gods and myths.

Quite a few minor deities or demi-gods are thus briefly and sporadically mentioned or invoked in the Troilus. Several more important gods are referred to with some greater frequency: Mars, Juno, Pallas, and Diana and Apollo under various names.

Mars is used in more than one way. When Pandarus

tells Troilus to take it easy, "for the love of Marte" (II, 988), neither context nor expression justifies any one god's name over another's. But Pandarus also calls on "cruel god, O despitous Marte" and the three Furies to slay him if he meant Criseyde any harm (II, 435) and this gives Mars particular attributes and associations, which are recalled by the Narrator's later invocation, cited above, of Mars and the Furies together to assist him in telling of the misery of the love affair's sad ending. Other allusions to Mars refer to him as god of battle (II, 630), helmed in steel (II, 590), the god in whose service Troilus acts when he is a warrior (III, 437-8), and the god whose wrath is allayed by Venus (III, 22, 715-25). Mars' appearances are thus sometimes insignificant, but at other times they depict him as the classical war god and patron of warriors.

Juno is also referred to in different ways. Criseyde swears "as help me Juno, hevene quene" (IV, 1595), and refers to her as Saturn's daughter (IV, 1538), classically correct references. Yet Pandarus' "'And blissful Juno, thorough hire grete myght,/ Shal, as I hope, hire grace unto us sende'" (IV, 1116-7) refers to the goddess in terms of bliss, power, and grace -- that is, in ways reminiscent of a Christian conception of a deity. The distinction between showing Juno as a classical

goddess or a deity with Christian attributes differs from the distinction between references to Mars which are insignificant or classically correct and potentially meaningful -- but in both cases a range of kinds of references is discernible.

Athena/Pallas/Minerva makes a small handful of appearances. She is prayed to once by Troilus, who calls her "Minerva, the white" and asks for "wit my lettre to devyse" (II, 1062-3). Criseyde calls her "lady myn, Pallas" and asks her assistance in managing the "dredful cas" by which she means Pandarus' insistence that Criseyde needs to respond to Troilus' love (II, 425). Criseyde later takes this goddess to witness to a lie, when she tells Diomedes, "'as help me now Pallas'" that she never loved anyone except her husband (V, 977); again in conversation with Diomedes she slyly suggests "'As help me Pallas with hire heres clere'" that she will love him as well as any Greek (V, 999-1001). Pallas thus appears in the Troilus, if briefly, as a beautiful classical goddess of knowledge and wisdom, and one whom Criseyde either considers her patron, or feels that she has particular need for.

The moon goddess also makes a few varied appearances. She is an astronomical entity or metaphor when Criseyde promises to return "'Er Phebus suster, Lucina the sheene'" reaches a certain point in the zodiac

(IV, 1591), and again ten days later when, rather than returning to Troy, Criseyde goes to her father's tent while "Cynthia hire char-hors overraught/ To whirle out of the Leoun" (V, 1018-9). On the other hand, when Criseyde begs Troilus "'for love of Cynthia the sheene'" not to mistrust her (IV, 1608-10), it is more of a casual oath like so many other casual oaths in the poem. And Troilus' prayer to "'bright Latona the clere,/ For love of God'" to wane and wax quickly so that Criseyde may return (V, 655-6), combines the poem's three aspects of this goddess-figure: a deity to be prayed to, the shining and phase-changing moon, and especially involved with the passage of time and Criseyde's promise to return.

The sun-god appears rather more often than his sister the moon-goddess. As in the two references in the previous paragraph, Phebus appears several times in the Troilus as a metaphor for the sun and its movements through the sky (II, 54-6; IV, 31-2; V, 8-14, 279-80, 1107-10); he is a planet in Criseyde's vow that "'first shal Phebus fallen fro his spere'" before she stops loving Troilus. But the sun-god is also a mythical deity in the description of his and Neptune's vengeful anger against the Trojans over not being paid for building Troy's walls (IV, 113-26), and in the references to Pirous, the sun's son, driving the sun-chariot awry (III,

1703-8; V, 659-65). Finally, Phebus Apollo is the classical oracular diety, both Calkas' patron (I, 66-72; IV, 113-26, 1399-1400), and a god Troilus might consult about the future (III, 537-46). Phebus Apollo, then, like the moon-goddess, appears both in astronomical passages associated with passing time, and as a pagan deity associated with classical myth and legend.

Another deity making several small appearances is the medieval figure of Natura or Kynd, who appears as a creator-goddess, if a subordinate one. For Pandarus asks Troilus whether Kynd has made him only to please Criseyde (IV, 1096), while Troilus elsewhere curses the day that Natura shaped him to be a live creature (IV, 251-2). And Criseyde seemed at Troilus' first sight to be like "an hevenyssh perfit creature,/ That down were sent in scornynge of nature" (I, 104-5).

This catalog of pagan gods who make appearances in the Troilus as pagan gods would be incomplete without some reference to the most prominent deities in the poem: Venus and Cupid, Jove, and Fortuna. They have been left for last because, of all the pagan gods in the poem, it is mostly these four who are used in ways suggestive of the Christian God, as will be discussed below. They do, however, make a few appearances merely as pagan gods, which need to be mentioned. It is in the same vein as invocations to other of the pagan deities that Criseyde

asks "blisful Venus" to keep her until she can requite a lover as good as Troilus (IV, 1661), or that she answers Troilus that she is indeed alive, "'that thonked by Cipride'" (IV, 1216). Troilus refers to "'Love and cruel Fortune'" as the gods whose will it is that he should die (IV, 1188-90), and at the point of killing himself he addresses, with "heigh desdayne," "cruel Jove" and "Fortune adverse" (IV, 1191-1204); later he returns from handing Criseyde over to Diomedes and in his chamber "corseth Jove, Appollo, and ek Cupide./ He corseth Ceres, Bacus, and Cipride" (V, 207-8). In Criseyde's aubade she wishes the night were as long "'as when Almena lay by Jove'" (III, 1428), and the great invocation to Venus that begins Book III names Jove as Venus' father (III, 3) and mentions Venus as having instigated Jove to love mortals (III, 15-21). In these passages Cupid, Venus, Jove and Fortuna are treated as pagan deities that a Trojan might have prayed to, sworn by, or questioned, in much the same way as the other classical gods in the poem are presented. And when these deities are referred to in the same way as Mars or Minerva, it is possible to analyze them together with them, as a single literary device in the poem, whether it be one which establishes a Trojan scene, or creates rhetorical embellishment, or aids in characterization.

There is one further category of references which also needs to be included in this group: allusions to classical myth which fit in as part of the same fabric as allusions to the gods who inhabit that mythology. Troilus, for example, refers to Alceste and her faithfulness in love (V, 1527-33), and to Carybdis (V, 644). Pandarus mentions "Nyobe the queene,/ Whos teres yet in mable ben yseene" (I, 699-700); he is awakened by the swallow Procne singing about Tereus raping her sister (II, 64-70); and he quotes a letter from Oenone to Paris describing Phebus' inability to cure himself of love despite being founder of medicine (I, 659-65). References to Myrrha (IV, 1139) and Argus (IV, 1459) are of similar sort. All these classical allusions are part of the same device as references to pagan gods as gods; this device's function in the poem must now be considered.

Troilus and Criseyde is, at face value, a poem set in a pre-Christian time and place, a time and place associated in literature ever since Homer with the worship of the Greco-Roman pantheon. It is therefore appropriate to the setting to depict the poem's characters as worshipping this pantheon, and doing so provides a whole set of details which enhance, expand, and make concrete the poem's Trojan scene -- as has been observed frequently enough to need no further discussion.³⁷ In addition, to the extent that Chaucer

was (and he clearly was) aware of rhetorical principles, the presence in his poem of many classical allusions may properly be added to his use of such other rhetorical devices as invocation, metaphor, and digression as aspects of a rhetorical "high style", which would function to lend high seriousness and epic grandeur to the poem and its subject.³⁸ As with uses of "God" which can be adequately explained as providing colloquial expression, seeing the gods as performing only these functions would define and explain their presence without any actual need for further exposition. Additional uses of the gods, even when they appear merely as pagan gods, have also been suggested, however: they have been seen as providing silent commentary on the poem's action and as revealing the character's natures.

References to deities, and relationships suggested between a deity and a character in the Troilus, can be seen as helping establish that individual's characterization and/or as supplying silent commentary on the action, and these usages are best looked at for each of the four main characters in turn: Troilus, Criseyde, Pandarus, and the Narrator.

In many cases, a character's prayers to, or associations with, a deity help define his/her identity. Thus referring to Troilus as being in Mars' service (II,

628-30; III, 437-8; V, 300) identifies him as a warrior. Further, Troilus is Venus' protege, praying to her (I, 1014; II, 972-3; III, 705, 712) and aided by her astrological influence (II, 680-86, 712); and he makes extensive prayers to Cupid/Love as well (I, 318, 421-34, 600; III, 1254-74, 1744-71; IV, 288-94, 1188; V, 582-602, 608), and considers himself in Love's service (III, 1794). These references all fit his personification as a lover. It speaks of a more subtle usage of God and the gods on Chaucer's part, however, to notice that Troilus names "God" or "Lord" frequently but never quite casually: although he uses God's name in exclamations and colloquial speech it is nearly always with some power or godly trait attributed to Him. Typical Troilan expressions are, "'Lord me grace sende'" (V, 502), "'And blisful God prey ich with good entente...'" (II, 1057-8), "'By that God.../ That, as hym list, may all this world governe...'" (III, 372-85), or "'As wolde blisful God now, for his joie,/ I myght hire sen ayeyn...'" (V, 608). Even Troilus' most casual references are of the class that infers in God's will or knowledge or ability to witness, as "'now wolde God, Crisyde,/ Ye wolden on me rewe...'" (I, 459-60), or "'I hope, and God toforn,/ ... that I shal so me beere,/ That in my gylt ther shal nothyng be lorn...God woot'" that there is no need to worry (III, 1639-52). As will be seen below, these

usages differentiate Troilus from Criseyde, Pandarus, and the Narrator, who are all discernibly likelier to exclaim "Lord" purely for emphasis, and this differentiation supports the characterization of Troilus as the most serious and idealistic of the characters. It is interesting to note further that Troilus' handful of references to Jove are of the same order as his many references to God: he wishes "'As wolde blisful Jove'" that he could get at Calkas (V, 335-6), believes that "'Joves, of his purveyaunce'" had sent him a dream of Criseyde's infidelity (V, 1446-8) -- though he hopes that "Joves" will give Cassandra sorrow when she confirms the case (V, 1525); and he commits his "predestination soliloquy" to "almyghty Jove in trone" (IV, 1079). Regarding the other gods, to many of whom Troilus refers once or twice, it is notable that Troilus, unlike other characters, is found in earnest prayer on several occasions (IV, 946-52, 1204; V, 655-6), or making serious statement of some relationship to deities (IV, 472-6; V, 298-322), or even in serious repudiation of gods, as in III, 1703-8; IV, 251-2; and V, 204-10. It is credible indeed, given these passages, that when Troilus wishes to cover up his tryst with Criseyde he puts out a rumor that he will be praying to Apollo and must not be disturbed (III, 537-46), for of all the characters it is Troilus

who could most believably claim such conduct. Troilus also refers to Fortuna several times, and it is notable that he invariably appears to consider her cruel and adverse to him (I, 837-40; IV, 260-87, 323-4, 1188-1204). It is interesting that, while Troilus has his share of anachronistic expressions which allude to Christian medieval culture -- such as "'farwel shryne, of which the seynt is oute!'" (V, 553) -- these are invariably uncommented on: Troilus is both the most consistently pious yet the most paganly pious of the poem's characters. And finally, it may be noted that Troilus makes several references to heaven, and particularly to hell, as being related to success or failure in love.

The sum of Troilus' references to God and gods, then, correlates with and helps define his character as a warrior, a devoted lover and thus a servant of Cupid according to courtly love ideas, who experiences setbacks in love as hellish torment, a devout, serious, and idealistic character, and one who desires good luck and Fortuna's favor yet feels rather helpless in this regard. And to the extent that Troilus is the most pious of the poem's characters throughout the whole course of the work, his experience might be seen as the necessary focus for study of the poem's serious themes.

A somewhat separate topic is whether or not, and if so, how, the association between deities and characters

in the Troilus may function as implied authorial commentary on the poem's characters and action. If it can, the results of such analysis are rather mixed as regards Troilus. For Troilus the serious, idealistic character who is a lover and stands in relation to Cupid in finding heavenly joy in love may imply a positive value in the poem on courtly loving. But on the other hand, Troilus' several infernal references to failure in or loss of love may be seen (as, for example, McCall does in his dissertation) as quietly placing negative value on the love affair. Again, Troilus' suffering and subjection to Fortuna may show him to be a fool of Fortune, if one takes Robertson's judge-mental view; and examination of Troilus' expressions does show clear statements of fatalism and of feeling unable to oppose Fortuna. Yet Troilus as a successful warrior is a man of action, as well as a positively devout character who tries to do the best he knows with some considerable integrity -- which would undercut his being merely Fortuna's fool. And Costello sees him in a special relationship not to Fortuna but to Venus, and sees this as reinforcing his -- and love's -- positive qualities. I suggest that the reason for this critical disparity regarding what Troilus' references to deities imply about his character and the poem's moral stem from the very fact that these

presumed comments are -- if they are present at all -- implied and not explicit. Using references to deities in this way requires that the critic first decide to read them so, then that the critic select which references to take as implying authorial commentary, and then that the critic decide which of several available implications to accept. This does not necessarily mean that silent commentary cannot be present in the poem, but it does mean that we must be extremely cautious in finding it, and that the context of each passage must be carefully considered in doing so.

Criseyde differs significantly from Troilus in her references to God and the gods, and therefore in the ways these help characterize or comment on her. First, where Troilus had extensive associations with Cupid and several with Venus, Criseyde makes only one minor reference to Cupid (III, 1552) and three to Venus (II, 1016-21; IV, 1216, 1661-4). That is, she is markedly less associated than Troilus with love gods, and especially less so with Cupid. Indeed, Troilus refers to deities some forty times, of which ten are to Venus and Fortuna and over twenty to male gods, while Criseyde is associated with deities only twenty times, of which six references are to Jove, one to Cupid, and two to Phebus, while the other two thirds are to goddesses: Pallas (II, 425; V, 977, 999-1001), Juno (IV, 1534, 1595), Cynthia (IV, 1590,

1610; V, 1016-21), Natura (I, 101-5), Venus (IV, 1216, 1661; V, 1016-21), and Fortuna (IV, 1681). Criseyde is thus quietly feminized, in part, by her unique preponderance of associations with female deities. And where Troilus the unhappy lover had extensive associations with Cupid, Venus, and Fortuna, it is notable that Criseyde has very few associations with either Cupid or Fortuna; she is instead more closely associated with Venus, as is more appropriate to a woman loved ardently by the protagonist, and with Natura and the moon-goddess, who correspond to Criseyde's own self-preserving changeability. It is notable that the poem's most important uses of astrological manifestations are associated with Criseyde: the fateful conjunction that keeps her at Pandarus' house and so makes inevitable her fall to Troilus (III, 617-26); and the description of Criseyde's symbolic sunset, where Venus following Phebus below the horizon at dusk while Cynthia the moon moves through the zodiac furnishes the setting for Criseyde's decision to desert Troilus and remain with Diomedes (V, 1016-21). Criseyde also calls herself "born in corsed constellacioun" (IV, 744-7). Thus, although Pandarus does use a horoscope at one point and Troilus is aided by Venus' planetary influence at another, it is mainly Criseyde who is associated with such astrological determinism or symbolism as the poem

may contain.

Another distinctive aspect of Criseyde's speeches and associations is her frequent expression of essentially Boethian philosophy (II, 410-20; III, 813-40; IV, 834-8; V, 763) and her general philosophizing (IV, 1305-6, 1583-9); it is interesting that Criseyde explicitly speaks of the world's changefulness and untrustworthiness in these passages, and is herself associated with the changing moon as well as being the poem's example of mutability in worldly affairs.

In the use of "God" and "Lord" as well, Criseyde is notably different from Troilus, for where most of Troilus' references are to some degree serious, fewer than half of Criseyde's forty or so usages are serious, and even these are less thoughtful than Troilus' expressions. Criseyde thus tends to use simple oaths like, regarding Hector and Troilus, "'God save hem bothe two'" (II, 163); or "'I mene wel, by God that sit above!...Yet bidde I God'" to see Troy again (V, 1004-8); or "'Now myghty God, thow on my sorwe rewe!'" (V, 707). And even more common with her are such completely casual usages as "'Lord, wheyther thow yet thenke upon Criseyde?'" (V, 735); "'For Goddes love, is than th'assege away?'" (II, 123); "'God woot, love and I ben fer ysonder'" (V, 983); and "'Lord, is ther swych blisse among/ Thise loveres?'" (II, 885-6). The exceptions to the casualness of Cri-

syede's references to God lie in a handful of quite striking occasions when she invokes "wisly God" to help or save her or bring her soul to rest (II, 1230; III, 807, 925-6, 1566; IV, 1364-5; V, 1527-33), or swears by god as Creator (II, 500; IV, 1231-9) and redeemer (III, 1165). And it is interesting that the kind of serious references to a deity that Troilus addresses to God occur in Criseyde's usages addressed to Jove: she "ful busily to Jupiter bisought" for mischance on the exchange's perpetrators (IV, 669-70); she prays "Joves for his grace" to deliver Troy (V, 957-9); she would not desert Troilus, "'Or ellis se ich never Joves face!'" (IV, 1337); she hopes that Jove "'that of his myght may do/ The sorwful to be glade'" to grant grace for her and Troilus to meet again (IV, 1681-5).

Criseyde, in sum, is less apt to call on pagan deities than Troilus, but when she does she is strongly associated with goddesses rather than male gods, and in marked contrast to Troilus, has little association with Cupid; these factors confirm her character as feminine, and the object of love rather than the lover. Also, Criseyde is associated with the idea of mutability, partly through her several Boethian speeches on the subject, partly through several references to the moon-goddess, which correlate with her own changefulness. And

as a less idealistic and more practical and worldly character than Troilus, it fits Criseyde's personification that her references to God are more casual and less serious than his.

Beyond characterizing Criseyde in these ways, there are two areas of Criseyde's references which might be taken as making thematic points: the astrological material and the Boethian/philosophical passages. As will be discussed below, to the extent that the astrological material is thematic at all, it points to a more or less fatalistic attitude in the poem -- and perhaps on Criseyde's part. Criseyde's Boethian philosophizing, on the other hand, tends to state the mutability topos in the poem -- and is the major source of such statements before the end of Book V. It must therefore be seen as the main expression of this theme in the Troilus, and to the extent that the mutability topos is significant in the poem's sentence, Criseyde's expression of it is significant, potentially tying in with her own changefulness, and with Troilus' experience, in his love for her, of the transience of worldly goods.

Pandarus is the third main character in the Troilus, and his references to deities, like Troilus' and Criseyde's, are to an extent peculiar to him and so help characterize him. He is associated with prayers to Venus and Cupid/Love, which are notable in being very involved

with the love affair as courtly love (I, 906-17, 967-9, 995-1001; II, 237, 1524-6; III, 182-7, 950-1); he also mentions Cupid in ways strongly reminiscent of Christian belief and practice (I, 932-43, 1002-7; II, 522-39), which seem to tie in with the courtly-love convention of applying religious phraseology to love, as discussed earlier. Like Troilus, Pandarus refers several times to Fortuna (I, 835-54; IV, 390-2, 600-2), but in direct contrast to the helplessly idealistic Troilus, the actively managing Pandarus' attitude is that Fortuna is to be approached actively and manipulatively. Pandarus more than any other character is likely to name gods and God in exclamations, yet there is invariably a lack or serious theological sense in his usages. Typical expressions occur when he tells Troilus to take it easy, "for the love of Marte'" (II, 988-90), or asks Troilus why he despairs of Criseyde's agreement to an elopement without first consulting her, "but if that Jove told it in thyn ere?" (IV, 644). Pandarus makes brief references to Jove (II, 232-7; III, 150-3; IV, 641-4), Mars (II, 430-45, 588-93, 988-92), Minerva (II, 232-7), Phebus (I, 659-65), Neptune (II, 445), Kind, i.e., Natura (IV, 1096), and Juno (IV, 116-7), and all of these are relatively casual usages. Even his extensive and dramatic expressions seem to be made mostly for emphasis, as when, in first broaching Troilus' suit to Criseyde, he exclaims:

O cruel god, O despitous Marte,
 O Furies thre of helle, on yow I crye!
 So lat me nevere out of this hous departe,
 If I mente harm or any vilenye! II, 435-8
 And later, with similar potential import, when trying to

convince Criseyde to come to his place for dinner in

threatening weather, Pandarus swears he means well,
 by stokkes and by stones,

And by the goddes that in hevene dwelle,
 Or elles were hym levere, soul and bones,
 With Pluto kyng as depe ben in helle

As Tantalus!-- III, 589-93

These two quotes are of particular interest here, for two reasons. Both clearly reveal Pandarus' casual way of using the gods; and in both these cases, citing infernal or discordant deities in the course of persuading Criseyde to love might be taken as examples of Chaucer consciously using Pandarus' unconscious choices of expression to undercut the love affair's value. Furthermore, a handful of references, both those which Pandarus makes to infernal gods and myth, and Narratorial statements which mention these in reference to him, might also be seen this way: Pandarus' oath to Troilus that if the latter will declare his lady's name, Pandarus will engage to be bound to Cerberus in hell if he does not help Troilus (I, 859-61); his commiseration with Troilus' woe "as sharpe as... Ticius in helle" (I, 785); Pandarus' mention of Niobe (I, 699-700); and the information that Pandarus heard the swallow Procne singing of the rape of her sister when he arose to begin work on Troilus' suit (II, 64-70). But while these potential meanings of Pan-

darus' statements exist, Pandarus himself never suggests them. And on the other hand, Pandarus also refers, even more than Troilus, to success in love as heavenly (III, 342-3, 703-4, 1656-9). There are only two statements by Pandarus of any sense on his part that he has acted other than rightly, at II, 351-7 and III, 253-9, passages in which he mentions that he has played the bawd for Troilus' sake, but only out of love for his friend, not for money. And while some of his expressions may be seen as undercutting the affair's value, others are far more ambiguous, for Pandarus' important references to Cupid which imply Christian religion and practice may equally be taken as either injecting a recollection of Christian values into the telling of the love affair, or as bringing a note of high, idealistic seriousness to it. Pandarus' uses of gods, in short, show him to be using them more to spice up his conversation than in serious or thoughtful ways, yet simultaneously he unconsciously uses expressions which have much potentially thematic material.

Similarly, Pandarus has an enormous number of references to God, yet virtually all are primarily exclamatory. Observing that Hector and Troilus are two fine warriors, he exclaims, "'God help me so, I know nat swiche tweye'" (II, 181-4); other typical Pandaran expressions are: "'O verray God, so have I ronne!'" (II,

1464); "Lord, so ye swete!" (II, 943); and "O mercy God! what unhap may this meene?" (I, 552). The closest Pandarus gets to seriousness in naming God is a rare expression such as, to Criseyde, "Allas that God yow swich a beaute sente!" (II, 336); or in his final disappointment over Criseyde's infidelity, when he declares that he hates her and, "God woot" always will, and prays "almighty God" to deliver her soon from the world (V, 1733-42). In short, Pandarus' many uses of God are as casual as his uses of the gods.

One final category of Pandarus' expressions remains to be mentioned. He uses proverbs or statements, which he refers to "clerks'" authority, on a number of occasions (for example, I, 292-4, 694-5, 708-9, 852, 1625-8). And in such passages as his telling the tale of Wade (III, 614), naming distinctly courtly love notions like daunger (II, 384), or the horror of virtue without routhe (II, 336-50), or and when apparantly referring to medieval lapidary lore (II, 334), Pandarus among the three main characters in the Troilus is the one particularly associated with cultural anachronism.

Where Troilus' character is that of the naive, idealistic courtly lover (and soldier), and Criseyde's is that of the feminine, amiable, beloved courtly lady with whom natural change and worldly mutability are associated, Pandarus' character is that of worldly-oriented, active

manipulator of events and people. His uses of God's name suggest that his brand of worldliness leads away from piety and towards naming God in undevout, colloquial ways; his merely emphatic references even to Fortuna suggest that, as a manipulator of events, Pandarus perhaps feels less subject to deities' wills than other characters, so that he naturally invokes them less seriously or prayerfully than Criseyde or Troilus. Indeed, it is possible that Pandarus' role as a maker, a fashioner of events who arranges the love affair's conduct according to the forms of courtly love, along with his involvement with anachronism, may give him affinities to the Narrator;³⁹ and this might also be seen as helping characterize Pandarus as an active, event-shaping personality, and therefore less likely to speak like one dependant on God's or the gods' wills. If this is the case, however, it reflects Pandarus' character more than it does any final moral for the poem, since his manipulations are undone, in the end, by the exchange and Criseyde's infidelity. What can be determined is that Pandarus makes far fewer serious uses of deities' names than Troilus or even Criseyde -- yet his expressions nonetheless (both in suggesting counter-notes to the love and in associating the love with heavenly and religious solemnity) carry potentially serious thematic implication.

A fourth important figure in the Troilus is the Narrator, the ostensible maker of the poem whose many intrusive expressions range from highly colloquial exclamation to important (though self-contradictory) judgments on his story. And while the Christian Narrator's commentary is significant enough to be addressed separately, as I will do in section iv of this chapter, those namings of God and gods which characterize him should be treated here.

The Narrator's uses of "God" and "Lord" are, interestingly for a Christian character, closer to Pandarus' casual exclamations than Troilus' more serious ones. Besides the Narrator's Pandarus-like use of proverbial matter and formulas (e.g., I, 740-2; III, 627), the Narrator uses "God" or "Lord" in exclamations some twenty times, yet rarely with any obvious import beyond creating emphasis. Typical Narratorial uses are (concerning sleeping during the lovers' first tryst), "God woot, they took of that ful litel kep!" (III, 1410); or "God leve hym werken as he can devyse!/ And Lord, so that his herte gan to quappe," (III, 56-7); or "But Lord, so ofte gan his herte colden." (IV, 362) There are a couple of slightly more serious references to God's knowledge in "But God and Pandare wist al what this mente" (II, 1561), and "Wher hym was wo, God and hymself it wiste!" (IV, 1162); there is a Narratorial address to God in "And was

the first tyme he shulde hir preye/ Of love; O myghty God, what shal he seye?" (II, 1756-7); God's active will is referred to twice, in "But as God wolde, of swough therwith sh'abreyde" (IV, 1212) and in "But weilawey, save only Goddes wille!/ Despitously hym slough the fierse Achille." (V, 1805-6). But these are as close to serious use of God's name as the Narrator gets, and they are not very heartfelt. The Narrator's use of God is in fact amazingly casual for a Christian, and, along with his proverbial expressions, identifies him more closely with Pandarus than with Troilus or Criseyde.

There is a possible link between the Narrator and Pandarus also in the fact that Pandarus manipulates events within the tale, while the Narrator is the maker and arranger of the tale itself. Passages in which the Narrator discusses what he's doing in making/translating his book (i.e., I, 393-9; II, 14-49, 699-700; III, 1191-1200, 1774-5; V, 1562-3) are not specifically references to God or gods, although in some of them he names God (for example, when he avoids telling every detail of Deiphebus' guests' arrival with "But fle we now prolixitee best is/ For love of God,..." II, 1564-5, or in his envoy to the book, where we find, "So prey I God that non myswrite the..." V, 1798). These passages do constitute a group of characterizing references which are

peculiar to the Narrator, however, and help characterize him as maker of the poem. This is the case as well concerning peculiarly anachronistic references (as at II, 84, 100-3; III, 445, 979-80), including specifically courtly-love references (II, 1216-7, 1243), and others to Palladion as a relic (I, 148-61) which is worshipped in a service (I, 162-8, 184, 315, 317). These passages too, with their anachronistic references and discussions of Narratorial management, some of which involve God or gods, characterize the Narrator as artist. Other passages which also do this are the Narrator's invocation to the pagan Muses Cleo (II, 8-10) and Calliope (III, 54-9), for they work mostly to embellish the narrative in a way appropriate to its pre-Christian setting. And the Narrator's astronomical references have a similar function (II, 54-6; IV, 31-2; V, 8-14, 279-80, 1107-10), for naming Phebus to describe the movements of the sun cannot carry much meaning in terms of valuing the love affair or suggesting either fatalism or free will (for example), but does reveal the author as concerned to embellish his tale with appropriate references that will raise it to a high style. Narratorial statements such as the reference to Fame spreading news of the exchange (IV, 659) serve this function as well. Thus the Narrator's statements about what he is doing in arranging his poem, as well as anachronistic and rhetorical passages, all

help characterize him as Artist and Maker of the poem.

There are both brief and extensive Narratorial references which may be felt to carry additional import, and to place judgmental evaluation on the love in the poem. These will be considered fully in section iv; here it is only necessary to observe that the Narrator does assert himself so far as to attempt such evaluation. Yet his declarations are limited to responses to the action; he is actually closer to Troilus and Criseyde than to Pandarus in his professions of helplessness to alter events. Indeed, the Narrator not only uses astronomical references which essentially ornament his work; he also makes important astrological statements and expressions of humans' helplessness to alter their destiny. For it is the Narrator who describes the crucial conjunction which causes the smoky rain, and adds that this proves what "men seyn, [that] may nought distourbed be/ That shal betyden of necessittee," (III, 617-26); and it is the Narrator who ascribes Troilus' success in love partly to Venus' astrological influence (II, 680-6). Further, the Narrator -- more in accord with Troilus than Pandarus in this regard -- specifically attributes events of the tale to Fortuna's (rather than the characters') actions. The Narrator thus describes the war's events as depending on how Fortuna "whielen

bothe/ Aftir hir course" (I, 134-40), and he ascribes to Fortuna's will the events of Troilus' being told he can meet Criseyde again (III, 1667-72); of the two lovers having joy for a time (III, 1714-5); of Troilus starting to be cast down and Diomedes set up on deceitful Fortuna's wheel (IV, 1-5); of Troilus being fooled by Fortuna (V, 468-9) and mocked by her (V, 1133-4); and of Troilus and Diomedes not being allowed to die at each other's hands (V, 1761-4). A Narratorial statement which describes Fortuna's authority as real and derived from Higher authority is:

Fortune, which that permutacioun
Of thynges hath, as it is hire comitted
Thorough purveyaunce and disposicioun
Of heighe Jove, as regnes shal be flitted
Fro folke in folk, or when they shal be smytte,
Gan pulle away the fetheres bright of Troie...
V, 1541-6

It is hardly surprising, in the light of such a statement, that the Narrator advises resignation: "Swich is this world, whoso it kan byholde:/ In ech estat is litel hertes reste./ God leve us for to take it for the beste!" (V, 1748-50).

These references to astrological disposition and Fortuna's influence are generally deterministic. They mesh with the Narrator's assertion that he is simply a transmitter and translator of historical data, helpless to affect the course of his story. And while these passages may be taken as supplying intended, deterministic implications for the poem's sentence, they can equally well be

accepted simply as part of the Narrator's characterization. Section iv will show that the Narrator's many outright judgements on the affair are neither consistent nor conclusive; and to the extent that such a finding helps portray the Narrator as a character manipulated by Chaucer the poet, rather than as Chaucer's own voice, it aids in suggesting that this group of the Narrator's statements, which help define his character and which could be seen as adding some deterministic elements to the story's presentation, certainly do not have to be seen that way.

The Narrator has affinities with Pandarus, then, in the casualness of his uses of "God" and "Lord", in proverbial language and association with anachronism, in being a maker or manipulator, and in having more judgmental, hence potentially thematic, material in his religious allusions than either Troilus or Criseyde. He differs from Pandarus in his resigned attitude about Fortuna, and in the fact that thematic material associated with the Narrator openly evaluates the story rather than merely naming figures and ideas which might imply judgmental associations. And it is further notable that the Narrator, in his evaluative statements, contradicts himself at different times, thus making his statements quite complex and difficult to interpret. A third point

about the Narrator's language is that, in the casualness of his uses of God's name, and in his invocations to various pagan gods, the Narrator functions more as one of Chaucer's creations than as the voice of the poem's author himself.

Since Troilus, Criseyde, Pandarus, and the Narrator, each name the gods and God in characteristic and distinctive ways, it seems possible that the deities in the Troilus may indeed be assisting in their characterizations. It is certainly the case that the four characters would still be what they are without the gods as a defining factor, so that, again, we do not have to read them as performing this function. But it is also true that the gods' implications fit and enhance those characterizations of these figures which are otherwise present, and therefore can be read as functioning in this way. And the seriousness and idealism of Troilus' piety and experience in loving, Criseyde's association with mutability and natural change, Pandarus' manipulateness and its ultimate failure, along with both the positive and negative implications of his statements about the love, and the Narrator's personification as an Artist and Maker of the poem who is nonetheless helpless to alter its pattern or conclusion, may --if and when they fit with other thematic material -- be seen as enhancing and reinforcing that material.

Thus, appearances of the pagan pantheon in the Troilus may be viewed as functioning in several possible ways. They create a Trojan atmosphere and setting; they lend the poem rhetorical grandeur; Further, and in tandem with each character's uses of God's name, references to the pagan gods seem to reinforce the characterization, and perhaps even introduce some commentary on the characters and action and evaluation of them.

As suggested above, many references to the classical gods do not seem to perform more than these functions. However, in the cases of some of the gods, it is also possible to see them as suggestive of Christian ideas, or as veils for God. And It is significant that usages of this sort occur with the four most prominent deities in the poem: Jove, Fortuna, and the love gods Venus and Cupid. For the importance in the poem of the very deities whose namings at times imply God and His attributes suggests that these implications are likely to be significant for the Troilus' meaning.

Allusions to and appearances of Jove form a pattern similar to references to God, in the sense that some are apparently quite casual while others seem to shade towards some deeper meaning. The difference is that, while more serious references to Jove suggest that his name can be used to mean God (i.e., the Christian concept

of an all-powerful, all-creating and -ordaining heavenly Father) the more casual usages often refer to the pagan deity of classical legend; that is, "Jove" can indicate at different times a pagan god, the Christian God, or a deity who could be either of them casually sworn by. References to Jove in which he appears as a pagan god have been mentioned above. In other passages, Jove is casually sworn by, in usages similar to casual oaths "by God". Thus Pandarus tells Troilus that Love has placed him well, "'for Joves name in hevne'" (I, 878), while he tells Criseyde, "'by natal Joves feste,/ Wer I a god'" that she would quickly regret not accepting such service as Troilus' (III, 150-3). Pandarus swears his affection for Criseyde by, among others, "'Jupiter, that maketh the thondre ryng,'" and Venus (II, 232-5); later he asks Troilus why the latter has assumed that Criseyde would be against eloping unless "'Jove told it in thyn ere'" (IV, 641-4). These passages present Jove as a pagan deity like other gods, yet also present him as God Himself is presented: as a power by whom Pandarus swears for emphasis in a casual way.

Other uses of Jove which are reminiscent of God are namings which, although relatively casual, ascribe attributes to the thunderer which remind us of attributes that the Troilus assigns to God, such as I discussed in section i of this chapter. Jove's might as a god is

suggested, for example, when Criseyde, having heard rumors of the exchange, "ful busily to Jupiter bisought" to bring "meschaunce" to the exchange's perpetrators (IV, 669-70); or when Troilus hopes that Jove will give Cassandra sorrow (V, 1525); or when Helen exclaims, "'Joves lat hym nevere thryve'" who harms Criseyde (1607-8); while Criseyde beseeches Jove for mercy (IV, 1149-50) as she faints. Jove is presented on such occasions as possessing power, grace, mercy, and bliss, and these are expressions highly similar to, and therefore reminiscent of, some of the poem's references to God.

A further extension of this sort of passage occurs when similar types of references have some more particular import. Criseyde's affirmation that she would never leave Troilus, "'Or ellis se ich nevere Joves face!'" (IV, 1337) is such a reference, reminding us as it does of a Christian notion of only the virtuous seeing God's face after death. Then there is Criseyde's rather lengthy complaint to Jove, which calls him "auctour of nature" and asks, "'Is this an honour to thi deyte,/ That folk ungiltif suffren hire injure,/ And who that giltif is, al quyrt goth he?'" Criseyde concludes that she would "'pleyn on the'" if it were lawful to do so (III, 1015-22). In this passage Criseyde actually addresses Jove as a god with the attributes of Creator, Judge who

could be expected to be just, and a power whose authority ought not to be questioned. It is, in fact, a prayer that a Christian might make to God, although Criseyde is clearly addressing "´thow Jove´".

By small degrees, in fact, we come to appearances of Jove that are so close to expressing Christian notions about God that the name of Jove seems at times like a synonym for the Christian Deity. When Troilus asserts that "´Joves, of his perveyaunce´" has sent him a revealing dream (V, 1446-8), there is little difference in tone between this statement and the ascriptions to Jove of power, bliss, and grace mentioned above. But the "perveyaunce" here attributed to Jove -- the power of setting heaven and earth in judicious order -- is striking because by this time in the poem Troilus has investigated seriously (if faultily) the question of freedom versus predestination, including Divine "perveyaunce" in his discussion, and he has done this in a prayer and passage addressed finally to "´almighty Jove in trone´" (IV, 1079). And we have also seen the "fatal destyne" of the prisoner exchange described as a fate "That Joves hath in disposicioun,/ And to yow, angry Parcas, sustren thre,/ comitteth to don execucioun." (V, 1-4) Finally, we are told, again by the Narrator, that permutation of things is committed to Fortuna "Thorough perveyaunce and disposicioun/ Of heighe Jove" (V, 1541-

4). And since Fortuna is "executrice of wyrdes" (III, 617) when she causes the astral conjunction that keeps Criseyde at Pandarus' house and precipitates the lovers' first tryst, Jove might retrospectively be seen as even having ordered that crucial action as well. In these passages, the name of Jove -- who at other points in the poem is most clearly the pagan god who fathered Venus and lay with Alcmena -- has become a name for an almighty and all-ordering Being, who might as well be a name for the Christian God. And a final example of Jove appearing in this way occurs in the Proem to Book III, where Venus is addressed as the one who "Joves first to thilke effectes glade,/ Thorugh which that thynges lyven alle and be,/ Comeveden, and amorous him made/ Of mortal thyng..." (III, 15-18). While this passage acknowledges the pagan deity's amours with mortal women, it also suggests a more Christian medieval notion that all things receive life and existence through God's love, and we may even be reminded of the Chartist Bernardus' conception of God being moved to give form to the world by the entreaties of the feminine Noys. The name, Jove, thus has, as Lopresti pointed out,⁴⁰ a protean quality in the Troilus. Without ever ceasing to be a pagan god whom a Trojan might be expected to worship, Jove also carries associations with, and characteristics of, the Christian God.

Fortuna is a second deity who looks both ways, appearing at times as a pagan goddess on the same order as Juno or Minerva, but often also as a power conceivable in a Christian universe.

The Troilus' few casual references to cruel or adverse Fortuna have already been mentioned. In many other cases, references to Fortuna suggest that she is a notably active power in the world. Thus in Book V we are told that Fortuna did not wish Troilus and Diomedes to die at each other's hands (V, 1761-4), while in Book III it was Fortuna who for "a tyme ledde in joie" the two lovers (III, 1714-5). Pandarus tells Troilus to do something to help himself because Fortuna aids those who act hardily (IV, 600-2), while the Narrator describes Fortuna as intending to mock Troilus' hope for Criseyde's return (V, 468-9, 1133-4). Fortuna's power also underlies the Narrator's statement that Fortuna held her course despite Troilus' sorrow, and that indeed all any human can do is "take...for the beste" what comes in this world (V, 1744-50). A passage which combines the sense of Fortuna as an active agent with her identity as a goddess and her attribute of changefulness occurs at IV, 260-37, where Troilus addresses Fortuna as a deity, asking how he has displeased her that she should be so cruel to him when he has always honored her, and he finally concludes that such cruel changefulness as he is experiencing from her

must be her ordinary practice. Fortuna's mutability is alluded to again at IV, 383-5, 390-2, and 1681-5; and her wheel is mentioned at I, 134-40; IV, 1-14; and IV, 323-4. Perhaps the poem's fullest treatment of Fortuna occurs at I, 835-54, where her attributes are gathered together. Troilus asserts that it will be difficult for Pandarus to help him, since Fortuna is his foe and none can withstand the harm of her "cruel whiel," with which she plays with men's fates at her will; Pandarus replies that all are subject to her, and all (not just Troilus) feel both her harm and her help, that she must change to remain herself, and that therefore Troilus may yet be helped by her. She is presented here as a goddess, active and powerful purveyor of both joy, harm, and change, and possessed of a turning wheel: the medieval vision of Fortuna as a godlike worldly power in a nutshell. But Fortuna also appears as God's (or Jove's) agent. It is Fortuna who by the conjunction keeps Criseyde at Pandarus' house, leading the Narrator to address her with, "O Fortune, executrice of wyrdes,/ O influences of thise hevenes hye!/ Soth is, that under God ye ben oure hierdes" (III, 617-9). Again, the Narrator speaks of "Fortune, which that permutacioun/ Of thynges hath, as it is hire comitted/ Thorough perveyaunce and disposicioun/ Of heighe Jove..." (V, 1541-4). It is

important that these two passages do not contradict the other references to Fortuna, but rather complement them. That Fortuna, who with wheel and changefulness has authority over conditions of this world, should wield this authority as God's agent and executrix of His decrees, is completely consistent both with the poem's depiction of Fortuna as a goddess, and with a medieval Christian world-view. This connection is highly important in making it possible to use Fortuna as a way of perceiving God as present in the Troilus.

As was seen in Chapter I, Fortuna has been viewed either as an agent of God in a deterministic reading of the poem (by Curry, for example), or as a figure in a Christian scheme who, at God's will, creates the worldly conditions in which people and literary characters make choices (by critics as diverse as Patch and Robertson). The point here is that, in the Troilus, Fortuna can be understood as part of a worldview which is Christian in nature, a worldview in which the Christian God ordains the conditions of the world and of men's lives, a worldview derived from the Boethian scheme and hence essentially Christian. Thus, pagan goddess as she was, Fortuna was a Christianized deity.

It is thus that her important presence in the Troilus looks both ways: Fortuna helps bring a medieval Christian awareness into the poem but also helps maintain

the pagan pantheon's active presence. Where Jove could function almost as a synonym or alter ego for God, Fortuna could, without losing her identity as the goddess of worldly mutability, function as an agent of God within the Christian scheme. Her role in the Troilus can therefore be interpreted adequately by seeing her as a member of the pantheon which the pagan characters worship, complete with her own particular attributes and areas of authority (fickle as Minerva is wise, goddess of mutability as Mars is god of battles, attended by a wheel as Venus is by doves); yet Fortuna can also, through her wide acceptance in the Middle Ages as a figure under God in the Christian worldview, be seen as bringing a Christian awareness into, and understanding of, Troilus and Criseyde.

The implications of this presentation of Fortuna for the Troilus point in two possible directions. On the one hand, it would be possible to interpret her as a powerful goddess of the pagan world (she is called on by the Christian Narrator in quite the same way as he invokes Cleo or Venus). In this case Fortuna would represent no more than the immutable facts of worldly change and chance, which are part of the conditions in which Troilus lives, and she would fit in with the pagan pantheon, albeit as one of its more active members. Her functions

in such a reading would be the same as all the other pagan deities', plus bringing in thematic material about mutability and possibly about determinism. However, Fortuna could also be seen as bridging the gap between Trojan paganism and medieval Christianity. For her place in the Christian conception as a power under God -- which is stated outright in the Troilus -- could be interpreted as putting ancient Troy and its gods into their proper place in the Christian scheme of things, and thus as bringing the poem's events and characters into touch with Christian attitudes, ethics, and understandings.

The most extensive set of references to gods which also carry associations with Christian religion are the references to Venus and her son Cupid, the god of Love. Venus, not infrequently in conjunction with Cupid, is used as a pagan goddess in a number of references. At the end of Book III, for example, the Narrator addresses Venus as "Thow lady bright, the doughter to Dione" and Cupid as her blind and winged son, as well as the nine Muses, thanking and praising them all for their guidance (III, 1807-13). Earlier, Pandarus expressed to Troilus a hope "'And Venus here to borwe'" that Criseyde would be nice to him at Deiphebus' house (II, 1534-6). Venus is later praised by Pandarus on occasions of Criseyde's being nice to Troilus; at III, 182-7 he addresses the "'Inmortal god...that mayst nought deyen,/ Cupide I mene,

of this mayst glorifie;/ And Venus, thow mayst maken melodye!" while at III, 950-1 it is the "love of God; and Venus..." who are mentioned together. Troilus makes a more extensive prayer at III, 1254-74, mostly to Cupid, but beginning with "O Love! O Charite!/ Thi moder ek, Citherea the swete,/ After thiself next heried be she,/ Venus I mene, the wel-willy planete..." These passages refer to Venus as a sweet and beneficent goddess and planet, Cupid's mother, and worthy of praise. Qualities which seem to be standard to apply to a deity (including God) in this poem -- blisfulness, grace, and might -- are also attributed to Venus; Criseyde calls Venus blisful and asks the goddess to preserve her (IV, 1661-4), while Troilus exclaims, "Now blisful Venus helpe, er that I sterve," (I, 1014), and later reacts to Pandarus' good news by raising his eyes and exclaiming, "O Venus deere,/ Thi might, thi grace, yheried be it here!" (II, 972-3).

Three other invocations to Venus carry additional interest, two of which are quite lengthy; all are in Book III. Troilus prays to "blisful Venus", asking her first to send him grace, and then averring his service to her until his death and asking her to inspire him that night; then, describing her as "ful of myrthe," he begs her to pray to Jove to turn away "of grace" any bad aspects of Mars or Saturn, in the name of her love for

Adonis, and finally prays to other of the gods, invoking, among other things, Mars' love for Cipris (Venus) (III, 705-35). Bliss, grace, and might are again ascribed to Venus here; at the same time her identity as a goddess of love in the pagan pantheon and mythology is explicitly depicted. This combination is seen also in the great opening Proem to Book III, which is an invocation to Venus as planet, as Jove's daughter and the sun's dear, as goddess of love and cause of gladness whose might is felt by all living things, in that God loves and denies nothing to love, nor is any creature worthy without it, as the goddess who instigated Jove in his love affairs, and appeases Mars and makes hearts worthy, as the deity who makes lovers virtuous and sends all people joy as they wish, as the principle of peace and friendship who knows the secrets of what attracts one lover to another, and as the power who has set a law of love in the universe and is victorious against opponents (III, 1-38). Venus is here both pagan deity and a kind of principle of Divine Love, with hints of courtly love notions (i.e., in making lovers worthy and virtuous). This complex passage extends the presentation of Venus as the mythological love-goddess, but it also presents her as in some sense that principle of cosmic love which is a medieval Christian conception. And it is interesting in this connection that the subsequent few lines -- in which the

Narrator asks Venus, as "lady bright", to aid him "for
thi benignite,/ At reverence of hem that serven the,/
Whos clerk I am..." in his task of telling what joy is
felt in her service, and asks her to show him her
sweetness -- have been described as similar to language
commonly addressed to the Virgin Mary.⁴¹

Venus is presented, then, mostly as the pagan goddess, yet she does carry as well some peculiar suggestions of being the principle of Love as that Love could be understood in a Christian context. Intimately connected to Troilus' love for Criseyde, Venus could be seen simply as a classical deity under whose aegis a pagan conducts a worldly amour, and whose hints of something cosmic merely reflect the strength and joy of Troilus' experience in loving. Yet Venus is given cosmic associations which are hard to ignore, and an interpretation of the Troilus that considers the love validated could certainly use Venus, as the poem depicts her, to support such a view.

Some of Venus' associations with cosmic Love are part of her association with her son Cupid, the god of Love in the Troilus. For it is Cupid who is strongly involved with courtly love in the poem, and as seen in Chapter I, courtly love had many parallels with, affinities to, and suggestions of, Christian religious

worship, so that Cupid becomes a major factor in the poem's potential use of gods to hint at God.

Cupid, like the other deities in the Troilus, appears at times as a pagan god like the other members of the pantheon. Troilus' and Criseyde's wish "that Cupide sholde hem grace sende" to reach a happy conclusion to their nascent affair (III, 456-62) is not essentially different from usages of other gods cited above in this chapter. Other examples are Troilus' prayer to Cupid as "blisful lord" (V, 608); Criseyde's "Thonkyng Love he so wel hir bisette" (III, 1552); or Pandarus' statement to Troilus that since the "God of Love" has bestowed him so well, he should not look elsewhere (I, 967-9). Criseyde's description of Troilus as "cupides sone" (V, 1590), by way of attesting to his virtue as a lover, does not make Cupid more than another member of the pantheon; nor does Troilus' acknowledgement that he owes his success with Criseyde both to Pandarus' "bysynesse" and to "the heighe worthynesse/ Of Love" (III, 1608-10). Even Troilus' anguished question to "'O verray lord, O Love! O god, allas!'" as to how Cupid can allow the break-up of the affair he has established, does not give the god a different nature than the other gods have, although it does invoke him more urgently than others.

Of rather different import are the many appearances of Cupid as the god of courtly love. There is, again, a

range of meaning of these references, which begins with allusions to Cupid that simply show him as the god of love, much as Apollo is the god of oracles and the sun. Thus the Narrator describes lovers who have despaired of their hopeless suits as being "out of Loves grace," and hopes that lovers who are successful will continue to please their ladies so "That it to Love be worship and plesaunce" (I, 40-6). Such references do not do much more than define Cupid/Love as the deity of lovers, but others do give Love additional attributes. He is specifically ascribed the power to please and aid lovers, and also to give them pains, for example, when the Narrator addresses lovers with the statement that they know how Love can displease them, and that they should pray for unhappy lovers like Troilus "That Love hem brynge in hevne to solas" (I, 27-31), and then speaks of telling "Swich payne and wo as Loves folke endure" (I, 35). In another passage, Criseyde speaks of those who serve Love, who must bear some pain in order to have joy (IV, 1305-6); while Troilus angers the god by mocking "hem that Loves peynes dryen" (I, 302), and then, after falling in love himself, imagines being mocked as one "Of hem that Love list feibly for to avaunce" (I, 514-8). The idea of lovers being Love's servants occurs several times in the Troilus (I, 15-8, 47-51, 318-9, 328-9; III, 1794).

The god of Love's bow (I, 206-10) works in the Troilus just as the love god's bow worked in the courtly-love Roman de la Rose (section 8.) and Andreas' Art of Courtly Love (p. 65). Love, or the god of Love, is acknowledged to be impossible to resist by both the Narrator (I, 232-45), and by Troilus (I, 597-616) and Diomedes (V, 168). Love dwelt in Criseyde's eyes (I, 302-5), recalling the fountain with two crystals where the Lover is struck in Roman de la Rose (section 6.79-134). Love's power over lovers, the pains they endure in his service, their being his folk or servants, the bow whose arrow strikes without warning and causes love which cannot be resisted, love living in and flowing from the lady's eyes: all these are typical courtly-love ideas and help establish the presence of courtly love in the poem; the point here is to note how they are part of the presentation of Cupid.

Beyond this, there are many references to Cupid which combine courtly love material with allusions to Christian worship and belief. Love is the only god, for example, whose actions are described as converting people (I, 308; II, 900-3). And Pandarus extends this idea in an interesting way, for he tells Troilus that the latter should make a good lover, "'sith that Love of his goodnesse/ hath the converted out of wikkednesse,'" and goes on to speak of the worst of people being converted from their wicked ways "'Thorough the grace of God that

list hem to hym drawe'" so that they then become the most virtuous of folk (I, 995-1007). A distinct analogy is here made of Cupid and God, or at least of Love working as God works to convert sinners to virtue under the deity and of their actions proceeding from the grace of the deity in question. The idea of virtue itself deriving from God or Cupid, which is a courtly love notion and also one of the ways in which courtly love parallels Christian worship, is present here as well. Again, the suggestion in the Bayard passage that love has appeased cruel hearts and made worthy people worthier (I, 250-2) is in this pattern. So is the description of Troilus' virtues in the time following the consummation of his affair (III, 1772-92), and the passage in which we are told that "Thus wold Love, yheried be his grace" that Troilus began to flee all vices (III, 1804-6). And although "grace" is ascribed to several of the gods in the Troilus, it is only with Cupid that discussion of the doctrine of grace occurs, as when Pandarus is amazed that Troilus, who has mocked Love in the past, should be granted "'thus fayr a grace'" as to love the worthy Criseyde (I, 906-17), or when Troilus acknowledges that "'Yet were al lost.../ But if thi grace passed oure desertes'" (III, 1266-7). And Antigone's song (II, 827-75) is a passage in which many of these ideas are brought

together, especially the ideas of lovers being Love's subjects (827-30), Love's grace being sent to successful lovers (831-3), Love being a blissful god who has power to give lovers joy in their affairs, and the joyfulness of love (834-50), and Love and Love's service conferring virtue and removing sin (851-4).

An especially interesting aspect of this attribution to Love of a Christian conception of a deity is the presentation of the rites of repentance, confession, and absolution, which are depicted in three separate passages in the Troilus in relation to Cupid. The first occurs at Troilus' first acceptance of his love for Criseyde. Immediately following his first song, he addresses the god of Love with, "'O lord, now youres is/ My spirit, which that oughte youres be./ Yow thanke I, lord, that han me brought to this.'" (I, 422-3). This acknowledgment of the god's power and the rightness of that power, and Troilus' thanks to the god for bringing him to his service, has a distinctly Christian-penitent's undertone. Indeed, the tone of this prayer (I, 421-34) suggests contrition while confession of a sort was extracted from Troilus by Pandarus when the latter forced Troilus to admit that he, who had mocked lovers, had now become one himself (I, 582 ff). And this is followed by a scene in which Pandarus takes on the role of priest in a religion of love which peculiarly parallels Catholicism:

"Now bet thi brest, and sey to God of Love,
'Thy grace, lord, for now I me repente,
If I mysspak, for now myself I love.'
Thus sey with al thyn herte in good entente."
Quod Troilus, "A, lord! I me consente,
And preye to the my japes thow foryve,
And I shal nevere more whyl I live."

"Thow seist wel," quod Pandare, "and now I hope
That thow the goddes wrathe hast al apesed;
And sithen thow has wopen many a drope,
And seyð swych thyng wherwith thi god is plesed,
Now wolde nevere god but thow were esed!"

I, 932-43

Penance and absolution are suggested here, and added to contrition and confession just noted. And these allusions are repeated once again in Pandarus' report to Criseyde of overhearing Troilus praying when he thought he was alone in a garden (II, 522-32). Yet in a strange combination which is typical of this poem, Troilus continues his very Christianity-suggesting prayer in that passage by explaining to Cupid that he has been so smitten by Criseyde that he fears he will die -- a courtly-love sentiment (II, 533-9).

Finally, and very importantly, it is to Love that Troilus addresses the great Boethian song at the end of Book III (III, 1744-71), which praises Cupid as the cosmic Love that Lady Philosophy praised when she meant Divine Love. The idea of a love diety being described in terms of cosmic Love, which we have already noted occurring with Venus, here involves Cupid, and even more explicitly.

Cupid thus occurs in the Troilus as a god of the

pagan pantheon, as the deity of courtly lovers, and, partly in connection with the latter manifestation, as a figure reminiscent of God as Divine Love. The complexities of his connection with both courtly love and the Christian God are a long-standing and exceedingly vexed question. I have mentioned some of the critical material on the issue in Chapter I and have suggested above its implication for the Troilus: suggestions of courtly love may be taken as either validating or as undercutting the morality and idealism of the love affair. To the extent that courtly love is considered a sinful parody of Christian worship and Divine Love, the worship of Cupid would create negative connotations for Troilus' affair, and would be part of an interpretation of the poem which sees Christian truth as opposed to the love. Yet love being praised in cosmic terms (by the Narrator as well as by Troilus), along with parallels between Cupid's worship and the Christian God's, and even Cupid's ambiguous designation as "god of Love", could alternatively be seen as ways of using the pagan Cupid to suggest attributes of the Christian God, or to suggest a pagan Trojan's dim perception of some sort of truth about the loving God. And if this reading of Cupid is accepted, then his manifestation in the Troilus could be seen as giving solemnity and positive value to Troilus' affair under his

aegis.

If the gods can be read as allegorical veils for God or aspects of God, then Jove's appearances in the Troilus seem to suggest God at times, while Venus and Cupid sometimes imply divine Love as medieval Christians understood it, while Fortuna would suggest that the changeability of this world exists under the Divine Providence of which it is a part. And whether and how the gods could be used in these ways is, like the question of how God's name could be used, a matter which a review of some other late-classical and medieval works may help understand.

One prominent critical thrust in recent decades has been to look at medieval literature through the filter of patristic exegesis, and it is certainly the case that tracts on how to make sermons, for example, which were extant in Chaucer's day, taught how to make allegorical⁴² interpretations of Scripture. These in turn were based on patristic texts, notably parts of St. Augustine's De Doctrina Christiana. It is to be noted, however, that De Doctrina, and these works in general, looked not at pagan gods but at the Bible, and put their effort into showing how Old Testament passages, tales, and poetry could be allegorically understood as revealing Christian doctrine. Thus Augustine explains that the Song of Songs need not be taken as the earthly epithalamium it appears to be on the surface, but may be taken as describing the spiritual

43

nature and beauty of the Church as Jesus' bride.

Again, it was Scripture that Augustine had in mind when he discussed ambiguities and the problem of deciding when a passage is to be taken figuratively (Bk. 3, x-xviii, pp. 87-102 in cited edition). It was within this context of discussing Scripture that he wrote, "whatever appears in the divine Word that does not literally pertain to virtuous behaviour or to the truth of faith you must take to be figurative;" (Bk. 3, x, p. 88), and similarly,

Those things which seem almost shameful to the inexperienced, whether simply spoken or actually performed either by the person of God or by men whose sanctity is commended to us, are all figurative, and their secrets are to be removed as kernels from the husk as nourishment for charity.

Bk. 3, xii, p. 90

It was in Scripture, too, that Augustine observed tropes⁴⁴ to be common, including "Allegoria, aenigma, parabola."

Augustine obviously knew pagan mythology, but he does not seem to have had much use for it. He explained the idea of there having been nine Muses, for example, in such fashion as to discredit belief in them (Bk. 2, xvii, p. 54). And while he stated, "we should not think that we ought not to learn literature because Mercury is said to have been its inventor," this statement is made in the context of the rest of its sentence: "nor that because the pagans dedicated temples to Justice and Virtue and adored in stones what should be performed in the heart, we should therefore avoid justice and virtue. Rather,

every good and true Christian should understand that wherever he may find truth, it is his Lord's." (Bk. 2, xviii, p. 54) Again, Augustine quoted some poetry about Neptune, then commented that, "This husk shakes sounding pebbles inside its sweet shell, but it is not food for men but for swine." (Bk. 3, vii, p. 85) When he suggested that Christians, like Moses' followers who took Egyptian gold away with them, should take from pagan culture that which is valuable, (although he admitted that "Even some truths concerning the worship of one God are discovered among them") he meant mostly "liberal disciplines more suited to the uses of truth".

He stated that,

Among the teachings to be found among the pagans, aside from the history of things both past and present, teachings which concern the corporal sense, including the experience and theory of the useful mechanical arts, and the sciences of disputation and of numbers, I consider nothing to be useful. see Bk. 2, xxxix-xl, p. 74-5

What Augustine did contribute to the preservation of the gods was not so much work of his own but the theories (that passages not literally instructive of virtue could be figuratively so, and that true or valuable material could be converted to Christian use) which others rather than himself were later to apply to pagan literature about the gods.

It is in literature of the late fourth through sixth centuries that we begin to find examples of how gods could be used in literature in conjunction with a sense of one

Almighty God. The roots of this tendency, indeed, can be traced back considerably earlier, as when Cicero, in Scipio's Dream, had Scipio's grandfather tell him, "Nothing that occurs on earth, indeed, is more gratifying to that supreme God who rules the whole universe than the establishment of...commonwealths," and, again, "until that God who rules all the region of the sky at which you are now looking has freed you from the fetters of your body, you cannot gain admission here."⁴⁵ (emphasis mine)

But Cicero also used such expressions as "the souls bestowed upon the human race by the benevolence of the gods," (Ibid., p. 73) and referred to souls of those "who in response to sensual passions have flouted the laws of gods and men..." (Ibid., p. 77) When Macrobius got to work on Scipio's Dream in the later fourth or early fifth century, however, we find extensive allegorical interpretations of the gods. In his discussion of which types of fable are fit for a philosophical treatise, for example, he distinguished between different types of stories that use gods, rejecting "matters that are base and unworthy of divinities" but admitting those in which "a decent and dignified conception of holy truths, with respectable events and characters, is presented beneath a modest veil of allegory;"⁴⁶ yet he adds that the gods are appropriate vehicles only for discussions of "the Soul, or

about spirits having dominion in the lower and upper air, or about gods in general" not for discussion of "the highest and Supreme of all gods," (Macrobius' Commentary, loc. cit.), for "the Supreme God and Mind sprung from it are above the Soul and beyond nature. It is a sacrilege for fables to approach this sphere." (Ibid., p. 86) In this passage, Macrobius is obviously distinguishing God from gods -- and finding a place for both. A further illustration of his treatment occurs in the next paragraph, where he justifies the philosophers' uses of "fabulous narratives to treat the lower gods and [human]

Soul, on the grounds that,
they realize that a frank, open exposition of herself is distasteful to Nature, who, just as she has withheld an understanding of herself from the uncouth senses of men by enveloping herself in variegated garments, has also desired to have her secrets handled by more prudent individuals through fabulous narratives. Accordingly, her sacred rites are veiled in mysterious representations so that she may not have to show herself even to initiates. Ibid., pp. 86-7

The idea of figurative meanings of pagan gods, and of allegorical personifications, all in a scheme which acknowledges one Supreme God as above and beyond the gods yet not exclusive of them, is present here full-blown. It fits with this approach that Macrobius, in commenting on Cicero's mention of an "Almighty God who rules the universe," does not gloss or explain the reference to God, but lets it stand as sufficient in itself. (Ibid., pp. 120-4) Yet on the other hand, he does explain how Bacchus

can be understood as nous, or the Divine Mind (Ibid., p. 136); how Jupiter can be understood as the soul of the world while "Juno is called his sister and wife, for she is air" (Ibid., p. 158); how the nine Muses can be understood "as the tuneful song of the eight spheres and the one predominant harmony that come from all of them," with Apollo, god of the sun, being called the leader of the Muses "as if to say that he is leader and chief of the other spheres" (Ibid., p. 194); while Orpheus and Amphion, who were said to have enticed beasts and rocks by their music, are euhemeristically explained as "perchance the first to attract in their song men lacking any refinements and stolid as rocks, and to instill in them a feeling of joy" (Ibid., p. 195). A use of allegory as such occurs in his discussion of geography, when he speaks of Homer having hidden a subtle truth about the geographical placement of Ocean "beneath the cloak of poetic imagery" in having said that Zeus, invited to feast with the Ethiopians, went to Ocean with the other gods (Ibid., p. 218). Macrobius generally sought to explain references to gods in ways consistent with a belief in God; thus his explication of Jupiter as the soul of the world originated in his need to explain how Cicero could have described the outermost sphere as the supreme god. And again, his commentary on Scipio's grandfather telling Scipio that he is himself a god is

explained by saying that the soul is a god in the sense that the soul quickens and rules the body as God does the universe, so that soul rather than the mortal body is the true man (Ibid., pp. 222-4). Macrobius thus accepts and uses the gods, yet clearly makes them subordinate to a true understanding of God, while using both God and gods in a single work.

Other examples of Macrobius' methods occur in his Saturnalia. One typical example there is the euhemeristic explanation of Janus and Saturn as early Italian⁴⁷ kings. On the other hand, an allegorical interpretation is given to the story (as Macrobius reports it) of Saturn as Cronus/Time, having cut off his father's (Heaven's) genitals and thrown them into the sea, from which Venus was born; Macrobius' interpretation sees the entry of Time into the universe as having brought Heaven's creative fluid into procreative actuality (Saturnalia, Ibid., pp. 64-5). Another allegorical interpretation is given to explain how the myth of Apollo killing the serpent Python in infancy could be "not inconsistent with the true understanding of a secret of nature." (Ibid., pp. 123-5) Yet in a lengthy passage, the character Vettius explains from the dominance of the sun in the heavens how all the gods really represent aspects or names of One God (though he identifies Him as Apollo).

He says, for example, "Minerva is the power of the sun which gives a right judgement to the minds of men, and that is why this goddess is said to have been born from the head of Jupiter, or, in other words, to have issued from the highest part of the heavens, whence the sun derives its origin," (Ibid., pp. 126-7) and "what we have said of Liber Pater goes to identify Mars with the sun..." (Ibid., p. 133), and he even states concerning "Jupiter himself" that "there are clear signs that he and the sun are, in their nature, one and the same." (Ibid., p. 149) Euhemerism, allegorical interpretation of pagan myths to bring them into line with decent morality, and the encyclopedic impulse to put a large and diverse body of lore into a single system ruled by One God: all three of these typically medieval approaches to pagan literature are present in the Saturnalia. A second important point here is that a deity could be given more than one explanation -- an indication that it was a complicatedly multifarious heritage which medieval writers received.

The early fifth century Martianus Capella was less interested in explicating old lore than in using it for his own purposes. What his Marriage of Philology and Mercury does do is present a full-blown allegory, in which gods (usually) do things which make sense for them as characters in a story but also clearly and specifically reveal their natures both as planets, and as the

qualities which were associated with those gods and planets. Thus the god Apollo's association with oracles is figured by Prophecy being "nobly born, the elder daughter of Forethought," and possessed of "far-sighted and penetrating wisdom" who "went of her own accord to young Apollo and, unable to endure her inordinate passion, she became his lover."⁴⁸ But Apollo is also Mercury's brother, and we are told that Virtue advised Mercury to consult him because "he was not meant to wander far from his company, since, as Mercury traveled through the signs of the zodiac, Apollo never permitted him to be farther than one month's journey away from himself." (Martianus, Ibid., p. 8) Other notable examples of Martianus' treatment are the presentation of creation as Apollo commingling the contents of four jars (the four elements) (Ibid., pp. 12-3); or Psyche, who at first lived a primitive existence, having been refined and embellished by Philology, which appears to mean that the Soul receives its refinement from Learning (Ibid., p. 14). The extent to which this allegorical method may be carried is seen in the rather bizarre image of Philology vomiting up books of learning in her pre-nuptial nervousness (Ibid., p. 47). And Jupiter's presentation is of interest: he is the all-ordering Thunderer who passes sentences and gives them to the Parcae to be

carried out -- but who can be mollified by his wife (Ibid., p. 4). Another interesting passage is the description of different levels of gods and demi-gods between heaven, where "Jove is indubitably king", and the sphere of the earth: they get less pure and more dangerous as you go down (Ibid., pp. 71-4). It fits right into this allegorical scheme, in which qualities are personified similarly to the old gods, that each of the seven liberal arts plus Harmony becomes a handmaiden presented to Philology on her wedding. Martianus, by showing us how allegory could be used in the fifth century, helps reveal how the gods could be understood in the Middle Ages both as personalities, as qualities or groups of characteristics, and as planets.

The fifth - sixth century Fulgentius is a third early writer whose works helped set the medieval pattern. His Exposition of the Content of Virgil, in which the Aeniad is interpreted (however scrappily towards the end) as an allegory of the process of man's life, shows again the tendency to interpret the pagan tales and their gods in such fashion as to reveal Christian moral truth -- and one which takes into account the distinction between
⁴⁹
 Virgil the pagan and Fulgentius the Christian. On the Thebaid, which is at least ascribed to Fulgentius, is a
⁵⁰
 similar exercise on Statius' poem.

Of equal interest to anyone concerned with the

medieval methods of understanding and using pagan gods is Fulgentius' Mythologies, for his interpretations of pagan myths in that work are singleminded and sometimes quite ingenious -- if not altogether self-consistent -- in finding moral meanings in them. Thus, "At Pluto's feet they place the three-headed dog Cerberus because the envies of human quarrels are brought about in a threefold fashion, that is, by nature, cause, and accident...but he is imagined as having three heads for the three ages --
⁵¹
 infancy, youth, and old age." Fulgentius' interpretations of Proserpine (Mythologies, Ibid., p. 53), of the Muses (there are nine Muses plus Apollo because there are ten organs of articulate speech, or because there are nine stages of learning and knowledge, Ibid., p. 55), of the possession of arrows by Apollo and his beardlessness (Ibid., p. 58), and of Mercury's cock (Ibid., p. 59) are a few examples of Fulgentius giving more than one interpretation to a name or attribute of a deity. And some examples of his allegories, many of which ended as medieval commonplaces, include the judgement of Paris as the choice between the contemplative, active, or lustful lives (Ibid., pp. 4-7), Midas as an allegory of avarice (Ibid., p. 75), Hercules and Omphale as man's battle with lust (Ibid., p. 67-8), and Orpheus and Eurydice as an allegory of the art of music (Ibid., pp. 96-7). It is

notable that Fulgentius speaks of "Greek lies" (Ibid., p. 79) and the "prating of poets" (Ibid., p. 72), separating himself from the original tellers of the deceitful fancies of pagan myth, yet he assiduously works to bring them under Christian aegis -- carrying away and converting the gold of the unbelievers, as Augustine said but did not himself do.

Even Boethius might be looked at here, for his personifications of Philosophy and of Fortuna are depictions of goddesses (see Boece, I, pr. 1 for the first appearance of Philosophy, and II, m. 1 through m. 2 for Fortuna's authority and unquestionability), yet he placed them securely within a conception in which the Christian God is providential Orderer of all creation. And Boethius -- unlike the other early writers discussed here -- was obviously directly influential on Chaucer.

Thus was established by Macrobius, Fulgentius, Martianus, and Boethius the frame within which works such as Bernardus' and Alanus', discussed in Chapter I, could be placed. It remains to look at uses of gods by writers closer to Chaucer both in time and in the certainty of their influence on him. Roman de la Rose, Geoffrey de Vinsauf, Boccaccio and Dante have all demonstrably been used by Chaucer, either briefly or at length, and so can properly be taken as possible models for him. And their differences from the fourth-through-sixth century writers

lie mainly in that they could take the strategies of the earlier works as established procedures.

We have already seen that the Roman de la Rose uses Reason, for example, as an allegorical figure with opinions and actions appropriate to the quality of rationality, while Idleness and Mirth are presented as lovely personifications whose actions, appearances, and the setting in which they are found fit the import of their names. Lessons are to be learned from the legendary Narcissus' fate, and the Duenna derives morals from the stories of Dido, and of Venus with Mars and Vulcan; and Genius aids a God of Love but also speaks of the ultimate superiority of the Shepherd and His Park. That is to say, various kinds of personifications, gods, and legends -- including hints of God -- are included and used in the telling of a tale and the exemplifying of its points.

Geoffrey de Vinsauf presents an interesting case, for in his precepts on how to write poetry he notably does not treat either gods or pagan legends in his discussions: he does not explicitly suggest either using or avoiding them; he does not define possible meanings for them; he does not explain how they should or should not be used. Yet this would appear rather to be a factor of assuming their use as too obvious to comment on than a matter of eschewing it, for he himself uses them in his

illustrations. He uses the story of Minos and Scylla, for example (with some ancillary mention of Fortuna) to demonstrate the problem of where to begin a narrative.⁵² In his demonstrations of apostrophe he mentions Janus, the Sirens, Nature, Apollo, Minos, Venus, and Fortuna in his examples of sad and happy fates which can be used in apostrophes. (Vinsauf, *Ibid.*, pp. 44-9) Again, examples of prosopopoeia which Geoffrey gives make no apparent distinction between the earth expostulating with Jove when it feels Phaeton's heat, Rome addressing Ceasar, or the Holy Cross addressing man (*Ibid.*, pp. 50-1). His examples of the device of description include mentions of Natura and of Jove's amours (*Ibid.*, pp. 54-5); and his example of describing a banquet gives us Ceres, Paris, Cresus, and Ceasar (*Ibid.*, pp. 55-6). Again, Geoffrey does not discuss Argus as a subject, but uses him in his precept, "be not hasty; but in those things that you intend to say, be an Argus and spy out words for your proposed subject with sharp eyes." (*Ibid.*, p.60) And in his discussion of rejuvenating tired words, he demonstrates the uses of characters of pagan legend and history as examples of types: Paris as a type of male beauty, Cicero as a type of eloquent speech, Hippolytus as a type of male chastity, etc. (*Ibid.*, p. 66). Vinsauf, in short, no longer had to defend his knowledge and use of pagan myth and legend; he assumed its being common

knowledge, and went on from there.

In contrast to this attitude, Boccaccio did precisely what Vinsauf apparently felt unnecessary: he explicitly defended the use of the pagan gods by Christians in his Genealogia Deorum Gentilium. It is, indeed, with considerable apology and justification that Boccaccio asserted the propriety of his analysis and presentation of pagan myth, citing Augustine's City of God concerning the divisions of pagan theology, and which of them are acceptable to study;⁵³ and also citing Augustine concerning the use and interpretation of obscurities (Genealogia, Ibid., pp. 60-1) -- though here he acknowledged that "I apply to the obscurities of poetry his advice on the right attitude toward the obscurities of Holy Writ." (loc. cit.) Boccaccio consciously used allegorical interpretation, distinguishing its meanings from the literal meaning (Ibid., p. xviii), in accordance with the aim expressed

in his Preface of adhering to his patron's
wish to have compiled a Genealogy of the Gentile
Gods and of the heroes who, according to ancient
mythology, sprang from them. At the same time you
desire an explanation of the meaning which various
eminent men have perceived beneath the surface of
these myths. Ibid., p. 3

Boccaccio seems to have felt a need to justify his studies at considerable length, on grounds that although ancient poets did say there were many gods, they didn't really believe it, for they acknowledged one God, whom they called Jupiter, as supreme while "the multitude of

other gods they looked upon not as gods but as members or functions of the Divinity," giving these functions names of gods "because of their veneration for the particular function in each instance." (Ibid., p. 65) Furthermore, to the extent that those poets wrote inaccurate things about God, Boccaccio defends them on the basis of justifiable ignorance of Christian truth (Ibid., pp. 65-7). And writing from this understanding, Boccaccio himself did not hesitate to use the gods: his Teseida, set in the pagan past, is full of various uses of gods, and even God.

The Teseida begins with a learned invocation to the Muses, Mars, and Venus.⁵⁴ The impulse to make war is shortly thereafter described as "blood-red Mars" making "his presence known to the enraged Theseus by leaving his own fierce heat in him. And he advanced with his chariot, setting fire to the sky wherever he went." (Teseida, p, 22) Skipping through the work, we can find Theseus defying both Mars and Minerva (Ibid., pp. 31-2), and Hypolyta acknowledging that "'Venus is angry with us with just cause,'" (Ibid., p. 42). Yet in a completely different vein the Theban ladies bless Theseus with "As for you, go with God; may he grant your every desire;" and Palaemon's and Arcite's expressions, when first found wounded on the field, "seemed to challenge God in their

wrath." (Ibid., p. 69) But again, the third Book opens with a descriptive invocation to appropriate gods: "When Juno's wrath against ravaged Thebes had somewhat abated, Mars returned with his Furies to the cold regions. Therefore, I shall now sing in gentler tones of Cupid and his battles. I entreat him to be present in what I set down about him." (Ibid., p. 77) Again, we have a mention in the seventh Book of Fortuna conducting affairs in Athens (Ibid., p. 167), and lengthy descriptions of Mars' temple (Ibid., pp. 171-2) and mythically appropriate abode (Ibid., pp. 172-4), as also Venus' (Ibid., pp. 175-8) and of how Arcite's and Paleamon's personified prayers acted (Ibid., p. 174, 179), while Arcite when dying prays sincerely to Mercury for placement in Elysium rather than the "dead air" reserved for wicked souls or the heaven he does not believe himself to deserve (Ibid., pp. 278-9). In fact, however, his soul does fly up to heaven and achieves a perception of the worth of this world which is the medieval Christian one (Ibid., p. 289), while Paleamon responds to Theseus' desire that he marry Emilia with a statement which names God: "'...let this be done when it shall so please god, in whose power it lies...But god forbid this [marriage, and if my duty conquers my desire, then I'll cherish that victory] as my joyful possession, as long as God wills..." -- yet he adds, "'And as the gods who know the hearts of men can

testify...'" (Ibid., pp. 316-7). The Teseida, which has obviously provided the source for Chaucer's Knight's Tale, can also be considered a closely parallel work to Chaucer's Troilus (even without counting Chaucer's transfer to Troilus of the flight of Arcite's soul), for both are long works by fourteenth century poets in their respective vernaculars which tell tales of pre-Christian times. And in both we see extensive and learnedly appropriate uses of pagan gods and legends, but we also find in the same poetic fabrics uses of "God" and hints of an underlying worldview which are contemporary and Christian.

A final work to be examined here is Dante's Divine Comedy, for it is perhaps the ultimate apotheosis of the medieval tendency to gather all available lore into a single encyclopedic Christian-oriented poem.

In writing a poem to fully conceptualize the Christian Hell, Purgatory and Heaven, Dante has, in a sense naturally, synthesized all endeavors and knowledge in his attempt at universality; in a poem including human history and earthly geography, divine Justice and Mercy, Old and New Testaments, contemporary people and legendary figures, the inclusion of ancient myth fits right in within the overarching and all-inclusive Christian scheme. So Dante unblushingly populates Hell

55

with such characters as Minos (Inf., V, 16ff), Furies and Medusa (Inf., IX, 31-60), the Minotaur (Inf., XII, 10-15), and centaurs of pagan legend (Inf., XII, 55-120) -- yet the centaur Chiron points out a sinner who killed someone "before God's altar (Inf., XII, 119), meaning the Christian God. Further, Dante has Virgil expound on Fortuna's power as God's minister, herself an angel among the blessed (Inf., VII, 67-96), and mentions Natura as an apparantly similar being (Inf., X, 63; Purg., X, 30), though he has Francesca speak of Love as damning (Inf., V, 97-105). Jacobo da Sant'Andrea, a Christian in Hell, speaks of Mars as an offended deity (Inf., XIII, 143-5), yet Mars is also the heavenly sphere where the blessed spirits of great Warriors of God (and Christ on the Cross, and a lot of Florentine history) are to be found (Par., XIV, 85-XVII, 143). The whips and reins of the vices which are found in Purgatory are two-fold in each case, often combining some incident from Mary's life with pagan legends and gods and Old Testament characters (see Purg., XII, 25-63; XIII, 33; XIV, 136-44; XVII, 19-99; XXIV, 121-6; XXV, 130-2; XXVI, 41-2). The Paradiso begins with an invocation to Apollo and the Muses. The Purgatorio uses heavenly bodies for time-telling, including Aurora (II, 7-9), Phaethon (IV, 71-5), and the sun as charioteer (XXXII, 56-7). And in at least one passage (Inf., XIV, 50-69) scorning Jove is equated with scorning

God. For Dante, then, all of pagan myth and legend is one compartment of the sum of human knowledge and endeavor, all of which had to be included in a work treating the God of all things. There is never any question of the poet's Christian piety, nor can there be any question that he managed to include the gods --as gods with particular associations --extensively within it.

From this investigation of Chaucer's background and contemporaries, and their use of gods, several conclusions can be reached. First, the Middle Ages had well-developed methods by which gods could be understood to allow a Christian poet to use them in his serious works. These included euhemerism and allegory. One use of allegory involved stating that ancient philosophers and poets who were truly great and worth preserving weren't really polytheists but only used the names of the various gods and demi-gods to represent the One God or some aspect of His nature; and this therefore also meant that a god could be named by the Christian poet as an alternative name for God; Jove, for example, was particularly used this way. The other use for allegory lay more precisely in what moderns mean by the term: a fictional work could be written in which each character represents some other quality or being, and could be so constructed that it works on both levels (both Martianus and Roman de la Rose

used allegory in this sense). And the gods could also be quite emblematic qualities (as in some of Geoffrey de Vinsauf's examples, and some of Dante's), or astronomical or astrological manifestations. This variety of possible uses for the gods is especially important, for it leads to the second conclusion, which is similar to my findings concerning medieval uses of God's name and Christian references. This is that complexity and variety, not simplicity or uniformity, are to be found (and not unnaturally in a body of literature spanning a continent and ten centuries). Specifically, the Middle Ages inherited, as the Saturnalia and Mythologies, for example, reveal, a complex and multifarious set of interpretations and uses for each god. And it is also to be noted that medieval poets not only inherited but preserved this multiplicity. And the third conclusion is to note that, from Macrobius on, it was a common practice of medieval Christians to include both the One True God and the pagan gods in a single work.

One application of these conclusions to Chaucer's Troilus involves noting that when Chaucer uses both gods and God in a single work, he is following a medieval practice that was equally common in secular works like the Roman de la Rose, in philosophical works like Macrobius' Commentary, and in imaginative doctrinal works like Dante's Divine Comedy; consequently we can make no clear-

cut statement of Chaucer's intention in the Troilus merely from the presence in it of deities along with God. Another important application is to note that, if Chaucer wished to use the gods' associated meanings and implications to introduce thematic material, he clearly had quite a variety of possible associations for each god to choose from, and we must therefore look carefully at the context of a use of a deity before determining which of the available associations might be meant there. Finally, we should bear in mind that, although gods could be used merely emblematically or decoratively, a strong tendency to use them allegorically as well as thematically was persistently present through the fourteenth century, and that although such a use cannot be automatically assumed to be present in the Troilus, it cannot be automatically ruled out, either. Significant allegorical uses of gods in the Troilus was certainly possible, though by no means necessary; Jove's partial association with attributes of the Christian God, and associations of Cupid and Venus with divine Love and cosmic harmony, fall into well-established medieval patterns. They occur in passing as it were and are not pointed out or insisted on: we are not required by the Troilus' text to take these deities as thematically symbolic or as allegorical figures, yet we equally certainly may so read them. We

are left, once again, with possibilities but no certainties.

iii
astrological references

A relatively small set of references in the Troilus, but a set which cannot be ignored, is that of astrological functions of gods. A number of these have already been mentioned, for they involve Lucina and Apollo when these deities appear as sun and moon. Poetical time-descriptions thus speak of Latona waxing and waning (V, 655-6), Phebus being in the Bull as a way of describing Spring (II, 54-6), Phebus shining on the breast of Hercules' Lion to mean the end of July or early August (IV, 31-2), or Phebus and Zepherus being named in an extended periphrasis for the passing of three years (V, 8-14). The most extensive and interesting of these passages describes Criseyde's sunset (V, 1016-21), to which I have alluded above. In these passages, gods' names are used for the astronomical bodies with which they were associated. A similar usage occurs when Troilus prays to Cupid, and to his mother as a "wel-willy planete" (III, 1255-7); in this case Venus' identities as goddess and planet are combined. But further usages occur when the astrological significances of planets' gods are specifically invoked, as when we are told that Criseyde's

falling in love with Troilus was partly the result of
astrological influence:

And also blisful Venus, wel arrayed,
Sat in hire seventhe hous of hevene tho,
Disposed wel, and with aspectes payed,
To helpe sely Troilus of his woo.
And, soth to seyne, she nas not al a foo
To Troilus in his nativitee;

God woot that wel the sonner spedde he. II, 680-6

It is Venus again whom Troilus begs,
And if ich hadde, O Venus ful of myrthe,
Aspectes badde of Mars or of Saturne,
Or thow combust or let were in my birthe,
Thy fader prey al thilke harm disturne
Of grace...

III, 715-9

It is in this context of astrological usages that we are
told of Pandarus casting to see if the moon was in a good
position for him to begin the wooing of Criseyde (II, 74-
5); and later it is in this context that Criseyde
describes herself as "born in corsed constellacioun" (IV,
745). Finally, and most significantly, it is an
astrological conjunction which precipitates the poem's
central action, for Criseyde's first tryst with Troilus
would not have occured if the smoky rain had not
persuaded her to stay at Pandarus' for the night:
But execut was al bisyde hire leve
The goddes wil; for which she moste bleve.

The bente mone with hire hornes pale,
Saturne, and Jove, in Cancro joyned were,
That swych a reyn from heven gan avale,
That every maner womman that was there
Hadde of that smoky reyn a verray feere;
At which Pandare tho lough, and seyde thenne,

"Now were it tyme a lady to go henne! III, 622-30

A final astrological reference in the poem is a unique
one as well: the passage in which Troilus' soul flies up
to the eighth sphere's "holughnesse" and hears the cosmic

harmony there (V, 1808-13).

An observation common to many kinds of references in this chapter may be made, that there is a range within this set of allusions from less to more theologically significant. Beyond this observation lies the question of the function of these references. First, they work as rhetorical ornamentation, which helps establish a high style. Beyond this, however, there is the question of their function in establishing the poem's meaning and sentence. For these references are at once potentially part of a pre-Christian ambience and of a medieval one. The planets/gods can be deities who exercise their power over humans through astrological effects. Or these passages could be manifestations of such astrology as was known during the Christian Middle Ages and believed in then (as now) by some fraction of the population. Even if Chaucer himself was not one of those believers, he might have used such astrological determinism as his contemporaries would recognize, as a way of presenting the gods and their power in a manner comprehensible to his audience, just as twentieth century readers recognize and comprehend the revenge ethic in Hamlet without necessarily adhering to it ourselves. Troilus' prayers and Pandarus' horoscope could simply be depictions of pagan rites. But the Narrator's statement that Venus favored

Troilus' suit, and his description of the conjunction which influenced Criseyde's behavior despite her intentions, are inescapably deterministic touches.

Again, the implications of the astrological material for the Troilus' interpretation offer more than one possibility. We can see them simply as rhetorical ornament. We can consider them to be part of the pagan worship which the poem depicts, instead of, or as well as, accepting their decorative function; doing so would tie in with a strong presentation of the characters as pagans, not subject to Christian awareness. We may further choose to see the poem's astrological material as, in addition, carrying thematic implications; in this case we would have to consider the planets a destinal factor. This variety of possible interpretations means that with the astrological material, we once more find textual passages with a variety of possible meanings and functions, yet without any explicit indication as to which Chaucer intended us to accept.

iv
the Narrator and his expressions

A final area of consideration is that of the Christian Narrator's usages of God and the gods, as opposed to the characters' uses of them. Whether the Narrator is taken as being Chaucer's own voice or that of a persona who is himself almost a fourth character and

separate from Chaucer, the fact remains in either case that the Narrator is the only speaker in the poem who actually addresses the Christian audience or who ever consciously sets forth specifically Christian ideas (i.e., living in charity, I, 49; the Christian epilog, V, 1835-69; God forgiving His death, III, 1576-8). I have already examined how the Narrator's language characterizes him as Artist. But because the Narrator is a Christian, who is outside the story and comments upon it, as opposed to Troilus, Pandarus, and Criseyde who are pagans inside the story and only react within it, it becomes necessary to determine whether the Narrator's judgmental statements are of a different order from the implications or evaluations which may be suggested by the characters' language. And this includes separating out the Narrator's usages of God and gods from the characters' in order to see whether he uses them in a more limited or consistent way than the characters do, or in a less complex way. Troilus and Criseyde as a whole presents many different ways of naming God and the gods; if it were the case that some sorts of usages are only Narratorial while other usages were made only by Troilus, Criseyde, and Pandarus, then we could reasonably accept the Narrator's usages and viewpoints as a consistent and authoritative evaluation of the tale. Finding no persistent or qualitative differences between the Narrator's

usages and the characters', on the other hand, will mean that the Narrator is a character like the others and therefore that his comments and judgments have no greater weight than theirs, and cannot be taken as a reliable guide to the poem's meaning.

The Narrator's allusions to God and Christian religion are, as has already been noted, generally quite casual. They are, in fact, of the same order as the characters', especially Pandarus', colloquial uses, and run pretty much the same range. "Lord!" is used for emphasis, and such expressions as "God woot", "as God wolde", "for love of God", "also God me save", and even "God yeve hem sorwe" are all used in basically exclamatory ways. Even the envoy to the book, "Go litel bok.../ Ther God thi makere yet, er that he dye/ So sende myght to make in som comedye!" (V, 1786-8) barely escapes the casualness of most of the Narrator's uses. The Narrator does have a few explicitly Christian and serious expressions, but they occur in the epilog. Unless one counts the reference to living in charity in Proem I (I, 49) and the statement that Criseyde forgave her seduction as God did His death (III, 1577-8), the Narrator's only fully open Christian statements are in those final stanzas which are often called a palinode in recognition of the differences between the telling of the tale and this

closing statement. For the most part, the Narrator's uses of "God" and "Lord" are remarkably casual. The question to be asked here is how these usages fit in with his other expressions.

In fact, there is a difference between the Narrator's and the characters' uses of exclamations to God and gods in the matter of valuing the love affair. For while the characters simply conduct the affair, occasionally using expressions which might or might not connote evaluative associations, the Narrator comments on it explicitly, from an external vantage-point. And he frequently invokes both God and gods in doing so. Yet his evaluations are far from consistent.

The Narrator places negative value on the affair in several ways. One is his allusions, in regard to the affair, to such fearful deities as the Furies and Mars (IV, 22-8); indeed, the poem's very first reference to any deity in relation to Troilus' adventures in loving is the Narrator's to cruel Thesiphone (I,6). And Book V as well begins with a Narratorial reference to the angry Parcas (V, 1-7). In addition, the Narrator makes several outright statements in concluding his narrative which sum up the entire poem by devaluing its subject. His ultimate reaction to the sad ending of his tale is sorrowful resignation to the utter misery of love's ending (V, 1744-50). And when he exclaims that such was

the end of Troilus' virtue, worthiness, royalty, desire and nobility, all on account of love, he is just as likely referring to Troilus' misery and death as to the hero's salvation, especially since the Narrator adds that such end has all "false worldes brotelnesse" (V, 1828-34). And the Narrator's reaction is to then advise young folk to turn to God, who will betray no one, rather than to worldly "feynede loves" (V, 1835-48). He further holds up Troilus' fate as the only possible conclusion to "payens corsed olde rites" and rascally gods, and to "thise wrecched worldes appetites." (V, 1849-55) Indeed, it is somewhat ambiguous whether it is Troilus' death or his understanding (with its implied sharing) of the plain felicity of heaven which is being held up to our view, but the condemnation of dedication to worldly love is pretty clear. Further, these final Narratorial comments echo others earlier in the poem, which also devalue the love affair. The Narrator thus occasionally likens the sorrows of love to the torments of hell (IV, 1695-1701; V, 211-2); and when he first mentions "the fyr of love" he adds "-- the wherfro God me blesse" (I, 435-6). Indeed, his initial characterization of Troilus' experience of love is "The double sorwe..." It is the Narrator who suggests that Troilus' and Criseyde's first night of love would be worth one's soul, and who

declares, when Pandarus comes to see Criseyde the next morning, "What! God foryaf his deth, and she al so/ Foryaf..." (III, 1576-8); and whether he is suggesting in these two ambiguous utterances that the love affair's consummation was good and Criseyde's scruples comic compared to something really serious, or whether he is using these passages to bring the conduct of the extra-marital love affair into juxtaposition with true Christian morality, the echoes of Christianity and its perspective are unquestionable. The Narrator thus makes explicitly negative comments on the affair in several places throughout the poem.

On the other hand, it must also be noted that the Narrator makes many positive allusions to and evaluations of the love affair, which are just as frequent and striking as his negative suggestions and judgements. For while he likens the torments of sorrow in love to those of hell, the Narrator as clearly describes love's delights, Criseyde's person, and the enjoyment of her favors as heavenly (III, 1247-51; IV, 864; V, 815-7). And he makes many statements that specifically praise and celebrate the love affair. Thus when Criseyde begins to think favorably of Troilus, the Narrator comments, "To God hope I, she hath now kaught a thorn,/ She shal nat pulle it out this nexte wyke./ God sende mo swich thornes on to pike!" (II, 1272-4); and he later philosophizes

that after bitterness, Troilus and Criseyde entered into gladness, adding "Now this is bet than bothe two be lorn./ For love of God, take every womman heede/ To werken thus, if it cometh to the neede!" (III, 1223-5). Again, the Narrator speaks of the joy of love and expounds on the relative folly of the covetous who despise love, as compared to happy lovers (III, 1373-93), in a passage almost as long as the Bayard passage (I, 218-59), in which the Narrator had equally strongly advocated accepting Love and not scorning him. Other similar statements appear at III, 1058-9, and at III, 1246; and this is not to count the open (if ambiguous) enthusiasm of the Narratorial exclamation to the "blisful nyght, of hem so longe ysoght" (III, 1317-22), discussed above. A final major group of Narratorial expressions which seem to place positive value on the affair are those about, or addressed to, the love gods. The Bayard passage is one of these, expounding at length on Love's/ Cupid's beneficence. Another occurs at the beginning of the Troilus, where the brief reference to Thesiphone is overbalanced by the extensive references and prayers to Love, in which the Narrator calls himself the servant of Love's servants (I, 15-8) (an allusion to the pope's title of *servum servorum Dei*), and asks successful lovers to pray for unhappy ones that Love may grant them success

(bring them "in hevenc to solas", I, 22-35), while God is also prayed to for help for lovers (I, 40-6). Shorter references are the Narrator's exclamation, regarding Troilus' newfound ability to love, "Blissed be Love, that kan thus folk converte!" (I, 302-8) and his declaration that "Thus wolde Love, yheried be his grace" that Troilus began to flee such of the Seven Deadly Sins as "Pride, Envye, and Ire, and Avarice" (III, 1804-6). The Narrator's prayers to Venus at the beginning and end of Book III also praise the love as a good thing, for in Proem III the Narrator seriously addresses Venus as thoroughly benign, and in expressions which may be considered reminiscent of language commonly addressed to the Virgin Mary -- a suggestion of positive connotation, as well as being explicit praise. Like others in the poem, this passage ends with an appeal to God to bring the joy of love to whoever needs it (III, 49). And finally, Venus, Cupid, and the nine Muses are praised by the Narrator for helping him tell of love's joy (III, 1807-13), in a passage which seems to quite straightforwardly say what it means.

The Narrator thus makes clear and important statements both praising and denigrating Troilus' love. The only conclusion we can reach about the Narrator's uses of religious allusions in evaluating the love affair, is, therefore, that he comes down squarely on both sides of the fence. He uses appeals both to gods and to God,

equally to praise and to condemn the affair; he uses references to God and gods both to give positive value to the love affair and to devalue it. The Christian Narrator's uses of gods and God deal extensively with the morality of the poem's main action, but not, in fact, either clearly or helpfully.

Another area which has already been touched on, but which needs to be summarized and refocussed to determine whether the Narrator's language creates a distinct and authoritative viewpoint in the poem, is the area of expressions which suggest Christian culture and practice. It may be noted that both the Narrator and the three main characters use similar expressions equating success in love with heaven and failure in a love-affair with hell. But other sorts of references tend to be found in either the Narrator's or the characters' mouths. The Narrator makes only one real Boethian allusion, in the "Swych fyn" stanza which is, notably, in the epilog, while all other obvious Boethian allusions -- and all those which occur in the telling of the story itself -- are made by the characters, and mostly by Criseyde and Troilus. And although the peculiar usages of "goost" and "penaunce", "converte" and "makeless", discussed above, are made by the Narrator, it is the characters who are responsible for many of the expressions and practices reminiscent of

Christianity: the ideas of prayer, grace and mercy in courtly love (I, 1076-7; II, 995-1007, 1065-85, 1365, 1373-9; III, 1277-88; V, 939, 1011); martyrdom (IV, 623, 818-9); sermons and preaching (II, 496, 563, 568-71; IV, 1282); saints (II, 894-6; V, 553); and intercessory prayer (III, 342-3). The sense that Pandarus should keep Criseyde away from courtly love rather than lead her to it is also expressed only in the characters' speeches (I, 1022; II, 412-3; III, 253-9), as are the distinctions between natural and celestial love (I, 974-87) and love and voluptuous lust (IV, 1572-3). And finally, it is only in the characters' speeches that the rites of repentance, confession, and absolution are suggested. The sum of these findings is that Boethian allusions and courtly-love expressions suggestive of Christian practice tend to be found more in the characters' speeches than the Narrator's, while expressions commenting on or placing value on the love affair, as well as the epilog's explicitly Christian statements, appear in the Narrator's voice; further, the many colloquial and exclamatory uses of "God" and "Lord" seem to be distributed in ways which make the Narrator's expressions indistinguishable from the characters'. With so many of the references reminiscent of Christianity being made exclusively by the pagan Trojan characters, it would seem that we cannot, on the basis of uses of God and Christian references,

clearly distinguish between the Narrator and the characters, except in the epilog.

The Narrator's usages of the pagan gods must also be investigated to see if they will form a pattern that can help in interpreting the Troilus.

The Narrator, in his own voice, has much to say about both Love/Cupid and Fortuna, and makes references to various of the other gods as well; and his invocations in the Proems form a special group, as do the astronomical and astrological references, most of which are made by the Narrator.

The Narrator first refers to Love in Proem I, when he claims to serve the "God of Loves servauntz" (I, 15), despite not daring to love himself. In the course of this Proem he addresses lovers, reminding them of their knowledge of how Love can displease them and asking them to pray on behalf of unhappy lovers "That Love hem brynge in hevene to solas" (I, 25-31); he further recommends that they pray for lovers "despaired out of Loves grace" (I, 42), and hopes for successful lovers to continue to please their ladies "That it to Love be worship and plesaunce" (I, 46), and the finally announces his own intention to advance his soul by praying to God for Love's servants (I, 47-51). Already the Narrator appears to be acknowledging the god of Love as a deity even while

speaking of God as a fourteenth century Christian might. Success and failure in love are ascribed to the god's influence, and lovers are described by the Narrator as Love's servants and under his aegis. Another passage in which the Narrator speaks as if he himself acknowledged Love as a god occurs in Book III, where he asks lovers' correction "if that ich, at Loves reverence,/ Have any word in eched for the best" (III, 1327-8); his speech here implies that he himself considers Love a power deserving of his reverence. Love, as the Narrator describes him, is the familiar courtly love deity; as such the Narrator depicts him as an active character in the poem when at Troilus' mocking, "the God of Love gan loken rowe/ Right for despit, and shop for to ben wroken/ ... sodeynly he hitte hym atte full;/ And yet as proud a pekok kan he pulle" (I, 206-10). And it is again the courtly love figure we see in the Narrator's explanation of Troilus' ignorance "that Love hadde his dwellynge/ Withinne the subtile stremes of hir yen" (I, 304-5). The conclusion to this stanza, "Blised be Love, that kan thus folk converte!" (I, 308) again shows the Narrator himself speaking of Love as a real god; he praises Love as a god at III, 1804-6 and in the Bayard passage as well (I, 218-59). In sum, the Narrator refers to Cupid/Love quite a few times, seeming himself to acknowledge Love as a deity, and specifically as the easily recognizable god of

courtly love and lovers; and he depicts Love as an active figure in the poem.

The second deity in the Troilus about whom the Narrator has much to say is Fortuna, and she too is presented by him as an active agent in the poem, shaping the events in which the characters act. Thus it is the Narrator who tells us that the fighting went as is typical in war, with each side sometimes winning and sometimes losing -- as Fortuna arranged: "and thus Fortune on loft/ And under eft, gan hem to whielen bothe,/ Aftir hir course" (I, 134-40). It is the Narrator who tells us that shortly after the first tryst, Troilus was warned to meet Criseyde again, "for that Fortune it wold" (III, 1667-72), and that "thus Fortune a tyme ledde in joie" the two lovers (III, 1714-5). And it is also Fortuna, we are told by the Narrator, who broke up the affair (IV, 1-4) and did so quite cruelly, for he says that she intended to "jape" Troilus (V, 1133-4), that "Fortune his howve entended bet to glaze!" (V, 468-9) and that although Troilus fought Diomedes fiercely, their battles remained inconclusive because Fortuna did not wish that they should kill each other (V, 1761-4). It is worth noting that the Narrator has some comments to make on Fortuna's nature and reign in this world. Book IV begins:

But al to litel, weylawey the whyle,

Lasteth swich joie, ythonked be Fortune,
 That semeth trewest whan she wol bygyle,
 And kan to fooles so hire song entune,
 That she hem hent and blent, traitour commune!
 And whan a wight is from hire whiel ythrowe,
 Than laugheth she, and maketh hym the mowe.

IV, 1-7

Similarly, the Narrator begins to close his story with:
 Gret was the sorwe and pleynte of Troilus;
 But forth hire course Fortune ay gan to holde...
 Swich is this world, whoso it kan byholde:
 In ech estat is litel hertes reste.
 God leve us for to take it for the beste!

V, 1744-50

These sorrowful acknowledgements of Fortuna's power,
 fickleness, and cruelty, and of our need to accept her
 decrees which we cannot alter or affect, are important
 because they do more than express a particular
 presentation of the figure of Fortuna: they endorse it;
 the Narrator makes these statements in his own person
 rather than letting the characters make them, and this
 brings the presentation of Fortuna out of pagan Troy
 somewhat, and into the medieval telling. It is in this
 context, too, that Fortuna's stewardship under God is
 presented. This occurs in two passages. In Book III,
 the Narrator addresses Fortuna as "executrice of
 wyrdes...under God ye ben oure hierdes" (III, 618-20), a
 sentiment echoed in,

Fortune, which that permutacioun
 Of thynges hath, as it is hire comitted
 Thorough perveyaunce and disposicioun
 Of heighe Jove, as regnes shal be flitted
 Fro folk in folk, or when they shal be smytte...

V, 1541-5

It is to be noted that it is the Narrator, not the Trojan
 characters, who here uses God and Jove interchangeably.

And it is significant that, again, these are statements by the Narrator, not the characters, and so present a viewpoint which is not easily categorizable as ancient pagan.

Cupid and Fortuna are not the only gods presented by the Narrator as real and active entities, though they are the major ones. There are references to the Fates as active agents in the opening lines of Book V, where the "fatal destyne" is committed to the "angry Parcas, sustren thre...to don execucion"; it is further added by the Narrator that Troilus will now be miserable until "Lachesis his thred no lenger twyne" (V, 1-7). It is to be noted that in this passage again it is Jove, not the Christian God, who is designated by the Christian Narrator as the all-powerful deity who commits to lower deities the execution of his dispensation. Other Narratorial ascriptions of activity to gods are his statement that Troilus' soul went "Ther Mercurye sorted hym to dwelle" (V, 1827) and that Fame reported throughout Troy about the exchange (IV, 659). Janus is another minor deity in the poem; and it is actually the Narrator who addresses him in describing Pandarus setting forth to woo Criseyde: "Now Janus, god of entree, thow hym gyde." (II, 77) Other legendary figures and deities who are used by the Narrator, though without being named as acting, are Mars (II, 628-30; III, 437-8), Procne (II,

64-70), Myrrha (IV, 1139), and Argus (IV, 1459). The reference in the "Lo here" stanza at the end also refers to Jove, Apollo and Mars as pagan deities, though not as gods whom the Narrator is addressing or ascribing action to. The Narrator can thus be said to name pagan gods and legends on quite a few occasions, and although he makes a number of quite emblematic usages, he often addresses and describes them as active agents.

Another group of Narratorial usages of gods implies active agency, though in a peculiarly qualified way, for it consists of invocations, mostly in Proems. Thus the Narrator, at the poem's beginning, begs Thesiphone, as "goddesse of torment...cruwel Furie, sorwynge evere yn peyne" to help him write the poem (I, 6-10). In Book II's Proem the Narrator invokes Cleo as "lady myn" and asks her to be "my Muse" (II, 6-7), and in Book III, quite similarly, he asks Calliope to let "thi vois be now present" (III, 45); in Book IV, where the lovers' joy turns to sorrow, it is the three Furies and Mars who are addressed and invoked by the Narrator for assistance in telling of Troilus' loss (IV, 22-8). The most extensive of these Narratorial addresses, however, are to Venus at the opening and closing of Book III. For the long and complex address to Venus as planet, goddess, and principle of divine love, already discussed, which opens

Book III, is entirely the Narrator's, and he concludes it by addressing Venus directly, asking her "for thi benig-nite" to show him her sweetness and teach him how to show the joy of her service (III, 39-44); only then is Cal-liope invoked as well. Further, and following Troilus' Boethian address to Love, the Narrator closes Book III with a second invocation of thanks and praise (III, 1807-13), where Venus, Cupid, and the Muses are again addressed by the Narrator as independent entities to whom he might logically pray and who might be thanked if they condescend to grant him their favor. These are peculiarly circumscribed usages, both in their formality and their appropriateness. For they occur as extremely formal and formulaic passages, so that a case could be made for these to be mere rhetorical ornamentation, rather than any kind of true prayer. And indeed, that such rhetorical decoration is within the Narrator's abilities and tendencies is seen clearly in his use of astronomical allusions.

A last set of Narratorial usages of gods is the astronomical/astrological group, for all the astronomical time-descriptions that use names of gods are in the Narrator's voice, and some of the most important astrological ones. It is the Narrator who uses "Whan Phebus doth his brighte bemes sprede,/ Right in the white bole" (II, 54-5) as a way of indicating springtime

(specifically May 3). Similar usages -- all by the Narrator -- are astronomical/planetary references mentioned above, such as Phebus shining on the "brest of Hercules lyoun" to mean summer (IV, 31-2); Phebus and Zephyrus being named in an extended paraphrase for the passage of three years (V, 8-14), and Phebus and Nysus' daughter being named in metaphors for sunrise (V, 279-80, 1107-10). Again, it is the Narrator who tells us of Criseyde's sunset, in which Phebus, Cynthia and the zodiac are used not only for the end of day and the end of the ten-day period of Criseyde's promise, but also to indicate Criseyde's passage away from faithfulness to Troilus (V, 1016-21). All of these passages use planetary deities to describe time and the passage of time, and do so in a formal and rhetorically high-style fashion. And, as with the invocations, they could be adequately explained simply as rhetorical ornamentation.

A somewhat different case is the Narrator's explicitly astrological references. He clearly states that part of Troilus' success in love was attributable to Venus' planetary influence (II, 680-6). It is the Narrator, too, who attributes the smoky rain that precipitates the climactic action to an astrological conjunction (III, 620-6). These usages by the Narrator are quite explicitly astrological and suggestive of

astrological determinism, or at least influence; and they are similar to statements and actions of the story's characters, such as Pandarus casting a horoscope, Criseyde describing herself as born in a cursed constellation, and Troilus' predestination soliloquy and its conclusions. The Narrator thus makes many deterministic statements; indeed, the majority of the poem's deterministic statements are his. But this fact ironically could be seen as undercutting rather than supporting a deterministic reading of the poem, for the Narrator is a figure whose evaluations are too unreliable to take as a guide. His self-contradictory evaluations of the love are one example of, and a strong argument for, his unreliability. But if he is unreliable there, his astrological and deterministic statements cannot be accepted at face value either. He provides a deterministic orientation for the poem, yet his orientation is not necessarily decisively correct.

To the extent that the Narrator's references to gods are rhetorically decorative, they fit his characterization as Artist, and can be explained as such without necessitating any recourse to further interpretation. To the extent that gods and astrological influence are named by the Narrator as real and active powers, however, they become difficult to ascribe to a member in good standing of a Catholic Church which generally insisted on human

free will. The astrological refernces may be explained as the Narrator's getting carried away with his involvement in the Trojan tale, but cannot very readily be described as Chaucer's own belief or attitude; on the contrary, they can better be seen as meshing with other ways in which the Narrator, through the inconsistencies and unreliabilities of his judgements and comments, is presented as a character, rather than as Chaucer the serious Christian poet himself. And the Narrator's deterministic suggestions too, however clear, are not unqualifiedly reliable.

The Narrator is characterized as a Christian through some explicitly Christian comments and statements, as well as the epilog in which his Christianity is overt and which we have some reason to take as a final and authoritative conclusion. But for the most part, his uses both of God and of the gods are of similar sort to those of the characters. He invokes and prays to various gods, ascribes active agency especially to Cupid and Fortuna, and openly ascribes to the planets influence outweighing human will. As artist, he does indeed use the gods for rhetorical embellishment, but he also prays to them in so many words. And his evaluative judgements on the affair are so inconsistent as to constitute no guide at all as to how we ought to judge the characters

or action. The conclusion to be drawn is that, while the Narrator's Christian statement in the epilog should probably be looked at separately from his statements in the body of the poem, his expressions in the poem's body cannot really be taken as essentially different from the characters'. The Narrator's uses of God and the gods, and the characters' uses, must be taken as one group.

conclusion

In this chapter I have attempted to sort out and categorize the various sorts of references to God and gods which appear in Troilus and Criseyde. I have found an enormous range of references to God, from quite casual oaths to urgently serious prayers and theologically accurate and significant statements, and have found that the different levels of seriousness tend to fade indistinguishably one into another. Consequently, since some of these are obviously significant, it is difficult to fix a point at which a group of them cease to be so, so that a number of critics have considered even the most casual oaths to be important. Thus none of the references to God can be ruled insignificant out-of-hand. Yet my brief investigation of contemporary literature has shown that a theologically serious work could include colloquial allusions to God that do not have any apparent significance; thus, even if the Troilus is aiming at a

serious conclusion and even if some of the references to God and Christian practice are significant, it is still not necessarily true that all are. We are left without guidance for determining which references to God and Christian practice are thematically significant and which are not, yet knowing that both possibilities exist for many references, and that our decision may be important in interpreting the poem.

The gods present a slightly different problem. Besides the question of whether a given reference to a god is casual or thematically important, which the gods share with allusions to God, there is the problem that in the fourteenth century they could be used in so many ways. In some medieval works their uses were simply emblematic (Venus' name as a synonym for sexual desire, for example), while in others they could be allegorical figures for universal qualities or even for aspects of God (as in Bernardus or Alanus, for instance). Furthermore, a given deity could, as an allegorical figure, mean different things: Athena could represent wisdom, or the active life, for example. Also, a god could be a euhemeric figure as well as an allegorical one, as in Macrobius' explanations of Saturn as both an early king of Italy and Chronos/Time. Each reference to a god in the Troilus must therefore be analyzed not only for whether

it is thematically significant or not, but also as to which of several possibilities its significance may involve.

Further, I have noted that the Narrator's usages of God and gods (outside of the epilog) are so similar to those of the characters that his allusions and evaluations must be considered on the same order as theirs. And while this means that his deterministic astrological references need not be taken as Chaucer's authoritative statements, they are certainly present, and must be given the same consideration as, for example, Criseyde's Boethian statements. And it means, in addition, that the complexity of the poem's references -- both as regards relative seriousness and as regards thematic implication -- cannot be alleviated by assigning some sorts of references to the Narrator and considering them more authoritative than those of Troilus, Pandarus, and Criseyde.

In reading the Troilus, we thus must deal with several questions regarding each of its religious allusions: is this one casual or significant? and if significant, which of several possible interpretations should it be given? And we must also bear in mind that complexity, multiple-meanings, and the resonance of using an allusion that could cut two or more ways, seems to have been common enough in medieval literature so that

there is always the possibility of finding, for any given reference, more than one valid answer to those questions. And the problem is compounded again by the fact that Chaucer, as I have tried to show, gave us no clues as to which interpretations we are to choose. By using many various allusions and degrees of seriousness in given speeches, without ever overtly pointing to how they should properly be read, and by giving us a Narrator whose overt evaluations are too inconsistent to take as a guide, Chaucer has consistently and, one suspects, carefully, set up a situation in which we must decide how to read the religious allusions without authorial help. About the only assistance we are given is the context of each reference. I have therefore asked many questions in this chapter rather than come to many conclusions. Chapter III will attempt to answer those questions in the only way that I believe we are given: by using the contexts and actual phrasings of the references to determine what meaning or meanings emerge from the accumulation of the poem's allusion to God, gods, Christian religion, and pagan myth.

Footnotes to Chapter II

1

Sister Mary Angelica Costello, "The Goddess and God in the Troilus," diss. Fordham Univ., 1962, pp. 57, 100, 110-3, 148, 154-5; D. W. Robertson, Jr., "Chaucerian Tragedy," ELH, 19 (1952), 1-37, rpt. in Chaucer Criticism, Vol. II: Troilus and Criseyde and the Minor Poems, ed. Richard J. Schoeck and Jerome Taylor, (Notre Dame, Ind.: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1961), pp. 106-7; Donald R. Howard, The Three Temptations: Medieval man in search of the world, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1966), p. 117; Mamie Hafner, "The Use of Religious Phraseology in Medieval Love Poetry: Provençal and French poems and Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde," diss. Univ. of Wisconsin, 1965, pp. 146-7, 162-5, 186-7. T. P. Dunning, in "God and Man in Troilus and Criseyde," in English and Medieval Studies Presented to J. R. R. Tolkien on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday, ed. Norman Davis and C. L. Wrenn, (London: Allen and Unwin, 1962), pp. 168-71, sees the exclamatory religious usages as having both a colloquial, medievalizing function and a serious one of suggesting religious values; while Bernice Grace Cofer, "Chaucer's Religious Consciousness in Troilus and Criseyde," masters thesis, Univ. of Washington, 1939, pp. 3, 117, feels these usages portray the poem's characters as members of polite medieval Christian society; Robert O. Payne, The Key of Remembrance: a study of Chaucer's Poetics, (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1963), pp. 202-7 also finds the characters' language to allow us readers to make a Christian evaluation of the tale, without requiring us to see the characters themselves as Christian or bound by Christian codes of conduct.

2

Sanford B. Meech, Design in Chaucer's Troilus, (Syracuse, 1959; rpt. New York: Greenwood Press, 1969), pp. 143-4, 215; Dorothy Everett, "Troilus and Criseyde," in Essays on Middle English Literature, ed. Patricia Kean, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), p. 131; John S. P. Tatlock, "The Epilog of Chaucer's Troilus," MP, 18 (1921), pp. 129-30; Robert Archibald Jelliffe, Troilus and Criseyde: Studies in Interpretation, (Tokyo, 1956; rpt. Norwood, Pa.: Norwood Editions, 1975), p. 116; Morton W. Bloomfield, "Distance and Predestination in Troilus and Criseyde," PMLA, 72 (1957), 14-26; rpt. in Chaucer Criticism, Vol. II, ed. Schoeck and Taylor, op. cit., p. 210. Dodd and Kirby both see the religious usages as part of the familiar, medieval, secular courtly love material: William George Dodd, Courtly Love in Chaucer and Gower, Harvard Studies in English, 1 (Milford, 1913; rpt. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith,

1959), pp. 190-208, and Thomas A. Kirby, Chaucer's Troilus: a study in courtly love, (University, Louisiana, 1940; rpt. Gloucester, mass.: Peter Smith, 1958), pp. 141, 211. Costello, while seeing the religious-exclamatory usages mainly as Christian allusion, also recognizes their effect of making the characters' speech colloquial and familiar, op. cit., pp. 97-8, 200.

3

Rossel Hope Robbins, ed., Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), #6, p. 5, ll. 5-6. This book will subsequently be referred to as "Robbins, Secular".

4

Ibid., #13, refrain.

5

Ibid., #11.

6

Ibid., #1, ll. 6, 21.

7

Robbins, ed., Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries, (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1959), #32, pp. 91-2. This book will subsequently be referred to as "Robbins, Historical".

8

Robbins, Secular, op. cit., #24, refrain, ll. 11-2.

9

Ibid., #26, l. 1.

10

Ibid., #22, refrain, ll. 15-6, 21-2.

11

Ibid., #146, ll. 3-4.

12

Ibid., #149, l. 6.

13

Carleton Brown, ed., English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953, c. 1932), #77, ll. 9-10, etc. This book will subsequently be referred to as "Brown -- XIIIth".

14

Maxwell S. Luria and Richard L. Hoffman, eds., Middle English Lyrics, a Norton Critical Edition, (New York: Norton, 1974), #29, pp. 25-6, ll. 58-9, 82-4.

15

Robbins, Secular, op. cit., #27.

16

Ibid., #185.

17

Brown, XIIIth, op. cit., #91, ll. 1-2, 7-8, etc.

18

Ibid., #90, ll. 1-2, 7-8, etc.

- 19
Ibid., #1.
- 20
Brown, ed., Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952, c. 1939), #48, ll. 14, 25-6.
- 21
Ibid., #46, l. 1-2, 19-21, 25-7.
- 22
Brown, XIIIth, op. cit., #76, ll. 25, 35-6, 41.
- 23
Robbins, Secular, op. cit., #131, ll. 6, 30.
- 24
Brown, XIIIth, op. cit., #83.
- 25
Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, ed. by J. R. R. Tolkien and E. V. Gordon; 2d. ed., ed. by Norman Davis, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967, rpt. 1972), l. 256.
Subsequent references to SGGK will be made in the text.
- 26
For a discussion of how the Troilus depicts medieval English society, see Barry Windeatt, "Love That Oughte Ben Secree" in Chaucer's Troilus, ChauR 14 (1979-80), pp. 116-31.
- 27
William Langland, Piers Plowman: The B Version: Will's visions of Piers Plowman, Do-Well, Do-Better and Do-Best (from Trinity Coll. Camb. Ms B.15.17), ed. George Kane and E. Talbot Donaldson, (London: Athlone, 1975), p. 255, Passus II, ll. 2-3. Subsequent citations in the text.
- 28
F. N. Robinson, ed., The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, 2d ed., (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1957), pp. 815-6 (note on Troilus and Criseyde, I, 464).
- 29
Meech, Design, op. cit., pp. 207, 266-7; and his "Figurative Contrasts in Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde," in English Institute Essays - 1950, ed. Alan S. Downer, (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1951), p. 71; Michael E. Cotton, "The Artistic Integrity of Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde," ChauR, 7 (1972), pp. 40-2; Joseph J. Mogan, Jr., Chaucer and the Theme of Mutability, De Proprietatibus Litterarum, Series Practica, 3, (The Hague: Mouton, 1969), pp. 122-6; A. Leigh DeNeef, "Robertson and the Critics," ChauR, 2 (1967-8), pp. 225, 227; Peggy A. Knapp, "The Nature of Nature: Criseyde's 'slydyng Corage'," ChauR, 13 (1978-9), p. 137; Buford Scrivner, Jr., "Chaucer's Early Poetry: A Study of Imagery in Relation to Theme and Structure," diss., Florida State Univ., 1972, pp. 200, 206-8; Sister Anne

Barbara Gill, Paradoxical Patterns in Chaucer's Troilus: An Explanation of the Palinode, (Washington, D. C.: The Catholic Univ. of America Press, 1960), p. 83; Cofer, op. cit., p. 63.

30

Eugene Edward Slaughter, Virtue According to Love -- in Chaucer, (New York: Bookman Associates, 1957), foreword, pp. 1-28, 157-85; and his "Love and Grace in Chaucer's Troilus," in Essays in Honor of Walter Clyde Curry, (Nashville, Tenn.: Vanderbilt Univ. Press, 1954), p. 61.

31

Joseph E. Gallagher, "Theology and Intention in Chaucer's Troilus," ChauR, 7 (1972), pp. 44-66; Alexander J. Denomy, "The Two Moralities of Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde," in Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 44, Ser. III, sec. 2 (1950), 35-46, rpt. in Chaucer Criticism, Vol. II, ed. Schoeck and Taylor, op. cit.. Also, George Lyman Kittredge, Chaucer and his Poetry, (1915; rpt. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1967), p. 136; Howard Rollin Patch, On Rereading Chaucer, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1939), p. 74; Howard, Three Temptations, op. cit., p. 81.

32

Mogan, op. cit., pp. 126-7; Peter Dronke, "The Conclusion of Troilus and Criseyde," M AE, 33 (1964), pp. 50-1; Diane Gray Kurtz, "The Significance of the Tradition of Nature in Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde," diss., Univ. of Illinois, 1975, pp. 173-6. See also notes 32 and 33 below.

33

Peter Heidtmann, "Sex and Salvation in Troilus and Criseyde," ChauR, 2 (1967-8), pp. 250-1; John Speirs, "Troilus and Criseyde," in his Chaucer the Maker, (London: Faber and Faber, 1951), p. 66; Elizabeth Salter, "Troilus and Criseyde: A Reconsideration," in Patterns of Love and Courtesy: Essays in Memory of C. S. Lewis, ed. John Lawlor, (London: Edward Arnold, 1966), pp. 97-8, 101-3; Dronke, op. cit., pp. 50-1; Knapp, op. cit., p. 136; Kemp Malone, Chapters on Chaucer, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1951), pp. 110, 119; Dunning, op. cit., pp. 174-6. David and Rowe make arguments in which validation of the love by the religious language is implied: Alfred David, The Strumpet Muse: art and morals in Chaucer's poetry, (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1976), pp. 31-5; Donald W. Rowe, O Love! O Charite! Contraries Harmonized in Chaucer's Troilus, (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1976), pp. 106-8. Also, Slaughter suggests that the religious language extenuates and validates the

love temporarily, "Love and Grace," op. cit., pp. 61-76.

34

Hafner, op. cit., pp. 16-8, 162-74, 186-7; Ida L. Gordon, The Double Sorrow of Troilus: a study of ambiguities in Troilus and Criseyde, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), pp. 12-4; John P. McCall, "Classical Myth in Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde: An Aspect of the Classical Tradition in the Middle Ages," diss. Princeton Univ., 1955, pp. 165-6; Costello, op. cit., pp. 115, 147; Robertson, "Chaucerian Tragedy," op. cit., pp. 106-7; Tony Millns, "Chaucer's Suspended Judgements," ELC, 27 (1977), pp. 4, 8. Gill, op. cit., pp. 28-9 suggests that Boethian language has this effect by subjecting the tale to the light of Boethian values; Payne, op. cit., pp. 313-4, less specifically considers that the interruptions in the narrative at the consummation keep us on the outside looking in, and therefore judging and evaluating the action.

35

Mogan, op. cit., pp. 139-40; P. M. Kean, "Chaucer's Dealings with a Stanza of Il Filostrato and the Epilogue of Troilus and Criseyde," M AE, 33 (1964), pp. 36-45; John W. Conlee, "The Meaning of Troilus' Ascension to the Eighth Sphere," ChauR, 7 (1972), p. 27; Gordon, op. cit., pp. 68-9.

36

Mogan, op. cit., p. 117; Bernard L. Jefferson, Chaucer and the Consolation of Philosophy of Boethius, (1917; rpt. New York: Gordian Press, 1968); Willard Farnham, The Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1963), pp. 137-60; Theodore A. Stroud, "Boethius' Influence on Chaucer's Troilus," MP, 49 (1951-2), 1-9, rpt. in Chaucer Criticism, Vol. II, ed. Schoeck and Taylor, op. cit.; Robertson, "Chaucerian Tragedy," op. cit., pp. 86-93; Robert P. apRoberts, "The Boethian God and the Audience of the Troilus," JEGP, 69 (1970); Gill, op. cit., pp. 26-39; Robert Newland Shorter, "Boethian Philosophy as the Informing Principle in Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde," diss., Duke Univ., 1964; Pasquale Di Pasquale, Jr., "'Sikernessee' and Fortune in Troilus and Criseyde," PQ, 49 (1970); Kean, "Chaucer's Dealings With a Stanza..." op. cit.; Jean Lorrah, "The 'Present Eternite' of Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde," diss. Florida State Univ., 1968; Charles A. Owen, Jr., "The Problem of Free Will in Chaucer's Narratives," PQ, 46 (1967), pp. 439-49; Peter Elbow, Oppositions in Chaucer, (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan Univ. Press, 1973), pp. 13, 49.

37

Meech, Design, op. cit., pp. 143, 215; Vincent August Lopresti, "Chaucer's Treatment of the Gods in

Relation to Source, Analogue, and Tradition," diss. Univ. of Wisconsin, 1966, pp. 138, 155, 189; Daniel C. Boughner, "Elements of Epic Grandeur in the Troilus," ELH, 6 (1939), 200-10; rpt. in Chaucer Criticism, Vol. II, ed. Schoeck and Taylor, op. cit., pp. 191-2; Tatlock, "Epilogue" op. cit., pp. 134, 144; George Joseph Sommer, "The Narrator of the Troilus and Criseyde: A Study of the Prohemia and Epilogue," diss., Fordham Univ., 1963, pp. 93-4; McCall, "Classical Myth..." op. cit., p. 259, and his Chaucer Among the Gods: The Poetics of Classical Myth, (University Park, [Penn.]: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 1979), p.22.

38

Barbara Apstein, "Chaucer and the Gods," diss. City Univ. of New York, 1971, pp. 113-4; Boughner, op. cit., pp. 191-2; Malone, op. cit., pp. 110-9; Lopresti, op. cit., pp. 138-54, 189; Allen C. Koretsky, "Chaucer's Use of the Apostrophe in Troilus and Criseyde," ChauR, 4 (1969-70), p. 247; Payne, op. cit., pp. 189-206 (on levels of style in the lyrical passages).

39

Rose A. Zimbardo, "Creator and Created: the Generic Perspective of Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde," ChauR, 11 (1976-7), pp. 286-94; Elbow, op. cit., pp. 140-1; Martin Stevens, "The Winds of Fortune in the Troilus," ChauR, 13 (1978-9), p. 297; Rowe, op. cit., pp. 88-90.

40

Lopresti, op. cit., pp. 144, 159-60.

41

Robinson, ed., Works of Chaucer, op. cit., p. 823, note to Troilus and Criseyde, II, ll. 39-42.

42

For example, Bede, following Augustine, Jerome, and Pope Gregory I, wrote De schematibus et tropis, using examples solely from Scripture and discussing allegory as a trope, c. f. pp. 96-122 in Readings in Medieval Rhetoric, ed. Joseph M. Miller, Michael Prosser, Thomas W. Benson, (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1973), esp. pp. 96, 101, 116-21; Guibert de Nogent, "The Way A Sermon Ought To Be Given," pp. 162-81 in Readings in Medieval Rhetoric, Ibid., esp. pp. 170-77.

43

Saint Augustine, On Christian Doctrine, tr. with introd. by D. W. Robertson, Jr., The Library of Liberal Arts, (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1958), pp. 37-8, Bk. 2, VI. Subsequent references to De Doctrina will be made in the text.

44

Ibid., p. 103, Bk. 3, XXIX; see pp. 124-31, Bk. 4, VII for Augustine's analysis of Scriptural rhetorical tropes

45

Marcus Tullius Cicero, "Scipio's Dream," pp. 67-77 in Macrobius, Commentary on the Dream of Scipio, tr. with introd. and notes by William Harris Stahl, (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1952), pp. 71-2. Hereafter cited within the text.

46

Macrobius, Commentary on the Dream of Scipio, in Stahl, ed., Ibid., p. 85. Hereafter cited within the text.

47

Macrobius, The Saturnalia, tr. with introd. and notes by Percival Vaughan Davies, (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1969), pp. 58-60. Hereafter cited within the text.

48

Martianus Capella, Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts, Vol. II: The Marriage of Philology and Mercury, tr. by William Harris Stahl and Richard Johnson, with E. L. Burge, (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1977), p. 6. Hereafter cited within the text.

49

Fulgentius the Mythographer, "The Exposition of the Content of Virgil," in Fulgentius the Mythographer, tr. with introd. by Leslie George Whitbread, (Ohio: Ohio State Univ. Press, 1971), pp. 103-159.

50

Fulgentius, "On the Thebaid," in Fulgentius the Mythographer, ed. Whitbread, op. cit., pp. 233-44.

51

Fulgentius, "The Mythologies," pp. 13-102 in Fulgentius the Mythographer, ed. Whitbread, op. cit., pp. 51-2. Hereafter cited within the text.

52

Geoffrey de Vinsauf, The New Poetics, pp. 27-108 in Three Medieval Rhetorical Arts, ed. James J. Murphy, (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1971), pp. 39-41. Hereafter cited within the text.

53

Giovanni Boccaccio, Boccaccio on Poetry, Being the Preface and the fourteenth and fifteenth books of Boccaccio's Genealogia Deorum Gentilium, tr. with introd. and commentary by Charles G. Osgood, The Library of Liberal Arts, (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1956), pp. 121-2. Hereafter cited within the text.

54

Boccaccio, The Book of Theseus: Teseida delle Nozze d'Emilia, tr. Bernadette Marie McCoy, (New York: Medieval Text Association, 1974), pp. 19-20. Hereafter cited within the text.

Dante Alighieri, Divina Comedia, tr. John Ciardi. Vol. I. The Inferno; Vol. II. The Purgatorio; Vol. III. The Paradiso. Mentor Classics edition, (New York: The New American Library, 1954, 1957, 1961). Hereafter cited within the text.

56Chauncey Wood, Chaucer and the Country of the Stars: poetic uses of astrological imagery (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1970), pp. 21-30, as well as Gertrude M. Jurschax, "Chaucer and Fourteenth Century English Thought," unpub. diss., Loyola Univ. (DAI 33) document the Church's doctrine on human free will up to and in the fourteenth century; apRoberts, "The Boethian God..." op. cit. and his "The Central Episode in Chaucer's Troilus," PMLA, 77 (1962), 373-85, as well as Owen, "The Problem of Free Will..." op. cit. and Lorrah, op. cit. show how Boethius reconciled God's providential ordering with human free will, in relation to the Troilus.

CHAPTER III
THE RELIGIOUS ALLUSIONS IN CONTEXT:
A LINEAR ANALYSIS OF THEIR APPEARANCES IN
TROILUS AND CRISEYDE

In Chapters I and II, I have examined the various kinds of references to deities and religion in Chaucer's Troilus, and have found the gods, religious language, and the naming of God to occur in many forms in the poem,, and to be potentially performing a variety of functions. Religious allusions could provide colloquial/medieval setting and cultural context, ancient pagan setting, Christian Boethian outlook and philosophy, courtly love context and attitudes, characterization, commentary on the action and characters, and/or positive or negative value on the love affair which the poem depicts. Further, I have described multiple meanings of many of the gods, and found a real possibility that a given reference may perform multiple functions.

It is still necessary to examine the poem itself, and I shall do so by taking these references more or less linearly, in something like the order that we meet them when reading the Troilus through. For examining references to each given deity in turn does not readily show how that deity's possible functions relate to the appearances and functions of the other religious references that each is interspersed among, while looking

at the religious usages of each character in turn will not give a proper sense of the poem's actual juxtaposition of the various religious allusions. Only by examining them in the context of their textual order will we reach a sense of how the possible uses and meanings of these passages are modified or constrained by their contexts, while also revealing how their meanings and functions accumulate and interact through the course of the Troilus to produce its idea(s) and theme(s).

i
Book I

The Proem which constitutes the first fifty-six lines of Book I of Troilus and Criseyde introduces several important themes -- and it does so by way of a variety of religious references.

The first of these themes is the sorrow and joy of love, which opens and also closes the proem: "The double sorwe of Troilus to tellen" (I,1) is echoed by l. 54's "in which ye may the double sorwes here." Love's joy is given its due in the address to "loveres, that bathen in gladness" (I, 22) and the reference to Love bringing lovers "in hevne to solas" (I, 31), and in the hope that "God" will grant successful lovers the power to continue their success "That it to Love be worship and pleasaunce" (I, 43-5). Yet love's potential for woe is emphasized

when the Fury Thesiphone is invoked as a suitably dreary companion for the telling of Troilus' story (I, 6-14), when the idea is stated that even successful lovers can by right be expected to have felt some "hevynesse" before achieving satisfaction (I, 24-8), and when it is considered likely that some lovers are permanently out of favor and so miserable as a result that passing out of this world would be an appropriate mercy for them (I, 36-42). Love's woe as well as its joy is one theme immediately announced, and described through the use of the god of Love, God, and Thesiphone.

Secondly, further consideration of these three deities reveals the presence and interaction of both ancient and contemporary, Christian and courtly-love ambiances. The poem's first lines establish the time and place as Troy during its War, complete with Thesiphone and Love as gods of that setting. But then the Narrator appropriates to himself the title of the servant of the God of Love's servants, a paraphrase of the Pope's real-life title of "servum servorum dei"; and the Christian allusion is a counternote to the Trojan pagan setting that Thesiphone, and the naming of Love as a god, have begun to create. There are several possible functions of this counter-note. It may be meant to be taken ironically, as the first of many subtle reminders Christianity

(and, some would say, by implication of right Christian values -- as I observed in section iv of my chapter I, and documented in footnotes 160-163 to that chapter); or it may begin the establishment of a courtly-love ethos that uses Christian religious language in telling a human story apart from any strict adherence to formal religious orthodoxy; or it may function to comprehend and establish Cupid as a powerful deity in the pagan time and place of the tale, transposing to ancient Troy the language familiar to fourteenth century English Christians, simply to make the story real and immediate to its audience. This counter-note of fourteenth century Christianity and its attendant values is continued by the bidding prayer format of lines 22-46 and by the Narrator's statement that he hopes to advance his soul, and that living in charity is one way he plans to accomplish this advancement (I, 47-9). Yet the courtly-love context is reinforced by the fact that this is a tale of a lover and his "aventures in lovyng;" by the address to happy lovers; by the Narrator's desire to help lovers and his intention to pray for Love's help despite his own unlikeliness for loving; and by the assumption of courtly-love values in the way love's joy and woe are focussed on and granted ultimate importance. The idea of "Love's grace" (I, 42) rather confuses than illuminates the question of whether a Christian or a courtly-love outlook is being

created. And while Love could be the courtly-love deity, the idea of a love god joins with the invocation to Thesiphone as an entity who might assist the Narrator, to suggest a setting in which the pagan pantheon is operative. Proem I's deities thus help establish both time-appropriate and anachronistic possibilities, a Christian ethos as potentially present, and a courtly one. These possibilities are intertwined rather than separate: we can see them all there but cannot distinguish at this point how to assess them.

The question of whether these usages of deities give the love positive or negative value is a third thematic thread introduced in the Proem. Thesiphone, with her cruelty and eternal sorrow, and the "woful vers, that wepen as I write", strongly reinforce the first line's suggestion of love's woe. The God of Love too is approached by the Narrator as dangerous, even wrathful (I, 15-18), well able to "displese" his devotees (I, 25-8), some of whom "nevere nyl recovered be" (I, 37). And the Narrator seeks the ability to write of Love's folks' "peyne and wo" (I, 34) despite danger to himself from the god. The impression of love's unfortunate/unhappy aspects is reconfirmed by line 56, which "gives away" that Criseyde forsook Troilus "er she deyde." And yet it is the Narrator's stated hope to "don gladnesse/ To any

lovere" and his belief that being able to do so will repay the work of writing (I, 19-21). The possibility of success in love is implied, and indicated to be worthwhile, in recruiting happy lovers to pray, apparently to God, for other lovers' success (I, 22-32), and also in the Narrator's implied endorsement of courtly love's values and attitudes throughout the Proem. The ideas of Love's grace, and of Love bringing lovers to solace in heaven (as a way of saying that Love gives them full success in their suits to their ladies), are examples of Christian phraseology applied to secular/courtly loving, and brings up the same question of whether Chaucer means us to see the love in the poem as desirable or miserable. In sum, both possibilities -- of either positive or negative value on love -- are suggested by Proem I through its uses of gods and Christian allusions.

Proem I thus introduces the God of Love and the pagan Thesiphone and the Christian God; ideas of love's sorrow and its joy; and the possibilities of a courtly-love ethos in the poem, of a Christian perspective in the poem, of a colloquially presented ancient setting. And these possibilities are rather blended together than clearly distinguished: Chaucer seems to be using his allusions rather to open up possible attitudes towards his "matere" than to prescribe any.

Advancing to the body of Book I, we find several

varied references to gods and also two large and important groups of references: those to the God of Love, and those that allude to or parallel Christian practice.

Besides two important references to Fortuna and two infernal references, which will be considered in the next section of this chapter, several passages name one god or another. A reference to "blisful Venus" is appropriate in that Troilus calls for her aid when, with Pandarus' help, he fully commits himself to loving Criseyde (I, 1014). Jove, on the other hand, is exclaimed by rather casually by Pandarus (I, 877-8), without being more appropriate at that point than any other deity. Natura is mentioned by the Narrator in regard to Criseyde's beauty, which is described as heavenlike, as if she were sent down "in scornynge of nature" (I, 1012-5); it is this passage which begins whatever identification Criseyde might have with that benign yet constrained-to-this-world goddess. Phebus Apollo is mentioned twice, both times as a god (rather than a planet): he is Calkas' deity who reveals to that "gret devyne" that Troy will fall (I, 66-72), and the founder of medicine who could not cure himself of love (I, 659-65). This latter usage ties in with what will be observed below about Love in Book I. Finally, though in fact neither last nor least, there is the festival of Palladion with its ambi-

guous presentation. Palladion is clearly one among the religious entities that the Trojans honor (I, 150-3), and the feast is significant as the festive springtime setting in which Troilus first falls in love with Criseyde. In this sense it is part of the Trojan setting. Yet it is also suggestive of a fourteenth century cultural context, for Palladion is described as a "relik" (I, 153) which is worshipped in a temple "servyse" (I, 161-2, 315-7). Because of this, as well as the timing in Spring (I, 156-7), and the great importance of this celebration to the Trojans, Chaucer to a certain extent describes the feast of Palladion with details that make it approximate Easter, the important springtime religious feast which his audience knew firsthand, and this somewhat colloquializes it to a Christian cultural context. To the extent that doing so might imply a Christian outlook in the poem, we must note its appearance here -- yet without forgetting that the cultural accommodation could also be no more than Chaucer's way of bringing that distant past alive for his audience.

The several minor references to deities in Book I can therefore (with a very few exceptions to be considered below) mainly be said to correspond rather unexceptionally with the Trojan setting. Beyond this, they are part of introducing the natural world into the matter of the poem, both by mentioning Natura in association with

Criseyde, and by the feast of Palladion being involved in a description of Spring (I, 155-8). References to Christian practice and to Love are both more extensive and more important.

The largest single group of religious references in Book I consists of colloquial language. As I discussed in Chapter II, there are basically two functions these usages could serve. They could be simply colloquial, bringing the characters alive for and accessible to Chaucer's fourteenth century audience, and as such supporting a secular (either courtly-love or anachronistic pagan) ambience in the poem; or they could be adding to the text some background awareness of the Christian culture that they are colloquialisms of, and of its values. And it is relatively easy to see how colloquial references could function simply as furnishing cultural familiarity; for while they derive from a Christian culture they do not emphasize or direct any focus onto Christian attitudes, but tend rather to be casual than consciously significant in tone. There are, however, a couple of suggestions of negative value on the love, and some expressions which are too remarkably suggestive of Christian context to ignore, all of which would be more compatible with a Christian understanding in the poem. One such note occurs when Troilus worries that Criseyde

will not hear of love from her uncle, of all people (I, 1021-2), implying that fin amour is not really in accord with proper moral principles. The other such note is Pandarus' blithe statement that, of the two kinds of love -- "Celestiall, or elles love of kynde" (I, 979) -- Criseyde is fit for the latter and not the former; this again suggests a theologically proper alternative to the form of love Pandarus supports, even as he denies it. Furthermore, words like "grace", though they may be attached to courtly love, are originally religious language, and can blend into passages such as Pandarus' questioning of Troilus as to whether he has "som remors of conscience" (I, 553-60), thus using language which might suggest to a Christian audience a sense of penitence for sins such as Christianity understood and described. And as Book I continues, we find some pretty clear allusions to Christian ritual applied to the worship of the god of Love.

Two notable passages in Book I use suggestions of Christian penitence, confession, and absolution in the matter of Troilus' offense against Cupid. The first immediately follows Troilus' first song, in which he acknowledges that he loves. He continues from this acknowledgement with a prayer to "the God of Love": "with pitous vois, 'O lord, now youres is/ My spirit, which that oughte youres be./ Yow thank I, lord, that

han me brought to this...'" (I, 422-4). The fact that the rest of this speech expresses purely courtly-love ideas does not obscure the Christian-like humility and repentance Troilus expresses in this prayer to his new-found god. Nor is this all. Pandarus, after teasingly reproaching Troilus for his previous condemnation of Love and lovers, admonishes him to sincerely ask the God of Love for grace and forgiveness because he (Troilus) now repents his prior statements (I, 932-5); Troilus assents and adds his own promise not to err in this way again (I, 936-8); and Pandarus then pronounces absolution:

'Thow seist wel,' quod Pandare, 'and now I hope
 That thow the goddes wrathe hast al apesed;
 And sithen thow hast wopen many a drope,
 And seyde swych thyng wherwith thi god is plesed,
 Now wolde nevere god but thow were esed!
 And thynk wel, she of whom rist al thi wo
 Hereafter may thy comfort be also. I, 939-45

Despite Pandarus' jesting, and Troilus' slightly beleagured, tones in this passage, there is a parallel to the rites of the Catholic confessional too clear to be missed. If Chaucer is presenting the religious-parallel aspect of courtly love as a form of pagan religion, as has been suggested,¹ an interpretation of the poem as presenting a secular love story may still be maintained. But the intrusion of Christianallusion of this kind cannot be completely ignored. We must account for it, whether we do so by stating that Chaucer is using Christian practice to insist on a high seriousness (and

consequent moral acceptability) in the pagan/secular love, or by declaring that he is using it to make Christian awareness overt in the poem and thus negate the love. Or, of course, both these statements may be true simultaneously: in poetical rhetoric that is what ambiguity means. In either case, the presence of Christian practice vis-a-vis Love is reinforced by several examples of religious language in relation to the god. Pandarus is amazed that Troilus has been granted "thus fayr a grace" (I, 908; see also I, 896, 1005) as to love a worthy lady, after the way he had scorned Love; "convert" is used for becoming able to love by both the Narrator (I, 308) and Pandarus (I, 999, 1004); Troilus leaves the temple "repentyng" of having mocked lovers. This is all certainly part of the phenomenon of religious phraseology being applied to courtly love; and true to the frequent ambiguity of that phenomenon, it does function to reinforce whatever other suggestions of Christianity the poem makes, even while supporting the presence of courtly love therein.

There is thus enough suggestion of Christianity, Christian practice, and the Christian God in Book I to require that it be accounted for in any valid reading of the poem. Whether this tissue of Christian allusion ultimately praises and/or criticizes the love which the poem depicts, however, is not yet clear in Book I.

Troilus' love, however, is clearly presented as courtly in Book I, and another major group of religious allusions there are to Love as the courtly deity. The God of Love is characterized as irresistible (I, 234-8; 603-4), as dwelling in Criseyde's eyes (I, 304-5; 428), as a bow-wielder (I, 206-10), and as the ordainer of who will love whom (I, 967-9, for example) and of how lovers will fare in their suits (I, 514-8, for example), as well as a giver of pains and joy to his servants. Troilus' adoration of his lady as one who might as easily be a goddess as a human (I, 425-7), and the Narrator's description of love as ennobling Troilus and giving him increased prowess in battle (I, 239-54, 1072-85), are also part of the presentation of Troilus' love as courtly. The presence of the courtly-love ethos in the poem is of course part of a secular or, possibly, ancient pagan, context; it is necessary to note that this pattern is clearly and strongly present. And it is presented not just as a pattern of actions, speeches, and attitudes, but also as involving a deity who can or should be worshipped just as the more traditional pagan gods like Venus and Apollo are.

Further, we must take into consideration here the Narrator's commentary on the god. Besides his diffident attitude in the Proem, discussed above, the Narrator

makes one very brief comment in Book I, and one very lengthy encomium. The negative comment is to tell us, regarding Troilus, that "In hym ne deynd spare blood roial/ The fyr of love -- the wherfro God me blesse--" (I, 435--6). Since this comes in the middle of portraying Troilus' initial wretchedness it is hard to tell whether the statement is seriously meant or merely a comment on Troilus' misery at that point; and even if serious it is still not clear whether the Narrator wants to avoid love because it is a torment or because it is wrong. His positive statement, in contrast, is some 35 lines in length, and gives lots of reasons for advocating love and the rule of its god: not just its irresistibility, but its participation with Natura's benign rule (the "lawe of kynde") as well, and in addition the authority of "alderwisest" who "han therwith ben plesed", and love's ennobling nature (I, 225-259). In this passage, again, the god is praised clearly as the courtly-love deity, whether courtly love is part of a secular/colloquial or an ancient pagan setting.

We may say, then that the God of Love, who could have been simply the pagan Cupid, appears in Book I as the courtly love deity and part of the poem's use of that secular "Frauendienst" which Lewis considered quite separable from Christianity and its theologically proper dicta.³ The religious phraseology which Book I reveals

in connection with courtly love and its god could also be considered in that light. Reading these manifestations in this way would require taking Christianity-suggesting and colloquial language solely as familiar colloquialisms and no more, and would indicate an interpretation of the poem as essentially secular in its point. Yet there are demonstrably present a great many uses of God and of religious language which do derive from Christian religion, and they tie in with strong implications of Christian rites and practices: there is a bit much Christian ambience in Book I to discount entirely. And if these references are acknowledged to be in some way Christian, they must be seen as presenting a counter-theme to the love which the poem depicts -- unless they can be consciously included and subsumed into an interpretation which praises that love. Finally, the presence of some other deities and religious allusions must be remembered and included in any complete reading of the poem, for they are the major factor in setting a Trojan, pagan scene into which Love might possibly fit as a god among other gods. And it is also to be noted that throughout Book I, as in the Proem, the God of Love and the suggestions and namings of the Christian God are intertwined; in the body of Book I even more than in its Proem, a whole set of references -- the group of religious expres-

sions which are applied to Love -- have the potential to point either way. Proem I, with its various religious references that suggest God, pagan Troy, and courtly Love, in such fashion as to intermingle and confuse them rather than differentiate or analyze or evaluate them, is found upon examination to have set the pattern for Book I as a whole.

ii
Book II

Book II opens with an invocation to Cleo, and a discussion of the problems of writing history, an immediate indication that problems of anachronism and historical distance must be considered in an analysis of the poem at this point. Minor deities and legends, including the subcategory of infernal references, will also be dealt with in the consideration of the Troilus through Book II. Colloquial language in this book is extensive, and the problem of its use here must be considered and related to its function(s) in Book I. Finally, it is in Book II that outright Boethian material begins to make an appearance, and this must be analyzed here as well.

The main thrust of Proem II is the Narrator's discussion of what he is doing, and his excuses for presenting his material as he does. After announcing that Book II will treat "of hope the kalendes" (II, 1-7, quote l. 7),

he calls on the Muse Cleo -- the muse of history -- not to inspire his creativity but to aid his rhyming "out of Latyn" (II, 8-14, quote l. 14). He continues to re-emphasize that he is not responsible for either the story or its characters' conduct (II, 15-21), elaborating at length on the differences between customs in different times and cultures (II, 22-42), and indeed, between individual styles of conduct (II, 43-8). It is to be noted that he makes these statements very specifically: "In sondry londres, sondry ben usages" (II, 28); and though a listening lover might wonder at Troilus' conduct (II, 30-4), he must accept that "ech contree hath his lawes" (II, 42). It is important to observe the clarity with which the Narrator perceives and explains the distinctions between how an ancient Trojan might conduct himself, and how a fourteenth century contemporary might think and act, because the idea established here that the Narrator is merely retelling an old tale is repeated several times in Books I and II -- yet it is in opposition to several highly anachronistic manifestations, as well as to the anachronistically Christian-oriented colloquial speech.

The first instance of the Narrator discussing what he is doing in telling this tale comes early in Book I, when he disclaims any intention to deal with the whole of the Trojan war, recommending interested readers to look

it up "in Omer, or in Dares, or in Dite" (I, 146). Again in Book I, a whole stanza is devoted to a discussion of how the first Canticus Troili is translated verbatim from "my auctour called Lollius" (I, 393-9). It actually, of course, translates a Petrarchan sonnet that has no particular relationship to the Troy story; this and the fictionality of a Latin-writing Lollius (as opposed to the real and unnamed Italian-using Boccaccio) is, I suspect, part of Chaucer's effort to create a Narrator who is obviously working to establish himself as a mere humble translator of an old story about a far time and place. This work is consolidated by Proem II, and reinforced when the Narrator offers to enlighten us concerning Criseyde, with "And what she thoughte, somewhat shal I write,/ As to myn auctour listeth for t'endite." (II, 699-700). It is further expanded when he discusses his narratorial strategies in bypassing some of the business of the arrival of Deiphebus' guests with, "But fle we now prolixitee best is,/ ...and lat us faste go/ Right to th'effect" (II, 1564-6), and when, after mentioning Criseyde's feelings, he declares, "But al passe I, lest ye to longe dwelle./ For for o fyn is al that evere I telle." (II, 1595-6). All these passages tend towards distancing the Narrator from his matter: he is not the contemporary of his audience inventing a story of his own for them, but a mere conveyer to them of twice-told

material over which he has little control; he can only humbly and inadequately follow previous tellers' declarations of what happened far in the historical past, in another time and place. This attitude of course served Chaucer in creating the Narrator as a quasi-character with discernible traits of helpless and slightly befuddled compassionate humanity; and this characterization allowed him the full expression of empathy for the characters and their plights. But it also creates, as Bloomfield, for example, pointed out,⁴ a distance both between teller and tale, and between audience and tale. The narratorial stance helps put the story itself in the past, in ancient pagan times, far away from the possibility of expressing or participating in Christian attitudes or values.

However, this clear function of the Narrator's stance as mere translator of distant events is complicated by his inclusion of anachronism in his telling. One form that anachronisms take is that of various single references to manifestations of medieval civilization. Thus when Pandarus arrives at Criseyde's home, she and some others are hearing what seems to be Statius' Thebaid read to them from a manuscript illuminated with red letters (II, 84, 100-8); Chaucer might have known that Statius postdated Troy by a considerable margin; in any

case the sense is of a contemporary medieval illuminated manuscript. On a different tack, in the same passage the Theban Amphiorax is described as a "bisshop", and attributing a Christian ecclesiastical office to a Theban is something which Chaucer should certainly have known was anachronistic. Other anachronisms are Pandarus' "Wo worth the faire gemme vertulees!" (II, 344) with its suggestion of medieval lapidary lore; and his thought that Criseyde's reluctance to go too far with Troilus "Shal nought be holden fully yeres two" (II, 1298) with its hint of a recognized two-year period of widowhood.⁵ Again, Troilus' shield being described as "todasshed... with swerdes and maces" and pierced with arrows "That thirled hadde horn and nerf and rynde" (II, 638-41) gives an impression of medieval more than of Trojan armaments. And finally, there are quite a few references to Troilus as a "knyght" (e.g., II, 331, 761; also II, 452 Pandarus as a knyght), and a leader of a band of young knights (I, 184, 191); the knight as such was of course an entirely medieval conception. And to these examples might be added Windeatt's analysis of the society that the poem is set in being represented as a medieval English one.⁶ Thus there are a number of Narratorial suggestions not of an ancient Trojan but of a contemporary medieval milieu.

The other group of peculiarly medieval suggestions consists of Book II's several statements of courtly love

ideas apart from deities. Thus Pandarus states that beauty without "routhe" is horrible (II, 336-50), and begs Criseyde to "lat youre daunger sucred ben a lite" (II, 384). The Narrator later speaks of Criseyde beginning to unfetter her heart "Out of desdaynes prison but a lite" (II, 1216-7), and Pandarus speaks of her wanting to keep "the forme of daunger" (II, 1243). Again, Troilus prays for Criseyde's grace and ruth (II, 1365) and his letter to her also recommends him to Criseyde's "grace" and humbly prays for her mercy (II, 1065-85); while Pandarus describes him as guiltlessly distressed (II, 1280) and speaks of imagining Criseyde's feelings in terms of Kynde and Daunger arguing (II, 1373-9). These terms, highly reminiscent as they are of medieval notions of courtly love, help establish the story as taking place in an atmosphere of medieval civilization.

If colloquial language in Book I began a process of closing distance, of making the characters sympathetic by depicting them as inhabiting the culture familiar to the poem's audience, then these anachronisms surely continue and assist that process. To what extent this means we are supposed to evaluate the characters in the light of medieval civilization's Christian values remains an open question. What can be remarked here is the internal opposition between Chaucer's distancing mechanism of

showing the Narrator as detached from the tale both in time and as regards control of his material, on the one hand, and the familiarizing and distance-closing mechanism of showing the characters acting in what is apparently a fourteenth century culture, on the other. This issue is important because the problem of whether we are supposed to judge Troilus' actions as those of a pagan from the past, or of a contemporary attuned to values which Chaucer's Christian audience could be expected to have, is involved in it. Problems of historicity and anachronism, of distance-opening and -closing between tale and audience, and of what values are to be used in judging the poem's matter, are indicated by the presence of Cleo, Muse of history.

Cleo is hardly the only pagan deity in Book II, however; indeed, there are considerably more references to various gods here than in Book I. Three references to Venus (one of them astrological), and Book II's two major references to the God of Love, I will leave for consideration in section iii of this chapter. But other references do need mention here. Book II, like Book I, has a couple of casual references to the major deity Jove. Like Pandarus' Book I oath reported above, they use Jove's name casually, as colloquial expressions. Helen's "Joves lat hym nevere thryve/ That doth yow harm" (II, 1607-8) could substitute any god's name -- or God's

-- with no significant alteration in meaning. And Pandarus' oath by Minerva, Jupiter and Venus (II, 232-7), though more extensive, is used by him to help elicit from Criseyde a statement of friendship and trust such that, again, any god(s) would do for him to swear by here. Another similarly casual usage is Pandarus' oath by Neptune, god of the sea, that he will starve himself if Criseyde doesn't listen to him tell about Troilus (II, 442). The impression left by such usages is of a setting in which various pagan deities are available to swear by or invoke, and this impression is further established by several other references. One of these is the Narrator's use of Phebus being in the Bull as an astronomical indication of the springtime season (II, 54-6). A rather different group of examples is the use of ancient legends. There were two of these in Book I: Pandarus' gossip quote from a letter that he says is circulating through Troy, from the herdess Oenone to Paris, which mentions Phebus as healer (I, 659-65); and his simile concerning Troilus' conduct: "To walwe and wepe as Nyobe the queene..." (I, 699). This sort of usage is continued when the Narrator tells us that Pandarus was roused in the morning by the swallow Procne singing of her metamorphosis and her husband's rape of her sister (II, 64-70); and again by the Narrator's exclamation to a minor deity,

"Now Janus, god of entree, thow hym gide!" (II, 77). It may be noted that these references have rather ambiguous significance. In a sense they are quite straightforward. Oenone's description of Phebus' plight aptly illustrates Pandarus' claim that he can help Troilus in love although he can't help himself; Niobe is aptly used to illustrate the nature of Troilus' sufferings; birdsong would naturally enough signal the morning and rouse a man from bed; a god of entry would be appropriate to invoke for help in beginning a wooing. All these references could therefore, quite simply and obviously, be part of a thoughtfully presented Trojan scene in the poem. It is also true, however, that they carry disquieting associations: Phebus' helplessness in love, the depth and permanence of Niobe's misery and the folly and hubris that brought her to it, the nastiness of the Procne story, the sense that Janus may two-facedly open doors without regard for the morality of what goes through them. Do these passages function just to illustrate appropriately the characters' feelings and concerns, or are they pointers to how we should judge them? Chaucer does not answer this question; he merely presents these ambiguous references in their places.

Other minor uses of deities, involving Minerva and Mars, confirm the question rather than suggesting its answer. Criseyde prays to "lady myn, Pallas" for help in

her "dreadful cas" of being solicited by Pandarus regarding Troilus (II, 425). Pallas, as goddess of wisdom, is appropriate to invoke when in need of prudent advice, but does this passage further suggest that her medieval association as patron of chaste widowhood is being called into play, or not? Troilus also calls on Minerva to help him write his love-letter (II, 1057-63), and this would not seem to invoke her as anything more than the patron of intellect and its use. Again, there are several references to Mars. Pandarus, challenged by Criseyde that he intends harm to her honor in suggesting Troilus as a lover, dramatically invokes Mars and the Furies to strike him on the spot if he meant harm (II, 435-8), and a little later in the same interview, after being caught by Criseyde in a slip which indicates he is thinking of a love affair, he insists, "By Mars, the god that helmed is of steel" that he meant "nought but wel" (II, 592-3). A few lines later Troilus rides by, returning from battle, and "swich a knyghtly sighte.../was nought, withouten faille,/ To loke on Mars, that god is of bataille" (II, 628-30). Finally, Pandarus begs Troilus to have patience and take it easy, "for the love of Marte" (II, 688). It is undoubtedly true that Mars was a god of violence and unrestrained fury, with negative associations, such that swearing one's good intentions by him might ring a little

odd. Yet his negative connotations could function simply to emphasize the thoroughness of any reprisals he might make and thus reinforce an oath; the last-listed of these usages seems quite casual and not especially a propos; and who would one liken a warrior to, in order to praise him, if not the god of war? Again, the particular uses of this god, taken in their context, might or might not be doing more than establishing a Trojan setting.

As far as uncertainty of assignable meaning goes, however, the largest single group of minor references to gods and legends presents a slightly different case, for this involves infernal references, the negative connotations of which are harder to doubt. As already mentioned, Pandarus calls on Mars and the "Furies thre of helle" (II, 436) to witness that he meant no "vilenye" -- at a point when he is really turning on the dramatics, and does in fact mean exactly what Criseyde fears he means. And there are several other references to Hell and its denizens in Books I and II. Pandarus arrives at the point in the Thebes story when Amphiorax "fil thorough the groundes to helle" (II, 105); Antigone backs up her assertion that only true lovers can relate the experience of love with, "Men mosten axe seyntes if it is/ Aught fair in hevene (why? for they kan telle),/ And axen fendes is it foul in helle" (II, 894-6); Troilus, on the

point of telling Pandarus whom he loves, began "to quake/
 As though men sholde han led hym into helle" (II, 871-2).
 These are three usages of rather different import -- the
 first is historical, the second refers to hell as an
 exemplar of an unpleasant place, the third suggests a
 living possibility -- but all of them present hell as a
 place which can be immediately apprehended as represen-
 ting terminal unpleasantness such as the medieval
 audience would have understood it. Two other usages in
 Book I are a reference to Troilus enduring woe "As sharpe
 as doth he Ticius in helle/ Whos stomak foughles tiren
 evere moo/ That highten volturis" (I, 785-7); and an
 oath by Pandarus that "To Cerberus in helle ay be I
 bounde" (I, 859-61) if he doesn't help Troilus achieve
 his desire. These earlier passages help define "helle"
 in the poem as occupied by the characters and creatures
 of ancient legend, and thus make it an ancient, pagan
 place, albeit one which equally well suggests the Chris-
 tian conception (Dante, indeed, having populated his
 Inferno similarly). Hell in Books I and II of the
Troilus is a place of everlasting misery, simultaneously
 peopled with ancient legend, and corresponding to the
 Christian notion of punishment after death: the two
 possible functions of Christian or pagan allusion are
 fused here. And in any case, the connotations of the

poem's references to hell are clearly negative. They may be taken as indicating Troilus' true moral condition to be a bad one, as McCall did in his dissertation⁷; or they can be taken somewhat closer to face value, as revealing the suffering inherent in the kind of love that Troilus is in at this point; but in either of these cases some negative associations with the love are implied. The difficulty of assigning a significance to this group of references lies not in what their associations might be, for this is clear. It is rather a factor of whether we should be reading and accepting the face value of the references, or looking for further implications which could be there but which cannot be certainly known to have been meant. And indeed, it will be seen that this problem is perhaps the most common difficulty in interpreting Chaucer's uses of the gods in Troilus and Criseyde.

It is to be noted that in the poem itself the groupings I have used here do not appear together. Rather, different kinds of references are scattered among each other apparently at random. Thus, to cite one sequence, there is an invoking prayer to Cleo (II, 8-10), followed by an astronomical reference to Phebus (II, 54-6), then Procne and her story (II, 64-70), the invocation to Janus (II, 77), Amphiorax the bishop falling into hell (II, 104-5), Pandarus' casual oath by Minerva, Jupiter and

Venus (II, 232-5), Criseyde's plea to Pallas for guidance (II, 425-7), Pandarus' insistence by Mars and the Furies of hell (II, 435-8) and by Neptune (II, 442) of his good intentions, Pandarus' repetition of hearing Troilus praying urgently to Love as the courtly deity (II, 520-39), another casual oath by Mars that Pandarus means well (II, 592-3), the similarity of Troilus the warrior to Mars, god of battle (II, 630) -- and so on, all interspersed with many namings of "God" and "Lord". The different references and kinds of references are intermingled in such fashion that a single consistent kind of use for them cannot be discerned in a linear reading of the poem; only if references are picked out and grouped together can a weight of meaning for a kind of reference be identified. This does not mean that infernal references, for example, cannot be cumulatively working to point out negative aspects of the love affair, but it does mean that such function must be, in a sense, retrospective. The impression as one actually reads through the poem is of many uses of gods and legends, and of God, each of which may be a *propos* in itself but which, as a group, appear to be thrown together rather haphazardly. Interpretation of each reference must take its context, both of tone and figure, carefully into account, and I would suggest that this apparent haphazardness is a

significant part of this context, and one which only a linear or quasi-linear consideration of the poem will observe; that is, some sense of the sorts of religious references that a given reference or kind of reference appear with will necessarily and properly modify our assessment of the one we are considering at any given point. My discussion of each kind of reference, grouped with others like it for the purpose of analysis, should not obscure the fact that in the poem itself they are not so grouped. Yet the suggestions of each given usage do, this caution understood, eventually accumulate with others like it. And when several usages cumulatively point one way, even though they do so at widely separated intervals, a pattern may eventually emerge which we are justified in applying to the poem's interpretation.

In sum, there are quite a few appearances of pagan gods and the legends connected with them in Books I and II of the Troilus, and especially in Book II. Regarding their function in the poem, these usages of various gods help establish the Trojan setting if they do nothing else. Further, the infernal references' negative connotations, when applied to Troilus' suffering or to Pandarus' assistance in the love affair, might be casting a questionable light on that affair. This ties in with other references, such as the one to Procne, which also may bring negative associations to the matter they are

applied to. Yet the operative word here is "may": the possibility of these references putting the prosecution of Troilus' affair in question stands. But it stands quite unconfirmed by any overt statement.

Besides problems of anachronism and the use of minor deities, casual oaths by gods, and pagan legends, there is also the problem of colloquial language and references to God in Book II, for there are a great many such usages here, especially in the conversation of Pandarus and Criseyde.

Many of Book I's references to God and Christian practice function, as I have shown, to establish the possibility (though not a certainty) of Christian awareness and understanding vis-a-vis the poem's subject, but there are also many very casual uses of "God" or "Lord" in Book I. And the presence of the latter is greatly reinforced in Book II, where almost all the uses of "God" or "Lord" are basically colloquial and generally casual. Such expressions as "for the love of God", "wolde God", "God spede us", "God woot", "Lord!", "God forbede", "God toforn", or "by God" occur some dozen or so times in Book I (see Appendix A), but they occur over 30 times in Book II, discernably assisting in creating a familiar, colloquial tone in the characters' conversation. Other expressions which, as I observed in Chapter II, suggest

further attributes of God though without focussing on them, such as "blisful God", "holy God", "with the grace of God", "as God me save", "O verray God", "myghty God", "God shelde us", "I pray God", or "I thank God", are similarly present in a few passages in Book I but occur some dozen times in Book II. Again, these tend to be highly casual, colloquial, exclamatory. A typical passage in which such usages occur may be quoted at some length:

"Now uncle deere," quod she, "telle it us
For Goddes love; is than th'assege awaye?
I am of Grekes so fered that I deye."
"Nay, nay," quod he, "as evere mote I thryve,
It is a thing wel bet than swyche five."

"Ye, holy God," quod she, "what thyng is that?
What! bet than swyche fyve? I! nay, ywys!
For al this world ne kan I reden what
It sholde ben; some jape, I trowe, is this;
And but youreselven telle us what it is,
My wit is for t'arede it al to leene.
As helpe me God, I not what that ye meene."

"And I youre borugh, ne nevere shal, for me,
This thyng be told to yow, as mote I thryve!"
"And whi so, uncle myn? whi so?" quod she.
"By God," quod he, "that wol I telle as blyve!...

II, 122-137

The thoroughly emphatic and casual nature of these uses of God's name is, I think, clear from their context. But even in passages where the characters' declarations seem more uregently felt, they take the name of God rather casually, as in these two examples:

"Avyseth yow on it, whan ye han space,
And of som goodly answeere yow purchase;
Or, helpe me God, so pleyndly for to seyne,
He may nat longe lyven for his peyne."

Ful dredfully tho gan she stonden styлле,

And took it naught, but al hire humble chere
Gan for to chaunge, and seyde, "Scrit ne bille,
For love of God, that toucheth swich matere,
Ne brynge me noon..." II, 1124-1132

And seyde, "As wisly help me God the grete,
I nevere dide thing with more peyne
Than writen this, to which ye me constreyne";

And took it hym. He thonked hire and seyde,
"God woot, of thyng ful often looth bygonne
Comth ende goode; and nece myn, Criseyde,
That ye to hym of hard now ben ywonne
Oughte he be glad, by God and yonder sonne;
II, 1230-37

God is named in these passages mainly for emphasis, and the effect is of lively and quite secular conversation. Like Book II's anachronisms, which help place the characters and their concerns in a familiar, quasi-medieval setting and thus make them more easily sympathetic to fourteenth century readers, the exclamatory uses of God's name close distance. Yet in performing this function, they may, as documented earlier, be seen as raising the possibility of reminding readers of the Christian God and Christian values, for the God of salvation can hardly be mentioned without a Christian audience hearing the reference in terms of their own worldview. This possibility is de-emphasized by the merely colloquial use of these expressions, yet in a reading of the poem that finds it to be inculcating Christian values these references can be seen as helping bring those values into the work. And this possibility is given greater weight by some expressions which are not quite casual, and which fade into

passages that are expressive of attitudes counter to courtly-love, or even distinctly Boethian.

Some few passages exclaim by God in ways that intimate some more serious sense of a Deity than casual emphasis. Troilus thus seems to be seriously appealing to God when he begins his song, "If no love is, O God, what fele I so?" (I, 400) -- his extremity lends a sense of genuine prayer and pleading to his question. And when the Narrator tells us that "But God and Pandare wist al what this mente" (II, 1561), or tells us that when Troilus rode by Criseyde's window, "God woot if he sat on his hors aright...God woot wher he was lik a manly knyght!" (II, 1261-3), to my subjective ear some hint of the idea of God's omniscience is suggested, however lightly. Again, Troilus replies to Pandarus' good news that he may succeed if he acts as he should with, "Ye, thorough the myght of God" (II, 1317); here once more some idea of a genuine belief in God as an active, powerful, helping Being is suggested. And further, as noted in Chapter II, a few references allude to God as, in some sense, Creator: "by that Lord that formede est and west" (II, 1053); "Allas, that God yow swich a beaute sente!" (II, 336); "for his love which that us bothe made" (II, 500); and "On his half which that soule us alle sende" (II, 1734). These sorts of passages in Troilus and Criseyde's Books I and II blend on the one

hand into the more casual uses of "God" and "Lord", for they occur, like these more casual uses, in passing conversation or story-telling. Yet they also have affinities with passages that suggest a Christian frame of reference and morality.

Although Book II, like Book I, contains some religious phraseology which is used completely secularly, some of this phraseology is here, too, ambiguous at the least. "Preier" is used in reference to a request for a social/business visit (II, 1490), and Antigone's song eases Criseyde's fears so "That she wex somewhat able to converte" (II, 900-3); these are simply colloquial or secular usages. But when Criseyde asks Pandarus to "Tel us youre joly wo and youre penaunce/ How ferforth be ye put in loves daunce?" (II, 1105-6), the connection of courtly loving with penitence is made, however laughingly. Again, Criseyde declares that she will not do more than her honor permits, "for no salvacioun/ Of yow" (II, 486-7), and the word "salvation" cannot help but suggest its religious as well as its secular connotations. And in Book II, as in Book I, religious phraseology is used in courtly loving. I have noted this in my consideration of anachronism, since courtly-love attitudes in ancient Troy are certainly anachronistic. It is to be noted here that this language continues to function to infiltrate Chris-

tian awareness even while maintaining secular attitudes -- or, at least, it could certainly be seen to do so.

What these hints blend into is the presence in Book II of a few brief but significant overt suggestions of a code of conduct and morality which is opposed to the courtly love code. All of these involve Criseyde, naturally enough, since it is her behavior which will or will not allow the love affair to come to fruition, and it is she whose conduct must therefore be brought up for consideration as regards how she ought to act. Thus it is Criseyde who first rejects Pandarus' initial suggestion that she do some observance to May with:

Is that a widewes lif, so God yow save?
By God, ye maken me rygth soore adrad!
Ye ben so wylde, it semeth as ye rave.
It sate me wel bet ay in a cave
To bidde and rede on holy seyntes lyves;
Lat maydens gon to daunce, and yonge wyves.

II, 114-9

This anachronistic reference to a hermit's kind of existence reveals quite clearly the stance of a code of conduct which fits an orthodox Christian standard. It is reinforced some 300 lines later, again by Criseyde, when she declares that she would have expected Pandarus to exert his energy in keeping her from love rather than in leading her to it (II, 414-9). And even when she begins to consider the possibility of loving, she phrases it in terms which remind us of an opposing attitude: "Shal I nat love, in cas if that me leste?/ What, par dieux! I am naught religious." (II, 758-9). The possibility that she

might be "religious", or that morality might stand in the way of her loving Troilus, might not have occurred to us if Criseyde did not use such an expression. It is thus in Book II that clear statements begin to be made -- even in the process of denying them -- that a morality exists, and is known to the characters, which would oppose the affair as morally improper. And it is Christian religious phraseology, or language reminiscent of medieval Christian culture, that is used for this purpose.

A final consideration is that Book II sees the first overt statements of Boethian thought or philosophy. Although the Narrator's exclamation of "O blynde world, O blynde entencioun!" (I, 211) can be retrospectively seen to have opened the theme of human, mortal blindness as Boethian philosophy understood it,⁸ this single line in itself does not automatically or immediately suggest Boethian ideas. But in Book II the concerns with predestination and with mutability, both of which become more extensively treated as the poem continues, are first openly stated. For the idea of predestination is clearly implied when Troilus rides by Criseyde's window just when she is beginning to be in a receptive mood, "Right as his happy day was, soothe to seyne,/ For which, men seyn, may nought distourbed be/ That shal bityden of necessitee." (II, 621-3) And even earlier in Book II, Criseyde intro-

duced the idea of mutability in her first reaction to Pandarus' news of Troilus' love for her: she wept, "And seyde, 'Allas, for wo! why nere I deed?/ For of this world the feyth is al agoon./ Allas! what sholden straunge to me doon,/ When he.../ Ret me to love, and sholde it me defende?/ This false world, allas! who may it leve?" (II, 409-20). Undoubtedly Criseyde is, to a certain extent, engaging in dramatics here, but she nonetheless sounds the first note of the theme of the world's untrustworthiness, which will recur in the poem in connection with Fortuna and the Boethian understanding of mutability of this world as compared to the stability of God and heaven. And to the extent that Boethian philosophy was considered an expression of orthodox Christianity, these passages strengthen the possibility that Chaucer meant us to take seriously the suggestions of a code of conduct which could tie in to a Christian understanding in opposing the courtly love affair.

In sum, Book II sees a serious concern for historical distance, but also much anachronism, so that distance between the tale and its Narrator and audience are simultaneously opened and closed. At the same time, many references to and uses of pagan gods and legends help create distance and a Trojan setting for the poem, while a great deal of colloquial language and colloquial usages of God help close distance and familiarize the characters

for the fourteenth century audience. And part of this latter tendency is the related factor of Boethian ideas, which begin to be suggested in Book II, for Boethian philosophy is part of the Christian medieval world. A Christian vantage-point for the poem is at least made possible by these suggestions, even if only allusively and partially, and in tandem with equally strong suggestions of an ancient pagan ambience. And in a third pair of equally-reinforced opposites, the negative connotations which are attached to the affair by Criseyde's outrage at the idea and by the infernal allusions, are matched by the highly positive associations with the love gods, which begin to be present in Book II although I am saving discussion of them for my consideration of Troilus and Criseyde's Book III.

iii
Book III

Book III's dominant preoccupation with consummated love's happiness is, like major preoccupations of Books I and II, signaled by its Proem, in the beautiful and complex invocation to Venus. Venus and Cupid must therefore be given a primary place here. But if Venus is an individual deity presented in a complex way, Book III generally is multifarious, and other factors must be

analyzed here as well. Boethian references, Narratorial commentary, Fortuna, pagan gods, and colloquial references are all prominent in Book III, and must all be considered in an analysis of it.

As discussed in previous chapters, and observed by many critics, Venus is described in various and partly opposing ways in Proem III. She is a planet (III, 1-2); but she is a pagan goddess as Jove's daughter and sun's dear (III, 3), and as appeaser of Mars (III, 22) and instigator of Jove in his love for "mortal thyng" (III, 15-21). She is the patron of human love when described as the pleasure of love which attaches to gentle hearts (III, 4-5), and conferrer of courteous and proper conduct as well as the joys of love (III, 24-8); yet she is a more general benign principle in the world when invoked as mighty and good cause of health and gladness (III, 6-7), whose power is felt throughout the world by all living things (III, 8-11), and as cause of peace and friendship (III, 29-30) who has established her irresistible law for the universe (III, 36-8). The Narrator himself not only calls on Venus, but supplicates her as if he believed in her, begging her, as "lady bryght" to show her sweetness to his "naked herte", for her "benignite" (III, 39-44). It is in the same vein that the Narrator addresses Venus at Book III's end (along with Cupid and the Muses), thanking and strongly praising her

and them: "Ye heried ben for ay withouten ende!" (III, 1807-13). These passages of course suggest Book III's main concern, the consummation and joy of Troilus' and Criseyde's love. But they also suggest emphatically that the nature of that love is indeed good, that it is beautiful and benign and according to a beneficent law and pattern for all creation. Further, they establish Venus as multifaceted -- a planet but also a deity, a patron of carnal love but also of general harmony, peace, and amity. Indeed, in her universality and association with peace and virtue, and in her near-identification with God in lines 12-14, Venus is even suggestive of the loving Christian God. But all of Venus' associations are positive. Chaucer has carefully attuned the rhetoric and associations of this Proem to allow no suggestion of negative qualities at all. It is as if he is indicating that whatever grief or sin might be involved in the love affair, Book III's love itself is purely good.

The Proem and the Narrator's praise in the final stanzas constitute the major appearances of Venus in Book III, but she appears more briefly on several occasions in both Books II and III. Several of these occurrences are purely astrological. Thus Troilus prays to "blisful Venus" to send him her grace and to inspire him, when he is told to prepare himself for the tryst, but he also

prays for her to ward off bad astrological influences (III, 705-35), and later he praises Venus, calling her a "wel-willy planete" (III, 1254-8). Earlier, Criseyde's falling in love (not too suddenly) with Troilus was partly induced by Venus' astrological influence (II, 680-86). Two other uses of Venus are less obviously interesting. Towards the end of Book II Pandarus swears by Venus as his surety that he hopes she (either Venus or Criseyde) will confirm her grace to Troilus (II, 1524-6), and earlier Troilus had raised his eyes at Pandarus' goods news and said, "O Venus deere,/ This myght, thi grace, yheried be it here!" (II, 972-3). Both these usages name Venus as a goddess who would appropriately be mentioned in connection with success in love, and as a benign deity, but have little apparant additonal import. In sum, Venus appears in Books II and III as a highly positive figure, associated with love and love's joy, and with might, bliss, and grace, and also as a planet with benign astrological influence. There appear to be no negative connotations in her use, and she provides the keynote to Book III.

Although Venus is thus used to set Book III's tone, it is Love who is the subject of the book's largest single group of references to a god. And while some of these references are rather perfunctory, others are both lengthy and significant.

Brief references to Love/Cupid reveal him as little more than the deity in the pantheon who is the patron of lovers. Thus Criseyde, thinking over the first tryst and Troilus' virtues, is described as "Thonkyng Love he so wel hire bisette" (III, 1552), while Troilus attributes their having come together to the god with, "That thonked be the heighe worthynesse/ Of Love..." (III, 1609-10). The Narrator too refers to Love in this way when he apologizes for his treatment of the story "at Loves reverence" (III, 1328), while earlier he told us that Troilus and Criseyde wished "that Cupide wolde hem grace send" to reach a happy conclusion to their growing affair (III, 456-62).

This last example, with its ascription of grace to Cupid, begins to blend into other, more interesting, usages of the god. For he is also the courtly love deity, who at times approaches the attributes of the Christian God. Brief usages which suggest the courtly-love idea in regard to Cupid occur when we are told that Troilus considered anyone lost who was not in Love's "heighe servise" (III, 1794), and when the Narrator describes Troilus' increased virtue due to Love (III, 1804-6). But in both Book II and Book III, longer passages reveal Love as the god of courtly lovers whose worship parallels Christian worship. Pandarus' account to

Criseyde in Book II of overhearing Troilus "pleyning" to Love in a garden includes Troilus' repentence for being "rebell in myn entente," actually uses the Latin expression, "mea culpa", and states that he is making a confession (II, 524-8), acknowledges Love's quality of "juste purveiaunce", prays for appropriate "penaunce" and, finally, asks Love to shield his spirit from despair which might cause him to depart from Love (II, 522-32). This reinforcement of the quasi-confessional scenes already observed in Book I continues to show Cupid as the courtly-love figure, while reminding us again of Christian practice, as does Antigone's song also. Courtly love elements in that song include the acknowledgement of being Love's subject (II, 827), the description of the lover according to courtly virtues (II, 838-44), and the idea of human love making one more virtuous (II, 852-4). At the same time, the god is thanked for his grace and is called blissful (II, 831, 834), and it is furthermore suggested that the joy he gives is an enduring security, not a transient thing (II, 833, 869-75): attributes which might suggest to a Christian reader a truer God than a pagan or even the medieval courtly figure. Another passage which suggests attributes of the Christian God in reference to Love occurs when Troilus, referring to his success with Criseyde, exclaims that he is an example of how "mercy passeth right" -- and that to the

extent he is unworthy of Criseyde, his service of her must make him better (III, 1282-8). Here again, an obvious allusion to courtly love ideas is linked to an obviously Christian conception of a deity. A few lines earlier, Troilus addressed Cupid as "Benigne Love, thow holy bonde of thynges" and again invoked the idea that Love's grace "passed our desertes" (II, 1261-7), and these quotes too attach Christian attitudes to Love. Finally, there is Troilus' great Boethian hymn to Love, in which the god is actually addressed with lines and ideas that Boethius had applied to God. The passage (III, 1744-71) is notable not just for elevating Love to the divine principle of harmony that binds the stars and all elements in concord, but also for its emphasis on the stability and enduring faith that springs therefrom (III, 1751-4). Further, Chaucer slightly but significantly altered Boethius' "sacrement of mariages of chaste loves" (Boethius, Chaucer's translation, Book II, m. 8, l. 23) to "And couples doth in vertu for to dwelle" (III, 1749, emphasis mine), and in the last stanza of the hymn he adds to the Boethian meter the idea that God causes Love to irresistably bind lovers (III, 1765-71). This hymn, in fact, completes the job of identifying Love in the poem simultaneously with the courtly love theme and with an origin in, and a nature like, the Christian God.

Love, like Venus, is presented in Books II and III as purely benign, possessing and dispensing divine grace and bliss; the actual language and context of references to him is entirely positive. McCall's dissertation asserted that the Narrator's final reference at the end of Book III to Venus and her "blynde and wynged sone, ek, daun Cupide" (III, 1807-8) could be seen as an indication that we are dealing with the base Venus and Cupid here,⁹ and that therefore the love portrayed in Book III was base and carnal. But even if this characterization of blind Cupid's implications were valid, this closing of Book III would be the first reference in the Book which could possibly be taken so. The portrayal of the love gods throughout Book III has been, without exception, as benign and positive forces.

The fact that the hymn to Love is a Boethian paraphrase raises the issue of Boethian references in Book III and their implications for the sentence of the Troilus. As already noted, passages like that concerning the "false worldes brotelnesse", which were seen as part of Book II's suggestions of a moral code in opposition to that of the courts of love, have already begun to introduce Boethian material into the Troilus. And this tendency is continued and considerably strengthened in Book III. Pandarus' proverb that the worst kind of misfortune is to have prosperity and then remember it

after losing it (III, 1625-8), reminiscent as it is of Boethius' own condition at the beginning of the Consolation and of his statement at II, pr. 4, l. 7-9, is further related to the Boethian idea of mutability by Pandarus' subsequent comment that "worldly joie halt nought but by a wir" (III, 1636). A far more thorough presentation of Boethian ideas, however, is Criseyde's long spech in response to Pandarus' report of Troilus' jealousy (III, 813-40). Not only does it use the language of the theme of mutability -- "O brotel wele of mannes joie unstable...thow, joie, art muable...joie is transitorie" (III, 820, 822, 827) -- but the argument itself paraphrases that of Boethius' Book II, pr. 4. In addition, in treating the possibility of true happiness (and finding that "Ther is no verray weele in this world heere", III, 836), Criseyde touches on the question of worldly felicity. And despite the fact that the Narrator later declares that "Felicitee, which that these clerkes wise/ Comenden so, ne may nought here suffice;/ This joie may nought writen be with inke" (III, 1691-3), Criseyde's pessimistic conclusion is the correct Boethian attitude.

It is therefore relevant to mention in this connection that there are two passages in Book III which imply that there is some immorality to the love affair. One of these comes early in Book III, when Pandarus says that

for Troilus' sake he has become a pander:

"That is to seye, for the am I bicomen,
Bitwixen game and earnest, swich a meene
As maken wommen unto men to comen;
Al sey I nought, thow wost wel what I mene.
For the have I my nece, of vices cleene,
So fully maad thi gentillesse triste,
That al shal ben right as thiselven liste.

III, 253-9

The mere fact that Pandarus feels a need in the next stanza to excuse himself, on the grounds that he did it for friendship and not "covetise", is an indication of his own uneasy awareness of other codes of conduct which would condemn his actions. The other such indication is Criseyde's reaction, after the first tryst, to Pandarus' inquiry after her well-being:

"Nevere the bet for yow,
Fox that ye ben! God yeve youre herte kare!
God help me so, ye caused al this fare,
Trowe I," quod she, "for al youre wordes white.
O, whoso seeth yow, knoweth yow ful lite."

III, 1564-8

Criseyde is obviously at least partly joking here, yet it is significant that of all the things she might have chosen to joke about, she says something which implies an unspoken sense of an other code of behavior than that courtly love code which Criseyde has accorded to and now upbraids Pandarus for bringing her to. Yet despite the uses of Boethian material to suggest human love's instability, and the two related suggestions of a counter-note to the love which Book III celebrates, it is also a Boethian passage which, in Troilus' hymn to love, clearly completes that celebration of it. Boethian allusion, indeed, would seem to be an important crux in Book III.

For a Boethian paraphrase is the culmination of the beautiful and positive presentation of Venus and Love, and as we have seen, this presentation is in Book III remarkably unalloyed. Yet at the same time the other Boethian references suggest the unreliability of this love affair. It is as if Chaucer wanted to make us aware that even the true, pure bliss of love is unstable -- unqualifiedly true and pure and yet still not to be counted on. By using Boethian references and paraphrases for one of these ideas -- mutability -- and the love gods plus another Boethian paraphrase to reassert the other -- Love's benignity -- he was able to reinforce and assert these opposite ideas simultaneously. This idea that Chaucer simultaneously asserts opposites in the Troilus, in such fashion as to validate both, has of course been suggested before.¹⁰ I would point out here that Boethian allusion and the appearances of the love gods in Book III tends to expand and verify such findings.

Another area which partially confirms this double verification of opposites lies in the Narrator's comments on the love affair, for while most of his comments in the first three Books of the Troilus are in favor of the love he depicts, he also makes notably negative or ambivalent statements.

The Narrator's first suggestions of his own atti-

tude towards Troilus' kind of love are negative by inference, for his stated position in Proem I is that he himself is not a lover, nor a likely candidate for being one, but rather a perceiver of love's woe as well as its joy, and one who would rather live in charity praying for lovers than be one himself. While not precisely or overtly condemnatory of loving, he nonetheless speaks of its great suffering as much as of its joy. His next major statement, however, is completely positive, for it is the long "Bayard passage" (I, 211-59) in which he praises love as equally irresistible and ennobling, according to the "lawe of kynde" (which as we have seen, must be considered a positive association), and benign and virtuous in its nature. Furthermore, the Narrator has little commentary to make on love in Book II, but what he does say is enthusiastic. As Criseyde begins to fall in love, he declares, "To God hope I, she hath now kaught a thorn,/ She shal nat pulle it oute this nexte wyke./ God sende mo swich thornes on to pike!" (II, 1272-4). This invocation to God which is wholly positive about love is notable, and it accords with most of the Narrator's Book III comments as well. Thus the Narrator follows Criseyde's denial to Troilus that his purported jealousy has any real foundation with an exclamation to God to quench all this sorrow (III, 1058-64) -- with the implication being clear that the Narrator hopes God will

assist the love affair to reach its consummation. Again, the Narrator, philosophizing that bitterness is often a necessary prelude to health and joy, states distinctly that this was the case for Troilus and Criseyde as they began to enjoy their mutual love, and comments that, "this is bet than bothe two be lorn./ For love of God, take every womman heede/ To werken thus, if it comth to the neede." (III, 1212-25) This is, in itself, an unequivocal statement that this love affair was good, as is his statement that all of Troilus' and Criseyde's previous grief, "I thank it God, was torned to gladnesse." (III, 1400). It is in line with these briefer comments that we find the Narrator's longer discussion of the question as to whether misers have such joy of their hoards as lovers enjoy, and his resounding negative answer to the question (III, 1373-93). Finally, and to the same effect, are several statements in Book III associating the love and its fulfillment with heaven and its bliss. Most of these statements are made by Pandarus (for example, his telling Troilus to "Make the redy.../ For thou shalt into hevne blisse wende," by way of telling him that a tryst has been arranged -- III, 703-4), or by Troilus, for example when he thanks Pandarus because "Thou hast in hevne ybrought my soule at reste" (III, 1599; see also III, 1656-9, 1742). But at least

two of these statements are made by the Narrator. In one of them he describes Troilus finally seizing Criseyde and thanking the gods, following which the Narrator adds, "Thus sondry peynes bryngen folk to hevene" (III, 1203-4); while in the other the Narrator describes Troilus and Criseyde as dwelling in "hevene blisse" together that night.

The Narrator thus, in various ways, makes several distinctly and overtly positive statements about the affair. Yet the potentially negative or equivocal suggestions of Proem I are nonetheless also reinforced in Books I through III, though not as strongly. The Narrator's mention of "the fyr of love -- the wherfro God me blesse" (I, 435-6) is a minor note. But in Book III his statement about Criseyde's reaction the morning after her first tryst, with respect to Pandarus, that "God foryaf his deth, and she al so/ Foryaf..." (III, 1577-8), is striking. Any such suggestion -- that Pandarus' conduct of maneuvering Criseyde into bed with Troilus required forgiving -- would intrude a negative note on the affair, but this passage's apparent equation of Pandarus' actions with Judas' betrayal and Jesus' crucifixion is arresting. A similar instance occurs when the Narrator's exclamation to the "blisful night, of hem so long isoght" asks "Why nad I swich oon with my soule yboght,/ Ye, or the leeste joie that was theere?" (III, 1317-20). In both of

these passages the Narrator uses allusions to Christian belief or understanding in ways which seem to my ear to cast some question on the value of the love affair. Is the Narrator's apparent equation of Pandarus' conduct with Judas' meant to be ridiculous and hence comical, or is it meant to intrude a genuine note of serious negative comment on the affair? Is the Narrator being used here to suggest that the overwhelming joy the lovers experienced was true and valid and really comparable to the most precious thing in existence, or is he undercutting its value even while apparently praising it, by naming that which no earthly pleasure equals in worth? We can identify these as the questions, though neither passage in itself gives us the answer. What we can definitely say is that these two passages are distinctly peculiar and equivocal, and introduce questions as to the affair's positive value, whether or not they make statements about it. And Pandarus' uneasy insistence that he has become "swich a meene/ As maken wommen unto men to comen" only for friendship, not gain, is also like the Narrator's comments observed here: a small note in a large poem, yet one which intrudes another reminder of a morality opposed to the prevailing tone and conduct of Book III.

Narratorial comments on the affair and its value, then, are mostly positive. But they are not uniformly

so, not even in Book III where the affair seems to be, in other respects, supported and positively valued by the religious allusions relating to it. If Boethian passages qualify the love affair, but in one instance also strongly support it, the reverse is true for Narratorial evaluations of it: they uphold and positively value it, but on occasion they question or qualify it.

Boethian passages and Narratorial commentary on the love affair are present in the Troilus from its first Book, but I have waited to consider them here because it is in Book III that they become obtrusive and highly significant. Similarly, Fortuna has been present from early in Book I, but it is in Book III that her significance, as well as astrological influence, become crucial.

Immediately following Proem I and our introduction to Criseyde's plight following Calchas' defection, Fortuna was introduced in regard to the fortunes of war: "thynges fellen as they don of werre" with first one side and then the other doing well -- and this is attributed to the goddess: "and thus Fortune on lofte,/ And under eft, gan hem to whielen both/ Aftir hir course, ay whil that they were wrothe" (I, 134-40). That this mention of Fortuna was not a minor one is discovered as the poem progresses and she repeatedly reappears. Troilus considers that it will be difficult for Pandarus to aid him, since "Fortune is my fo" and no one can withstand the

harm of her "cruel whiel," for she "pleyeth with free and bonde" as she will (I, 835-40). And Pandarus' response recalls Boethius' discussion of Fortuna in his Book II, pr. 1 and 3, for his comforting reply speaks of Fortuna being common to all, of the fact that since her joys pass so must her sorrows, and of her inability to cease her changefulness if she is to remain Fortuna (I, 841-54). Thus far, the Boethian figure of Fortuna is established. In Book III, the goddess' interest in and shaping of the love affair is added to her functions in the poem. It is the Narrator who tells us that soon after the first tryst Troilus was warned to meet Criseyde again, "for that Fortune it wolde" (III, 1667-72), and that the lovers had many meetings thereafter, "And thus Fortune a tyme ledde [them] in joie" (III, 1714-5). But by the time this condition is reached, Fortuna has had a make-or-break impact on the affair in bringing about the crucial astrological conjunction, and her function in the Troilus therefore cannot be considered without reference to the use of astrology in the poem.

Some of the appearances of the stars in the Troilus are of minor -- if any -- significance. When Phebus being in the Bull is used as a paraphrase for "It was Spring" (II, 54-6), little more than rhetorical ornamentation is involved. And even Pandarus' checking astrolo-

gically to determine that the moon is in a favorable position before beginning the wooing of Criseyde (II, 74-5), or Troilus calling Venus a "wel-willy planete" (III, 1257), are small points on which action does not stop. I suspect that overemphasis on such passages would be a mistake: mentioning that a character cast a horoscope is not, in itself, an indication of a major theme. But in the Troilus these less significant passages relate to others which are more interesting. One of these latter occurs in Book II, where we are told at length of

Criseyde's dawning capacity to consider loving:
 And after that, his manhood and his pyne
 Made love withinne hire herte for to myne,
 For which, by proces and by good servyse,
 He gat hire love, and in no sodeyn wyse.

And also blisful Venus, wel arrayed,
 Sat in hire seventhe hous of hevene tho,
 Disposed wel, and with aspectes payed,
 To helpe sely Troilus of his woo.
 And, soth to seyne, she nas not al a foo
 To Troilus in his nativitee;
 God woot that wel the sonner spedde he.

II, 676-86

Here planetary influence is specifically alluded to, and given weight and credence by the Narrator. It is in a sense an echo of this Narratorial attitude when Troilus prays,

And if ich hadde, O Venus ful of myrthe,
 Aspectes badde of Mars or of Saturne,
 Or thow combust or let were in my birthe,
 Thy fader prey al thilke harm disturne
 Of grace, and that I glade ayein may turne,
 For love of hym thow lovedest in the shawe...

III, 715-20

Venus is the goddess of pagan legend here, but simultaneously an astrological power, the aid of whose planetary

influence may appropriately be asked. And this is the more so when it occurs some 100 lines after two very important verses:

But O Fortune, executrice of wyrdes,
O influences of this hevenes hye!
Soth is, that under God ye ben oure hierdes,
Though to us bestes ben the causes wrie.
This mene I now, for she gan homward hye,
But execut was al bisyde hire leve
The goddes wil; for which she moste bleve.

The bente moone with hire hornes pale,
Saturne, and Jove, in Cancro joyned were,
That swych a reyn from heaven gan avale,
That every maner womman that was there
Hadde of that smoky reyn a verray feere;
At which Pandare tho lough, and seyde thenne,
"Now were it tyme a lady to gon henne!...

III, 617-30

It is the rain plus Pandarus' urging that persuades Criseyde to spend the night at his house, thus enabling him to bring Troilus to her bed in the poem's central passages, and this rain is attributed to Fortuna, under God. She is named "executrice of wyrdes" by the Narrator, a peculiar formula in Chaucer's works, and therefore a notable one. In addition, the notion that Criseyde's intention was overridden is a distinctly destinal note. With three such lengthy and definite passages present, we cannot avoid concluding that the astrological uses of the gods are indeed significant and thematic.

In evaluating the meaning of astrological uses of gods, their deterministic associations are obvious. The basis of astrology was (and is) that the movements of the planets influence events and people's attitudes and dis-

positions; whether or not one regards these influences as the manifestations and workings of Divine Providence, and whether one regards these influences as governing the will or governable by it, planetary movements are still seen in astrology as influences on people's conduct. Troilus, Pandarus, and the Narrator all seem to regard these influences as real and significant; this makes their presence and significance in the poem indisputable. Though the extent to which they control the characters' actions may well be debated, their presence as a deterministic factor cannot be. And Fortuna's role is fairly clearly suggested by the invocation of her at the time of the conjunction: she would seem to be presented as the power who orders the planets' astrological activities, controlling them for her purposes as God's deputy, a view of Fortuna which is feasible within a Christian theology, as Curry has shown.¹¹ We cannot, I think, infer from Fortuna's appearance in this capacity that the Troilus is simply destinal, but we must acknowledge that a deterministic note is presented, and that it is presented precisely in connection with the poem's most important actions. Fortuna is not only a powerful figure, depicted according to the Boethian idea of her, but is an active and interested entity as well, affecting human lives in part through her ordering of planetary influences.

Besides the presence of the love gods, Fortuna, and Boethian passages and Narratorial commentary, there are quite a few minor appearances of a variety of deities. The Narrator's invocation of Calliope at the end of Proem III is in a sense typical of these, in being not very profound. The Narrator asks the Muse's voice to be present to him in his distress at having to try to do justice to Troilus' happiness in love (III, 45-9): the deity appropriate to a passage is called on, yet the goddess herself does not seem to carry much thematic significance, even if the Narrator's concern about how to treat his material might. And most of the references to gods are similar to this one in being passing rather than clearly thematic uses.

Some of the most casual uses of the gods are multiple references. Troilus is willing to swear secrecy to Pandarus "in all the temples of this town/ Upon the goddes alle" (III, 383-4); and when he finally seizes Criseyde he "Gan thanken tho the blisful goddes sevene" (III, 1203). These usages show Troilus to be sincere, and perhaps pious, but carry little other import. And even when Troilus names several of the gods in a deeply-felt prayer, it does not seem to be thematically important. For at the point of going to meet Criseyde, Troilus prays to several of the gods to help him in the name of their own legendary amours; he invokes Jove by

the love of Europa, Mars by his for Cipris, Phebus by Danae, and Mercury be Herse, as well as Diana and the Fates (III, 722-35). The cumulative impact of these invocations, however, is to show Troilus' earnest anxiety, and Pandarus' impatient response of calling Troilus "Thow wrecched mouses herte" seems apt. Pandarus may be missing the sincere depth of Troilus' love and the consequent level of importance Troilus attaches to this meeting, but he is not wrong in apparently feeling that the gods are named here in a manner which has little to do with true divinity. They are no more than the characters of pagan legend here, applied to by a hopeful lover as hopefully helpful lovers.

Several other brief references also seem to hold little thematic function. Troilus arranges to seem to be in need of solitude at a temple for prayer to Apollo, in order to be able to visit Criseyde undetected, and here the idea of prayer to Apollo and of hoping to be answered by him is a mere ruse (III, 537-46). One would certainly use Apollo rather than some other god if one hoped to learn the future, but beyond this any temple or deity would do, so that Apollo's name has no impact on the story's meaning. Again, Troilus names Hymen as well as Venus and Love in his initial prayer of thanks for success (III, 1258), and beyond the positive associations of

Hymen which dovetail with the positive presentation of the love gods in Book III, there is little other significance attached to his name in the context. In another passage, Troilus in his first aubade reproaches cruel day and "the sonne, Titan" for ending the night so soon (III, 1450-70), while at the end of his second tryst it is Pirous whom he vows not to sacrifice to again for the same reason (III, 1703-8); and these also are namings of gods which are quite ad hoc and, in their contexts, seem thematically insignificant. Criseyde's oath that Phebus will fall from his sphere and every eagle mate with a dove before Troilus leaves her heart (III, 1495-8) similarly names Phebus without even asking his witness, in such fashion that any god -- or any unlikely event -- would do. Even Jove is used essentially casually in much of Book III. Pandarus swears that Criseyde ought to accept Troilus' suit quickly "by Joves natal feste" (III, 160-3), while Criseyde's aubade asks why night doesn't stay with Troilus and her "As longe as whan Almena lay by Jove?" (III, 1427-8). The only more significant use of Jove is Criseyde's hope that Jove will soon erase jealousy from Troilus' heart and her subsequent complaint to that god in a manner which suggests that she attributes to him the qualities of creator and author of justice, which a Christian might assign to God (III, 1015-22). I will return to such usages as this in my consideration of

Jove which will be part of my discussion of Book IV; here I wish to point out that in Book III most uses even of Jove are casual, or are to the god as a figure of pagan legend. Jove, like other briefly-mentioned deities in Book III, is mostly a figure with little thematic import. In these circumstances, even the description of Troilus as in Mars' service by day (III, 437-8) seems to mean little beyond that he was a warrior. Indeed, it is certainly possible to read in the benign Hymen a judgment on an affair which is outside of wedlock, or in the use of Apollo a comment on deceit in the affair, but the contexts and presentations of these passages do not by any means require that we do so. Only if we first assume that such suggestions are to be sought will we find them. And considering that the plethora of possible meanings for any god (as observed in Chapter II) would enable almost any interpretation to be drawn from each of them, there is some justification for insisting on using a reference's context as a check on its significance. When the Narrator calls a love deity "thow holy bonde of thynges" we are dealing with a different phenomenon than his describing how Troilus asked his friends not to interrupt him at Apollo's temple. The contexts of the references to minor deities which I mention here give little reason to read hidden meanings in them: they

neither call attention to themselves through overt statements nor do they create any single weight of meaning beyond establishing the presence of the pagan pantheon.

Despite critical suggestions, such as McCall's in his dissertation (as documented in my Chapter I, especially in footnotes 167-172), of significance in Book III's references to various pagan gods, I would summarize this consideration of them by categorizing them as generally casual. In one sense they balance the courtly-love and Christian implications of the love-gods and Boethian passages, both of which give the setting a medieval cast; the multitude of references to pagan gods unobtrusively maintains the Trojan scene in the face of these un-Trojan notes. But most of the minor references to gods in Book III have little obvious import beyond scene-setting. They tend to be used casually, in exclamations or for emphasis, with little obvious tie-in to the poem's main themes. The only possible exception to this generalization would be infernal references, and there are only two of these in Book III. In one, Troilus tells Pandarus that the latter has rescued him "Fro Flegetoun, the fery flood of helle" in successfully aiding his love (III, 1600); in the other, Pandarus swears that he means well to Criseyde by stocks, stones, and the gods in heaven, then adds that he would rather be, "soule and bones", with "Pluto kyng" as deep in hell as Tantalus if he does

not follow her admonition to see that "al be wel" (III, 588-93). Besides the question of what Criseyde means by "Loke al be wel" --whether she secretly expects Troilus and means that Pandarus should arrange outward appearances to preserve her reputation, or whether she means he should refrain from pursuing the affair -- in either case there is the further question of whether the infernal references are simply apt uses of casual oaths, or work to significantly put the affair in a negative light. One can read only the surface and find it perfectly appropriate for Troilus to feel that he has been brought out of utter misery, such as might be represented as hellish, and find it appropriate for Pandarus to swear good faith by something serious. Or, on the other hand, it is quite possible that these two passages are meant as negative commentary on the affair. If the latter is the case, then they dovetail with some of the Boethian references and a couple of Narratorial comments -- but at the same time, if these passages are negative notes, then they are few and far between, and stand in contrast to Book III's much greater preponderance of positive and benign suggestions and associations with the love affair.

For the most part, then, the fairly numerous appearances of the pagan pantheon in Book III tend to be

relatively casual, maintaining a Trojan setting but with little more in the way of unquestionable significance. One reference to Jove, and two infernal references, may be of greater import, but they are the distinct minority of such usages in Book III.

Finally, colloquial exclamations and language involving God in Book III must be considered, and evaluated in regard to whether they reinforce, undercut, add to, or qualify the findings about such usages in Books I and II.

Most of the uses of "God" and "Lord" in Book III are colloquial and exclamatory. The Narrator tells us, concerning Pandarus' supper, that "God woot" nothing was lacking (III, 609), or tells us that when Helen and Deiphebus returned, "Lord, so thanne gan gromen Troilus" (III, 206). Pandarus, trying to get Criseyde to stay at his house, says, "'Lord, this is an huge rayn!'" (III, 656) and promises to put her, "'By God, right in my litel closet yonder'" (III, 663). Troilus, recovering from his faint to find himself in Criseyde's bed, exclaims, "'O mercy God, what thyng is this?'" (III, 1124); while Criseyde had sworn that she did not know Horaste, "'God helpe me so'" (III, 807), and promised to deal with Troilus' jealousy in the morning "'And God toforn, so that it shal suffice'" (III, 848-9).

In such passages as these, uses of "God" or "Lord" provide the familiarity of colloquially expressive or

emphatic speech; to a certain extent the distance opened by pagan gods' establishment of a Trojan scene is countered and closed by extremely colloquial, familiar casual speech which is consistently present in Book III. Interestingly, whereas Christian medieval attitudes and practices were suggested extensively in Books I and II by religious phraseology and by language and conduct indicative of Christian practice, Book III contains many uses of "God" and "Lord" but very little other religious language. Pandarus tells Criseyde that she can at least talk to Troilus without "synne" (III, 913); Troilus' "wise goost" took heed of Criseyde's wishes (III, 464); and Criseyde exclaims in surprise at Pandarus, "What! which wey be ye comen, benedicite?" (III, 757). But these few usages are, with only two important exceptions, the extent of religious phraseology in Book III, and they are not on the same order as, for example, Book I's quasi-confessional scene between Troilus and Pandarus.

This is not to say that there is no language suggestive of Christian attitudes in Book III, only that Christian rites and practices are not hinted at here as they were in I and II. A few expressions do hint at more thoughtful uses of God's name than the highly casual references just observed, though these constitute the majority of Book III's uses of God's name. Examples of

phrases which hint at the medieval Christian perception of God include passages like Criseyde's "God thank I of his grace" (III, 1349), Pandarus' "Ther God youre hertes brynge soone at reste!" (III, 966) or "No wonder is, so God me sende hele" (III, 321), or Troilus' "God so my soule save" (III, 102). And Pandarus' request that Troilus, having had an encouraging interview with Criseyde, should pray to God for Pandarus' own success in love (III, 342-3), or the statement that Troilus "Putte al in Goddes hand, as he that mente/ Nothyng but wel" (III, 1185-6), further suggest medieval ideas of God as good and as a present help, and of intercessory prayer. And these hints do give some suggestion of Christian attitudes. Yet they are not a very dominant note in Book III, and it remains the case that in Book III the references to "God" and "Lord" tend to be more colloquial and emphatic than anything else. Only in one passage is there a really striking expression. Confronted with a Troilus who claims to be jealous, Criseyde swears that his arguments are foolish "By that God that bought us bothe two" (III, 1165), and a few lines later she concludes, "Of gilt misericorde!/ That is to seyn, that I foryeve al this." (III, 1177) Here we do find language that clearly implies a Christian God and Christian belief, and it is suggestive that these references occur in the passage that precipitates the consummation, which

begins at III, 1194. Is this conjunction, of the most Christian-reminiscent language in Book III with the actual commencement of love-making, meant to imply that the love-making is tantamount to God's greatest gift of compassion to mankind? -- an idea which would fit in with the highly positive presentation of the love. Is it possible that even in this context the Christian language could function as a counter-note to the love affair, reminding us of Christianity and hence of true Christian values by which we should judge Troilus' and Criseyde's love, even though these phrases are part of a dialog of love, and occur as colloquial expressions of a character's feelings towards her lover in an affair which Book III generally presents as sublimely beneficent? Even in the most Christian language in Book III there is thus some question of whether Christian attitudes are seriously meant. And this sort of language is atypical in Book III, where a great many uses of God's name are present, but only as part of the pattern of very casual colloquial speech.

As in Book II, the greatest number of references to "God" and "Lord" in Book III are essentially colloquial. And indeed, we can establish by this point that one major function of references to God in Troilus and Criseyde is to provide a familiarity of expression, and to use con-

versation as a bridge and a distance-closing device between the past of the story's setting and the present of its teller and hearers. However, this is not all. The Christian language, however casual and colloquial its use, is nonetheless the language of the medieval worldview, which includes medieval religious and moral values. Although we cannot state with any reliable certainty that we are intended by Chaucer to apply Christian religious values to the love affair, the attitude behind these values is not entirely absent from the poem. And enough suggestions of Christian rituals and sacraments are hinted at too broadly to be completely discounted: some level of Christian awareness must be acknowledged in the poem. While it is true that we may be able to apply it to the quasi-religion of courtly love, we cannot pretend it isn't there. And if some sort of Christian awareness is at work in the Troilus, then we must further acknowledge that the many occurrences of fourteenth century Christian expression, however colloquial and casual, may be not entirely unrelated to a Christian awareness in the poem. To the extent that Christian language and suggestions of Christianity are part of the poem's courtly-love ethos, they may help give positive value to the affair; while if they are not part of a courtly-love idea in the poem, they may be working to remind us of a morality contrary to that of the poem's love-affair.

Either of these possibilities can be confirmed only by the wider pattern of meanings of religious references. Meanwhile, the familiarizing effect of the colloquial language stands as, perhaps, the only certain conclusion to be drawn at this point.

My findings about Book III can be summarized by stating that religious references and allusions create a few negative associations for the human love which is the Book's subject, but a very great many remarkable positive ones. Boethian allusions predict the affair's transience; a small number of the Narrator's comments suggest imperfect enthusiasm for it or ambivalence about it, though without any outright statements; a couple of infernal references could be interpreted as implying judgemental commentary; and a couple of Criseyde's and Pandarus' expressions might be taken as reminding us of another morality than that of courtly love. But against these possibilities are the beautiful Boethian hymn to Love; many outright, emphatic, and extensive praisings of love by the Narrator; repeated associations of love with heavenly joy; and the absolutely and unqualifiedly positive presentation of Venus and Love/Cupid, beginning with the keynote hymn to Venus of the opening Proem. The general impression of Book III is of love's joy, because the positive connotations of religious allusions to the

love greatly outweigh the negative, both in number, length, and clarity of statement; and this is the case despite the multifariousness and complexity of Book III's uses of gods. Indeed, it might be noted here that thus far each Book's Proem has provided the basic tones and concerns, yet not the whole story, for that Book. Proem III thus presents benign and complex Venus, identifying Book III's main concern with human love. Yet there are also quite a few appearances of other gods, who confer Trojan atmosphere and setting despite the medieval courtly-love matter and contemporary language; there is colloquial language, including contemporary and colloquial references to "God" and "Lord", helping to create familiarity and empathy for the characters; and there is an active and interested Fortuna who, with the planets, lends a deterministic note by setting up the conditions in which characters act and in which their decisions and judgements must be made. The gods and religious-philosophical allusions thus tend mainly in Book III to praise and positively value the love which the Book depicts -- with a very few negative notes, and with Trojan gods, colloquial speech, planetary influence, and an active goddess Fortuna all present as well.

Book IV

Book III not only culminates the celebration of love in the Troilus; it concludes it as well. "Troilus in lust and in quiete/ Is with Criseyde, his owen herte swete" (III, 1819-20) moves without transition to "al to litel, weylawey the whyle,/ Lasteth swich joie" (IV, 1-2), and the breaking up of Troilus' and Criseyde's love is the subject of the rest of the poem. Different deities and different uses of deities and religious allusions in Book IV than in Book III correspond with this shift in content. The love gods give way to Fortuna in number and thematic use of allusions to each, and serious use of Jove becomes notable in Book IV; all of these will be considered in this section. Boethian allusion, which has been gradually increasing since Book II, becomes extremely lengthy, intense, and thematic in Book IV; while minor references to deities and uses of "God" and "Lord" must be considered as well.

The main deity of Book IV's short Proem is Fortuna. She is characterized not only as active, powerful, capricious, and concerned with the love affair, but is shown as cruel as well. Joy lasts too short a time -- "ythonked ben Fortune" (IV, 2); she is a "traitor commune", making herself appear most trustworthy to those she intends to beguile (IV, 3), and will treacherously

betray anyone foolish enough to heed the song she artfully entunes to each (IV, 4-5); she laughs and mocks at those she overthrows (IV, 6-7). This is the goddess who "caste [Troilus] clene oute of his lady grace" and set up Diomede on her wheel (IV, 8-11), a circumstance which grieves the Narrator (IV, 12-21) and prompts him to call for assistance from the darkest of deities -- the ever-lamenting Furies and cruel Mars -- for aid in writing Book IV (IV, 22-8). The turning from joy to woe is thus completely and precipitously demarcated by Proem IV, and this is done mainly through the use of Fortuna.

As already discussed, Fortuna has appeared some half-dozen times in Books I through III, and each occasion revealed her as important in the poem's action. Further, to the extent that she is revealed to be a Boethian and an astrological figure, and that both Boethian worldview and astrological determinism are significant factors in the poem, Fortuna has been carrying some thematic import since early in Book I. In Book IV, however, she comes into her own, with some eight references to her in this Book, most of which are significant, and all of which reinforce the representation of her that I have already identified: powerful, active, interested, Boethian, and cruel (at least in the characters' experience).

Pandarus at one point urges Troilus to seize

Criseyde on the grounds that Fortuna aids hardy men while ignoring cowardly wretches (IV, 596-602), and in this case the reference to Fortuna is more as an a propos figure than as a carefully considered power. But this is as close as any reference to her comes to being casual. Even Troilus' reference to those lovers who are still riding high on Fortuna's wheel, in contrast to himself (IV, 323-4), has a tone of bitterness and urgency to it, and an assumption of active intention in Fortuna's conduct. And more typical of Book IV's allusions to the goddess is Troilus' long address to her in which he upbraids her for being so cruel to him when he has always honored and never aggrieved her, and acknowledging that it is ever her cruel custom to take away just what is most precious to a person (IV, 260-87). Later, when he thinks Criseyde is dead and prepares to kill himself, it is again adverse Fortuna whom Troilus addresses with "heigh desdayn", stating that Love and Fortuna will not permit him to live longer (IV, 1188-92), reinforcing the sense of Fortuna as active and cruel. Pandarus also chooses Fortuna to blame for upsetting the affair, voicing astonishment that she has chosen to "over-throwe...oure joie" in so short a time, and declaring her gifts "comune" and herself thoroughly untrustworthy (IV, 383-92). And Criseyde speaks seriously of Fortuna as

well, although she takes a different tone, urging Troilus to be master of Fortuna by refusing to heed her or be daunted by her (IV, 1587-9), and declaring "remuable Fortune" to be unable to ever erase her love for Troilus (IV, 1681-2). But even Criseyde's defiance does not deny Fortuna's power to move events or interfere with the lovers' enjoyment of each other. Book IV is about the disruption of their happiness, and it is cruelly changeable adverse Fortuna who is squarely blamed by all three protagonists and the Narrator for it.

Appropriately, the love gods who were so highly present and powerful, as well as benign, in Book III, are presented very differently in Book IV. Of a bare five references to love gods in Book IV, three are distinctly negative, while neither of the other two is long or especially significant. In reply to Troilus' question as to whether she still lives (after her faint), Criseyde replies, "ye, herte myn, that thonked be Cipride" (IV, 1216); and later she asks "blisful Venus" to preserve her until she can requite so good a lover as Troilus has proved (IV, 1661-4). Both of these are relatively casual usages; certainly neither ascribes more power or attributes to Venus than dozens of colloquial usages throughout the poem ascribe both to God and to various gods. And the other three references to love gods in Book IV, though more interesting, are full of grief. Troilus

addresses "O verray lord, O Love! O god allas!" asking that deity how he could let the affair be broken after establishing it (IV, 288-94), and later (as mentioned above) blames Love along with Fortuna for his premature death (IV, 1188-90). Criseyde, in attempting to console Troilus, acknowledges that those who serve Love must sometimes have pain in order to have joy (IV, 1305-6); in attempting to achieve patient resignation, she still does not deny the pain that she and Troilus suffer, and she ascribes it more or less to Cupid. The love gods are thus little present in Book IV, and their few manifestations suggest that they are either powerless to help their adherants or adverse to them, or else that they are mere figures casually used (rather than powerful personal deities, as they are presented in the earlier Books). In direct correlation with Fortuna's sudden negative impact on the love affair, the love-deities become relatively minor, less benign, less powerful figures. As the love diminishes in strength and beauty, its gods pass from powerful and beneficent to weak and distant figures, applied to only casually or without effect.

Like Fortuna, Jove has been present in the poem since Book I, but takes on new dimensions in Book IV. For most of the earlier references to Jove are either relatively casual, or name him specifically as the deity

of pagan legend, but in Book IV many references are of a nature found only briefly and sporadically in the earlier Books, for they suggest, through the name of Jove, the nature of the Christian God.

Early references to Jove tend to be like Pandarus' colloquial swearing by Minerva, Venus, and "Jupiter, that maketh the thondre rynge" (II, 233), or his oath that Criseyde ought to be nice to Troilus, "by natal Joves feste" (III, 150-3). Other Book III passages refer to Jove as lover of Europa in the form of a bull (III, 722-3), and of Alcmena (III, 1428), as Venus' father and lover of mortals (III, 3, 15-21); and in reference to the conjunction which brings the smoky rain, Jupiter the astronomical planet is named (III, 625).

None of these references give any sense of Jove as other than the figure of pagan classical legend. In Book IV, however, there begin to be passages that show Jove as at least some sort of important deific power. Pandarus demands why Troilus has despaired before finding out Criseyde's feelings, "But if that Jove told it in thyn ere?" (IV, 641-4), and this at least attributes (however much as a colloquial exclamation) some volition and ability to the god. Similarly, Troilus defies Jove as cruel when preparing to kill himself (IV, 1192). Criseyde prays "ful busily" to Jupiter to bring mischance on the perpetrators of the exchange (IV, 669-70), and

later exclaims "O Jove, I deye..." in the same way in which she might exclaim "O God..." (IV, 1149-50). In this last, mainly-emphatic use, we see how references to Jove which are mainly casual or colloquial begin in Book IV to blend into uses of the god's name which approximate uses of God's name.

Thus Jove, who was casually referred to as a pagan figure in the early Books, is casually referred to as God might be in Book IV. In a parallel phenomenon, casual references to Jove as a god become in Book IV serious enough and interesting enough to suggest the nature of God. When Helen exclaims, "Joves lat hym nevere thryve,/ That doth yow harme" (II, 1607-8) or Pandarus tells Troilus to "far aright, for Joves name in hevene./ Love hath byset the wel..." (I, 876-9), we see other examples of using Jove's name in colloquial formulae that are used in the Troilus both for gods and God. These usages are, indeed, colloquial passages without serious thematic import. But Jove is also used in other passages which do ascribe Godly attributes to him, and again, while more casual usages were in the earlier books, more serious ones appear in Book IV. Troilus thus wishes, "'As wolde blisful Jove'" that he had Calchas where he wanted him (IV, 335-6); and Criseyde swears that she would not voluntarily leave Troy "'Or ellis se ich nevere Joves

face!" (IV, 337), and hopes that Jove, "that of his myght may do/ The sorwful to be glade" will "yeve us grace" to meet again (IV, 1683-5). These ascriptions to Jove of bliss, grace, and might begin to sound familiar, as ascriptions one might make to God. And finally, there are philosophizings addressed to Jove which are lengthy, serious, and clearly thematic, using Jove's name as a Christian would use God's. Criseyde, apprised of Troilus' purported jealousy in Book III's one such usage, responds with an invocation to Jove which attributes godliness, majesty, and justice to him -- qualities beyond the bliss and grace ascribed to many gods in the

Troilus:

"But O, thow Jove, O auctour of nature,
Is this an honour to thi deyte,
That folk ungiltif suffren hire injure,
And who that giltif is, al quyt goth he?
O, were it leful for to pleyne on the,
That undeserved suffrest jalousie,
Of that I wolde upon the pleyne and crie!

III, 1016-22

And in Book IV, Troilus addresses to Jove his extended and very important consideration of predestination, free will, and God's providence, through a heartfelt plea to "Almyghty Jove in trone,/ That woost of al this thyng the sothfastnesse,/ Rewe on my sorwe, and do me deyen sone,/ Or brynge Criseyde and me fro this destresse!" (IV, 1079-82). The effect of naming Jove as tantamount to the God of Christian conception is not diminished by Pandarus' responding, "O myghty God...in trone..." (IV, 1086) --

nor by Troilus' "O Lord, that set art in thi trone" at the point when he believes that Criseyde has died (IV, 1175).

Jove, then, initially referred to as the god of pagan legend, is seen to change in presentation as the Troilus progresses, until by Book IV's end his name is being used almost as a synonym for God's. The change is gradual and more or less progressive through the poem to this point. The result is that in the poem's early stages we do not need to reckon with a ruling god who reminds us of God, but that as we continue to read the poem and its seriousness increases, we do have to deal with this manifestation. Criseyde's important address to Jove, quoted in the previous paragraph, occurs at about the middle of Book III; if we take this as a watershed, then it would seem that Jove becomes a serious deity as the love affair builds to its consummation, some while before it begins to decline. The inverse correlation of love gods and Fortuna, where they decrease in importance as she increases, does not carry over to Jupiter; his importance, rather, seems to build as emotional seriousness in the poem builds. Like God, Jupiter is referred to at times colloquially and at times quite seriously, and when he is referred to seriously it is as the ruler of gods and supreme power in heaven, and, essentially, as a power equivalent to the Christian God.

Besides the love gods, Jove, and Fortuna, another area of thematic importance in Book IV --which is related to Fortuna's appearance -- is that of references to Boethian philosophy. As already seen, the first three Books of the Troilus contain passages which open the ideas of mutability and the transitoriness both of worldly woe and worldly joy; these passages include reference to Fortuna as Boethius' Philosophy characterizes her. These topoi are continued in Book IV in Criseyde's declaration that love and all worldly bliss ends in sorrow, with herself being example and proof thereof (IV, 843-4), and in Book IV's increased presentation of Fortuna's power and cruel capriciousness, and of her nature as being in accord with Boethian ideas of it. Furthermore, the idea of the blindness of human desires for security and happiness, mentioned in regard to the Bayard passage and also derived from Boethius, is echoed when Criseyde calls Troilus "Myn owene hertes sothfast suffisaunce" (IV, 1640) at a point when it is already obvious that the exchange must take place; and human blindness is involved too in the Narrator's exclamation to Juvenal about people not knowing what is in their own interests (IV, 197-201). And while Boethian ideas about worldly felicity and security -- and lack thereof -- and about the blindness of the human condition, are thus

reinforced in Book IV, an additional important Boethian theme is added. In connection with the ideas of human inability to see truly, and of the possibility of astral influence, and perhaps of love's irresistability as well, lies the problem of predestination versus free will. So far from evading this question, Chaucer has borrowed the argument and to some extent the actual phrasing of his translation of Boethius on the subject of predestination (Boece, Chaucer's translation, Bk. V, pr. 2 and 3), and put it in Troilus' mouth at Troilus and Criseyde IV, 958-1085. And while Troilus does not come up with Lady Philosophy's resolution of the issue -- or indeed with any clear resolution at all -- his exploration of the subject makes the question an explicit and unavoidable theme in the poem. Has all come about, as Troilus declares, by necessity, so that astrological influence on Criseyde and the weather, love's power over one who considered himself least susceptible, and Fortuna's power have established by fiat what the characters must experience? Or do the facts that we are carefully shown how the protagonists come to decisions about whether to accept the condition of loving, and whether to go through with the exchange, coupled with the frequent uses of language that closes distance between the characters and the fourteenth century audience (which presumably adhered to a Christian belief in free will), and on top of this

Boethius' own conclusion endorsing free will, which Troilus does not reach, all mean that free will is operative and is presented in the poem? Since Troilus speaks of fatalism, but without coming to a theologically sound conclusion, while elements of both free will and fatalism are present, the possibility remains of the poem's final moral being the assertion either of fatalism or of free will. And it is in Book IV that this long Boethian passage brings the issue fully and inescapably to our attention.

It may also be noted at this point that Fortuna's influence is depicted in Book IV as supporting a fatalistic reading. The poem's dealing with the problem of free will becomes explicit along with the increase in power of that deity who determines what goods a person has in this world and how long one may enjoy them. Also, Fortuna has since III, 626 been linked with planetary influence, which is another destinal factor in the Troilus. We can therefore see that part of Fortuna's significance in the poem is her suggestion of destinal elements in it. Boethian references confirm that free will versus predestination is a concern of the poem, while the Boethian figure of Fortuna operates to give weight to the latter side of the equation. The fact that De Consolatione itself presents Fortuna but does not come to a predesti-

narian conclusion helps qualify the fatalistic implications of her presence, indicating that a conclusion asserting free will would still be possible in the poem. But Chaucer has not presented all of Lady Philosophy's statement. His handling of Troilus' "predestination soliloquy" plus the presentation of Fortuna is such as to create a balance of destinal and free will suggestions. The problem of predestination is presented explicitly in the poem in Book IV; it is not solved or answered.

Another kind of reference to deities in Book IV -- as in the rest of the Troilus -- is minor or one-time references to various pagan gods and legends. In Book IV, the general nature of such references seems to be characterizable as brief and only mildly thematic if at all so.

Several references are almost completely matters of legend. Calkas, for example, names Apollo along with astronomy and augury as his sources of information regarding the certainty of Troy's fall, adding that both Phebus and Neptune are angry at the Trojans and will destroy them on account of their failure to compensate those two deities for building Troy's walls (IV, 113-26). This is essentially a restatement of pagan myth and legend, with little thematic significance beyond supporting the ancient setting. Mythical references to Myrrha (IV, 1139) and Argus (IV, 1459), an allegorical reference

to Fame spreading the rumor of the exchange (IV, 659-65), Troilus bidding Atropos to prepare his bier (IV, 1208), and Criseyde's reference to Juno as Saturn's daughter who drove Athamanta mad (IV, 1538-9), are other examples of references to deities which employ ancient gods and legends aptly but not to any thematic purpose. And other references which might have some additional meaning are still relatively casual. Troilus, for example, curses the day "that Nature/ Shop me to ben a lyves creature!" (IV, 251-2), and later Pandarus asks in disgust whether Troilus thinks Kind has made him only to please Criseyde (IV, 1096). These two references allude to Natura's identity as creator of earthly things and especially earthly beings, and in doing so coincide with earlier allusions to her, but both of these passages are rather expressions of emotions than serious philosophical usages: they remind us of the goddess, but if she confers thematic import, it is through other references, not these. Two of Book IV's references to Juno are similar. Criseyde swears by Juno, heaven's queen (IV, 1595), and Pandarus calls Juno "blisful" and hopes for the goddess' might to manifest itself as grace to the lovers (IV, 1116-7), and these are key-words for the infusion into a pagan god of the attributes of the Christian God. But the references are both part of emphatic rather than

thematic speech, nor does either of these passages convey any more serious ideas than the characters' concern with the fate of the love affair. References to the gods in general also tend to have little significance in Book IV. Pandarus finds Troilus praying despairingly to "the pitous goddes everichone" to send him death, since he is convinced there is no help for him (IV, 946-52), while Criseyde intends to make her father let her go back to Troy by convincing him that he has misread their signs -- "For goddes speken in amphibologies,/ And, for a sooth, they tellen twenty lyes" (IV, 1405-11); later she swears faithfulness by every god, goddess, nymph, infernal deity, satyr and faun (IV, 1540-5). The gods thus referred to are very much the members of the pagan pantheon, beings to whom one might frantically appeal, or whose oracles one might manipulate, but not very personal or caring or reliable deities, certainly not figures for God in the sense that Jove in Book IV, or Venus and Cupid in Book III, seem to be. Even astronomical references are relatively casual in Book IV. Criseyde swears for emphasis by "Cynthia the sheene" (IV, 1608) and swears to return before "Phebus suster, Lucina the sheene" moves through Aries (IV, 1590-94), and Phebus' place in the zodiac is used in a time-description (IV, 31-2); all three of these passages use the gods merely emphatically or astronomically, as a form of rhetorical

enhancement. Criseyde does describe herself as an "infortuned wight/ And born in corsed constellacioun" (IV, 744-5) as part of her initial cries of distress, but while this exclamation may continue a presentation of astrological suggestions, it is too brief and exclamatory to add anything to them. And even Book IV's infernal references are specialized and few. Troilus tells Pandarus that after he dies he will "won in peyne" with Proserpine, eternally complaining of his woe since his love for Criseyde will never leave his heart (IV, 472-7); Criseyde similarly declares that even if they are separated on earth, they will dwell together after death -- though her perception of the afterlife is pleasanter, being "the feld of pite, out of peyne,/ That highte Elisos" (IV, 789-90). There is only one other infernal reference in Book IV, at the end where Criseyde swears fidelity to Troilus, praying Juno to send her insane to "dwelle/ Eternalich in Stix, the put of helle" if she is unfaithful, swearing by infernal deities among others, and finally hoping to sink to hell, body and soul, if she betrays her and Troilus' love (IV, 1538-54). All three of these references are specialized in the sense that each is a cry of anguish or desperation about the impending separation, so that each of these references uses hell and its denizens as indications of, and figures for,

the speakers' depth of distress. The infernal references, in this way, use the negative connotations of hell to illuminate emotional conditions rather than ideas about the world or its supernatural power(s). Indeed, although two of these references are hellish enough, one of the three describes benign Elysium rather than a place of pain. Thus, while infernal references are present in Book IV, and do mirror suffering such that one might perceive them to be making silent negative comment on what kind of experience the love depicted in the poem ultimately produces, these infernal passages are few and far between in Book IV, and their negativity is partly mitigated by the Elisos reference. Infernal references, though present, are not especially prominent here, and fit best into the pattern made by other minor references to gods and legends. There are quite a few such references, and they are basically casual. They reinforce the Trojan scene, without carrying much thematic significance.

Finally, references to God and colloquial language in Book IV must be considered to determine, again, whether the nature and relative weight of such language is different here than from such usages in earlier Books, and how Book IV's allusions to God qualify those of Books I through III. References to "God" or "Lord" must be considered, as well as the related subgroup of language

which recalls Christian attitudes, culture, or practices.

As in Book III, most of the Book IV references to "God" or "Lord" are essentially exclamatory. Pandarus' pity for Troilus is described by the Narrator with, "But, Lord, so ofte gan his herte colden" (IV, 362), and Criseyde swears "by God" to return home in ten days (IV, 1319). More numerous than these most casual or emphatic uses are the sort that, though a little more extensive, are hardly more significant. Troilus suggests stealing away "for the love of God" (IV, 1600); the Narrator tells us that Criseyde revived from her faint in the nick of time "as God wolde" (IV, 1162) and that she did not listen to the women who tried to comfort her, "For, God it woot, hire herte on other thyng is" (IV, 696); and Criseyde comments on Troilus' suggestion that he leave Troy with her with "'God forbede'", describing the plan's disadvantages and adding "'God shilde us fro meschaunce!'" (IV, 1555-61). As I have discussed in Chapter II, this sort of language suggests a deity with characteristics of knowledge and power, but only barely and passingly; these usages are essentially colloquial language. As throughout the Troilus, however, such language as in these passages blends seamlessly into Book IV's few usages of God's name which are more interesting. Troilus' emphatic refusal to seek another love, to which he

adds, "I prey God lat this conseil never ythe" (IV, 434-9), or the hope of one of Criseyde's comforters "That, whan she goth, almyghty God hire gide" (IV, 691-3) are both slightly stronger mentions of God than the colloquial formulae observed just above, being longer by a few words, and just a little more explicit in ascribing divine power to Him. A couple of other passages are more theologically conscious again: Troilus swears his fidelity with "Now, God, to whom ther nys no cause ywrye,/ Me glade" (IV, 1653-5); and Criseyde swears that Troilus need not worry about her ability to return with "helpe me God so at my mooste nede" (IV, 1527-33). And finally, there are two actual prayers to God. Troilus, thinking Criseyde dead, prays, "O Lord, that set art in thi trone,/ Rewe ek on me, for I shal folwe hire sone!" (IV, 1175-6), while Criseyde at her first opportunity after learning of the exchange tears her hair, wrings her hands, "and bad God on hire rewe,/ And with the deth to doon boote on hire bale" (IV, 736-8). These latter passages are urgent expressions of the protagonists' passions, and as such they call on God much as a wretched Christian might, and using the same words a fourteenth century Christian might use. Yet even these prayers are highly emphatic, expressions of anguish rather than serious theological considerations. Indeed, both Troilus in Book IV and Criseyde in Book III address their serious

Boethian philosophizings to "almighty Jove"; Pandarus' response to Troilus of "almighty God" is notable for its different, more exclamatory and completely this-worldly tone. Book IV's uses of "God" and "Lord" can thus be seen as basically casual and colloquial, not serious enough uses of God's name to hold more significance than the mere naming of Him in itself might carry.

Religious phraseology in Book IV includes several one-time and relatively casual uses of expressions, but also several words or phrases which occur repeatedly. One-time uses of words or expressions derived from religion occur when Criseyde, defending her intention to return to Troilus, says that she "'wol nat make long sermoun'" (IV, 1282), or exclaims "'O Calkas, fader, thyn be al this synne!'" (IV, 761), or when Pandarus exclaims, "'the devel spede hym that it recche!'" (IV, 630). These expressions use the language of fourteenth century religious practice or attitudes, but in a distinctly secular, colloquial fashion. On a different tack, Criseyde tells Troilus that when she leaves,

my clothes everychon
Shul blake ben in tokenyng, herte swete,
That I am as out of this world agon,
That wont was yow to setten in quiete;
And of myn ordre, ay til deth me mete,
The observance evere, in youre absence,
Shal sorwe ben, compleynt, and abstinence.

IV, 778-84

Here the allusion is clear to a nun's life and practice, yet again the reference is in a secular context, and is

applied to secular things. . . Indeed, the stanza brings to mind the irony of Criseyde's intention to abide by a form of religious self-abnegation and abstention, when we know she will really betray Troilus; yet we would still be hard put to make this expression of an emotion and an intention into a serious thematic high point. Ambiguous, like so many passages in the Troilus, this stanza does remind the audience of Christian practices and thus, perhaps, of their own presumably-Christian values, yet it could equally well be simply a colloquial and familiar method of expressing a character's feelings. It would be an inadequate reading that assumed either of these possibilities to be the only legitimate one. Yet a passage like this is not in the same category as an overtly thematic or serious passage such as Criseyde's Boethian statement on worldly felicity.

These references are examples of colloquial language suggesting Christian practice which are one-time occurrences. In contrast, a whole group of usages occurs in Book IV in regard to "goost". There are several references in Book IV to Troilus' and Criseyde's woeful and/or weary "goostes", and to the possibility of these "goostes" leaving their bodies at death (IV, 302-8, 785-91, 904-10, 1142, and 1221-2). Again, this word is part of Christian religious phraseology, yet it is used here

to describe worldly, secular woe or death. "Penaunce" too is a religious word used to designate earthly woe in Book IV, for it occurs in expressions like the description of Troilus being so exhausted by despair "that joie nor penaunce/ He feleth non" (IV, 342-3), or the statement that Troilus' "gret furie" of "penaunce" about Criseyde's departure was quenched with hope (IV, 1429). A third phrase which originates in Christian religion but which Chaucer uses mainly secularly in Book IV involves the idea of martyrdom. Criseyde's appearance is described as giving Pandarus "verray signal of martire/ Of deth" (IV, 623), apparantly suggesting little more than that she looked like someone who had suffered while dying. And in another place, Pandarus tells Troilus to elope with Criseyde -- "And if thow deye a martyr, go to hevene" (IV, 623); while this quote refers to a theological idea, it applies it to a perfectly secular action. It is not God but Cupid who would be served by an elopement, and the implied equation of carnal desire's satisfaction with heaven's bliss is courtly perhaps, but hardly very Christian. In fact, references to heaven constitute the only remaining group of religious expressions in Book IV, and they are also basically secular in use and application, tending to denote the change from happiness to misery that the separation of the lovers entails. Criseyde's face, which was "lik of Paradys the

ymage/ Was al ychaunged" (IV, 862-5), her spirit must dwell in bitter pain when she recalls "fro heven into which hell/ She fallen was" in having to forgo seeing Troilus (IV, 710-4), and she declares that tears rain down from heaven for pity on her (IV, 846-7). Troilus too experiences cruel pains which "passen every torment down in hell" when he perceives that the exchange must finally go through (IV, 1695-1701). None of these passages appear to have either uses or contexts such as would give them thematic meaning. Although concerns with true happiness under God, and with worldly woe, are certainly present in the Troilus, these particular namings of heaven and hell appear simply to function metaphorically (rather as references to Proserpine and Styx did) to describe superlative beauty and joy or to illustrate the characters' passionate and total misery. Religious phraseology in Book IV, like namings of God, is mostly of a relatively casual and secular sort.

In sum, Book IV's usages of "God" and "Lord", and of the language and expressions of Christian beliefs and practices, tends mostly to be quite casual, creating familiarity with the characters' world for the fourteenth century audience, closing distance at the same time that the many casual uses of pagan gods open it. The colloquial casualness of the namings of God and uses of reli-

gious phraseology can be appreciated especially in relation to the passages in which serious thematic and theological issues are associated not with God but with Jove, reflecting perhaps that it is pagan characters who are engaging in these philosophical wrestlings. In any case, although there are many uses of God's name and of fourteenth century religious expressions, it is Jove and Fortuna rather than these usages which tend to carry Book IV's main thematic content. Indeed, there may be some subtle echo of Christian attitude in the appearances of God's name and of Christian expressions, some unobstrusive maintaining of some level of Christian awareness. But if this is the case, it is at best so subtle that there is no contextual necessity to read these references in this way at all.

To summarize my consideration of religious allusions in Book IV, it is Fortuna, Jove, and Boethian passages that seem to carry most thematic significance, while in a real turn-around from the situation earlier in the poem, the love gods, and references to minor gods and legends and to God and Christian practice tend to be brief and less significant. Fortuna is revealed in Book IV to be cruel, powerful, active, interested in the affair and adverse to it; she is the force responsible for destroying the lovers' happiness and as such is highly visible in Book IV, where the affair begins to be

broken up. Book IV's Fortuna, moreover, is still the figure that Boethius' Philosophy described, and is thus related to Boethian references in the poem; and she is also involved with astral influence and thus with the question of fate versus free will, another issue related to the poem's Boethian passages. Boethian references have, in fact, been present throughout the poem. It is the Boethian passages' suggestions of mutability, of the impossibility of worldly security or felicity, and even of the blindness of the human condition, as well as the related presentation of the Boethian Fortuna, which bring these important thematic considerations into the Troilus at all. All these significant suggestions are present again in Book IV, and in addition Troilus' long Boethian paraphrase about predestination adds the overt discussion of that philosophical problem to the poem's thematic concerns. It is to be noted that the Boethian Fortuna and Troilus' statement on Boethian ideas on predestination, along with astrological influence and some factors of plot and character, constitute the destinal factors in the poem, while it is the implied suggestion of Boethius' own conclusion on the subject, along with Chaucer's showing us how the characters make choices, that provides the free-will side of the equation: that is, Boethian references are used to establish both the fatalistic and

the free-will possibilities, as well as the explicit consideration of the question. As I have observed, the issue is raised rather than resolved; it is Chaucer's particular and careful use of Boethius which both presents the problem and strengthens both sides of the case.

After Fortuna and Boethian material, the third important group of references in Book IV are those to Jove, who remains in name a pagan god. But while earlier in the Troilus he was either used in casual colloquial expressions or characterized as a figure of pagan legend, in Book III and especially in Book IV he is referred to and prayed to in terms which a medieval Christian might use, such that Jove appears to become almost a synonym for God. It is in conjunction with Jove's name rather than God's that the mutability and predestination issues are presented, though these are crucial themes which a medieval Christian would think of in terms of God and His Providence. In contrast, references to God and religious practice, which in the beginning of the poem were striking and apparently important, seem to become more colloquial and less significant as the poem gains seriousness in Book II and urgency in Book IV. They undoubtedly perform a distance-closing, familiarity-creating function between the ancient characters and the medieval audience, and in this sense may help maintain some level of medieval ambience; to the extent that a medieval ambience is a

Christian one, a vague reminiscence of Christian attitudes may be maintained in Book IV through these usages of God's name and of religious phraseology. But for the most part, these references are highly casual, expressing ad hoc emphasis rather than considered thematic meaning. And similarly, Book IV's uses of and references to gods and myths tend to be casual, opening distance and creating a Trojan setting even as distance is closed by colloquial references to God. Even references to heaven and hell seem, in their contexts, to be mainly metaphorical descriptions or emotional outbursts, while the love gods who were so prominent and significant in Book III are in Book IV abruptly diminished to minor and powerless figures. The growth and fruition of the affair in Books I through III involved Cupid and Venus as powerful, benign, and active, along with strong reminders of the Christianity which might function as an opposing morality to the affair, and mere hints of the idea of mutability. The sudden reversal of the affair from bliss to ruin in Book IV is partly created and partly reflected by a sudden shift in which gods we see and how they are presented: suddenly Fortuna is of major importance, while the concern of pagan Trojans with problems of God's presence and providence in the world is presented by the use of Jove in regard to these concerns; and there is a

concommittent reduction of importance both in references to God and to the love gods. All the deities and types of references continue from Book I through the poem, but the relative frequency and significance of the different types of references varies from one Book to another, in tandem with the story's changes in direction.

V
Book V

Book V is the final section of the Troilus, and it has no proem to set its tone. It continues from the concerns of Book IV -- yet there are sizable changes in attitude which take place in the course of Book V, and which, as may be expected, are reflected in the Book's use of God and gods. The purpose of this section of this chapter will therefore be twofold: to trace the uses of gods and of God's name within Book V, including whatever changes these uses show in the Book, and also to summarize the changes that each major kind of religious reference has undergone throughout the poem.

What opening invocation Book V has is only a few lines, and they concern Jove, continuing the presentation of him developed in Book IV. For it was in Book IV that the problem of God's governance in relation to fatalism and free will was made explicit, and it was stated in connection with Jove. Book V's opening continues this

connection:

Aprochen gan the fatal destyne
That Joves hath in disposicioun,
And to yow, angry Parcas, sustren thre,
Committeth, to don execucioun; V, 1-4
Jove's governance of what happens is clearly stated,

continuing the presentation of him as a power to be comprehended in terms of the Christian idea of God. And further, this passage parallels and echoes the important lines in Book III where we were told that Fortuna is "under God...oure hierdes" (III, 619), in that she arranges the details of worldly occurrences which God has decided on. Considering the Christian idea of Fortuna acting under God, already discussed, it is obvious that in creating this echo, Chaucer reinforces the presentation of Jove as, at least in part, a synonym for God, an identification which is further tied down when Fortuna's subjection to Jove (rather than, as in Book III, God), is explicitly stated:

Fortune, which that permutacioun
Of thynges hath, as it is hire comitted
Thorough perveyaunce and disposicioun
Of heighe Jove, as regnes shal be flitted
Fro folk in folk, or when they shal be smytte,
Gan pulle away the fetheres brighte of Troie
Fro day to day, til they ben bare of joie. V, 1541-6
And Jove's quality of "purveyaunce" is also restated,

though briefly, when Troilus suggests that "Joves, of his purveyaunce" had used a dream to tell him of Criseyde's infidelity (V, 1250-1). Even Book V's two relatively casual usages of Jove are of the category of colloquial speech that names a god in a way which parallels collo-

quial uses of God: Criseyde tells Diomedes of her hope that "Joves for his grace" will deliver Troy from its cares (V, 957-9); and Troilus hopes that Jove will give Cassandra sorrow (V, 1525). Jove thus continues in Book V's few references to him to be depicted very strongly as a God-like figure, to whom Divine providence is attributed, and who is named, whether seriously or casually, as God might be named.

In the earlier parts of the Troilus, Jove appears most frequently as the figure of pagan myth and legend (i.e., as the deity who lay with "Almena" in Troilus' aubade, III, 1428, or who loved mortal women because of Venus' influence in Proem III, ll. 15-21, or who loved Europe in Troilus' prayer, III, 722-3). But as the poem continues, he is also named in ways that God might be colloquially or emphatically named. And as the poem approaches its midpoint climax and takes on real emotional seriousness, Jove's name becomes synonymous with God's, used both casually and seriously in the ways that God's name would be (and is). Jove undergoes a transformation, then, from a member of a pagan pantheon at the poem's beginning, to being revealed, in a manner sustained throughout the work's second half, as a Divine Being who seems to be tantamount to the Christian God. The only Book V exceptions to this statement, in fact, are two in number, and as they both occur in allusions to

multiple deities they will be discussed below. Jove as a single, focussed-on god conforms to the pattern here described.

Like references to Jove, Book V's uses of astronomical and astrological references are only a handful in number, but their significance builds on that of the preceding Books. It is in line with usages begun in Book II that Phebus and Zephyrus are named in the extended time description which informs us that Troilus and Criseyde had been lovers for three years (V, 8-14). Phebus and Nysus' daughter are similarly used (V, 279-80, 1107-10) to describe sunrise, while Troilus prays to the moon as Latona, asking her to wax and wane quickly (V, 655-6). This sort of usage functions mainly as rhetorical ornament and reinforcement of the Trojan setting, as has already been seen. But astronomical references have also been used astrologically, and in Book V there is one remarkable passage in which astronomical description and astrological allusion combine. On the tenth night after the exchange, the date by which Criseyde had promised to return to Troilus, Diomedes visits her and stays until he feels that "al was wel" for him; and Criseyde, just after sunset, decides to stay with the Greeks. The stanza between Diomedes' departure and Criseyde's decision -- V, 1016-22 -- is in this context more than just a

rhetorically decorated description of sunset. On the
 contrary, as has been pointed out,¹⁵ the combination of
 sunset and its sense of ending, with the ascendant acti-
 vity of changeful Cynthia (the moon) and the setting of
 Venus, planet of the love-goddess, just at the point at
 which Criseyde decides to break faith with Troilus, is
 both metaphor and commentary; Venus' and the moon's
 mythical and astrological significance are allusively
 suggested by way of telling the audience just what Cri-
 seyde's entering her father's tent means. Earlier, we
 were told outright that Venus' astrological influence
 aided Troilus' suit to Criseyde; now, by contextual
 allusion at least, Venus' setting and the loss of Troi-
 lus' hold on his beloved occur together. The extent to
 which the one depends on the other is a question that
 goes to the heart of the problem of astrological determi-
 nism in the poem, and there are arguments on both sides
 of the question. Astrological references, as well as
 astronomical time-descriptions, have been present since
 Book II, and have been involved specifically in the
 poem's crucial actions, such as at II, 676-86 and III,
 617-28, where the influence of the stars was explicitly
 named as significant in determining actions and outcomes.
 Yet we are also carefully shown how the characters make
 decisions at these points. Influence of the planetary
 deities on the pagan protagonists is suggested, yet a

reference like "the cok, comune astrologer" (III, 1415) seems to discredit astral influence by demeaning its interpreters. Indeed, the Book V sunset passage uses the stars as mere metaphor as much as anything else. I think that we must be careful not to put too much insistence on astral determinism -- yet neither can astrological influence be ignored in reading the Troilus.

In sum, we have seen thus far two major uses of the planets, one being in rhetorically ornate time descriptions and the other being in passages suggestive of astrological influence, both uses being present from Book II on, throughout the Troilus. The former usage has little significance beyond assisting in establishing a Trojan scene and high style. The latter, however, is involved with the poem's important theme of predestination versus free will, and like other manifestations of this theme, the poem's uses of the planets raise rather than resolve the problem. Such is the state of astronomical/astrological references in the Troilus when we reach the final stanzas -- where a whole new use of this type of allusion occurs. For when Troilus is slain, his ghost rises up to "the holughnesse of the eighthe sphere," where he sees the planets with full understanding and hears the harmony of their "hevenyshe melodie" (V, 1807-13). We are not told precisely what his "ful

avysement" revealed, other than that it caused him to compare the "wrecched world" with heaven's "pleyn felicity", but this would seem to indicate that, in these final stanzas, the heavens are no longer a place where planetary deities answer to pagan legend, but have become a place where true insight, bliss, and rest are possible. In this heaven the gods are still present, for Mercury is a character (V, 1827). But Mercury occurs here in conjunction with a perception that might as well be Christian, i.e., that "the blynde lust, the which that may nat laste" is as nothing compared to heaven on which we "sholden al oure herte...caste" (V, 1824-5) -- and this in turn leads to truly Christian lines which are addressed from teller to audience in a tone unlike the Narrator's style during the story's telling. The stars, in the body of the Troilus, are of the pagan world, but in the epilog they become the gateway to the final overtly Christian conclusion.

Fortuna is another important deity whose appearance in Book V continues a presentation which has been developing since Book I. Her wilful and incontestable power, and active interest, are thus reasserted by Cassandra, when she explains that in order to tell Troilus what his dream meant she must repeat some old tales of "how that Fortune overthrowe/ Hath lordes olde" (V, 1460-1). The Narrator also tells us that Troilus fought Diomedes

fiercely but unavailingly, since "Fortune it naught ne wolde,/ Of oothers hond that eyther deyen sholde." (V, 1763-4) The goddess' cruelty is also restated by the Narrator, who tells us that Troilus' wish to see Criseyde again was hopeless because "Fortune his howve entended bet to glaze!" (V, 649), and later tells us that Fortune intended to "jape" Troilus and Pandarus when they watched for Criseyde (V, 1133-4). The place of Fortuna's power as subordinate to a higher and less capricious jurisdiction is also reinforced in Book V, in the passage mentioned in connection with Jove, where Fortuna is described as pulling out the bright feathers of Troy's happiness according to Jove's dispensation, which grants her a "permutacioun/ Of thynges" subject to his "perveyaunce" (V, 1541-7). And it is in this connection that one of the Narrator's key comments is made:

Gret was the sorwe and pleynte of Troilus;
 But forth hire cours Fortune ay gan to holde...
 Swich is this world, whoso it kan byholde:
 In ech estat is litel hertes reste.
 God leve us for to tak it for the beste!

V, 1744-50

Again, Fortuna's activities are seen as impacting heavily on the characters' lives, and as irresistible. But here the description of Fortuna in these terms prompts (finally) a statement of resignation and a turning to God. This is the first time in the entire poem that Fortuna's conduct and nature have led to an evaluative statement which looks outside the poem, and it is part of

the way that the poem turns, at its conclusion, from the tale itself to a wider and more Christian perspective. Fortuna has been a Boethian figure throughout the poem, a powerful force and important deity, mover of the world's changefulness and mutability and insecurity, interested, active, and without regard for people's desires or just merits. It is appropriate that she is present as the poem turns towards the God-oriented conclusion that Boethius also reached.

There are quite a few references to pagan gods and legends in Book V. Many of these are to gods in the plural, and as the story recounts Troilus' loss and grief, none of the references to gods are very positive. Troilus' ordering of his funeral, asking Mercury to guide his soul and come for it as soon as he likes, and telling Pandarus to offer Mars his horse, sword, and helm and to give his shield to Pallas (V, 298-322) is melancholy enough, yet this is as cheerful as any of Book V's references to multiple deities gets. Troilus' other mentions of plural gods occur when he miserably declares that the gods show things -- like Crisedye's betrayal -- truthfully in dreams (V, 1713-5), and when, after handing Criseyde over to Diomedes, he goes back to his chamber and curses them all (V, 204-10). Criseyde also refers to gods in the plural, in her letter in which she indicates

that she won't return soon and regrets that Troilus does not seem to take "the goddes ordinaunce...for the beste" (V, 1605-6); this too is hardly a sanguine usage. And Pandarus also mentions the gods, yet with a thoroughly atheistic viewpoint, discounting Troilus' feeling that ominous dreams are god-sent (V, 365-70 and 1276-81) -- a view which echoes his Book IV opinion that chances in love are as random as chances at dice (IV, 1098-9). When the gods as a group are present in Book V, they are distant and impotent figures, negatively referred to, correlating with their inability to either save the protagonists' happiness or comfort their distress.

References to individual gods in Book V also follow this pattern of being not infrequent yet mainly negative. Troilus, feeling that the ten days of anxious waiting are too long, fears that "The sonnes sone, Pheton" is driving the sun's chariot amiss again (V, 659-665); Cassandra tells of Diana's anger at the Greeks for failing to sacrifice to her (V, 1464-70); Troilus mentions Juno's cruelty to the Thebans in relation to Cupid's treatment of himself (V, 599-602). Criseyde alludes to the three eyes to Prudence, in bemoaning her own lack of foresight (V, 744-9), which again fits Book V's overall tone of sorrow, helplessness, and loss. Her use of Pallas is peculiar, for she swears to Diomedes by Pallas that she never loved anyone but her husband -- which we know to be

false (V, 977) -- and that she will love Diomede as well as any Greek (V, 999-1001); these usages, with their prevarication and their revelation of Criseyde's incipient betrayal, do not name the goddess in a negative way but do involve her in the disintegration of Criseyde's good conduct. And finally, although infernal references (i.e. to Pluto or Proserpine) are absent from Book V, there are several references to gods or legends of pain and destruction. Troilus thus fears that Carybdis will devour him and his figurative ship if Criseyde does not return (V, 644), and mentions Alceste, who was willing "to dye and gon to helle" for her husband (in contrast to Criseyde) (V, 1527-33). Cassandra mentions the actions of the Furies at Thebes (V, 1497-8); the Narrator speaks of the "angry Parcas, sustren thre" as executing Jove's "fatal destyne" to break up the affair (V, 1-4); and Diomede promises that the Greeks will take such vengeance on the Trojans as to leave the Manes, "that goddes ben of peyne", aghast (V, 890-3). In short, there are quite a few references in Book V either to multiple gods or to individual pagan deities, but none of these passages carry any sense of either benignity or power being ascribed to them. As the love affair disintegrates, the gods whom its participants worship come to be seen as impotent or cruel (or, for Pandarus, nonentities)

-- in considerable degree a reflection of the characters' experience of pain and loss and of not being helped.

Two functions of the gods can thus be identified throughout the Troilus: creating high style and a Trojan setting; and reflecting the characters' experiences and personalities. From Thesiphone in I,6 through the "Lo here" stanza just fourteen lines before the end of Book V, the gods are a major presence in the Troilus. As part of the poem's rhetorical ornamentation, the gods help create a high style for the work. Furthermore, they play a major part throughout the poem in creating and maintaining a Trojan setting, and thus in establishing both historical and religious distance between the story's characters and its audience. Indeed, despite the partially anachronistic suggestions involved in the presentation of Palladion, the full panoply of gods of classical myth and legend are frequently and aptly present, and are a major factor in manifesting an ancient and pagan scene. This function of establishing an ancient setting is further suggested by the way in which most of the references to gods are more casual and colloquial than heavily thematic. Nonetheless, there is also an extent to which they help reflect the emotional conditions of the characters. In Books I through III, prayers reflect Troilus' deep and urgent emotional commitment to Criseyde, while in Book IV the threat to the affair and

the characters' resultant hopes and fears are also reflected in the way that the gods are named as "blisful Juno" or "pitous goddes" yet not shown as especially potent. In Book V the final griefs of the affair's disintegration are again reflected in the gods' distance and impotence, and the negative tone of mentions of them. And the distinctions in how each character names and relates to the gods, noted and described in Chapter II, remain valid: the gods help reveal Troilus' piety and idealism, Criseyde's femininity and instability, Pandarus' manipulativeness and its limitations, and the Narrator's bumbling, helpless empathy. These also are factors of the characters' emotional experience and conditions, which the poem's usages of pagan gods help depict. But beyond identifying these two patterns --creating the Trojan scene and rhetorical style and revealing the characters' experience -- it is difficult to determine other consistent uses for the gods. In Book I, one of the Book's main uses of minor gods is the anachronistic presentation of Palladion -- but this sort of presentation of an object of worship does not recur in the poem. Again, Book I introduces the significant goddess Natura, but she is not really a major figure in the subsequent Books. Book II reveals a distinct pattern of mentioning minor gods, legends, and infernal references which cast

some question on the affair, subtly undercutting its value through their negative associations being brought up in conjunction with the love. Yet in Books III through V, such negative legendary references are almost non-existent, while the few infernal references are ambiguous or even relatively benign. Gods tend to be used in casual oaths in Book II, addressed in heartfelt prayers in III, agonized to in Book IV, and cursed or negatively alluded to in V; while these facts parallel the rising and falling action they do not otherwise reveal a consistent use or presentation of the gods. If any of these manifestations are thematically significant, it can only be revealed through finding larger patterns into which they fall. The gods are massively present in the Troilus, but in themselves they function mostly to create the Trojan and pagan setting, and to reflect, through many apt usages, the characters' experiences and feelings.

It is with this awareness that we must evaluate the gods' final appearance in the epilog, where the pagan gods are associated with "payens corsed olde rites" as well as with "thise wrecched worldes appetites"; the context also suggests that the gods do not truly or properly reward their servants (V, 1849-55). Again, this is part of the epilog's turning away from the subject of the poem -- the love of Troilus and Criseyde -- and towards the Christian God. But regarding the gods, this

passage is a peculiar move. To the extent that the gods are pagan, and are part of the ancient pre-Christian setting, and help tell (at length) of love's woe and of Troilus' final loss of love despite his pagan piety, the "Lo here" stanza is perfectly apt. But to the extent that pagan Troilus experiences all the pleasures of love, reveals at the test the very essence of "trouthe", and ends with a perception and a partaking of true heavenly felicity under Mercury's guidance as his "fin and guerdon of travaille", the "Lo here" stanza is ambiguous. For it seems to suggest that Troilus' pagan piety and adherence to Cupid, Venus, Fortuna, et al. did lead him finally to heaven, at the same time that the epilog is condemning "feynede loves" and pagan gods and is turning to Christ. In a sense, the heart of the ambiguity of Troilus and Criseyde, in its entirety, is caught here: the fact that the love involves hellish suffering, agonizing anxiety, and finally irremediable loss, yet the equally valid manifestation, through this same love, of great bliss, nobility, and heavenly reward. Both the suffering and the felicity are presented in connection with the gods; in the "Lo here" stanza, both are brought to mind in connection with them. In the end, in sum, the gods appear to be identified with the experience of the love affair and especially with Troilus' experience, so that

what they reflect and participate in is the totality of its woe, its joy, its ambiguity.

Unlike the gods in general, the love gods are (most peculiarly) not mentioned in the epilog. They do, however, appear a few times in Book V, and their presentation there, as well as in the poem as a whole, must be considered.

To an extent, Cupid's appearances in Book V recall his uses in the whole poem. In Books I through III, Cupid was strongly identified as the deity of that set of attitudes known as courtly love, and it is as patron of courtly lovers that Diomedes names him. Diomedes thus declares to Criseyde that "O god of Love in soth we [Greeks and Trojans] serven bothe" (V, 143), and again, "I am nat of power for to stryve/ Ayeyns the god of Love" (V, 166-7); in naming Love as a god whom lovers serve, and as irresistible, Diomedes echoes (however cynically) the characterization of Cupid seen earlier in the poem. In a different manner, Troilus in Book V recalls Book III's characterization of the love gods as powerful dispensers of divine grace and bliss, and also as courtly love figures. For he prays to Cupid as "blisful lord" (V, 608), and asks Cupid's mercy and grace, as well as acknowledging his power and asking him why he should destroy his own folk (V, 582-602). And Criseyde too acknowledges Cupid as patron of good lovers when she

describes Troilus as "Cupides sone, ensample of goodly-heede" (V, 1590). These are Book V's only mentions of love gods, a significant difference from Books I through III though a continuation of their sudden diminution in Book IV. In appearing as the courtly deity, blisful yet cruel, or at least unable to help Troilus in the end, Cupid's Book V representation succeeds in restating many of the aspects of his appearance through the poem.

These few characteristics, however, though reasonably representative, are not the full story of the love gods' appearances in the Troilus. In Book I, Cupid was not only the courtly deity equipped with bow and irresistible arrows and an active interest in using them, but was worshipped in ways distinctly and powerfully suggestive of Christian rites and worship. This characterization of him was continued in Book II, as was the strong suggestion that love under Cupid's aegis is ennobling. In Book III Venus, patron of physical desire, was added to Cupid, god of Love, and both were exalted so far as to be shown as the Divine principle of cosmic Love, holy, benign and potent. Yet Cupid is still the courtly love deity here, just as Venus is a planet as well as a goddess of Love: both the love deities are presented simultaneously with multiple connotations. And in Book III, both are wholly positive. This changes radically in Books IV and V,

where both Cupid and Venus pass suddenly from major to minor deities, complained to but distant and impotent, even cruel figures. In Book V, in fact, Venus is completely absent except for one appearance as a setting planet, while Cupid is only a dim echo of his former manifestation, fading as the love of Troilus and Criseyde fades. The poem's use of Venus and Cupid thus precisely parallels and portrays the growth, fruition, and sudden disintegration of the love affair. As it grows, their appearances grow both in number and in breadth and significance, but when the affair fails, the love gods diminish and disappear with it. Before it fails, however, they carry a significance and an impact, as names for the love that binds the stars, as benign dispensers of heavenly grace and bliss, which give lasting insight into the quality of Divine Love. And we must ask whether this use of Cupid and Venus, as approximations of God's Love, is the reason that they are conspicuously absent from the list of deities condemned in the "Lo here" stanza. If this is the case, the conclusion to be drawn therefrom would seem to be that the love gods are not condemned because the love they represent is not, even by the final standards of the epilog, condemnable.

Another area of significant references which must be considered is the area of anachronism and Narratorial intrusion and exclamation. In a sense, these are two

separate groups, yet they overlap, for both types of references are made by the Narrator, and both set forth the Narrator's characterization.

Some of the anachronistic touches in Book V are basically references to secular culture. Thus the summary of Statius' Thebaid to which Cassandra treats Troilus (V, 1485-1510) is not so much a religious reference as a cultural anachronism, as are Criseyde's making Diomedes wear a medieval pennon of her sleeve (V, 1043), or Troilus' wondering whether Criseyde could not have found something other than his brooch "To feffe with youre new love" (V, 1689) -- "feffe" being a specifically medieval concept. Other passages refer to old books and other older tellings of the tale; these also are part of anachronistic considerations in that they point up distinctions in time between tale and teller. The Narrator, in this vein, informs us that Lollius tells of Diomedes' coat being captured with the brooch on it (V, 1653), and that old books tell of Troilus' subsequent battles (V, 1751-4), and that books tell of the sorrow for Hector's death (V, 1562-3). Criseyde's betrayal of Troilus for Diomedes is also described in terms of what old books tell us (V, 1037-1050), as are her feelings about it and about the fate of her reputation (V, 1051-85). This, indeed, is one of the places where anachronistic references and

Narratorial intrusions overlap, for the Narrator takes the opportunity to comment in his own person (V, 1093-9) on how sorry he is for Criseyde, because her reputation is so widely "punysshed", and on how "she so sory was for hire untrouthe,/ Iwis, I wolde excuse hire yet for routhe". The Narrator gives the impression, indeed, through his intrusions here, that he is controlled and driven to his handling of his tale by his sources. And perhaps it is the Narrator's consciousness of his own reactions to previous tellings that make him so concerned about later responses to his own performance. The final anachronistic-type reference thus points not only back but also forward in time, being the Narrator's envoy to his book, where he tells it to humbly follow old poets of epics and love, and prays God that his book be properly understood and rewritten (V, 1791-8). We thus find in Book V, as earlier, anachronistic references indicating the Narrator's conscious awareness of himself as teller for his own time of a previously recounted tale of an earlier and different time -- a consciousness which allows for the Narrator's own responses to his story.

In a larger or narrower way, most of the Narratorial intrusions are in fact responses to the tale. "the wikked spirit, God us blesse,/ Which that men clepeth the woode jalousie,/ Gan in hym crepe..." (V, 1212-4, emphasis mine) is such a response, as is the embarrassed

insistence at the end of the story that it is not really about false women but even more against false men -- "God yeve hem sorwe" (V, 1781). More seriously, as the story falls toward its close, the Narrator makes some profoundly sorrowful statements about the way of the world, and these lead in to his final evaluation and turning to God in the palinode. "But weilawey, save only Goddes wille!/ Despitously hym slough the fierse Achille" (V, 1805-6) is one of these passages, reflecting the Narrator's helpless sorrow at the events he must recount. And on two occasions in Book V he is even more explicit both about the sorrow of the world and about the lesson to be drawn therefrom. One of these passages follows the acknowledgement that Criseyde's letter was only false promises: "Thus goth the world. God shilde us fro meschaunce,/ And every wight that meneth trouthe avaunce!" (V, 1434-5). The other passage follows the Narrator's exclamation that despite Troilus' grief, Fortuna held forth on her course: "Swich is this world, whoso it kan byholde:/ In ech estat is litel hertes reste./ God leve us for to take it for the beste!" (V, 1744-50). Narratorial intrusions in Book V thus are fairly consistent, expressing a resigned and grieving sympathy for the characters, recommending patience because there is little more that compassion can do.

Whatever his attitudes have been in the earlier parts of the poem, the break-up of the love affair stimulates the Narrator, in helpless empathy with his characters' sorrow, to turn from the world to that God who "nyl falsen no wight" (V, 1845). And so the plot of the poem, joined with the Narrator's own responses to it, propel him in his closing to "that sothfast Crist, that starf on rode" (V, 1860).

It is of course necessary at this point to re-examine the Narrator's responses through the poem, both to determine what his pattern of response has been, and to see how his previous pattern corresponds to his ultimate conclusion. But the key consistencies in this Narratorial response turn out to be vacillation and ambivalence. Thus the Narrator's attitude in the poem's opening Proem was ambivalent, speaking of serving lovers as a charitable endeavor but also of love's woe. Then, in Book I, the Narrator hoped to avoid the fire of love, yet extolled love highly and at length in the "Bayard passage". In Book II, his disclaiming of the tale and distancing himself from it were undercut by his enthusiasm over Criseyde's beginning to fall in love. And in Book III the Narrator's many exuberantly positive praises of love were, conversely, tempered by a couple of remarkable and highly questionable passages, which could be interpreted as devaluing the affair. Thus in the

early parts of the poem, the Narrator has mostly praised love, yet has also voiced reservations, ambivalences, and uncertainties about it. The attitude of Book V, in which he acknowledges the failure of the love and turns to something presumably higher, is an about-face from his earlier attitude, although it echoes and seizes on a chord sounded earlier, if sporadically and quietly. And as already observed regarding the Troilus, the Narrator's praising of love and his final rejection of it somehow both remain standing: the exaltation of love because it is made real to us and because its description does touch something cosmic; the rejection of love because despite being reluctant and sad when it comes it is prepared for and appropriate in its place.

Tracing anachronism through the Troilus is less problematical than the related Narratorial intrusions; at the least the finding is relatively consistent throughout the poem. The cultural anachronism of courtly love, and of courtly practices and attitudes which parallel Christian practice and belief, are present from early in Book I through the end of Book III, and are dimly echoed again by Diomedes in Book V. Further, such cultural anachronism as medieval tales of Wade and Thebes, illuminated manuscripts and pennons of ladies' sleeves, are consistent as well. Finally, Narratorial

statements of distance from the tale, of its taking place in a different time and country, and of its being transmitted by old books, are found similarly in Books I and II and in Book V.

A last consideration here is to review the significance of these Narratorial and anachronistic intrusions in the Troilus. First, it seems clear that both are involved with distance and closure, with opening up distinctions between the place, time and people of the tale on the one hand and its teller and audience on the other, yet also with closing the gap and making the ancient pagan Trojans live as familiar and sympathetic people for the medieval readers. The Narrator thus reminds us that he is translating old books, while expressing warm enthusiasm or sympathy with his characters; anachronisms create a familiar world and concerns while fitting medieval courtly love in to the ancient pagan pantheon. The result, as suggested above, is to create a tale close enough to enter into, yet which allows room for the Narrator's guiding responses. And the Narrator's responses, two-faced as they are, do guide us in creating compassion both for the lovers' joy and for their grief, and in seeing the characters both sympathetically and critically. The strategy of anachronism has created enough distancing to allow for Narratorial response as a guide to a sympathetic emotional reaction, and this res-

ponse both affirms human love as beautiful in its place, and acknowledges its transience, establishing the conditions for a turn to something other.

A penultimate area to be considered is colloquial uses of God and of Christian practice and ideas in Book V. And, interestingly, there is a distinct minority, among Book V's references to God, of significant uses. The usual range and kind of casual namings of "God" or "Lord" are present: expressions like "God woot" (V, 983; 333; 507; 1604; 1761...), "for God's love" (V, 656; 144; 522; 480; 1931-2), "God toforn" (V, 963), "God wolde" (V, 538; 277; see also 124), "God help me so" (V, 153; 486), "By God" (V, 430), "Lord me grace sende" (V, 502; see also 1631), and the exclamatory "Lord!" (V, 529; 735). These are all the most colloquial and casual sort of references. A couple of these references reach a line in length, however. One such is Diomedes's insincere oath, "'For, God myn herte as wisly glade so '" (V, 156); while another is Troilus' "'As wolde blisful God, now, for his joie,/ I myght hire sen ayeyn'" (V, 608-9). This last, bordering on prayer, blends into the prayers which are the other group of Book V's references to God. Cressyde, for example, enumerating the obstacles in the way of returning to Troilus, exclaims, "'now, myghty God, thow on my sorwe rewe!'" (V, 707); later she declares to

Diomedes that she means well, "'by God that sit above!'" and then addresses Troy with a prayer to God that she might see it again (V, 1004-8); later again she prays God to give Troilus the good fate he deserves, seriously enough that "with that word she brast anon to wepe" (V, 1074-8). Troilus also prays to God, that Criseyde will take pity on him (V, 1363-5), and, in his letter, that God will be good to her (V, 1411). And there are even more serious prayers than this. The Narrator appears to be speaking plainly when he beseeches God that his book may be understood (V, 1798); Pandarus also seems truly touched and candid when, finally convinced of Criseyde's betrayal, he prays "almighty God" to "delivere" her soon from the world. Troilus seems to be really urgent when he prays to "God, to whom myn herte I sacrifise" to send the tenth day (V, 423), and again when he prays, "Now God...me sende yet the grace/ That I may meten with this Diomedes!" (V, 1702-3). While the many colloquial expressions cited at the beginning of this paragraph are basically part of colloquial speech and exclamation, without much thoughtful signification, these latter prayers are emotionally urgent, and theologically, they seem to imply God as a Christian might conceive Him. There is thus a seamless progression of namings of God in Book V, from the most casual "Lord!" and "God woot" through the most serious of the Book's colloquial prayers, Troilus' "O

God...thow oughtest taken heede/ To fortheren trouthe,
and wronges to punyce,/ Whi nyltow don a vengeaunce of
this vice?" (V, 1706-8). Some of these passages are
relatively casual; others are deeply felt and serious;
all are colloquial and are part of colloquial speech. To
the extent that they help express the characters'
feelings, they, are part of a story-telling and no more.
But to the extent that they suggest a God as medieval
Christians understood Him, these exclamations and excla-
matory prayers admit Him, if through the back door, into
the Troilus.

The other aspect of colloquial references to Chris-
tianity is that of words and actions which indicate
Christian ideas and practices. One kind of these sugges-
tions has involved allusions to heaven and hell, and
there are several of these in Book V. In one, which
applies to Criseyde, the Narrator tells us that people
who saw Criseyde have written "That Paradys stood formede
in hire yen" (V, 817). The other such references in Book
V are infernal and apply to Troilus: he turns in his bed
like Ixion in hell (V, 211-1), he claims that Criseyde's
absence is to him "an helle" (V, 1396), and dreams of
being in a hellish place -- "allone/ In place horrible,
makynge ay his mone" (V, 249-50). A couple of other
references which Troilus makes are of a different sort,

for it is Troilus who describes Criseyde's empty palace as a "shryne, of which the seynt is oute" (V, 553), and later laments that "I wende, O lady bright, Criseyde,/ That every word was gospel that ye seyde" (V, 1263-5). In this last usage we see the word "gospel" used, as we still use it, to mean absolute truth in a secular sense -- but of course this sense depends on the word's Biblical meaning, and thus anachronistically implies Christianity and its culture as the tale's background. One other reference which does this in a different way is in Diomedes's love-talk, when he calls Criseyde "the first of whom I seche grace" (V, 939), and prays for her mercy (V, 1011); here the courtly-love quasi-worship of the lady is re-echoed. And finally, there are some references to Criseyde's "gilt" in betraying Troilus (V, 1084. 1096, 1775-6) which can only be described as ambiguous. For it is impossible to tell whether the condemnation is of Criseyde's transgression against loyalty within the code of love, or whether her "gilt" is in her loving, as well as betraying, Troilus -- as critics who view the love affair as sinful might suspect.

In considering the possible functions of the uses of "God" and "Lord" in the Troilus, there is (remarkably) a fairly consistent pattern. Most of the poem's uses of God's name and of expressions originating in religious phraseology are essentially colloquial, secular, exclama-

tory, and emphatic. And these usages can be identified as functioning to create familiarity between characters and audience, and to close the historical and religious distance which the many uses of the pagan gods open up. It is not by any means necessary to see these colloquial and exclamatory usages as doing more than this. It is possible, however, to do so. And if we do choose to interpret this group of references as having further significance, we would have to see them as stemming from a medieval Christian culture, and hence as unobtrusively inserting a certain level of Christian ambience or world-view into the tale, or at least into our perception and evaluation of it. Beyond the large body of basically casual or colloquial uses of God's name and the Christian colloquial expressions, there is a further manifestation of the presentation in the Troilus of highly notable and/or questionable Christian allusions, and of descriptions of Christian rites, practices, and attitudes. Much of this involves the presence of courtly love in the poem, such as worship of Cupid in ways paralleling Christian belief and ritual. This material is ambiguous. It could relate to the anachronism of courtly love in the poem, and thus be a medieval secular manifestation. Or it could be part of a presentation of courtly love as an appropriate pagan worship. In any case, however, it does

serve to remind Chaucer's audience of familiar Christian practice. And further, from the Narrator's statement in Proem I that he wishes to serve lovers but to live in charity rather than be one himself, through his ambiguous exclamation about not having bought a night of love with his soul, through his turning from feigned love to Christ in the Palinode, the references to God and Christian practice on rare but consistent occasions participate in a distinct counter-note to the love affair and its values. And when these notes occur, they tend to be too remarkable to ignore. In sum, Troilus and Criseyde has a large number of passages which use God's name and/or suggest Christian practices and ideas. Most of these are colloquial and emphatic usages, creating familiarity for the fourteenth century audience and closing distance between that audience and the ancient, pagan-god-worshipping characters. However, some references to God and Christian practice are associated with casting negative value on the love affair, or are closely associated with courtly-love worship of Cupid, and these passages require further interpretation. In one direction, many of these passages could be subsumed into a reading that saw them as courtly-love material, and saw the courtly-love material as secular or pagan. This would leave very little unescapably Christian material. But on the other hand, the allusions which cast potentially negative aspersions

on the love affair could be combined with seeing Christian practices applied to Cupid, all to remind the audience of their proper applications to Christ, and with seeing the colloquial usages as silently and unobtrusively bringing Christian cultural attitudes to bear, all in order to perceive a thorough and consistent presence of Christian attitudes and morals in the poem. Even such an interpretation would not mean that only a Christian ambience is present, since Cupid, Venus, Fortuna et al. are still functioning in their own ways in the poem. But one could, if one chose, see all the poem's allusions to God and Christianity as working together cohesively to maintain a Christian awareness within the Troilus, and to see this awareness as one of the major factors in the poem. We may conclude that the colloquial uses of God and the presentation of Christian expressions and rites in the Troilus may function mainly as familiarizing colloquialisms and a distance-closing device, or that they may be suggesting a Christian ethos for the audience to judge by. Or, of course, they may be performing both these functions.

The final group of references to be considered is that of Boethian allusions. There are few of these in Book V, but each re-sounds notes earlier initiated in the poem, and they are an important part of the poem's

ending. Criseyde's declaration that she will go back to Troilus, come what may, for "Felicite clepe I my suffisance" (V, 763) is immediately reminiscent of her earlier (III, 816ff) Boethian statement on the impossibility of worldly felicity. Troilus' final condemnation of "The blynde lust, the which that may nat laste" (V, 1824) similarly echoes and recasts statements in the poem about human blindness, from "O blynde world, O blynde entencioun!..." (I, 211) through the Narrator's statement on the blindness of human intentions in regard to exchanging Criseyde for the traitor Antenor (IV, 197-206). And again, the Palinode includes the line, "Swych fyn hath false worldes brotelnesse!" (V, 1832), as part of its general conclusion on Troilus' "fyn...for love", and here again there is an immediate echo of the poem's earlier allusions to the transience and unreliability of worldly things. So it is that even though these few passages are all of Book V's Boethian references, each reinforces earlier statements in the poem, and must be understood in their light.

Boethian references are not so obviously a consistent group as references to God and Christian practice were. They are associated with ideas of human blindness in Books I, IV, and V; and overtly with the problem of fatalism versus free will in Books II and IV. They are associated with the theme of mutability and the world's

falseness and the impossibility of worldly happiness in Books II through V; and with Cupid as a manifestation of the Love that binds the stars in Book III. They are associated with the goddess Fortuna throughout the poem. The coherence between these different uses of Boethian material at different places and in various distributions seems simply to be that all are discernibly derived from Boethius and the internal coherence of Boethian philosophy. They become a constellation of topoi in the Troilus, revealing Fortuna's power and fickleness, the impossibility of worldly felicity, the mutability theme, the problem of predestination and astral influences and free will, and human blindness. Yet they also are part of the crowning revelation of Love as benign and beautiful and powerful; indeed, it is Boethian allusion which furnishes the vehicle for raising Love to something cosmic and Divine. Boethian allusion is thus, as suggested in my consideration of Book III, one of the manifestations which are central to the ambiguity and complex variety of the Troilus, one of the things which both celebrate and affirm, yet also negate and deny, the goodness of Troilus' and Criseyde's love.

Book V of the Troilus can be seen, then, to include some consideration of all the kinds of religious allusions in the poem. While there are different

emphases and significances in Book V than in earlier parts of the poem for some of these kinds of references, and/or differences between the references' functions at the end of Book V than in the poem's body, all the poem's kinds of allusions are present in its concluding Book. And tracing the progressions and shifts for the various groups of references helps to see where the poem has been and how it has proceeded.

conclusion

In sum, Jove has changed over the course of the poem from the lecherous deity of pagan myth to a heavenly Orderer of earthly things, almost a synonym for God, and this has happened in conjunction with increasing seriousness in the poem, and with the introduction of themes of predestination versus free will, and of God's providence. Chaucer's presentation of Fortuna, in contrast, has not changed: she is at the poem's end, as she was from its inception, a Boethian figure, everchanging and never kind or fair or constant, active and interested in affecting human lives, even casually cruel, related to destinal factors such as astral influence yet subject to God's/Jove's providential will. The love affair is brought both to fruition and to its ruin by Fortuna's actions, and she embodies the transitoriness of all

worldly things and the expression of mutability as a theme and concern in the poem. The full panoply of classical gods and demi-gods and legends is multifariously present in Book V, as throughout the Troilus, rarely participating in thematic ideas but continuously helping set a Trojan scene, and thus opening up cultural and historical and religious distance between tale and audience; furthermore, in Book V they continue their function of reflecting the characters' experience. At the same time, many colloquial namings of God and uses of religious-derived expressions also continue the role they have played throughout the poem of closing the distance and helping to keep the characters familiar, understandable, and sympathetic to the medieval audience. In addition, they inevitably imply Christianity and its values as potentially present at least -- and especially when they tie in with Boethian Christian attitudes or with the use of religious phraseology and rites in the poem's courtly-love business. Problems of anachronism, and of what Chaucer means by presenting his story and characters at once as distant and different, and as familiar and sympathetic, are involved in these uses of pagan gods and colloquial religious expressions. The love gods are in a category separate from the other pagan gods. They, like Jove, shift in presentation and function from being the focus of the poem's courtly love

matter (and, as such, recipients of rites and prayers which parallel Christian worship), to being principles of Divine Love and cosmic harmony, patrons of a love which is presented as Good, and back to being mere pagan deities, distant and impotent, even cruel, as the love affair disintegrates. The meaning and nature of Troilus' and Criseyde's love, with all its changes, is a major theme in the poem and is carried by Venus and Cupid. Narratorial intrusions and evaluations also shift, and along the same lines, being generally enthusiastic about love and the affair during its rising action (though with some qualifying notes as well), then lamenting it and turning away from love with resigned sorrow in Book V (though reluctantly). Boethian material, including Fortuna and her significance, provides further evaluative clues about the worth of the affair, both in celebrating its beauty and in acknowledging its transience; and Boethian material also aids in expressing and considering the questions of fate and free will which arise, seemingly naturally, in the story's telling. And finally, the planets are also a changing factor here, beginning as aspects of astral determinism (in Book III it is inferred that they are Fortuna's tools in promoting the affair), but in the end becoming a manifestation of the Heavens.

The variety of possible functions for religious allusions which my first two chapters discussed have been seen in this chapter to be somewhat qualified by the consideration of context. Allusions to Christian practices, for example, might in themselves be thought to introduce Christian beliefs and attitudes into the poem, but in looking at the poem itself we see that their interpretation must acknowledge both their participation in the courtly-love matter, and their casualness of tone. Again, the interpretation of pagan gods must take into account whether given references are casual and exclamatory or serious and thematic; and there turn out to be many examples of each of these kinds of usages. The possibility of multiple meanings has also been reconfirmed, for I have shown that for many references there is indeed no explicit interpretation imposed by the text; Chaucer's strategy has rather been to present references and allusions with several potential meanings, and to leave the meanings open, neither officially affirmed nor closed off. The implications of this strategy, together with that of the many groups of religious references and their various progressions, meanings, and uses in the Troilus, will be the subject of Chapter IV.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER III

1

Alfred David, "The Hero of the Troilus," Speculum, 37 (1962), pp. 567-8; Donald R. Howard, The Three Temptations: Medieval man in search of the world, (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1966), pp. 112-3, 146; T. P. Dunning, "God and Man in Troilus and Criseyde," in English and Medieval Studies Presented to J. R. R. Tolkien on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday, ed. Norman Davis and C. L. Wren, (London: Allen and Unwin, 1962), p. 172.

2

Mamie Hafner, "The Use of Religious Phraseology in Medieval Love Poetry: Provençal and French Poems and Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde," diss. Univ. of Wisconsin, 1965; Howard, op. cit., pp. 116-7; Thomas A. Kirby, Chaucer's Troilus: a study in courtly love, (University, Louisiana, 1940; rpt. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1958), pp. 141, 211; William George Dodd, Courtly Love in Chaucer and Gower, Harvard Studies in English, 1, (Milford, Ginn, 1913; rpt. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1959), pp. 196-200; James Lyndon Shanley, "The Troilus and Christian Love," ELH, 6 (1939), 271-81; rpt. in Chaucer Criticism, Vol. II: Troilus and Criseyde and The Minor Poems, ed. Richard J. Schoeck and Jerome Taylor, (Notre Dame, Ind.: Notre Dame Univ. Press, 1961), pp. 138-9; Elizabeth Salter, "Troilus and Criseyde: A Reconsideration," in Patterns of Love and Courtesy: Essays in Memory of C. S. Lewis, ed. John Lawlor, (London: Edward Arnold, 1966), pp. 97-8, 101-3.

3

C. S. Lewis, The Allegory of Love: a study in medieval tradition, (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1977, c. 1936), pp. 41-3 on palinodes, coupled with his discussion of Troilus and Criseyde purely as a celebration of courtly love concerning which the principles of the palinode are not applicable, pp. 176-97.

4

Morton W. Bloomfield, "Distance and Predestination in Troilus and Criseyde," PMLA, 72 (1957), 14-26; rpt. in Chaucer Criticism, Vol. II, ed. Schoeck and Taylor, op. cit., pp. 198-204; see also Dunning, op. cit., bottom of p. 171.

5

F. N. Robinson, ed., The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, 2d ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1957), p. 821, note to Troilus and Criseyde, II, 1. 1298.

6

Barry Windeatt, "Love That Oughte Ben Secree" in Chaucer's Troilus," ChauR, 14 (1979-80), esp. pp. 116-21, 130.

7

John P. McCall, "Classical Myth in Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde: An Aspect of the Classical Tradition in the Middle Ages," diss. Princeton Univ., 1955, pp. 72-112.

8

P. M. Kean, "Chaucer's Dealings With a Stanza of Il Filostrato and the Epilogue of Troilus and Criseyde," M AE, 33 (1964), esp. pp. 37-8, 40-5; Joseph J. Mogan, Jr., Chaucer and the Theme of Mutability, De Proprietatibus Litterarum, Series Practica, 3, (The Hague: Mouton, 1969), pp. 139-41; John W. Conlee, "The Meaning of Troilus' Ascension to the Eighth Sphere," ChauR, 7 (1972), p. 27. Also, David, in "Hero," op. cit., describes the Boethian phenomenon of mortal blindness in the Troilus, though without naming Boethius, p. 567.

9

McCall, op. cit., pp. 151-3, 157.

10

A few treatments which focus on oppositions in Troilus and Criseyde include: Peter Elbow, Oppositions in Chaucer, (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan Univ. Press, 1973), pp. 49-72; Donald W. Rowe, O Love! O Charite! Contraries Harmonized in Chaucer's Troilus, (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1976); Charles A. Owen, Jr., "The Significance of Chaucer's Revisions of Troilus and Criseyde," MP, 55 (1957-8), 1-5; rpt. in Chaucer Criticism, Vol. II, ed. Schoeck and Taylor, op. cit.; David, The Strumpet Muse: art and morals in Chaucer's poetry, (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1976), pp. 29-30, and his analysis of the didactic purpose of devaluing love coupled in the Troilus with telling of its joy, pp. 27-36; Sanford Brown Meech, "Figurative Contrasts in Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde," in English Institute Essays -- 1950, ed. Alan S. Downer, (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1951, pp. 58-71; Dunning, op. cit., p. 164.

11

Walter Clyde Curry, Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences, rev. and enl. ed., (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1960), pp. 242-4, 276.

12

c. f. Hymen's association with Natura in Alanus ab Insulis' Complaint of Nature.

13

Curry, loc. cit.

14
Michael E. Cotton, "The Artistic Integrity of
Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde," ChauR, 7 (1972), pp. 38-
40.

15
Idem.

CHAPTER IV
THE DOUBLE READING OF TROILUS

Thus far in this thesis I have examined different approaches to interpreting Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde, and have looked at how each of these approaches analyzes the gods and religious language in the poem. I have defined the kinds of religious references present, discussing the possible meanings and functions, and levels of seriousness, which previous criticism has suggested for each kind. And I have, with these considerations as a base, proceeded linearly through the poem's text, determining the sets of possible meanings for each main group of references, and tracing how these change or continue through the work. It is significant that I have not yet identified single unquestionable meanings and functions for references, but have rather discovered a variety of possible implications for each. What remains to be done in this chapter is to pull all these allusions into a coherent reading of the Troilus -- or readings.

i
summary of the problem thus far

I have, then, up to this point, attempted to do two things. One has been to note the various functions and associations of religious references in the Troilus that previous criticism has found, remarking in the process

the range and variety of possibilities for them, and even the mutual exclusiveness of different scholars' readings of them. The other has been to point out that many ways of using religious references would have been available to Chaucer, such that a reference's context is important in interpreting it, and I have accordingly looked at the poem's text at least partly linearly in order to focus on how religious references function in their places in that text. (For example, knowing that Venus could be seen as base or as benign, and understanding what each interpretation of her would imply for a poem containing her, is not in itself adequate to understand her function in the Troilus, for when we examine the textual passages in which she appears we find that the contexts of references to her unanimously suggest a benign force; further, grouping all references to Venus together without regard to the progress of the poem might miss the full impact of her sudden predominance in Book III and her drastic waning in Books IV and V, and the correlation of this change with changes in other deities' appearances.)

In the course of these investigations, I have identified several areas of divisiveness in interpreting the Troilus, and corresponding areas of ambiguity in its religious references. Is the poem's human love affair

good or bad, wonderful or wretched, benign or sinful? Does it take place in a deterministic world where all happens "by necessity", or in a Christian universe in which humans are, according to Catholic belief, free to make meaningful choices of conduct? Is the work's ambience that of Europe's Middle Ages, or that of ancient Troy; and is it essentially secular (with deities merely providing scene-setting and rhetorical ornament) or do the deities in the Troilus create a serious religious ethos in the poem? These questions must be answered in order to determine the poem's sentence -- yet every indication of an answer is fraught with ambiguity and multiple possibilities. For my summary of findings concerning each deity's associations and progress in the poem, which closed my previous chapter, should not obscure the variety of possible interpretations for them.

Concerning the question of the value of the love, for example, is its patron Cupid a cruel and negative figure whose cosmic associations in Book III are delusive, and whose association with Christian rites and religious language is part of secular and sinful courtly love which nonetheless reminds us of true Christian morals and is thus a sign that the poem's love is bad, or at least relatively worthless in the scheme of things? Or is Cupid the force of benign and ennobling love which uses Christian language as a sign that it is as highly

serious and virtuous as a pagan could know, and part of the scheme of God's vicar Natura, and thus is part of the chain of love that reaches to God? My Chapter III analysis of his developement established Cupid's association with courtly love and with Christian rite and language, while my work in Chapters I and II delineated the possible implications of these associations, but I have not yet determined which of these implications are to be accepted. Again, I have shown that Venus, the other important love-deity, is portrayed as benign in her significant appearances in Book III -- yet it is possible to read the praises of her ironically as part of a love-negating interpretation of the poem. On another tack, do the infernal references simply reflect Troilus' emotions during the times when his affair is not working well, or do they suggest his spiritual state during his loving? Do references to God remind us readers of Christian values which would denigrate human love, or do they lend high seriousness and value to the affair, or are they merely colloquialisms which close emotional distance between tale and audience and thus may be quite neutral? Does Natura confer strong positive value on the love or is she really a minor and unimportant figure in the poem? Since the poem's text leaves open to us the possibility of interpreting each of these religious

references in more than one way, we must make choices in order to determine whether the poem's human love is celebrated or depicted as a misleading misery, and this determination is necessary in order to reach a coherent understanding of the poem as a whole.

A separate issue, but one which must also be worked into a reading of the Troilus, and which also involves the gods' unclear meanings, is that of determinism versus free will. Does Fortuna's power mean that people cannot resist their destined fates, or does it only mean that people must choose proper conduct in the face of this world's ordained mutability? Do Venus' and Jove's planetary influence, along with other astrological manifestations, help establish predestination in the poem, or does astrological influence merely set the scene in which the characters make their choices? Does Jove, when he is named in ways suggesting God, bring a reminder of Christianity's insistence on the free acceptance of God's grace and on choosing the path of virtue, or does Jove, as Fortuna's superior and ordainer of her irresistible actions, support a destinal theme? Scholars who have suggested that Christianity required some human freedom of will in the Troilus range from Robertson to Patch to Shanley,¹ so that a reading of these figures which finds human free will in the poem might be taken as supporting a Christian ethos and sentence. Yet we may

ask whether Fortuna's active might and the astrological passages, as well as Narratorial exclamations about fate, might not be projecting a destinal understanding of the world. And does the irresistability of Cupid's arrows feed into a destinal reading, or do Cupid and his rites, by suggesting Christian worship and cosmic Love, imply the Christian God and Christian free will? The possible interpretations of the deities in the Troilus could thus be taken as supporting either a destinal reading or one in which free will exists, depending on which of their possible associations we decide to recognize and incorporate in our reading of the poem, and again our choices will determine what theme(s) and sentence we will find Chaucer to have been working out.

The problem of whether there is a secular or Christian ambience in the Troilus is another factor related to the poem's religious references, and to what kind of "moral" it might contain. For while it is unquestionably set in ancient, pagan Troy, anachronism in speech and manners, and in such concepts as knighthood and courtly love, suggest a medieval rather than an historically ancient ambience. Cupid is depicted in a medieval connection, for although he was known in ancient times, it was in the Middle Ages that he acquired the distinct, additional characteristics associated with courtly love

which are in play in the Troilus. To the extent that Jove could be a name for God, he also can be fitted into a medieval world-view in the poem. Fortuna and Natura, as allegorical personifications, were essentially medieval manifestations and fit easily into a medieval Christian universe. God Himself, of course, especially when named in ways and with attributes that Christians would have ascribed to Him, contributes to a medieval ambience in the poem, and indeed, if one wishes to find a predominantly ancient or secular ethos in the Troilus, one would have to justify explaining namings of God as a distance-closing device. But conversely, one must explain some uses of the gods as rhetorical ornament if one wishes to find a medieval or Christian ethos in the poem instead of an ancient or secular one. For Muses and classical gods and myths, references to deities as astronomical entities, infernal references, and namings of Venus, Cupid, and Jove all fit most neatly into the pagan pantheon which Trojans would naturally have acknowledged. In addition, Fortuna and Natura, as I have observed, are treated in just the same ways as the other deities, and in the poem function as they do, so that these goddesses too can be seen as fitting into a Trojan scene. Thus in the area of ancient/secular or medieval/Christian ambience in the poem, as in other areas, our attempts to understand the Troilus' religious

references depend on which of their possible implications we weight seriously. And again our decision is significant, because the issue of medieval versus ancient ambience it tied to the question of the poem's sentence, in that a medieval ethos in the poem would tend to support an interpretation that found it to be upholding Christian values and finding the extramarital love affair to be less than wonderful, while on the other hand, a secular or ancient ambience would fit more easily with seeing the poem as celebrating the love.

Thus the meanings and functions of the gods and religious references in the Troilus are an inextricable part of the poem's theme(s) and sentence. And while I have sorted out which deities appear at what points, and in what connections, it should now be clear that considerable difficulty nonetheless remains regarding what those meanings and functions might be.

Before proceeding to possible interpretations of the Troilus, I wish to repeat two points. One of these is to reiterate that when true ambiguity exists -- and especially when, as here, it is consistently present -- there is of necessity a certain arbitrariness in deciding which of two or more viable meanings to choose. In the Troilus we must choose, because mutually exclusive meanings exist if we don't. Yet because our choices are

arbitrary, they do not prevent a different set of choices from also being valid.

The second point is that I distrust ironical readings when they are made in the absence of clear indications that they are intended. Such absence is the case in the Troilus, for in no passage does Chaucer make a point of ironically contrasting the use of a deity with that use's situational context; on the contrary, the Narrator's comments work to reinforce, not undercut, each situation and its religious reference's implications as they come up. This means that Chaucer completely avoids giving us any particular clue that irony is intended; and therefore, although we may choose to read retrospectively from the palinode and so find its conclusion upheld through ironical discounting of the obvious meanings of the poem's praises of love, nothing in the text would cause us to do so on a first reading, before reaching that palinode. In other words, while I would concede the possibility that irony could be found to undercut certain passages in the poem, I see no obligation on a critic's part to consider such interpretations inevitable, for I will show that a valid Christian reading -- which fits with and justifies the palinode -- as well as a more secular and love-celebrating reading, is possible without resort to ironical interpretation. If it is accepted that the simplest explanation which covers the facts is

right, the Troilus can be understood --in more than one way --- without recourse to irony.

The remainder of this chapter is based on my assessment that Chaucer's sheer consistency of ambiguity points to an effort on his part to leave his poem open to more than one valid reading.

ii
a Christian reading of the Troilus

One viable way to see Troilus and Criseyde is as a Christian poem, which imparts a basically Christian view and moral. In order for this statement to be valid, all the poem's religious references must be reasonably perceivable as supporting it. And among the considerable range of Christian readings of the poem, not all will be so supported; some Christian readings that have been made in the past will not, I think, stand the test of this set of details, and must therefore be disallowed. Nonetheless, it is possible to read the poem's religious references in such a way that a workable and basically Christian interpretation of the work will become apparent. How the religious references can be read so as to find such a coherent Christian interpretation of the poem is the subject of this section.

A Christian reading of the Troilus depends to a

certain extent on closing distance between tale and audience: the story of ancient Trojans must be seen in a medieval light if it is to yield a medieval Christian insight. It is probably not legitimate to insist that the characters should have acted according to precepts they could not have known. They are clearly delineated as pre-Christian pagans, living in a historical Trojan world which worshipped the classical pantheon and were subject only to natural law, not the Law of Christian Revelation. But it is not necessary, even in a Christian reading of the poem, to see the characters as subject to Christian standards of conduct. For we can learn a Christian lesson from watching them, regardless of whether they could, or should, have shared our enlightenment (by "our" I mean any post-1300 A.D. audience). The distance-closing which must be made is a subtle one: we must be enabled to feel how the audience's medieval insights would perceive the story's predicaments without detracting from the characters' actual Trojan identities. And this is precisely what their colloquial language may be seen as doing. They use casual oaths by God; this closes distance between them and us, making their world our familiar one, making it natural to relate to their feelings and problems by our own lights. They use equally casual or urgent invocations of pagan gods as they do of God, and these place them as Trojans, yet

since these expressions are part of the same colloquial language we can understand those oaths' emotional content and read them as Trojan without being distanced from the characters by them. Colloquial language can be seen in this way as closing the distance between the characters' ancientness on the one hand, and our need to relate to their feelings and problems in a medieval/contemporary-to-the-audience fashion on the other; and it can further be seen as actually pulling the Trojanness into our realm, enabling us to understand these Trojans as we would our contemporaries. Even more, in a Christian reading the colloquial language, with its exclamatory namings of God and attributions to both God and gods of qualities that Christians ascribed to God, silently and without fuss keeps the Christian God and His moral laws hovering in our consciousness throughout the poem. References to the fourteenth-century religious/cultural context are also part of this strategy, placing the poem's characters and events in a familiar world despite their Trojan identification, and thus keeping readers in mind of Christian concepts, and encouraging the application of those concepts to the tale without needing to overtly state or apply them.

A look at some key passages in the Troilus will help show how this works. Proem I, for example, is an

important and prominent section of the poem which includes references to Christian medieval culture. The "bidding prayer" format in its fifth through eighth stanzas implies familiarity with Christian religious culture, and applies this culture to the subject matter of the poem. Its prayers to God for His aid to lovers in their suits is precisely right for bringing the idea of the Christian God into play without impeding the telling of a love story and a love story's values. And the Narrator's own intention to live in charity and pray for Love's servants without himself loving reinforces both the intention of pleasing lovers with the poem and the possibility of an other, more Christian, set of values by which to understand it. In a different kind of example, Criseyde's and Pandarus' very colloquial kind of expression (such as the pieces of conversation in II, 122 ff. and 1230 ff., which I quoted in Chapter III, and which are typical of their speech) makes much exclamatory use of God's name. Casual, and without any clearly thematic function, such highly colloquial language inevitably suggests a secular medieval cultural context. Despite their obviously unserious character, however, the repeated namings of God in these conversations could easily be seen as subtly supplying an awareness of the Christian God and Christian attitudes, as well as cultural familiarity. A third sort of example is the kind of

hint of a Christian context that Criseyde makes when she refers to nuns' ways of living (II, 117-8; 758-9; IV, 778-84). Again, the Christian cultural context breeds familiarity for the fourteenth century audience regarding the Trojan heroine -- yet it could also be seen as silently suggesting to that audience another and truer point of view on events than the Trojan lady takes. Without insisting that these passages must be understood in these ways, I think it is clear that they reasonably can be. Troilus and Criseyde's whole huge mass of colloquial exclamatory namings of God and of references to the fourteenth century religious/cultural context can be understood as keeping Christian values in the poem, without overtly focussing on them in such way as to impede the narrative, as well as being understood to close cultural distance.

Boethian material in the Troilus, less massively present than colloquial language, can even more easily be part of a Christian interpretation of the poem. Indeed, since Boethius was considered throughout the Middle Ages to be a major Christian philosopher, the remarkable presence of Boethian paraphrase and philosophy in the Troilus could be taken as an indication that a Christian reading was intended.

One aspect of the Boethian presence in the Troilus

is the mutability theme, and the related themes of the impossibility of worldly felicity, and of human blindness in striving for it. And all these topoi were understood in the Middle Ages, sub specie aeternitatis, as part of the belief that only God and His heaven are truly stable, or a source of real, reliable happiness. Lady Philosophy thus speaks of man, naturally desiring happiness, being so confused and blinded by the human condition as to seek it in worldly things which cannot by their nature last the course (Boece, Bk. III). As manifested in the Troilus, when Criseyde expresses dismay and hopelessness about finding true felicity in her love affair (III, 813-36; IV, 834-40), or when Troilus finally condemns "the blynde lust, the which that may nat laste" (V, 1824), they are expressing ideas and feelings appropriate to them at those points in the story. But they are also expressing, and in Boethian terms, attitudes that coincide with Christian beliefs of Chaucer's day, and which thus present Christian awareness to the poem's readers.

The second major aspect of Boethian matter in the Troilus involves the free-will/predestination issue (regarding which it must be remembered that Christian doctrine included human free will). And here too, good storytelling raises, as if naturally, issues which are both major philosophical concerns and readily amenable to

Christian reading. For it is indeed perfectly natural psychology for Troilus, suddenly finding himself faced with a wretched situation, to ask himself how he got into it, in the course of wondering whether he could have avoided it. We need not expect an anguished pre-Christian to reach a dogmatically correct Christian resolution to the problem. It is quite sufficient that Troilus' mental questing states the problem, and in such Boethian terms that readers are made aware of what their own Christian answer would have to be: namely, that our choices are part of the pattern which brings us to the joy or grief we ultimately find. Indeed, the bulk of Book IV shows Troilus and Criseyde debating and making choices, just as their very conscious choices leading to Book IV's quandry were carefully shown; and just as Troilus' final choice to remain emotionally true to his faithless love leads him finally to heaven (of some sort). In addition, it has been shown how the structure of the Troilus, in which we are led emotionally through the story with sympathy and suspense despite foreknowledge of the ending, exactly parallels Boethius' description of how Divine Providence foreknows without compelling -- a part of which description is the passage Troilus repeats in his "predestination soliloquy". Boethian material thus, again, adds Christian awareness

into Troilus and Criseyde, without impeding the narrative or even forcing Christian understanding on the pagan characters.

A potential counter-note to the idea of free will is of course the presence of astral influence in the poem. Troilus is aided by Venus' influence when Criseyde first sees him (II, 680-86), for example, and it is the astrally-induced smoky rain which makes the consummation of the affair possible by keeping Criseyde at Pandarus' for the night (III, 617-30). These fatalistic notes must be adequately explained and included, not discounted, if a Christian reading is to hold water. This is not overly difficult to do, however. A point of view was available in the Middle Ages (as it still is) according to which the planets influence moods and create external circumstances in which choices are made, but without forcing any particular choice: God, outside of time, sees, and so includes in the pattern of His Providence, the choices people will freely make, so that the will stays free to make decisions within the established conditions. Thus the planets create a smoky rain, in the face of which Criseyde must make a decision about staying or leaving -- something which she tacitly acknowledges in making her choice (III, 641-4), and again in telling Troilus that she would not be there for him to embrace if she had not "er now...Ben yolde" (III, 1210-11). And too, despite

Venus' being "wel arrayed/ Within hire seventhe hous", we are shown carefully and at length that Criseyde nonetheless holds a considerable inner debate about whether or not to accept Troilus' suit (II, 701-811). And a further factor is that even Curry, who considered the Troilus fatalistic, took pains to show how a deterministic reading could be a Christian one. His point that astral influence could be accommodated in a Christian scheme (as one of the ways God effects His Providential design) can also be taken as explaining the presence of astral influence even in a scheme which includes the Christian possibility of free choice within established circumstances. Thus Boethian material regarding free will and predestination, even with the poem's astral influences, can be seen as part of a Christian understanding of the poem.

A final Boethian manifestation in the Troilus is the goddess Fortuna, for she is distinctly depicted in the poem according to Boethius' description of her. But although she functions in the poem as a deity like other pagan deities, she is the easiest of them to accommodate in a Christian view. For her origin is far more in medieval allegorical personification than classical myth, and consequently a place for her as the Christian God's subordinate is readily found. In De Consolatione,

for example, Fortuna is understood as operating within God's plan, at least to the extent that while Fortuna holds sway over goods of this world, God governs all things, including those she affects. Curry showed how Fortuna, as well as the planets, were used by God to carry out His design. And in the Troilus, Fortuna and the heavens are clearly "under God oure hierdes" (III, 619). In these ways Fortuna, for all her will and power, can be readily understood as subordinate to God, and so can be seen as placed within a Christian context. In this way her active presence in the Troilus can be taken as perfectly compatible with the poem's presentation of a Christian understanding and conclusion.

One major crux in a Christian reading of the poem is the nature and quality of the love which it portrays, and hence the role and interpretation of the love gods Venus and Cupid. There are critics who have argued vigorously that the love gods we see are base and the feelings between Troilus and Criseyde lascivious carnality, while others have argued as ardently that the love is indeed ideal and benign, part of cosmic harmony. Less extremely, courtly love can be placed within a Christian scheme by postulating that courtly-love worship of Cupid is presented as a pagan ideal and the closest a pre-Christian could approach to true worship of a God of Love. Or Cupid and Venus can be seen as allegorical

veils for the Christian God, and thus as vehicles for bringing God into the poem. Or it can be pointed out that the love portrayed, while inferior to true Divine love because of its transience and its inclusion of griefs, is still good and beautiful in its recognizedly subordinate place. The problem with interpreting the love gods' function in the poem is, then, not just a matter of deciding whether they can reasonably be understood as part of a Christian reading, but also of deciding which of the possible Christian interpretations of them might be valid. And here my work in Chapter III bears fruit, in that my analysis of the contexts of these deities' appearances has somewhat narrowed the choices.

The gist of my findings concerning Venus and Cupid was that Venus' face-value presentation represents her as entirely benign, with only positive associations, in Books I through III. She is sometimes the goddess of pagan legend, sometimes a planet, sometimes the power of love, but invariably identified with grace, good will, bliss, harmony, sweet-ness. In Book IV she is powerless; in Book V her planet sets and she disappears: she wanes rapidly as the love affair disintegrates. But nowhere in the Troilus does the language applied to Venus depict her as base or lascivious; such connotations can only be found if the critic presupposes that irony is intended --

a presupposition which derives from the critic's beliefs, and not from any inescapable indication in the poem's actual text. Nowhere in that text does Chaucer show that Venus should be seen as other than good, even wonderful, but limited.

Cupid presents a somewhat more complicated case. As the god of courtly love, he is called cruel when associated with the natural frustrations, and lack of immediate perfect success in a suit, which are simply part of human loving. Despite this, however, he is worshipped as God might be worshipped; Troilus feels that Cupid's "grace passed oure desertes" (III, 1267) as Christ's is supposed to do; and Cupid is addressed as "thow holy bond of thynges" (III, 1261) and the principle of cosmic Harmony (III, 1744-71). Except for the cruelty of involvement in human love's checks and disappointments, Cupid is, like Venus, presented as quite benign, conferrer of bliss and grace and heavenly joy. He too quickly recedes to powerlessness in the face of contrary Fortuna; his power is similarly limited. When he can act, however, he is the principle of worldly love, in its frustrations and its joys, its mutability but also its quality of reaching towards something both holy and cosmic. Whatever he might be in other medieval works, Cupid's associations are primarily positive, despite his limitations, in the Troilus.

In this light, readings of the Troilus which see the love it portrays as base or worthless are, I feel, invalidated by the text's actual presentation of the love and its deities. For the love, as portrayed by references to and actions of its gods, is despite difficulties very beautiful and blessed while it lasts. Their lack of omnipotence, and their benignity in their limited capacities, are their keynotes.

An interpretation which considers the love worthless or completely denigrated is thus highly questionable in the light of the poem's benign depiction of the love gods. Yet equally questionable are readings which see the love in the poem as fully identified with cosmic Harmony, since it is also shown to be limited as cosmic Love could not be; and allegorical readings such as Costello's, to the extent that Cupid and Venus are identified as veils for God, must similarly be eliminated, for the love gods' ultimate impotence against Fortuna could not be attributed to the Christian Deity. We are left with the more middle-of-the-road suggestions as potentially viable: that the deity of ideal courtly love is the nearest pagan approach to worship of a true God of Love; or that the love in the poem is portrayed, through the love gods, as beautiful in its place but limited. Whether and how such interpretations could be

part of a Christian reading of the poem is the question to which this analysis leads.

As medieval treatments of Natura have revealed, it was possible to see human love and love-making as proper even within a Christian scheme; Natura, indeed, is acting as God's vicar when she reproves mankind for not procreating through love-making, in Roman de la Rose as in the Anticlaudianus. This fact opens the way for a Christian reading of the love gods in the Troilus, and the love under their aegis. We do not even have to see the absence of progeny from Troilus' union with Criseyde as a negative sign; for natural love can realistically require no more than love-making with good intent, while finding such negative implications is by no means necessary even in making a Christian reading of the Troilus. We are justified if we read the love gods' waxing and waning, their benignity and the bliss they confer, and their ultimate impotence before Fortuna, as descriptive of this world's love. Love in this world can be seen, even in a Christian scheme, as good, satisfying, pleasurable, and beautiful; for it is part of God's plan, as entrusted to Natura's implementation, that species including the human species should continue through sexual procreation ("Be fruitful and multiply" is God's Biblical injunction). But like all things of this world, even human love is impermanent, secondary, and subordi-

nate to love of God and the true bliss of Heaven. The love gods who confer grace and bliss and a perception of Love, but then turn out to be impotent before the changes and vicissitudes of this world, can be seen as a perfect metaphor for this human love which is good in its place and blessed by God, but which cannot last and is in any case inferior to Divine Love -- as Troilus learns, the hard way. To the extent that this world's goods are valuable only as they are used to climb towards God, Troilus' experience is the "proof of the pudding". For his response to falling in love is to first become pious and humble; then, when success in love comes to him, he responds both with thanks and with some perception of cosmic Love and harmony; and his loss of Criseyde turns his love not to hate but to something more selfless than before. This is what enables him to reach the eighth sphere -- but even so, when he attains a perception of true heavenly bliss in the end, it is only by "lettyng everich element", including forgoing, and even condemning, worldly love. It is in this light that Venus and Cupid, as they actually appear in the Troilus, can be fully subsumed into and explicated by a Christian reading. And because it is thus quite unnecessary to use irony for interpreting the love gods' presence when attempting to find a Christian understanding in the Troilus, while at

the same time irony is not pointed to by the text, I feel we would be justified in using Occam's Razor and accepting the simpler and more direct Christian reading that does not rely on or require ironic interpretation.

Jove presents a special case, but also one which can be accommodated in a Christian interpretation of the Troilus. For the heavenly ruler of gods was naturally identified by medieval allegory with the Christian God, the Lord of Heaven and Earth and ruler of subordinate angels and powers. And while Jove is at times presented as the figure of pagan legend, I have shown in Chapter III that there are also passages where he appears in just this allegorical way, as the all-powerful, moral Being who established Divine Providence and order -- that is, as a figure for God. Beyond determining that Jove appears in the Troilus in this way, however, a Christian interpretation must fit him into its larger picture; it must answer the question of what part such a deity plays in creating the poem's sentence. And an obvious answer, which falls well within the realm of possible functions of Jove and also fits a Christian reading of the Troilus, is twofold. Using Jove in such fashion that the Christian God is identifiable in him helps close distance between Trojan tale and setting, and medieval audience; and it also, again, brings the idea of the Christian God into the poem without interrupting the narration. I have

found that Jove begins to be used in this way at about the point where real emotional seriousness enters the affair and the poem -- the point at which the love goes beyond courtly posturings and begins to suggest something cosmic. One might posit that it is just when the love takes on these implications that the balancing presence of some conception of God, however disguised, becomes necessary in order to keep the love in perspective. Such a suggestion would explicate, for a Christian reading, the ways we find Jove appearing in the Troilus.

Jove is of course only one of many pagan gods and legends which appear in Troilus and Criseyde; and a Christian interpretation of the poem must explain their nature and function(s) in the poem to be complete. One obvious function they fulfill is to establish a Trojan setting; the problem is how this fits a Christian reading of the poem. As I suggested at the beginning of this section, however, we can accept the story's characters as pagan pre-Christians while still ourselves deriving a Christian moral from what happens to them. And therefore it is not unacceptable to a Christian reading of the poem for the gods to be functioning in this way, establishing a Trojan setting in which historically Trojan characters worship the classical pantheon. Again, to the extent that many references to

classical gods and myths help create a high rhetorical style, this is not at all incompatible with a Christian work, as Dante, Boccaccio, and Vinsauf in their different ways all revealed.

A third potential function of the gods has been suggested, however, which is more ambiguous and requires more attention: the idea that many of them may be furnishing silent counter-notes to, or questionings of, the poem's love. This possible function is ambiguous because, again, finding it depends entirely on our deciding to do so: Mars or Procne, for example, could be supplying negative associations, but their mere names in the poem do not have to be. It is open to our choice how we will read such references. In making a Christian interpretation, though, it is advantageous to see such allusions as supplying counter-notes to the affair. Juno could remind us that Troilus and Criseyde have not had their union blessed by wedlock; Minerva could remind us of an ideal of chastity; Janus could suggest negative associations with the two-facedness of "entree"; Procne could imply evil and sorrow that derives from carnal desire; Mars could hint at a quality in it of destructive madness. To the extent that such possibilities would qualify the love and its value, reinforcing its inferiority to true love of God without overtly negating it in its place, such possibilities would fit a Christian rea-

ding of the poem. And to the extent that such negative implications in the use of these references might remind the audience of a different view on the characters and their actions than the telling of the tale indicates, it is a Christian view which would be so indicated. It is important that, if the appearances of gods and legends have this function, it is covert, not explicit. For I think it should not be taken as negating the love or denigrating the characters, only as silently supplying the audience with an additional awareness, which is the evaluation their own Christianity would make, as well as the overt values of the tale and its actors. I do not think that potential negative suggestions of Chaucer's uses of the gods should be taken as their main or only function. But if they gently and quietly supply reminders of a view which has higher values than worldly love, that function is a possible one for them, and fits -- and enhances -- a Christian reading of the poem.

A rather different manifestation in the Troilus is the Narrator's intrusions into the story, with his vacillating comments, enthusiasms, and judgements. As observed in Chapters II and III, the Narrator makes both clear positive and equally clear negative statements about Troilus' and Criseyde's love; the problem here, again, is how these are to be integrated into a Christian

reading of the poem. And it seems to me that the only way this can be done is to take some of the Narrator's comments one way, some another. Indeed, some of his statements are so directly in opposition to others that he can be seen as a character with limited perspective, and seeing him so will allow us to do this. So we can view his extravagant praisings of love (as in the Bayard passage, for example), as just that: a bit extravagant, occasions on which the Narrator as a character gets a bit carried away with himself. Such passages support the beauty of the love, but to the extent that this love's goodness should be seen as limited while these praisings are not limited, their enthusiasm can be understood as that of the Narrator as character, not necessarily that of Chaucer the author. And on the other hand, brief negative statements ("the fyr of love -- the wherfro God me blesse," for example), which occur along with longer praises of the love, can be taken at face value, as qualifying the love's positive value without completely negating it. The Narrator also makes some truly ambiguous statements, such as the exclamation to the "blisful nyght, of hem so longe isought/...Why nad I swich oon with my soule ybought,/ Ye, or the leeste joie that was there" (III, 1317-20). I would submit that these can be accepted in their ambiguity, as suggesting simultaneously both some positive value in the love but also some real

undercutting and qualification of it. Once more, there is no compulsion to read the Narrator's intrusions in the ways I am suggesting here. But his inconsistency makes it necessary to make some judgement calls, and his statements as they stand are perfectly capable of being read in this way, and doing so fits and aids that Christian reading which I find appropriate for the poem.

Some of the saddest and most serious Narratorial statements occur towards the end of Book V (V, 1434-5; 1748-50), and lead to the Epilog. For the poem has proceeded to work itself into a cul-de-sac. It overtly praises a human love affair, and the affair fails. While there are an enormous number of hints and suggestions of Christian awareness and its morals, and of other possible values and actions than the characters demonstrate, these hints have been just that: hints, distinctly covert, implied, and unavailable to the poem's characters or surface statements. And on this surface level, all joy has finally failed, only heartbreak is left, and nothing further can be done to remedy the situation. How can Chaucer lead us from here to any appropriate moral? The answer, of course, is with the ending and palinode that he supplies. He takes the Trojan battlefield scene and, with Troilus' death there, leads it to the stars. These are the same planetary spheres that were present earlier,

with the god/planet Mercury among them. But now they supply a place where Troilus can take a new perspective, one which is free of mortal blindness and therefore begins to approach the Christian understanding of the inferiority of human love to true Heavenly joy. And this change of perspective allows Chaucer to move another step away from the Trojan plains and their story's earthly perceptions to the true Christian understanding -- which has been made available to readers, though not necessarily to the characters, throughout the poem, and which can finally be stated explicitly in the palinode. Troilus' "fyn for love" must include his grief and final disappointment as much as anything: in the end of "his lovyng of Criseyde,...in this wise he deyde" (V, 1833-44). But if Troilus the pre-Christian could finally achieve some perception of the "pleyn felicite/ That is in hevene above", the Christian audience can achieve a fuller understanding from his story. If Troilus showed us a virtuous pagan's experience both of love's bliss and its concomittent transience and woe in this world, we can learn from our participation with the hero that such joy inevitably includes terrible sorrow. And this in turn can quite naturally lead us to remember God Himself, "the which that right for love,/ Upon a crois, oure soules for to beye,/ First starf, and roos, and sit in hevene above," and who "nyl falsen no wight", and so we can

learn from Troilus' tale to turn to that God. Chaucer can thus be seen as having used Troilus' ascent to the eighth sphere to bridge the gap between the covert hints at Christian perspectives in the body of the Troilus, and the openly Christian, and finally unambiguous, statement of the palinode.

It is, then, possible to find a Christian interpretation of the Troilus which is soundly based on reasonable interpretations of the poem's full range of references to deities and religion. This interpretation basically sees the story which the poem tells as a story of pre-Christians, which uses their tale and experiences to lead readers to an essentially Christian moral and conclusion. In this conclusion, the human love which is the poem's matter is seen as good in its place but limited and flawed as all earthly things must be in a post-lapsarian world, and, despite its good qualities, as inferior to love of God. Boethian material is seen as supporting this Christian reading, supplying themes of the transience and instability of worldly goods; Fortuna is integral to the presentation of this theme. Boethian material also helps put the story into the context of God's Providence, through the "predestination soliloquy" and its concern with Providence and free will, and through Fortuna's connection to astral influence in the

poem. Jove fits into a Christian interpretation by appearing at times as a name for God. Colloquial language and references to the fourteenth century religious/cultural context help supply Christian awareness without detracting from the integrity of the Trojan setting. References to pagan gods and myths help create that setting, yet also furnish counter-notes to the love's positive value. The love gods Venus and Cupid, along with Natura, reveal both the beauty and goodness of the love, but also its transience and its limits within this world. The Narrator's comments provide warmly sympathetic responses to the characters. His praises and condemnations of the love, however, are so inconsistent that we are sabotaged from taking either at face value; he thus, in himself, confirms neither the sentiments of love nor those of the Christian conclusion, though he does help present both some sense of love's value and of that value's limits. Troilus' ascent to the eighth sphere creates a bridge to the palinode, where the attitudes which have been covertly present throughout the poem are explicitly stated; the perspective of the palinode is, finally, unambiguously meant to be taken as stated.

It is to be noted that there are several things this reading does not do. It does not suggest that the love portrayed in the poem must be negated in order to accept a

Christian sentence. This is because the love gods' actual portrayals are as benign manifestations, and also because, in concord with this benign presentation, the Middle Ages had available ways of seeing human love as good in its (inferior) place. My Christian reading also does not suggest that the Trojan characters should have known and followed Christian morals. For the characters are too carefully delineated as pagans to treat them as quasi-Christians; the fact that they refer to medieval ideas is a matter of emotional distance-closing, and the fact that they speak with Christian expressions is simply a matter of using colloquial English to tell their story -- neither manifestation makes them fourteenth century Englishmen. Further, it is unnecessary to hold them to Christian standards of conduct in order to, ourselves, take a Christian lesson from their sad experiences. My Christian reading of the Troilus, that is, does not reject the poem's love or damn its lovers. It only understands their feelings and experience in the light of a perspective which they themselves could not have had, but which is entirely in accord with a medieval Christian understanding of God and man.

There is one other fact which must be acknowledged concerning this reading. While it reaches a coherent interpretation of the Troilus based on sound readings of each kind of religious reference, it is nonetheless true

that in many cases these readings are not the only legitimate ones possible. A Christian interpretation of the poem is possible if one chooses, from among legitimate potential meanings, those which fit the interpretation. Such choosing is justified by the fact that all possible meanings cannot be true at the same time. Cupid cannot be both "Love, that of erthe and se hath governaunce" and the totally impotent figure, appealed to only in vain, of Books IV and V. "And trewely, it [love's irresistibility] sit wel to be so,/ For alderwisest han therwith ben plesed" is just not compatible with "the fyr of love -- the wherfro God me blesse" and "Thus goth the world. God shilde us fro meschaunce." Choices have to be made about which meanings to accept in making an interpretation when some of the possibilities are in direct opposition to each other. And in a sense, any interpretation which can honestly incorporate legitimate and adequate meanings for every religious reference is a sound one. The Christian interpretation I have stated is such a reading. Nonetheless, the process of making these choices being ultimately arbitray, if a second, different interpretation incorporates legitimate readings of every religious reference equally well, it too must be stated and examined. Section iii does exactly this.

iii
a celebration-of-love reading

The subject of Troilus and Criseyde is a very human love story. And while the ultimate justification for a Christian interpretation of the poem is that its author was a Christian, fourteenth century poet who would/should have felt an obligation to uphold his faith in any serious work, it is still the case that the poem's focus is not theology but human love. And in fact, it is quite possible to interpret the Troilus essentially as a love story and an analysis and celebration of human, secular loving. Doing so will mean taking a different perspective on many of the religious allusions and making a different set of choices from among their possible functions and meanings, than was the case in making a Christian interpretation of the poem. But as I have taken care to suggest, the multiplicity of potential implications of the religious references in the Troilus is such as to render this choice-making necessary, and also such as to make any reading appropriate which adequately accounts for these references. And an interpretation which sees the poem as basically about human love can fill these requirements.

The most important deities to examine in a celebration-of-love reading of the Troilus will naturally be the love gods. I have already shown that their actual

presentation in the Troilus is remarkably positive. What I must do here is show how this positive portrayal can be a starting-point for a whole reading of the poem.

Venus is not only, as already noted, invariably associated with bliss, grace, good will, and sweetness. She is also the subject of Proem III, and this makes her the keynote to the whole poem's central passages. And here, in this focal-point of the Troilus, Venus is depicted as many things, all of them benign and, equally important, powerful. As a goddess she is both instigator of Jove's love and appeaser of Mars; as a planet she adorns the fair third heaven and is dear to the sun; as a principle of human love she is love's "plesance", eager to dwell in gentle hearts, causer of health and gladness, and instigator of virtue and courtesy; as a principle of cosmic love she is omnipresent and irresistibly powerful, associated with God's love, cause of friendship and harmony in nation as in household, bright, benign, and knowing (III, 1-42). The terms in which the text praises Venus here are unqualified and unambiguous, and thus suggest, because of their place as the Proem, that there is equal goodness and beauty in the consummated human love Book III depicts. The affair is further under Venus' aegis because of her earlier assistance of it through astral influence (II, 680-86; III, 715); and she

is again invoked and unqualifiedly praised at Book III's end. She is conspicuously absent from the list of gods condemned in the epilogue (V, 1853). And though she has little power in Books IV and V, and her planet sets as Criseyde's love for Troilus breaks down, Venus never ceases to be portrayed as good.

Cupid's depiction in the Troilus is, if anything, even more complex than Venus', for as her son he is a pagan love god, but he is also associated with medieval courtly love and thus with whatever part courtly love plays in the poem. As the god of Love, in either case, he causes Troilus to fall in love with Criseyde, and is the deity Troilus looks to as the patron of lovers. And in this capacity, the god of Love is associated not only with the pains of frustration inherent in any human love affair, but at least as much with the joys of the affair's success. It is important that Troilus chooses to devote himself to Criseyde and Cupid, and acknowledges his choosing in the "1st Canticus Troili", where he exclaims that Love's pains are indeed "at myn owen lust" and "savory" to him (I, 400-420, quotes l. 405, 407). It is Cupid, too, to whom Troilus addresses a prayer of thanks when he finally has Criseyde in bed (III, 1224-74), and Cupid is here described as "holy bonde of thynges" whose saving "grace passed oure desertes". Even more in this vein is Troilus' great praise of Cupid in Boethian terms,

as the cosmic principle of love which binds the stars and knits earth, sea, and heaven in "holsom alliaunce"; in this association, Cupid is praised as that Love with which God, "auctour of kynde", binds hearts as well as the universe. Through Boethian paraphrase, Cupid is thus associated with Christian ideas of God and Divine Love, and in this regard we may note that even Cupid's frequent designation in the poem as "God of Love" has enough ambiguity to suggest to some critics a potential -- and necessarily positive -- allegorical equation of the god with the Christian God of Love. Furthermore, the fact that Cupid is worshipped in language and ritual reminiscent of Christianity can be seen as giving additional positive associations to both the god and the love. Indeed, it is as a Christ-like god of forgiveness that Troilus makes confession to Cupid, asking the god's pardon and grace for his previous sins against him and promising not to repeat them (I, 932-8; II, 522-39); Christian practice is here used to give Cupid associations with the Christian perception of God. Further, it has been suggested that the religious phraseology and quasi-Christian worship of Cupid lend a high seriousness and solemnity to Troilus' love. In this regard, the prayers to Cupid, along with the religious language of the scenes in which the love is consummated, are to be

understood as lending the love the greatest weight and beauty of which the medieval vocabulary was capable. Finally, Cupid is associated with courtly love in the Troilus; and in this too, positive connotations may be found. For courtly love was human love idealized, filtered through and reshaped by medieval aristocratic ideals of courteous or gentle behavior, far removed from mere lust, a convention of quintessential refinement. It would be easy to take this idealization of human love as the closest thing a pre-Christian could get to that true Love which only Christian Revelation makes explicitly available to man. Troilus could thus be seen as a virtuous pagan who, in worshipping a god of Love, and loving within the forms of that god's prescriptions, gets as close to perceiving and worshipping God as a Trojan could. If Troilus is indeed accepted to be pre-Christian, lacking both the understanding and moral codes of Christianity, then one could reasonably expect no more than this from him, and his adherence to the best he could have known becomes a sign both of his virtue and its benignity. The anachronism of courtly love in Troy, in other words, can be taken as a strategy for idealizing, and hence validating, the love which the poem depicts. Cupid thus, despite or through his various manifestations in the Troilus, can be viewed as a highly positive figure throughout, even as one who suggests the

loving Christian God.

A reflection of the highly positive manifestations of the love gods is the beauty and goodness of Troilus' and Criseyde's love for each other. The love first ennobles Troilus (I, 470-83; III, 1772-1806), and gives Criseyde the comfort of someone she can depend on (III, 463-83). More than this, the love and its consummation are repeatedly and distinctly associated with heavenly bliss, and its loss with hell by comparison (not, in the poem itself, the other way around, criticism like Robertson's, and McCall's dissertation, notwithstanding.) And beyond making the lovers noble and happy and being associated with heavenly joy, the love turns the lovers, especially Troilus, to heaven, and is indeed depicted as pure. Both Troilus and Criseyde are said to act like people who mean only good (Criseyde when she allows Pandarus to actually bring Troilus to her at III, 922-4, and Troilus at III, 1184-6 when he finally, for the first time, moves to embrace Criseyde). The Narrator tells us, concerning their second tryst, of the marvel that "ech of hem gan otheres lust obeye" (III, 1690). Troilus' hymn not only characterizes Cupid, but also shows that Troilus himself has come to think in terms of heaven and its harmony -- as a direct result of his experience in human love. In fact, from his initial scoffing at love and his

astonished conversion to it, through his access of humility, discretion, valor, and piety, to his sincere prayers to Cupid and his piety at the consummation (III, 1254-75), Troilus' engagement in the love affair progressively removes him from a worldly view and moves him towards a perception of cosmic Love such as Christianity itself understood it. As a Trojan, he can hardly be expected to achieve the insights of Revelation during his life, yet his loving of Criseyde does bring him to approach some of them. The experience of love opens Troilus, and through him the audience, to something larger than human love -- even though it cannot be made explicit what this is in the course of telling a human love story. And finally, it is to be noted that even though the love gods wane precipitously in Books IV and V, the love does not. Criseyde really intends to be true to Troilus until somewhere in Book V, while Troilus remains true to her, despite the proof of her betrayal, until his death. The love gods in the Troilus, and the love of which they are patrons, can thus be seen as wholly beautiful and good in their place, benignly blessing the human lovers with happiness and ennoblement, and bringing them -- and especially Troilus -- closer to heaven.

Part of this exaltation of love occurs through the use of Boethian language to praise Cupid, and Boethian

references in the poem are the second group which must be brought into a praise-of-love reading of it. And indeed, Boethian material can be seen as qualifying the positive value on the love affair by pointing out its transience and the instability of even this supreme worldly joy. For Criseyde's impassioned statements on the impossibility of true worldly felicity, and her illustration (both through her fears and her actions) of the insecurity of worldly happiness, are explicitly Boethian. And all tend to devalue the poem's worldly love by revealing it to be too weak a vessel to hold the cosmic implications Troilus finds in it. Yet these cosmic implications themselves, through Troilus' hymn to Love, are also, and equally, couched in Boethian terms. In fact, the Boethian suggestions about love can best be understood by seeing them as showing the beauty of the love, and its tendency to grow towards something more than human desire, even while they suggest its fragility. And the Boethian allusions to the blindness of the human condition can also be seen as part of this complexity, for they indicate the inability of the love to satisfy the human longing for happiness even as they confirm that there is enough bliss in human love to make it a natural and logical place to seek happiness. By placing the mutability and blindness themes into the Troilus, yet also praising the love in the poem and

suggesting universal dimensions to it, the Boethian material can be understood as validating the love even while revealing its boundaries and supplying hints of something even greater.

The other major Boethian matter in the Troilus is the free-will/fatalism theme -- and this too can be seen as pointing two ways at once. For it has been shown that while astral influence, Cupid's power, and the very nature of things irresistably create and then doom the love, yet the love is also chosen by both Troilus and Criseyde, and alternatives to their separation are debated before being rejected, so that the events of the Troilus are both fated and freely chosen, and the audience is placed in the position of the Boethian God, both foreknowing events and watching the characters act freely. It is in Troilus' Boethian "predestination soliloquy" that this issue is made explicit in the poem; and this speech, so structured that we see both the truth of God's all-ordering Providence and the flaws of Troilus' reasoning about having no choice, therefore serves several functions. First, it parallels the Boethian suggestions about the love, for just as the Boethian material both devalues the love and gives it cosmic significance and goodness, so this material reinforces both fatalism and free will. Second, it characterizes Troilus as sincerely devout despite his

anguish and the human limitations on his understanding. But thirdly, and more importantly, through the predestination soliloquy, a human event -- emotional anguish over the impending exchange -- is made the vehicle for invoking issues of much wider significance. For it is here that a strictly earthly anxiety and grief becomes the means for contemplating eternal truths. Again, Troilus' actual mental wrestlings fall short of the Truth as a Christian would understand it; the pre-Christian hero cannot really be expected to reach to a Christian understanding. But he does approach it well enough to raise the questions which Christianity -- and the poem's audience -- could answer. Here, again, the human love story by its own nature moves towards universal verities, yet does not in the body of the poem quite achieve them.

It is becoming apparent that it is possible to read the Troilus so as to see the love tale as the poem's focus -- but not without qualification, and not as its whole story. Both love gods and Boethian material portray the love as truly good, beautiful, and ennobling, limited through its earthly nature yet also suggesting and reaching towards the truths that lie beyond those limits. The love can be seen as reaching towards a higher, fuller, and more universal Love than its pre-Christian

characters could know, while its very limitations can be seen as producing hints of that truth which is higher than they can perceive. In other words, the love story can be seen, through the implications of the love gods and Boethian material, to suggest an ultimate sentence for the poem which spirals wider, to something more universal, than the love story itself. But it is the love story and its treatment, the stretching towards sublimity of the love portrayed, which make this possible.

Another set of references to be discussed and integrated into a praise-of-love reading of the Troilus are the references to Jove. And these too can be seen as reinforcing the love which the poem depicts. For as I have shown, namings of Jove change from casual colloquialisms to serious prayers, and from suggesting the pagan god to suggesting God, more or less simultaneously with the increasing seriousness of the love which the poem portrays. It is entirely harmonious with this observation to suggest that Troilus' initial infatuation in pagan Troy is associated with the pagan deity, but that as his love deepens and begins to hint at and partake of something truer and more universal, a sense of God begins to creep into namings of Jove. For Jove was well able in the Middle Ages to carry allegorical implications of the Christian God, and many of

the references and prayers to him in the latter half or so of the Troilus do indeed seem to equate him with Him. I have noted that the early casual references to Jove use his name in precisely the same way that colloquial expressions in the poem use "God" or "Lord" casually, and in these instances Jove's appearances that equate with casual namings of God simply close distance between the Troy of the story and the England of the poem and its audience. But as seriousness grows in the poem, and the love develops suggestions of cosmic meaning, namings of Jove mutate into also developing deeper resonances. It is thus Proem III that first implies greater importance for Jove, in suggesting that Venus moved Jove to creating all things (III, 15-18), while Criseyde addresses him seriously in III, 1016 as "auctour of nature" who should judge and order justly. And Jove's hints of God increase in Books IV and V, as I have discussed. As the love story begins to suggest something more significant than boy-meets-girl, so Jove also begins to suggest something more than the euhemerized royal lecher. Troilus the pagan cannot indeed perceive Christian truth during his life, and so it is Jove not Christ that he prays to; but his approach to some sense of cosmic truths is paralleled and portrayed by "Jove's" approach to meaning something like the Christian God.

Another major group of references in the Troilus is that of colloquial language which derives from Christian religion and culture, and which ranges from exclamatory "Lord!" to suggestions of Christian belief and ritual.

One obvious function of the massive amount of colloquial expression in the Troilus is that of distance-closing. By having the Trojan characters speak in the language of fourteenth century England, they are brought closer to the poem's audience, and therefore are more easily understood, accepted, and empathized with. Beyond this, to the extent that colloquial language portrays Troilus' love and his worship of Cupid as parallel to Christian worship, it can be seen as lending solemnity and idealization to that love, and therefore as giving additional validity to it. Further, it suggests again that worship of Cupid may be considered as more ideal than worship of other pagan gods; indeed, that worshipping the God of worldly Love may be as close as Troilus can come to worship of the true loving God. The massive number of colloquial uses of God's name and of references to Christian practice can thus be understood as closing distance, making the characters sympathetic, and creating serious and idealistic associations for the love in the Troilus -- all of which functions are compatible with a celebration-of-love interpretation of the poem. Again, it must be noted that this set of readings

for these references does not exhaust their possible meanings. Other functions of the colloquial references to God could be suggested, such as reminding us of Christian values. But it is not in any way necessary to use such interpretations to fully account for the poem's colloquial references to God. Distance-closing, creating empathy, and suggesting positive value for the love, are more than enough functions to explain and justify these references' presence in the poem; we need not seek further usages in order to account for them. The colloquial references to God can thus be incorporated into a praise-of-love reading of the poem without either distorting or ignoring them, and this is what is required to support the interpretation.

Astrological influence is another area which must be considered, and here it is interesting and important to note two things. One is that, as discussed above, astral influence could be understood in the Middle Ages as part of God's design, and under His control. Such a recognition meshes with the fact that God's/Jove's ordering Providence is repeatedly referred to in the Troilus (e.g., IV, 958-1086; V, 1-4). It also meshes with the fact that, in the Troilus, astral influence explicitly aids, abets, and furthers the love (II, 680-86; III, 626 ff., 715). And it is therefore just

possible to extrapolate that God/Jove may be understood as designing the love to happen in Books II and III; in any case it would be extremely difficult in the light of these circumstances to consider the supreme d(D)eity to be opposed to it. Astrological influence can be seen as, under God, helping create the love affair. Whatever this manifestation in the Troilus may have to do with fatalism is something already discussed in the section on Boethian material above. Considered as a separate entity, astral influence promotes the love affair, and as such fits with, and indeed expands the possibilities of, a praise-of-love reading of the Troilus.

Fortuna and her influence, both in using the planets to assist the love affair (III, 626 ff.) and in malignly ending it (IV, 1-10), must also be discussed in any valid interpretation of the Troilus. Like planetary influence, Fortuna is part of the Boethian material, for it is the Fortuna that Lady Philosophy describes whom we meet in the Troilus, and she is particularly involved with the mutability theme in the poem, already identified with the Boethian matter. Fortuna must be considered by herself, however, because of her place -- along with Venus, Cupid, and Jove -- as one of the four most active and important deities in the poem. Because of her prominence, a reading into which she cannot fit cannot stand. Happily, however, Fortuna does indeed fit into a praise-of-love

reading -- although not into any such reading.

The transience and instability of the love of Troilus and Criseyde is revealed through the poem's use of Fortuna. It is the goddess who, according to her nature, bestows on Troilus the "worldly good" of Criseyde's regard -- for "a tyme", before she treacherously and cruelly snatches it away. And the consequent instability of the human love places unescapable limitations on its value -- but does not completely negate it. For Troilus' love for Criseyde, which began by raising him from a callow if valorous youth to a deeply-feeling, pious and noble character, persists despite his final dissapointment in it. The uses of adverse Fortuna are indeed revealed in Books IV and V, where it is precisely Troilus' loss of Criseyde's love, resulting from Fortuna's actions, that tests and proves his integrity, forcing him to seek to understand the ways of the world, ennobling him and forcing him to grow enough to be able to ascend to heaven after death. Indeed, it is only in losing Criseyde that Troilus can grow enough to attain the stars. When seen in this light, Fortuna, through her adversity as much as through her favor, is crucial in shaping an affair that is beautiful while it lasts, and ennobling even in its dissolution. She can thus be seen not as devaluing the affair through causing its tran-

sience, but rather as both assisting it and then lending it poignancy through its brevity, a brevity which is absolutely necessary if the love portrayed is to be indeed a rung on a ladder which leads to heaven. An interpretation which sees the love the poem depicts as perfect would not mesh with Fortuna's obvious role here. But a praise-of-love reading of the Troilus which accepts limitation on the love despite its goodness, beauty and potential for leading to greater things, is a reading which Fortuna, as she appears in the poem, supports and furthers. It is just such a reading that the love gods suggest through their power, beauty, and failure to endure, and which the other Boethian material implies as well. It is with this qualification on the love that Fortuna can be considered as fitting very well into an interpretation of the Troilus which does celebrate worldly love, in all its transience, sweetness, and ultimate tendency towards good.

Another major group of religious allusions in the Troilus is that of references to pagan gods and legends -- both those references to Jove, Venus, and Cupid which are casual and inconsequential, and references to the rest of the pantheon and its associated myths. And one of their functions, as a group, is to assist in establishing a setting in which human love can be as benign as a praise-of-love interpretation requires. For such a reading is

necessarily based on seeing Troilus' decision to love Criseyde as a dedication to virtue and not to sin. And despite the medieval humanists' delineations of ways in which human loving could fit into God's scheme, in a Christian world Troilus' love would still be questionable as regards whether carnal unmarried love could ever really be good. But the gods so clearly and definitively establish a Trojan setting as to make it inescapable that the characters are all pre-Christians, obligated like all creation to heed the "lawe of kynde" but simply not accountable to specifically Christian strictures. In ancient Troy natural law, including human love, was not yet superseded by Christian Revelation; in that place and time, following natural law was so far from being culpable as to be the highest good a human could follow. To the extent that the whole group of references to pagan gods and legends works to establish the Trojan scene -- and this is a major and generally agreed-upon function of them -- it quite exculpates the love that Troilus feels and practices, rendering it the most ethical thing he could choose. The references to pagan gods as pagan gods thus support a praise-of-love reading of the Troilus in their function of establishing a setting for the story in which the love presented therein was innocent. It is certainly the case that some of the allusions to Chris-

tianity do hint at another and better code of conduct, yet the pagan gods are frequently and distinctly enough present to establish an inarguable Trojan setting for the story. And in the face of such Christian hints, this setting's presence is crucial for the celebration of human love in the poem.

A second frequently observed function of the references to classical gods and myths is that they establish a high rhetorical style, and this too assists a praise-of-love reading of the Troilus. For creating a high or epic style for the love-poem as a whole necessarily lends its subject grandeur as well: when a rhetorical high style creates an impact of beauty and solemnity, that which it seriously describes cannot easily be seen as trivial. Thus, to the extent that the gods lend rhetorical grandeur to the Troilus, they help solemnize and elevate the love in the poem, and help it to be worthy of celebration.

That the gods and legends help establish the Trojan scene and rhetorical high style in the Troilus is generally accepted. Other, additional readings of them are less clear, and choices must be made. Again, I will suggest that any reading which adequately accounts for the presence of a reference is acceptable, so long as it fits an otherwise viable interpretation of the poem without distortion of the reference's available meanings;

we need not accept every possible meaning for every reference, since doing so would involve us in impossible self-contradictions. This is an important point because many references, such as infernal allusions or the mention of marriage-blessing Juno, could be seen as suggesting negative connotations for the love affair, and it is necessary here to observe that while such associations are certainly possible, they are by no means obligatory. What is obligatory is simply to determine possible and adequate meanings for these references which could fit a praise-of-love interpretation of the poem. And this can be done without great difficulty, since the face value meanings of these references furnish precisely what is required. Infernal references, for example, tend to be used in the Troilus to describe the hero's feelings about not having Criseyde. And it is perfectly possible to accept hellishness simply as an apt metaphor for the earnest and inexperienced Troilus' misery at desiring Criseyde (as he sees it) hopelessly. Similarly, Janus, "god of entree", could simply be the appropriate deity to invoke in favor of helping elicit someone's welcome; Minerva can be a pagan goddess of wisdom and as such can completely satisfy the contexts in which Criseyde calls on her without having to imply chastity as well; Juno need be no more than a blissful and powerful queen-goddess

whom a pagan needing aid might properly pray to for help; Mars is well accounted for as a powerful deity and patron of warriors. As I have indicated in earlier chapters, and as previous critics have often noted, the Troilus tends to use these gods in ways that were highly accurate according to classical mythology; consequently, they can be taken at face value without damaging loss of meaning or resonance. And if we choose to understand them in this way, the result is that we can still very adequately, and with no distortion, explicate those religious references which might have negative connotations regarding the love affair -- without needing to accept those negative connotations.

In sum, the gods can be seen as setting the Trojan scene, and through creating high style as lending grandeur and seriousness to the affair, and further, as illuminating the protagonists' emotional states and characterizations. These functions are all compatible with a celebration-of-love interpretation of the Troilus, and indeed aid and enhance such a reading. And these functions are quite enough to justify and explain the presence of the gods in the poem, without having to seek further or find (as has been suggested for some of these references) negative associations as well.

A final group of references to be discussed in the Troilus are the Narrator's intrusions. Some of these --

the anachronistic references and discussions of what he is doing as a story-teller -- are easy to account for. As I suggested above, anything that places the story and love affair more firmly in the past is helpful in establishing the pre-Christian setting and therefore in making the love affair more innocent and noble; and this is precisely how the anachronisms, and the distancing of tale from teller and audience, function. The knottier problem is the Narrator's statements placing value on the love affair. And in this regard a praise-of-love reading of the Troilus has the same problem as a Christian reading, for the Narrator very clearly and explicitly places both positive and negative value on the affair at different points throughout the poem. As a result, no matter how we read it, we simply have to make choices about which of these statements to take seriously and which to explain away; so that although some ingenuity may be required to fit the Narratorial intrusions into a praise-of-love interpretation of the poem, it will be no more than is required for a Christian, love-devaluing reading.

With this perspective, a celebration-of-love interpretation will accept at face value the Narrator's praises of love -- of which there are quite a few, from the strong positive statement of the "Bayard passage"

through the enthusiasm which greets Criseyde's steps towards accepting Troilus' love. And the Narrator's truly ambiguous statements (III, 1317-23, for example) can perfectly well be taken in a positive light. Negative Narratorial statements concerning the love must be handled differently, yet these also can be accommodated. For as I have already shown, the Narrator's inconsistencies are such that we must consider him more as a character than as Chaucer the author; and as a character, the negative statements with which he responds to love's anxieties and dissappointments can be fully understood as over-enthusiastic sympathy, and do not need to be read as Chaucer's own sober statement. The Narrator's intrusions can thus be seen as guiding our sympathies rather than our judgements: they direct us towards empathy with the lovers' joy, thus helping us participate in it, and with the lovers' griefs, thus helping us learn from that; but they are not to be seen as pronouncements of final values. Indeed, these negative Narratorial statements do intrude a note which qualifies the love's beauty, but not necessarily more so than Fortuna and the mutability theme do. The interpretation of the Troilus which I am suggesting here is one which sees Troilus' love as good, beautiful, ennobling, according to the law of kynde, but not as ultimately perfect or equal to the love a Christian can find in God

(though it does point the way towards heavenly Love). And the Christian Narrator's alternation of praises and undercuttings of Troilus' love could be seen as reinforcing this vision of the love's benignity-within-limits. One might even say that the Narrator's inconsistency is the logical stance of a Christian telling a Christian audience a tale of a pre-Christian time, needing to give the audience the proper responses to the tale yet also having, himself, a Christian perspective on his subject.

In sum, a celebration-of-love interpretation of the Troilus is founded on the fact that secular human loving could be understood as part of God's plan and, under God, part of the law of Natura. The gods help establish a Trojan, pre-Christian setting in which natural law would have been the best any human could know or follow, and Troilus and Criseyde would be praiseworthy, not blameworthy, for following it. Indeed, a fourteenth century Christian could understand that their human love was necessarily inferior to love of God, and could see how the limits which the poem reveals in their human love reach (and cause Troilus to reach) toward something more, but no one in Troy could have known or acted better than the poem's hero. And because the love was innocent for Troilus and Criseyde, as well as being in itself good if inferior to heavenly love, their love is explicitly

depicted as benign. The love gods are "wel-willy" and blissful and do in fact bring the lovers three years of bliss. They are worshipped in terms of idealized courtly love, and, compatibly with its precepts, they greatly ennoble Troilus the lover. Colloquial language, including exclamations to or by God, functions mainly to close distance between tale and audience, making it easier for the audience to empathize with the characters. And while some of the colloquial language reminds us of God and Christian belief, much of it is applied to the love and love gods, and thus helps to idealize that love. Jove's usage in the poem also helps confirm the seriousness of the love, in that his appearances begin to suggest God as the love becomes emotionally deep and committed-to, thus hinting that the more deeply Troilus loves Criseyde the closer he comes to the truth about the Deity. The gods in general, in fact, help add solemnity to the love, both by creating a high rhetorical style and by reflecting the depth and sincerity of the characters' feelings. What astrological influence we see is under God/Jove, and favors and furthers the love affair. And even those references which qualify the love's positive value do not negate it. On the contrary, when Fortuna turns against the affair, the ultimate effect is to reveal the uses of adverse Fortuna, since it is losing Criseyde that spurs Troilus to attempt to understand Providence, and reveals

his nobility and "trouthe"; without the trial-by-fire of losing his love, paradoxically, he would not have reached the eighth sphere. And what this means is that it is through the process of his loving Criseyde that Troilus reaches heaven and Divine Love: Fortuna's adversity, and the love's instability, paradoxically confirm Troilus' ennoblement through love and his ultimate salvation. Boethian material too, and relatedly, shows the love's inadequacy, yet also lends the love strong suggestions of cosmic significance, and it indicates the love's thrust towards higher truths, both those of Divine Love and of Providence. And the Narratorial intrusions as well point two ways at once: they praise and celebrate the love and enthuse over its joys, while also hinting at another, Christian, attitude towards its mortal inadequacy and consequent griefs. For the Christian Narrator knows the truths that his characters could not have known, and his genuine compassion for them, and enthusiasm for their happiness, is still qualified by his knowledge of a wider perspective.

This matter of Christian awareness and pre-Christian setting is important. A celebration-of-love reading of the Troilus does not negate or deny the understandings of Christianity. On the contrary, as my Chapter I pointed out, it has been suggested that the medieval idea

of a chain of love can be applied to the Troilus, so that human love could be perceived as a step on the climb towards love of God; with this in mind we can understand Troilus' love for Criseyde as being the means by which he -- and we -- climb from a worldly perspective to a perception of heavenly love. This interpretation explicitly praises, values, and celebrates Troilus' human, worldly love, but it does so not only out of the sweetness and natural propriety of human loving, but also because of that love's intimations of something greater. This higher love could not be part of the Trojan world; in Troy it could only be hinted at. It takes Troilus' ascent out of this world to break free of worldly limitations and reach heavenly insight and harmony. And this brings us to the problem of the poem's double ending -- and that problem's solution.

The love which Troilus experiences is magnificent, blissful, ennobling, and transitory. In the post-lapsarian pre-Christian condition, which is literally present in ancient Troy but which might function as a metaphor for an earthly perspective even after Christ, natural law and love are good and blessed but inadequate, inevitably ending in despair and heartache. Thus Troilus' love does not last and its end in this world is hopeless grief. Another perspective is possible, under Christian Revelation, and in this awareness human

nobility and striving for what seems best may lead to heaven and true felicity, but this perception is impossible for unaided worldly man to achieve in life, and while this is Chaucer's understanding, it is not that of ancient Troy or its denizens. Yet the poem's sentence would be incomplete if Chaucer did not bring us from Troilus' dim sense of and striving for Truth and true happiness to its explicit statement and fulfillment -- despite the impossibility of this statement in the poem's world. His solution to this dilemma is the poem's double conclusion. Troilus' worldly loving ends as it must in despair, and a worldly conclusion is then made, treating the difficulties and uncertainties both of worldly love (V, 1772-85), and of the earthly fate of the poem itself (V, 1786-99). This done, however, the loose ends of the love-story's hints at something higher than this world can offer are taken up, in the only way they can be, by a second ending which goes outside of this world. So after the earthly conclusions, Troilus' death is shown, freeing him from the circles of this world, and enabling us to imaginatively rise with him as he finally can and does perceive, directly and clearly, and "blisfully", the "holughnesse" of heaven's harmony. His noble, natural, and in pre-Christian Troy innocent love was also by virtue of post-lapsarian reality inadequate, yet it

contained the seeds of and tendencies toward something higher. And it is because Troilus loved Criseyde in this way, purely and "trouthe"-fully, that he is enabled in death to break free of this world's limitations and know heavenly bliss: his "fyn...for love" is fittingly "the pleyne felicity that is in hevne above." And this breakthrough from the worldly to the heavenly perspective allows Chaucer to end his poem's second conclusion on a far higher note than his first, not in a prayer that the book be understood, but in one to Jesus to "make us...for thi mercy digne,/ For love of mayde and moder thyn benigne." (V, 1868-9). Thus a celebration-of-love interpretation of the Troilus finds the poem ending an unabashed tale of a worldly amour, with perfect logic and propriety, in the Christian God's love.

iv
the implications of a doubly-focussed poem

In this chapter, I have identified and described two rather different readings of Troilus and Criseyde. In one the poem is understood as essentially a Christian work which uses the failure and ultimate sorrow of human love to reveal a Christian message and understanding about worldly instability and the superiority of the love of the Christian God. In the other interpretation the human love of the poem is seen as its focus; and the human

love's beauty and wonder is seen as a shadow and hint of God's Love in spite of its worldly inadequacy. And I have based each of these interpretations of the poem equally, and equally soundly, on the suggestions, associations, and legitimate possible meanings of the Troilus' many and various references to deities, pagan myth and legend, and Christian belief, practice, and phraseology. It is perhaps the most interesting of my findings that both of these quite different readings of the poem work: the religious allusions individually and as a group, create perfect validity for each. Troilus and Criseyde does not have a single unified interpretation; it is instead a doubly-focussed poem, a work which can be differently understood depending on what angle of approach the reader takes, and this is the result, I believe, of Chaucer's conscious rhetorical strategy in the selection and use of references to gods and religion.

That the two readings are indeed basically different ones may need further discussion, for although different and distinct, they are not, as I have stated and analyzed them, irreconcilably exclusive of each other. My findings regarding the poem's presentation of love gods, for example, reveals that they are benign, and that they have limits, and this finding fits both the Christian

reading and the praise-of-love reading that I have defined. Consequently both my interpretations describe the poem's human love as good but having limits. Further, both my interpretations end with Troilus in heaven. And both come finally to the epilog's Christian conclusion and perspective.

Despite these similarities between the two readings, however, they are more different than like each other. One major difference is the attitude towards love: in a Christian reading the love is seen as a trap, which must be lost and rejected before salvation becomes possible, while in a celebration-of-love interpretation this same love is the path and ladder by which Troilus grows to perceive and be worthy of heaven. And in accordance with this difference in attitude, a Christian interpretation of the poem takes special note of passages and references which downgrade the love or can be seen as suggesting Christianity, thus resulting in a very different focus and perceived ambience than a praise-of-love reading, which notes instead the poem's indications of beauty and positive value in the love, and the pagan or non-Christian aspects of salient references. By doing this, the two respective readings of the Troilus present very different perspectives on the story, and find very different values. They do not see different stories, necessarily, but rather they take very

different angles on the same one, and focus on different aspects of it. And ultimately a reading which condemns and discounts the kind of love Troilus feels for Criseyde cannot be part of the same interpretation that celebrates this love as leading to salvation through being on the same chain or spectrum as love of God; nor can an interpretation which regards the poem's events and characters through the judgement of Christian doctrine be the same as one which sees pagans as virtuous through heeding natural law, and which keeps Christian judgement per se out of the actual tale. The religious references themselves, as I have shown, are sometimes in diametrical opposition to each other, and given references at times yield, simultaneously, opposing possible readings; this being the case a single overriding, all-inclusive interpretation of the poem could not be possible. What I have found instead is that the full range of implications for religious references can be accommodated in a double reading of the Troilus, in which different interpretive perspectives result in two equally sound but very differently focussed ways of understanding it.

The Introduction to this thesis indicated my sense that the religious allusions were a key to the sentence of the Troilus; that it is these references and their associations and implications which create and carry the

poem's meaning and moral; and that any interpretation which does not adequately account for and explicate all of them is incomplete and unsound. My finding has confirmed this suspicion, if in a surprising way. For I have indeed found that it is suggestions, connotations, and associations in the various religious references which, singly and together, indicate values and attitudes that add up to a philosophy and moral for the poem. And I have found that all the religious allusions can be fitted together coherently and without undue distortion to reveal appropriate sentence. But I did not originally expect to discover two different attitudes, conclusions, and morals for the poem in these references: this finding has been imposed by the complexity and ambiguity of the references themselves. This large and important set of details in the Troilus has turned out, on investigation, to have a complexity, multifariousness, and ambiguity that makes it impossible to settle on only one valid interpretation of them. If I have come to a conclusion that the Troilus presents two separate and equally sound readings, in other words, this conclusion has been compelled by, and based on, an open-minded investigation of what the religious allusions mean and how they might be functioning, and by my finding that no single interpretation of the poem can account for all their implications -- but that two readings made together

can. And I would add that it seems unlikely that so large and pervasive a group of details in a poem could function in so consistently and coherently ambiguous a fashion by accident. I would posit that what we have here is a careful rhetorical strategy on Chaucer's part.

As I worked to show in Chapter II, almost every kind of reference to a deity or religion in the Troilus can potentially be understood in more than one way -- and the multiple possibilities are consistently kept open throughout the poem. Language which is colloquial in its casual naming of God may be taken as distance-closing colloquialism and/or as reminding us of Christianity; every such usage is constructed to allow us the multiple possibilities and never does the poem's language either close off or require any of them. Infernal references may suggest negative associations with the love, or they may simply reveal intense emotional states, and again all possibilities are left open every time. Ambiguous statements are made without anything in the text ever precluding us from taking them one way or the other -- and so on. The point here is that virtually every kind of religious allusion in the poem is ambiguous in this way, to the extent that it must have required careful choice of words on Chaucer's part to allow each reference its multiple implications, without closing off any of them.

It is remarkable indeed that the Narrator makes so many definitive judgemental comments on the story, without ever once negating any potential interpretations of the religious allusions. It is remarkable that the name, Jove, is used in different contexts and ways with no comment or indication whatsoever that the deity who lay with Alcmena implies something different than the deity who has disposition over destiny and delegates authority to the Fates. It is remarkable that strong destinal statements and clear examples of free choosing, as well as explicit discussion of the free-will/predestination problem, can appear together without a single conclusive passage to require or exclude either possibility. It is remarkable that a poem with so much ambiguity nonetheless presents the love goddess Venus as only benign (though not omnipotent). It seems therefore apparent that Chaucer carefully and consciously molded his uses of gods and namings of God so as to present and preserve options in how to read them. Part of my work in Chapter II was to show that the fourteenth century was congenial to ambiguity and the resonances, richness, and complexity it produces; part of my work there was to show that multiple meaning and associations were really possible for references to deities in the Middle Ages, and are to be found standing together in the Troilus. Since accepting these possibilities validates finding two equally

textually sound readings of the Troilus, I conclude that Chaucer deliberately used his gods and religious references ambiguously, and that he meant to create multiple meanings for them, and ultimately to create the doubly-focussed poem I have analyzed the Troilus as being.

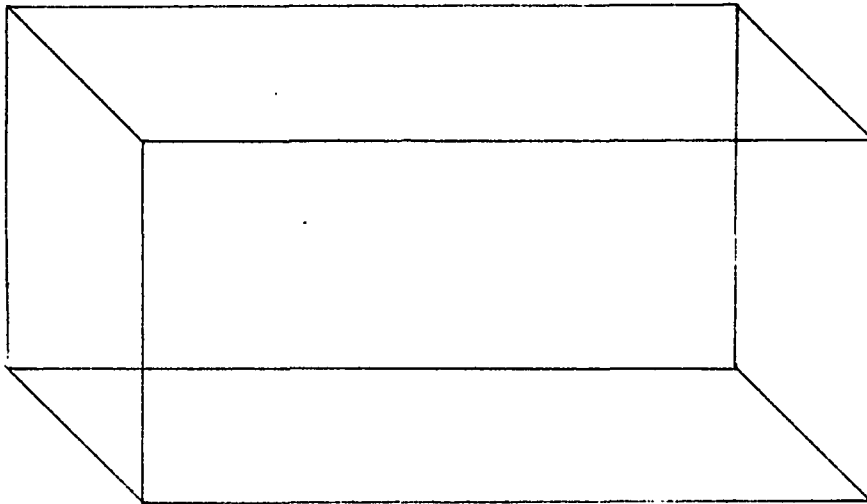
The implications of having a doubly-focussed poem deserve some discussion. It is true, but not enough, to point out that we are given in such a work a complexity which truly imitates life. It is also true but insufficient to point out that the ambiguity creates a far richer and more interesting fabric than any simply single-sentenced work could present. Nor is it enough to point out that producing such a work represents a considerable and ingenious feat on Chaucer's part. There remains a sense that Chaucer must have meant something by this strategy. And I would hypothesize that in the end the poem reflects the actuality of multiple perspectives in this world. For there is beauty, joy and love in this world to be celebrated, and if one believes in God as Loving and as Creator, then these good things must be real, and derive from Him. And there is sorrow and pain and loss of love in this world, which makes our lives here compare most unfavorably with heaven's plain felicity. In life as in the Troilus, which of these you

primarily see depends on how you look at it, on your perspective. And neither perspective is complete in itself, neither adequately accounts for all of reality. Chaucer, faithful to this fact, made a poem in which both ways of seeing the matter are available, so that the reader's perspective must help determine the moral, a poem in which the audience is honored with the impossibility of remaining passive. The Narrator's characterization presents a pattern for empathy and participation, while frustrating our expectations of guidance, thus requiring our participation. And the poem's refusal to determine for us which of its two major perspectives is "right" enables us to understand both while leaving us free to accept whichever we will. That a work of literature need not impose a definitive, predetermined meaning on us is an idea I would justify with a statement by Tolkien, who "cordially dislike[d] allegory in all its manifestations"; he suggested "that many confuse 'applicability' with 'allegory'; but the one resides in the freedom of the reader, and the other in the purposed² domination of the author." By making a poem which preserves this reader's freedom, in which the reader must choose a perspective in order to make sense of the work, Chaucer created a piece of literature with applicability for all. The poem's overarching pattern is its multiplicity of meaning, something which is possible

because this multiplicity reflects a truth about life in this world.

In conclusion, my investigation of the gods and God in Troilus and Criseyde has revealed ambiguous meanings and multiple associations for each kind of reference, carefully constructed to make not one but two readings of the poem available. The poem can be understood as essentially Christian in intent, ambience, and conclusion; or it can be interpreted as being mainly about the joys, sorrows, and potentially cosmic implications of human love. And I have found that both these interpretations are equally appropriate and soundly based on the poem's text, despite their differences. The two readings are not mutually exclusive, for both allow human love some measure of goodness and both reach a Christian conclusion in the end. Yet they are distinctly different, for the essence of the Christian reading is an understanding which the praise-of-love reading reaches only in the epilog, and does not see as the essence of the work; while the focus and essence of the praise-of-love reading is merely one subordinate element of the Christian reading. But Chaucer has constructed in Troilus and Criseyde a doubly-focussed work, in which the poem's ambiguity, created by its references to gods, God, and religion, is such that the reader's perspective is required

to sort out a moral from the confusion. You can look at the poem in one way and see one meaning, or from another angle and find a different sentence; it is like the line drawing of all the edges of a box, in which a corner seems to be at the front or the back as the beholder's eye chooses. But the reality is the edges of a box, a whole which contains both perspectives, for our enjoyment and enrichment.



FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1

Howard Rollin Patch, "Troilus on Determinism," Speculum, 6 (1931), pp. 225-43; his On Rereading Chaucer (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1939), pp. 70-120; and his "Chaucer and Lady Fortune," MLR, 22 (1927), pp. 377-88; James Lyndon Shanley, "The Troilus and Christian Love," ELH, 6 (1939), pp. 271-81, rpt. in Chaucer Criticism, vol. II: Troilus and Criseyde and the Minor Poems, ed. Richard J. Schoeck and Jerome Taylor (Notre Dame, Ind.: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1961), pp. 136-46; D. W. Robertson, Jr., "Chaucerian Tragedy," ELH, 19 (1952), pp. 1-37; rpt. in Chaucer Criticism, ed. Schoeck and Taylor, op. cit., pp. 86-121; and his A Preface to Chaucer: studies in Medieval perspectives (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1962), pp. 472-495.

2

J. R. R. Tolkien, Preface to The Lord of the Rings, 2d ed., (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1965) The Fellowship of the Ring, p. 7

CHAPTER V Conclusion

I began work on this thesis with a recognition that the critical opus on Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde manifests dissension of enormous magnitude rather than consensus. For virtually any interpretation of the poem, or reading of a passage or statement in it, that is set forth by one critic is opposed by another. Even when several scholars agree on a general perspective for understanding the poem, they tend to differ, often seriously, on details. In these circumstances, yet another look at this much-disputed-over masterwork was not out of order.

I chose the poem's religious allusions as a key and subject for my analysis. I did this because, originally, I was tantalized by their variety of apparent potential associations, and wished to untangle the threads of meaning and implication which I sensed pertained to them. As I began my investigation, I became aware that the gods, and mythical and religious allusions, are involved in every critical nexus of the poem; and furthermore, I became aware that the different (broadly speaking) kinds of readings of the Troilus tend to handle religious allusions in different kinds of ways. It became obvious that these references do, indeed, furnish a key to the

Troilus.

My effort in Chapter I was to establish just what discoveries and statements previous criticism has made concerning the gods and religious allusions in the Troilus. I therefore investigated different sorts of allusions with reference to scholarly findings concerning them rather than to their contexts in the poem itself or their interrelations with each other. Chapter I's task was simply to establish what deities and kinds of religious references exist in the Troilus, along with what possible meanings and functions have been identified by previous scholarship for each kind of reference: pagan deities and legend; medieval allegorical personifications; love gods and courtly love; and the Christian God and Christian religion and philosophy.

Chapter II continued the work, by way of dealing with the poem itself rather than critical discussion of it, of clarifying just what groups and subgroups of religious allusions exist in the poem, and what implications and functions each might have. The problem of ambiguity, and of many possible meanings for allusions both to God and to pagan gods, was considered. And examination of other medieval works reinforced the findings of examining the Toilus' text, to the effect of showing that medieval literature frequently relied on

ambiguity, and on the resonances and complexities created by multiple meaning. Chapter II, in other words, explicated and supported the possibility of finding more than one meaning and function for each reference or set of references in the Troilus.

Chapter III further confirmed and qualified the possible implications of religious allusions through an examination of the poem's actual text. By considering the context and actual presentation of each kind of reference, it was made clear that many possible meanings for them are contextually valid -- and that some are not. These three chapters thus together established the full set of legitimate possible meanings and functions for the religious references in the text of Troilus and Criseyde. The actual readings of the poem which I made in Chapter IV were founded on this work.

In the end, I determined that two interpretations of the Troilus are equally possible, from the single text. In one, the poem can be read in a Christian light; it sees worldly love as unstable, as all human things are, and inferior to Divine Love; the possibility of a Christian awareness for the audience, though not necessarily in any explicit way for the pagan characters, is maintained throughout; the gods create rhetorical grandeur and a Trojan scene but do not interfere with the Christian ambience and conclusion -- which condemns pagan

rites unequivocally --and the finally Christian conclusion is thus prepared for throughout the poem and validated by it. In the other interpretation, the poem is seen as essentially a work about human love. The love story is understood as central; the human love portrayed is good, so much so that it ennobles and proves the lover Troilus and brings him "in hevене to solas" just as the opening Proem prayed; the pagan setting and pre-Christian time help make the natural love that the poem depicts that much more innocent; colloquial and Christian-reminiscent matter is seen as closing distance and making the characters sympathetic, and/or as suggesting idealistic seriousness for the love, without suggesting that the Trojan characters were bound by Christianity or judgeable by its lights; while hints of some aspects of love and of choosing that are wider than those the characters could know, along with the love affair's transience, open the way for a Christian perspective on the part of the audience after the tale itself is done.

It is an important point that these two quite different interpretations co-exist, both inherent in the way the Troilus is constructed. Either reading alone, if it were the only one the text afforded, would be a respectable sentence for a serious poem. But in the Troilus neither of these readings, complete and justifiable as

each is, can account for all the implications of the text. Instead, we have a poem with two different, equally valid and complementary readings inherent in it. Together, they create a work with the richness, complexity, and multifariousness of life itself. And it is the ambiguity and complexity of the gods and religious references which enabled Chaucer to create such a work.

APPENDIX

key to descriptions and references

-
- 1a colloquial uses of God's name which are merely
exclamatory
 - 1b colloquial exclamations ascribing some attribute to
God
 - 1c colloquial/exclamatory invocations and prayers
 - 1d sincere Christian prayers in epilog

 - 2a references to 14th century religious/cultural
context (includes both counter-notes to love, and
descriptions of love as heavenly)
 - 2b other anachronisms
 - 2c Boethian material

 - 3a pagan gods and legends, simply as such
 - 3b pagan gods with possible implications of additional
or allegorical significance
 - 3c courtly love material
 - 3d infernal references
 - 3e medieval personifications as gods

 - 4a astronomical references
 - 4b astrological references

 - 5a narrator philosophizing or putting positive or
negative value on story and affair
 - 5b narrator discussing what he is doing as a craftsman

 - 6 deities/allusions used as characterizing devices

 - 7 deities in especially rhetorical usages

key to speakers of references

N	Narrator	T	Troilus
C	Crisyede	P	Pandarus
Ca	Calchas	tj	other Trojans
D	Diomedes		

reference	location	types and speaker
Thesiphone, goddess of tor- ment, cruel Fury, sorrow- ing ever in pain	I, 6-9	3a, 7, ?5a? N
I, that God of Love's ser- vants serve	I, 15	3c, 2a, ?3b? N

reference	location	types and speaker
Love...I'm far from his his help in darkness and don't dare to love	I, 16-18	3c,5b,?5a? N
Love dares displease lovers	I, 27	3c,?5a N
pray for desperate lovers that Love bring them to solace in heaven	I, 29-31	3c,2a,?3a,5a N
pray to God that I'm able to show the pain of Love's folk	I, 32-34	2a,3c,?5a? N
pray to God that slandered lovers and those des- paired out of Love's grace pass may from this world	I, 36-42	2a,3c,?3a,5a N
pray for successful lovers that God grant them con- tinued ability to please their ladies, to give Love worship and ple- saunce	I, 43-46	2a,3c,?3a,5a N
I hope to advance my soul by praying for Love's ser- vants, writing their woe, living in charity and having compassion on them	I, 47-51	2a,3c,5a N
Ca., expert in science, knew Troy would be destroyed through answer of his god, Phebus/Delphan Apollo, and through "calkulynge"	I, 66-74	3a,4b N
C., left in Troy when Ca. fled, was in great "penaunce"	I, 94	?2a N
C. was angellike in native beauty, like something immortal, "hevenyssh perfit", sent down "in scornynge of nature"	I, 101-5	3b,3e,2a,6 N
Fortuna wheeled both sides, giving advantage in war to each in turn, "aftir hir course"	I, 134-40	3a,2c,3e N
the Trojans continued to honor their gods despite the seige, and especially the relic Palladion	I, 148-54	2a,3a N

reference	location	types and speaker
Palladion's feast held in springtime April, with all going to the temple wear- ing their best clothes	I, 155-68	2a,3a N
C. was "in beaute first... makeles"	I, 172	?2a N
T. led his knights about the temple	I, 183-5	2b N
T. had no devotion to any lady to disturb his rest	I, 187-8	3c N
T. decries love and its observances	I, 194-203	3c T
T. calls lovers blind fools	I, 202	2c T
God of Love took offense at T.' mockery, and shot T. with his bow	I, 206-9	3c,3a,?3b? N
Love can still pull as proud a peacock as T.	I, 210	5a N
N. exclaims at blindness of human intentions and pride	I, 211-7	2c N
Take example from T. not to scorn Love, for Love can bind all things, since "no man may fordon the lawe of kynde."	I, 232-8	3c,?3b,3a,5a N
Love has overcome the best and this is good, for the wisest have been pleased by it, the woofullest comforted, the cruel appeased by love and the worthy made worthier. Love is virtuous "in kynde" and irresistable, so yield to him.	I, 239-59	3c,5a,?3a3b? N
T.' first thought on seeing C. is "O mercy, God, wher hastow woned?"	I, 276	1a T
T., who had scorned those who bear Love's pains, was caught, unaware that Love dwelled in C.'s eyes	I, 302-5	3c N
Blessed be Love, who can convert folk so!	I, 308	2a,3b,3c,5a N
T. repented having mocked Love's folk	I, 318-9	2a,3c,?6 N
T. pretended to mock lovers to hide his love	I, 328-9	3c N
exclamatory "Lord"	I, 330	1a T
"God woot"	I, 334	1a T

reference	location	types and speaker
lovers "order is ruled in good wise"	I, 336	2a T
exclamatory "Lord"	I, 350	1a T
T. decided to love C., and "nought repente"	I, 365-92	3c,?2a N
Here is a translation from "myn auctour Lollius" of T.' song	I, 393-9	5b N
"If no love is, O God, what fele I so?"	I. 400	1c T
T. prayed humbly to the God of Love, acknowledging his spirit to be the god's, as it ought, and thanking the god for having brought him to this	I, 421-4	2a,3b,3c,?6 T
The fire of love, "the wher- fro God me blesse" did not spare T.' royal blood	I, 436	5a N
"wolde God" that C. would pity me	I, 459	1a T
love took away T.' sleep and appetite and made him seem sick	I, 484-90	3c N
imagines lovers saying he is caught in the net he scorned, "thanked be God"	I, 517	1a T
T. as one of those "that Love list feibly to avaunce"	I, 518	3c,?3a T
"God wolde" that C. knew of T.' love; "God wolde" he were dead already; "Lord", it would be a comfort to finish languishing in sec- ret, "God" and C., help	I, 519, 526, 528, 533	1a,3c T
"O mercy, God! what unhap may this meene?"	I, 552	1a,?1b P
Have you "remors of consci- ence"; are you in "som devocioun", wailing for your sin, "and hast for ferde caught attricioun"? God save the Greeks if they can bring us to holiness!	I, 54-60	1b,2a P
"for the love of God", go away	I, 571	1a T
"God leve it be my beste to telle it the"	I, 597-8	1b T

reference	location	types and speaker
Love, who is irresistible, is what bothers me	I, 603-5	3c T
"for the love of God", don't tell anyone	I, 612-3	1a T
"how devel" can you help me in love when you can't help yourself?	I, 623	1a T
Oenone's letter to Paris	I, 653-4	3a P
Phebus, who founded the art of medicine, couldn't cure himself of love for the daughter of king Amete	I, 659-65	3a P
You can't win love by wal- lowing and weeping like Niobe, whose marble tears can still be seen	I, 697-700	3a, ?3b P
"If God wole", you don't fear I'll steal your lady	I, 715-6	1a P
do you sleep "as in a litargie?"	I, 730	2a P
No, I don't want you to tell her, "by God" and my truth	I, 770	1a T
"bendiste" for emphasis	I, 780	1a P
why think yourself "grace- less" and despair?	I, 781	3c, ?2a P
I grant that you suffer like Ticius in hell	I, 785-6	3d P
Ticius' stomach is torn by vultures, "as books tell"	I, 786-8	5b, (6) P
Lord, what thanks will you have if she thinks you died of fear!	I, 803	1a P
She'll say, the "devel" have his bones!	I, 806	2a P
T. realized that suicide is sinful and unmanly	I, 824	2a N/T
"God woot, she knew little of his woe	I, 826	1a, 1b N/T
"God woot" it will be hard to help me	I, 835	1a, 1b T
Fortune is my foe, whose cruel wheel none can withstand	I, 837-40	3a, 2c, 3e, ?6 T
You're wrong to blame For- tune, for she's common to all, and if her joys pass so must her sorrows: if she stopped being mutable she'd stop being Fortune. Her shifts may help you	I, 841-54	2c, 3a, 3e, ?6 P

reference	location	types and speaker
"By Cerberus in helle ay be I bounde" if I don't help	I, 859-61	3d P
T. began to quake "as if men sholde han led hym into helle"	I, 872	2a,3d N
When P. heard her name, "Lord, he was glad"	I, 877	1a N
Now be well, "for Joves name in hevene"	I, 878	3a,?3b? P
"Love hath byset the wel"	I, 879	3c,3a P
That you love someone worthy you should call grace, not accident	I, 895-6	3c,2a P
I would never have thought you would have such grace in love	I, 906-7	3c,2a P
You used to scorn Love	I, 909	3c,3a P
You've called Love's ser- vants God's apes	I, 911-2	3c, 2a P/T
You said that they were sick and prayed God not to recover	I, 916-7	1b P/T
Beat your breast, ask God off Love for grace since you repent and really mean it.	I, 932-5	2a,3a,3c,?3b P
"A,lord!" I agree, and pray that my mockery be forgiv- ven, and I'll never mock again	I, 936-8	2a,?1a T
Good, and I hope the god is now appeased, and since you wept and said what pleases "thi god", "Now wolde nevere god but thow were esed!"	I, 939-43	2a,3a,?1a P
Since the God of Love has placed you worthily, hold to your love for C.	I, 967-9	3c P
All are apt to love, either with celestial love or love of kind, and C.'s youth and beauty make celestial love anappro- priate for her, though she knows and could follow it.	I, 977-84	2a,(3b) P
She ought to love and che- rish a worthy knight -- it's a vice if she doesn't	I, 986	2b P
Love, of his goodness, con- verted you from wickedness	I, 998-9	3c,3b,2a P

reference	location	types and speaker
You'll be like clerks converted from great wickedness to good through God's grace, who are then strongest in faith and most in awe of God	I, 1002-7	1b,2a P
"blisful Venus helpe, er that I sterue"	I, 1014	3a,3c, T
"Whi, Lord!" I hate your "nyce fare";	I, 1025	1a P
"For Goddes love" let me be	I, 1027	1b P
"Adieu! be glad! God spede use bothe two!"	I, 1041	1b P
"pardee, God shal helpe us ...and God toforn" I'll hurt some Greeks	I, 1046-9	1b,1a T
"God yelde the, frend"	I, 1055	1a T
P. went off thinking of how to approach C. and seek her grace	I, 1062-4	3c,2a N
T. arose and fought well, and became kinder and gentler and more courteous.	I, 1079-853c	N
Cleo, "lady myn", be my Muse and help me make this book	II,8-10	3a,7 N
Don't blame me for translating my "auctour"s words or knowing little of love	II,12-21	5b N
Customs, like languages, differ in different times and places; I must follow my source.	II,22-49	2b,5b N
It was May 3, when Phebus spread his beams in the Bull.	II,54-6	4a N
The swallow Procne woke P. singing of Tereus' rape of her sister.	II,64-70	3a,?6? N
P. cast (a horoscope) and found that the moon was in a good position to start wooing C.	II,74-6	4b N/P
"Janus, god of entree", guide him	II,77	3a,?5a N
C. and others listened to a reading of the siege of Thebes	II,81-4	2b N
"Madame, God yow see"	II,85	1a P
You'll do well "if God wole"	II,93	1a P

reference	location	types and speaker
"For Goddes love", what is your book about? Love?	II,96-7	1a P
We're reading about Thebes, and stopped at these red letters, which tell how the bishop Amphiorax fell through the ground to hell	II,100-5	2b,3d C
I know all about Thebes and the 12 books about it	II,106-8	2b P
God forbid that I should do May observance. "Is that a widewes lif, so God yow save? By God" you scare me	II,113-5	1a,1b C
It would suit me better to sit in a cave reading of saints' lives	II,117-8	2a C
Tell us what's up "For Goddes love"	II,123-4	1a C
"Ye, holy God" what is it?	II,127	1b C
"As helpe me God" I don't know what you mean	II,133	1b C
"By God" I'll say why I won't answer you	II,137	1a P
Hector is well, "I thank it God"	II,155	1a P
"God save hem bothe two!"	II,163	1b C
"By God" that's true	II,185-6	1a C
"by God" sit down for I must speak with you more	II,213	1a C
"wel bithought! for love of God"	II,225	1a C
P. swears by Minerva, and Jupiter who makes thunder, and blisful Venus	II,232-4	3a P
With the grace of God, I'll never offend you	II,243-5	1b C
For the love of God, be my friend and tell me what- ever you like	II,246-9	1a C
Lord! how you look at me	II,276	1a C
For the love of God, take your chance while it lasts	II,290-1	1a P
For God's love, I pray you to tell me your concern	II,309	1a C
You would fish well to let us both die "gilteles"!	II,327-8	?2a P
T. called a "knyght"	II,331	2b P
"Allas, that God yow swich a beaute sentel!"	II,336	1b P

reference	location	types and speaker
Woe to the fair gem without virtue!	II,344	2b P
It would shame me to be his bawd	II,351-7	2a P
God helpe me so, I mean only that you should be nice to him	II,364	1a P
"God so wys be my savacioun" it's best that you be nice	II,381	1b P
Of this world the faith is gone, for he who should keep me from love urges me to seek it	II,410-3	2a,(2c),?6 C
"This false world, allas! who may it leve?"	II,420	2c,?6 C
"O lady myn, Pallas!" help me cope with this	II,425-6	3a,?3b?,6 C
"By God" and "God toforn" I won't come back to be mistrusted thus	II,430-1	1a P
Calls on cruel, "despitous" Mars and "Furies thre of hell" to (slay him on the spot) if he meant any harm or villainy.	II,435-8	3a,3d P
Swears by Neptune, god of the sea, to starve himself	II,442-5	3a P
P. called a "knyght"	II,452	2b N
"A, Lord!"	II,464	1a C
"with Goddes governaunce" I'll manage to keep my honor and save his life	II, 466-8	1b C
If you try to go further, I'll have no ruth "for no salvacioun of yow"	II,484-8	?2a C
Promise I won't have cause "ofter yow to preche?"	II,496	2a P
"For his love, which that us both made" how did you learn of T.' love?	II,500	1b C
T. began to "pleyne" to Love	II,522	3c,?3a? P
Lord (Cupid), have ruth on my pain; I've rebelled against you, but "mea culpa", I repent. O god, who by just "purveiaunce" sets everyone's "fyn", accept my confession, sending me penance, but not despair - her eyes wound me to death	II,523-39	3c,3b,2a,?6 T/P

reference	location	types and speaker
"God so wys be my savacioun" I was never so sorry for anyone.	II,563	1b P
"God woot" I never had to "preche" so to anyone to find out his problem.	II,568-9	1a,2a P
"for the love of God, that us hath wrought" be nice enough to him to save his life.	II,577-8	1b P
"And right good thrift, I prey to God, have ye..."	II,582	1c P
"myghty God yet graunte us" to see the time when you are wholly his!	II,587-8	1c P
"As helpe me God" you spoil everything!	II,590	1b C
I meant nothing but well, by Mars, the god helmed in steel.	II,592-3	3a,?3b? P
Lord, he was glad.	II,597	1a N
T. came riding as on his happy day, "For which,men seyne, may nought destour- bed be/ That shal bityden of necessitee."	II,620-3	(2c) N
T. was a "knyghtly" sight	II,628,631	2b N
Seeing T. was like looking on Mars, god of battle.	II,629-30	3a,6 N
It was a "heaven" to see T.	II,637	2a N
Also, blissful Venus was in her 7th house, in a good position to help T., the more so for being "not al a foo To T. in his nativi- tee; God woot" that helped	II,680-6	4b,1a N
Lord! C. began to argue in herself	II,694	1a N
I secretly know, "so God me spede", that I'm lovely	II,744-6	1b C
I'm independent and well off, "I thank it God"	II,751	1a C
"par dieux!" I'm not "reli- gious" as would forbid me to love	II, 759	1a,2a C
T. called a "knyght"	II,761	2b C

reference	location	types and speaker
Antigone's song to Love, calling herself his humble subject, calling him "lord" and blissful god, whose grace sent her joy, by sending her the bliss of a good and virtuous lover. Thanks the god of Love for sending her bliss and because she is in "the righte lif" which causes virtue. Those who defame Love know nothing of him.	II,836-75	3c,(3a),7 Tj
Antigone calls her lover "of wit Apollo".	II,843	3a Tj
Lord, do lovers have such bliss as they claim?	II,885-6	1a C
Men must ask saints if it's fair in heaven and fiends if it's foul in hell	II,894-5	2a,(3d) Tj
C. became less scared of love, and more able to "converte" (to loving)	II,901-3	2a N
The day's honor, heaven's eye, night's foe -- "al this clepe I the sonne.."	II,904-5	4a,5b,7 N
I need not describe all her thoughts "for ye ben wise"	II,916-7	5b N
"Lord, so ye swete!"	II,943	1a P
C. will love you, "by God and by my trouthe"	II,958	1a P
Why should I make a long sermon of it?	II,965	2a N
T., hearing of P.'s success, looked up and praised Venus' might and grace	II,972-3	3a,(?2a) T
If someone gave me 1000 Troys, "God so wys me save", it wouldn't make me so happy.	II,977-80	1b T
Take it easy, for the love of Mars.	II,988	3a P
"God toforn" I'll be at work for you early, for, "pardee, God woot" I've always been ready to serve you.	II,992-6	1a P
If I were you, "God help me so" I'd write C. a letter.	II,1003-6	1b P

reference	location	types and speaker
"God shilde us fro mes- chaunce!"	II,1019	1b P
"by that Lord that formede est and west," I hope to bring an answer	II,1053-4	1b P
"Depardieux, ich assente!"	II,1058	2a T
I pray to "blisful God" to speed the letter, and	II,1060-1	1b T
I pray to Minerva the white for the wit to write it.	II,1062-3	3a T
"By God", I hop behind in love's dance!	II,1107	1a P
T. recommends himself to your grace.	II,1122	3c,2a P
Give him a good answer or, "helpe me God" he'll die.	II,1125-7	1a P
Bring me no letters, "For love of God."	II,1130-2	1a C
"I preye" you to have more regard for my "estat" than his lust!	II,1133-4	2a C
Would it be proper for me to take the letter at risk to my honor, "by God and by yours trouthe"?	II,1135-40	1a,2a C
Do well by him, "for Goddes love"	II,1200	1a P
"Depardieux...God leve al be wel!/ God help me so" I never wrote a letter before.	II,1212-4	2a,1b C
I mean to tell you what was in C.'s letter.	II,1219-20	5b N
"As wisely help me God the grete" I never did any- thing harder.	II,1230-1	1b C
"God woot", things started unpleasantly can end well.	II,1234-5	1a P
He should be glad now, "by God and yonder sonne."	II,1237	1a P
"God woot" if T. sat well on his horse; "God woot" if he looked like a manly knyght.	II,1261-3	1a,2b N
Why should I annoy you with details?	II,1264	5b N

reference	location	types and speaker
"To God hope I, she hath now kaught a torn,/ She shal nat pulle it out this nexte wyke./ God sende mo swich thornes onto pike!"	II,1272-4	5a N
"God help me so" you say well.	II,1282	1b P
P. thought C.'s "nice opyn- youn/ Shal nought be hol- den fully yeres two."	II,1297-8	2a P
Why should I make a long sermon about it?	II,1299	2a,5b N
"Ye, thorough the myght of God."	II,1317	1b T
"Parde, God hath holpen us."	II,1319	1b P
"God woot" your unhappiness hurts me,and if you'll cheer up, "God toforn" I'll get you a chance to talk to C. yourself.	II,1360-5	1a P
Perhaps you worry that even if Kynde makes her pity me Daunger will stop her.	II,1373-6	3a,3c,3e P
"Yis, parde", I'll help all I can, "and God tofore".	II,1408-9	1a Tj
"O verray God" how I've run!	II,1464	1a P
"for the love of God"	II,1476	1a C
Deiphebus cam to "preye" C. to come to his house.	II,1486-8	2a N
In wooing C., you'll "be saved by thi feyth"	II,1503	2a P
"Venus here to borwe", I hope she will confirm "thi grace".	II,1524	3a,(?3b) P
What need is there to tell all the details of how T. followed P.'s advice?	II,1541-5	5b N
"God woot" that T. agreed to help C.	II,1551	1a N
Only God and P. knew what it was all about.	II,1561	1b N
It's best to flee prolixity, "For love of God" and go directly to the important part.	II,1564-8	5b,1a N
T. called a "knyght"	II,1594	2b N
But I'll pass all this by.	II,1595-6	5b N
"Joves lat hym nevere thryve,/That doth yow harne..."	II,1607-8	3a Tj

reference	location	types and speaker
Why should I tarry in this tale longer?	II,1622	5b N
"God have thi soule, ibrought have I thi beere"	II,1638	1b,2b P
"for love of God," we beg you to be a friend to C.	II,1676	1a Tj
"Have God my trouthe", I'll do all I can as soon as I'm well.	II,1686	1a?b? T
"God forbede" that she not take leave of me.	II,1690	1a T
"God save al this compayne!"	II,1713	1a P
"for Godes love, I preye", stay outly.	II,1728	1a P
Think of how he is, "God hym amende!"	II,1731	1b P
I conjure and bid you, "On his half which that soule us alle sende" be nice to T.	II,1733-6	1b P
Be nice to him "in the vertu of corones tweyne"	II,1735	?? P
"Fy on the devel!" think who he is.	II,1737	2a P
"O Lord", this is it!	II,1754-5	1a T
This was the first time T. would "preye" C. of love; "O myghty God, what shal he say?"	II,1756-7	1a/c,2a T
Invocation to Venus as: blissful light adorning the 3d heaven, sun's lief, Jove's daughter, plesance of love eager to go to gentle hearts, true cause of health and gladness, to be praised for might and goodness, whose power is discernible in heaven and hell, earth and sea, and is felt by all living things, none of which has worth or can live without love. Venus called the power that first moved Jove to creation and made him love mortal things at her whim, appeaser of Mars who ennobles those she	III,1-44	3a,3b,3c,5b,(5a), N 4a,7

reference	location	types and speaker
sets afire, making them courteous and sending them their joys, who holds "regne and hous" unnited, causes friendship, and knows what is hidden, who has set universal law and cannot be overcome. This "lady bright" is asked for her benignity to help show the joy felt in her ser- vice and show her sweet- ness,		
"God loveth, and to love wol nought werne;"	III,12	1b N
Calliope, let your voice be present to help me tell of Troilus' gladness, as praise of Venus.	III,45-8	3a,5a,7 N
God bring such joy to any who need it!	III,49	1a,(5a) N
"Mafay", this is what I'll say.	III,52	2a T
"God leve him" do what he can	III,56	1a N
exclamatory "Lord"	III,57	1a N
"God do boote" on the sick!	III,61	1b P
"Wher me be wo, O myghty God, thow wooste!"	III,66	1c T
"for the love of God," don't kneel to me.	III,73-4	1a C
Lord, so he blushed	III,82	1a N
"God woot" I am wholly yours, "God so my soule save".	III,100-2	1a,1b T
"For love of God", either favor us or slay us!	III,118-9	1a P
"by God and by my trouthe", I know not what you want	III,120-1	1a C
Have ruth on him, "For God- des love"	III,122-3	1a P
"by natal Joves feste,/Were I a god" it would be bad for you if you reject this	III,150-4	3a P
I beseech T. "for Goddes love" to mean well by me.	III,162-4	1a C
C. calls T. her "knyght".	III,176	2b C

reference	location	types and speaker
P. knelt, threw his eyes to heaven, raising his hands and declaring that immortal Cupid and Venus may now rejoice.	III,183-6	3a,(3c) P
Lord, so T. groaned	III,206	1a N
"God woot" it hurt me to see you pining for love.	III,240-2	1a P
I have become, for you, a person who "maken wommen unto men to comen" and made my niece, "of vices cleene" your friend.	III,253-9	2a P
I take God, "that al woot" to witness that I did it for friendship, not gain	III,260-3	1b,2a P
"For goddes love" preserve C.'s reputation	III,265-6	1a P
C.'s name is "halwed"; woe is me to be her uncle and have acted thus.	III,267-80	2a P
I "preye" you to keep this secret.	III,285-7	(?2a?) P
Men often boast falsely, so no wonder, "so God me sende hele" that women do not want to deal with us.	III,310-22	1b P
I'll do for you so that "God toforn" it will be just as you wish.	III,334-6	1a P
Good night, "And bid for me, syn thow art now in blysse /That God me sende deth or soone lisse."	III,342-3	2a,1b,1c P
I swear "by that God..that, as hym list, may al this world governe" to be secret, "For al the good that God made under sonne"	III,372-8	1b T
And I'll swear the same to you tomorrow "in all the temples of this town/ Upon the goddes alle" if you like.	III,383-5	3a T
exclamatory "parde"	III,399	2a T
T. denies that P. acted as a bawd, or shamefully, and offers to help P. woo any of his sisters as proof.	III,393-413	2a T

reference	location	types and speaker
Since you are helping me in this, "for the love of God" continue to do so.	III,414-7	1a T
By day, T. was in Mars' high service as a warrior	III,435-8	3a,6 N
T. and C. met so rarely that they wanted nothing so much as that Cupid would send them such grace as reach a good conclusion.	III,456-62	3a,3c,3b N
C. thanked God that she had met T.	III,474	1a N
Some people might want to hear every detail of T.'s and C.'s letters and meetings, but I would think it impossible to tell all those details. So this is how things stood, and I will tell what happened.	III,491-511	5b N
T., in preparation for a tryst, had arranged that if he were missed he would be thought to be keeping vigil alone in Apollo's temple, hoping to see the "holy laurer quake" and to hear Apollo speak out of the tree -- "And forthy lette hym no man, God forbede,/ But prey Apollo helpen in this nede."	III,533-46	3a,1a,??6? N
My author doesn't tell what C. thought when P. said T. was out of town.	III,575-6	5b N
P., in reply to C.'s injunction to "Loke al be wel," swore it would be by stocks, stones, and the gods that live in heaven, "or elles were hym levere, soul and bones,/With Pluto kyng as depe ben in helle/As Tantalus".	III,588-93	3a,3d,?3b,?6? P
T. was happy, watching C. dine at P.'s house from "a litel wyndow in a stewe"	III,601	???2a?? N
At P.'s table, "God woot" no dainty was missing.	III,609	1a N

reference	locction	types and speaker
Someone, after dinner, told the tale of Wade.	III,614	2b N
O Fortune, executrice of wyrdes, O heavenly influences, truly you are our herders under God, though we beasts can't perceive the causes -- for as C. was ready to leave, a conjunction of Saturn and the new moon and Jove in Cancer caused a smoky rain that scared the women, so P. begged them to stay.	III,617-37	3e,4b,1b,5a N
C. heeded his "preiere"	III,639	?2a? N
Lord! what a rain!	III,656	1a P
You'll sleep, "By God, right in my litel closet"	III,663	1a P
Prepare yourself, "for thow shalt into hevene blisse wende"	III,704	2a,3c P
"Now blisful Venus, thow me grace sende!"	III,705	3a,?3b? T
Blisful Venus, inspire me tonight, as I serve you will continue to do, and Venus, full of mirth, if there was any bad planetary influence on my birth, turn it aside for your grace, for love of Adonis. And Jove, for love of Europa, and bloody-caped Mars for love of Cipris, and Phebus for Danae, and Mercury for love of Herse, help me now, and Diana, be not angry, and "fatal sustren, who have spun my destiny, help with this!"	III,712-353	4b,3a,?6 T
"No word, for love of God, I yow biseche!"	III,755	1a P
"which wey be ye comen, benedicite?"	III,757	2a C
God forbid that you should call someone!	III,761	1a P
T. called a worthy knyght	III,780	2a P
T. will go mad, "but if God help" for jealousy.	III,795	1b P

reference	location	types and speaker
I don't know Horaste, "God helpe me so"	III,807	1a C
"O God" how worldly happiness, which clerks call false felicity, is mixed with bitterness! God woot vain prosperity is distressful, for joys either come not together, or do not last. "O brotel wele of mannes joie unstable!" If one knows not that joy is "muable" he isn't truly happy because of his ignorance; if he knows it, he is never happy for dread of losing what he has; so there "is no verray weele in this world heere."	III,813-36	1a,2c C
I'll take care of T. tomorrow, "And God toforn" so as to satisfy him.	III,849	1a C
exclamatory "benedicite"	III,860	2a P
If you leave him like this overnight, "God help me so" you never loved him!	III,863-4	1a P
"by God" I guess you never loved anyone so well!	III,869-70	1a C
If I left him in such sorrow all night, "I bidde God I nevere mote have joie"	III,873-5	1c P
"by that God above" leaving him unsolaced all night is unloving and malicious	III,876-80	1b P
"parde" there is neither harm nor sin in seeing him	III,913	2a P
T. is your own knyght	III,915	2a P
T. called C.'s knyght	III,920	2a N
"As wisly God at reste/My soule brynge" I am woe for him, and would do what's best if I have grace to, but "til God me bettre mynde sende" I don't know what to do.	III,925-31	1b C
"For the love of God" since I trust you two, be discrete!	III,941-5	1a C

reference	location	types and speaker
Each of you can help the other, "For love of God; and Venus I the herye"	III,950-1	1a,3a P
Lord, how she blushed!	III,956	1a N
"Ther God your hertes brynge soone at reste!"	III,966	1b P
T. as C.'s knyght	III,983,996	2b C
no one can or ought resist love's excellence	III,988-90	3c C
May Jove soon erase jealousy from your heart!	III,1015	3a,??3b? C
O Jove, author of nature, is this an honor to your god- hood, that innocents suf- fer while the guilty go free? I would "pleyn on the" if it were lawful, "heighe God that sit above"	III,1016-22	3b C
knows the difference be- tween jealousy and love.	III,1027-9	1b C
I thank God you're not in a furious sort of jealousy	III,1040	1a C
"For love of God" let it be proved that your jealousy is groundless.	III,1049	1a C
"God, thow woost" I was never untrue to T.	III,1053	1a,?1b? C
"Now help God to quenchen al this sorwe!/So hope I that he shal, for he best may."	III,1058-8	1b,1c,5a N
"God woot" I'm not to blame for all this.	III,1084	1a T
"O mercy God," what's this?	III,1124	1a T
"for the love of God" since you're in this good situ- ation, don't be sad.	III,1138-40	1a P
"by that God that bought us bothe two" I mean only well.	III,1165-6	1b,2a C
Do as you wish; I am in your grace.	III,1176	2a/3c T
"Of gilt misericorde!"	III,1177	2a/3c C
T. put all in God's hand, like one who meant well, and seized C.	III,1185-7	1b N/T
I have to tell their glad- ness after telling their sorrow.	III,1194-7	5b P

reference	location	types and speaker
Clerks have written in old books that when C. felt herself seized she began to tremble.	III,1198-1200	5b N
T. began to thank "the blisful goddes sevene".	III,1203	3a N/T
"Thus sondry peynes bryngen folk to hevene."	III,1204	2a,3c,5a N
T. and C., after misery, were in bliss. "Now is this bet than bothe two be lorn./For love of God, take every womman heede/To werken thus, if it comth to the neede."	III,1212-25	5a,1a N
T. and C., relieved of fear, rejoiced; "With worse hap God lat us nevere mete!"	III,1226-46	5a,1b N
T. invokes "O Love, O Cha-rite!" and Love's mother, Citherea/Venus, as a "wel-willy planete", and Hymen, because no one ever owed them so much for deliv-erance; and addresses Love as Benign and holy bond of things, without whom no one has grace -- but all would be lost if Love's grace did not pass our deserts; T. acknowledges Love's grace to him and praises Love's bounty and excellence.	III,1254-74	3a,4b,3b T
"wolde God" that I knew how to please you.	III,1277	1a T
"for the love of God...Syn God hath" made me to serve you, tell me how to earn your thanks.	III,1289-95	1a,1b T
If I disobey you, "for love of God, lat sle me"	III,1300-2	1a T
C. calls T. her knyght and her "suffisaunce"	III,1309	2b,??2c? C
O blisful night long sought, why have I not bought such a night with my soul, or its least joy? Let them dwell in this heaven, higher than I can describe	III,1317-23	5a,2a N

reference	location	types and speaker
Truly, I can't tell all as my author can, but I've said, "God toforn" all his "sentence", and if I've put in anything "at Loves reverence", do with it as you will, for I speak under correction of those experienced in love.	III,1324-37	5b,1a,3a/c N
exclamatory "Lord!"	III,1345	1a N
Yes, I'm really here, "God thank I of his grace."	III,1349	1b C
emphatic "God woot"	III,1357	1a T
Lord, do you believe misers have such joy in their gold as lovers? No, as God save me, no niggard can have such perfect joy. Niggards will lose all, God give them mis- chance and advance truth- ful lovers, and "wolde God" those wretches had ears as long as Midas, or had drunk as badly as Croesus!	III,1373-93	5a,3a,3c,1a,1b N
All T.'s and C.'s sadness, I thank God, was turned to gladness.	III,1399- 1400	1a,5a N
It wouldn't make sense to speak of sleep, which they little heeded, God woot!	III,1408-10	5b,1a N
When the cock, common astro- loger, crowed, Lucifer began to rise, and "Fortu- na Major" rose in the east C. sadly spoke to T.	III,1415-21	4a,(4b?) N
Night, why don't you stay with us as long as when Alcmene lay by Jove?	III,1428	3a,(7) C
Night, you were made by God to hide the world and give rest, and hasty night, God, "maker of kynde" should punish your unkind- ness in going so soon.	III,1430-40	1b C

reference	location	types and speaker
Day, what have you lost that you seek here, "Ther God thi light so quenche, for his grace?...Thin be the peyne of helle!	III,1450-58	1b,2a,?3d? T
T. then chided Titan, the sun, telling him to stay in bed with "Morwe", and "bidding" God to give both of them sorrow.	III,1464-70	3a,1a/b T
God woot how I'll live away from you!	III,1481	1a T
Phebus will fall from his sphere, and eagles mate with doves before you leave my heart	III,1495-8	3a C
"As wisly verray God my soule save" I couldn't get you out of my heart if I wanted to, and for love of God, don't think such folly	III,1499- 1505	1b,1a C
If you love me as I love you then God could not improve my joy at all, for I am yours, by God and my truth	III,1506-12	1b,1a C
I want another tryst as much as you, "As wisly God myn herte brynge at reste!"	III,1515-8	1b C
God grant us to meet "sownde and soone"	III,1526	1a T
C. thanked Love he had so well placed her.	III,1552	3a/c C/N
God give your heart care! God help me so, you caused all this!	III,1565-6	1a C
"I passe al that which char- geth nought to seye."	III,1576	5b N
God forgave his death, and C. forgave P.	III,1577	2a N
T. tells P. that P. brought his soul to rest in hea- ven from Flegeton, the fiery flood of hell.	III,1599- 1600	2a,3d T
That I am happy I must thank Love and your efforts	III,1610	3a/c T
God wot, I'm glad if I could help you, God help me so	III,1618-21	1a P

reference	location	types and speaker
Remember that the worst kind of misfortune is to remember prosperity after it's gone, so be circumspect, since worldly joy "halt nought but by a wir".	III,1625-36	2c P
I hope, God tofor, that no-thing will be lost through me, and if you knew my heart, God woot, you would not worry.	III,1639-45	1a T
T. swears by his being as a "trewe knyght", and by his faith to God and P.	III,1648-9	2b,1a T
One who has been once in heaven feels differently than after only hearing of it	III,1656-9	2a P
When T. was told a second tryst was arranged, he faithfully praised the gods	III,1670-2	3a N/T
I needn't give all the details of how they met the same way as before, but can get right to the point	III,1675-7	5b N
It is impossible to tell all their joy; felicity commended by clerks does not suffice	III,1688-94	5a,5b,?2c?? N
Pirous and the sun's horses are going the wrong way to spite me, and bringing day too soon, so I'll never sacrifice to him again	III,1702-8	3a T
Fortuna thus led T. and C. in joy for a time	III,1714-5	3e N
T. lived so virtuously and graciously that his fame rose up to heaven's gate	III,1725	?2a N
The beauty which "kynde" gave other ladies could not take T. from C.	III,1730-2	3e N
T. would speak of C. to P. so that it was "an hevene" to hear him	III,1742	2a N

reference	location	types and speaker
Love, who governs earth and sea, and has command in heaven, and holds peoples joined in "holsom alliance" as he pleases, and "knetteth lawe of compaignie" and makes couples live together in virtue, bind this accord that I speak of. Love, praised be his might, orders the world so with his stable faith that the discordant elements are held in perpetual bond, and Phebus and the moon rule day and night in order, and the sea is kept in its bounds, and if Love let go the bridle all would dissolve into chaos and be lost which Love now holds together. So God, author of kynde, ordains that Love wishes to bind all hearts and no one knows how to break Love's bond; and I wish that Love may make cold hearts love, rue on sore hearts, and keep true ones.	III,1751-71	2c,3b,(3c),1b, T 3e,4a,(6),???
T. thought anyone lost who was not in Love's service	III,1793-4	3c N/T
Love, praised be his grace, made T. flee every vice such as Pride, Envy, Ire, and Avarice	III,1804-5	3c,2a,(?3b) N
Bright lady, Dione's daughter, and your blind and winged son, Cupid, also, and you nine sisters who live by Helicon on Mt. Pernasos, I praise you for having guided me; I have told with your help of T.'s joy, as my author set forth, and now end my third book.	III,1807-20	3a,7,5b N

reference	location	types and speaker
Such joy lasts too short a time, thanks to Fortuna, who seems truest when she "wol bygyle" and can take in fools, the common traitor! and she laughs and mocks someone she overthrows. She began to turn her face away from T. and set up D. on her wheel, which makes my heart bleed and my pen quake, for now I must tell how C. forsook T.--allas that folk should find cause to speak ill of her. O Herynes, Night's 3 daughters, complaining in pain endlessly, Megara, Alete, and Thesiphone, and Mars, Quirinus' father, help me make this fourth book and show T.'s loss of love and life.	IV,1-28	3e,(2c),5b,5a, N 3a,7
When Phebus was lying on Hercules' lion, Hector set forth on a battle	IV,31-5	4a N
Cal. went to the Greek lords and asked them "For love of God, to don the reverence" to give him hearing	IV,66-70	1a N/ Cal
For love of God and your bounty, use one of your prisoners to redeem C.	IV,108-10	1a Cal
Apollo has told me, and I have found by astronomy and augury that Troy will be destroyed soon, because Phebus and Neptune are so angry with King Lamedon for not paying them for building his walls	IV,114-26	3a,4b Cal
T. waited to see if the Trojans would grant the exchange -- as God forbid	IV,155-7	1a N/T

reference	location	types and speaker
O Juvenal, true is your saying, that people don't know their own good, for "cloude of errour" hides it from them; here is an example, that they wanted to harm C., who never hurt them, for Antenor who later betrayed them: "nyce world, lo, thy discrecioun!"	IV,196-210	5a,(2c?) N
Cursed be the day Nature shaped me to be a live creature!	IV,251-2	3e T
Fortuna, how have I harmed you? Have you no grace or pity that you can do this? how can you have the heart to be so cruel, when I always honored you? If you have to hurt me, why not take my father or brother, or my life, instead of C.? But you always bereave one of what's dearest	IV,260-87	3e,?6 T
O true god, Love, what will I do without C.? Since you brought us into your grace and sealed our hearts, how can you let our love be ended?	IV,288-94	3a/c T
O lovers riding high on Fortuna's wheel, may you enjoy your love always	IV,323-5	3e T
"As wolde blisful Jove, for his joie" that I had Cal. where I want him!	IV,335-6	3a,?3b? T
T. was so exhausted by his grief that "joie ne penance" felt he	IV,342	2a N
exclamatory "Lord"	IV,362	1a N
O mercy God, who would have thought that Fortuna would overthrow our joy so soon? I therefore declare that none should trust to find particular regard in Fortuna; her gifts are common	IV,384-92	1a,3e P

reference	location	types and speaker
God forbid that a pleasure should reside in only one person!	IV,407-8	1a P
Such healing would be fit for a fiend	IV,435-6	2a,(3d?) T
I pray God let this coun- sel never thrive	IV,439-41	1c/1a T
Make no comparison of C. to creature formed by kynde	IV,450-1	3e T
When I'm dead I'll live with Proserpine in pain, com- plaining of our separation	IV,473-6	3d T
Your're the one who told me it's worse to be thrown off the wheel than never to have been happy	IV,481-3	(3e) T
God wot your advice is worthless	IV,498-9	1a T
parde, I might as well say something rather than let him die	IV,524-5	2a P
"nolde God" but I should regard her honor more than my life	IV,566-7	1a T
T. describes himself as C.'s knyght	IV,569	2b T
Remember that Fortuna helps the hardy and puts aside cowards	IV,600-2	3e P
God help me so, if C. loves you as you love her, she won't mind your acting	IV,613	1a P
T. called a knyght	IV,617	2b P
Act boldly to keep C., "And if thow deye a martyr, go to hevene!"	IV,623	2a P
If you'd rather die a wretch then, "Adieu, the devel spede hym that it recche!"	IV,629-30	2a P
How do you know she won't agree to be ravished, "but if that Jove told it in thyn ere?"	IV,644	3a P
Swift Fame, who tells false and true things equally, flew on eager wings to tell everyone in Troy of the proposed exchange	IV,659-65	3a N

reference	location	types and speaker	
C., when she heard of it, "ful busily..bisoughte" to Jupiter for mischance on the arrangers of the ex- change	IV,669-70	3a,?3b?	N/C
When C. goes, "almyghty God hire gide!"	IV,692-3	1b	tj
God it woot, C. didn't hear them for thinking of other things	IV,695-6	1a	N
C. wept, thinking "fro heven into which helle" she fell on forgoing sight of T.	IV,710-4	2a,(3c,?3d)	N/C
The women tried to comfort her with things that, God woot, she little cared for	IV,722-3	1a	N
She "bade" God rue on her and send her death for comfort	IV,738-9	1c	C
C. calls herself "infortuned wight/And born in corsed constellacioun"	IV,744-5	4b	C
C. calls T. her knyght	IV,756	2b	C
"Calkas, fader, thyn be al this synne!"	IV,761	2b	C
When I leave T., my clothes will be all black "in toke- nynge..That I am as out of this world agon..And of myn ordre..The observance ever..Shal sorwe ben, compleynt, and abstinence"	IV,778-84	2a	C
I bequeath my "woful gooste" to be with T.'s, for after death we will be together in "the feld of pite, out of peyne" called Elisos, where Orpheus dwells with Eurydice	IV,785-91	(2a),3a,3d	C
How can her grief be told? If I tried to describe it with my little tongue it would make it seem less than it was, so I won't try	IV,799-805	5b	N
C.'s paleness and disshevel- ment gave P. "verray sig- nal of martire/Of deth"	IV,816-9	2a	N

reference	location	types and speaker	
Love and all worldly bliss invariably end in sorrow	IV,834-7	2c	C
C.'s face, "lik of Paradys the ymage", had become deathlike	IV,862-5	2a	N
For the love of God, leave off your woe before T. arrives	IV,895	1a	P
God woot, parting is grie- vous, but seeing his woe is worse	IV,904-6	1a	C
P. found T. in a temple, praying and complaining to "the pitous goddes everichone" to let him die since he felt "ther was noon other grace"	IV,956-52	3a	N/T
T.' "predestination solilo- quy": All comes by nece- sity; it is my destiny to lose C: divine purveyaunce has seen it always, for God sees all and disposes all according to their me- rits according to his or- dinance. Yet who should I believe, since some clerks prove predestination while some insist on free will? Some say that if God for- sees all, and can't be de- ceived, than what's fore- seen must happen and there is no free will, and that is what I think, since if there could be variance, there would be no divine prescience--and it would be unthinkable that God not have clear foresight. Others say God's foresight just sees clearly what we will choose--so which is cause of which? But I can see that if something is clearly foreseen, it has to happen. Example of a man being seen to sit on a seat. Therefore men can see that what happens is	IV,958-1078	2c	T

reference	location	types and speaker
by necessity. Once purveyance is present, there is no free choice.		
"Almyghty Jove in trone,/ That woost of al this thyng the sothfastnesse,/ Rewe on my sorwe" and help C. and me	IV,1079-85	3b T
"O myghty God..in trone", who ever saw a wise man act like this?	IV,1086	1b P
Did Kynde make you only to please C.?	IV,1096	3e P
Go to C. at night, and I hope "blisful Juno, thorought hire grete myght" will send us her grace	IV,1114-7	3a,??3b? P
T. and C. wept when they met with tears more bitter than those Mirra weeps through the bark	IV,1138-9	3a N
Their "wofulle weri goostes" returned	IV,1142-3	?2a? N
C. said, "O Jove, I deye, and mercy I beseche!/Help, T.!" and fainted	IV,1149-50	3b/a C
God and himself know if T. was woeful	IV,1162	1b N
"Lord, that set art in thi trone" pity me also, for I'll soon die too	IV,1175-6	1c T
T. prepared to kill himself so his soul could follow C.'s where Minos would send it, since Love and cruel Fortune didn't wish him to live longer	IV,1184-90	3a,3e N
T. addressed with "heighe desdayne" cruel Jove and adverse Fortune, declaring his intention to follow C. into death, and asking them to let their souls be together, bidding Troy and his family farewell, and telling Atropos to prepare his bier.	IV,1191-1211	3a,3e T
But "as God wolde" C. awoke	IV,1212	1a N
I live, "that thonked by Ci-pride!"	IV,1216	3a C

reference	location	types and speaker
C.'s "goost, that flikered ay on lofte" went back into her heart	IV,1220-1	2a N
"O mercy, God" what a deed it would be if you had killed yourself!	IV,1231	1a C
If I hadn't spoken "as grace was" you would have killed yourself?	IV,1233-4	2a C
"by that ilke Lord that made me" I wouldn't want to live long without you	IV,1236-7	1b C
In discussing what we should do I won't make a long sermon	IV,1283	2a C
If you don't like my ideas, for the love of God, for- give me	IV,1286	1a C
One must have some pain in order to have joy if one serves Love	IV,1305-6	3c C
Think that "C. will return, by God, right soon"	IV,1319	1a C
I wouldn't forgo seeing you for the world, "Or ellis se ich never Joves face!"	IV,1335-7	3b C
I'm sure to return so I do not see, as wisly God my soule rede, why you should worry	IV,1361-6	1b C
I'll fool my father with stories of riches so that he'll dream his soul is in heaven; Apollo and his "calkulyng" will be no- thing compared to his desire for gold--and if he tries to prove it I'll make him believe he mis- understood, for the gods speak in ambiguities, and tell 20 lies for one truth and I'll tell him his own fear made him misinterpret	IV,1394-1411	3a,2a C
The great fury of T.'s "pen- aunce" was quenched with hope	IV,1429-30	2a T
T. swears by God	IV,1444	1a T
Your father is Argus-eyed in trickery	IV,1459	3a T

reference	location	types and speaker
"helpe me God so at my mooste nede" you worry needlessly	IV,1532	1b C
When I am false to you for any reason, may Saturn's daughter Juno, through her might, send me, mad as Athamanta, to live eter- nally in Stix, the "put" of hell. I swear this by each celestial god, every nymph and infernal deity, and satyrs and fauns, who are demi-gods of the wilds, and may Atropos break my thread of life if I am false! River Simois, be witness, and if I'm untrue run backwards, and let me sink to hell, body and soul!	IV,1534-54	3a,3d,(?6) C
God forbid that you should leave your friends for any woman	IV,1555-7	1a C
God shilde us fro mischaunce if this became known	IV,1560-1	1b C
exclamatory "Lord!"	IV,1564	1a C
Make a virtue of patience, and think that he is lord of Fortuna who heeds her not, for she only daunts wretches	IV,1586-9	3e C
I promise to return before Phebus' sister, "Lucina the sheene,/The Leoun passe out of this Ariete"; I'll be here on the 10th day, "as helpe me Juno, hevenes quene"	IV,1590-6	4a,3a(?6) C
Still, for love of God, let us steal away secretly	IV,1599-1602	1a T
"O mercy God, what lif is this?"...for "love of Cyn- thia the sheene" trust me!	IV,1604-10	1a,3a C
"God, thow woost" it hurts me to see you, T., sad	IV,1619-21	1b C
If you were untrue--as God defende!...for God's love, be not unkind to me	IV,1647-52	1a C

reference	location	types and speaker	
"God, to whom ther nys no cause ywrye,/Me glade" as I was never false and never will be	IV,1654-7	1b	T
Blisful Venus, keep me alive until I can reward a lover who deserves so well, and while God preserves my wit I will do so	IV,1661-5	3a,1b	C
I love you for your virtue, which mutable Fortune can not take from you.	IV,1681-2	3e/2c	C
May Jupiter, "that of his myght may do/The sorwful to be glade, so yeve us grace" to meet here in 10 nights	IV,1683-5	3b	C
T. suffered pains that can't be imagined or described, which "passen every tor- ment down in hell"	IV,1695-8	3d	N
The fatal time approached that Jove had disposed, and committed to you, angry Parcas, to execute, when C. was to leave, such that T. would be in pain until Lachesis stopped spinning his thread	V,1-7	3b,3a,7	N
Gold-tressed Phebus, high aloft, had melted the snow 3 times, and Zepherus had brought the new leaves 3 times, when this happened	V,8-14	4a,3a,7	N
exclamatory "Lord!"	V,82	1a	N
D. swears to C."as a knyght"	V,113	2a	N/D
"wolde nevere God" but you will find as true Greeks as Trojans	V,124-6	1a	D
Trojans and Greeks both serve one god of Love, and for the love of God, don't hate me	V,141-5	3c,1a	D

reference	location	types and speaker
I am yours, and always will be, God help me so. I never said that before, because, "god myn herte as wisly glade so" I never loved a woman paramours before, and for the love of God, be not my foe	V,153-61	1a,(3c) D
I have no power to strive against the god of Love	V,166-8	3c D
Greeks called knyghtes	V,169	2a D
T. went to his chamber, and in his frenzy cursed Jove, Apollo, Cupid, Ceres, Bac- chus and Cipride, nature, himself, his birth, and every creature except C.	V,206-10	3a,?3e T
T. turned in his bed in fury like Ixion in hell	V,211-2	3d N
As wolde God, I might as well have been slain as let her go.	V,226	1a T
T. had awful nightmares, and dreamed he was alone in a horrible place complaining eternally, or captured by his enemies	V,248-52	3d N
Who could rightly tell T.'s misery? Reader, you can imagine it; I can't even try to describe it.	V,267-73	5b N
Phebus with his rosy cart was rising when T. sent for P.	V,278	4a N
T., ordering his funeral, tells P. to offer Mars his steed, and his sword, helm and shield to Pallas...the owl, Ascalaphus, has shrieked for me for 2 nights; god Mercury, guide my woeful soul and come for it whenever you please	V,301-22	3a T
Many have loved before you, and God woot many worthy knyghts have been away from their ladies for a time	V,333	1a,2a P
emphatic "God woot"	V,347	1a P

reference	location	types and speaker	
Drive out the "penaunce" of melancholy that you dream --God help me so, I count dreams as nothing, for priests say dreams are revelations of gods, but they also call dreams infernal illusions, and physicians give them physical explanations, and others have other ideas, so who knows what they mean? Forget dreams and augury of birds	V,358-85	2a,1a,3a	P
Deciding how to while away the time of waiting is our best course-God help me so	V,388-91	1a	P
God, to whom my heart I sacrifice, send the 10th day soon!	V,423-4	1b	T
exclamatory "by God"	V,430	1a	P
Fortuna intended to mock T. thoroughly	V,469	3e	N
For God's love, let's leave	V,481	1a	T
God help me so, I don't know where we would go	V,486-7	1a	P
Lord send me grace to find C. at my homecoming	V,502-4	1b	T
exclamatory "God woot"	V,507	1a	P
for love of God, let's go to C.'s palace	V,522-3	1a	T
exclamatory "Lord!"	529	1a	N
T. calls C.'s palace a "shryne of which the seynt is out"	V,553	2a	T
O blisful lord Cupid, why seek victory over me, who am yours already? What's your joy in destroying your own folk? You've avenged your anger well on me, lord; now, mighty god and dreadful to grieve, have mercy, and send C. home soon; blisful lord, don't be cruel like Juno was to the Thebans	V,582-602	3c,3a	T
"As wolde blisful God now, for his joie" that I might see C. here again!	V,608-9	1b	T

If C. fails to return when she said, Carybdis will devour my ship and me	V,644	3a	T
"O bright Latona the clere, For love of God, ren faste about thy spere!"	V,655-6	4a,1a	T
I fear that the sun's son, Phaeton, is driving his father's chariot amiss again	V,663-5	3a	T
Mighty God, pity my sorrow!	V,707	1b	C
exclamatory "Lord!"	V.735	1a	C
Alas, Prudence, I always lacked one of your 3 eyes, for I never could see the future until it caught me	V,744-9	3a,(6)	C
I will run away with T., for "Felicite clepe I my suf- fissance"	V,764	(3e)	C
God it wot, she was far from that intention less than 2 months later	V,766-7	1a	N
Those who saw C. wrote that "Paradis stood formed in hire eyen"	V,816-7	2a	N
T. was so well formed that "kynde" could not better him	V,829	3e	N
T. a knyght	V,837, 625	2b	N
We will take such revenge on the Trojans for stealing Helen that the Manes, who are gods of pain, will be aghast	V,890-6	3a	D
I love Troy, and "Joves, for his grace,/Delyvere it soone..God, for thy myght, so leve it wel to fare!"	V,957-9	3a,(?3b?),1b	C
exclamatory "God toforn!"	V,963	1a	C
"as help me now Pallas" I never loved anyone except my husband	V,975-8	3a,6	C
God woot, love and I are far apart	V,983	1a	C
"As help me Pallas with hire heres clere" if I have ruth on any Greek, it would be you	V,999-1001	3a,6	C
"I mene wel, by God that sit above"-- "Yet bidde I God" to see Troy again	V,1004-8	1b,1c	C

reference	location	types and speaker
Bright Venus followed, and showed the way, where Phebus had gone down, and Cynthia urged on her chariot-horses to whirl out of the Lion, if she could, and the Zodiac was bright when C. went into her father's tent	V,1016-22	4a,6,(3a) N
C, later made D. "were a pencil of hire slave"	V,1042-3	2b N
I find elsewhere in books that C. was devoted to D., and some, not I, say she gave him her heart--but truly books tell us that never was woman more woe-ful than C. in betraying T	V,1044-51	5b N
Still, T., I pray God to be good to you	V,1072-4	1c C
But truly, no author tells how long it took D. to win C., but it didn't happen without much doing--check any author.	V,1086-92	5b N
I do not wish to chide poor C., and indeed she was so sorry that I would rather excuse her for pity	V,1093-9	5a N
God woot, T. rested little that night	V,1105-6	1a N
Laurel-crowned Phebus began as he rose to warm the sea in the east, and Nissus' daughter sang anew (i.e., it was dawn)	V,1107-10	4a,7 N
It will be hard for C. to get away from Cal., "God yeve hys herte pyne!"	V,1125-7	1b T
Fortuna intends to mock T. and P. both	V,1134	3e N
exclamatory "by God"	V,1147,1161	1a T
C. said she would come before the moon passes the Lion, so she may yet come	V,1188-91	4a T
Then the wicked spirit, "God us blesse" of mad jealousy crept into T.	V,1212-3	5a,1b N

reference	location	types and speaker
The blisful gods, through their great might, have shown C.'s betrayal in my dream	V,1250-2	3a T
"God wot," C., I thought "That every word was gos- pel that ye seyde!"	V,1264-5	1a,2a T
I pray God to keep you well and increase your honor, and to make you pity me	V,1359-65	1c T
My joy has become woe, my ease has become hell	V,1376-7	2a/3d T
Please write me, for love of God	V,1390-2	1a T
Your absence is a hell to me	V,1396	2a/3d T
No matter what, I pray God to be good to you	V,1410-1	1c T
C. sent back a nice letter, with many promises that T. was to find false: "Thus goth the world. God shilde us fro meschaunce,/And every wight that meneth trouthe avaunce!"	V,1429-35	1b,5a N
T. still thought that "Joves of his purveyaunce" had shown truth in his dream	V,1445-7	3b T
To explain your dream, I must tell you stories of how Fortuna overthrew past lords	V,1458-61	3e tj
Diana raised up a terrible boar because she was angry at the Greeks for not sac- rificing to her	V,1464-70	3a tj
Cassandra also told T. of "the holy serpent, and the welle,/And of the furies"	V,1497-8	3a tj
T. calls Cassandra a liar, "with al thy false gooste of prophecie"	V,1520-1	(?2a) T
"Joves yeve the sorwe!"	V,1525	3a/3b T
You might as well lie about Alceste, who chose to die and go to hell for her husband, as belie C.	V,1527-33	3a,2a/3d T

reference	location	types and speaker
Fortuna, to whom permutation of things is committed by perveyance and disposition of high Jove, as how "regnes" shal be passed on or when they shall be smitten, began to pull out Troy's bright feathers till they were bare of joy	V,1541-7	3b,3e N
Among these hardships was Hector's death, which was shaped by fate against which it is futile to strive	V,1548-52	5a N
Hector a knyght	V,1557,1561	2b N
Old books say that tongue can't tell the woe that was made for Hector's death	V,1562-3	5b N
T. often considered dis- guising himself as a pil- grim to see C.	V,1576-8	2a/b N/T
C. wrote to T. again for pity--I take it so	V,1587-9	5b N
C. addresses T. as "Cupid's son" and "sweht- hod, sours of gentillesse"	V,1590-1	3c,2b C
God woot your unrest is grievous to me	V,1604	1a C
Farewell, and God have you in his grace!	V,1631	1b C
Lollius tells us that Dei- phebus showed a coat that he had torn from D.	V,1653-5	5b N
T. told P. of his "penaunce"	V,1671	2a N
Couldn't you have found some other brooch "To feffe with your newe love?"	V,1688-9	2b T
God, send me grace to meet with D.!	V,1702-3	1b T
O God, who should further truth and punish wrong, "whi nyltow don a ven- geaunce of this vice?"	V,1706-8	1c T
God it woot that the gods show truth in dreams in various ways	V,1713-5	1a,3a T
God woot, I hate C. and al- ways will	V,1732-3	1a P
God woot her treason is a	V,1739-43	1a,1c P

sorrow to me, and I pray "Almyghty god" to deliver her soon from this world			
T. grieved mightily, but Fortuna held forth on her course. "Swich is this world...In ech estat is litel hertes reste./God leve us for to take it for the beste!"	V,1744-50	3e,5a	N
You can read in old books of T.'s knightly deeds	V,1751-4	5b,2b	N
God it woot, T. fought D. fiercely, but nonetheless Fortuna would not permit either to die at the other's hand	V,1761-4	1a,3e	N
If I had undertaken to write of T.'s battles, I would tll you about them, but I write of his love, so you can look up his battles in Dares.	V,1765-71	5b	N
Beautiful ladies, don't be angry at me for writing of C.'s faithlessness, for it is well known, and I'd rather write of Penelope's troth and of Alceste	V,1772-8	5b	N
May God give faithless men sorrow!	V,1781	1b	N
Go little book, little tra- gedy, and may God send your maker ability to "mak in" some comedy before he dies, and you be humble; and I pray God that no one "myswrite" you, and I be- seech God that you be understood correctly--but back to my topic	V,1786-99	1b,5b,1c	N
T. fought mightily, but, alas, "save only Goddes wille", Achilles slew him	V,1800-6	1b	N
And when T. died, his "lighte gooste" went blis- fully up to the holyness of the 8th sphere, forgo- ing all the elements, and there he saw with full understanding the planets,	V,1807-27	4a/b/(3b),2c, 3a	N

reference	location	types and speaker
and the harmony of heavenly melody; and he looked down on the little earth and "fully gan despise/This wrecched world, and held al vanite" compared to the "pleyn felicitate" of heaven, and he laughed at the woe of those who wept for his death, "And dampned al oure werk that foloweth so The blynde lust" that can not last, when we should "al oure herte on heaven caste", and he went where Mercury assigned him		
Such was the end of T. for love, and his worthiness and royalty, his "lust" and nobleness; such is the end of "false worldes brotelnesse"	V,1828-34.	2c,?3c?,5a N
Young, fresh folks, apt for love, come home from worldly vanity and look to God who made you in his image, and think of this world as a fair that passes quickly as fair flowers, and love him who for love died on a cross to buy our souls, and rose, and is in heaven above, for he will betray no one who puts his heart wholly on him, and since he is best to love, why seek 'feynede loves"?	V,1835-48	1d,5a N
"Lo here" of pagans cursed old rites, and what their gods avail; "Lo here" of wrteched worldly "appetites" and the reward for labor of "Jove, Appollo, of Mars, of swich rascaille"; "Lo here" the form of old clerks speech in their books	V,1849-55	3a,1d,5a,5b N

reference	location	types and speaker
I direct this book to "moral Gower" and "philosophical Strode"	V,1856-9	5b N
And I direct it to "that sothefaste Crist, that starf on rode" and I pray his mercy with all my heart, thus: Eternal Tri- nity, reigning forever, "uncircumscript, and al maist circumscribe", de- fend us from visible and invisible foes, and make us all worthy of your mercy, Jesus, for love of "mayde and moder thyn be- nigne"	V,1860-9	5b,1d N

A Partial List of Works Consulted

Primary Works

- Alanus ab Insulis. Anticlaudianus, or the Good and Perfect Man. Tr. and commentary by James J. Sheridan. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaval Studies, 1973.
- . The Complaint of Nature. Tr. from the Latin by Douglas M. Moffat. Yale Studies in English, 36. New York: Holt, 1908; rpt. Cleveland: Micro Photo, n. d.
- Andreas Capellanus. The Art of Courtly Love. Tr., introd. and notes by John Jay Parry. 1941; rpt. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1969.
- Augustine, Saint, Bishop of Hippo. On Christian Doctrine. Tr. with introd. by D. W. Robertson, Jr. The Library of Liberal Arts. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1958.
- Bernardus Silvestris. The Cosmographia. Tr. with introd. and notes by Winthrop Wetherbee. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1973.
- Boccaccio, Giovanni. Boccaccio on Poetry, being the Preface and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Books of Boccaccio's Genealogia Deorum Gentilium. Tr., introd. and notes by Charles G. Osgood. 1930; rpt. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1956.
- . The Book of Theseus: Teseida della Nozze d'Emilia. Tr. Bernadette Marie McCoy. New York: Medieval Text Association, 1974.
- Boethius. De Consolatione Philosophiae. Tr. Geoffrey Chaucer. In The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer. Ed. F. N. Robinson. 2d. ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1957, pp. 319-84.
- Brown, Carleton, ed. English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953, c. 1932.
- . Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952, c. 1939.
- Chaucer, Geoffrey. Troilus and Criseyde. In The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer. Ed. F. N. Robinson. 2d ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1957, pp. 385-479.

Cicero, Marcus Tullius. "Scipio's Dream." In Macrobius, Commentary on the Dream of Scipio. Tr. with introd. and notes by William Harris Stahl. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1951, pp. 67-77.

Dante Alighieri. Divina Comedia. Tr. by John Ciardi. Mentor Classic ed. Vol. I: The Inferno. Hist. introd. by Archibald T. MacAllister. New York: The New American Library, 1954. Vol. II: The Purgatorio. Introd. by Archibald T. MacAllister. New York: The New American Library, 1957. Vol. III: The Paradiso. Introd. by John Freccero. New York: The New American Library, 1961.

Fulgentius the Mythographer. Fulgentius the Mythographer. Tr. with introd. by Leslie George Whitbread. Ohio: Ohio State Univ. Press, 1971. includes: "The Mythologies." pp. 13-102. "The Exposition of the Content of Virgil." pp. 103-59. "On the Thebaid." pp. 233-44.

Guillaume de Loris and Jean de Meun. The Romance of the Rose. Tr. into English verse by Harry W. Robbins. Ed. with introd. by Charles W. Dunn. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1962.

Langland, William. Piers Plowman: The B Version: Will's visions of Piers Plowman, Do-Well, Do-Better and Do-Best (an edition in the form of Trinity College Cambridge Ms B.15.17, corrected and restored from the known evidence, with variant readings). George Kane and E. Talbot Donaldson. London: Athlone Press, 1975.

Luria, Maxwell S. and Richard L. Hoffman, eds. Middle English Lyrics: authoritative texts, critical and historical backgrounds, perspectives on six poems. A Norton Critical Edition. New York: W. W. Norton, 1974.

Macrobius. The Saturnalia. Tr. with introd. and notes by Percival Vaughan Davies. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1969.

----- Commentary on the Dream of Scipio. Tr. with introd. and notes by William Harris Stahl. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1951.

Martianus Capella. Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts, Vol. II: The Marriage of Philology and Mercury. Tr. William Harris Stahl and Richard Johnson, with E. L. Burge. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1977.

Robbins, Rossell Hope, ed. Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1959.

----- . Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries. 2d ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955.

Sir Gawain and the Green Knight. Ed. J. R. R. Tolkien and E. V. Gordon. 2d ed., ed. by Norman Davis. 1967; rpt. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972.

Vinsauf, Geoffrey de. Poetria Nova. Tr. Margaret Nims. Toronto: Pontif Institute of Medieval Studies, 1967.

Secondary Sources

Aers, David. "Criseyde: Woman in Medieval Society." ChauR, 13 (1978-79), 177-200.

apRoberts, Robert P. "The Boethian God and the Audience of the Troilus." JEGP, 69 (1970), 425-36.

----- . "The Central Episode in Chaucer's Troilus." PMLA, 77 (1962), 373-85.

----- . "Criseyde's Infidelity and the Moral of the Troilus." Speculum, 44 (1969), 383-402.

----- . "Love in the Filostrato." ChauR, 7 (1972-3), 1-26.

Apstein, Barbara. "Chaucer and the Gods." Diss. City Univ. of New York 1971.

Baugh, Albert C., and E. Talbot Donaldson. "Chaucer's Troilus IV, 1585: A Biblical Allusion?" MLN, 76 (1961), 1-5.

Benson, C. David. "'O Nyce World': What Chaucer Really Found in Guido Delle Colonne's History of Troy." ChaucR, 13 (1978-79), 308-15.

- Berryman, Charles. "The Ironic Design of Fortune in Troilus and Criseide." ChauR, 2 (1967-68), 1-7.
- Bethurum, Dorothy. "Chaucer's Point of View as Narrator in the Love Poems." PMLA, 74 (1959), 511-20.
- Bloomfield, Morton W. "Chaucer's Sense of History." JEGP, 51 (1952), 301-13.
- . "Distance and Predestination in Troilus and Criseyde." PMLA, 72 (1957), 14-26.
Rpt. in Chaucer Criticism, Vol. II: Troilus and Criseyde and The Minor Poems. Ed. Richard J. Schoeck and Jerome Taylor. Notre Dame, Ind.: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1961, pp. 196-210.
- . "The Eighth Sphere -- a Note on Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde, V, 1809." MLR, 53 (1958), 408-10.
- . "Symbolism in Medieval Literature." MP, 56 (1958), 73-81.
- Boughner, Daniel C. "Elements of Epic Grandeur in the Troilus." ELH, 6 (1939), 200-10. Rpt. in Chaucer Criticism, Vol. II: Troilus and Criseyde and The Minor Poems. Ed. Richard J. Schoeck and Jerome Taylor. Notre Dame, Ind.: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1961, pp. 186-95.
- Boyd, Beverly. Chaucer and the Liturgy. Philadelphia: Dorrance, 1967.
- Brewer, D[erek] S. "Love and Marriage in Chaucer's Poetry." MLR, 49 (1954), 461-64.
- Carpenter, Nan Cooke. "Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde, III, 624-628." Explicator, 30, Item 51.
- Christmas, Peter. "Troilus and Criseyde: the Problems of Love and Necessity." ChauR, 9 (1974), 285-96.
- Clark, John W. "Dante and the Epilogue of Troilus." JEGP, 50 (1951), 1-10.
- Cofer, Bernice Grace. "Chaucer's Religious Consciousness in Troilus and Criseyde." Masters thesis Univ. of Washington, Seattle 1938.
- Conlee, John W. "The Meaning of Troilus' Ascension to the Eighth Sphere." ChauR, 7 (1972), 27-36.

- Cope, Jackson I. "Chaucer, Venus and the 'Seventhe Spere'." MLN, 67 (1952), 245-6.
- Costello, Sister Mary Angelica. "The Goddes and God in the Troilus." Diss. Fordham Univ. 1962.
- Cotton, Michael E. "The Artistic Integrity of Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde." ChauR, 7 (1972), 37-43.
- Curry, Walter Clyde. "Destiny in Troilus and Criseyde." In his Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences. rev. and enl. ed. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1960, pp. 241-98.
- David, Alfred. "The Hero of the Troilus." Speculum, 37 (1962), 566-81.
- . The Strumpet Muse: art and morals in Chaucer's poetry. Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1976.
- Dempster, Germaine. Dramatic Irony in Chaucer. 1932; rpt. New York: The Humanities Press, 1959.
- DeNeef, A. Leigh. "Robertson and the Critics." ChauR, 2 (1967-68), 205-34.
- Denomy, Alexander J. "The Two Moralities of Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde." Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 44, Ser. III, sec. 2 (1950), 35-46. Rpt. in Chaucer Criticism, Vol. II: Troilus and Criseyde and The Minor Poems. Ed. Richard J. Schoeck and Jerome Taylor. Notre Dame, Ind.: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1961, pp. 147-159.
- Devereux, James A. "A note on Troilus and Criseyde III, 1309." PQ, 44 (1965), 550-2.
- Di Pasquale, Pasquale, Jr. "'Sikernessee' and Fortune in Troilus and Criseyde." PQ, 49 (1970), 152-63.
- Dodd, William George. Courtly Love in Chaucer and Gower. Harvard Studies in English, 1. 1913; rpt. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1959.
- Donaldson, E. Talbot. "Patristic Exegesis in the Criticism of Medieval Literature: The Opposition." In Critical Approaches to Medieval Literature: selected papers from the English Institute, 1958-1959. Ed. with a forward by Dorothy Bethurum. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1960, pp. 1-26.

- . Speaking of Chaucer. London: Athlone Press, 1970.
- . "Troilus and Criseide." In Chaucer's Poetry: an anthology for the modern reader. Selected and ed. by E. T. Donaldson. New York: Ronald Press, 1968, pp. 965-80.
- Donner, Morton. "Chaucer and His Narrators: The Poet's Place in His Poems." Western Humanities Review, 27 (1973), 189-95.
- Drake, Gertrude C. "The Moon and Venus: Troilus' Havens in Eternity." Papers on Language and Literature, 11 (1975), 3-17.
- Dronke, Peter. "The Conclusion of Troilus and Criseyde." MLA, 33 (1964), 47-52.
- Dunning, T. P. "God and Man in Troilus and Criseyde." In English and Medieval Studies Presented to J. R. R. Tolkien on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday. Ed. Norman Davis and C. L. Wrenn. London: Allen and Unwin, 1962, pp. 164-182.
- Elbow, Peter. Oppositions in Chaucer. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan Univ. Press, 1973.
- . "Two Boethian Speeches and Chaucerian Irony." In Literary Criticism and Historical Understanding: Selected Papers From the English Institute. Ed. Phillip Damon. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1967, pp. 85-107.
- Eliason, Norman E. "Chaucer the Love Poet." In Chaucer the Love Poet. Ed. Jerome Mitchel and William Provost. Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, pp. 9-26.
- Evans, Lawrence Gove. "A Biblical Allusion in Troilus and Criseyde." MLN, 74 (1959), 584-7.
- Everett, Dorothy. "Troilus and Criseyde." In Essays on Middle English Literature. Ed. Patricia Kean. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955, pp. 115-38.
- Farnham, Anthony E. "Chaucerian Irony and the Ending of the Troilus." ChauR, 1 (1966-67), 207-16.
- Farnham, Willard. The Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1963, c. 1936.

- Frank, Robert Worth, Jr. "Troilus and Criseyde: The Art of Amplification." In Medieval Literature and Folklore Studies: Essays in Honor of Francis Lee Utley. Ed. Jerome Mandel and Bruce A. Rosenberg. New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1970, pp. 155-71.
- Fyler, John M. Chaucer and Ovid. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1979.
- Gallagher, Joseph E. "Theology and Intention in Chaucer's Troilus." ChauR, 7 (1972), 44-66.
- Garbaty, Thomas J. "Troilus V, 1786-92 and V, 1807-27: An Example of Poetic Process." ChauR, 11 (1976-77), 299-305.
- Gaylord, Alan T. "Chaucer's Tender Trap: The Troilus and the 'Yonge, Fresshe Folkes'." English Miscellany, 15 (1964), 24-45.
- ". "Uncle Pandarus as Lady Philosophy." Papers of the Michigan Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters, 46 (1961), 571-95.
- Gill, Sister Anne Barbara. Paradoxical Patterns in Chaucer's Troilus: An Explanation of the Palinode. Washington, D. C.: The Catholic Univ. of America Press, 1960.
- Gordon, Ida L. The Double Sorrow of Troilus: a study of ambiguities in Troilus and Criseyde. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970.
- Green, Richard F. "Troilus and the Game of Love." ChauR, 13 (1978-79), 201-20.
- Greenfield, Stanley B. "The Role of Calkas in Troilus and Criseyde." M AE, 36 (1967), 141-51.
- Hafner, Mamie. "The Use of Religious Phraseology in Medieval Love Poetry: Provencal and French poems and Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde." Diss. Univ. of Wisconsin, 1965.
- Hanson, Thomas B. "The Center of Troilus and Criseyde." ChauR, 9 (1974-75), 297-302.
- Hatcher, Elizabeth Roberta. "Troilus and Criseyde: Chaucer's Myth of Love." Diss. Johns Hopkins, 1970.

- Heidtmann, Peter. "Sex and Salvation in Troilus and Criseyde." ChauR, 2 (1967-68), 246-53.
- Helterman, Jeffrey. "The Masks of Love in Troilus and Criseyde." CL, 26 (1974), 14-31.
- Howard, Donald R. "Experience, Language, and Consciousness: Troilus and Criseyde, II, 596-931." In Medieval Literature and Folklore Studies: Essays in Honor of Francis Lee Utley. Ed. Jerome Mandel and Bruce A. Rosenberg. New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1970, pp. 173-92.
- . "Literature and Sexuality: Book III of Chaucer's Troilus." MR, 8 (1967), 442-56.
- . The Three Temptations: Medieval man in search of the world. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1966.
- Hutson, Arthur E. "Troilus' Confession." MLN, 69 (1954), 468-70.
- Isaacs, Neil D. "Further Testimony in the Matter of Troilus." Studies in the Literary Imagination, 4, 11 (Oct., 1971), 11-27.
- Jefferson, Bernard L. Chaucer and The Consolation of Philosophy of Boethius. 1917; rpt. New York: Gordian Press, 1968.
- Jelliffe, Robert Archibald. Troilus and Criseyde: Studies in Interpretation. 1956; rpt. Norwood, Pa.: Norwood Editions, 1975.
- Jordan, Robert M. Chaucer and the Shape of Creation: The aesthetic possibilities of inorganic structure. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1967.
- . "The Narrator in Chaucer's Troilus." ELH, 25 (1958), 237-57.
- Jurschax, Gertrude M. "Chaucer and Fourteenth Century English Thought." Diss. Loyola Univ.
- Kaske, R. E. "Patristic Exegesis in the Criticism of Medieval Literature: The Defense." In Critical Approaches to Medieval Literature: selected papers from the English Institute, 1958-1959. Ed. with foreword by Dorothy Bethurum. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1960, pp. 27-60.

- Kean, P. M. "Chaucer's Dealings With a Stanza of Il Filostrato and the Epilogue of Troilus and Criseyde." M AE, 33 (1964), 36-46.
- ". "Troilus and Criseyde." In Love Vision and Debate. Vol. I of Chaucer and the Making of English Poetry. 2 vols. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972, pp. 112-78.
- Kellogg, Alfred L. "On the Tradition of Troilus' Vision of the Little Earth." MS, 22 (1960), 204-13.
- Kirby, Thomas A. Chaucer's Troilus: a study in courtly love. 1940; rpt. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1958.
- Kittredge, George Lyman. "Troilus." In Chaucer and his Poetry. 1915; rpt. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1967, pp. 108-45.
- Kline, Aubrey J., Jr. "A Rhetorical Analysis of Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde." Diss. Univ. of Nevada, 1972.
- Knapp, Peggy A. "The Nature of Nature: Criseyde's 'Slydyng Corage'." ChauR, 13 (1978-79), 133-40.
- Koretsky, Allen C. "Chaucer's Use of Rhetoric in Troilus and Criseyde." Diss. Univ. of Toronto, 1967.
- ". "Chaucer's Use of the Apostrophe in Troilus and Criseyde." ChauR, 4 (1969-70), 242-66.
- Kurtz, Diane Gray. "The Significance of the Tradition of Nature in Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde." Diss. Univ. of Illinois, 1975.
- Lever, Katherine. "The Christian classicist's dilemma." CJ, 58 (1963), 356-61.
- Lewis, C[live] S[taples]. The Allegory of Love: a study in Medieval tradition. 1936; rpt. London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1977.
- ". "What Chaucer Really Did to Il Filostrato." In Selected Literary Essays. Ed. Walter Hooper. Cambridge, [Eng.]: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1969, pp. 27-44.

- Loomis, Dorothy Bethurum. "The Venus of Alanus de Insulis and the Venus of Chaucer." In Philological Essays: Studies in Old and Middle English Language and Literature in Honour of Herbert Dean Meritt. Ed. James L. Rosier. The Hague: Mouton, 1970, pp. 182-95.
- Lopresti, Vincent August. "Chaucer's Treatment of the Gods in Relation to Source, Analogue, and Tradition." Diss. Univ. of Wisconsin, 1966.
- Lorrah, Jean. "The 'Present Eternite' of Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde." Diss. Florida State Univ., 1968.
- Magoun, Francis P. "'Himselven Lik a Pilgrym to Disguise': Troilus, V, 1577." MLN, 59 (1944), 176-8.
- Maguire, John B. "The Clandestine Marriage of Troilus and Criseyde." ChauR, 8 (1973-74), 262-78.
- Malone, Kemp. Chapters on Chaucer. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1951.
- Mann, Jill. "Troilus' Swoon." ChauR, 14 (1979-80), 319-35.
- Markland, Murray F. "Troilus and Criseyde: The Inviolability of the Ending." MLQ, 31 (1970), 147-59.
- Matthews, Lloyd J. "Chaucer's Personification of Prudence in Troilus (V. 743-749): Sources in the Visual Arts and Manuscript Scholia." ELN, 13 (1975-76), 249-55.
- McCall, John P. Chaucer Among the Gods: The Poetics of Classical Myth. University Park, [Penn.]: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 1979.
- ". "Classical Myth in Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde: An Aspect of the Classical Tradition in the Middle Ages." Diss. Princeton Univ., 1955.
- ". "Troilus and Criseyde." In Companion to Chaucer Studies. Ed. Beryl Rowland. Toronto: Oxford Univ. Press, pp. 370-84.
- ". "The Trojan Scene in Chaucer's Troilus." ELH, 29 (1962), 263-75.

- Mahoney, John F. "Chaucerian Tragedy and the Christian Tradition." An M, 3 (1962), 81-99.
- Mayo, Robert D. "The Trojan Background of the Troilus." ELH, 9 (1942), 245-56.
- Meech, Sanford Brown. Design in Chaucer's Troilus. 1959; rpt. New York: Greenwood Press, 1969.
- ". "Figurative Contrasts in Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde." In English Institute Essays -- 1950. Ed. Alan S. Downer. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1951, pp. 57-88.
- Millns, Tony. "Chaucer's Suspended Judgements." EIC, 27 (1977), 1-19.
- Mogan, Joseph J., Jr. Chaucer and the Theme of Mutability. De Proprietatibus Litterarum, Series Practica, 3. The Hague: Mouton, 1969, c. 1968.
- ". "Further Aspects of Mutability in Chaucer's Troilus." Papers on English Language and Literature, I, 72-77.
- Moorman, Charles. "'Once More Unto the Breach': The Meaning of Troilus and Criseyde." Studies in the Literary Imagination, 4, ii, 61-71.
- Murphy, James J. "A New Look at Chaucer and the Rhetoricians." RES, new series, 15 (1964), 1-20.
- Muscatine, Charles. Chaucer and the French Tradition: a study in style and meaning. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1957.
- Nagarajan, S. "The Conclusion to Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde." EIC, 13 (1963), 1-8.
- O'Desky, Leona. "Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde: Astrology and the Transference of Power." Diss. Rutgers Univ., 1974.
- Owen, Charles A., Jr. "The Problem of Free Will in Chaucer's Narratives." PQ, 46 (1967), 433-56.
- ". "Significance of a Day in Troilus and Criseyde." MS, 22 (1960), 366-70.

- . "The Significance of Chaucer's Revisions of Troilus and Criseyde." MP, 55 (1957-58), 1-5. Rpt. in Chaucer Criticism, Vol. II: Troilus and Criseyde and The Minor Poems. Ed. Richard J. Schoeck and Jerome Taylor. Notre Dame, Ind.: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1961, pp. 160-66.
- Patch, Howard Rollin. "Chaucer and Lady Fortune." MLR, 22 (1927), 377-88.
- . The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature. 1927; rpt. New York: Octagon Books, 1967.
- . On Rereading Chaucer. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1939.
- . "Troilus on Determinism." Speculum, 6 (1931), 225-43.
- . "Troilus on Predestination." JEGP, 17 (1918), 399-422.
- Payne, Robert O. "The Historical Criticism We Need." In Chaucer at Albany. Ed. Rossel Hope Robbins. New York: Franklin, 1975, pp. 179-92.
- . The Key of Remembrance: a study of Chaucer's poetics. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1963.
- .
Rev. of Fruyt and Chaf: Studies in Chaucer's Allegories. By Bernard F. Huppe and D. W. Robertson, Jr. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1963. In CL, 15 (1963), 272-6.
- .
Rev. of A Preface to Chaucer: Studies in Medieval Perspectives. D. W. Robertson, Jr. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1962. In CL, 15 (1963), 267-71.
- Presson, Robert K. "The Aesthetics of Chaucer's Art of Contrast." EM, 15 (1964), 9-23.
- Reiss, Edmund. "Chaucer's Courtly Love." In The Learned and the Lewed: Studies in Chaucer and Medieval Literature. Ed. Larry D. Benson. Cambridge, [Mass.]: Harvard Univ. Press, 1974, 95-111.
- . "Troilus and the Failure of Understanding." MLQ, 29, 131-44.

- Robertson, D. W., Jr. "Chaucerian Tragedy." ELH, 19 (1952), 1-37. Rpt. in Chaucer Criticism, Vol. II: Troilus and Criseyde and The Minor Poems. Ed. Richard J. Schoeck and Jerome Taylor. Notre Dame, Ind.: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1961, pp. 86-121.
- . A Preface to Chaucer: studies in Medieval perspectives. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1962.
- Robinson, Ian. "Chaucer's Great Failure, Troilus and Criseyde." In his Chaucer and the English Tradition. Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1972, pp. 73-85.
- Root, Robert Kilburn. The Textual Tradition of Chaucer's Troilus. Chaucer Society Publications, 1st ser., 99. London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1916 (1912).
- Ross, Thomas W. "Troilus and Criseyde II, 582-87: A Note." ChauR, 5 (1970), 137-9.
- Rowe, Donald W. O Love O Charite! Contraries Harmonized in Chaucer's Troilus. Carbondale: Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1976.
- Salter, Elizabeth. "Troilus and Criseyde: A Reconsideration." In Patterns of Love and Courtesy: Essays in Memory of C. S. Lewis. Ed. John Lawlor. London: Edward Arnold, 1966, pp. 86-106.
- Sams, Henry W. "The Dual Time-Scheme in Chaucer's Troilus." MLN, 56 (1941), 94-100. Rpt. in Chaucer Criticism, Vol. II: Troilus and Criseyde and The Minor Poems. Ed. Richard J. Schoeck and Jerome Taylor. Notre Dame, Ind.: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1961, pp. 180-5.
- Schuman, Samuel. "The Circle of Nature: Patterns of Imagery in Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde." ChauR, 10 (1975-76), 99-112.
- Scott, Forrest S. "The Seventh Sphere: A Note on Troilus and Criseyde." MLR, 51 (1956), 2-5.
- Scrivner, Buford, Jr. "Chaucer's Early Poetry: A Study of Imagery in Relation to Theme and Structure." Diss. Florida State Univ. Coll. of Arts and Sciences, 1972.

- Shanley, James Lyndon. "The Troilus and Christian Love." ELH, 6 (1939), 271-81. Rpt. in Chaucer Criticism, Vol. II: Troilus and Criseyde and The Minor Poems. Ed. Richard J. Schoeck and Jerome Taylor. Notre Dame, Ind.: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1961, pp. 136-46.
- Sharrock, Roger. "Second Thoughts: C. S. Lewis on Chaucer's Troilus." EIC, 8 (1958), 123-37.
- Shorter, Robert Newland. "Boethian Philosophy as the Informing Principle in Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde." Diss. Duke University, 1964.
- Slaughter, Eugene E. "Love and Grace in Chaucer's Troilus." In Essays in Honor of Walter Clyde Curry. Nashville, Tenn.: Vanderbilt Univ. Press, 1954, pp. 61-76.
- . Virtue According to Love -- in Chaucer. New York: Bookman Associates, 1957.
- Smyser, Hamilton M. "A View of Chaucer's Astronomy." Speculum, 45, 359-73.
- Sommer, George Joseph. "The Narrator of the Troilus and Criseyde: a Study of the Prohemium and Epilogue." Diss. Fordham Univ., 1963.
- Speirs, John. "The Troilus and Criseyde." In his Chaucer the Maker. London: Faber and Faber, 1951, pp. 49-82.
- Steadman, John M. Disembodied Laughter: Troilus and the Apotheosis Tradition: a reexamination of narrative and thematic contexts. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1972.
- Stevens, Martin. "The Winds of Fortune in the Troilus." ChauR, 13 (1978-79), 285-307.
- Stewart, George R., Jr. "The Moral Chaucer." In Essays in Criticism by members of the Dept. of English, Univ. of California, University of California Publications in English, 1, 1929, pp. 89-109.
- Stroud, Theodore A. "Boethius' Influence on Chaucer's Troilus." MP, 49 (1951-2), 1-9. Rpt. in Chaucer Criticism, Vol. II: Troilus and Criseyde and The Minor Poems. Ed. Richard J. Schoeck and Jerome Taylor. Notre Dame, Ind.: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1961, pp. 122-35.

- Tatlock, John Strong Perry. "Dante and Guinizelli in Chaucer's Troilus." MLN, 35 (1920), 443.
- . "The Epilog of Chaucer's Troilus." MP, 18 (1921), 113-47.
- . The Mind and Art of Chaucer. Introd. Germaine Dempster, ed. with Sanford B. Meech. Syracuse: Syracuse Univ. Press, 1950.
- Thomas, Mary Edith. Medieval Skepticism and Chaucer. New York: The William-Frederick Press, 1950.
- Tolkien, J[ohn] R[onald] R[euel]. "Foreword." In The Lord of the Rings, Vol. I: The Fellowship of the Ring. 2d ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1965, pp. 5-8.
- Whitlark, James S. "Chaucer and the Pagan Gods." AnM, 18 (1977), 65-75.
- Windeatt, Barry. "'Love That Oughte Ben Secree' in Chaucer's Troilus." ChauR, 14 (1979-80), 116-31.
- Wood, Chauncey. Chaucer and the Country of the Stars: poetic uses of astrological imagery. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1970.
- Yearwood, Stephanie. "The Rhetoric of Narrative Rendering in Chaucer's Troilus." ChauR, 12 (1977-78), 27-37.
- Young, Karl. "Chaucer's Renunciation of Love in Troilus." MLN, 40 (1925), 270-76.
- Zimbardo, Rose A. "Creator and Created: the Generic Perspective of Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde." ChauR, 11 (1976-77), 283-98.